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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

"Ulster" Question.

Despite the contrary opinion held and expressed by
an eminent Republican that there is no Ulster Question,
most again contend that for us within the nation there
very non-national outlook, which constitutes a very
of the Ulster Question throughout the whole province of
of Catholic and non-Catholic, and with which the
I will have to deal sooner or later! Let us face the
that Ulster is the Achilles heel of Ireland. Never let
said by future historians that Sinn Féin by sticking
ad in the sand made the same mistake as the Irish
with regard to Ulster. We refer our readers to Mr.
a Patterson's informed articles on the subject which
had recently in this paper. We know there is a growing
and among Republicans that something ought to be
and we shall welcome to our columns any practical
suggestion by Ulstermen or others which will make towards
concerted campaign to nationalise this modern English
in Ireland.

Heavy Artillery.

During the week there was a heavy artillery debate on
and in the English House of Lords, which revealed the
in much the same frame of mind as the Commons.
Bored, pompous, and feeling the whole foundation of
world tottering about them. They meekly followed
Lord George's headline and declared that "Never.

never! (what, never! Well, hardly ever!) would they con-
sider the separation of Ireland from England." And they
more or less suggested to the Government that what we
want is a thorough dragooning. There were, however, two
items of interest in the debate, of Irish interest rather than
of English interest. The first was a letter from Sir Arthur
Vicars to Lord Askwith, in which Sir Arthur moaned.

Sir Arthur Vicars Does His Bit.

Sir Arthur Vicars, according to himself, was raided for
arms, and this is what occurred:

After a quarter of an hour the door panels gave and
about 10 or 15 armed and masked men trooped into the
dining room. Captain Moonlight demanded arms. I said I
would not give them up; that they were in the strong
room. They demanded the key, which was refused, and
they searched me for my keys, but I said I was not such
a fool as to keep my strong-room key on me. They then
said that if I would not produce the key they would shoot
me. The Head man called on 10 men to line up and they
levelled their guns at me as I stood against the side table.
I said "you may shoot me first, but you won't get the key
or any arms." The Head man told me to prepare to meet
my God. I said "All right, fire away." He said "One,
two," and then stopped and asked me show them about
the house. I refused, but said I would show them where
the strong room was. They then placed me under arrest
with three men as guard . . . but they could make
no headway on the strong room, which is of steel girders
and concrete, and finally left at 2.30 a.m., having got
nothing or taken nothing.

And Sir Arthur, according to Lord Askwith, went on
to say that murder and other forms of outrage were com-
mitted with impunity, and law-abiding citizens lived in peril
of their lives. And so on.

What, exactly, we wonder is Sir Arthur Vicars' com-
plaint as to this incident. When his door was opened, the
house was not invaded by a dozen men with fixed bayonets;
he was not rushed, with the said bayonets pricking his body,
into the nearest room and kept there with his hands
above his head: his wife's bedroom was not entered, nor
was she forced to rise in her night garments while men
struck bayonets through the bed and prodded the furniture
and walls: her jewellery was untouched: and his cigars:
and his drink: and his food: in his own words, the raiders
left "having taken nothing": and while it is true he was
threatened, he was threatened, so to put it, like a gentle-
man.

If Sir Arthur Vicars, by any chance, had been a man
of honour as well as being a man of lineage, he would be
raided by those who are now his friends, and then those
things would have happened to him and to his household
which did not happen the other night, things which are
nightly occurrences in other households visited by the
upholders of curfew law and bank order. Sir Arthur knew
perfectly well that he was perfectly safe, dealing with Irish
men not in the British military or police service, in standing

upon his dignity and refusing to part. And he knows equally well that in writing a scare letter to supplement the House of Lords heavy artillery he did a thing which is contemptible. The other item of interest concerns another man of lineage, who is also not a man of honour.

Lord Middleton Does His Bit.

Lord Middleton, according to the *Times*, delivered himself as follows:

In the first place, the police had not sufficient assistance when they were attacked, and he appealed to the Government to see to it that comparatively large detachments of soldiers should be at hand to protect them. The loyalists had a right to be fully protected, and he asked that there should be drastic revision of the military arrangements. They might send 5,000 or 10,000 troops into out-of-the-way districts, and organise patrols with motor cars. If there were troops that could not be trusted to be used in that way, let them, in Hansen's name, send troops that could be trusted.

Could be trusted to do what, my Lord Middleton? To hack their way through Ireland, as Carew and Mountjoy hacked it, slaying men, women, and children, burning houses, crops, and cattle, letting loose on the country famine and pestilence in the wake of tank and poison gas and treachery. Either you mean this, and mistake the duty whom you invoke, for your whole speech was a plea for the re-conquest of Ireland, or else you are a coward and time-server who will play with the whole manhood of a Nation to serve your own selfish ends. Have you ever read Irish history, my Lord Middleton? Carew tried your policy of more soldiers, and still more, and protection, bloody protection, for loyalists. And here is what it resulted in, according to Edmund Spenser:

Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them; ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carion, happy where they could finde them, yea, and another soone after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, these they flucked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddainly left voyde of man and beast, yet sure in all that waste, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought.

That, my Lord Middleton, was as complete as you are likely to get it in these times; in fact more complete than you are likely to get it. For if you are to reconquer Ireland now you must also reconquer America. But what happened there and a half centuries ago when there was no Irish-America, no Irish-Australia? Within thirty years these same ghosts, these anatomies of death, drove out of the South of Ireland and out of most of the North those who had made of their land a desert and enthroned themselves on the ashes of their Rootrees. And there was Ireland, all ready to be reconquered again. Do you want Ireland to be reconquered by the methods of Carew and Mountjoy? There is no other way, and even that way will never give you anything approaching a reconquest. But do you want those methods? If not, withdraw your demand for more-troops, more Hummishness, or we brand you as a contemptible selfish landlord, concerned only with the preservation of your ascendancy, your power and privileges, concerned only with the maintenance of your heel on the

necks of the Irish. But we know that all this has been yours in only froth and party electioneering. You are acting only in Irish politics according to the time-honoured precept of your class in Ireland and in England, the precept that politics is only a game, wherein nobody is anything they say. Take care. For in the political game of the war there has arisen in what you would call "the islands" one party which does actually mean what it is actually sincere, and that party is the Irish People, want independence and we mean to have independence the days of the ascendancy of the incompetent and the Southern Unionists is over. We have challenged Empire and we shall pull down your Empire, that let ye build it up another basis. The whole issue of Ireland means the end of the British Empire. Well, the Empire puts it that way, if it is clearly and definitely avowed that it is built upon the subjection of Ireland, depends for its existence upon the subjection of Ireland, the Empire will have to go. Or else find another base. Lloyd George says, in effect, that there is no other base: the House of Lords echoes him: very well, the will have to go. We will not suffer any longer to be than free men in a free country.

The Southern Unionists.

Many years ago Standish O'Grady wrote the epitaph of the Irish landlords, and in our own day is being written by the Southern Unionists. If Lord Middleton represents, and we believe he does represent, the best of them, then they are no better now than they were hundred years ago. And they will pass, as the Land passed, unwept, unhonoured and rising. It is not too much to expect them to change at the eleventh hour. They are concerned with one thing; and one only, with the maintenance of the Union, for under no system of government can they hope to continue to exist in Ireland other than on their own merits. Power and have been theirs; and for them, and their sons, but they have no ability as a class to do so. They have no ideals, nothing but ignorance and pride of bay. They have stalked insolently through Ireland for a hundred years, with a regiment of British soldiers, equally insolent behind each one of them, maintaining him. Otherwise would fall. And now they will fall, with or without a Regiment. They sink in the sight of God. Their opposition to the Partition Bill is not an opposition to party but an opposition to Home Rule; their friendship with William O'Brien a decade ago was not zeal for party for settlement by consent, but an attempt to use William O'Brien to hamper the Irish Party. Their lukewarm opposition to-day towards Dominion Home Rule is not zeal for self-government but hate of Irish independence. They the great camouflagers of Irish history; never have they anything they really meant, save when they recite Balfour's "Don't hesitate to shoot."

FINE WEATHER BE AFTER THEM.

Helping Lord French.

In a recent interview Lord French is credited with having said that the root of the trouble in Ireland is that there were too many young men there—the number put at 200,000. And from time to time there have appeared in the English Press hopes that what they term the "flow of emigration" would do much to relieve the

have observed in the last few weeks a very regrettable increase in the figures of emigration from this country, and suggest to Sinn Fein, and to everybody who has the heart of this country at heart, that immediate steps should be taken to stop it. The last six years have proved one thing conclusively, that nobody need emigrate, that everybody, at a pinch, get work to do at home. It is used to be in the old days that people fled from the dullness of Ireland; but that surely cannot now be urged. Ireland may be anything you like, but it is not dull. The young men need the adventurous youth to go to Mexico for his own sake. It is very vital that we should conserve our talent until the issue of the fight with England has been decided, and every effort ought to be made to restrain it. Every able-bodied man or woman who leaves Ireland now helps England. And helps England in the hour of its direst need. If we continue as we are, firm and united, we shall presently get her on the run.

Battle of Nerves.

England is now, having realised the significance of it, making a desperate attempt to retrieve the battle of Mountjoy in Belfast gaol, in Cork gaol, in Galway gaol, and in national Scrubs gaol, outposts of the Republic are fighting the overflow battle, and fighting it to victory. England is seeking down their health as she cannot break down their spirit. But they will bear her as the men of Mountjoy bear her. And every man tortured means a heavier score against England to pay when the day of reckoning comes. And it will. Every man who goes into an English or Irish prison strengthens the determination of those who are left to carry on. And every man who comes out, dead or alive, strengthens it. There is nothing conceivable which England can do which will not play into our hands, no way which she can turn our flank, so long as we maintain our position and keep our nerve. And we are showing no signs of nerve-strain. England thinks that she can cow our Germany could not cow Belgium; nor Russia could; and England will fall equally in Ireland. She won the Great War, but she is losing the Little War: she won the battle of mechanics, of lies, of suppressions, but she is losing the battle of nerves.

Hamar Greenwood.

We have only one thing to say to Sir Hamar Greenwood. We say it, not to him personally, but to his job. Get on with it, Zog.

Prinias O Gallchoibhair.

We welcome Prinias O Gallchoibhair back to our ranks this week, and rejoice at his return as an indication that he has recovered from the effects of his participation in the Mountjoy Victory. Men like him will never be beaten by brute force.

Irish Labour and Cork.

We publish this week the report of the Cork Trades Union, stating what actually took place at the conference between their representatives and the English "Labour" delegation which visited Ireland—ostensibly to find out the

true condition of affairs here, but actually to seek props for the tottering Dublin Castle. The report is an effective counterblast to the English delegation's careful *suppression* *veri*. Clearly our cartoonist was right when he told us that English labour will give us what we want if we want what it wants us to want. We don't.

The Latest Martyr.

The Mountjoy hunger-strike has claimed its first victim and given Ireland its latest martyr. Aidan Redmond, or to give him his real name, which in life he had for reasons obvious to Irish Republicans to conceal, Aidan Gleeson, was one of the gallant one hundred and four men who fought the great fight in Mountjoy. On the release he was one of the weakest, and it was only by infinite care and attention that his life was temporarily saved. For three weeks he lay in hospital and then was released, but to be brought back again suffering from acute appendicitis which, despite the best surgical skill, he succumbed on Sunday. The British Government may console itself with the thought that because Aidan Gleeson died outside Mountjoy it is not responsible for his death, but the nation, the world, international justice and humanity, will place the guilt as surely as it did in the case of Thomas Ashe. Another brave, young, Irish life has been cut short by British Government militarism. Aidan Gleeson was of the stuff of which heroes are made—heroes and patriots, too. In 1916, when only in his eighteenth year, he was one of the noble band who answered his country's call to arms to save his country's soul. Since then England's minions have been hunting him down. To-day they have got their "victory"; they have hunted him to death. It is a "victory," however, that England will bitterly rue. The body of Aidan Gleeson may be dead, but his soul lives, and will live, in the hearts of the young fellow-countrymen throughout the world, and will inspire them to continue, steadfastly and unflinchingly, the fight that Aidan Gleeson fought for the freedom for which he died. Beannocht Dhe ar an anam.

The Meaning of the Mountjoy Strike

I am sitting on the top of Tyrbradden with half of Co. Dublin at my feet streaked with early morning May sunshine. The city is a few white spires flanking like the dust clouds raised by the speeding of a giant army. Ireland's Eye stands like a bundle of forgotten luggage on the immense blue platform of the sea. Over the muscular shoulder of Tree Rock I can see the white atpenae of Kingstown harbour, poised to trap some wandering fishing craft. About me is a beautiful tumbled waste of furze and the bleached heather of last summer, and there is a warmth and freshness in the air which makes everything that God has made kinder like God.

But I climbed to the top of Tyrbradden thinking of things other than these. I have been trying to understand the meaning of the strike in Mountjoy prison and to measure its effects; a fitting employment for the mind in here, among these dark mysterious mountains eternal in bulk, but

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ephemeral in all else, every passing cloud giving them new colour, new beauty, new shadows, every burst of sunlight drawing them nearer as if in its warmth they would confide the most sacred details of their being. As with the scene so with the subject of my thoughts. From that moment the strike is incomprehensible both in its meaning and in its effects, and at the next a great clearness comes which gives strange substance to every shadow.

The first meaning of the strike is the least difficult to set down. When in the iron-circled exercise ring in Mountjoy a few men walked round and round among many with heads bent and drawn together and spoke in low tones their purpose was definite. They had determined to attack English government in Ireland from within this jail as strongly as they had worked against it on the outside. To remain passive in prison was abhorrent to all of them. To use their activism in the most fruitful way was the unanimous desire. To discover that way was the source of the discussion. Speedily it was determined and agreed upon. Four days later a greater group gathered in the centre of the ring and together spoke a pledge. To that pledge and to the courage of those who, in much more horrible danger than beset the writer, honoured that pledge to the very detail is to be ascribed the success of ten days later, and of all that has flowed and is still flowing from it. That pledge made defeat impossible by making death acceptable. So far it is easy to understand the meaning of the Mountjoy strike. To strike a blow at the oppressor, to destroy, if possible, the promiscuous raiding and kidnapping which had lately become his favourite weapon: these were the heroic motives out of which the strike grew. But these motives are no longer commensurate with the results. From being purely a prison protest the strike became a national protest of unequalled dimensions, and from the victory of a few prisoners over a system, which the strike was hoped to produce, the triumph became one of a nation over an Empire.

The distinctive nationality of Ireland was canvassed before the world more powerfully than it had ever previously been. The oneness of the Irish people in their opposition to alien tyranny was declared in a voice so thunderous that the echoes are still rumbling back to us from Australia and Africa. Instead of smashing the English prison system, as a hundred men had hoped to do, the strike has smashed the system of English military government in Ireland. The War Lords are slashing the air with their sabres because they have been taught that everything human in Ireland will hit back.

Militarily that has been the result of the Mountjoy demonstration and the support given it generously by the nation. Politically its effects promise to be as great. As a method of welcoming the intriguers whom England, for her own purpose, has appointed to high office in Ireland, the events of that third week of April were almost perfect. Greenwood and Macready had just taken up office with "negotiation" as their trump card. It had already been fore-shadowed in the English Press that their first move would be to drive in wedges in the crevice they thought they had discovered between the Sinn Fein party and Irish Labour. They would nurse Labour and starve the Republic, and when Labour had killed the Republic they could then take Labour to a quiet spot and strangle it. Happily the incidents at Mountjoy gave the Irish workers the opportunity of proving that they were the Irish Nation, and when the aged majors at the Kildare Street Club had for two days wrestled with Mrs. Beeton as successfully as for two years they have wrestled with Republican Ireland, they began to understand that the policy of cajoling Irish Trade Unionists into becoming the assassins of Irish independence was not

likely to be as effective as they had believed. It is that they have not abandoned this policy. But they have seen fit to store it for another time. The general has sadly disarranged the carefully-planned program of Macready and his attendant lawyer.

Indeed, these have already fallen back upon their line of advances. They are now turning their attention to the cultivation in Ireland of a "friendly public opinion." They are going to kill the Republic with kindness. They are about to stifle our Republicanism with embraces, and the mailed fist as it has having failed, they are getting rid of our belief in independence by shaking hands with us. The plan is already in operation, but even if it is kept alive only by artificial respiration. The dripping, less thing that remained of the negotiators' policy allowed flood of public protest which swirled around Mountjoy had subsided is too sorry a thing even for Hamlet's road's omnipotence to preserve. The spiritual real which came upon the country on April 13 brought to the souls of men that Ireland knew herself to be a nation and self-knowledge is the first law of national progress. The nation whose people know it to be a nation is formidable. Previously, when in other generations sword was worn to its hilt with butchering and Ireland remained unconquered, the English Government beat wise and used whips instead of whips. In each case there was a measure of success. Ireland's history is one of that of almost incomprehensible courage under constant almost incomprehensible gullibility under "pacifist" rule. We are about to witness the resort by a defeated caste to its time-sanctioned alternative. That the result of this effort to subject us again to the confidence should have synchronised with the scenes inside and out of Mountjoy, and should have had for its setting the revival of national determination known since 1916, made the development of the trick impossible.

With empty hands the nation tore a hundred stab wounds out of the stoutest prison in Ireland, encircled it with every engine of Imperial ruthlessness. Its triumph the nation has been retreating its own indomitable, and it will tear the starved heart out of the friendliness, encircled though that friendliness be with the historic reality of a thousand years of cunning hypocrisy. Not only then was the English prison system smashed by the hunger-striking hundred, but simultaneously the nation acting in sympathy smashed the Castle's system as represented by Lord French and Sir John T. and the Cabinet's political system as represented by Nevil Macready and Sir Hamar Greenwood. These are the more obvious effects of a national epoch which with the adventure of a few men. There are other distinct which, like the dark mysterious mountains of me, change with every ray of new thought, yet one attribute above all changes—the attribute of immortality.

I look down upon the drifting smoke and the grey church spires that are Dublin and wonder that the grey look upon the soul of a people, as it had done so often yet not bear some strange impress of it upon its slabs of bricks.

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The Language and the Phrase Method.

The real work of the Gaelic League is to produce such a frame of mind among the people that they would regard Irish-speaking Ireland as the most natural thing in the world. And that means that the Gaelic League is an agency for Gaelic propaganda. It is obvious that if Gaelic speakers express more quickly. Unfortunately the Gaelic League can hardly be expected to make speakers of the language with a couple of lessons a week. But even so, languages can be learnt without much teaching.

The real function of a teacher in the Gaelic League is to give the pupils a thorough grasp of how to acquire the language, if they are prepared to devote their time to it. The teacher cannot teach the language as things are, but he can teach how to learn the language. For that he requires to have a really efficient method and an intelligent grasp of the method.

Now the question of method is all important. At present nobody seems to know where the method is to be found. Personally, after twenty years study of languages, I believe no method I have yet seen used. The nearest approach to a workable and sane method of teaching and learning to speak a language is the phrase method of Father Toal. But I am not yet convinced that it is the method. What I do see every long step at that.

Unfortunately it seems impossible to get anything but prejudiced reasoning when the question of methods is discussed. Things are so had sometimes that if people do not use personally they will not have anything to do with any method of teaching Gaelic. Again, some people get so used to one method that they get set into it, glued into it, and cannot get out to have a look at any other method. Others, again, have an ability to learn languages without any capacity for analysing or criticising or inventing methods. Every new method is thus in for a very bad time. But truth will prevail, and efficiency get its reward.

The fact of the matter is that we know next to nothing about the process of acquiring a spoken knowledge of a language. I learnt Greek and Latin on the ancient scholastic method of grammar, text book, dictionary, and translation, and had the full experience of that is the method. What I do think is that I do not speak Greek, though I used to write beautiful Greek prose strung up of phrases out of Hecydes and Demosthenes. At the last I had to fall back on the phrases after inventing horrible concoction of my own.

I learnt French in the same style, but made no great hit of it. In later years, when I had to teach French for a living, I found it safer to depend on real French phrases than inventions of my own. So I taught out of Liepmann text books, where there are strings of phrases and passages of continuous prose culled out of text. I had to fall back on the phrases again. I learnt German in Germany, on no method that I can think of except that I had a thick phrase book and learnt off phrases and tried them on the patient German housekeepers, waiters and policemen. I was remarkably successful. So much so that I flabbergasted pupils of mine who were senior grade exhibitors, and had studied by grammar, text book and dictionary for seven years, and I had only been at the language, two years.

The first time I entered a class in the Ardscoil, Belfast, and heard the teacher at work, I got a dreadful shock. In the first place the young lady in charge of the class taught harder in an hour than I was accustomed to teach in a week. She was dreadfully fluent, so much so that I thought she was

a native. In my best days I never could get out a German sentence as she got out a Gaelic one. As a Socialist I objected to giving the commercial men so much use of my lungs as she gave her pupils, without pay, so I heard afterwards. She was not a native, and she was unpaid. And she worked like a nigger. And her pupils roared out Gaelic sentences at an enormous speed. What could I do but surrender. I had never heard a pupil talk a foreign language so swiftly and so surely.

I went home and thought the whole business out. I could see that Father Toal had us, the teachers of the old school, hopelessly beaten. I was eager to meet him, but being constitutionally shy, I saw no way of managing it. A young lady managed that at last. You know the old Gaelic proverb: "Never be in a castle or a court without a woman to make your excuses for you." That is, if you have not the intelligence to make them yourself. Father Toal, like all Gaelic League enthusiasts, is only too keen to explain himself and his system.

I have yet to find anybody who can prove it wrong. I read a rather bitter attack on it by Dr. Daly. Dr. Daly seems to attach enormous importance to phonetics. So do I. But phonetics are not for pupils, they are for teachers. I have tried phonetics with classes till I am sick, and I could not find any benefit as far as the pupils were concerned. Of that matter could be decided by any test we might proceed to challenge, but I have no reason to suppose myself inefficient as teachers go.

Beside, Father Toal's argument against the use of phonetics in Irish classes is soundly based on the fact that an Irish speaker of English does not need to learn any strange sounds worth speaking about. Besides fluency covers up all defects of pronunciation which require a knowledge of phonetics to eliminate.

Another argument is that the phrase method suits children and does not suit adults. Somebody trots out an argument of this description, and everybody straightway swallows it. It reminds me of the usual objection made to Irish dancing, that it is too tiresome and leaves the dancers exhausted. I have watched a crowd dancing the "sets" as if the devil were in them, whirling and prancing, lifting as if they country girls off their feet, rushing round the room at headlong pace, and hurling some unfortunate girl or boy up against the wall, and all red and panting and sweating and puffing. Then when the next dance was the "Walls of Limerick," they all stuck to their seats and shrugged their shoulders and pleaded "Irish dancing is so heavy and tiresome."

And so it is with the argument that the phrase method

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suits only children. As a matter of fact I am teaching a child of my own on the phrase method, and though she has learnt the most of the first dialogue fluently, she has come to a standstill. I cannot shift her. She knows the phrases and is tired of the phrases. And I am in a daze of a fix. She is too young to read. And I don't know what to do. In my classes the older children and the grown-ups are going ahead splendidly. They are not tired of the phrases. In fact they are getting more eager for phrases. So much for the argument that the phrase method suits children but not grown-ups.

The real opposition seems to come from the grammar fiends. Some people cannot get it into their heads that beautiful poetry and marvellous prose were written before the days of grammar and parts of speech. I have not the books of reference, but I remember having read that in Aristotle's time the scholars had only been able to discover two parts of speech, the subject and the predicate. And Aristotle came when Greek literary art was in its decadent stage after the splendid literary triumphs of Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Trupipides, Lysaeus, Xenophon, Plato, Aeschines, Demosthenes and hosts of others. How did these succeed in writing without Goodwin's "Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb" at their elbow or Liddell and Scott's Lexicon?

Besides, on the grammar method one cannot get at the language at all for years. All the ordinary turns of expression in common use in a language only come into the grammar-and-exercise handbooks at the very end of the course. For the ordinary turns of expression are idioms that are strange, abnormal, ungrammatical, unscientific ways of saying things. But in the spoken language they occur all the time. And without them no one can understand the spoken language. And whatever else he may not have, the most ordinary native always has them on the tip of his tongue.

The grammar method reminds me of State Socialism. It has everything. Order, arrangement, plausibility. But it does not work. Besides it attaches enormous importance to the unimportant. It neglects the essential. It keeps students from talking because they are afraid of making a grammatical mistake. It encourages them to neglect the sound, which is everything, for the written symbol, which is nothing. By dint of hard work with the tongue and quick training of the ear, the most ungrammatical student of phrases can confound and disconcert the most highly trained grammatical experts.

But I might argue like this for ever and nobody would believe me. There is only one way of understanding Gaelic, and that is by soaking oneself in the traditions, the literature, the stories, poems and proverbs of the Gael. There is only one way of testing the phrase method, and that is by soaking oneself in it and giving it a trial.

If we were to take over the schools to-morrow, one can have no confidence that we would succeed in making Gaelic a spoken language. For that we would need not merely the control of the schools, but also a method capable of making speakers. And have we that method? Well we have at least this much—we have a method which does concentrate on the speaking of language, which does make sound and not sight all important, which does loosen the organs of speech, which gives confidence to speech, which induces fluency, which gets to the fundamental basis of speech, the tongue and the ear and the memory. All other methods concentrate on the eye and the reason. All other methods are scientific. They are based on the fallacy that the spoken language can be split up in a reasonable and scientific way. But language is human and unreasonable and odd. The phrase method alone grasps that significant fact of language.

If any objection may be made to the phrase method in its present state, that objection has no reference to the cover of the method, Father Toal. He cannot be blamed. He can only be praised, for he has tackled a job which beyond the powers of any one man, however great, Valera does not carry on the whole work of Ireland in its political aspect. He is but the visible representative of a vast organisation with innumerable workers. The language of Ireland is a job beyond one man's power, however able and talented.

It roughly comes to this, that there are in every language a certain number of phrases absolutely essential to enable a speaker to express his needs, thoughts, desires. Father Toal has found some of them. They are to be found in the Handbook of the Phrase Method. They are a remarkable collection, pieced together with unique skill, selected with marvellous sense of fitness. But they do not meet the whole case. There are other phrases just as necessary. There are other turns of expression just as necessary. At present students of the phrase method are trying to pick them out where they can, and as they feel the need of them.

Surely this work should not be left to beginners. Few students have the sense of fitness which would enable them to pick out of the stories and poems the absolutely essential phrases. Personally, with years of experience at studying languages, I have found it very tiresome and difficult task. And all the time I have felt that this was work, not for a head, but for many. And I knew, and know, that if there alone there are enough scholars who in co-operation could produce that phrase book of absolutely essential material for the spoken language.

If we need an academy in Ireland on the lines of the French Academy it is for something like this we need it most. The books only confuse the learner. They contain too much and too little. The whole necessary phrases need not be so numerous, but they are not easy to find amid all the swells of sentences in the books. And then there is the confusion of dialects. But Munster, Connacht, and Ulster are already being separately catered for in dialectal stories. Let them be separately catered for in phrase books.

We have an organisation in Ulster capable of dealing with such a task, the Dail Uladh. But as far as I know, the Dail Uladh is not keen on the phrase method. But whether the members of the Dail Uladh are keen on the phrase method or not, they cannot help being interested in phrases. Phrase books know no prejudices or theories. Then there is the Ard-Scoil. It is keen on phrases, but I suppose it is very busy teaching the phrases it has got in the Handbook together we have in Ulster besides Father Toal, such scholars as Sean McMullan, Seamus Sharkey, Antonio O'Doherty, Professor J. Craig, Miss Una Farelly, besides distinguished scholars like Eoin McNeill and others in Dublin.

It is a bold suggestion to make that these men and women should combine with others to give us the Ulster phrase book, containing the phrases absolutely essential for a spoken knowledge, and the additional words necessary to vary the phrases. But if the language is to be saved, every effort must be made. It is very little use publishing poems and stories while the very essence of the language, the spoken phrase, cannot be got at. And nobody can convince me that it is, for I have tried desperately hard for over three years to get the additional phrases necessary to supplement Father Toal's, and I know that I am very far behind. And the boys and girls studying the language are not nearly so favourably situated as I am to acquire the language.

SEAN MACCAUGHAN

Flotsam and Jetsam.

The Distant Drum.

"They order this matter better in France." An apology is necessary for quoting this hackneyed line from Sterne—a line of no particular merit in itself, yet one which, for some unexplained reason, has enjoyed a strange popularity with scribblers ever since *The Sentimental Journey* essayed—unsuccessfully—to add to the gaiety of nations.

I am entitled, however, to make use of it in the present instance since I propose to record an experience of another "Yoric" (if I may so style him without hurt to his feelings), a friend of mine who quite recently visited Paris. He gives a sad account of the once gay city. He likens it to "an enormous charity bazaar in which the foreigner is forced for the sake of France." He deprecates the lack of paint, the neglected condition of the streets, "nearly as dirty as those of Dublin," the shabby attire of the women, the rackety "buses" which make as much noise as baby tanks, and, in general, draws a picture of woe. Prices are appallingly high, but the foreigner equipped with English money benefits by the rate of exchange.

Food, too, is scarce, bad, and dear. Condensed milk with one's coffee marks a falling off from pre-war days in the Grand Hotel. A sad story altogether, and by this time the reader (in whose actual existence I cherish a fond, but I trust not entirely unfounded belief) must be at the point of wondering where the aptness of Sterne's observation comes in. Let him perpend. He is about to be enlightened.

My friend goes on to tell how he listened to the orchestra what time he eat his meagre dinner under the roof of the Grand Hotel. There was no printed program, but his ears were assailed in turn by "A Jazz," an English musical comedy, a selection of Irish airs, "Dunanwellen," and then—"Whack-fol-the-diddle"! As he writes, "he could scarcely believe his ears." Fancy such an item as this tickling the aural faculties of the polite in, let us say, the Shelbourne Hotel.

Later on, the *chef d'orchestre*, strolling through the dining-room, as is the pleasing habit of these gifted beings, fell into converse with "Yoric," who inquired innocently whether his last *morceau* was an Irish air. The great man replied that it was even so, and stated, moreover, that he had many more. Emboldened by this reply, my friend asked him whether his extensive repertoire included the "*Chant des Soldats*." "*Mais oui*," responded the wielder of the *baton*, and he hummed it as he spoke.

A few minutes later the band struck up again and the spacious hall resounded to the strains of "The Soldiers' Song." Not alone that, but at its conclusion there was loud applause from many people in the audience, the Sinn Féin anthem being, as my informant assures me, the only piece to which this tribute was accorded. Decidedly, they order this matter better in France!

It is to be feared that if this were done in our leading Dublin hotels many of the diners would suffer badly from indigestion. If music be the food of love, play on, but if it takes the form of "sedition" then, by all means, let's have an end on't. In Paris, however, "The Soldiers' Song" has apparently obtained a vogue, as the anthem of a small nation such as the Allies so magnanimously went forth to

fight and die for, and so receives the homage due to it. One wonders whether any choleric colonels from Great Britain or partitioning Unionists from Ireland were present on this occasion. If so, how their gorges must have risen. "What words" they must have had later with "the management"; what letters they must have resolved to dispatch without delay to the *Times*, or, mayhap, to the *Morning Post*.

Progress on similar lines in Ireland is necessarily slow. Many of the influential patrons of high hotels and restaurants are drawn from classes to whom the Irish "*Marschblaise*" is still anathema. "Dora," too, has a capricious taste in music, and a license to keep an Inn must still be sought for in Courts constituted in accordance with British law. It will be some time yet before the strains of "Whack-fol-the-diddle," "Wrap the Green Flag round Me," or "The Soldiers' Song" replace negro noises and rhapsodies from revues on the programs of the orchestras in the haunts where Dublin frolics. Yet there is progress of a kind, if cessation may, by any stretch of words, be styled such. Our orchestras are ceasing to offend.

Some weeks ago I drew attention in this column to the interesting and illuminating fact that our playgoers no longer quit the theatre to the strains of "God Save the King." This pious aspiration for the welfare of his Britannic Majesty has ceased to form a part of the evening's entertainment. A small matter, indeed, but, like the proverbial straw, indicative of the direction in which the wind is blowing. All signs and tokens are worth watching. In the sad, mad days when the war was a new distraction, the sudden popularity of this (once-detested air among the plain people of Dublin showed how devastatingly the west-British wind was sweeping o'er the land.

We order this matter better in Dublin, now.
WESTLAND ROW.

An Díbeartac

(ó'n útráinníals).

Sona an fear mar Ulyssé fad ó,
Né'n tó bhain Lomka 'n Oir amac dá féin,
Tréis teacht thar saís ó thortha bhífad igéin
Dá bhaile is dá mhuintir dhíll go dé.
Aobhinn liom bheith ar thaobh an chwaic ar neoin,
An deatach gearr ag éirge ina aer,
Gáirdín mo fhighe bhochté d'fáiscint go soiléir—
Díise an áit sin liom ná 'n úige is mé.

Alwme beul a dhorus liomsa fás
Ná geatai áilwne páilás 'san Róimh,
Uaisle a shílnne ná an tairmar eadú;
Tearr liom an Lóve sa bhtráine ná'n Tíber min,
'S mo chnóg beag dúcalis ná an Palatin,
Ls aer m'Anjou ná gaoithe chaoin na tógtha.

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Cork Trades Council and English Labour Delegation.

In view of the nature of the draft report published by the English Labour Delegation on its recent mission to Ireland, the Cork Trades Council thinks it advisable to submit the following account of the interview between a delegation from the Council and the English Party. The meeting was not sought for by the Council.

(1) Mr. Adamson opened by a statement that the English Labour Party felt that Irish affairs would play a very important part in the present session of the British Parliament. They had come to Ireland to investigate, not to bargain. They would ask nothing and promise nothing. The Council delegates stated their position frankly. At the 1918 Election, the issue for a Republic, as against participation in the British Empire, had been put as clearly and as definitely as was humanly possible. In order that no confusion of issue could possibly be pleaded, the Irish Labour Party had deliberately withdrawn as a separate party. By a 75 per cent. vote Ireland had declared for absolute independence. Until a new election has been held no one (least of all any representative of Irish Labour) was entitled even to counter-act support to any other position. It was the considered opinion of the Council delegates that since then Irish public opinion instead of weakening had hardened in the direction of complete separation. They feel now compelled to express their astonishment that Mr. Henderson was the only member of the English delegation who really knew and understood that the General Election had been fought on that single issue.

N.B.—At an early stage it was agreed that such minor details as the possible loss by Irish Trade Unionists of money subscribed to English Unions should be regarded as subservient to the one overshadowing question of political independence.

(2) The idea of submitting the question to a vote of the United Kingdom was mooted. Your delegates took the view that the Irish people would not admit such a procedure. They claimed the right to decide their own destiny unfettered by any external interference, as absolutely as France, Belgium, or England. The acceptance of the *de facto* position created by the Act of Union could not and did not destroy the right of Ireland to withdraw from the Union, even if it had been accepted freely and willingly instead of having been imposed by force and fraud. On this point the Council delegates laid special stress on the position of Ireland as the home of one of the oldest, most highly-developed, and most distinctive and representative cultures of Europe, as well as on the inherent opposition between the social, cultural, and national institutions of Ireland and England, and the impossibility of Ireland's realising her traditional Gaelic ideal of national existence, as long as English penetration, industrial and social, existed. The Council delegates could not assent to the validity of the English Labour view that it would be more politic to claim something less than absolute independence; the argument being that it had required a generation to educate English opinion into accepting Home Rule, and would take longer still to win acceptance for the Republican position. Our reply was that it would be well worth Ireland's while eventually to adopt such a course; further, that Ireland has no guarantee that the English Labour Party would be in a position to carry out its professions, or would then carry them out; and finally, that even with Labour in power, English opinion in the mass would never consent to such a course except under the pressure of absolute necessity. However, on such a question Dáil Éireann was the only body in Ireland competent to

speak in the name of the Irish people. Grattan's Parliament had no such authority, as it represented only the English Colony, and was utterly ignored by, as it was itself utterly contemptuous of, the mass of the people who were Catholics and Irish-speaking.

(3) The probability of the national resistance breaking down before the régime of interdicted militarism was also touched on. The Council delegates replied that no such people in Europe had such long or continuous experience of the most malignant forms of military oppression; and that no people had ever shown more determination in resistance or more vital power of recuperation, even when, as in Elizabethan times, two-thirds of the population had been exterminated; or when, as in the 1845 Famine, millions had died of actual starvation. The visitors expressed the view that English democracy was ignorant of the true state of things in Ireland and would not tolerate it if known. Our reply was that outrage and atrocity, murder and rapine, are the inevitable accompaniments of conquest and armies of occupation; that militarism is the same in Belgium, Morocco, or Ireland; that public opinion, and especially perhaps Labour opinion, in England was too much preoccupied with domestic problems to be bothered about Ireland, India, or Egypt, which they regarded as administrative matters to be left to the Government; and that when the scandal of Imperial aggression became known, either through indifference or an instinctive feeling of the radical immorality of Imperialism, no action—all of which might be summed up in one word—Amritsar. Mr. Henderson referred to the judicial inquiry ordered by Westminster, but we retorted that Irish people had more detached and more objectively valuable opportunities of estimating the merit of "official" inquiries and their results as regards "whitewashing" and "exposures" than those who had not the same historical acquaintance with such procedure, e.g., the Bachelor's Walk Inquiry of 1914. As far as could be judged, the country could and would stand a much more violent and determined military régime than that existing at the time of the interview.

(4) The final discussion centred on the possibility of Sinn Féin members attending Westminster in the event of Labour commanding or nearly commanding a majority in the English Parliament. We pointed out that Sinn Féin pledged never to acknowledge the right of England to rule or to Ireland. In addition we felt it necessary to observe that, quite apart from Sinn Féin, there exists in Ireland a body of not inconsiderable numbers, and of great influence and intellectual weight, which has lost all trust in the theory of parliamentary government as thoroughly undemocratic, and would favour something more directly answerable to public opinion, like Russian Soviet Councils, in the event of an Irish Republic. Many who had followed closely the course of events in England were convinced that either English Labour did not know its own mind sufficiently clearly, or had not sufficient courage or single-mindedness of purpose to achieve its professed aims. In addition, large masses of the Irish Labour had far greater trust and belief in men like Robert Smillie or Robert Williams, pledged to direct action, than in the Parliamentary activities of the Labour Party.

Finally, the visitors agreed that their own suggestions were tantamount to a proposal that Ireland should compromise her National claim on the slender chance of English Labour ever being in a position to carry out their professions, and also of their being determined to put it into effect. They had the power—a hypothesis which the history of Anglo-Irish relations rendered extremely doubtful.

The above are the main heads of a debate which, in the course of two hours, touched on many minor points. In conclusion, we feel bound to say that the leaders of

Labour are not, in our opinion, sufficiently well acquainted with either English or Irish history to handle this question with anything in the nature of adequate authority or impartiality. How little they appreciate the strength and passing of Irish National sentiment is shown by their report basing its conclusions on the "economic unity of Ireland," as if by its reference to a "century-old wrong" as if that characteristic piece of chicanery were the fountain-head of English injustice to Ireland and the charter-general of Irish wrongs.

The English Labour Party either cannot or will not see the injustice, the racial immorality of Empire based on conquest, rapine, and spoliation; and until they repudiate, in fact as in seeming, the greed of territory and of wealth, which for 300 years, by the aid of English militarism, has spread slavery and desolation abroad over the earth, no pact between them and Ireland can be considered.

The Sinister Significance of England's Prisoner Policy.

IN OLD IRELAND of the 24th ult., dealing with the "terms" of release of the gallant hunger-strikers in Mountjoy, I wrote:

"As it is, nothing is settled, nobody knows what was 'agreed,' everybody concerned in the 'negotiations' is excusing himself, and—we have a reputation of Mountjoy in Galway, and next week may have it in Cork and Derry. What the nation must secure once and for all, and what the gallant men hunger struck in Mountjoy to obtain, is prisoner of war treatment for Ireland's prisoners of war."

That was only three weeks ago, yet in the intervening time we have had similar heroic struggles for Principle in Galway, Cork, Belfast, and Mountjoy, and the greatest hunger-strike of all in Wormwood Scrubs, where, as I write, almost two hundred brave Irish Republicans are finishing their seventeenth day without food. Why the necessity for these fights? Because nothing was agreed after Mountjoy. Because the Mountjoy release was unconditional "Unconditional release" was hailed by an unthinking people as a pledge of victory. So it might be hailed if we were dealing with a Government that had any respect for its pledges. But we must never forget that we are dealing with England, and in dealing with England we must always think. If the people had thought they would have foreseen what has happened since in Ireland and in the Scrubs, they would have realised that "unconditional release," while giving the Irish nation the victory in the fight of the moment, left England free to force a similar fight every week of the year in every prison under her control. Although some are of opinion that I was too severe in my previous article, I still hold by everything I wrote. I still argue that the termination of the glorious struggle in Mountjoy was badly managed. The release—in the matter of the calling off of the National Strike—should have been conditional—but the conditions should have been imposed by the Irish Nation and accepted, sealed and signed by the British Government. And the conditions should have been, as I then said, "prisoner of war treatment for Ireland's prisoners of war." What has since taken place, what is taking place to-day, in several of England's Irish and English jails is, I maintain, at once my justification and my answer to my critics.

England's Settled Policy.

In a statement to the people of the United States setting forth conditions in India under British rule, Bhagwan Singh, an Indian national leader, says:

"A country can be plundered in two ways. The conquering nation can seize, confiscate, and destroy the physical wealth—the gold, silver, precious metal and precious stones—of a subject nation, and in that way strike a deadly blow at the existence of the weaker. But the real vital blow is at the physical and mental strength of the conquered."

"England has plundered India in both ways. She has stolen and confiscated the physical wealth of India. But she has also weakened the bodies and stunted the intellects of the people of India in the manner described by one of her own administrators, Sir William Digby."

The statement of Sir William Digby, to which Bhagwan Singh refers, is this:

"In India, on account of economic drain and British misrule, we find preventable suffering, hunger, insufficiently clothed bodies, stunted intellects, wasted lives, and disappointed men."

As a matter of fact, in India the British Government, by its deliberate policy, keeps 150,000,000 people, or half the entire population, continuously on the verge of starvation, and in the ten months from May, 1918, to March, 1919, 32,000,000 men, women, and children actually perished from artificial famine and preventable plague. It is by this policy and this policy alone, that England holds India in subjection. As Bhagwan Singh succinctly puts it, "the greatest British General in India is General Famine. Next comes General Illiteracy. Hand in hand they hold India while it is robbed and exploited to exhaustion."

England carried out, as far as circumstances permitted, the self-same policy with her American Colonies. There the weapons she used were Exploitation and Ignorance. The vast natural resources of America rendered the employment of Famine impossible. As it was, England simply used the colonists to extract and produce for her the immense wealth of the great Western Continent. The Virginians, growing rice under enforced illiteracy, sent a delegation to London to request the establishment of a college. This request was early refused. One of the delegates indignantly told the British Ministers of the day that the American Colonists had souls to be saved as well as the English, and Seymour, the English Attorney-General, retorted with brutal frankness: "Souls! Damn your souls. Plant tobacco." It was the aggravated continuity of this policy, rather than the immediate cause, the ten taxes, that brought about the War of Independence, and added to the nations of the world the United States of America.

The Case of Ireland.

In Ireland England has consistently pursued the same policy of conquest—robbery, exploitation and extermination. At the outset the English invaded Ireland for purposes of pure and simple plunder. They soon discovered the wealth of the country, and with that discovery came the determination to use and exploit it. As the Irish would not tamely submit to be tools for enriching England with their own wealth, the English resolved to exterminate them and colonise the country with their own people. The English idea and policy were quite frankly set forth for his countrymen by Spencer in his "View of the State of Ireland."

"Sure," he wrote, "it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many sweet islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods, even

fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously as that if some prince in the world had them they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and soon of all the world; also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford; besides the soil itself most fertile, fitted to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto; and lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist in the parts towards the west."

An ordinary war of extermination having failed to subdue the Irish licence was given for indiscriminate slaughter. The English chroniclers of the time tell us that the Irish men, women, and children were "slain like wild beasts"—the medieval form of the twentieth century "amping out of poisonous insects." In his remonstrance to the Pope, the O'Neill pointed out that if an Englishman murdered an Irishman, however exalted or holy, even a bishop, the English courts in Ireland took no cognisance of the crime (we have the same thing in existence to-day). The same document states that English Catholic Ecclesiastics in Ireland taught that the killing of an Irishman or Irishwoman was no sin, and cites the case of Father Simon, an English Catholic Friar, and a brother of the Bishop of Connor, who declared in presence of Edward Bruce that he would not hesitate to say Mass immediately after doing it. Even this process did not make progress satisfactory to the English, because in the time of their King Henry VIII they had control only over half of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford, and we find one of his much-married majesty's advisers writing him:

"If the King were as wise as Solomon, the Sage, he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obedience without dread of the sword and of the might and strength of his power. . . . For as long as they may resist and save their lives they will never obey the King."

The "sword" of his adviser was the now invented powder and shot, and therefore "powder and shot are particularly recommended as much dreaded by the Irish." Powder and shot were tried, but failed as signally as the bow and arrow, the spear and the battle-axe.

Policy of Physical Deterioration.

The British Government set its failure down to the physical strength of the Irish, and their physical superiority as fighters. Contemporary English writers have left it on record that one Irish kern or gollengloss was a match for two English soldiers, and, in a dispatch preserved in the English State Paper Office we have St. Leger, the British Lord Lieutenant, informing his Sovereign that "there are no proper horsemen in Christian ground, nor more hardy, nor yet can better endure hardship. I think Your Majesty may well have of them 500, and have your English Pale well furnished." St. Leger wrote that there were "no better gunners" than the Irish, and that "there is no man that I ever saw that will or can endure the pains and evil fare that they will sustain." In 1544 about 1,000 Irish kerns—the first Irishmen to fight England's battles abroad—assisted Henry at the siege of Boulogne, and their valour and skill so amazed the French that (according to Stanihurst) they sent a messenger across to the English lines to know "whether they were men or devils Henry had brought against them." Even Spenser admitted that as soldiers "the common Irish" were "valiant and hardy, for the most part great endurers of cold, labour, and hunger, and all hardness, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant

and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorers of death," and added when the Irish Kerne "is put to a piece (i.e., a musket) or a pike, he maketh as worthy a soldier as any nation he meeteth with." So long as that physical superiority was maintained, so long would England's dream of conquest in Ireland remain a dream. She saw that if she was to strike a "real vital blow" at the Irish, she must, as Bhagwan Singh says of India, strike a blow "at the physical and mental strength" of the Gael. That blow, completing the sequence of the crime if conquest, she first struck under the sovereign leadership of Elizabeth.

P. S. O'FLANNAGAN.

(To be Continued.)

Recognition of the Irish Republic.

By William J. M. A. Maloney, M.D.

(Continued.)

The whole world is aware of the claim of the Irish Republic, except England. Her ignorance, however, does not deter England from devoting her universal resources to combat and to prejudice the Irish claim. British propagandists have been sent into all nations to exalt the virtues of England, to defame the citizens of the Irish Republic and to libel their cause. The British Parliament, in order to deceive the world and to tempt with concessions the Irish to compromise their claim to complete sovereignty, has continued the mummery of legislating for Ireland; while a British army has occupied Ireland, seeking by force to suppress the Republic and to terrorise its citizens.

The British propagandists of to-day preach an England the fount of legal, social, moral, religious and all other excellence: an Ireland the prey of extremists, enemies of law, order and the Protestant religion, who, not content with the same conveniences of government as the English themselves, would menace the very existence of the free State of England by creating a helpless, independent Ireland to serve England's enemies as a base of attack. Can a world just saved by English self-sacrifice calmly contemplate that England should imperil her own security by acquiescing in Ireland's preposterous and unmentionable claims?

The British propagandists of 1776 preached the same England; but the Americans of that day, being 150 years closer to the fount of her excellence, had first-hand knowledge of it.

The British then alleged that England had recently fought the Seven Years' War solely to save the ungrateful colonists from the enemy of civilisation, France. Franklin retorted that the colonists could and did defend themselves; and that self-sacrificing England had acquired, by the war, Canada and other French possessions in the Western hemisphere. Replying to British charges of American lawlessness, rioting and disorder, Franklin asserted that there were more riots in England in a week than occurred in the colonies in a year. Among the British allegations which Franklin in rebutting quoted verbatim ("Franklin's Works," Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1887, vol. IV, pp. 821, et seq.) are:

In many parts they (the colonies) are little or nothing at all inferior in their conveniences to their Mother Country. . . . Our very being, at least as a free people, depends upon our retention of them. . . . We are under the necessity of preserving our sovereignty over them, although at the expense of some portion of their natural

prerogatives. . . . For as soon as they are no longer dependent upon England they may be assured that they will immediately become dependent upon France.

The American claim to independence was thus, according to British propagandists, a reprehensible claim of an ungrateful and lawless people, advanced without cause, and threatening the very existence of virtuous England. According to the same authorities—and reading Germany for France—these same characteristics precisely distinguish the present Irish claim to independence. As the Americans were in 1776 the Irish are now and as was the American claim of 1776, so was the Irish claim of 1916 a just and irrefutable claim to sovereign independence. Four years after the declaration of Irish independence the British Parliament is still debating home rule measures for Ireland. Two years after the declaration of American independence, the British Parliament was still debating home rule measures for the "colonies." The British Parliament also appointed Commissioners to draft a plan for the self-government of the colonies, within the British Empire. These commissioners suggested (June 18, 1778) "as a basis of final settlement . . . a representation of the colonies in the British Parliament . . . and such an organisation of the colonial administration as to yield everything short of total independence." The American Republic, as the Irish Republic, refused to compromise its claim to sovereignty by entering into negotiations, "unless the independence of the States was first acknowledged, or the British troops withdrawn." And "as all the acts of the Commissioners were subject to approval by Parliament, Congress questioned their authority to make a definitive ratification." This American analogue of the Irish Convention of 1916, then published on October 3, 1778, a manifesto raising the religious issue, by suggesting to the clergy that the French (America's allies) were papists (Hildreth, "History of the United States," New York, 1890, vol. III, pp. 249, 250).

And while England, cunningly evading the direct issue of the American fight to independence, was thus calumniating the patriotic "colonists," irreverently and falsely pleading England's menaced security, and legislating for the United States in denial of the very existence of Congress, vast British armies, equipped with all the murdering machinery of war, were attempting to suppress the Republic of the United States and to terrorise its citizens. And British appointed officials, surrounded with bayonets, were imposing by force the denied authority of England, producing anarchy and calling it government.

England's real and only effective argument against the just and valid claim contained in the declaration of American independence was force. She has ruthlessly employed the same argument, supported by rifles, machine guns, bayonets, bombs, airplanes and tanks, against the just and valid claim contained in the declaration of Irish independence. Between May 1, 1916, and September 30, 1919, according to the official records of the Irish Provisional Government, the British perpetrated in Ireland, 58 military murders, 431 armed assaults and 5,859 raids on private houses; made 5,394 political arrests, imposed 1,098 sentences and deported 2,076 Irish citizens; held 324 courts martial; proclaimed 292 meetings; suppressed 51 newspapers and forbade foreign circulation to 88.

The executive, administrative and judicial authority of the British bureaucracy in Ireland has been practically suspended by the Irish Republic: The King's writ does not run in Ireland. Irish citizens when brought before British courts in Ireland deny the authority of these courts and refuse to plead. British officials in Ireland fulfil no useful function. From their presence the Irish State derives no

benefit but only expense and injury. The whole bureaucracy in Ireland is engaged solely and ceaselessly in attempting, with the aid of the military power of England, to thwart and to nullify the governmental measures of the Irish Republic. To-day the British in Ireland, therefore, represent merely the negation of government. Practically nothing is left of their rule except the military force on which it rested and from which it derived its only sanction.

Under the provisional Government and under the permanent national Government the Irish Republic has steadily extended and consolidated its control over Ireland. The officers of its representative assembly meet in regular session and perform all the ordinary duties of a national elective assembly. Elected representatives of the Republic sit on all the civic bodies of Ireland, and are in complete control except in Belfast and a few small towns in Ulster. The Republic is in the ordinary sense crimeless. Its courts sit throughout Ireland, their authority recognised by the people, their judgments accepted and obeyed. The citizens of the Republic voluntarily subscribed a national loan to enable the functions of the national Government to be carried on. The Government of the Republic founded a national bank and a national insurance society through which the industry, trade and commerce of Ireland are encouraged and facilitated. The Republic has organised a standing army of 200,000 trained and disciplined citizens. And the interests of Ireland and its citizens in the United States, France, Argentina and other lands are cared for by the appointed and accredited diplomatic and consular agents of the Irish Republic. In the greater part of Ireland, the only government in fact—as was discovered and published even by the commission which the British Labour Party recently sent to Ireland—is the Government of the Irish Republic. Unless the authority of British bayonets and tanks be considered government, the *de jure* Government of the Irish Republic is also the *de facto* Government. For this and other reasons the Irish nation is entitled to recognition by all the powers of the world as a sovereign State existing under the legitimate title of the Republic of Ireland.

[Note.—We have taken this article from *America*.—Ed.]

Very Uncivilised Education.

EDUCATION IN A FREE IRELAND, by Maurice Tierney Martin Lester, Ltd., Dublin (3s. net.).

The value of this revolutionary little essay on education is negative rather than positive. The author has succeeded in stating the case against the educational system of the commercial world.

He has not attempted to lay down in technical detail a new doctrine though he has in a general way outlined what ought to be the fundamental principles of any new proposals for education in Ireland.

Mr. Tierney proposes first of all "to overthrow the old crumbling structure altogether and to build anew." In order that we may be mentally equipped to build anew he tells us "we must shape out for ourselves a new stock of ideas, and reconstruct our very minds within us." "For we must not forget that it will be our duty here, not only to render the present population of Ireland happy and contented, but to restore them to their own lives of proper development, to re-establish an Irish civilisation to bridge over the ragged breach which sunders our continuity with the old Gaelic Ireland." Tierney very clearly sees, as Wolfe Tone saw, as every intelligent man knows, that the practical, cautious citizen, in other words the man of property, makes a very bad revolutionary. He prophesies that the joy and terror of a future pregnant with great things will sweep away these

bars to progress, as the old world crumples up and the new rushes in to take its place.

The Gaelic League filled the leisured places of the nation. It coloured the drab grey of civilisation with an atmosphere redolent of truly christian culture. It produced the Peases, Easter week was the inevitable consequence of the mental revolution it accomplished among Gaels.

Mr. Tierney now appeals for a further conquest of the national mind. He wants not only our play hours but also our working hours filled with what one might call the politics of Gaelicism.

He knows it will take men as courageous and far-seeing as were the men of Easter week. He knows that the politicians will stand in the way of every proposal, and must be brushed aside as ruthlessly as were the parliamentarians, if, and when they refuse to open their minds to the new forces which are crowding upon us.

"We can have no tinkering in the early work of a free Ireland, neither in economic nor in educational law making." The whole outlook of this book is sufficiently radical to satisfy most of us. One does not feel, when reading the book, the presence of that unscrupulous suppression of facts by means of which your politician makes his case. The very fact that there is a very ingenious confusion of thought running through it makes this little book the more valuable as a basis for discussion, for one knows that here is a setting down of the spontaneous ideas of an intelligent and entirely honest man. We want more attempts of this kind, and we want a free discussion of them among men of keen intelligence, even though, so far, they have not taken an active part in public affairs. There is a super-charged battery of potential mental force in the national mind, which has not yet been tapped, and of which Mr. Tierney and Mr. James Carty are typical examples. The time is rapidly approaching when the need to call upon it will be urgent, and while supporting Mr. Carty's suggestion in last week's OLD IRELAND, that Dail Eireann should set up a commission of inquiry on educational matters, I think that men like Professor Ein McNeill and Mr. P. McGiligan, both senators of the National University, and both sound for a Workers' Republic, should make it their especial business to discover, get to know, and bring together in conference those who are most keenly interested in the future education of this country.

We must choose, and choose now. We are to have a Republic controlled by men of property, a country run on the lines of civilisation, a country which must ultimately become as in the cases of England, France, and America, a running sore of immorality, or else we are to have a Republic governed by the people, an alternative with which I shall deal next week in a review of "Bolshevism at Work," by W. T. Goode. If we are to establish a stable workers' Republic the workers—and everybody must work—must be educated to take hold of the reins of government. The workers at present are not capable of governing. The fruits of their minds, like that of their bodies, have been pirated by English civilisation.

They must be re-endowed with the minds God gave them to make them men. They must be made free in a free Ireland. This book ought to be read by everyone who really wants to see the shams abolished and who wants to help to make a happy and peaceful Ireland in the future. It provides just that sort of material on which the reader can develop his own ideas on the subject. W. FORBES ROBERTSON.

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Correspondence.

Sir,—In some recent issue of yours the information regarding the contracts of the Archdiocesan Cathedral bells, and for the rebuilding of Rathmines Parish Church, being given to English firms has aroused a great deal of indignation amongst your readers.

The full measure of our sin is not there. It was noticeable that in the reports of the laying of the foundation stone of the Archbishop Croke monument all allusion to the sculptor's name or his place of residence was carefully avoided. This looked rather suspicious, and on inquiry I found that the artist, a Mr. Doyle Jones, of somewhere in England, is to execute the monument to our great Churchman and patriot. "The matchless men of Tipperary" are going to have set up in their good town of Thurles an English-made monument to their beloved Archbishop. In the city of Dublin alone there are several young sculptors of splendid talent quite fit to undertake even a monument to commemorate our great Archbishop. Who is responsible for this utter disregard of patriotism and Irish interests?—Yours, etc.,
ME TROHY.

Dublin, May 10, 1920.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Housing (Additional Powers) Act, 1919.

Prohibition of the Demolition of dwelling-houses, or the use of same otherwise than as dwellings.

The particular attention of the public is drawn to the provisions of sections 10 and 11 of the above-mentioned Act, viz.

(1) If any person at any time after the third day of December, nineteen hundred and nineteen, without the permission in writing of the local authority within whose area the house is situate, demolishes, in whole or in part, or uses otherwise than as a dwelling-house any house which was at that date in the opinion of the local authority reasonably fit or reasonably capable without reconstruction of being rendered fit for human habitation, he shall be liable on summary conviction in respect of such house demolished or so used to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to an imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to both such imprisonment and fine, and where the person guilty of an offence under this section is a company, every director and officer of the company shall be guilty of the like offence unless he proves that the act constituting the offence took place without his consent or connivance.

(2) Any person to whom permission to demolish a house has been refused by a local authority under this section, may appeal to the Minister on the ground that the house is not capable without reconstruction of being rendered fit for human habitation, and any such appeal shall be dealt with in the same manner as an appeal under sub-section (2) of the preceding section of this Act (viz., section 9).

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this section, the permission of the local authority shall not be required in the case of any house the erection of any Act of Parliament, or which is used otherwise than as a dwelling-house for any Statutory purpose, or which was occupied and used otherwise than as a dwelling-house before the third day of December, nineteen hundred and nineteen.

In this section the expression "dwelling-house" means a building constructed or adapted to be used wholly or principally for human habitation.

Applications under the above-mentioned section should be addressed to the undersigned for the consideration of the Housing Committee of the Corporation of Dublin, and failure to observe the conditions of the section will be dealt with according to law.

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Dublin.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.**The Triumph of Sinn Fein.**

In the days when the Irish Parliamentary Party was the dominant party in Ireland, when Sinn Fein consisted of only a small band of resolute people, one of the things which came in for most "Jerry McVeagh" ridicule, after the abstention policy, was the policy of setting up arbitration courts. Who ever heard of such a thing? said the Redmondites, and laughed. And it is easy to see why they laughed and why they could do nothing else but laugh. For generations there has been no law in Ireland by consent; nothing but law by force. So that all conception of law as a necessary thing, a beneficent thing, had passed out of the minds of our people. Law, as it came to us, was not law but tyranny; its purpose was not even-handed justice, but oppression; and hence the most law-abiding people in Europe became the most law-hating. For law had ceased to have any moral significance in Ireland, and had become purely physical. Now Sinn Fein has established arbitration courts and is restoring law to its proper place in the minds of our people.

Law an Arbitration.

After all, all law is essentially an arbitration. Two people have a dispute and go to law about it. That only means that they appoint an arbitrator and agree beforehand to accept his arbitration. All law rests upon that fundamental decision to arbitrate, and upon it rests also the whole social fabric. A judge is merely an arbitrator appointed by the State—that is to say, in theory appointed by the whole community instead of by the two disputants—and his whole time being devoted to this arbitration should, in theory, make him a better arbitrator than if an arbitrator were picked up at hazard. But the fact to be driven home is that the whole system of law, of judges and juries and writs, is nothing more nor less than an elaboration of the very natural and very simple act of accepting the decision of a third person. Law is arbitration, and if it ceases to be arbitration it ceases to be law. Its foundations are consent and impartiality.

Law in Ireland.

Law in Ireland has not been impartial, nor has it rested upon consent. It existed for the purpose of buttressing the fabric of English power in Ireland, its decisions were always framed in the interests, not of justice but of the maintenance of English power in Ireland, and in political cases its verdicts were dictated beforehand by Dublin Castle, representing England. It was a tyranny, and nothing but a tyranny, voting not upon consent but upon force, and deserving of nothing but the hatred and contempt it received. For law and its administration in Ireland no Irishman could feel anything but contempt and hatred. For real law we have a feeling and a respect, and in the days of its freedom in arbitration was the power of the community as a whole more potent or more consistently exercised. The Breton laws were strange to the English lawyers, who termed them barbarous because they were so utterly different from the English idea of law.

Feudal and Federal Law.

English law was feudal, a thing imposed from above and not springing up spontaneously as a natural human growth. It emanated from the King, was imposed by him upon his people, and he himself was above the law. The essence of feudal law is that "the King can do no wrong." But that is not law as we understand it. In Ireland law was law equally for King and peasant, and the highest in the land was as subject to it as the lowest. The whole spirit of the Breton laws is an attempt, remarkable as so early a date, to do justice as between all the members of the community, to lay down for the guidance of the whole nation the natural rights of individuals and the natural lines of arbitration. And in ancient Ireland law was enforced not by prisons and punishments but by public opinion. Decisions were rarely questioned, but when they were public opinion

quietly enforced them, and no bones broken. In law, as in everything else, the fundamental difference between feudalism and federalism went to the root of everything. England was a nation held together by force, and every institution of hers depended upon force; there was no natural growth in her, no growth by consent; arbitration she does not understand, and the whole spirit of it is foreign to her. Ireland, on the other hand, was held together by agreement, depended upon agreement, and all her institutions were natural growths; arbitration was the one social quality which she did understand. Our history might bluntly be put in this way: that we are a nation held together by agreement, and held apart by force. England supplied the one and we supplied the other.

Testimony of English Observers.

In 1520 Chief Baron Finglass wrote:

It is a great abuse and reproach that the laws and statutes made in this land are not observed nor kept after the making of them eight days; which matter is one of the destructions of Englishmen of this land; and divers Irishmen doth observe and keep such laws and statutes which they made upon hills in their country firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward.

The worthy Chief Baron, it will be seen, complains that law is not kept in the English Pale, whereas the Irish keep their law rigidly outside the Pale. The English, then as now, did not understand law. What they understood law to mean is Force, and unless and until it could express itself in terms of force they would not keep it. They have never understood law as arbitration, which it is.

In 1592 another Englishman wrote:

The Irish keep their promise faithfully and are more desirous of peace than the English; nothing is more pleasing to them than good justice.

And in 1607 the obtuse Sir John Davies wrote:

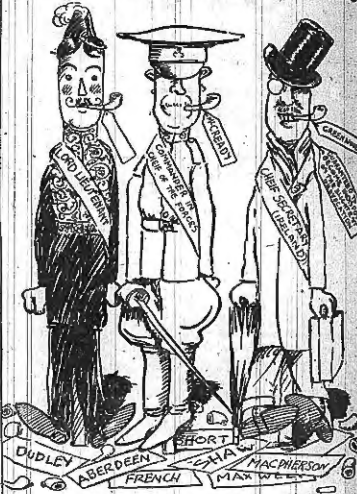
There is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, as they may have the protection and benefit of the law when upon just cause they do desire it.

Irish respect for law was a thing which all these Englishmen saw and wondered at. And they could not understand the vital reason why English law in Ireland was hated—because it was not, in the Irish mind, law at all but tyranny, because, of itself, its foundation, being the feudal conception of Kingship, was rotten; and in the second instance it came to Ireland merely as the instrument of a foreign power.

Time's Revenge.

It is worth while dwelling upon this aspect of law in Ireland because of the world-wide change against us that we are a lawless people. In the sense in which we were lawless—that is, against English law—we had every right to be lawless. But nowadays the whole world is turning away from the English conception of law and turning towards the human ideal of consent and arbitration, which was the base upon which old Ireland built its civilisation. Soviet government is, in theory, an attempt to reorganise society on a basis of consent and of equal justice, such as obtained in ancient Ireland. And that is the idea which is now loose in the

DUBLIN CASTLE AUNT SALLIES



world and upon which the whole future of Western civilisation hangs. In one form or another there is a revolt in every country against the whole system of government by force, law-by force, in favour of an attempt to reorganise society on a co-operative and neighbourly base. And that spirit is as essentially a part of the Sinn Fein policy as the arbitration courts are a part of the Sinn Fein policy. All over the West and South of Ireland arbitration courts, voluntary courts, are performing the functions which have hitherto been usurped by the ordinary law courts constituted under never had, the moral and actual support of the people of Ireland. The government of this country by the people of this country is becoming an actuality. From being *de jure* we are becoming *de facto*. And hence the number of questions in the English House of Commons about this country, and the various alarmist explosions of the last few years. They are realising that the battle has turned definitely against them.

Authority Deriving Its Authority from the General Will.

That is how the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian describes the arbitration courts. And could there be

any other description of the ideal court? If a court does not derive its authority from the general will it is illegal. If it does nothing on earth can make it illegal. Here is how the business strikes the correspondent:

They are the natural result of the strong common will for national independence and national responsibility. All litigants must sign a pledge that they will accept the findings of the court and obey them implicitly. In the vast majority of cases that have so far arisen this obedience has been forthcoming; in the rare exceptions the offender has been dealt with by the police arm of the volunteers. In cases where a man is accused of some act of agrarian aggression a summons is sent to him, and if he refuses to answer it the executive arm of Sinn Fein sees to it that he attends. At court meetings it is put plainly before litigants that it is a serious business, and that no nonsense will be tolerated in the way of dallying about the fulfilment of the verdict. The courts deal only with agrarian cases, but, of course, the term is wide and inclusive in an agricultural country. Their object is simply the promotion of peace and of economic justice through an authority which derives its sovereignty from the general will.

I believe that the decisions are perfectly fair and that political bias does not colour any verdict. I understand that the first plaintiff in one local court was a Unionist, who demanded and was granted protection from vexatious invasion of his property. He has not been troubled since. That, of course, is the important point in the eyes of political opponents of Sinn Fein. These courts have a real authority because they are popular, and thus people who do not accept the ideal of an independent Irish Republic yet attend the courts because they know that the findings will be generally recognised.

Emergence of Natural Government.

But natural government has emerged not alone in agricultural problems but in general questions. The Middleton bank robbers were traced and arrested and dealt with by a court of the people, and hardly a day passes without a newspaper report of some activity of a people's court in the ordinary criminal or petty larceny direction. In fact, English government over the greater portion of the country is no longer either *de jure* or *de facto*. It has ceased being *de jure* since the General Election of 1918, and now it is also ceasing to be *de facto*. Its administration has been a political administration and not an arbitration, and hence its supersession was inevitable. No one will regret it. It has chosen to stand upon force and to rely upon force, upon force of the physical order without moral sanction of any sort. And in the ordinary course of nature it could not last. In Ireland natural government, "deriving its authority from the general will," is replacing it in actual operation. Now, as always, we are innovators amongst the nations, innovators and dreamers. Mankind as a whole is feeling its way towards a fight for its soul, out of all the men into which feudal government and feudal ideas have led it. When we reconstruct in Ireland a natural government, a government based upon the old Irish conception of consent and arbitration rather than on force we fight not alone an Irish question but a world

question. We are freeing mankind as well as freeing Ireland.

Hitherto governments have been the masters of the peoples. They are still that. They may remain that for a while. In England and in the United States they are fighting in the one case by the use of "force, force without stint, force to the uttermost," and in the other case by unlimited bribery and soporifics to remain the masters. They may succeed. But no combination of governments can crush ideas. And the world idea of which we are the most consistent and the most exact exponents will go on working its way in men's minds until it undermines force as the foundation of government. Natural government is government by consent, determined by arbitration, and civilisation must either come to that or perish. Here in Ireland, at any rate, it will come to that; it is coming to that.

The Battle of the Prisons.

The battle of the prisons goes on from victory to victory. Day by day our men come out, exhausted but victorious. They have put an end to the imprisonment of opinion in this country, in all countries if other peoples are equally resolute, for all time. And Ireland recognises fully the magnitude of the victory. The discourse which followed the remains of Francis Gleeson to his grave was a witness of, not alone Ireland's solidarity but her sense of the service rendered by the dead volunteer. It was the march of a nation victorious, conscious of its victory.

Foreign Materials for Irish Churches.

In OLD IRELAND of the 8th inst. we published a letter from "S.F." commenting on the purchase by His Eminence Cardinal Logue, with Irish money, of foreign bells for "his" cathedral. The letter concluded: "I hear that the contract for the rebuilding of Rathmines Church is also gone to a foreigner. Where were the Sinn Fein members of the committee when that was settled?"

Our correspondent's strictures on His Eminence have been ignored, but we have succeeded in ascertaining the facts as to Rathmines Church. We understand that no contract for the restoration of the fabric has yet been made. Contracts for the reconstruction of the floor, confessionals, seats, and other details have been given to Dublin firms, bound to employ Irish labour and Irish material.

S.F.'s remark probably relates to the contract for the erection of a temporary roof. It seems that tenders were invited for this urgent work. Two Dublin firms sent in tenders. Of these, one was unreasonably high. The other firm declined to bind itself under penalties to finish the job within a limited time. An English firm having works in Dublin offered to bind itself, as required, to employ Dublin workers exclusively and to use, so far as possible, Irish materials. This tender was accepted by the parochial authorities, with whom the decision then rested.

Since this occurrence a building committee, having a measure of control over the allocation of contracts, has been appointed, and we hope that we may rely on this committee to ensure that this Irish church will be built by Irishmen of Irish materials, to the glory of God and the honour of Ireland.—Ed., "O.I."

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Internationalism and the Republic.

Now that Proinsias O'Gallchobhair is at liberty (buidheachas do Dhia), he will, we all hope, resume the observations that were interrupted by his arrest. In the last article he penned before being taken to Moury, he was destined with Irish Labour's affiliation to the Internationale, and he declared that Labour had made a "false step," because those whose duty it was to counsel Labour had neglected to interest themselves in Labour's difficulties and tendencies. But why "false step"? Proinsias did not explain his objections to Labour's action. The only hint he gave as to his feelings on the point lay in his remark that the Internationale had proved ineffective thus far. But Sinn Fein was ineffective for many, many years. The fact that the Internationale is still in the academic stage is no proof that it will never become an effective political engine.

Again, Proinsias reminds us that the sentiment of working-class solidarity was powerless to check the career of the militarist states once war blazed out. True, but will he confidently assert that that sentiment will always be powerless? Imagine the Europe of Napoleon's days. How much working-class solidarity was there then? It will be admitted by everyone that enormous progress has been made in a century. In Napoleon's times the workers were so far from their present stage of development that there was no thought of working-class solidarity, and even an attempt was made, and politicians, keeping the nations at one another's throats, had no need to preach to the masses that the Government on the other side was anti-democratic. The fact that we talk of working-class solidarity at all, the fact that politicians manoeuvre to prevent its uprise, proves an amazing degree of change in a comparatively brief passage of history. Idealists have cause to look up when the powers that be begin to talk of the impossibility, the unthinkability, the absolute absurdity, etc., etc., of such-and-such a thing of their desires. The emphasis with which the English Press and Parliament are asserting that never, never, never, will an Irish Republic be recognised is a case in point.

The more we ponder on war and international hatreds, the more we experience of British militarism, the more we read history, the more we study science, the more we engage in practical social endeavour, the more clearly do we realise that the workers of the various nations have no quarrel with one another. Hitherto, only the few at the top have really lived; the great masses of the nations have existed in a sort of subconscious state. The few have controlled the many according to their private whims and private interests, and have driven them in flocks against one another. The diabolical invention of the modern State has gripped and moulded to its own image the minds of its servants, and so we find men who privately are decent fellows, with whom we have much in common, ready to turn out and shoot us down whenever the machine demands. What can break up this unnatural system but the revolt of the masses on whose compliance it depends for its existence? What instrument exists to unite the masses and teach them self-consciousness save the Internationale?

Surely we do no wrong to take our part in a movement which, however feebly at present, is striving to link up the workers, to teach mankind that its interest lies in the co-operation of the peoples instead of in their mutual rivalry for the benefit of the few? There are atheists, anti-clerics, and I know not what other brands of erring folk in the ranks of the Internationale, but, alas! so there are in every other secular international organisation, in the co-operative international, in the Universala Esperanto-Asocio, in the literary,

artistic, and scientific corresponding societies. Are we to retire from every human activity save what is participated in solely by the orthodox? That is Quaker doctrine. Or are we, so long as nothing is done incompatible with our faith, to take our part in a good work and endeavour by our influence, to guide it into the channels which our faith teaches to be the right?

These arguments I advance, not to advocate the Internationale—of which, in common with those who condone it, I know but little—but to show that the small evidence at present available is as much in favour of the Internationale as against it. We know of no other ground on which the international working class can be stimulated to concerted action, and we realise that nothing but concerted action can rattle the world of the system under which it has suffered so long. If, then, the Internationale is sincere in its profession of impartial internationalism,* what can stand between us and participation? We know that among the men who brought about Irish affiliation were as good and loyal Catholics as there are in Ireland. We would do wrong to impugn their action.

It is hard to preach internationalism at a time when we are suffering under as savage a national persecution as ever directed against a civilised people. It is hard to suppress racial passion when a degraded race is torturing the noble specimens of its own. When English soldiers run and speak through Irish streets; when English decrees hold our young men within great prison walls, tortured, agonised, sinking, sinking, sinking to the very verge of death, and we see vast crowds of mothers, relatives, friends, waiting impatiently outside for the moment when the Thing shall, like a cat toasting a mouse, release our gasping comrades; when English mobs assail our suffering watchers; when English rulers grin and preen themselves in the world's eye, though a word from them could end it all; when raiders and arsonists, and babies are bullied and pacifists jailed; when law and order are trampled to the dust in the name of Liberty and Order, and when not a soul among us can breathe freedom or put his hand to work with the sureness that he will be allowed to finish it—when this is the state of Ireland, it is hard to remember that all this is the work more of a system and a false idea than of men and women. Yet to yield to racial passion would be to play the enemy's game.

A disinterested observer would probably be amazed at the logical coolness as well as the charity of the Irish people.

* The German members' slavish attribution of guilt to their own nation more than others militates rather against our confidence in the clear vision of the whole body. Surely this was brought to the attention and a surrender of the whole internationalist position which holds the system not a single nation, to blame.

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for not merely are the Irish masses untainted by racial passion to-day, but they seem to have been so during the long years of their Captivity. Doubtless this is the fruit of their unique loyalty to the Christian faith. The frenzied hatred for Irish people which burns in the English bosom—expressing itself now in mob violence as outside Wormwood Scrubs, and now in shoot-the-damned-rebels speeches in the Mother of Parliaments—has evoked no answering passion. Individual Englishmen are treated in Ireland with the same courtesy as is shown to any national, and if the Briton's manners are as byword, he is never made to suffer for them. One wonders what would happen if a German soldier of the Occupation asked a Belgian civilian for a light; but who has ever seen a man in khaki rebuffed in Dublin streets when asking for some small courtesy? Again and again amazement at the cool toleration displayed by the Irish people is expressed by strangers visiting the country. Some lament this tolerance, feeling that a more stern attitude would be a wiser one; but, on the whole, it is to be approved of, for the Irish people's refusal to lose their tempers is one of their chief safeguards in their struggle against odds. The bad temper to which our opponents have yielded for the past two years is a happy augury to us, and has assisted us, for it has caused many of their most serious false moves.

The apostle describing his vision of the fall of Babylon the Great recounts her guilty merchandise of gold and silver and fine linen . . . and slaves and the souls of men. It would be hard to find a more apt description of the method and viciousness of empire. For the might with which our liberties are crushed is won by trading in "slaves and the souls of men." Look at the man power of England: what is it but a horde of slaves? Simple, stupid, Dickensian souchamauns, bred like cattle, educated in spiritual darkness, denied knowledge, discouraged in inquiry, they know not right from wrong, and obey their orders as implicitly as dogs of Irishmen and Scotsmen, and even Americans and Continentals. Talk with her Imperial Scots, men of Gaelic origin, imaginative and intellectual, hardy and tenacious; they are the husks of noble men. They seem to have lost their souls. Tempted by the glamour of imperial power and material reward, they have lost hold of true realities and pure ideals, and have given their rare abilities to the building up of Babylon. Wonderful is the subtlety and the thoroughness with which Empire corrupts the soul. How many a good man has been blighted by shoenicism! How many a decent man has been blighted into a selfish wastrel through and promising lack of loyalty! How many a son securing a job had has turned into a selfish wastrel through of a sturdy country family, always loyal to Ireland hitherto, has become a spy and a dragooner of his people, losing all sense of right and wrong! The human element opposed to us is almost all of honest and innocent origin, only bent and twisted by the cunning Deamon of empire to the unquestioning execution of his will.

England is not the only power that bends individuals to guilty acts that of themselves they would be innocent of. All post-Reformation states in some degree have done the same, and all stand under condemnation, even though England is the worst as having shown them the way. Every country that practised conscription during the late war was guilty, and its citizens were made murderers of their brethren at the dictation of a will not their own. Trotsky, when he smashed up the morale of the German army by propaganda among the ranks, broke up by moral means a machine that arms had battered on in vain. He destroyed German Imperial-

ism by breaking the hypnotic force by which ascendancies rule their victims. "What quarrel have you with us, comrades? What will you and your families gain by prolongation of this mutual slaughter? Why waste your good lives for junkers instead of using them to win liberty and a place in the sun for your own children?" Questions like these set the ranks thinking and brought about the collapse of Kaiserism. Whatever we may feel about that collapse, we must logically realise that it was an essential step towards world liberty.

It remains to be seen whether Trotsky's message will penetrate further and bring about the general dissolution of the State system. The indications of history are that the principles of liberty expressed in the Russian revolution must conquer the world or be conquered by it. Either the world will follow Russia or Russian liberty will be extinguished by the world. But for the world-exhaustion caused by the war, we would surely see a combined and successful attack on Russia. But the war has so weakened the States' hypnotic control that the doctrine of international brotherhood may well succeed in breaking up the tyrannical control that caused the war and that wars on Ireland to-day. Irish liberty is only conceivable as a setting of world liberty. Were some flimsy independence granted us, to be guarded by a conscript army and maintained on the plane of State hostility, we would have no security against the cunning and the might that smashed Grattan's constitutional liberties 18 years after they were achieved.

One of these days we may find England sending out feelers to discover whether we would accept recognition of the Republic called by some other name. Imperialism, when obliged to do something distasteful, saves its dignity by pretending it is doing something else. We may get an offer someday to allow *Dáil Éireann* to function openly with certain conditions and provisos. Nothing, however, will be acceptable save unqualified recognition of what we seek. And when we receive this the world's liberty will be at hand. The battle which we are waging is one for civilisation. So long as we are unfree, so long there can be no secure liberty anywhere. So long as a murderer can commit one crime with impunity, so long society is unsafe, and thus, so long as one nation rules by the tank, the bayonet, and torture, so long civilisation exists anywhere only on sufferance.

When we talk of hating England and the Empire, we do not mean that we bear malice towards the inhabitants of British possessions. If we say we wish the British Empire to end, we do not mean that we wish any single life to be lost or saddened or impoverished. The things we hate, the things we are fighting against, are not flesh and blood, but principles and powers—demons, ideas, evil inspirations that make flesh and blood their instrument. If the world were free to-morrow there would be no British Empire, yet the argosies that sweep down to England's ports would not be lessened, nor would the happiness and legitimate prosperity of England's people be turned back. Rather would the people of England enjoy undreamt-of wealth as in a freed world, production everywhere, for use, not profit, spring ahead with an energy hitherto unknown, and trade between the nations became not the tool of the few, but the busy instrument of humanity's enrichment. As Co-operation, though at first it strikes at the illegitimate gains of a parasite class, soon brings increasing prosperity to every section within a parish, so will international brotherhood, after overthrowing the parasite ascendancies, bring prosperity in every people. As in a parish, so in the world, that which is good for the bee-hive cannot be bad for the bee.

AODH DE BLACAM.

The Sinister Significance of England's Prisoner Policy.

(Continued from last week.)

Last week, in dealing with England's earlier extermination policy in Ireland, and with the preaching and practice of the doctrine that the killing of the Irish was no murder, I omitted to mention that the British Government passed an Act of Parliament not only specifically authorising and legislating, but actually encouraging by monetary reward the indiscriminate slaughter of the Irish people. This Act, passed in the reign of Edward IV. of England, declared

"that for divers great robberies, thefts, and murders that be done from night to night by thieves upon the faithful liege-people of the King within this land of Ireland, specially and most commonly in the county of Meath, which hath caused and made great desolation in the said county. . . . It shall be lawful to all men that find any thieves robbing by day or by night, or going or coming to rob, or steal, in or out going or coming, having no faithful man of good name or fame in their company in English apparel, upon any of the liege-people of the King, that it shall be lawful to take and kill the same, and cut off their heads without any impeachment from our sovereign lord the King, his heirs, officers, or ministers, or of any others; and of any head so cut to be brought to the Portreffe of the town of Trim; and the said Portreffe to put it upon a stake or spear upon the castle at Trim; and that the said Portreffe shall give his writing under the common seal of the said town testifying the bringing of the said head to him. And that it shall be lawful, by the authority of the said Parliament, to the said bringer of the same head, and his aiders to the same, for to distrain and levy by their own hands of every man having one plough-land in the barony where the said thing was so taken, two pence; of every man having half a plough-land in the said barony, one penny; and of every cottier having house and smoke, one halfpenny."

This simply meant that Englishmen were authorised to kill and decapitate any Irishmen they met unaccompanied by an Englishman. There was no necessity for "impeachment" by anyone, and no inquiry as to cause. And, as if this legalising of wholesale and indiscriminate murder were not of itself sufficient to produce the expected results, the English were actually bribed to murder the Irish and the bribe paid by the murdered victims' neighbours and friends. It requires but little imagination to estimate the effect of such authorisation and reward on the racial hate and selfish cupidity of the English adventurers of the Pole, and to picture the horrors accompanying the subsequent forcible restraint.

Extirpation and Plantation.

Up to the time of Elizabeth, England did not determinedly resolve on the complete extermination of the native Irish and the plantation of the whole country with English "colonists." Even so late as the early sixteenth century Baron Patrick English advised (English State Papers, 1514-1515) that it would be "dangerous to depopulate the realm of England" by transference to Ireland, and that it would be necessary to allow the land of Ireland to be inhabited by some sort of Irish, "but they were to be kept under the law." The keeping of the Irish "under the law" proved, however, a more difficult task than most of

the English advisers believed. Indeed, in 1587 we find Martin Polya, in a letter to Lord Cromwell, stating that "the subtle compassing of the Irishmen, as well within the English Pale as without, doth almost pass the capacity of any man. . . . They daily consult together how they may find means that no English gentleman nor other shall have rule or authority in Ireland but only Irishmen."

The Necessity of Empire.

Up to the arrival of the Spanish Armada, England's incentive in the conquest by subjection or extermination of the native Irish was the plunder and exploitation of the whole country. With the scattering of the Armada came a new incentive, an incentive in face of which all the others faded into comparative insignificance. This incentive was the necessity of Empire. The coming of the Spanish Armada not only meant the beginning of Britain's sea power and the beginning of Britain's Empire; it for the first time awakened England to a realisation of the strategic importance of Ireland's geographical position. As Roger Casemore succinctly put it in the pamphlet that in 1911 educated modern nations on the international character of Ireland's fight for freedom:

"The British Empire is founded not upon the British Bible or the British dreadnought, but upon Ireland. The Empire founded in Ireland by Henry and Elizabeth Tudor has expanded into mighty things. England, deprived of Ireland, resumes her national proportions, those of a powerful Kingdom. Still possessing Ireland she is always an Empire. For just as Great Britain bars the gateways of Northern and West Central Europe to hold up at will the trade and block the ports of every coast from the Baltic to the Bay of Biscay, so Ireland stands between Britain and the greater seas of the West and blocks for her the highways of the ocean."

The same thought was uttermost in England's mind in 1641, when she appealed to her subjects for subscriptions towards the cost of the war that was finally to exterminate the Irish, and plant the country "with," to quote the English Parliamentary declaration, "many noble families of this nation, and of the Protestant Religion." In the appeal, precursor of the modern loan prospectus, "both Houses of Parliament" advance as one of the "arguments"

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Joan of Arc.

Canonized after 400 years.

in favour of subscribing that "he" (who subscribes) "shall do Honourable service to his own Country, since the Safety, Welfare, and Honour of it is involved in the recovery of Ireland."

Fifty years later, when the Stuarts and Cromwell had followed the Tudors, and the unconquered Irish still confronted their successors, Richard Cox, in dedicating to William III. and Mary his "History of Ireland from the Earliest Times," wrote:

"But no cost can be too great where the prize is of such value, and whoever considers the situation, ports, plenty, and other advantages of Ireland, will confess that it must be retained at what rate soever: because if it should come into an enemy's hands England would find it impossible to flourish and perhaps difficult to subsist without it. To demonstrate this assertion it is easy enough to say that Ireland lies in the Line of Trade, and that all the English vessels that sail to the East, West, and South must run the gauntlet between the harbours of Brest and Baltimore."

To come down to our own times—and still quoting from Irish authorities—in his pamphlet, "The Case for the Irish Loyalists," written in 1886 by the late Mr. T. W. Russell, the crowning argument against Gladstonian Home rule, which he affected to regard as a step to separation, is the advantage of the British Empire. "Save the empire," cried Mr. Russell to the English people in the closing paragraph, "from the greatest danger it has been lying upon to face since the Spanish Armada have in sight the shores of England."

In 1917 Mr. Arthur Balfour declared that England could lose Canada and Australia and South Africa before would let go its grip on Ireland. Why? Because, as Mr. Casement said, the British Empire is founded on land, and on Britain's maintenance of Ireland Britain's empire depends. The British Navy League has time and time again emphasised the same fact. "The trade of Europe," pointed out in January, 1918, "with Canada, the United States, the Gulf of Mexico, the Panama Canal, the Caribbean Sea, the West Indies, the States of the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand, China, Japan, Russia in the Pacific, India, Ceylon, and Africa, is dependent directly upon the control of the Irish seaports and the communications and there."

I have given all these quotations because it is necessary to keep this, to England, vital object in mind in considering now means that, with the beginning of her Empire under attack, she adopted to make easy the work of extermination—The weakening of the mental powers and the destruction of the physical strength of the defenders of Irish Liberty.

P. S. O'FLANNAGAIN.

(To be concluded.)

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OLD IRELAND

There is much in the fact. More in the fact than in much fiction. If a mountain may be measured by its shadow, so may a man. How many men there are without shadows: meaning to say, how very unsubstantial they are, and short of stature. Not so the Maid of Orleans, a person of imposing stature. Think of it. At the age of 19 called to liberate a nation, and successful in the enterprise; her cruel and premature death even, perpetrated under a refinement of remorseless cruelty—aiding, abetting, supplementing the brief but effective labours of her life, Wonderful Maid. To say that we have to go back to the Old Testament, with its Samsons and its Judiths, for an example such as she. Hers is a triumph that touches Ireland.

The Maid ranks conspicuously as a patriot: a professional active asserter of national rights. In the Maid exists side by side with religion: the patriotism that knows no compromise. In the Maid is a wholesome, noisy, boisterous patriotism. She is a theocrat, so to speak. With her, God is the King of France. Her temporal King is His viceroy. In a sense, France is God's kingdom on earth with her. Now this bold, uncompromising stand is exactly where the Maid beats all competitors. She becomes a hero as well as a saint. Nay, more, she becomes a national patron of every oppressed nationality. She towers in a temporal sense over the venerable Oliver Plunkett. Perhaps not in God's sight, because none can judge in this. But as a secular figure she stands forth no whit inferior in stature to William Tell or Robert Bruce or any other of the world's great national leaders: avengers of incursion upon peoples.

In this sense the Maid challenges the admiration of all men, no matter what their religion, and even of people who have no religion.

Joan of Arc is in a sense greater than Napoleon. Nothing so serious attaches to an adventurer like Napoleon, or to Alexander, or to Caesar, as attaches to the Maid. There is a cause of secular justice which immensely elevates the Maid above mere military ambition. Putting her religious appeal on one side (if we can), and viewing her simply as an asserter of primitive human rights as distinguished from folk who were simple, fantastical, and extravagant and ambitious and desirous of cutting a figure, and who, provided they out-cut the figure, cared little about the cause they forwarded, whether it were just or unjust: the like, compared, we say, with these, the Maid compares as pure gold does with gilt and gingerbread.

Nothing so grand, nothing so substantial, nothing so exalted, nothing so affecting is there in the sweep of comparatively modern history such as is the attitude of Joan of Arc.

Ireland particularly would do well to make good her claim to the Maid. Singularly analogous is the case of Ireland now to the case of France in the time of Joan of Arc.

The Burgundians at that epoch in French history correspond very nearly to the Ulster bigots in Ireland now. Coughlin and Carson might exchange coats without anyone feeling that the situation had been in the least altered. The Burgundians were as really the bridgehead and jumping-off ground for Anglo-Saxony in France at that epoch as Belfast is the bridgehead and the jumping-off ground to Anglo-Saxony to-day in Ireland.

There is another curious analogy in the case between France and Ireland. Mark this. We all know that William

the Conqueror seized England in 1066. From that Good Friday, when the Battle of Hasting was fought, to 1491, when the Maid practically and for ever turned the tide of English aggression out of France, is almost 400 years. From 1066 immense trouble came to France from the fact that England aimed directly at possessing France. Now the very same effort has been made by England to possess Ireland for 400 years.

Before 1583 Ireland was comparatively independent of England. Certain Norman adventurers had, it is true, settled in Ireland. But Ireland was very, very far from being a conquered country. From 1583, when the Tudors began their rule, Ireland has been ground to the very dust.

Let it be observed that the periods during which France and Ireland have seriously suffered from English aggression have been for each period extending about 400 years each, each period being assigned to different epochs.

Having regard to all we have said, therefore, of France and of Ireland, having regard to the fact that the enemy who harassed France is the same who harasses Ireland; having regard to the fact that Joan of Arc rescued France from the clasp of the cruel English leopard, great should be our admiration, our devotion, our worship of the gallant Maid, who as a secular (to say nothing of her as a religious) unlocked the dungeon door and set free her nation.

I now conclude by suggesting that all loyal Irishmen should seek a secular expression of their love for Joan of Arc, and that not alone in the Church but also in the market place should show the steadiness of their conviction.

If I might suggest it, one tender tribute to the Maid might take the form of a badge of blue ribbon pinned to coat or to blouse, to be worn in public, if possible, on the 16th of this month and during May, when (as all the world knows) the Maid will be raised to the highest honour that man can confer upon man, to wit, her enrolment amongst the canonised saints of the Catholic Church.—Yours,

PATRICK FRANCIS LITTLE.

NOTE.—We regret this letter came too late for insertion in last week's issue.—Ed. "O.A."

The Blood of Martyrs.

Who killed Joan of Arc? We all know that she was burnt as a witch in Rouen in the Fifteenth Century. In Ireland the popular belief has always been that this "atrocious" (to employ a modern term) was perpetrated by the English, and this notwithstanding the anglicised education imparted in our schools. Of course, there were French accomplices. What we require to have clearly stated is on which nation, France or England, the responsibility for this crime rests.

The Maid of Orleans, canonised by the Church on Sunday last, was condemned and executed by the Church—or some of her ministers rather—in 1431. Truth will prevail, if slowly. This elevation of the Maid to a place among the Saints raises this question once more. In the enlightened columns of the *Irish Times* there appeared last week an article shifting the entire disgrace of her death to the shoulders of *la belle France*. During the war it is not probable that an article of this kind would have been written. So delicate a topic would have been ignored, or else an effort made to prove that in some mysterious manner Germany and the Kaiser were to blame.

One tangible result of the Great Peace is that it has enabled the Allies of the Great War to take a clearer view of each other. It is quite refreshing now to read British comments on France, or vice versa, and both nations giving

their candid opinion of the United States provide excellent reading. The note of adulation sounded so loudly in days of strife has changed to one of carping criticism. Envoies and alliances were stretched to breaking point; they were not stand much further stretch.

But to return to Joan of Arc. It is perfectly true that she was tried by a tribunal composed of French priests for the most part, and presided over by Cardinal Beaufort. This worthy (who should, in the light of Sunday's event, be degraded by some ecclesiastical machinery) is described even by an English Protestant authority as "a creature of the English." Of course he was. In the case of Joan we find England at her old, old game—getting others to do her dirty work.

It was into the hands of the English that Joan of Arc fell after the battle of Compeigne. They handed her over to enslaved Frenchmen to try. As that time Rouen was in possession of the English, and the French who still held it were under their domination. The "official" habit of the English had about as much national spirit in them as animals in the garrison. In Ireland to-day. To hold the English nation responsible for the murder of Joan of Arc would be as reasonable as to blame the Irish for the slaying of Sheehy-Skeffington.

It is no particular concern of ours, anyhow, to absolve the French—or some of them—of complicity in the death of Joan of Arc. What does merit attention on this head just now is the desire of the English to prove themselves guiltless. It was not always thus. Shakespeare, to cite a lesser name, did not hesitate to accept for his countrymen the credit of this achievement. He followed also in the wake of his predecessors in giving credence to the calumnies flung against her good name. She was not only a witch she was a wanton. Such was the common belief in England in the time of Joan and after. It is instructive to observe that whether in the spacious days of Elizabeth or in this happy era of a world made safe by democracy the English cling with the tenacity of the bulldog breed to their fixed policy of traducing their opponent.

Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was the genius of the piece. No one concerned in the criminal emerges without stain. Regard must be paid, of course, to the conditions of the age. A belief in witchcraft was universal, and the Maid was alleged to have professed to have had supernatural direction. In such circumstances was not difficult for her enemies to find a "true bill" the charges brought against her.

Whether we blame Britons or Burgundians for burning Joan of Arc does not, at this stage of history, matter very much. It behoves us to note, however, how the second half of the fifteenth century has become the saint of the twentieth. Reflection on this astounding change in attitude brings consolation to the supporters of "lost" causes in us in Ireland it has a special importance. The traitors, rebels, miscreants of to-day will be hailed at patriotic reformers, martyrs to-morrow. We have had illustrations of this truth in our troubled history era this. One of our Plunkets, drawn on a hurdle through London streets, was shamefully put to death at Tyburn in 1681. Is a case in point.

There is a special significance; an artistic significance, in the circumstance that Joan of Arc and Oliver Cromwell, both died for their native land; both countries, both months and year. Both stood for the freedom of their country, both died for their native land; both countries against the same powerful foe.

France has long been free. Shall not Ireland be independent?

The Language and the Teacher.

By Sean MacCoughaun.

The Language Week Collection has been a record. The figures are not yet to hand, as far as I am aware, but judging from the reports one hears it must have been a record. From a financial point of view the Gaelic League should be in a sound position. And there is even more money for the language than the League has yet tapped. There are districts all over the country which would yield a large harvest if they were worked. But they are not worked, and they cannot be worked, simply because of the dearth of teachers. In this age of commercialism it seems strange that the young men of Ireland have not realised the vast possibilities of the Gaelic League merely as a gigantic industry. I remember when I was a civil service tutor, how quickly young men and women would rush to be trained at the faintest suggestion that the British Government in Ireland was opening a new department. And the jobs that were going were nothing to boast of. Their chief attraction seemed to be that they offered a navy's wages for work that did not entail heavy manual labour.

Now I do not wish to be understood as a backer of commercialism or the commercial spirit. I am a rabid Socialist and commercialism is my pet aversion. But facts are facts. And the Gaelic League is not getting anything like an adequate supply of teachers who could tackle the job of teaching Gaelic as efficiently and as capably as young men, are tackling the job of selling enlargements or pushing cattle medicines. And I know for a fact that very many pushing young men cannot earn any more by selling photographic enlargements or mangles than can be earned by teaching Gaelic.

I know that some districts do not pay more than £120 a year. But I am convinced that they can pay far more. There is nothing to hinder any district paying £200. In one district in Co. Tyrone, in the heart of lukewarm Ulster, I am drawing practically that money myself. I am firmly convinced that it could be done in hundreds of other districts. But then my employers, the Coisde Ceantair consists of men and women who are keen on the work, and who are not afraid to take risks. Efficiency pays in modern Ireland just as it pays in modern America. At least in things national. The people want the goods and from what I see of them, I am firmly convinced that they will pay for the goods, the real goods.

Now there are obviously two sides to the question. Firstly there is the Coisde or committee of a district. As long as there are sympathetic priests on the Coisde the work where there are not sympathetic if not active priests. I know there are districts where the priests are not sympathetic, but leaving them out temporarily there are many districts yet unworked where the priests are not only sympathetic to the language but extremely keen. They are held up because they cannot get efficient teachers. And in each such district there is no need to be alarmed about money as long as there are halls or schools to run ceilidhs and concerts and plays and ballets.

But even if the Coisde is not up to the work an efficient teacher can obtain plenty of help everywhere. But he must be prepared to seek it out and to organise it. And as a matter of fact there are so many intelligent and competent men and women in most districts that no teacher can ever go astray if he has the tact to gain their confidence and sympathy. And surely the young men who give themselves

such trouble to ingratiate themselves with obdurate people to sell mangles and pictures have a harder job than the Gaelic teacher who tries to encourage and organise and build up the zeal and knowledge of Gaelic sympathisers.

But that is merely a preamble to show that money can be got at to give a Gaelic teacher a little more than a navy's wage and not less. And I do believe that the Gaelic League's need not want to get any sweated labour. I have never yet met the Gaelic Leaguers who do. If sweated wages are paid it is not due to malvolence, but helplessness and lack of confidence and local circumstances. And often a teacher can help to get the committees out of their difficulties. And that is the least one can expect nowadays. In commerce it is up to every employer to push for trade. In the Gaelic League it is up to every teacher to push for trade—that is, to keep branches up to the mark.

And surely that is a field of activity enticing enough to attract young men of ability. It is not mere dry-as-dust school teaching. It is the fascinating field of human nature, the play of brain on brain, and the grind of mind against inertia, the trial of endurance against obstinacy. It is more interesting than any bull fight or boxing match to watch the contest of Gaidmo against Shonecnism in a district. The brains and endurance and faith of an unyielding and relentless minority against the myriads of Saxondom and Tishondom. For Gaidmo does attract the brains of a district and it attracts the honesty and the solid faith.

The strangest part of the whole campaign against Shonecnism is that the victory always comes just when things have gone against the Gaels most desperately. Patience is the greatest of all the virtues and the power to endure the most valuable. No wonder Odysseus used to encourage himself in his hours of despondency by saying: "Endure on, brave heart, for thou hast suffered still worse things." For that was the keynote of victory. And John Bull is the most patient and long-suffering of conquerors. The Gaelic League has taught its disciples that lesson of patience. The teacher must cultivate it, not only in himself, but in his pupils and supporters.

And one must steel oneself even to more personal hardships. Commercialism has destroyed in man that belief in providence betokened by the prayer, "give us this day our daily bread." No man who works honestly for Ireland to-day, and believes sincerely in her holy destiny, should allow the work to stop because of the unholy commercial fear that he may not obtain his daily bread. He that sets out boldly without script or scrap on his person and the doctrine in his soul, need not fear that prompting of the devil. And every-thing sees that it is so. But the young men, and even the rich young men, are still holding back.

In Ulster, more than elsewhere, we need that spirit of endurance and self-confidence. And as has been frequently remarked, the Gaelic League of Ulster alone has it, and alone gives it forth. Labour is weak and vacillating without policy, without confidence, without faith. Sinn Fein is inefficient, uninspired and listless. Hibernianism is hysterical, hurting insults that degrade itself, mouthing sentiments it does not itself believe.

And everywhere in the province the Gaelic League is welcomed, for it is self-reliant, courageous, fanatic, tenacious. And surely it should strike our young men of ability that it is their duty to get into the fight with the men and women who can fight, and are not afraid to fight. But let them remember that it is a serious responsibility. Teaching in the Gaelic League is a severe test of character. A lapse which would be venial in others, is a deadly sin in the case of a Gaelic League teacher. He need not be a saint but he

not must be a fool. Temptations are plentiful. A drink may be offered in friendliness. It may also be offered in enmity. And a lapse on the part of a Gaelic League teacher may hold back the work of Gaelicising a district for years. It reflects on the Coiside, the branches, the supporters of the language, in a most dreadful and painful way.

However eager we may be to make Irish the spoken language by the Gaelic League branches, I am afraid that it cannot be done. The Gaelic League make supporters of the language just as the I.L.P. makes Socialists. The I.L.P. does not change the social structure. It changes the minds of those in the present social structure, and makes them desire a new social structure. The Gaelic League does not teach the people to use a new language. It teaches them to desire to overthrow their present language, and make the acquisition of a new language possible. It is true that some do learn Irish. But far more do not learn Irish. They learn to know that Irish shall be the language of the future in Ireland.

After giving a lecture to the Central Branch of the Belfast I.L.P. recently, I was asked by a Socialist in the audience whether I would not be better employed teaching Socialism than in teaching Gaelic. My interrogator claimed that by working directly for the new structure of society, the breaking of capitalist and imperial bonds, we in Ireland would obtain more quickly a state of affairs which would enable Gaelic to come into its own. This is a very common type of argument and no doubt appeals to many. It implies that the people of Ireland are convinced of the necessity for Gaelic. It implies that if the people of Ireland had complete liberty to-morrow, they would immediately take steps to make Irish the spoken language, of the country.

As a matter of fact, the people of Ireland are not yet convinced of the necessity for Gaelic. Just as every Orangeman thinks that every Catholic would kill a policeman, so every Socialist outside the Gaelic League thinks that every Catholic Irishman and Irishwoman believes firmly in the language. But a few months' work in the Gaelic League will soon upset that idea. I have been at the game of making Socialists since I could talk rationally. I can make good Socialists by the dozen. I can hardly make good Gaels at all. It is a lot easier to de-capitalise than to de-anglicize.

Suggest to anyone you meet that if we had control of the schools, we should ban all subjects except Gaelic for two years at least. Suggest that two years of primary and secondary education should be devoted to the nation. How many would accept the proposition? Yet, how more natural, if the Irish people really want the Irish language?

Killoe Spinners at Dublin Show.

Eighty years ago a large number of Irish farmers grew a rood, or half a rood, of flax. This was intended to supply bed, table and personal linen for the household, for in those days the people of Ireland produced their own raiment and food from their land. When the little flax harvest was gathered a "Camp of Scutchers" was held to prepare and spin the flax. It was a gay assembly—this harvest home of the flax gatherers. Mirth, music, and homely pleasantry lightened the work of scutching, hachling, and spinning. There was plenty of amusement, but the work was done.

The stress of war conditions and the great price of flax and woollen cloth have rendered possible a revival of the domestic growing, preparing, spinning, and weaving of both flax and wool. Some two years ago Father Peter Conerrey, of Killoe, North Longford, determined to pioneer the revival

in his district, where he had a population of some two thousand persons to operate upon. He discovered that many of the elder women were obtainers in their youth, and a few spinning wheels were obtained for them to use, and teach the younger ones. To-day there are 127 spinning wheels running in Killoe on both flax and wool—preparing the yarn for knitters and for the looms.

The old spinning wheel makers in Donegal and Belfast are overwhelmed with orders for the aged Father Conerrey has planted at Killoe is sprouting up through the country. This season, will probably see the planting of the largest number of small plots of flax known in Ireland for over half a century—roods and half roods will be planted and harvested; farmers will keep the wool from their sheep, and both home-grown flax and home-grown wool will again be spun upon the wheels by the wives and daughters of those who own and till the soil.

It is to be hoped that the cottage loom, like the spinning wheel, will find its place in the cottage interiors, and that the spun yarn will not only be knitted but woven into cloth in the homes of the countryside. Having conquered Killoe, Father Conerrey must needs invade Dublin, and the Royal Dublin Society afforded him a stage from which to point a great example to rural Ireland. At the Agricultural Show held at Ballsbridge on the 11th, 12 and 13th of May, he devoted the Hall to a display devoted to a most instructive and illustrative of "Some Industries of the Irish Countryside."

On a large specially erected stage the work of the scutcher was in progress; the scutchers working with scutching stocks and handles in the old Irish fashion. Next, the hachlers were shown busy at their bench hachling the flax with hand hachles a century old. Then followed the spinning wheel—one spinning the hachled flax from the rood or wheel, another winding the flax into a roll called a sliver, and then spinning it, and a third spinning low combed from the hachles.

Then came the reel preparing the spun yarn for the loom, and finally a Co. Antrim loom with Ulster hand-loom weavers converting the yarn into fine Irish linen cloth. This loom is one of the cottage hand-loom, now almost extinct. It has been purchased by the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, at the instance of the respected Keeper, Mr. J. J. Buckley, and this public-spirited act will render the loom available as a model on which the new cottage looms of the future can be constructed. They will be needed immediately.

Passing down the Hall the visitor next saw wool carding and the Killoe wheels spinning wool into various yarns suitable for a variety of fabrics. There were also several old pedal-less Galway woollen wheels spinning wool for homespun, and a Galway weaver from Corquodall weaving Irish homespun.

At the back of all the musicians playing native airs on violins or the Irish pipes, and songs and dances inspired by the workers to further efforts, just as they did in the Scutchers Camps held in rural Ireland in the brave days of old. Lastly there was a fine exhibit of linen and woollen goods fabricated in the cottage homes of Ireland.

What Killoe has done every Irish village can do. Whether many Irish villages can produce a practical organisation enthusiast like Father Conerrey remains to be seen, but his inspiration and his methods are there as a guide to every one, and there are ample evidences that his watchword "Start the Wheel," is moving domestic spinning to a new birth in many a quiet corner in the countryside.

ORAWFORD HARTREY.

Create That You May Be Free.

British statesmanship may briefly be defined as the art of putting into practice that policy which has in similar circumstances in the past failed most signally. British diplomacy consists in finding new names for these interminable repetitions of the same thing. Both British statesmanship and British diplomacy are at present concentrating on the selection of a tall hat for General Sir Neville Maccready, which he is to wear when being photographed by American journalists. It is thus that Britain rules the world. Generals in the head-dress of politicians, politicians in the head-dress of generals, coercion that is kindness, kindness that is coercion, "conciliation" which is a music-hall barack-room mélange of tall hats, tin hats, swords fixed to pen handles, orders for deportation, and fat-faced, jolly old gentlemen who deprive the public of much by travelling in the bowels of an armoured car—these are the things to which all empires are reduced when subject peoples think. In Ireland during the next few months we shall probably have them all. Sir Neville will first appear in his tall hat; then in a cap to indicate how broad-minded he is; if the summer be a good one he may have himself photographed in a Panama to suggest breeziness. But eventually he will resume the helmet. Sir Hamar has already been widely circulated in the glossy head-dress of his profession. A cap is impossible to him. He is not sufficiently distant in his pedigree from the proletariat to carry a cap with that incongruity which betrays good breeding. His effort to win the hearts of the Irish people will consist of appearing on alternate days with and without the barristerial umbrella. But after a little time Sir Hamar will probably resume Canada. Meanwhile, during the pater of these unconscious comedians, the stage is to be prepared for the real play. Block-houses, trenches, machine-gun emplacements, army huts are indeed already in the hands of the scotch-shifters. For American and foreign consumption generally the pater of the comedians is designed. The pater of the machine-guns is to be for the consumption of the Irish people.

We have no need to be alarmed. We have sat as audience to the real play so often that we have it by heart and can rehearse it ourselves when there is need. But the need is other at the moment. The thing England is trying to destroy is the Irish Nation. As well as destroying the power of those bent upon destruction we have also the duty of building up the Irish Nation. It is the more important duty. Destructiveness is essential, but its effects are transient. As the indispensable preliminary to building up, destruction has to be practised. It is so easy to create in a people a dislike of all established things and a disrespect for them. Those things social as well as political whose establishment has been preserved in Ireland by the bayonets and machine-guns of the oppressor must be rebuilt—but there is something to be done after the rebuilding. Alien institutions must be replaced by the institutions of the people. So that these institutions of the people may be accorded that support, without which their effectiveness disappears, it is necessary that in the popular imagination is created the impression that the things which are destroyed are destroyed solely because they are hostile in purpose to the welfare of the nation, and not because they dispose to the welfare of the nation, and not because they represent order or government in itself. The burning of income-tax papers is an example of what it is hard to say

without employing parables. The destruction of these papers does not mean that no taxes must be paid, but that no taxes must be paid to a government which has not received its sovereignty from the people. In the same way as the police are withdrawn into the cities the problem presents itself to the unpoliced people of proving their ability to regulate their own existence justly and with a strict impartiality to all parties, those who politically oppose the Republic as well as those who support it. The responsibility cannot be avoided. It must be borne, and, if any honour is to come to Ireland, borne successfully. This assumption of the constructive control of certain districts has been taken up, notably in Galway, Co. Clare, Co. Kerry, and in parts of Co. Cork. No more hopeful opportunity ever existed for Ireland's self-expression than is being provided by the actual self-government of these districts. If we can supplant a tyrannous law with a law which, though unfeeling, will be strong enough to be temperate, if we can create in the minds of young men that sense of citizenship which promoting the well-being of a province creates then indeed will destructiveness have led to the realisation and fulfilment of the thing by which a nation lives—the striving of each for all.

If there can in this way be secured for the people real popular control it will have been an achievement more generally beneficial than anything tried in earlier days, even in days when the mind of Thomas Davis shone above the nation. For what Ireland lacks is not soldiers but citizens. Let us not hide these things from ourselves. The tradition of government has gone greatly from amongst us. It could not be otherwise. For hundreds of years the greatest brains of the nation have been concentrated upon the destroying of alien power. In other days the opportunity of rebuilding from ruins was too distant and too slight to be used with anything like the effectiveness with which we can now use it. Men, therefore, thought little of it. Their business was to tear the letters from Ireland. From generations of this inability to apply constructive policy to Ireland's case the tradition of constructiveness passed from amongst us. Recently it has been revived. The work of our National Authority marks the success of that revival. But it is not yet properly awakened in the hearts of the people. War is easier than peace; to destroy easier than to create. Like all simple things destruction has an allurements. But it is more necessary that it have a sequel and that the sequel be the re-establishment in visible forms of Gaelic culture, the Gaelic sense of justice, the Gaelic genius for organisation, and the Gaelic ability to govern. If that be the outcome of the overthrow of alien institutions which is now in progress Ireland will for ever have broken free. Galway, Clare and Kerry have shown the entire nation that its purpose is two-fold—to break down and to build up. The period of breaking down is almost over; the period of building up is merely begun. But the test of our greatness will be in the period that has begun.

Sir Neville Maccready and Sir Hamar Greenwood have failed already. Whatever the sequence of the political poses they adopt, whether it be hat, cap or Panama, they cannot retrieve their failure. They are but objects of contempt in a nation which is busy undoing all the shackles of long servitude. But in the nation, which having levelled an empire's monuments to the ground is recreating its ancient self, they will remain as lonely admonitions to other imperial Powers that the subjugation of a race-pride people is not a matter of pitting brain against brain but of pitting evil against good, with a result that has always been inevitable.

PROFNMIAS O'GALLORHAILL.

A Sovereign People.

"BOLSHEVISM AT WORK," by W. T. GOODE.
(George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 2/6 net.)

Government "by the people through the people and for the people" is no longer an ideal—it is in Russia, according to Mr. W. T. Goode, an accomplished fact. "Bolshevism is a spiritual phenomenon, and as such is impervious to bullets. The Soviet Republic may be destroyed, but Bolshevism would not, for that disappear." Goode is, in fact, saying that Bolshevism is the manifestation of the soul of the Russian people, that the mere word of man is a puny and futile thing before the holy Word of God.

"No amount of calumny can destroy the fact that the Russian Revolution is at bottom a moral, even a purification revolution making for simplicity and purity of life and government; and no amount of pressure can fit the Russian people with a Government framed and forged in the West. They must find their own. And that they cannot do until the subsidised civil war is brought to an end."

This is the conclusion of a man who has seen things for himself in Russia. He confesses that he went there with a prejudiced mind—that, in fact, he went to scoff but remained to pray.

"One by one," he says, "my early impressions have vanished. Contact with the reality has brought the conviction that the rule of this Soviet Republic, so far as it affects children, women, and the departments of social order and security, makes for improvement and not for deterioration."

The book sketches the skeleton of a new social order and shows us in actual operation the dreams of social dreamers. One walked through the slums of Dublin and Belfast with a sick feeling in the pit of his stomach, but hopeless that it could ever be changed in this world. Now there is a great hope, for away yonder in Russia the slums are being abolished. Food, and the best obtainable under the inhuman food blockade of civilisation, is given free to all children up to 16 years of age. Equality of opportunity is the rule, and the workers, that is, all the citizens of the Russian Republic, are as comfortably housed and clothed as the massed resources of the country can provide.

Education is free to all, and all have equal opportunity for mental development. The people of Russia have now, in fact, been re-endowed with the mental food upon which they may nourish the minds which make them men. No longer in Russia is there at one end of society men toiling as beasts of burden, and almost as mindless, while at the other end a mob of do-nothings vegetate in another form of neurotic beastliness. By the great explosive force of the revolution the parasites have been blown away—"a good riddance of bad rubbish"—and there has been "a great awakening among the masses of Russians of the keen desire to learn and to develop the faculties."

In this new Russia every soul born into it—for no better reason than because he is a human being—is provided with a sufficiency of bodily and mental food to enable him to become master of his own mind and captain of his own soul. Such men will be fit men not only to guide their own lives but to control and govern themselves in the massed formation of a nation.

Government by the whole people, and a people mentally equipped to govern, is the only stable form of government. If the people are themselves not fit to govern they relinquish their power in the hands of leaders. Thus government by the people becomes merely nominal, and the leaders, as best illustrated by the Trade Union officials, put their own interests first and the peoples' interest a long way afterwards. The Irish Parliamentarians betrayed the Irish people not because they were less than men, but because they were not more than men. They had need to have been gods to have withstood all the temptations which were flung in their way. They fell, as every other group of men would fall in like case, because they were not gods but only men. They fell, as the Irish landlords fell, as an Irish Parliament of Irish merchants, if ever set up, will fall, because no single man, no single class of men, can translate the eternal laws of God into temporal laws. No! The mass mind of the nation, if it is to be a sane, stable and just mind, requires the practical assistance of every individual mind. The mind of every individual, then, must be developed to its utmost capacity in order that it may contribute its share in the government of the nation.

That is what the reader of this book will see happening in Russia. He will see the Russian people becoming a sovereign people. He will see Sinn Féin in its advanced stage. We ourselves must work out our own salvation, says Russia. We ourselves must work out our own salvation, says Ireland. In addition to these voices of Russia and Ireland opposes its voice—militarism. There is only one thing to be done. The soul of civilisation, which is antichrist and its body militarism, must be cast out of this world by the people of the world. We see in Russia the working out of a workers' republic. It is the great alternative to the present massuous state of society. It is the great new heaven and the splendid new earth opening out before our eyes. It is the day of "the great, splendid, faithful common people." W. FORBES PATTERSON.

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JOHN COTTER, Clerk of Union.

7th May, 1920.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The Victory Growns.

The Government has found it impossible to retrieve the
Mountjoy battle. Its whole line has crumpled up. All Mr.
Bonar Law's casuistry about paroles proves to be nothing
but his usual stupidity. The victory of the men in prison
has ended the attempt to eliminate Ireland by imprisoning
it. And it has done more. It has forced the abandonment
of the whole policy upon which the battle was joined.
Mountjoy was the final and decisive battle of a campaign
which began when the Government oppressed Sinn Féin
and Dail Eireann. They pinned their faith to the policy of
"force, force without stint, force to the uttermost," and
for nearly twelve months they used that force to the full.
But it was their nerves, not ours, that gave out, and now
they are reconstructing their lines. The long battle in that
particular issue is over, and we have won it. But there is
a new offensive in preparation.

The New Offensive.

The Times announces it as follows, under the heading
"To Fight the Terror"

On the one hand, stern measures are to be taken for
the suppression of crime; on the other, restrictions which
irritate a whole community without imposing the slightest
check on the actions of the terrorists are to be removed.
There is, in fact, to be a more tolerant regime for the Irish
people as a whole while the Executive is engaged in an
organised attempt to stamp out the criminal conspiracy
in its midst.

It is believed that there are not more than 2,000 ter-
rorists in Ireland. Many thousands of Irish people no
doubt sympathise with their plan of campaign, but the
Government have apparently made up their minds that
the actual murderers and perpetrators of gross outrages
are relatively few. A considerable proportion of these
desperate men are known to the authorities, and could be
readily identified. The problem which has hitherto
baffled the Executive has been the twofold one of laying
their hands upon the terrorists and then of obtaining suffi-
cient evidence to secure their conviction.

It has been said that the Government intend at the
same time to adopt a more liberal attitude towards sedi-
tion unaccompanied by violence or the suspicion of it.
The old policy of arrest without trial is to be abandoned.
Persons will no longer be kept in prison indefinitely with-
out the preferring of a charge against them. They will
either be placed on their trial or brought before a semi-
Judicial Committee, which will decide whether the Crown
has made out a *prima facie* case. Many irksome restric-
tions will be swept away, and reliance will no longer be
placed on the war-time regulations of the Defence of the
Realm Act. Ireland, in fact, is to be governed as far as
possible under the ordinary law, while the military have
their orders to stamp out crime.

Finally it is stated that the Government intend to
give earnest of their more liberal policy by making conces-
sions on the Home Rule Bill to the nationalist aspirations
of the majority of Irishmen.

Nothing New Under the British Sun.

The first observation we feel called upon to make on
that is that it establishes clearly the crushing nature of
the Mountjoy victory. Read the vital sentences again:

The old policy of arrest without trial is to be abandoned.
Persons will no longer be kept in prison indefinitely with-
out the preferring of a charge against them.
Reliance will no longer be placed on the war-time regula-
tions of the Defence of the Realm Act.

That is to say, the policy of crushing out the Irish nation
is definitely beaten, for the present. And the next observa-
tion we feel called upon to make is that the new offensive is
merely a variation of Burrellism. The rage of the Irish
people is to be Burrellised, while a picked phalanx

of about 2,000, believed not to be amenable to Birrellistic methods, is to be labelled Terrorist and shot. For we are told elsewhere in the *Times* announcement:

"When a murderer—(e.g., a person not amenable to Birrellism)—is captured and convicted, he must expect nothing less than the utmost rigour of the criminal law.

It is believed that there are not more than 2,000 terrorists in Ireland.

What It Means.

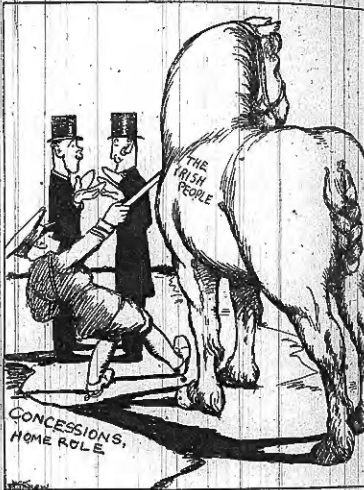
What the new offensive means, in practice, is merely an effort by the Government to bribe the greater part of the nation into looking quietly on while it picks out those whom it most fears, labels them murderers, and eliminates them. It has failed to break the spirit of even the weakest of our people, by its system of organised terrorism, and now it stands that organised terrorism on the community in favour of organised terrorism on the individual. It will be peaceful and legal and solemn, so far as the rank and file of us are concerned, if only we will sit quietly while it gobbles up the best of us. That is its new offensive. Six years ago there might have been something in it. But to-day? Let them try.

The Invincible Nation.

Ireland was always "The Indestructible Nation," but now she is invincible. When she turned her back upon the spurious constitutionalism of the Irish Parliamentary Party, when she withdrew her representatives from the British Parliament, declared the political connection of Ireland and England at an end, and took into her own hands the full control of her own affairs, she became invincible. The separatist principle has, since then, marched from victory to victory. It has not lost a single adherent since the General Election of 1918. It has gained many. Thousands of people who six years ago were not even "constitutional nationalists" are to-day Republicans. British government is held in universal contempt. Everybody knows it is not government but tyranny. And everybody has discovered that in the end it must evacuate this country unless we help to hold it here. In the old days the difference between a physical force man and a constitutional nationalist was merely the difference between a Republican who believed separation practicable and one who believed it impracticable. There was no acceptance of inferior status for Ireland, no acceptance of the British Empire. The mass of constitutional nationalists, if they thought about the question at all, were constitutional nationalists because they saw no way of getting separation. Now, they do. Spurious constitutionalism, spurious moral force, are things of the past, and Ireland, based upon a real constitutionalism, upon a real moral force, stands four square, impregnable and invincible. The mass of us know now that we have only to maintain our resolution and our principles to win; know that if we keep England to the alternatives of Militarism or Evacuation she must eventually evacuate. On that base we have marched from victory to victory, and extremism justifies itself day after day.

Between Two Stools.

British Government in Ireland is between two stools. It is constantly in process of deciding between them. On the last occasion, when it had to decide policy, it decided for full militarism, and it has had a go at it—an extremist go. Now that has failed, and once again it has to make a decision. Militarism or Birrellism. It decides on both. Birrellism for the mass and Militarism for the intran-



YOU CAN DRAG A HORSE TO WATER

gant minority. But it has forgotten that the intransexuals are no longer a minority. Take away 2,000 and we will immediately provide 4,000; take away 4,000 and we will provide 6,000. Nought shall make us rue.

The Position of the Irish Statesman.

In last week's issue the *Irish Statesman* writes: A fortnight ago we were able to announce that one of the Government's new Irish advisers had told the Government that there were two ways, and only two, of governing Ireland—by the sword or by the grant of dominion status. He expressed his preference from the point of view of statesmanship for the latter method, but declared himself ready at the same time to adopt the former. The Government has decided, as we scarcely for a moment doubted it would decide, in favour of the sword. Why, then, may we ask, does our contemporary still write about an Irish dominion? England prefers to offer Ireland the sword in preference to offering her a dominionship. We always said she would. We always said that any combination of circumstances which would induce England to concede dominion status would equally induce her to concede a Republic. And that being now established, what further advantage lies in the maintenance of an artificial call for "the Dominion of Ireland"? It only helps to make England believe that there is in Ireland a minority which can

be weaned from the Republic, and to encourage her to go on with makeshifts. It only encourages such nonsense as this, from the *Times*:

It is, above all, essential that they should rally to their support those moderate elements which have long been held in an unnatural estrangement by a policy irreconcilable with the public professions of the Ministry and the declared will of Parliament.

It only serves to obscure the issue and to delay a settlement. Things have gone too far now for Ireland to consider anything short of her independence. We have set our hands to the plough, and we are going through with the job.

English Labour.

English Labour is not unmindful of Irish votes in England. And, therefore, it has at last been constrained to take some action to keep these votes from going elsewhere. Mr. Ben Tillett announces that the English dockers will refuse to handle munitions for Ireland. A perfectly harmless action. The munitions will be loaded by the military as they are unloaded by the military at this end.

If English labour is desirous of doing bare justice to Ireland it can do two things. It can stop the supply of men to the British Army of Occupation in Ireland. Ninety per cent. of that army comes from the ranks of labour. Why does it yield recruits for such work? Do they realise that it is *their* army, working in their name, and without any effective protest from them. Why does it not call the munition factories and arsenals? Why does it not call a general strike of labour? Nothing else is effective.

Plain Words to English Labour.

It is no use English Labour trying to put the onus on "the Government." No Government can go on without the support of the people. The present English Government would not last one week if Labour struck against it. And a General Strike in England would alter the whole Irish policy of the Government in a week. If Labour wants to do anything, that is the way. But we hold it responsible equally with the Junkers.

Irish Labour and the Internationale.

My friend Aodh de Blacain, in an article in last week's *OLD IRELAND*, reminds me of a previous contribution of mine in which the view was expressed that Irish Labour made a "false step" in joining the Internationale, and he asks, "But why false step?" and "What instrument exists to unite the masses and teach them self-consciousness save, the Internationale?" I elect to answer his questions in no spirit of idle controversy, but that in my reply I may expound more clearly opinions upon Labour generally and Irish Labour in particular, which I would were held by others, or if not worthy to be held had their falsity exposed.

In the first place, my view that Irish Labour took a "false step" was conditional. If Fr. Finlay, S.J., is correct, and a linking up with the Internationale is an act hostile to the teaching of the Catholic Church, then I consider participation in the Internationale by Irish Labour

to be a mistake. My views upon Socialism are extreme. I can see no hope for the world morally, mentally, or physically until the workers run the world in the interest of all mankind. Capitalism I regard as the most deadly evil that has ever assailed society, and the worst evil for me a meaning more abhorrent than the wildest anarchy, anarchical and communistic terms. The first essential in social regeneration is the destruction utterly and unsparsingly of the whole capitalistic system. But destruction is not enough. Something has to be put into the place that is cleared and cleaned and exercised. That something, if it is to be permanent, must, it seems to me, have its foundation in Christ's teaching. Everything man has done without Christ has failed. Christ's teaching is the ideal socialism. I regard the Catholic Church as the infallible interpreter of Christ's teaching. If, then, Irish Labour adopts an attitude contrary to Catholic teaching, Irish Labour, to my mind, has made a "false step" for two reasons—one that by veering away from Christ's teaching it is ensuring the failure of its movement, and the other that by adopting a policy opposed by the Catholic Church it cannot succeed in popularising that policy in a Catholic country, and is therefore robbing itself of the people's support, which after all is the only thing upon which it can rely for the effectiveness of its movement. But all this is conditional. The step is false in the way I first meant the phrase only if the Internationale is anti-Catholic. But that the step is false for mundane reasons also is indicated below. It may seem that I have dragged Christianity unnecessarily into this answer to the first of Mr. Blacain's questions, but to me Christianity is democracy, and the surest way of failing in a social movement is to pretend it has nothing to do with Christ or His teaching.

The second question Mr. Blacain asks is "What instrument exists to unite the masses or teach them self-consciousness save the Internationale?" The only reply I can think of is the question: What can the Internationale do to unite the masses or teach them self-consciousness? By the masses Mr. Blacain clearly means the proletariat of all sorts of races, each with a different national psychology, each with a different national and social tradition, many with different religious outlooks and therefore differing moral standards, many with distinct languages, all with race pride somewhere in them, several with the conviction that they are superior to other races, especially to the coloured races. By what miracle can unity be established in this discordant mass? Certainly unity cannot be established by an academic organisation of which but one in every ten thousand of the proletariat is a member and which up to the present has failed in every crisis. It is no use pointing out the advance of solidarity among the workers of the world since the days of Napoleon. There has been no real advance. Even as Russia is now, France was then. Dust to dust. As long as man biases his social theories and social practice upon his own wisdom, and looks no higher for inspiration, so long will the Democracy of the Commonwealth period in England go on reproducing itself in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Great War, the Russian Revolution, the Wilsonian Verbal Revolution, century after century, tirelessly and yet leaving man-

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kind where it was when the first democrat coined the first plebeian war-cry. The Internationale can secure superficial agreement among the peoples of the earth. On first principles the proletariat will all have the same views: the right of the people to the wealth earned by the people, the development of all industry to the equal benefit of all classes, the employment of all surplus wealth to the improvement of the conditions of the work and life of the labourer. But the Internationale is not needed to spread these views. All democrats already hold them; they are being preached in a hundred tongues by the Labour leaders of a hundred peoples. Where the Internationale would be of use would be in putting these principles into general practice. In the first place it has not received from world labour the executive authority to do any such thing. In the second place, even did it possess such executive authority the interpretation of these first principles in acts acceptable all over a world overflowing with varying and often opposing standards, traditions, and distinct national psychology does appear to me a task so enormous and so enormously intricate as to be well-nigh impossible, even for a body infinitely more powerful than any Internationale is ever likely to be. To me the Internationale is purely ornamental. It is indeed more harmful than a mere ornament because it pretends that a world movement of Labour is a possibility—which it is not—and that in the Internationale that world movement has already begun, which is even less true. And by making these pretences it is attracting away from the real solution the minds of many able men.

That real solution appears to me to be that each nation must defeat the capitalist system within its own borders and replace it with a Socialist system conceived in the genius of that people and born of their desire to benefit mankind, not by preaching but by example. Russia has chosen the Soviet system as its alternative to capitalism. That does not mean that the Soviet system is necessarily suited to the needs of every other democratic people. It may be as dangerous to the welfare of Ireland for Irishmen to take their social settlement ready-made from Russia as to take their national settlement ready-made from England. The general principle of the Russian Revolution is worthy to be to us an inspiration. But in putting that principle into operation we must mould it to the peculiar requirements of Ireland, reshaping it according to the moral as well as the material needs of our nation. In Ireland we shall have a bitter contest with Capital—a contest lasting for many years. Before the workers embark on that contest they must understand their purpose and what their responsibilities are going to be when it is achieved. It is a waste of time to be nourishing in them a love for the Internationale. The Internationale has its foundations in public utility. The workers are to dominate the world because by that means more comforts will be theirs and less hardships; it will be a pleasanter world if the proletariat rule it than it has been under the capitalists. All that is true: but the use of such arguments in favour of the Socialist State is an advocacy of that materialism out of which Capitalism first sprang. Men find no spiritual inspiration in the contemplation of a mere redistribution of wealth. And without spiritual inspiration a movement wearies and after a little while gutters out like a waning candle. The workers need to be taught that Capitalism has to be destroyed not because the good things of the wealthy are desired by the poor but because Capitalism has become a moral evil and is stamping the divinity out of man. The workers need to be taught that a Socialist State

must be upraised because true Socialism is Christ-like and will help man to express the God that is in him. International Socialism has failed in this, that it based its theories upon the human needs only. If itself has robbed itself of moral force. Solgishness has become its badge and is becoming its shroud. To think that by introducing International Socialism into Ireland we shall benefit Irish Labour is to think very carelessly indeed. If instead of expending valuable energy in bringing a valueless system into popularity in Ireland we would expend that energy in creating in Ireland a Socialist State in accordance with the ideals of the people we would be doing a little of our share in defeating world-capitalism. We are powerful enough to break the capitalist system in Ireland. We are powerful enough to break the capitalist system everywhere. Let us concentrate on doing what we can do, not on desiring to do what it is obvious we can never do. When we have defeated Capitalism in Ireland and replaced it with a national Socialism, and when the peoples of other nations have done each the same, then an international brotherhood may be of general advantage. At present it is nothing more than a luxurious hindrance to real social progress.

PROFESSOR O. GALLAGHER

Father McKenna and James Connolly.
Is Class War Justifiable?

Father Lambert McKenna, S.J., is well loved for his many patriotic activities, and now, in a valuable little book published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, he has laid us under a further debt of gratitude. No more important contribution has been made to the interpretation of Connolly and his movement than this thought-packed essay which originally appeared in the *Irish Monthly*. Father McKenna, of course, is in disagreement with much that Connolly wrote, though he is in full sympathy—like every good man—with Connolly's ultimate ideals. The remarkable thing is that a writer who stands for Distributivism and nothing more succeeds, more than many of those who are actual disciples of Connolly, in lifting, if I level possible, our admiration of Connolly to a yet higher level than his own readings of Connolly's writings. Everyone who has read "Labour in Ireland" candidly, recognises in its author one of the truest and greatest of modern Irishmen. But after reading Father McKenna's book, everyone will realise more keenly than before that Connolly was one of the great men of the age. For Father McKenna studies and expounds the far-reaching implications of that forward-looking intellect's teachings, and shows how Laxton's Lieutenant was a thinker of the keenest intuition and originality.

Father McKenna's brilliant and invaluable interpretation of Connolly's relation to Economic Materialism will not be in vain here, nor the exposition of the theory of Surplus Value. Suffices it to remark that Father McKenna regards Connolly's attitude in the clearest light—shows that he did a solitary work in applying economic tests to Irish history, that he was a true Nationalist, a true teacher on the question of marriage, and a disciple of Leo XIII. in his view of Industrial Unionism, which was a brilliant forecast of forerunner of the Soviet system of industry, is concretely and sympathetically set forth. But it is when Father

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McKenna handles Connolly's teaching on the Class War that we find ourselves somewhat out of agreement. It is important to be clear on important issues like this, and one reason that we are so enthusiastic in recommending this little book to the public, and in congratulating the C.T.S. on its publication, is that herein the vital questions of the hour are laid before us in their simplest form and in the most moderate language, so that hard thinking is stimulated and the air cleared. But he disapproves of revolutionary language that tends to encourage the general cataclysmic overthrow of the present unjust order. He desires that the workers shall press their case with the minimum of hostility to the employing class as a class. This, of course, is the attitude of a peace-desiring man who sees in the present conflict of humanity over temporal things immortal souls on both sides, and on neither ungodly or evil. To a certain point all will agree that this is the proper attitude. "In all things, charity" is a maxim that bids us give the employers, or any other section that we are opposed to in a struggle, every opportunity to come to an amicable settlement. Sweeping denunciations of the whole employing class are excusable in acerbic announcements; but it is wrong in practice to concern individuals for the faults of a class. Though England as a nation is the wickedest the world has seen we do not treat individual Englishmen with hostility. Individual employers must not be attacked without a chance to adapt themselves to new conditions. In Ireland, where supernatural religion prevails, there is double reason for exerting every effort to avert unnecessary Class War. The Irish Catholic employer and the Irish Catholic worker have two things in common in the name of which they should canvass every means to avoid fratricidal strife. Let us bear in mind, too, the past with its capitalist tradition moulded men in its particular cast. The young man of enterprise and ambition, looking for an opening for his energies, saw before him no Co-operative movement by which he could become a captain of democratic industry like Feady Heaps. His only opening was Capitalism. Therefore men like the late Mr. W. M. Murphy became capitalists by sheer force of circumstances. If more men of Mr. Murphy's brilliant constructive ability are born into Ireland, it is for us to secure their energies in Co-operation by offering them in the movement full scope for their genius. It is our duty, in dealing with capitalists, to give them every opportunity to serve the new order, and not to open our guns upon them until they definitely oppose us or refuse to be one with us. They were natural to one stage of evolution, and we must seek their individual services in the next.

But while this is our duty, it must be admitted in truth that not many profit-makers will surrender profit-making on a national appeal. The fact does remain that the capitalist order has brought out the bad in man and has set a premium on the brute, so that for one upright and principled employer there are dozens of swindlers and grabbers. We can make no peace with the evil system, whatever our attitude to individuals. So long as profit-making rules the world of economics, so long there will be no social justice, no idealism, no purity in public life. Force will reign. Truth will languish. The Press will be corrupt. Freedom will be beyond the reach of men. Can the evil

order be broken by slow ameliorative methods? That is the question that the schools are divided on. The revolutionary thinks that in order to rouse man to a sense of their slavery and to break the spell by which ascendancy rules, some violent shock is necessary. That was Connolly's view. It is useless to argue with brute force. It is vain to hope to get justice from stark violence. The capitalist has a permanent advantage, controlling, as he does, the Press and the Army, Parliament and public life. Only a revolt can turn the tables. That revolt may be warlike, as in the French Revolution and Easter Week; or it may be industrial, as in a general strike. But revolt there must be. In this faith, Connolly worked for revolution, and in the end took part in a revolution. To think the moral element in the revolutionary spirit is to lose Connolly's principal significance. Connolly might favour distributed property or communal property, and yet be a revolutionary. It does not matter which he favoured: what mattered is that he gave Europe the lead in striking a material blow at Capitalism. It is indifferent what he proposed to substitute for Capitalism: the point is, that he fought. Was he right to fight? We shall not presume to answer.

Another consideration in respect of the Class War is that, whether we like it or not, we cannot progress towards the Co-operative Commonwealth without, sooner or later, coming up against a deadlock that will only be broken by a class-struggle. Co-operation can progress until it governs distribution; it can control the creameries and most of the agricultural industry; it can start various small industries. But at a certain point it is bound to find itself faced by a dead wall in the capitalist monopoly of raw materials. Sooner or later it will find itself hinged round and its progress barred by—Private Property in the sources of production. Already the movement discerns the attempt to ring it round in the agricultural machinery combine. The refusal of sugar cards to newly-formed Co-operative Societies, dipping them on as it does, is another example of the sinister power of individualism to impede the popular movement. How will ascendancy be dislodged? How will co-operative democracy secure access to sufficient coal, iron, wool, transport, machinery, ships, land, for its continued expansion? How will capitalist control of the Press and State and League of Nations be broken? Obviously there are here two forces or classes ranked against each other and incapable of amalgamation. A fight must come, for if Co-operation progresses Individualism is doomed; and Individualism, living by force, will fight for its life by every means in its power, however violent or vile.

It may be that Co-operation will command such an overwhelming majority of adherents that the ultimate struggle will be bloodless, and will be won by the ballot box. But we know well how Capitalism and Imperialism can buy and corrupt big armies of slaves, and so it may be that when the pull comes the millions of Capitalism will be deceived again with the plea that the fall of Capitalism means their own fall too, and so will fight once more against their class brethren because they are deceived with a lie. We cannot at this early stage forecast with assurance the latter end of the contest, but we can see that the only way to prevent Capitalism and Imperialism from bending us with our own flesh and blood is to create a class consciousness across the lines of the two orders. We must convince the worker that his due loyalty is to his fellow-worker, not to an ascendancy to which he is bound only with a temporary cash-nexus. We must rouse in him a loyalty to his own kind and inspire him with the ideal of workers working together for the common interest. We must work for

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What did Connolly mean by the Class War? Do we believe in the inevitability, aye, and in the righteousness, of that struggle? Father McKenna agrees that the working class today stands "deprived of what should be its property," and that a struggle is in progress "in which Capitalism is the aggressor." But he disapproves of revolutionary language that leads to encourage the general systematic overthrow of the present unjust order. He desires that the workers shall press their case with the minimum of hostility to the employing class as a class. This, of course, is the attitude of a peace-desiring man who sees in the press and conflict of humanity over temporal things immortal souls on both sides and on neither un-mixed good or evil. To a certain point all will agree that this is the proper attitude. "In all things; charity" is a maxim that bids us give the employers, or any other section to which we are opposed in a struggle, every opportunity to come to an amicable settlement. Sweeping denunciations of the whole employing class are excusable in action pronouncements, but it is wrong in practice to condemn individuals for the faults of a class. Though England as a nation is the wickedest the world has seen we do not treat individual Englishmen with hostility. Individual employers must not be attacked without a chance to adapt themselves to new conditions. In Ireland, where supernatural religion prevails, there is double reason for exerting every effort to avert unnecessary Class War. The Irish Catholic employer and the Irish Catholic worker have two things in common in the name of which they should canvass every means to avoid fratricidal strife. Let us bear in mind, too, the past with its capitalist tradition moulded men in its particular cast. The young men of enterprize and ambition, looking for an opening for his energies, saw before him no Co-operative movement by which he could become a captain of democratic industry like Paddy the Cope. His only opening was Capitalism. Therefore men like the late Mr. N. M. Murphy became capitalists by these force of circumstances. If more men of Mr. Murphy's brilliant constructive ability are born into Ireland, it is for us to secure their energies in Co-operation by offering them in the movement full scope for their genius. It is our duty, in dealing with capitalists, to give them every opportunity to serve the new order, and not to open our guns upon them until they definitely oppose us or refuse to be one with us. They were natural to one stage of evolution; and we must seek their individual services in the next.

But while this is our duty, it must be admitted in truth that not many profit-makers will surrender profit-making on a national appeal. The fact does remain that the capitalist order has brought out the bad in man and has set a premium on the brute, so that for one upright and principled employer there are dozens of sweaters and grabbers. We can make no peace with the evil system, whatever our attitude to individuals. So long as profit-making rules the world of economics, so long there will be no social justice, no idealism, no purity in public life. Force will reign. Truth will languish. The Press will be corrupt. Freedom will be beyond the reach of men. Can the evil

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workers' class consciousness. But there need be no class conflict if the owners and employers will see reason and justice and yield peaceably to the advance of human brotherhood, surrendering their monopolies and giving their services to democratic industry. To isolate the profiteer and create solidarity among workers is the surest means we have of avoiding violence in the future—for the few profiteers could not put up a fight against a class-conscious world.

At the present date, the likelihood of cataclysmic revolution seems remote. It could not be successful in Ireland unless it were also successful in Britain, so for us there can be no short-cut to the Co-operative Commonwealth. The hope that the sudden and violent overthrow of the capitalist order would result in an instantaneous uprise of liberty is open to the criticism that sudden revolutions usually are subject to reactions; but however that may be, the great fact for us is that we are bound up in this matter to the greatest anti-revolutionary Power in the world, and so we have to win each inch of our way by hard work. Progressive revolution is our only means at present. Slow revolution, like sudden revolution, is a totally different thing from mere amelioration. It means an utter change of basis and objective.

When Father McKenna deals with Connolly's ideal of a Co-operative Republic to succeed the Class War, he offers this—surely most remarkable—criticism:

The small number of men who would have the running of the Co-operative Republic would be more or less the same individuals who at present manage the Capitalistic State; they would lead pretty much the same kind of lives, would have pretty much the same functions and the same power, and would have the same methods of exercising and retaining that power, namely, political trickery and a controlled Press.

Well, well, well! Is it not astonishing that so clear and learned a thinker should offer such an unsupported and unsupported charge as an argument? Can Father McKenna seriously mean that a free Ireland would be handed over to the Kildare Street Club, or a free England to Lloyd George and Milner? This surely is a blunder due to blinking the revolutionary element in Connolly. The Christian Church was not handed over to the High Priests of Judaism, and Co-operation, like Christianity, means a clean, fresh start: both are revolutionary (though peaceful) in origin and object. "The tyranny of a small minority" would remain, Father McKenna declares. Will he excuse me for answering "Nonsense"? Surely a very small experience of the Co-operative movement at work would show that different methods produce different men. Call at the offices of the National Federation in Dublin and chat with the enthusiastic, straight-souled men who there labour for the country. Take a run round one of the well-developed Co-operative counties and that with the managers at the societies. Spend a few hours with the organisers or travellers of the movement. The men you meet will not all be geniuses, all beauties, or all saints. But you will discover that they are a mightily superior type to gamblers and financiers. They are forward-looking. They think for a mass, not for themselves alone. They have to be methodical and efficient. Drink and sloppiness and exploitation would ruin them.

They are the best type the nation can produce. Go to a managers' meeting and you'll see the germ of economic democracy. "The same sort of lives" quod he? "The same functions?" "The same methods," morrah?

No, this is not true. Experience here is on Connolly's side. It is notorious that environments influence men. Reared amid the occasions of sin, the average young person will be likely to develop badly than if reared in an atmosphere of virtue. Do not all moralists strive to preserve people from temptation? What, then, shall be said of Capitalism, with its continual temptation to selfishness? Is it to be expected that rampant individualism will encourage or even allow good men to come to the top? Will it not twist them on the way? If we introduce an order where individualism is checked and men are taught by experience that to help themselves they must serve the common good, shall we not produce a better type of man? Nay, but will the selfish man be weeded out, and only the proved worker of public spirit allowed to go up? That is what happens in the Co-operative order, however imperfectly. Nothing is more striking than the moral sorting out and the moral strengthening which Co-operation introduces to places formerly ridden by selfishness and jealousy. It educates the mass and draws out the deserving. It is, then, our great hope for the destruction of "political trickery and a controlled Press."

Of course, Co-operation is only a step. It is not the final order. Perhaps the final order might be directly formed from it, but the movement as we know it has all the marks of transition. We are in transition. We are obliged to endure many things we hate. We are, as Irishmen, obliged to accept certain services of a foreign State, and as Co-operators to work in some things (e.g., the marketing of produce) on a non-Co-operative basis. We are not yet one-tenth organised for the social control of railways, shipping, or big-scale manufacture, and so we are obliged to leave these things to barbarous capitalist development. But though we cannot build New Jerusalem in a day, we can speedily plan out its foundations, and we can keep its image in our hearts to cheer us as we labour at the early spade-work, which is all we are able for at present.

ADRIAN BRADY.

Politics and Conscience.

Right and Wrong, or rather the sense of Right and Wrong, is life's pivot. The most important words in human history are these two—Right leading the race to progress, Wrong holding mankind back. These are the everlasting, immutable things. This law, indelibly imprinted on conscience by the Creator, has a vital, essential place in every nook and corner of human action, in politics no less than in economics. Politics, unless ethical, are sinful—the who may read this truth in history.

One reads and hears every day about the Cause of Ireland's Independence. What does this word *Cause* mean? It not only denotes the political emancipation, but it also connotes the human emancipation of Ireland. But arresting stress I wish to lay on an aspect which is frequently ignored, unfortunately overlooked and but slightly mentioned—*to-day*—so dull has conscience become in the matter—and that is the ethical aspect—the signal, reverend, compelling fact that Ireland's Cause is the great, sacred, ineluctable struggle supported by moral reasons and motives which our fathers for centuries have maintained and which we are fast completing—a struggle urged, levered, and

impetused by Conscience, a struggle rooted and grounded in the eternal principles of Right.

The Rebel, the inexorably certain Rebel against Right, has been, in England—the English thing; Ireland has been, in the implacably zealous Champion of Right. That, in brief, is the truth. That, tersely, is Ireland's history. Correct thinking is the powerful searchlight that reveals facts. Who calls Irishmen "rebels" so describes their conflicts with Wrong as "rebellion" is stark dead, intellectually. It is equally absurd for a Catholic to call the Protestant Rebellion a Reformation. In God's name, let us call things by their proper names—in the chase of truth let us think for ourselves, independently of error and cant. Let us think. Then we shall express ourselves justly.

Nay, have I, nor should I have—who should?—any patience with those who speak or write on Irish history as "gloomy, dull, drearful." These are the terms of the enemy, terms at variance with the facts—terms of the wrong-doer and of those who speak and write after the fashion of the thing.

No struggle merits greater praise, no struggle can be more heroic, more glorious, no struggle can shine with such lustre of nobility as the struggle of Right against Wrong—and that struggle is the outfit of Ireland with England. Ireland is Right, England is Wrong.

This fight for Ireland's independence we are bound in conscience to maintain—remissful we cannot be without sin.

The people of Ireland to-day are conducting the struggle with holier intensity than ever, I think, against alien foreign rule, not merely because it is oppressive rule but especially because it is rule by foreigners. On their side the Irish people have Right and Justice, the English are Wrong and unjust. By God's Providence this Cause of Ireland is simple. Like all the other obligations of life, the child understands it and the sage. I repeat that the Cause of Irish Independence is a sacred matter, is *de suo natura*, essentially ethical, a subject involving obligation on the part of every Irish man and woman, a matter of Right and Wrong, an inescapable obligation.

Not an inconsiderable number of people one brushes elbows with in Ireland who are indifferent apparently or supine as regards the heroic struggle for the Republic. I use Republic in the best, the old, radical sense. People who are apparently unconcerned, even tell you so, ply their trade, and ostentatiously send their religious duties in passive acquiescence of alien rule and foreign military occupation of their country. Thank God, they are a comparative few—but they are a few too many—submitting to Wrong and Injustice.

There are two ways in which Wrong, Injustice can be done. One is by perpetrating it, the other by submitting to it. Ireland in her best men and women has never done either.

The majority of Irish voters have determined for, established, and are sustaining the Republic of Ireland. The Republic is governing the country; it is the *de facto* and the *de jure* Government of Ireland. Dail Eireann is the *de jure* Government because it rests on the consent of the Government, because it is the Government actually functioning, exercising the powers and discharging the duties of Government, and as such recognised by the people of Ireland.

I have just received from Washington, D.C., a United States Governmental publication entitled "To Provide for the Salaries of a Minister and Consuls to the Republic of Ireland." (Hearings on H.R. 3404.) On page 187 Mr. Burke Cockran thus proves to the American Congress that the Dail is the *de facto* Government of Ireland.

"The main function of government is to establish peace and maintain it. . . . That function of government—its supreme function—is now fully and effectively discharged in Ireland by courts of the Sinn Fein Republic, except in two cities—Belfast and Dublin—where the English military forces will not permit the republican courts to operate. And these cities are the theatres of practically all the crimes committed in Ireland. In the rest of the country authority of the republican courts is undisputed. And the functioning of these courts is not a mere formality. They function more efficiently than any other courts in the world. That more seem to be a startling statement. But, gentlemen, if you examine the evidence furnished by reports of British officials and the news columns of English daily papers, you will see that it is unqualifiably true. These courts function for the settlement of disputes more effectively than any others in the world, because their authority is maintained by popular favour. They have not a single officer to enforce their judgments. Yet these judgments are obeyed universally and implicitly."

These indifferent people fall back upon a pretext which is tantamount to an absolute denial of the essential ethical element in politics—an absolute denial of the duties of citizenship—they lean upon the need of a sophistry in their tacit surrender of their very rights as human beings—there is a sinful acquiescence in the invasion of human liberty. Yet they are citizens of the Irish Republic, to whom alone they owe allegiance, in which they are bound to fulfil their political duties. They allege that they are "not interested in politics" that they are not "politicians." If by "politics" they mean vote-catching, graft, unscrupulous favouritism, the vilest and narrowest of sycophancy, mean and petty ambition, lust for pelf and power, trimming and the flouting of every moral principle; if by politicians they mean that shallow, turbid tribe of corrupt, bribe-ridden, venal degenerates, and all the other sinister things which undoubtedly attach to the words in modern times, Ireland and their fellow countrymen, it is almost needless to remark, are not asking them to take part or contending that they are bound to take part in any such sordid, dirty business. It smacks of hell—of all things evil. It is one of the instances where a noble word has been dragged down by human depravity into the mire of sin and sinful association.

But politics has a noble sense, a human sense, a true sense. Properly speaking, politics should be, and is, by its honest men, considered a branch of ethics—and by science of natural morality indicating what action is right, and what is wrong, as befitting or unbefitting a rational creature. Yes, in these days of confusion and turmoil in the world, too serious, too solemn reflection cannot be had on the obligations we all, each and every one of us, have in politics. Fogginess and misconception as regards politics, its nature, and obligations seem to be everywhere in the world rampant. Men appear not to realise that politics is one of the chief chapters in the philosophy of the Right.

KEVIN STROMA DORRINE (an American).
(To be continued.)

The Sinister Significance of England's Prisoner Policy.

(Continued from last week.)

With the beginnings of her Empire and with the knowledge that Ireland was the foundation on which that Empire rested, came England's determination to hold Ireland for her own, and at all costs, to use it for herself, and herself only. Four hundred years of continuous warfare had taught her that she never could and never would bend the Irish into peaceful admission of her sovereignty or break them into unconditional submission to her sway. She realised to the full that "as long as they (the Irish) may resist and save their lives they will never obey the king." There was only one thing to do—to exterminate the Gaelic race and repeople Ireland with loyal English. Extermination had, of course, been the policy of the invaders for two centuries, but, in addition to proving slow and costly, the process had so completely failed that Elizabeth Tudor, during her occupancy of the throne of England, found the Irish stronger, more united, and nearer to recovering their country from the foreigner than at any time since the English occupation. A speedy and wholesale destruction of an entire people was necessary to secure the safety and expansion of her newly founded Empire, and that necessity she held to justify her projected crime. In a book just published called "A Straight Deal on the Ancient Grudge," the author, a Mr. Owen Wister, in a propagandist appeal to the United States for what he calls "an Anglo-Saxon alliance," says "we (i.e. the English) got (America) mostly by force and fraud, by driving out of it through fire-arms and plots people who certainly were there first, and who were weaker than ourselves. Our vision was simply that we wanted it and intended to have it." The "safety and welfare" of the British Empire are the motives that this Englishman assigns for his country's admitted iniquity, and "safety and welfare," when pleaded on behalf of Anglo-Saxons, are, in his opinion, sufficient to merit for England's deeds of blood and plunder, the approval of Englishmen and the "tolerance and charity" of the rest of the world. The "safety and welfare" of the British Empire were, and are, England's plea for her occupation, with its attendant horrors of India and of Egypt. The "safety and welfare" of her Empire have ever been, as Mitchell with masterly sarcasm shows in his "Apologia," her unvarying defence for her at least five-centuries' attempt to clear Ireland of the Irish.

The Spenser Plan.

In the name of the "safety and welfare" of her Empire Elizabeth, when she realised that its bedrock was Ireland, took counsel with her advisers as to the speediest and most effective method of finally sweeping the Irish off Irish soil. On the advice of two advisers in particular her policy was moulded, and English policy in Ireland has been moulded ever since. The first of these was Dr. Adam Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, and his counsel to his Sovereign was "that friars, monks, jesuits, priests, nuns, and such like vermin . . . should be executed." This is the policy known as "removing" the leaders with intent to scatter the rank and file. Capture, imprisonment, deportation, and assassination were the means employed by Elizabeth and—by succeeding British Governments down to the

present day. This was not enough. The rank and file continued to put up a good fight and their superiority in tactics and in warfare demanded, as a preliminary to extermination, the destruction of their physical and mental strength. In the means of effecting this result, English policy has followed the plan outlined by Spenser. With the attempted slaying of Irish intellect I am not so much concerned in this article. Suffice it that the carrying into effect of Spenser's advice—"Tear out their Irish tongues and their hearts will soon become England" went nearer to killing the soul of the nation, and to completing England's conquest of Ireland than any other scheme, coercive or corroboratory, tried or devised by British Government. Spenser's suggestions for destroying the physical superiority of the Irish were not original. They were merely an elaboration in emphasis of plans recommended to the British Government some fifty years earlier for "the complete reduction of the island," and still preserved in the English State Papers Office. This report, in course, stated:

"The very living of the Irishry doth clearly consist in two things, and take away the same from them and they are past forever to recover, or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn, and as much as they have heaped and had into the hands of such as shall inhabit in their lands and country, to burn and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; then to have their cattle and beasts, which should be most hardest to come by, for they shall be in the woods, and yet with guides and policy, they be apt had and taken in Ireland at this time. And again, by the reason that the several armies, as I devised in my other paper, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the same Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies, with their guides and assistants by 'hop, policy, espial, or some other mean, shall come thereby; and admitting the impossibility, so that their cattle shall be saved, yet in continuance of one year the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten by reason of the continual removal of them, going from one wood to another, as they shall be forced to do, their lying out all the winter, and narrow pastures, they shall be stolen, lost, strayed, and dead, and almost all of them, when all the great number of the Irishry so being in exile being together, with their tenants and followers, taking their corn and other victual, shall have no manner of sustenance, but only the residue of the same cattle, if there shall be any, whereby their said cattle must in a short time be consumed, and then they shall be without corn, victuals, or cattle, and therof shall stand the putting in effect of all these wars against them."

This is the first occasion on which carefully planned and deliberately enforced starvation was recommended to, and adopted by, the British Government as an official instrument of conquest in Ireland. It was this plan that Spenser elaborated and "improved," in his advice to Elizabeth Tudor, and in the calculated feroicness of his proposals those, who know only the "gentle poet" and not the great landgrabber, would never recognise the author of the "Faery Queen."

P. S. O'FLANNAGAN.

(To be concluded.)

The United States and the Irish Republic.*

By William J. M. A. Maloney, M.D.

Complete and perfect sovereignty, when successfully established in right and in fact, admits the claimant State as an equal among the nations of the world, conferring the privileges and imposing the obligations inherent to membership in the family of nations. *The Power against such a claim is asserted to be obviously departed in justice from existing its validity.* The claim in its nature rises a purely international issue. Only neutral nations are competent to pass upon it: and to their judgment, on January 21, 1919, the Irish Republic submitted the claim of the Irish nation.

The claim of the Irish Republic denied all English rights in Ireland and summoned England to establish or to renounce her pretensions there, before the nations of the world. England through her official propagandists made in effect two answers. In the first, alternately rattling her sabre, and pleading privilege as the saviour of the world, England affirmed: "The Irish right to independence is limited by the rights and interests of the English nation. The security of England requires the retention of Ireland." This British principle was first denied by the American Revolutionists in 1776, in so far as it then applied to America; and was finally denied by the United States and its associates in the war of 1917, in so far as it applied to the rest of the world. It violated the spirit of justice and equality before the law, and to civilised tribunal could give a sanction.

In the second answer, England asserted:

The Irish seek only partial control of their affairs, "a concession which England as the Sovereign Power in Ireland, can alone grant or withhold, and which the British Parliament is even deliberating. The Irish claim raises no international question, and neutral nations have no jurisdiction over it. It is an English domestic issue."

In 1778, England protested to France that the sovereignty of the United States was an English domestic issue. Spain protested to the United States that the South American Republics were a Spanish domestic issue. Turkey similarly protested when her subject States asserted their independence. It is a conventional protest made to neutrals by all imperial Powers when menaced with the loss of sovereignty over people struggling to be free.

In judging the nature of the Irish claim to sovereignty, only its assertion by Ireland and not its interpretation or denial by England can be considered relevant. England's purpose in alleging the domestic issue is solely to deter neutrals from action. Obviously, there is no declaration of hostile intent on the part of a neutral, in the exercise of a legitimate and obligatory judicial function as a member of the family of nations. But the imperial Power against which a judgment is entered may appeal it to the sword, and if the subject nation should thus compromise its claim, the neutral might be left to sustain alone a war without a cause. Confronted with the domestic-issue protest, weak nations feel constrained to refrain from action. And strong nations feel therefore to wait till they are convinced that the nature of the claim compels them to pass upon it.

From the writings of the Count de Vergennes and from Maurépas' evidence presented by Doniol *"Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement*

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In like manner, while awaiting conclusive proof of the nature of the claim of the Spanish colonies, the United States aided them to the extent revealed by President Monroe in a letter to General Jackson (Monroe's Writings, Vol. VI. pp. 128-9):

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But circumstances ordained that Ireland should fight her fight alone and grievously handicapped, for many of Ireland's most gallant sons thought the war against Germany to be the final war for the freedom of the world, and voluntarily went out to fight alongside the French, Belgians and English. Believing that the greater freedom would include the less, more Irish than Japanese, Portuguese, South Africans, and relatively, even than Canadians fell fighting for the Allied cause (vide the *New Statesman*, London, Nov. 30, 1918). Moreover, the United States, the traditional

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The propriety of delay in these instances was not deemed inconsistent with unofficial but effective aid in the struggle of the probationary period. At the outbreak of hostilities in America, Silas Deane, evading English vigilance, reached France, where, with the sanction of the French Minister of State, with the active co-operation of the French Government, and with a substantial loan from secret official sources, a trading company was formed, under the fictitious name of Hortales and Company, which provided the needed war supplies to the American Revolutionists. "The just and generous treatment which their (the United States) trading ships have received by a free admission into the ports of this country, together with other considerations of respect . . . was acknowledged by the Commission on American Independence, as the impelling reason for seeking recognition first from France (See. cit. Vol. VI., p. 42, Letter to the signed B. Franklin, Silas Deane, Arthur Lee). The United States Republic, to prove the fixity of its purpose had to withstand the force of England from July 4, 1776, until February 6, 1778, but not unaided.

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friend of freedom, by her legitimate preoccupation in her own vital affairs, and by her military necessity of defeating unreservedly and unconditionally with England to defeat Germany, was debarré from aiding Ireland. And England, seizing and exploiting the necessity which gave her the temporary grace of American association, concentrated her efforts upon the suppression of the Irish Republic. She conducted here an intensified campaign of calumny against many, and against the Republic itself; diverted troops and artillery to the reconquest of Ireland, secure in the knowledge that America would fill all gaps on the front in France; and paid, fed, and clothed these troops out of loans voted by Congress to fight Germany. Meanwhile, the citizens of the Irish Republic here, with supreme trust in American justice, waived in greater ratio than any other alien nationals, their right to exemption, pledged their lives for American security, and confided their cause to her care. And the Provisional and permanent Governments of the Irish Republic, scorning concession or compromise, triumphantly withstood, alone and unaided, every effort that England made to suppress it; and under conditions that attested the unalterable determination of the nation, maintained, unimpaired, the claim to perfect and complete sovereignty of the Irish Republic.

The Irish claim, being in accord with the genius and age-long traditions of the Irish people, and having been thus upheld for four morrant years, could be depreciated by neutrals only at the expense of their own patriotism. Even neutrals who might lack the courage to countenance the claim could not in dignity longer deny it. By no standard or pretext could England require any self-respecting neutral to await further evidence of the nature of the claim of the Irish Republic. Because of that claim England has instituted and maintained in Ireland a state of war. In spite of all her armed forces, England had steadily lost executive, administrative, and judicial control in Ireland, until her authority there was limited to the range of her guns. Her prospects of regaining that control had become increasingly hopeless. Further delay would serve only to perpetuate the existing schism in international law and to deepen the breach in the comity of free peoples. The Irish claim urgently required settlement. Legality demanded its a right, humanity as a duty, that neutrals should accept and assert jurisdiction over it. And those who had just been associated in the war for "the freedom of all peoples great and small" were under an especial obligation to the dead who had died for that cause, to heed and to hear the claim of the Irish Republic.

One month after the armistice a hearing of the Irish claim was granted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the Gallagher Resolution: "Requesting the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the International Peace Conference to present to the said Conference the Right of Ireland to Freedom, Independence and Self-determination."

By this hearing the United States served notice on England that the affront of the English "domestic" issue would no longer be tacitly tolerated in the Irish Republic by reputable neutrals who had sent their citizens to slay and be slain for the avowed purpose of ending such domestic issues. The hearing signified the definite acceptance by the United States, of jurisdiction over the Irish claim. And on December 11, 1918, Dr. McCartan, the agent of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, with other elected representatives of the Irish people, eloquently aided by American sympathisers, stated Ireland's case before the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

To secure the recognition of the Irish Republic, by the United States, the Irish advocates had to establish by

American standards both the right of the Irish nation to sovereignty, and the fact of the sovereignty of the Irish Republic.

The United States in principle have ever upheld the sovereign right of the people, but in practice had refused officially to recognise the right unless the fact were established. Historically, the existence of the fact had been determined by variable standards, according to the actual circumstances of the United States, and to the inherent appeal of the particular claim.

In seeking recognition from France, the United States deduced the fact of American sovereignty mainly from the right. On February 6, 1778, France recognized the independence of the United States, although England was then in military possession and control of American waters, of Long Island and other strategic points, and of vital centres of the life of the American people, such as New York and Philadelphia. Without the intervention of France the fact of the sovereignty of the United States might never have been established. But a people who had forced Burgoyne to surrender in reply to Valley Forge had surely a right to the same sovereignty. France, from that right inferred the fact, and recognised the new State.

In its infancy, when its very existence was thought to depend upon its peaceful development, the United States abstained from passing upon the merits of claims to statehood and limited itself to the acknowledgment of the established fact of sovereignty. This policy purchased a precarious peace, but at the cost of surrender by the United States of its highest judicial function as a member of the family of nations. Jefferson bitterly resented it. When the non-intervention policy, and advocated recognition of the revolting Spanish colonies. But the Spanish Empire was a member of the Holy Alliance, the Clause X of which guaranteed by all the territorial integrity of each. England was pledged, and Russia was ready to preserve by arms the sovereignty of the Spanish Empire in South America. Monroe, fearful of embroiling the United States in a war against the mighty Alliance, obstinately held to neutrality; but the American people increasingly resented his inaction; and, in 1823, finally forced Congress to recognise the independence of the struggling South American Republics.

(To be continued.)

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 Prospectus from Rev. R. J. O'Connell, King College, Dangarrua, (N.S.W.)

MAY, 29, 1920.

MAY, 29, 1920.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

North and South.

The fine performance of "Abraham Lincoln" at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin last week had an interest for Irish audiences outside the intrinsic merits of the play or the acting. As one sat listening to the sponorous sentences of "Father Abraham," as one saw develop the civil war between North and South, the applicability of this lesson from the pages of American history to the conditions of our own country grew momentarily more apparent.

I do not propose here to write a criticism of either the play or the performance. Both were worth careful consideration. Not for a very long time have I had the good fortune to derive so much pleasure from an evening spent in one of our "theatres of commerce." Mr. Drinkwater has departed from the settled traditions, and instead of a melodrama (as ordinarily understood) and scenic effects has presented us with passages from the life of a great man, and a revelation of his character. The play was excellently exhibited, and Mr. Lomas, as the President, gave Dublin an exhibition of genuine acting to which she has long been stranger. This, however, is the task of a dramatic critic. My concern is otherwise.

I have said that the play made appeal to an Irish audience in a special manner. It is not improbable that some convinced Unionist and the determined Nationalist were like warring camps in it to support his faith. We are aware that part of the British propaganda in the United States is to urge that the crisis created by Sinn Fein is precisely the same as that which Lincoln had to face in 1861. Even in the days before the Sinn Fein movement had swept into its triumph this argument was used, against some Irish. Ireland, says the Unionist, Ireland, say most watchmen, claims the right to secede from the Union. If they say, as Lincoln said, there must be no secession.

The sacred word "Union" fell on the ears every other minute during the performance of Mr. Drinkwater's play. It must have been as Balm in Gilead to those of the "garrison." Here was the great principle on which they rely shown to an Irish audience as the dominating issue in that great struggle of sixty years ago, a struggle, too, which ended in victory for those who upheld it. Surely, the educational effect of such a play could not be lost? A fervent Unionist must have felt his faith restored as the play rolled on. I do not mean to suggest for a moment that anyone in the audience on the occasion of my visit so far forgot himself as to twist the purpose of the play into a piece of symbolism touching Irish politics, or to applaud Lincoln's references to the Union as if they were the sentiments of Sir Edward Carson. The behaviour of "the times" was beyond reproach. Yet one could not help feeling that such thoughts must have presented themselves to Unionist minds.

This must have been so if one is justified in working analogy. For, to my thinking, here in this play based on America's agony in the civil war was a parallel for the use of Ireland against Partition; an argument in favour of an Ireland one and indivisible. The true Union in Ireland is the Union of North and South; the union of the Irish nation. The Seceders are those who would break

OLD IRELAND [2.

away from it. Parcell—the Abraham Lincoln of our country in his day—set his face determinedly against such secession. In this hour of larger hope and vision such a doctrine is even more abominable. The Union must be preserved. Not the false, hollow, unreal Union between Ireland and England, but the true, natural Union of the Irish Nation and the Irish People.

We may be sure that British propaganda on this head in the United States is met with this reply. We may be sure that our fellow countrymen in that Republic are in no way deceived by the lying analogy which British statesmen and their agents seek to draw. Nor is it, perhaps, too much to hope that all, or nearly all save those Americans whom self-interest or congenial stupidity in such matters compels to mislead, dwellers in the land of the Stars and Stripes realize the humbug of playing the century-old quarrel between Ireland and England on a footing with the suddenly conceived and short-lived feud between the Northern and Southern States of America. Analogies are seldom perfect in every detail. It would not be difficult to point out essential differences between the disputes of Orange "Ulster" and Ireland on the one hand and those of Federal and Confederate States on the other. I have no wish to press the comparison too closely.

The outstanding feature of the case is this: There is a Union in Ireland to which we must be loyal, which we must strive to maintain the Union of North and South. *Quis Separabit?* WESTLAND ROWE.

Dawn.

In sober grey Dawn limns the pane,
 A cheery blackbird in the rain
 Boldly proclaims his love again.

A mother by her ailing child
 Lifted brave eyes of hope and smiled;
 A maid who will to-day be wed
 Turned to the gleam her happy head;
 A wanderer leaped up to sing
 His nightlong dream of journeying;
 A holy man knelt down to pray,
 And gave God thanks for this new day.

A toiler, old, and stiff and poor,
 Rose uncomplaining to endure;
 A drabmer heard the sighing trees,
 And mused on flowers and honey bees;
 A captive, in his cell alone,
 Counted, sad yet again, each stone;
 A debtor, pressed by money care,
 To ceaseless pillow told the fear
 That did not; with the night, pass by.

The Dawn, the blackbird's song, and I,
 Watching the window's shape of grey,
 See through the years, the end, the gay,
 Where winds the road, the rough, the long,
 To the dear source of all my song—
 See her again whom I have seen,
 My love, my mother, and my queen—
 Kathleen! Kathleen!

G. D. McKENZIE.

The Ulster Question.

The Republican leaders must cease their hugging and give the Ulster question serious consideration. Irish Ulster must be reclaimed, and the Republican Government must do the spade work in the great reclamation.

In my opinion the reclamation must take two forms: education for the Ulster Irish, and then for the English and Scottish settlers who will not conform with National ideas, an understanding that Ireland regards them as England's resident garrison, and as such will treat them. Furthermore, the work of reclamation must be commenced without delay! Outside the counties that have accepted the Republic, Ulster is going from bad to worse, and with each succeeding day the work of re-converting Republican Ulster of 1918 to the Republican principles of 1920, is becoming more and more difficult.

I have heard responsible leaders of the Republic declare that the Ulster question can wait until the Republic is officially recognised by the world powers. That may be their opinion. But ask Ulster Republicans! They, and they alone, understand the situation there.

Ulster has always been England's trump card in her propaganda against Ireland; and the internecine strife that has been the curse of the northern province for a century or more her grand argument for continuing her strangle-hold on the nation. But the riots of last week in Derry have a new significance. It was not merely the usual periodical overflowing of party or religious hate. The trouble was engineered by the British Government, through its agents, and the issue was between Unionists, assisted by England's native and imported garrisons, against, not Republicans alone, but all who have any sympathy with Ireland. The immediate object was to have postponed or withdrawn Alderman Bradley's motion at the Corporation, to remove the name of Lord French from the Roll of Freemen of Derry City. The Unionists were supplied with ammunition, which they wasted so gleefully from their automatic pistols, carbines and service rifles, by English agents, and the same Unionists observed faithfully the arranged pact and did not use it against England's police, who carefully avoided roysing their ire. Time there was when party strife in Derry had one redeeming feature. The contending parties, on the appearance of the British police and military, forgot for the moment their mutual quarrel and joined forces against the common enemy. That day, thanks to the unchallenged operation of England's tactics, is gone. Would to God the ardour and energy used in the game of National suicide in Derry were ranged with that of the rest of Ireland in the National struggle against foreign usurpation.

The inactivity of official Republicanism is inexcusable and unforgivable. The way has been cleared for it by the labours of Ulster Republicans of all creeds, but it has so far refused to take it. Did it fight the elections in Ulster to ignore the issue afterwards? Let it have a care! Ulster is a potent force in the National life. If the Republic means to include the Northern province—the land of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, the Down and Antrim of '98, the Derry of John Mitchell—it must declare its policy at once.

ROBERT A. O'FLANNAGAN.

Correspondence.

A Chara.—The article of James Carthy on the immediate duty of Ireland towards the child is deserving of universal attention. A. De Blacam's plans are excellent, but beyond

the hope of touching for many, and while James Carthy's suggestions are worthy of consideration they, too, are unlikely to come to speedy adoption. A plan which we have adopted here as a temporary expedient may be of use to some of your readers, and for that reason it is here outlined. Seeing in *nebulo* the needs and duties clarified by your two correspondents, and feeling helpless to deal with the disquieting facts, a few individuals had printed raffle tickets which were sold by the local boys, and on the proceeds of this raffle a small library of Irish-Ireland literature was purchased. With the aid of the local clergy the library was opened under the title of The Eire Og Library.

One of our brightest local boys was given the position of Librarian. A list was made of all ticket buyers (tickets cost 2s. 6d.), and with this list of the names of the first members of the library a start was made! The books replaced on a temporary stand outside the church and loaned at the rate of twopence the first week and one penny for every succeeding week for which the book was retained. The weekly proceeds were used for the purchase of new books, and thus there were continual additions to the library. The first Sunday's takings (the library is opened only on Sundays from 9 o'clock till 3 o'clock) amounted to nearly 18s. This plan helps the spread of good, clear literature, promotes thought, and stimulates activity. The library is bilingual, and Leamy's fairy tales, Brian O'Higgins' books, Mangin's, and Rooney's, Mrs. Green's, and a few other are visitors which cannot fail to provoke a stir around an fireside.

Nobody loses very much by this plan, and anyone can work with it without any capital whatever. Gill's, Dublin, will supply a sample ticket. Dhó cara for.

CLATE, I.R.

DALCASSIAN.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The Local Elections.

When the result of the elections of the 7th June has been declared the last and not the least important of the systems of local administration in Ireland will, we hope and believe, be in the hands of Sinn Fein and Labour. And then the way will be clear, not alone for the nationalisation of local administration, but also for its purification. The one is as essential as the other, in some ways more essential, and as a matter of fact the two things are complementary. Local administration in Ireland has been corrupt, and lax, because there was behind it no sense of responsibility, no ideal to make of it a thing apart from routine and jobs and contracts. And it can only be cleansed by the new spirit of Sinn Fein and Labour, the spirit which seeks, not mere freedom, mere economic control, but the regeneration of a Nation and the freeing of the Soul of Man in this country.

Sinn Fein Strength.

When the General Election of 1918 was over and the critics had time to breathe after the avalanche they started to make foolish prophecies. They said it was a panic election, that there would be a reaction "in a few months," and

so on. They said that Sinn Fein, like all other political parties, would lose grip and lose its majority, showing that they were unable to distinguish between a political party which is only a political party and a political party which is something more. Sinn Fein is a political party, but it is also a New Spirit, in the sense in which Young Ireland has a New Spirit in Ireland. And it is a spirit as much more potent than Young Ireland as a Nation with a language of its own is more potent than a Nation without one. Sinn Fein is the embattled spirit of this Nation, a conscious and virile spirit, on its own feet once more and determined to remain there. Its strength is the strength of the Irish Nation, not the whimpering, argumentative, voluble Nation of our schooldays, but the real Nation: the Nation which, with a knowledge of its past has attained to the dignity and the restraint of a Nation which can see its own growth, feel its power, and use its strength. The strength of Sinn Fein does not, as everyone knows, lie in its political organisation. That is what misled the prophets. They have been accustomed to measure efficiency by "branches," and meetings, and flags, and they cannot accept any other standard. When they discovered a stagnation in Sinn Fein clubs they said Sinn Fein is dying. But the strength of Sinn Fein lies in the spirit of the country as a whole. It is not an artificial strength, not a transient strength, and the only thing which can weaken Sinn Fein is a general weakening of the spirit of the country, which is now unlikely. Ireland is like a sleeper who has just awakened, awakened in full possession of his faculties after a long illness. She has seen through the deceptions of the dogmas which for so long misled her, and she is not going to follow them again.

Sinn Fein in Practice.

Slowly, but surely, the Sinn Fein ideal is finding itself put into practical operation over the country. Slowly, but surely, the affairs of the country are being run by the will of the people. We referred last week to the emergence of national government, evidenced by the spread of Sinn Fein Courts. That goes on. All over Ireland local administration is being taken over by the people themselves, irrespective of the officially constituted machinery of the English Government in Ireland. That process will be much accelerated when the whole of the local machinery created by that Government is in the hands of those who will use it for the nation and for justice, instead of for jobs and sinecures.

England's Invariable Trap.

Historically, England is always laying traps. She possesses, as Bernard Shaw puts it, the faculty of making herself look like a fool, so that she may the more easily eat up all the other fools. Whenever she has conceded anything in this country, in deference to overwhelming agitation, she has always counteracted in the giving so as to nullify its effects, or at the least to go as near as she dares to nullifying it. Her whole network of local administration

in Ireland has been so framed, and so administered by her Boards, as to carry within it the seeds of a counter-irritant to nullify whatever good could come out of it. She has sought to tie us up in a network of officialism, to hypnotise for ever the consciousness of this country by turning the minds of its local representatives on to jobs, and contracts, and more jobs. It has encouraged waste and discouraged clear thinking. It has sat heavily upon any attempt to use local powers for any really beneficent purpose, but it has winked at jobbery and corruption. It has, in the most effective sense, encouraged them. For it knew that people who are always thinking of jobs and doing jobs will always be politically impotent and morally contemptible. When they gave us local administration and secured that it should be impelled towards the morass of jobbery they secured a low morale for the awakening sense of responsibility in Ireland—which was what they wanted. So long as our people worked their boards on the terms which they laid down they felt perfectly certain that local administration would never benefit the real Ireland any more than Grand Jury recommendation. And it did not. But they recked not with the Soul of Man.

The Soul of Man.

Ultimately it is the vital spark in man, the Soul of Man, which counts. It is very often momentary, it is more often debatable, but it is never really in hell. Always it has about it the possibility of resurrection, the faith in the future. Otherwise man could not go on. After youth and early manhood come a certain tolerant disillusionment, when everything turns to ashes, and only the small vital spark sustains mankind. Always we remain to some extent children, following a star. And so Ireland remained. There was in her always this vital spark, her one ultimate defence against degradation, and finally it revolted against the dead weight of make-believe and dared to be vital. It won. It set all Ireland in a flame, and that flame burned up all unworthy things—"all things uncomely and broken." It has leaped steadily at the trappings which fetter this country, which prevent its freedom of action. And it is leaping strongly now at this trapping of local administration which England, through the supineness of those who worked it hitherto, has manipulated so as to dull the conscience of the country. That administration must be cleared up nationally and cleared up locally.

Politics and Ethics.

There are those who affect to despise politics. But no man with the good of his country at heart can afford to despise politics, and no man who takes the trouble to consider will despise politics. In our present social fabric politics are as important as ethics in the right ordering of things, for they have the practical administrative machinery without which no moral principle can be effective. When we ask for a vote for Sinn Fein and Labour at the coming election we are asking people to do what is a very serious and a very important thing, upon which tremendous consequences will hang. We are asking for a vote for Irish government and for clean government: for Irish government on the general principle which this country now stands for, that no other power than the people of this country has the right to government in the country, and for clean government on the general human principle that jobbery is repugnant to the Soul of Man. Sinn Fein and Labour may be trusted to do what the Nation as a whole would wish on both these questions, and for Sinn Fein and Labour we bespeak a heavy poll. Vote for right government and



good government, and end English administration and jobbery.

"Ain't Our Religious Liberty" in Carsonia?

How completely Sir Edward Carson's hold on the democracy of North-East Ulster depends on his capacity to keep the truth from his deluded followers was strikingly illustrated last week, when Mr. Louis J. Walsh, Republican candidate for the Antrim County Council, was savagely beaten on the streets of Ballyhooney, where he had come to address a public meeting in support of his candidature. Orange drumming parties were imported from the surrounding districts to prevent the candidate's voice being heard; and the poor, deluded creatures, who composed these parties, showed such zeal in their task that, without even waiting for the meeting to begin, they seized Mr. Walsh on the street and gave him such a mauling that it seemed nothing short of a miracle that he escaped alive. As it is, we are glad to learn that, though badly beaten, Mr. Walsh is progressing favourably; and he is still full of confidence that the Orange mob do not represent the real opinions of the men and women of North Antrim, either Protestant or Catholic. However much we deplore the attitude of the Carsonite rowdies, we can understand it; because if Mr. Walsh is returned to the Antrim County Council as the representative of a Protestant constituency, it will finally dispose of the fiction of a "Homogeneous Ulster," so beloved by British propagandists.

The Issue of the Elections.

After the treaty was signed at Limerick two flags were raised in Ireland—the flag of England and the flag of France, and the Irish troops were given their choice under which they would elect to serve. The vast majority chose the Fleur-de-Lis, and "on far foreign fields from Dunkirk to Belgrade" fell fighting, not for their country, but against their country's enemy. Sarsfield himself, as his life's blood poured out on the plain of Landen, sighed: "would that this were for Ireland!"

To-day again two flags are flouting in Ireland—the flag, the now-falling flag, of England, and (not the flag of any friendly foreigner) but the unfurled, full-blung flag of the Irish Republic.

To-day the local government electors mainly of rural Ireland, are being asked to decide by their votes to which of these flags they will give their allegiance. By their verdict in the present elections the voters of rural Ireland will declare whether they are for or against the unconquerable Irish nation, as represented by its freely and duly elected Republican Government.

That, as I wrote in a previous article, is the *only issue* in the elections, and it is the plainest and simplest issue ever set before a people.

At the General Election of 1918, when the Irish Republic, though proclaimed, was still unestablished, there might be allowance for such a thing as honest opponents. Now there can be none. The votes of the people at that election called the Republican Government into being, and that Government—the only Government in the country that is functioning, with the consent of the governed—is functioning, as far as it is possible for it to function, in face of the armed might of the usurper. It is in fact the only Government that is functioning in Ireland. The so-called "Government" of the usurper is not a civil or a national government at all. It is a government of rifles, machine guns, tanks, and artillery. Its basis is brute force; its very existence depends on brute force. It is able to maintain itself only by keeping revolvers at the heads and bayonets at the breasts of the people whom it is supposed to represent and for whose welfare it nominally has its being. The Government of the Republic, on the other hand, has not merely maintained its position since January, 1919—all that, in the prevailing conditions, it was morally or reasonably expected to do. It has very considerably improved its position, and continues to improve it every day. It is surely, and with remarkable rapidity, recovering Ireland for the Irish. It is giving boats to the fishermen, providing land for the landless, and establishing new, and developing existing, industries. Its consuls in foreign countries are, after the lapse of ages, re-constituting Ireland's direct trade relations with the commercial nations of the world. The work of its Industrial Commission, though its labours are banned by the might of Britain, its sittings prevented by British machine guns, its witnesses intimidated by British bayonets, and the publication of its evidence and activities ruthlessly suppressed by the British Government, is already being felt by some of the cumulatively largest producing interests, and bearing fruits that will add in no small measure to individual, as well as national, prosperity. And all this has been achieved in little over two months, and in circumstances of active armed opposition that would daunt the courage, and cripple the energy, and resource, for construction of most peoples and governments.

In the administration of justice the Republican Government is functioning with even more wonderful effect. Republican Courts have for a considerable time been, on the civil side, set up all over the country, and it is these courts, and these alone, that the vast majority of the people recognise. These courts act with business-like precision, litigants are saved the ruinous costs, the manufacture of which is the chief aim and object of the British Government's courts, and so strictly impartial are their decisions that even those who are not Republicans go into them, as the English of the Pale went into those of Sean O'Neill, to obtain the justice that they cannot get in the courts under British authority.

To the civil the Republican Government has lately added criminal courts. In the concluding article of his series in the *London Daily News* on conditions in Ireland, Major Erskine Childers says that England's police in this country, "forced to concentrate upon political work, have neglected functions as guardians of the peace, leaving the field open to the lawless elements that exist in the most peaceable communities, and which post-war experience should have with the evacuation of barracks, "whole districts," writes Major Childers, "have thus been left without a government. It has been left to Sinn Fein to introduce Republican Government, curb its own undisciplined elements, and administer law and justice. It is succeeding in the task. Republican courts, civil and criminal, are functioning, and Whiteites, as police and punish crime." That is the tribute of an act as police and punish crime." That is the tribute of an impartial Englishman to the work that the Republican Government is doing in the administration of justice, in the prevention and punishment of crime, and in the restoration and maintenance of the law and order that the British Government has done, and is doing, its best to undermine and destroy in Ireland.

For description of, and comment upon, another phase of the Republican Government's activities I again quote Major Childers. Dealing with the effect of the land troubles on the Republican Government's work he says:

"A strong recrudescence of land agitation has doubled the difficulty of the task. Here again it is a case of replacing a Government which has abdicated. Land hunger, due to well-known historical causes, is chronic in the West, and has become acute with the hectic rise in the price of food. Nobody questions the social justice or economic advantage of breaking up the big grazing ranches into tillage holdings for the landless men and small holders of miserable plots, forced otherwise to emigrate. The official machinery for the purpose, inadequate at the best, has been rusting in slack hands. How should it be otherwise? The Viceroy himself has publicly declared that the troubled state of Ireland is due to the fact that 500,000 young men who should have emigrated during the war have not done so. Why, then, facilitate land settlement? Meanwhile, matters take their course on the whole, well. In most cases applicants, co-operatively organised, are willing to pay good prices, and Republican Arbitration Courts are, in many districts, fixing them with success, and dealing as capably as they can with the inevitable residuum of sheer lawlessness. The only reply made by the dispossessed Government is to denounce as 'outrages' the punishments inflicted by these courts."

The securing of control of the local government of the country will strengthen still further the position of the

(Continued on page 266).

at any rate not be said to be anti-British. At a meeting of the Irish Hierarchy in Maynooth in 1904 his Lordship said: "I am forced by the evidence to arrive at the gloomy conclusion that the population of this country is deteriorating to an alarming extent in physical and mental vigour and energy; and I fancy that anyone who examines and thinks out the question as I have been trying to do for some years past will arrive at the same conclusion." In corroboration he quoted from the annual report of the Superintendent of the Cork Asylum this extract: "The admissions show an increase of adolescent insanity; the present generation appears less capable of battling with the severe competition in life, and at a critical epoch in life it breaks down." The British Government was thus accomplishing the very object that it had so deliberately and diabolically planned. It's "real vital blow" in its policy of conquest by extermination was not so much the blow that resulted in death and emigration as the blow that, in the words of the Indian patriot, Bhagwan Singh, struck "at the physical and mental strength of the conquered." And all the while that the British Government kept the Irish people in the state of semi-starvation that caused this physical deterioration and rendered their constitutions an easy prey to disease, it was exploiting our country for its own advantage and telling the world of our "growing prosperity" under its rule. Judged by the increasing taxation that England was squeezing out of Ireland and by the increasing bank balances of England's capitalist garrison here—the only evidence ever adduced by the enemy—our country was becoming "growingly prosperous," but, as Dr. Emmet aptly remarks, "in no other country are the people more prosperous than those in Ireland who have prospered at the expense of the people; and nowhere else are the poor and the majority of the people relatively in greater poverty."

P. S. O'FLANNAGAIN.

[The finish of this article is unavoidably held over until next issue.]

The Conversion of Non-Gaelic Ulster to the Gaelic Ideal.

If non-Gaelic Ulster could be brought to the centre of Ireland and could there see a successful miniature Gaelic Co-operative Commonwealth in actual existence the force of example would be sufficient to convert it to the ideal of the Gael. Present-day conditions, however, make it impossible for the Daill Eireann to embark on so great an educative and unifying project, though the idea could be made a fruitful study in preparation for its application when times are favourable. The true unity and greatness of Ireland will begin to be encompassed when the home of the soul and intellect of the Gael shall be centred, as of old, around the ancient Hill of Tara, and when from there, as a source, the light of Christian teaching and simplicity shall flood forth a constant and ever-increasing stream penetrating the innermost recesses of Erin and across her borders to every end of the earth.

But the question is asked, "What can now be done for the salvation of non-Gaelic Ulster?"

Non-Gaelic Ulster will not and cannot be saved except as the combined, accumulated result of the labours of various direct and indirect educative agencies. No single line of effort is in itself capable of transforming and co-ordinating the many elements that go to make up the non-Gaelic Ulster community. The natural trend of events is tending to draw

it slowly by divers ways towards its own salvation; but other ways can and should be found to hasten this and, for the sake of the greater good of Ireland, it is the duty of those entrusted with her welfare to endeavour to find them. The most pressing need of the hour is the spread of a knowledge of all that pertains to Ireland. Non-Gaelic Ulster will not voluntarily learn this. It is too prejudiced and suspicious to listen to organisers or politicians, and it is too dogged and stubborn in temperament to be coaxed or driven. It can only be induced to avail itself of a knowledge of Ireland when this is presented to it in an attractive, straightforward form and in a way which obviously extends the rights and dignity of self-determination.

I suggest that a committee of half a dozen intellectual Irishmen should undertake during the summer months to find a body of competent men willing to devote themselves to the task of placing "Ireland" before non-Gaelic Ulster. This body could be organised as a touring company and, equipped with the best talent possible representative of Music, Art, History, Drama, the Screen Trade, Commerce, Agriculture, Industry, etc., it should be attractive enough to be almost, if not altogether, self-supporting. A liberal use of diagrams for the purpose of depicting in simple form historical, economic and other facts would economise time, and if compiled in booklet form as programmes would serve as an inducement to quiet study on the part of those who retained them.

I am not able to outline in detail all that I feel on the above idea; but the suggestion is put forward roughly in the hope that in the hands of those competent to deal with it, it may be developed and made use of.

TOMAS MACNEIL.

Politics and Conscience.

(Continued from last week.)

Many people in Ireland hate the evil thing of alien rule more from instinct than from principle. Their instinct is right, but their influence will be greater if the instinct is supported by principle. Let us always look to principle.

Man, by his very nature, is an ethical animal, that is, a national animal bound to do what is right. But man is equally a political animal, that is, he must live in civil society. I am not going to become abstruse or technical, reader. I am but trying to bring into their proper light the ethically inescapable conditions of human existence. We are all by God's ordination citizens with duties to our country. We may shirk, but we cannot evade with impunity our ethical responsibilities, our obligations in civil society, our duties in politics.

It is not superfluous to affirm that the necessities of existence make men political. And the complexity of modern existence accentuates the importance of our political duties.

The end, the purpose of civil society, is not mere existence—it is existence in accordance with man's highest and distinctive attribute—Reason. And so Aristotle rightly insisted that the State is formed that men may live, but exists that they may live nobly.

Now, what is the State? The State, the body politic, is a society of free men. The governing by State, is the constitutional (political) or civil government is a government of free men and equals. Or, to put it another way—the State is the political community organised into a distinctive government by the people themselves, recognised by the people, existing and functioning by the consent of the

people for the sake of the people. Hence the State exists for the people, not the people for the State.

Justice—Right is the true foundation of the State—*ius est fundamentum regni*. There can be no justice, no right where there is not the explicit, voluntary consent of the community—that is essential.

One should deny, of course, that empires are, strictly speaking, States. For all empires were founded and are sustained not on Right, but Wrong; not on Right, but on Wrong. I am talking of government which alone merits the name of State. Empire statesmen whose basis is ethical, whose foundation is Right and Justice, whose title to sovereignty is the consent of the body politic, the people.

Empires rest not on the adamantine rock of Law, of Right, of Justice—and hence merit not the title of States. An empire is not a State, but a gang of robbers, not built on law, but on anarchy, not on Right, but on the sword. Empire statesmen and empire builders are the rebels of history; those who resist them are the world's true and noble men. The very word *empire* connotes Might, not Right. The history of empires is a story of blood, repression, suppression, colonisation, hangings, tortures, assassination, reform bills, coercion bills, crime acts, final settlements, questions and problems of government without the consent of the governed, in a simple word—a story of Wrong.

Read the theories of government of imperialists, read their "solemn humbug," read their "vast, unconscious hypocrisy"—nowhere will you find any trace of the ethical basis, everywhere the shouting of Right. In expounding their empire-sovereignty, when they come to the heart of things, there is not even the pretence of Right. Lord Thring says: "The means by which the possessions of Great Britain were acquired have been various as the possessions themselves. What is the link which fastens each of these possessions to the Mother Country? The inherent and indisputable right to exercise imperial powers—in other words, the supremacy of the Crown and the British Parliament. That, again, is the common bond of union between these vast Colonial Possessions, differing in laws, in religion and in the character of the population." The same answer must be given—*namely*, the *Supremacy of Great Britain*. The bond in which the materials composing the British Empire have been cemented together is Exactly the Reverse of the banner of the Construction of the American Union. In the case of the American Union, independent States voluntarily relinquished a portion of their sovereignty to secure national unity.

But, thank God, and the progress and diffusion of true emergency, nowadays it is empires that are "going with a vengeance." Ever since the American Declaration of Independence empires have been vanishing fast. Only two survive. The spirit and power of democracy have demolished all the monstrousities that exist only because of the fact that small ruling clique controls the destinies of the people. All the signs foretell their imminent disruption.

As a profound student of government wrote: "Coercion may enforce subjection, as it may enforce cohabitation, but does not create the natural bond without the natural title. You may make a plantation of slaves and call it a realm; but you cannot have a body politic to rule, nor authority to rule over one, except you have the foundation of consent." The Rev. Chas. B. Mackey, S.J., Professor of Ethics in the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, in "Sovereignty and Consent," p. 25.)

We must not dodge the difficult—we must go to the bottom of things. In the early days of the Republic of the United States George Washington gave this excellent account: "The watchword in America was 'Educate the masses of the people.' The people are the only sure reliance of our liberty." Let Irishmen rid their minds of vague notions of government, its nature and purpose, and equip themselves with clear, specific, vital ideas. What is the primary end of the State, of government? The end is the community's common weal or general welfare. The end of civil society does not properly belong to any individual person, or individual group of persons in preference to others in the community, but to the community as such, to the people as a body politic, a moral person. ("Sovereignty and Consent," p. 20.) To accomplish this end, the State must protect the rights of persons and property. A right means, a moral power residing in a person, in virtue of which he calls anything his own.

It is unquestionable that every man has an indefeasible right to live out his own life, and has an indefeasible right to what is necessary to enable him to do so. So also the associations of men, formed by their common consent, possess the same indefeasible rights. Civil, political society is as natural as the family; man's natural tendencies are equally strong towards it; it is equally necessary for God's full plan: it carries a like obligation upon mankind to establish it; its essential elements, juridical as well as others, are prescribed by the natural law. Just as the primary right of every man is to existence, so the primary right of the State (a people, a nation) is to be, as such, is to existence *qua* State (or nation).

Further, the right of the State, set up by the free choice of a free people (no other State is or can be lawful) is not merely to existence, but to complete existence, noble and worthy existence, an existence in accordance with the dignity of human nature.

This right is utterly denied, I need hardly add, by all imperialists on the supercilious, unethical, unjust and inhuman pretext that they can rule any people better than they can govern themselves. Abraham Lincoln spoke the truth when he said that God Almighty never made one people good enough to rule over another people. Political slavery is the monstrous offspring of imperialism, a policy conceived and executed in Wrong. In the last analysis imperialism is a despotic infringement of human freedom itself.

Modern States have all been prone to a paternalism that would be the *distortion* of human development, that would create and adjudge the rights of its subjects. It is all wrong because it is utterly unethical and because it is an invasion of the province of human freedom which is the essence of personality.

Among the many sophisms which are the concomitant results of these encroachments is the cant expression that the majority can do no wrong. It is, of course, a negation of that fundamental truth that human authority is limited and fiduciary and is subject to the eternal, imprescriptible and indefeasible Law of Right and Wrong.

The country that domes in practice that the State is an ethical organism is built on Wrong. I need not labour the point that England has done this in theory and practice for centuries.

Do I believe in majority rule? Yes, if the rule is founded on Right and Justice. No, if it or its decision is founded on wrong or injustice. My obligation is clear—in life—I must be just in all things and hate and do all in my power to destroy injustice.

The question is being asked to-day in America, the

greatest experiment in democracy in the world—whether representative government is not a failure. Inefficient administration, graft and favouritism are not so much the objects of contempt as the very institutions themselves of representative government. This, of course, is a mistake. The real root of this deplorable state of affairs is the failure of the average citizen to fulfil his duties as citizen by keeping in touch with politics. Many careful observers declare that this shrinking of political duty will spell ruin to representative government. The consequences of citizens omitting to vote, voting indiscriminately, or for selfish purposes, are large and menacing and are to be read plainly in the present Wilson administration which has developed so pronouncedly along bureaucratic and autocratic lines. Under Wilson representative government has become simply domestic imperialism, the ideals of free government have terminated in the servile State.

The right of the Irish Republic, set up by the express choice of the Irish people, is not merely to exist, but to complete existence. As Wilson put it truly, though he did not mean it: "Every people should be left free to determine its own policy, in its own way of development, unhindered, untrammelled, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." The Cecil and Balfours during the war were shouting louder than any others. Lord Robert Cecil was saying: "We must look for any future settlement to a settlement not of courts and cabinets, but of nations and populations. Governments must be created on by the consent of the governed. No greatness, no culture, no national existence can be built upon the operation and subjugation of nations rightly struggling to be free." Is this part and parcel of that "vast unconscious hypocrisy"?

Let me again repeat. Men and women of Ireland, and oh, you, the youth of Ireland, make yourselves masters of these simple, true, elementary, just and eminently practical ideas! There is not, there cannot be, any State, government, body politic that is not a society of free men. Anything else may be called a government, but it is in truth and in deed only a despotism, and its subjects slaves.

Stress should be laid on the fact that the essential obligations and rights of Irish citizenship are not the arbitrary choice of Irishmen. They are determined, as in every true State, by the natural purposes and exigencies of such civic existence. The civic bond, like the marriage bond, is a definite, specific compound of obligations and rights. As in marriage, the binding force of this bond also comes from God through the natural law. This bond is actualized in the concrete by the consent of the citizens. In a word, the one substantial thing in the establishment of a State is of a family, in joining a civic unit together with the civic bond, whether that State be an Irish or an American Republic, as in joining a family unit with the marriage bond, is the voluntary and free consent of those who establish the union.

"Sovereignty lies in the people, i.e., the sum of supreme jurisdiction necessary to provide the organisation and government of a State, as inherent in the community as body politic, a natural person whose jurisdiction comes from God through the natural law in the civic bond which makes of a multitude a people, a community, a State. This sovereignty which is necessary for the general welfare of the people immediately concerned, which is necessary for the fulfilment of this duty to secure the commonweal, God through the natural law put upon the people, the State, the civil society itself." ("Sovereignty and Consent," passim.)

I think that it would make for the progress of mankind of manhood, for the good of men everywhere if this simple truth, but momentous fact, were constantly kept before the eyes of the people, of the citizens—the fact that the government of its very essence an ethical matter, a branch of ethics, that at the basis of politics lies the question of what is right.

There is no "stand-at-a-distance" attitude possible to an honest man, for a citizen of any country, in regard to its politics. Neither clergyman nor layman can shrink his political duty without guilt. And the guilt is grave because he possesses in politics, but also duties. These solemn obligations of conscience have been wont to be shunted and shifted to the shoulders of others, to the degradation of manhood, and the destruction of even representative government.

Though it is probably the most invidious and pernicious political of the age, yet through inadvertence, irresponsibility and sloppiness in this neglect of political duties goes on apace. Everybody seems to believe, at least in practice, in an absolute but absolutely vicious character of politics. Or they whine over the "hopelessness" or "rotteness" of "politics" as if that exempted them from the dictates of Right and Conscience. Much as I might like, I cannot shuffle off my duties as a political animal. At bottom politics is a matter of conscience.

KEVIN STROMA DORRNEY (An American)

(To be continued.)

Flotsam and Jetsam.

Westminster and the Vatican.

It was interesting, and quite reminiscent of old times to read in the papers that Mr. Balfour had lately an audience of the Pope. There has never been an acute phase in Irish politics which did not find some representative of the British Empire engaged in negotiations with the Vatican. What exactly was the motive that impelled the Defender of Philosophy Doubt to seek an interview with the Holy Father? I do not know. I am sure that the questions of Theology which we may, indeed, go further and hazard the tolerably safe conjecture that, during this period of high festival at Rome, when canonizations and beatifications were the order of the day, Mr. Balfour selected for his topic the perfectly appropriate theme of the Island of Saints.

Whenever a popular movement is at its height in a country, Downing Street wakes up to the importance of securing, if possible, the support of the Vatican. It was from the age of Adrian IV. to O'Connell's day. During the crisis of the Land League recourse was had to Rome. "Plan of Campaign" was met by a Rescript issued by Pope Leo XIII. as a result of English intrigue. Memoranda of that period must have occurred to the former Chief Secretary of Ireland when he paid his visit ad limina last month. There have been vast changes everywhere since those days, however, changes which have been felt in Rome and Ireland as well as in other parts of the world, and it is unlikely that this fact must have struck Mr. Balfour when engaged on his congenial task.

For one thing, Ireland is not as unknown to the outer world in 1920 as it was in its fighting or before the British envoys will not find it as easy, now, to dupe foreigners

to the true state of things in this country as they did in gone times. Nor are Prelates, nor Princes, nor Peoples willing to acquiesce in the Divine Right of the British Government to rule subject nations exactly as it pleases them. They were before the doctrines of Self-Determination and the Sanctity of Small Nationalities had at least been preached and put into practice. In Ireland, of course, we have always followed O'Connell's precept—to take our religion with us to Rome but not our politics. But in Ireland, too, Rome has been a failure. National faith has deepened and the people are surer of themselves. The danger of being scandalised should the shepherds, misled by false information, strike a blow at their flocks is lessened.

We have never lacked cautious Catholics who, like the Irish Ministers, fall back on the Vatican as a last resort against the popular will. Doubtless we never shall. Not defeat the popular will. Sullivan urged that the intervention of the Pope in Irish affairs with a view to restoring "moral order" was a thing to be desired. His words, we may be sure, found an echo in many hearts, particularly those of whose support of their own Religion is chiefly displayed in sending their children to Trinity College, and supporting educational measures which the Heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland condemn.

The presence of a dozen Irish bishops in Rome at the time as Mr. Balfour is a matter for which we should be thankful. The English Press was inclined to see in this circumstance a cunning political move; an attempt to assure from His Holiness an order to his Irish bishops to give the aims and efforts of the Irish people, which Mr. Balfour had this in mind, but it is not so likely that he would have cause to be proud of his astuteness. It is easy to lie, but it is not so easy to do it successfully when others are at hand to nail the lie as it is uttered. The beatification of Oliver Plunkett—martyr of the tyranny for which Mr. Balfour stands—was in itself an inauspicious moment to pose for this particular activity.

One can imagine the Holy Father when he hears of this, of treason of turbulent priests, pondering a little on the "cause" of Blessed Oliver, which of late has been giving his attention. One can, indeed, fancy him smiling at the same catalogue of iniquities is unfolded to him. It is in this hour of Oliver's elevation one may with safety assume that a certain scepticism as to the unutterable infamy of Sinn Féin must have tinged the Pontiff's mind. Mr. Balfour should have chosen his opportunity better. Can it be that the crafty Cecil is losing their cunning?

What upshot, if any, this visit to the Vatican may have meant wait for the future to reveal. Assuming that our story as to Mr. Balfour's mission is correct and that he was bent upon purely spiritual matters, seeking enlightenment in a troubled soul, one can only wonder at the persistence with which England clings to all her ancient methods, in which England clings to all her ancient methods. There is no doubt that the past does not deter her ministers from trying tracks. And if this one, in especial, proved useless in former times, as we know it did, what hope of success can have been in days like these?

The thought presents itself, also—Home Rule was proposed by Protestant England because it would mean Rome would be a failure.

WESTLAND ROWE.

The Cowardice of Ulster.

"The sins and vices of our forefathers." The lesson to be drawn from their failures and shortcomings. If our ancestors had been wise, or prudent, or sober, or far-seeing. How familiar all these arguments were once. How trivial, unmeaning and unnatural they sound to-day. Perhaps a later age, enlightened to the facts of Ulster as we are to-day to the facts of Ireland, may regard our light-hearted indictment of Ulster just as cynically, just as incredulously as we regard the light-hearted indictments of Ireland and her people by the O'Connells and the D'Arcy Magers and the D'Altons, who wrote her history or lectured on her past. Ulster is to-day the Riddle of the Universe. Everybody unable to explain her satisfies himself at least in vilifying her.

There is indeed something tragically wrong in Ulster. What it is baffles the understanding. On Ulster the bitterest appeals of reason and sentiment, of action and theory alike fail ineffectually. Ulster heeds nationalism as little as Ireland of '48 heeded John Mitchell. We know why the Ireland of '48 heeded not Mitchell. Do we know why Ulster to-day heeds not De Valera or Griffiths? I know that publicly it may be alleged that Ulster does not heed the Nationalist leaders, but public announcements cannot indefinitely cloak private failures. Ulster is not ready for National ventures save perhaps at the polling booth. But we in Ireland have long since got beyond a "conception of public duty which conceives its obligations ended with the ballot box."

All the possible variations of anatomical dissection will not bring life to the corpse of Ulster. Ulster has been dissected till not a vein, a bone, a muscle has been left unexamined. Still the dissected corpse is no more inviting, no more valuable than the whole and undivided corpse. The more valuable than the whole and undivided corpse. You disagree with those who say that there is no Ulster problem. In that you are partially right. But there is more hopefulness and more potentialities in the other view. Ulster is not a problem. It is simply a piece of business neglected. It is simply a sick body needing tonics and nursing.

It was inevitable that the disease permeating the body politic of Ireland should find its last lodgment somewhere before its final departure. Driven from the head and the greater members it has lingered in the feet. Ulster is the atrophied and refuse to act spontaneously and rapidly at the bidding of the head. The nerves are temporarily paralysed. Strictly there is a break between the sound and the unsound members, there is a hiatus in communication.

Just as in cases of physical paralysis vigorous action or massage is necessary to bring back the broken connection, so in cases of national and political paralysis vigorous and even brutal action is necessary to revive the deadened nerves. In all cases of national emergency some part of a country has been affected as Ulster is now. Take Lavendoc at the French Revolution. And students of history can find numerous parallels. And knowing this we need not be dismayed even if we are displeased.

But already signs of progress are not wanting. Carsonism is dead. That statement may be challenged even

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by Ulstermen. But I repeat again that Carsonism is dead, Carsonism died when Ulster Orangemen decided that it was none of their business if the British Government and the Sinn Feiners fought till doomsday. That is an absolutely new attitude for Orangemen, who always conceived it their duty to assist the Government of England. After age-long strife and racial frenzy, Orangeism has as it were sunk back exhausted. Protestant Ulster is tired out, worn out, worked out. Three generations of ill-paid factory toil has exhausted the vitality and worn to threads the nerves of the race. The richer and better-fed Protestants never did carry on the racial fight. They only made the balls. The slums fired them. Now the slums are apathetic.

Unfortunately the Catholics of Ulster are themselves exhausted and unfit to reach forward for the victory within their grasp. Many of them even do not realise that the racial enmity is beaten and that Orangeism is exhausted. Tired out with ages of fighting against the unwholy campaign of bigotry and terrorization, the majority of Catholics are glad to be able to live at peace with their neighbours, to trade peacefully, to work quietly in shipyard and factory without danger of the pogrom, the paving-stone and the riot.

It must be remembered that Ulster Catholics cannot yet conceive of any National fight apart from a fight against Orangeism and Protestant bigotry. Even to-day the average Ulster Catholic regards the policeman as a friendly protector against Orange bigotry. This is a simple and absolute measure of the difference between North and South. It explains why even bitter Sinn Feiners in Ulster nod to and chat with policemen. It also explains why it is difficult to get a definite recognition of allegiance to the Irish Republic accepted in Ulster.

And besides the desire for peace has other effects. It is bringing into Catholic Ulster that great curse of Presbyterian Ulster, the habit of bearing uncomplainingly with the greatest social misery and degradation. Presbyterianism is supposed to be a form of pride. It is really a form of cowardice. For the sake of peace a Presbyterian will accept any conditions of labour and any rate of pay and live in extremities of poverty uncomplainingly sooner than make the inevitable fight necessary to get better conditions. It is a hopeless, a pathetic form of submissiveness that passes for pride and endurance. In reality, it is the most dastardly form of cowardice.

In previous articles I endeavoured to show that the Protestants of Ulster lived under a most terrible regime of terrorization—the terror of the Orange and Freeman lodges, and the terror of the congregations. Dr. Irwin is being subjected in his absence to the full force of that terrorization. It will be interesting to see how he will face it on his return, if he ever returns. The system works as efficiently as conscription worked in pre-revolutionary Russia and Germany. Every intelligent man objects to the system, but he lives in fear of speaking or acting against it. The result is that he bends his will to submission and cowardice in the name of pride and sense reigns supreme.

That is a terrible indictment of Presbyterianism, but

facts are facts, and everybody who has had occasion to deal with Ulster Presbyterianism knows that they inevitably shut the issue and sink back to safety. For that reason it is useless any longer to try to work with them. They are broken and without force, even for harm. But in a sense they are extremely dangerous as their spirit is pervading the Gaelic Catholic section of the Ulster community. Cowardice in the name of reason and sense and business is invading Catholic Ulster.

For such a paralysis of national feeling there is only one remedy and that is vigour and action. To the average Ulsterman the Irish Republic is further away than China. It must be brought right under his nose. It must be rubbed in him. How that shall be done is not for me to say. I do not know. I only know that it must be done. I cannot see that the Republic needs vigorous propaganda in France, Australia and no propaganda in Ulster.

There is this much at least to be said that constant publicity is invaluable. In handbills, posters, pamphlets and newspapers it is possible to create a live interest in the Republic. Unfortunately the people of Ulster are not so much newspaper and publicity work. To Ulster a newspaper work does not come kindly. They regard as work with superstitious awe. The idea of founding a newspaper or a weekly scares them. On the other hand, the people of Ulster are probably the best organisers and developers of schemes in Ireland.

Personally, I think that some scheme to get propaganda widely spread through Ulster could be easily worked if there were enough persons to collaborate. If any feel disposed to make a start, now is the time. I should be delighted to do all I could to further such a scheme, and if there are any eager to get to work now on a publicity campaign in Ulster then forward their names to me and a committee will be set afoot to start something.

Money of course may scare some from starting, but I honestly believe that we do not need to trouble much about money; what we do need is the helpful collaboration of men and women. That is what we are not getting in Ulster. And without that all the money in the world is valued for it would be wrongly spent. Every intelligent man and woman has some idea, some influence, some method which could be added to the general store.

Against this proposal of mine there is one fatal objection. The men and women of Ulster are constitutionally shy and diffident. Even the brainiest Ulster people are extremely self-conscious. But in these matters self-consciousness gives way to the cause. We must conquer our natural shyness and disheeled in our own abilities if we wish to lose the enemy. Shyness and diffidence are other forms of cowardice. In the name of Ireland and the Republic let the men and women of Ulster get to work thinking not of themselves and their weakness, but of their country and its strength. From Donegall to Down, and from Antrim to Fermagh there are surely enough men and women to get on the job. Now is the hour to start.

Quintinnanus. SEAN MACCAFFERTY
Newmills, Dunganon; Co. Tyrone.

The United States and the Irish Republic.*

By William J. M. A. Maloney, M.D.

(Continued.)

The Spanish Minister, Don Joaquin de Anduaga, in his diplomatic communications habitually referred to the "self-styled" and "pretended" republics, on March 1832 protested:

Buenos Ayres is sunk in complete anarchy, there is no government in Mexico, a military triumph of the rebels is denied and their governments have no stability. Where is the right of the United States to sanction and declare legitimate a rebellion without cause and the event of which is not even decided? (IV. American State Papers, Foreign Relations 845-6, quoted by Goebel, loc. cit.)

Americans in reply blandly asserted: the recognition "is the acknowledgment of existing facts."

The day of the non-intervention policy was thus at an end except as a diplomatic fiction. Adams, in a note to President Monroe ("Writings of Monroe," Mss., Dept. of State) as early as Aug. 24, 1818, had foreshadowed the sumption by the United States of its whole duty to intervene judicially in such international issues. Relative to the Irish American struggle he then wrote:

There is a stage in such contests when the parties struggling for independence have, as I conceive it, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when independence is established as a matter of fact so as to leave the chances of the opposing parties to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral nation must, of course, judge for itself when this stage has arrived.

Don Joaquin de Anduaga's protest shows clearly that a neutral judge the United States was neither exacting the standards by which was determined the fact of the sovereignty of the parties struggling for independence; nor duly influenced in its judgment by the dissenting opinion of the opposing imperial Power.

On March 11, 1837, the United States Senate resolved: That the State of Texas having established and maintained an independent government, and it appearing that there is no longer any reasonable prospect of the successful prosecution of the war by Mexico, against the said State, it is expedient and proper and in perfect conformity with the law of nations and with the practice of this Government in like cases, that the independent political existence of said State be acknowledged by the Government of the United States.

And the House of Representatives subsequently passing like resolution, Texas was recognised. As Spain had protested, Mexico protested, and continued warlike measures against the new State of Texas. But military possession and control had ceased to be a determining American standard: the fact of sovereignty was now definitely founded upon the ability of the revolutionists to establish and maintain a separate government.

The United States, as it reached its full stature as a nation, was thus gradually evolving a new policy of recognition based on the principle on which the Republic of Texas had been founded; the consent of the governed. As a right of sovereignty was held to reside in the people.

logically the fact of sovereignty could be established only by evidence of popular consent freely expressed. Armed force could have no validity. The suffrage of the people could alone establish sovereignty in fact. This fundamentally democratic policy of recognition was first adopted in its completeness by the United States during the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. Secretary of State Seward then enunciated it thus: "The policy of the United States is settled upon the principle that revolution in republican States ought not to be accepted until the people have adopted them by organic law with the solemnities which would seem sufficient to guarantee their stability and permanence." (Seward "Diplomatic Correspondence," Vol. II, p. 630.) Asserting this policy in national affairs, the United States successfully opposed in Europe the recognition of the Confederate Government, which was in complete military control and possession of the South. Applying it to international affairs, Seward wrote to the United States representative in Bolivia: "Hitherto your instructions have been not to recognise any government in Bolivia which was not adopted through the free will and constitutionally expressed voice of the people of that Republic." ("Diplomatic Correspondence," Vol. II, p. 330.) In 1852, Iglesias who, with the aid of Chile, had acquired military possession and control in Peru, was denied recognition until his action had been formally ratified by the electorate. Since these days down to the present time the United States have most invariably required democratic sanction and not military possession as the *facto* sovereignty. In his first administration, President Wilson refused to recognise the Huerta regime in Mexico because it was not founded upon popular consent. In his second administration, President Wilson led the United States to vindicate by arms in Europe this established American policy of recognising the right of a people "to live under a government of its own choice."

The United States was bound by its neutrality to judge the Irish case by the principles governing American policy, as these had been interpreted by the precedents of established American practice in similar cases. The Irish Republic, established by arms on April 24, 1916, was accepted and ratified by the electorate on December 14, 1918. Universal suffrage and proportional representation were an integral part of its Constitution. Co-operation was the basis of its national industrial life. In spite of the British army, it had maintained, extended and consolidated a separate government that even the British Labour Party's Commission acknowledged to be the actual *de facto* government in the greater part of Ireland. The Irish Republic conformed in every particular to the established standards required for recognition by the United States. In validity and form, in right and in fact, the claim of the Irish Republic to complete and perfect sovereignty was incontrovertibly established according to the principles and precedents of the United States Government. And the decision of the United States was, therefore, justly given in Ireland's favour.

On March 4, 1919, by a vote of 216 to 41, the House of Representatives resolved:

That it is the earnest hope of the Congress of the United States of America, that the Peace Conference now sitting at Paris and passing upon the rights of the various peoples will favourably consider the claims of Ireland to self-determination.

And on June 5, 1919, the Senate, by a vote to which there was only one dissident, resolved:

That the Senate of the United States earnestly request the American Plenipotentiary Commissioners at

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*This article is taken from the well-known New York Journal, American, (ed. "G.L.")

Versailles to endeavour to secure for Eamán de Valera, Arthur Griffiths and Count George Noble Plunkett, a hearing before the said Peace Conference in order that they may present the case of Ireland, and resolved further, That the Senate of the United States express its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of its own choice.

Congress had passed upon the claim of the Irish Republic and the judgment of Congress was that the Irish claim was judicable by an international tribunal. Congress "earnestly hoped" that tribunal would assume jurisdiction and favourably consider the claim. But England being the dominating factor of that tribunal, the only hope expressed by Congress regarding the peace settlement was silently ignored and no action taken. Whereupon the senior legislative branch of the United States Government, doubtless after due consultation with whatever executive authority then existed in this country, formally requested the United States representatives in Paris to endeavour to secure a hearing for Ireland's claim. As a direction to those who, in America's name, would sit among the judges in that international tribunal, the Senate expressed its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of its own choice. And in the permanent national Government of the Irish Republic, the Senate recognised and exclusively naming to present the Irish claim only the three delegates previously selected for that purpose by the Government of the Irish Republic.

The resolution of the House of Representatives differed in wording from that of the Senate, the latter being more specific; such verbal differences are not unusual in like resolutions. It is the substance and not the phrasing of the resolutions that establishes the identity of their purpose; and the two months which elapsed between the House and the Senate resolutions in no ways disturb their concurrent effect.

In neither resolution was the recognition of the independence of Ireland stated in terms. Ireland had submitted a claim to freedom, independence, and self-determination; the appropriate committee of the United States Congress had accepted jurisdiction over that claim, had granted a hearing upon it, and had then submitted it through both branches of Congress for favourable consideration to an international tribunal. If the Irish Republic were not entitled to be regarded as a sovereign independent State, no neutral had the right to pass favourably upon its claim; and Ireland had no American plenipotentiaries to endeavour to secure a hearing for the delegates of the Irish Republic before an international tribunal was equivalent, not only to an act of recognition of Ireland's title to definite independence, but was equivalent also to an act of intervention with the intent of securing the acknowledgement of that independence before the nations of the world.

There is no specific formula of recognition. France, by concluding a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, recognised implicitly and effectively American independence. The United States has habitually "recognised" by receiving or appointing an envoy, by entering into treaties, or by other act implying the independent existence of the new State. By favourably passing upon the claim of the Irish Republic, and by intervening on its behalf at the Paris tribunal of nations, Congress implicitly and effectively recognised Irish independence.

Correspondence.

32, Aughrim Street, Dublin,
May 22, 1920.

A Chara.—It is with feelings of amazement that we are in your issue of May 22 an article by A. de Blacomb how "Internationalism and the Republic."

We are at a loss to understand why a man, who confesses he "knows but little" about the International should write so much about it.

What we are mainly concerned with, at the moment, to point out that there are two Internationals, one with headquarters in Moscow, a real revolutionary organisation of which the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Spartacists in Germany are typical. The other, known as the Berna Yellow International, of which Herr Noke, Arthur Handson and Camille Huguennans are shining lights, and it is this gang of reactionary traitors to the working class and our "good and loyal Catholic leaders" are affiliated, of we most certainly do "impugn their action."

We do not propose to deal any further with an article which is such a jumble of contradictions, but in conclusion may we ask, when in future A. de Blacomb, R. S. Gallagher or any other person bitten with anti-Socialism, desires to rush into print on this subject, that it (sic) would spend a short while beforehand working up elementary knowledge of Marxian Socialism in order if they may not be guilty of trying to confuse scientific with political clap-trap.

Is mise do chara,

SEAN McLOUGHLIN

[It is to be hoped that "We, Sean McLoughlin" (or should it be fools?) the editorial grammatical faculty benumbed by reading their, or his, letter—better now Editor, O.I.]

(Continued from page 277).

Republican Government, will increase its power to fund for the good of the country and of the people, and will the last unanswerable argument to the claim that the Republican Government is making for its international recognition as the *de facto* as well as the *de jure* government of Ireland. In January last the municipal and urban electors did their duty as loyal citizens of the Republic. rural electors are now being asked to do the same.

That is the issue, and that alone. It is England slavery *versus* the Republic and freedom.

Candidates in the present elections who are not with Republic are rebels against the Government, and those support them with their votes will be traitors. Neither nor other can ever again be classed as citizens of Republic. They are enemies of the nation. They are, will in future be regarded as, a part, a dirty and ignominious part, of England's garrison in this country.

I have no fear, however, of the manner in which Ireland in its preponderating majority will vote. County and Rural Councils elections so far decided, proved the most decisive victory at the polls that the Republic has yet won. The declaration of the last poll I am confident, be the crowning seal of the people's endorsement and approval of their own elected and established Government.

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Dublin.**NOTES OF THE WEEK.****The Elections.**

So far as the results are known at the time of going to press, the local elections show very strikingly the progress which Sinn Féin has made since the General Election of 1918. It is sweeping the country by a majority far greater than the majority by which it won the Parliamentary elections. The critics foretold two things for it, a quarrel with labour and a decline in strength: but it has suffered neither. It is stronger than ever, and it is more friendly with labour than ever. It is less of a party, and more of a people. Outside the programme of the Ulster Unionists there is now no other political programme in Ireland which is anything but an academic one, which has any but a nominal life. That is to say, that the "condition of Ireland question," as John Mitchell called it, has at last got to that stage for which he worked and prayed, the stage when it is recognised by everybody that there are only two possible policies—Union or Separation. Everybody in Ireland recognises that now, only the British Government imagines that something which is neither the one nor the other can be imposed upon this country as a "settlement."

The Irish "Dominion."

In this connection, the passing of the "Irish Statesman," which is announced for the 19th, is not without its significance. "It was not expected when the paper was established that the cost of publication would be nearly covered by the revenue from advertisements and sales; but it was hoped that sufficient capital would be subscribed to finance the venture for the first few years until the paper could become self-supporting. That hope has not been fulfilled." That is to say, the organ of the "Irish Dominion League" is ceasing to exist because the programme of that League has failed to find sufficient public support to keep it in existence. Its promoters mistook both Ireland and England. They mistook Ireland when they thought that there existed in Ireland any body of opinion capable of being mobilised in favour of an Irish Dominion against a Republic; and they mistook England when they thought that England was really desirous of effecting a settlement in Ireland, which would safeguard what are called "strategic interests," and when they thought that England would concede to Irish opinion an Irish Dominion. Ireland is not a Colony, not a Dominion, and does not regard England as a "Mother Country." She will not have England as a "Mother Country." She has no affection for the British Empire—quite the contrary—and she does not believe that it is of any importance in world-politics to maintain the British Empire. She has had enough of the British Empire. That is what the Dominion Leaguers could not understand about Ireland: The most of them were men who, six years ago, were plain, common or garden Unionists, and who never would have been anything but Unionists if Ireland had never been anything but Home Rule. They have a kind of affection for Ireland, but the hub of their universe is London, and civilisation means, to them, the British Empire. The less Ireland has asked for, the more truculently English have they been. When Ireland's demand was mere Home Rule, that meant to them the end of the British Empire and they flung their weight with the Union. Now when Ireland demands nothing, but takes everything, they set up a plaintive appeal for an Irish Dominion, a thing which is as much in advance of that Home Rule which they abhorred as a Republic is in advance of it. But if Ireland were to demand a Dominion they would go back to Home Rule. They are the only real Imperialists left in, as the "Irish Times" loves to put it, "these islands." Their political principle is the maintenance of the British Empire, and their political policy is to be always a generation or so behind the rest of Ireland. They are the principle and the policy of that which is vanishing right out of Ireland—the English garrison in Ireland; the living, social, garrison, apart from the actual military garrison. They are the last lingering embers of English disease in Ireland.

The Dominion Bauble.

It was assumed that the Dominion bauble would dazzle and hypnotise Ireland. It was so wildly in advance of anything that had been proposed for Ireland prior to 1916 that

it seemed only reasonable to suppose that the great mass of the moderate middle classes—the farmers, the priests, the professional men—would at once swing over to it and leave "the extremists" high and dry. But Ireland is not what it was. It has grown up. It has at last learned that there are only two possibilities—Union or Separation. And it has determined that it shall not be Union. Also, it will never again trust England. The Dominion Leaguers attempted to set up in Ireland a temple wherein they might serve two masters, Ireland and the Empire. But he who serves Ireland cannot serve the Empire, and he who serves the Empire cannot serve Ireland. So they failed, and the ruins of their temple strew the ground. They, too, must now make their choice—England or Ireland; Union or Separation. In the words of the Versailles treaty, they must "opt" for one or the other.

The Mind of England.

Their diagnosis of England was equally erroneous. England cannot give an all-Ireland Parliament because she knows that in such a Parliament the "Ulster" myth would vanish in ten years and her hold on Ireland would be gone. She cannot give Ireland Dominion Status, because she knows well that that would inevitably develop into independence. Her only concern with Ireland is to keep Ireland down, and if she is to yield Ireland any sort of "concession" which will materially strengthen Ireland, she will yield it to force, and she will yield Separation as readily as Dominion. Every English Government, no matter what its colour, deals with Ireland solely from the point of view how best to maintain it in England's grip. Liberal and Conservative have differed as to how that should be done, but they have never differed as to what should be done. That is why Sir Edward Carson was solemnly promised by both Bonar Law and Asquith that "Ulster would never be coerced. That was their way of countering the imminent exterior of local self-government in Ireland. It is still their way. In the long course of their legislative attempts to maintain the shackles further extend the powers of government possessed by the Irish. And they can only counter that extension by permanently partitioning Ireland.

England has no goodwill for Ireland. No Englishman has any goodwill for Ireland. The Dominion League foundations were all built on sand.

English Labour's Mailed Fist.

Irish Labour put up a definite issue to English Labour, a definite request. It said, "You are sending over men, munitions, and war implements of all kinds, to Ireland to destroy the people of Ireland. We on this side have refused to handle them, and we demand of you that you do the same." And English Labour temporised. The National Union of Railwaymen thrust the responsibility on the Triple Alliance, and the Triple Alliance passed it on to the Trade Union Congress. In the meantime, "the Executive Desire Movement an opportunity of acting on their behalf." Which means that English Labour, faced with a straight decision, is going to support its Government. Some of them may have been taken in by Mr. Lloyd George's humorous description of the men here refusing to allow policemen to protect themselves with "a box of revolvers," as he put it, but not Mr. Thomas. He was here, and he saw the mailed



flat at work. He knows what these arms, these men, are used for, and he knows that it is not to protect but to imperil.

Preparations for the new offensive in Ireland are well advanced. Day after day, troops, 99 per cent. of them recruited from English Labour, pour into the country, with munitions, all made by English Labour, all transported by English Labour. We are to have the Mailed Fist, the Mailed Fist of English Labour. So be it. But let English Labour rest assured that we shall survive it, and that in acquiescing in, in actively helping in, the dragging of Ireland, it commits suicide.

The Joke of the Week.

"The nature and success of this raid within rifle shot of Dublin Castle have produced a very disgusting effect on the public mind."—The Editor of the Irish Times on the morning after the King's Inns coup.

Let no man be mistaken as to who will be lord in Ireland when Ireland is free. The people will be lord and master. The people who wept in Gethsemane, who trod the sorrowful way, who died naked on a cross, who went down into hell, will rise again glorious and immortal, will sit on the right hand of God and will come in the end to give judgment a judge just and terrible.

P. H. FRASER.

Christianity, Socialism and Ireland.

"We are powerful enough to break the capitalist system in Ireland."

—PROINNSIAS O'GALLAGHER.

We all wish we could think so. But when we try to do it we find that hard facts don't agree with so optimistic an opinion. Capitalism is international. Economic conditions in every country are largely governed by international circumstances. We have to sell our produce overseas, and our every farmer is up against capitalism in the marketing of his eggs. We have to get certain manufactured articles or else raw material, that can only be got from capitalist sources, and must be traded for, struggled for, competed for. We have got to work with capitalism or retire to the next world. Only when capitalism is generally overthrown will we be able to run Ireland on completely non-capitalistic lines. It is useless to think this fact. Of course, we can go farther towards the Christian Socialist order than many other countries, thanks to the fact that we are still under-industrialised and can build up co-operative industries in place of capitalistic ones. But let there be no doubt about this fact—that co-operation can only function half-effectively and only exist on sufferance so long as capitalism rules elsewhere.

Some Marxians object to the co-operative movement on the ground that it is not an utterly intransigent policy. "Have nothing to do with any movement that accepts even temporarily the existence of capitalism," they say. If a co-operative store sells its eggs at a profit, it is damned in their eyes. Physical attacks on capitalism are all they will consider. But here they are more Marxian than Marx. Did not Marx say that each new order must develop in the womb of its predecessor, which ultimately it is to slay? Even so, co-operation is developing the social State within the womb of the capitalist order. But our super-Marxians would strangle the new order in the womb of the old.

Proinnsias does not make his case against the Internationale clear. His first objection, that it has been condemned by Father Finlay, has been effectively answered by Tom Johnson, who proved, with chapter and verse, that Father Finlay's charges against it and description of its methods, objects and constitutions were mistaken—un-supported by fact. His second, that it is academic and ineffectual, would damn every movement in its early stages. On the same ground, Christianity might have been condemned in the days of the Early Church and Sinn Fein in the years before the war. One in 10,000 is a very respectable number of adherents to a new ideal. Also, is the Internationale wholly ineffective? What about the international 8-hour day? Of course, Proinnsias can condemn the movement for this as materialistic, but on the same grounds he could condemn a movement for the destruction of prisons or the spread of sanitation. When he asks what can the Internationale do, I answer that a forum for the labour movements of the various countries is a necessary preliminary to concerted action. We must have concerted action, because if the workers of one great State accept worse conditions than those of other countries, they play the part of blacklegs and strikebreakers.

Thirdly, Proinnsias sees no hope in the Internationale because its members will differ in religion and moral standards. These differences are arguments for, not against, the Internationale. Without association, how will men ever reach common standards and agreement? If what

Proinnsias teaches is true regarding spiritual and material values, would not the Internationale make a fine pulp for dissemination of such appeals to idealism? But remember that our fight against capitalism is dependent on the natural virtues—our appeal is to Natural Law when we say that the worker has the right to freedom. I am not denying the importance of supernatural religion when I say that we have in natural law already much firm ground on which the Internationale can base its claims for justice and freedom. I deny that the workers have "often opposing standards" on the moral basis of our cause. Let Proinnsias quote examples.

These three objections are less important than what my friend (if I may honour myself by so describing a hero) makes the theme of his argument, viz., the charge that International Socialism is a purely materialistic movement. I cannot see that he advances any evidence in support of this accusation. The Internationale, like every other big movement aiming at reform on economic lines, has in it a mixture of motives. Some Socialists are men who are maddened to revolt by the horrors of poverty, and we must surely respect their sorrow and their anger. Others are less actuated by personal suffering than by pity for the woes of modern humanity. Others, again, seek Socialism for purely moral and idealistic objects—as does Proinnsias himself. In all classes there are zealous men and lukewarm men, the martyrs and dilettantes. To blink the idealism in the martyrs and legitimate eagerness to end child-labour, the 12-hour day, and insecurity of employment.

This said, I will answer the remark that energy given to internationalism would be better given to constructive Socialism at home, by replying that the two things do not conflict. Proinnsias once opposed me on grounds of expediency for saying that some of the money and labour now given by Sinn Fein to foreign propaganda could profitably be diverted to educational work at home, and perhaps he was right. But it is not consistent for him now to grudge the infinitesimal expenditure that Irish Labour has made in publishing Ireland's national identity at the world conference of democracy. We stand to lose nothing, or next to nothing, if two or three of our Liberty Hall men who have a knowledge of international affairs keep in touch with world movements, and we stand to gain much if the Internationale can ever call, say, an international demonstration—universal strike or the like—against transhipment of munitions. Surely a man of my friend's penetration can see the possibilities of the case, and surely he must desire Ireland to play its part, which circumstances may make an important one, in exploiting these possibilities. O'Duhal, I think, was the chief agent in the Affiliation. We all know that a truer Irishman could not be found, nor a purer idealist. Surely the charge of materialism is unworthy.

When Proinnsias says that he sees no hope until men look higher than their own wisdom for guidance, he is using cloudy language. What does he mean? He quotes as failures the English Commonwealth, the American, French and Russian revolutions. The Commonwealth, for good or bad (and I think bad) created Parliamentarism, and so did what it set out to do. The American revolution won national independence and led to the overthrow of European (but not yet insular) Imperialism. The French revolution ended French Feudalism, Aristocracy and Monarchy. The Russian has struck at capitalism, but it is yet too soon to say whether or not it has won its cause, though no one could say with assurance that it has lost.

Each of these latter movements achieved something good, and each was in origin a mixture of material and idealistic energy. None of these movements, it is true, brought the New Jerusalem to earth, but to condemn them as futile is as illogical as to condemn the ending of chattel slavery as futile.

It is perfectly true that all our efforts, material and idealistic, can only bring limited amelioration to humanity's lot until a fundamental moral revolution is achieved. Is this what Proimnaise means by looking higher than our own wisdom? If so, we all agree, but his suggestion that we are to discard our wisdom, such as it is, is all wrong. He is playing with a heresy that has been condemned again and again. It is very easy to get disgusted with the world, and to despair when our practical efforts fail, throwing up our hands and saying that the blame must rest on human badness and the world can go to hell if it will not see eye to eye with us. That is a modern rendering of one of the oldest heresies of Christian history—the heresy of the Manichees. Our orthodox duty is never to lose sight of the moral issue, but always to strive to bend circumstances to our moral vision. In an article on Father McKenna's book, I showed that capitalism is an environment encouraging vice, and co-operation one encouraging the good qualities. A man could be virtuous under capitalism and wicked under co-operation, we know, but still it is our duty to work for the conditions under which the good has the best chance and the bad the most discouragement. I complain of Proimnaise that while he is right in insisting on the need for moral regeneration, he begs the whole question by not defining that regeneration, not showing how it can be achieved, and not relating it to the facts of life.

I believe, with my friend, that Christianity is our only chance. The workers are potentially as selfish as the employers. Often you will come on whole tracts of countryside in holy Ireland where from year's end to year's end you cannot see one single act done for any motive but greed or cruelty, and where man is the enemy of man. This is among the workers, remember, and moral degradation of this sort does not encourage us to hope for more from them than from rich men who do give a little of their wealth to hospitals and picture galleries. I am as indignant as Proimnaise against the common practice of confining social sermons to the sins of the poor, but we must strive for clear vision and realise that to cast down that which stands, by merely violent and envious hands, would do no good. Our Labour movement must be infused with zeal for justice, readiness to work for the common good, and a general charity. In short, it must be Christian.

The only way it can be Christian is by close alliance with Catholic authority. Sometimes we hear idealists raging against bishops who oppose lethargy and reaction to their efforts and priests who throw their influence against the Gaelic, Sinn Féin and Co-operative movements. The idealist knows that he is on the side of the angels, and condemns the Church because it does not throw all its power into support of his righteous and noble endeavours. He knows that the powers of darkness are on England's side in the holding of Ireland, and he thinks the Church should act in Ireland as the clergy acted in Poland and Bohemia—should recognise the Republic officially. Hence we unhappily hear anti-clerical utterances and idealists try to run their movements independently of, and even in veiled hostility to, the priest. This is disastrous, and calls for hard, serious thinking for its remedy. I will point out what I think are the mistakes in the idealist's attitude. But first I will remark that many bishops and priests are not without

blame, for even when they cannot commit themselves to this or that, they are, officially, in an awful thing for them to give scandal by deliberately discouraging idealism, and that is what they have repeatedly done. It is horrible but true, that what our idealists have achieved in the past 30 years has been won at the cost of many a sacrifice like that of Dr. O'Hickey.

Now as to the idealist's errors. He must remember that one after another heresy and sect has begun in idealism and ended in disaster. History shows many a religious movement that began in zeal for something good but ended in the bogs of schism because it could not see things proportionately and wanted the Church to commit itself holus-bolus to some end short of that great, final end to which the Church is established to lead us. The mystics sought a good thing in desiring the mystic vision of God, but they went astray and ended in Molinism and fanaticism when they tried to exalt their immediate end, to wit, ecstasy or rapture, above what I may call the complete policy of the Church. The Church has to save all classes of men, and if she made mysticism an essential of her membership, she would degenerate into a sect for people of a single temperament. The duty of mystics is to practise their excellent form of worship in communion and harmony with the Church as a whole. Hence the Church's wise practice of encouraging religious orders for different types of men who otherwise would segregate as sects.

So when Proimnaise says that for him Christianity means democracy, I think he is making the mistake of the heresiarchs. [Good heavens, am I as bad as that? says he.] He desires Socialism because it is in harmony with Christianity, just as mysticism is in harmony with Christianity, but he does wrong to identify it with Christianity. Take the example of slavery. It was Christianity, or the spirit thereof, that ended this great horror. Yet the Church never deliberately committed herself to its ending. On the contrary, St. Paul even bade slaves obey their masters. How, then, did the paradox come about? In this way. The spread of Christianity gave men who were working against slavery their chance. The spread and triumph of Christianity would likewise make it easy for us to achieve the social order we desire. Indeed it would make our victory certain. But let us remember that our aim is not a final end any more than was the abolition of slavery, and though both are good, and desirable in Christianity's interests, yet the Church would be forsaking her mission for the sake of side issues were she to make our cause hers officially.

Go back to the example of slavery. Had the Church adopted an Abolition policy in the first centuries, I believe she might have led a great successful Spartacist revolution manned by the miserable proletariat of the Roman Empire. History proves the possibility of this. But would the masses of a certainty have been nearer happiness? Is it certain that this sudden liberty would have been of spiritual advantage to them? In a word, is it a sure thing that the Church's cause would have been furthered? I am not merely uttering Toryism when I answer "No" to all these questions. The revolution might have been a good thing, but the Church had no commission to use her strength in speculative enterprises. That is for laymen to do. Human liberty and human comfort must be won, if at all, by sacrifice, experiment and endeavour, and the heroes who win them will be the more successful for being inspired by Christian ideals and the vision of the happy Christian State. But bound or free, men have sorrow that the Church has to concern herself with, and it is her work to preach charity, duty

and cheerfulness to the slave as well as the freeman. Almost all human misery comes from selfishness, and if we could induce men to help their neighbours as generously as they serve themselves there would be a speedy end to troubles and arguments. By co-operation and trade unionism and the Internationals we may do something towards creating this public spirit.

A Bolshevik friend who has read this article over my shoulder to this point says he agrees with my objections to Proimnaise, but that all this is "too damn religious." Well, it was Proimnaise that started the preaching, and he can answer the Bolshevik. But to sum up my points, I will put these propositions:

1.—The social problem is a mixed material and moral problem.

2.—We must not be afraid of practical and material action, but must never lose sight of the moral element in our efforts to find a solution.

3.—We must avoid the identification of our cause with the cause of religion, and yet must be careful to recognise that the moral values we are concerned with can only be preserved by the Catholic Church; to cut them adrift from the Catholic faith and cause would be to founder.

4.—Christianity is not democracy, nor yet Socialism, nor yet again Capitalism, Distribution or Feudalism. But some of these orders are less congenial to Christianity than others. And while Christianity is the same whatever order prevails, we have yet a duty to seek the order most helpful to Christian ideals.

5.—In Ireland's unique loyalty to the Faith, we have a unique hope of finding a worthy solution to the class struggle, and a duty to lead, not follow, in shaping a true Socialism. The world, says Father Plater, looks to Ireland to display the beauty of a supernatural faith worthy reflected in an enlightened and harmonious social order.

Bhíuil tú an aon intinn liomsa anois, a Proimnaise? AOBH DE BLACAM.

P.S.—In case of misconception—no indulgences are attached to the reading of this article. Like Proimnaise, I write, not for the debate's sake, but in hope to canvass a way to a clear social program.

Duanog.

I dtaobh lucht ceaptha dán as Béarla.

Is fuath leim chroidhe leamb-dhánta Galla Ghaedhal, A dtéin ní fíor, ní brioghmair iad aché baohi. Is glongaránta iad—gach uimair d'éar Nuair tréigeadh leo leanga na seans-Ghaedhal.

B'fhear lionm d'an éigin brioghmair, focal-thréan De chuid na nGearmánach sruteach, saor: Ceol uasal Lamartín nó fútan Veiraine, Fíor fheigte fiannoideachta le céill.

No dán dár chúim fíor-Shaansaigh iad féin, (Óe bháidmánuach, baohi-labharthach an tréad): Do'n chúid is luatha de, ná's fíor dom é—

Thugad leo a ndúthchas díleas féin: Tá fírinneacht aca ná fuil solléir. Ar dánta bhíidheachta Galla-Gaedheal.

II.

Is fíor i dteach ar Seosaimh of Phluingcéid Gur aháruigh sé ar Mhílton; b'ádhmárahach béal A mhóinte, a's b'árl an solus shoilleigh é. Comh-bhinn Mac Donnchadh a's slugh na n-dan.

Do b'é a mbail dá dtuáidhe mar mé Gur bhuaise bhéadh a n-obair feadh na seachal An Béarla shéanadh riann dá chomhgréach é. A's gabhál le teanain ábhartha na nGaedheal.

Tá lá ag teacht a's chifair í réim A's drúim dá thabhairt le h-allagar na inBéar Le gach ar shaothrúigh a's ar greamnuigh é. Múscleáid in am a threann ghé-bhíall an fídhé In eagla bhór mhóidhite, leis, go léir: De bhár onúic chfín céad amhsarac na lae!

L. S. GOGAN.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

A "Red Herring."

"Trinity Week" has come and gone. Its impact on the life of Dublin, outside Trinity College and its immediate following, may be described as nil. The social functions promoted in connection with that sort of learning produced, no doubt, a certain amount of stir in circles which have it for their centre. The students had their "rag"—distinguished this year, be it admitted, by a pleasing effort at originality; there were cricket matches, dinners, and debate. Newspapers duly chronicled these activities, and, for those who took part therein, it was, presumably, a festive and stirring period.

Trinity College, or Dublin University, under whichever title it cares to operate, is, of its own desire, so curiously aloof from the Irish nation that its proceedings awake little interest, and no emotion, outside the ranks of its graduates, undergraduates, professors, and their sisters, their cousins, and their aunts. This is to be regretted. That "Trinity" is Protestant in thought and sympathies we know and we accept. Battles have been fought on that head, and the responsibility for this condition of things has been attributed to the adherents of different religions. The establishment of the National University has allayed feeling in this particular. None the less, the fact that "Trinity" remains devoid of a sense of National consciousness is still to be deplored.

George Birmingham, a clever and sippant cynic, from whose view-point Sinn Féiners are not likely to look at Ireland or the world, writing of his alma mater, quite candidly admits that she is not Irish. He maintains also that she is not English. She is something unique. He takes a measure of pride out of what one should be disposed to regard as an imputation that in the hackneyed phrase she is "neither fish nor flesh." His pride is based on a conviction that she is at least "a good red herring." On this point, like most alumni of the ancient Elizabethan foundation, he works himself up to a pitch of enthusiasm difficult for those outside the fold to comprehend.

It speaks well for "Trinity" that she does succeed in implanting so strong a regard in the bosoms of her

students. At any rate, it is a species of local patriotism. The splendour of the place, the noble library, the ancient stately buildings, the venerable traditions that are grouped about the College play their part no doubt in developing and sustaining this affection; even as beyond all question they promote and support that "prestige" which is their greatest asset.

Level "Trinity" to the dust to-morrow. Turn the Park into a street of shops, destroy the Dining Hall and the Engineering School, sack the Library, and pull it down stone by stone—and what remains of the University to start life afresh in a brand-new building or an old-fashioned dwelling and see how far "prestige" would avail it. Stone walls do not a prison make; but the stone walls in which "Trinity" is housed to-day exercise no little share in the spell and influence she is even still able to cast over Irish and foreign minds.

That spell and that influence, none the less, are on the wane. Dubliners, whose memories go back some thirty years, can recall the extent to which "Trinity" at that time dominated the city. The "College Boys" pranked and played in street and theatre as though the town belonged to them. Success at the Bar, or, indeed, in any learned profession, was deemed well-nigh impossible for anyone not hall-marked "T.C.D." As a social function the College Races "bore the palm." The word "College" itself was open to only one interpretation. A sturdy effort to maintain this last prerogative is still maintained, but meets in these days so frequently with honest astonishment that it is likely soon to be abandoned.

Despite mention of Wolfe Tone, Emmet and Davis—names so often on the lips of men that would have stoned their owners when alive—the spirit of Adam Lebas is even yet the *genus loci* of Trinity College. Should International relations remain unchanged, in ages yet unborn, even "a man called Pearse" might very probably receive lip-homage from some Fellow or Provost of that institution should it, indeed, survive so long. Yet even in his life-time would such a man be honoured there. Even this stronghold of West Britonism may, however, have to fall in time.

One notable indication of "Trinity's" aloofness from the life around her was afforded last week. Not by the military bands, the English games, the general British "atmosphere," so much as by the Debate which commemorated the 150th anniversary of the founding of "The Historical Society." The subject was the undesirability of fostering Small Nations, and since such a theme was well calculated to promote discussion, no offence need be taken at its choice. To this Debate the representatives of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Durham were invited. So far as I know, neither of the other Irish Universities was asked to take a part—not even "Queen's," Belfast. It is true that many modern English and Scotch Universities were not thus honoured either, but this is beside the point. This commitment might surely have been paid to the infant institutions of a kindred nature in Ireland, as well as to the ancient academies of Great Britain.

A curious sourness of spirit has ever characterised "Trinity" in her relations with the land from which she receives her revenues and secures her students. Her eyes

are fixed on England, and the Virgin Queen is her patron Saint. Day by day, she grows more apart. Day by day, her influence, her power, her position in Irish life steadily decline. It behoves her to awake to these things, lest in the days that are coming she may cease to be.

WESTLAND ROW.

Municipal Management.

The elections of members of the various local governing bodies in Ireland which have taken place this year have been of great but indirect service to the Republic. They have given the nation new opportunities of affirming its loyalty to its own Government; they have proved that majority of the people of Ulster are loyal, and not, as Carson misrepresents, disloyal and anti-Irish; and they have in almost every locality put the administration of the English-made Local Government Acts into the hands of Republicans. During the transitional stage through which we are passing we may be satisfied with these gains; but, we repeat, they are indirect. The reassertion of our national independence and the disproof of the two-nations theory, were they necessary, could have been effected by a plebiscite; the amount of useful work our newly-elected Councillors will be able to accomplish, hampered as they will be by the English-Irish Colonial Government Board, must necessarily be small. In short, the elections have been excellent propaganda, but of no permanent constructive value nationally.

The international recognition of our national status being now only a question of time—a very short time, perhaps—it is opportune for us to consider whether the present system of local government is the best and most suitable for adoption by a free Ireland.

Under the pressure of villainous misgovernment we have tended to lose sight of the proper functions of governmental institutions. Concentrating all our energies on eliminating the clog of foreign interference from our machinery of government, we have almost forgotten that a government is only a machine. We think of its structure rather than of its functions. It should simplify the routine business of living, thus facilitating the development of the corporate and individual lives of its constituents, and it should be the instrument by which the common will is expressed and executed, and the commonwealth safeguarded.

There are obvious objections to applying purely utilitarian tests to a national government, but these objections, less most, if not all, of their force in relation to a municipal government, with which we are at the moment concerned. We can safely assert that the best town government is that which, in practice, provides the fullest life, mental and physical, for all its citizens, at the lowest cost. The expression of extra-municipal aspirations is outside its scope.

In the countries in which municipal government has been most carefully studied—America and Germany—the English system, which is also in force in Ireland, is not favoured. In America, after many years' trial, it is being superseded in favour of the "Commissioner or City Manager" plan. This system has been adopted in cities so far apart as New Orleans, Buffalo, Atlantic City, and Dayton, Ohio, and in over three hundred other cities in the United States. Its operation as exemplified in Dayton is

described by Mr. John J. Horgan in "Studies," and is stimulating and provocative of thought.

Prior to the year 1914 Dayton was considered an outstanding example of bad city government. It suffered from incompetence and irresponsibility in administration. In 1914 the citizens adopted, by a two to one majority, a "city manager charter." It came into force on July 1, 1914. Under its provisions an active commission of five members controls all branches of a city's affairs, legislative and administrative, except the police, which are under a separate board. The members of the commission are chosen by popular vote for a four year term, but are subject to recall by an adverse vote at any time after six months of service. The commission governs the city and fixes the rates. It may create or abolish city departments. But it does not directly have anything to do with the actual management of the various departments, nor does it immediately supervise the work of the officials. These possibilities it delegates to a high official with the title city manager, appointed by the commission to hold office for its pleasure and paid a good salary. His duties are twofold.

First of all, in an advisory capacity he attends meetings of the commission, with the right to be heard and to make recommendations but not to vote. Secondly, he is the enforcer of all regulations and by-laws. Thirdly, he appoints all other city officials and employees (subject, never, to the civil service regulations), and may suspend or dismiss any of them for proper cause. In this connection he assigns to each official his particular work. Finally, he prepares the annual estimates, submitting them to the commission for action; and he is the general supervisor of all work done in the various departments and offices, having charge of contracts, the purchase of supplies, and so forth, details being handled by his subordinates. He is, in fact, the managing director of the city. The city manager Dayton is paid \$1,875 a year. The commissioner who gives the highest number of votes becomes Mayor, and presides at the meetings of the commission. The Mayor and commissioners receive small salaries. It will be observed that there is a permanent democratic check on the manager by the commission, the manager being liable to dismissal by a vote of the commission, and that body being liable to recall at any time by an adverse vote of the citizens. On the other hand, the undeniable advantage of autocracy in the executive so far as it has the confidence of the electorate, is secured.

With the manager plan has been introduced the budget system. The manager prepares and submits to the commission an annual budget on the basis of the estimates of various departments of the city. These estimates show expenses for the preceding year and the probable increase for the ensuing year. This budget must be published in the local papers two weeks before it is discussed by the commission and must be discussed by it at a public hearing. The budget is the plan for the future; it expresses in detail the form what the city hopes to do for the coming year; it balances liabilities and assets, expenditures and income, one activity against another. It gives directness to the whole year's work. No citizen can excuse carelessness of city affairs under such conditions. The slumsters in every city thrive on bad and secret municipal management.

Budgets of this sort prepared year after year, whether a city is paying for its improvement as it goes or piling up a debt against posterity. Such, in brief, is the American plan as described by Horgan. He claims that in cities and towns where it has been adopted the cost of government, indebtedness and waste rates are lower than in those which remain faithful

to the English plan, and that the municipal services are better. Again, responsibility is concentrated. "The intolerable scattering of powers, duties and responsibilities, which the old type of city government promoted to the point of absurdity, has gone. Public opinion is focussed upon a narrow and well-defined area. The voter applies a real and anxious scrutiny to the conduct or misconduct of his representatives. He is no longer scolded by the eloquence of Mr. Raimé at the meetings of the waterworks committee, but wants to know how Mr. Raimé is managing the waterworks, which is quite a different thing. The new system does not, of course, guarantee that a city's administration shall be always free from 'good ground for criticism—no system can do that—but it does guarantee that when the administration is faulty there shall be definite shoulders upon which to lay the blame."

Further, a great deal of delay is eliminated. Much speciousness and obstruction of business by subterfuges in procedure are avoided.

But the chief merit of the commission form of government is that it improves the quality of municipal councilmen and municipal officials. In the last analysis, municipal administration, like so many other problems of government, is as much a question of men as of measures. When responsibility is concentrated in a small body and when the management of definite municipal undertakings is delegated to definite individuals, the voter is careful to select competent men. If he does not, their incompetence is soon apparent, and responsibility for its results cannot be shirked. The incompetent city commissioner cannot camouflage his incompetence in a cloud of oratory or invective, nor will a long-winded resolution blind the electors to the deficit in the balance sheet of the department for which he is responsible. If municipal authority can be massed in the hands of five men, each of these men has an opportunity to become a real power in the community, which is the only motive that will draw capable men into public service.

It is only natural that such a transformation in methods of municipal government should meet with objections and criticisms. It has, of course, been branded as anti-democratic, oligarchical and un-American. These criticisms have in reality no foundation. A body is not undemocratic because it is small in numbers; it is undemocratic when it is not under the voter's direct and effective control. It may almost be accepted as an axiom that the smaller an elective body the more thorough is its accountability to the electorate.

Were the people of Ireland convinced of the desirability of the "manager system," its adaptation to our country would not be impossible. If the Republic is to be organised on the capitalistic basis no difficulty would arise. If, on the other hand, we are to have that form of society which James Connolly was thinking when he wrote: "Nationality, without a reorganisation of society on the basis of a broader and more developed form of that common property which underlay the social structure of ancient Eire, would only be national recreancy, since it would be tantamount to a declaration that our oppressors had so far succeeded in inoculating us with their perverted conceptions of justice and morality that we finally accepted them as our own," objections founded on principle might be stronger. We suggest, however, that they would be mistaken. After all, the microcosm of the ideal community—the Co-operative Society—employs a manager, and is controlled by a small committee. Why should the co-operative urban community not organise itself similarly?

E. W. PROCTOR.

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The Fire Bringers.

The plot of Moirín A. Chevasa's one-act play, "The Fire-Bringers," is a simple one. It is a peasant play of 35 B.C., but she has added something to the ordinary peasant drama by her introduction of mythological characters, by whose means she works out the denouement.

Daol and Forann are two old people of the Glens of Aondraim. Their only son, Flann, has gone to sea, and during his absence

" Misfortune upon misfortune,
Loss upon loss "

have reduced them to direst poverty. Their one hope lies in Flann returning with gold from his long year's service. Then Flann enters accompanied by a beautiful young girl, and all their hopes are dashed aside when he confesses that he has neither gold, nor jewels, nor rich garments, but that his savings have gone to ransom this girl, who was his captain's prize found among the spoil of a " raiding ship from Brestain " which they had fought and captured. His father and mother refuse to receive her into their house, and bid Flann sell again so that their fortunes may be restored. While they are urging him to do this there comes a knocking at the door. Deirdre and Naisi, on their way to Eamhain, seek shelter from the raging storm in the humble dun. Deirdre sees the troubled faces of all within.

" Storm have we left, but here we enter storm," and endeavours to reconcile the old man and woman to the love of young people. She goes out having affected them so deeply by her words that their hearts are softened and they recall the young lovers, who are about to depart together into the night from the anger and bitterness of their parents.

" This is well done (says Forann), for the young think that age

" Has withered our hearts long ere our bodies die;—
But we can pardon as they."

The play is something of a type to which we are not accustomed. The characters are interesting and well-drawn. Old Daol is moved by the most human of feelings, both good and bad. The entrance of Deirdre and Naisi introduces a strange atmosphere; a something that raises the play off the old level plane of the peasant play, which is given by majestic presence of Deirdre, her meaningful words, her solemn salutations and blessings.

The same high quality of poetry that we have in " Liadain and Curthir " is to be found in the lines of this play. It reaches a lyric beauty of expression and rhythm in the lines in which Flann describes the charms of his dowries bride. Daol asks if she has brought " rich garments and red gold with her," " Or herds of lowing cattle to fill our byres," Flann by his silence confesses she has not. Daol says, she may have jewels that will serve as well.

Flann (in a low voice): " She has no jewels."

Daol (sharply): " No jewels? What has she then?"

Flann: " She has nothing."

Daol and Flann: " Nothing?"

Flann: " Did I say nothing? That was a lying word."

She has this slender beauty of body that is as a reed

The wind bends hither and thither—the capn abhán
the hills

Is not more unswollen than she is, body and mind.
She has the eager spirit of the leaping wind on the sea.
Lashing the singing waves into sun-pierced foam.
She has the courage of the wounded eagle, who, trapped
and helpless,

Yet lifts his dying head to strike at his foe."

Throughout the whole play the same high level of poetry is sustained. Moirín A. Chevasa is a poet first and dramatist second. The poetic feeling and expression never flags, but there are one or two faults of technique in the drama. The change in the old woman's attitude towards Creide is too sudden. Undoubtedly Deirdre's words brought it about gradually enough, but the working of their effect upon the characters is not evident. Good side-acting might have helped a little, but it would not obviate the fault of having rely on it for the most important point of the drama.

The play was produced for the first time at the Abbey Theatre, on May 23, in aid of Teach Naomh Ulltinn. The acting was not up to the level of the play. Oona Daragh Daol was good in the beginning but she failed at the end. Maire McShinbhligh's Deirdre could have been more impressive and more passionate. The beggar woman did not convey the impression of the uncanny or the evil force which she was the embodiment. For Naisi, as played by Arthur Shiel, was much the best. Naisi was played by Arthur Shiel, Forann by M. J. Dolan, and Creide by Betty King. The mise-en-scène was effective.

Politics and Conscience.

Concluded.

The true thermometer of Civilisation is the keen feeling and perception of what is Right and Wrong. For what does Civilisation mean? Civilisation, in the last analysis, is the fine and practical perception of all the rights and duties involved essentially in citizenship in their far-reaching ramifications having their start and finish in God. Civilisation denotes eminence in character of men and society; advancement to the hill of perfection; the virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity and their concomitant fruits—happiness, nobleness, wisdom. The genuine greatness of men and of nations consists in this eminence, this progress, these spiritual qualities. The roots of human progress, whence blossom the grand beauty of life, true success and power, are the growth and the denial of self, and susceptibility to the sweet and elevating influences of high ideals. These are essential to Aristotle calls (more than 2,300 years ago his voice rang out) " the utter lack of actual human progress! " " the perfection of life—the noble and worthy estate of the State, the body politic, civil society, the people. These are essential to its security, influence and dignity, which the conditions and means of the security, influence and dignity of its subjects. For its subjects are itself.

Measured by this criterion, this thermometer of Civilisation, I know of no people whose national character reveals a higher degree of historical virtue and of humanity

the Irish character. The long animity of the people, the long Ireland possesses of martyrs for her sacrosanct championship of Right against Wrong, martyrs whose life was eminently noble and crowned with an heroic death—all these are the true tokens of Civilisation and rise above and outlive the empty pride and pomp and glory of the mightiest empire. Irishmen's ideals have been, and are to-day, high, severe, even ascetic—their common life has been distinguished by dignity, magnanimity and virility—however grave and glorious are the exceptions to the standard commonly recognised and practised. These are the happy ideals that brought the smile to Pearce's countenance as he joyfully faced death, like the countless martyrs before him:

" Because right is right, to follow right,
Were wisdom, in the scorn of consequence."

The radiant and fragrant beauty of this Civilisation shining in her centuries-old conflict for Right with Wrong—is the outstanding meaning and nobility of Ireland's Cause. The struggle, let me insist, is ethical, supported and impelled by motives of conscience—hence no Irishman whose conscience is active and awake can escape the obligation of energetic and whole-souled activity.

Under the most barrowing despotism we behold patience without weakness, humility without pusillanimity, fearlessness without pride, all crowned with the pearl beyond price, unswerving and unflinching determination to spare the sin of the whole world rather than suffer the loss of their national Soul—this is Ireland's story—this Ireland's history a conflict of Ireland's Right with England's Wrong. Let me what may, while conscience lasts this conflict shall endure.

More fundamentally than day from night, than light from darkness ayó, loto caelo, the Irish mind differs from the Irish. Temper, instinct, principle, vision, I include in mind, and the broad psychology of life. Spiritual, Catholic, generous, refined, faithful, robust, tender—this is the Irish mind—the very antonyms of these words best describe the British mind—material, insular, selfish, gross, perfidious, vindictive and cruel. Ever since the days of Elizabeth it has limited itself to be ruled politically by the intellectual and moral ecacy of the Cecils. To-day the ethical limppness, not only corruption, of the British mind is manifest in the prevailing idolatry of physical comfort, of sensuous gratification, of luxurious living. The worse than pagan ethics of the English Chancellor reflecting the British mind is evident in the words of his support of divorce:

" The principle that marriage was indissoluble disapproved by almost universal admission from our institutions 50 years ago. We, therefore, to-day approach the question on the basis that marriage was not, and is not, to be treated as indissoluble. Those who took the other view did live in this world, and their arguments were the whisperings of the abandoned superstitions of the Middle Ages. I should like to believe that some of us Irish have been the least degree contaminated by the pernicious doctrine of English political writers and political economists, to whom Right and Wrong, justice and injustice are purely the result of human convention, who allege that the " feeling of moral obligation " comes from the accumulated experience of ages and is the British condonation of their entire police system, and its defence, is the account of " the sense of duty or moral obligation." The British mind, I mean as shown itself in political science and political practice,

measures all good by the standard of pleasure or utility. Its superciliousness impels it to ignore, as it does, that profound distinction of the schoolmen between Right and Enjoyment.

The British mind does not understand man to be an " ethical animal, having perception of justice and injustice, of Right and Wrong." It fails to recognise the objective element in morality. The bewitchery of trifles, the spirit of worldliness blind the British mind so that it does not see that the idea of duty differs by the whole diameter of existence from the concept of agreeable feeling.

The whole cast of British political notions and the entire range of political practice scorn all sound ethics and believe that Right is something created by human experience—that Right may exist by the sheer exercise of might. Just as certainly as Right and Wrong are irreconcilable and stand at opposite poles apart, the Irish mind differs absolutely and fundamentally from the British. The Irish know that Right is eternal and everlasting, an immutable idea, an essential part of the Divine Economy.

Wrong is the British mind, utterly wrong on the all-vital subject of political science and practice. Let us not forget that our examination of conscience. " From their fruits ye shall know them," said our Blessed Saviour. British mentality makes the State rest on utility—considers the primary end of government to be the protection of the persons and property of men. All sound ethics are rejected. English politicians are almost afflicted with logomania in their conjuring with the sacred words Freedom, Democracy, Self-Government—for they have done all they could to empty the words of their true meaning. Their sense of freedom is saturated with the poison of imperialism, which would keep free men political slaves. This " freedom " would concede to their political slaves anything except any impeding or clogging of the omnipotent and sovereign wheels of imperialism.

Right, profoundly and indisputably Right, is the Irish mind in its political and human philosophy. It knows that the primary end of the State is not to protect the persons and property of men, but to protect the rights of the persons and property of men. For the Irish realise and know that the State is a moral person, an ethical organism made up in the aggregate of moral persons. The Gaelic mind knows that the State is as essential to human existence as the family, and equally involves obligation for its institution and maintenance; that the State, nation, people, is a natural unit like the family, that it is a juridical social unit whose elements are held together by a civic bond, embodying all the essential obligations of co-operation, and all the essential rights of social protection and opportunity—the Irish mind perceives that these essential obligations and rights are not the arbitrary choice of men, but that they are determined by the natural purposes and exigencies of human life as ordained by God; finally, the Irish mind knows that the one substantial thing in the establishment of a State, as of a family in joining a civic unit together with the civic bond as in joining a family unit with the marriage bond, is the voluntary and free consent of those who establish the union, the State. And the State is the people because all sovereign power lies in the people.

Again, Irish mentality clearly perceives that these political ideas are vital and of supreme importance because they are ethical, that they enter into the very marrow of spiritual life, that there can be no impulsive evasion or omission of their obligations, that Right, Conscience, is at the bottom of all true political existence, and that upon the knowledge and

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practise of this Right depends the true life, the spiritual life and death of nations.

To say that the British political conscience is dull and callous is to put it mildly. All the signs by which one can form a judgment go to prove that it shall not awake till Britain bites the dust and wears sack cloth. British political eyes are blind to principle, to Right and Wrong. The truth of that is written clear and large over their far-flung empire of Wrong. In fact, there are no first principles in English politics, or last principles—there are no principles at all—and no laws giving expression to principles—the whole governmental structure and policy is a mere matter of expediency, utility, convention, all revolving round the centre—self-interest. In the late fifties Lord Salisbury shouted out that in English politics "no one acts on principle or reasons from them." Disraeli wrote to Bulwer Lytton: "Damn your principles! Stick to your party." (Think of it, even his English "principles.")

Prescinding from the strict ethics of the matter, apart from the Wrong and Injustice of the British in Ireland, and the lack of ethical principles in these usurping despots, nothing could be more ghastly and shocking than the utter incompetence of their House of Commons. An Englishman wrote of it only a few years ago: "The House of Commons is an assembly of well-nigh 700 gentlemen engaged in playing the game of Ins and Outs—and the vast majority of whom vote at the bidding of the Party Whip in absolute indifference to, often in absolute ignorance of, the issues involved in the questions which their votes decide." As to the character of individual statesmen, the same story must be told. Lloyd George confessed that he had never read the Act of Union. British politicians don't know, and they don't want to know, in their panicky struggle for place and power, their eyes are blinded by mammon. Mr. Mallock well pointed out that Lloyd George's favourite arguments rest on fallacies of the most astounding character which are put forth as facts.

Ireland's struggle, let me insistently repeat, is essentially ethical. Irish men and women are not free to avoid the labour, the sweat, and the fatigue, for the conflict is one of Right with Wrong—no Irishman can omit active participation in all the great and stirring last blow that is being dealt the enemy to drive him out, without sin. St. Thomas Aquinas teaches that men are bound under pain of sin to rise up and overthrow the usurper. He says: "If men have both a just cause and the power, and if the common good does not suffer, they would be right in promoting sedition, and they would sin if they did not do so." (Politics, vi.) Again: "When anyone seizes by force on the government, against the will or with the forced consent of the subjects, and when recourse cannot be had to a superior for a decision as to the usurper, then the man who, in order to free his country, slays the tyrant, deserves praise and reward." (2 Sent, d.44, q.2, a.1.)

Let me point out the extraordinary applicability of St. Thomas's conditions to Ireland. To any one familiar with the true nature of government and the true end and purpose of the State there can be no question of the Justice of Ireland's Cause. To the Irish mind it has been ever such a self-evident truth that men have died for it in every generation and the whole nation has suffered indescribably, and is suffering unspeakable outrages to sustain the Republic of Ireland which they have established and for which they will die rather than disown. I shall not insult Irish intelligence by dwelling on the justice of the Cause.

Have Irishmen the power? Ab esse ad posse valet illatio—from what has been done to what can be done, is a valid inference. The Irish people have evinced their splendid and irresistible power by establishing the Republic, and every day are vindicating by way of further corroborative proof the ability to sustain it against all the wiles and odds of might and brute force. Nor shall I labour this point. It, also, is too obvious.

Will the common good suffer? That the Republic doing enormous good for the Irish people is evidenced every day. A very practical and striking demonstration both the force and advantage of native government over foreign rule is had in the number of estates that are being purchased by combinations of the people under the direction of the Republican Government.

Independent of any of the red-tape and invidious favouritism of British officialism, the people are securing advances through a bank, and very expeditiously the lands are passing into the hands of the people. That is the power of the people's government; that is the way the Republic is functioning. Now contrast this Republican performance with the slow and bureaucratic malversation of the usurper. In the 25th "Report of the Congested Districts Board in Ireland" we have their incompetence written by themselves so plainly that he who runs may read—

	Acres.
Lands purchased from 1897 to 1917	2,257,515
Lands resold from 1897 to 1917	539,349
Lands in hands of C.D.B.	1,718,175

Why had not these 1,718,175 acres been resold? Why had the C.D.B. kept them still in their hands? Why? The greater bulk of the acres which they had purchased C.D.B. were retaining on their hands, one may very reasonably presume, for plantation and other exploitation purposes. The validity of this presumption readily appears to any who read the policy as adumbrated by Carson a short time ago in which he advocated that Connaught lands should be parcelled out to soldiers. Carson is the modern Cromwell. All of us are daily witnesses of the admirable manner in which the Republican courts are functioning. The eloquent lawyer in the United States of America (Mr. Bu Cokran) declared that they are functioning more efficiently and more effectively than any law courts in the whole world.

How people with an active conscience can look on indifference, apathy and inaction on the state of their country in political and economic slavery, all but human slavery their native land, their own nation, in chains, their fellow countrymen political slaves, all the avenues of human endeavour in the hands of outsiders or those subservient to outsiders, the foreign check and hindrance and dictation of development of Irish life's full faculties, physical, mental, moral, the denial of Irish rights and the minimisation of opportunities—not merely economic, but in every sense human—for a full development in the active achievement and enjoyment of which may normally be found man's true happiness—the appalling consequences of it all, the existing under inhuman handicaps, most indecently hot working inhuman hours for wages seldom sufficient

St. Jeanne D'Arc on England.

The sole reason why St. Jeanne d'Arc was burned at the stake was because she had led her nation to victory over the English invader. This is admitted by all. When questioned at her trial, she gave some remarkable answers dealing with the English invasion.

"The fifth hearing (of the trial) opened on March 1 (1431). It was upon this occasion that Jeanne uttered the following remarkable words, authentically recorded in the official reports of the trial: 'Before seven years are over, the English will have paid a greater forfeit than they did at Orleans. They will lose everything in France through a great victory which God will send the French. This I know because of a revelation which has been made to me; I know it as surely as I know that you are before me at this moment.'"

This quotation is from Petit de Gulleville. It will be remembered that Jeanne d'Arc led the French to victory at Orleans, and further, that this prophecy was fulfilled, for Charles VII. of France made his formal entrance into Paris on November 12, 1437.

On another occasion during the trial she was interrogated as to the Voices which spoke to her. She said they were the voices of St. Margaret and St. Catherine—"Their voices are beautiful, soft and kind; they speak French." Question: "Does not St. Margaret speak English?" To this St. Jeanne answers: "How should she speak English since she is not on the side of the English!"

Here is a further passage of great interest from the examination of this girl of nineteen years of age:

"How do you know it is not Satan that comes to you in the guise of an angel?" "Because the angel said to me: 'Be a good girl, God will aid thee. Thou wilt go to the assistance of the King of France.' And the angel told me of the sorry plight of the Kingdom of France." "Then do St. Margaret and St. Catherine hate the English?" "They love what God

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love, and hate what He hates." "Does God hate the English?" "Of the love or the hatred which God bears the English I know nothing; but full well I know that they shall all be put out of France except those who shall die there."

In another passage this peasant girl completes her statement on this subject in a few sentences of amazing force:

When she was asked again: "God does not love the English then?" she replied, "God loves the English when they are in their own country. He does not love them in this country, which they have unjustly taken possession of. It is not the English that God hates, but injustice."

What an amazing similarity between the outlook and lifework of St. Jeanne d'Arc and the outlook and work of those who are fighting and suffering for the freedom of Ireland to-day. These quotations are taken from "Joan of Arc," by L. Petit de Gulleville, translated and published by Duckworth (1907, the Saints Series). P.J.L.

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The Final Act of Ratification.

On May 19 last, President De Valera sent a cablegram
to Arthur Griffith. That cablegram, for reasons that a reading
of it makes quite obvious, was suppressed by the British
Government. It was not allowed to reach its destination,
and it was only this morning, the 13th inst., that in an
American Exchange I was enabled for the first time to learn
the contents. Portion of the cablegram was:

"For final success here it is essential that the results
of the coming county and district elections be decisive.
Voters will understand that at this time all local con-
siderations must be subordinated to the one vital inter-
national issue.

"The British strove to misrepresent results of the
municipal elections. The same effort will be made to mis-
represent the elections that are pending. Nationalists
should unite to make results so conclusively one-sided that
misrepresentation will be impossible.

"British propagandists, hard pressed, try to make it
appear that the desire to uphold the Republic is weakening.

Rural Ireland must seize the opportunity to expose the
fallshood.

"The women, in particular—for it is they that are
made to suffer most—should go to the polls to demon-
strate that the campaign of frightfulness has not
succeeded, and will never succeed, in its objective to break
the nation's will."

That was De Valera's message to the rural electors of
Ireland, but the British Government saw to it that the
message did not reach those for whom it was intended. That
message set forth what in previous articles I defined as the
one and only issue in the elections, and the plainest and
simplest issue ever set before voters—the Irish Republic
created, established, and upheld by the people, or the
English Usurpation forced upon our country and main-
tained here only by the might of an army of occupation,
equipped with all the engines of modern warfare.

On that issue the rural electors of Ireland voted, and the
vote has more than justified De Valera's earnest hope.
Rural Ireland, on which the British Government was relying
to prove that "the desire to uphold the Republic was
weakening," has completely eclipsed the magnificent municipal
and urban victory of January last. The results are in
very truth "so conclusively one-sided that misrepresentation
will be impossible."

Republic's Victory.

I have not yet got the full returns for the Rural Council
and the Guardians' Elections, but an analysis of the results
of the County Council Elections shows the following:

	Total Members Elected.	Republicans Elected.
Leinster	252	228
Munster	155	155
Connacht	103	103
Ulster	190	92
Total for All Ireland	700	568

In other words, out of 700 County Councillors elected
for the whole of Ireland 568 are Republicans. The
Republicans elected are thus:

51 1-7% for All Ireland.
96 1-3% for Leinster, Munster, and Connacht.
48 1-6% for Ulster.

Carsonism's Defeat.

In this same connection, especially in view of the
splendid percentage of the Republican forces in Ulster, it

will be interesting to note how Carsonism fared. In Ulster Carsonism returned 61 Councillors as against 109 Anti-Carsonites. In the province that it and British propaganda claim as its very own, Carsonism only secured 42.2-3 per cent. of the elected County Councillors. Thus, in *Ulster, Republicanism with 43.1-6 per cent. of the elected members is ALONE a stronger force than Carsonism.* If to it we add the other anti-Carson elements—Provincialism, Labour, etc.—we see at a glance that the element that the British Government fictitiously raises up as the insurmountable barrier to the recognition by it of the Irish Republic is a small, and daily becoming a smaller, minority in the North.

National and International.

As I said some weeks ago, it would be this sweeping victory in the June elections as the final act of ratification by the Irish people of the Irish Republic. It gives De Valera the last argument he wants in his recognition campaign in the United States. That is its international significance. It gives the Republic itself in Ireland the last seal of approval necessary to invest its acts with the authority of government. That is at once the triumph and the credit of the electors of rural Ireland. P. S. O'FLANNAGAIN.

The Railwaymen's Fight for Us.

The English National Union of Railwaymen has, characteristically, turned tiptoe to its Irish members, who have refused to handle munitions of war made by English workers and carried to our shores by English railwaymen to be used by other English workers against Irish workers—or "comrades," as they are called when the N.U.R. wants their money and help. Such is the internationalism and "workers' solidarity" of the egregious J. H. Thomas and his associates.

The Railwaymen's fight is our fight, and we must bear our part. If they and their women and children suffer, we are no better than Thomas and his associate, Lloyd George. Over £1,500 a week in wages is being sacrificed for us. What are we going to do about it? Our clear duty as a nation is to pay up.

The Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress has opened a fund, and asks for subscriptions, which should be sent to Thomas Johnson at 32, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. We suggest that all Sinn Fein clubs should co-operate. Some are already doing so.

It has been suggested that readers of OLD IRELAND may prefer to make their contributions through us, and we shall be glad to receive, and transmit to Mr. Johnson, subscriptions small or large, from our readers. Such subscriptions will be acknowledged in OLD IRELAND. We have already received, and paid to Mr. Johnson, the following subscriptions:—

Séamus O'Conchubhair	£1 1 0
E.W. and Amy Proud	0 10 6

Socialism for Ireland—A Forecast.

SOCIALISM is fast becoming the burning question in Ireland, and the articles which have been appearing in OLD IRELAND would be greatly to the point if it could be used to hammer out a definite social policy. We have had much talk about it, and on certain points we have reached pretty general agreement. Thus, it seems to almost universally admitted that Capitalism is the enemy of all our desires, that a complete revolution of the present order is necessary if we are ever to reach social justice, that whatever revolution takes place, it must be toward Gaelicism and must be agreeable to Christian tradition.

Agreed so far. Less clear are our opinions on Gaelicism really means, and on such questions as Internationalism, Communism and Industrial Unionism. Natural enough that while we are unanimous in disapproval with the present order, we are of varied opinions as to what should be substituted, and on the practical working out of our agreed-on revolution. To these practical issues we now address ourselves.

Now I would suggest, were I chairman in the debate that to grapple with the essential difficulties a concrete program should be argued over. To this end, I would quote from Dr. Lyan's well-known work, "Distributive Justice" the following passage:

"The elements of our economic life, and the capacities of human nature, are too varied and too complex to be forced with advantage into any one system, whether Capitalism, Socialism, or Co-operation. Any single form or form of socio-economic organisation would be an intolerable obstacle to individual opportunity and social progress. Multiplicity and variety in social industrial orders are required for an effective range of choices, and an adequate scope for human effort."

Thus, it is propounded that a MIXED SYSTEM should satisfy human nature and social justice. Most of Dr. Fogarty, it will be remembered, recently recommended a "mixed Co-operative Commonwealth" to young Ireland as the right goal for its endeavours.

Dr. Ryan goes on to quote with approval the admission by Mr. Aneurin Williams (a Welsh M.P., author of "Co-partnership and Profit Sharing," one of the classic works in the Home University Library) of a triple order. Williams writes:

"... where there are great monopolies, whether natural or created, by the combination of business and municipal ownership. In those forms of industry where individuality is everything; where there are no inventions to make, or to develop and put on the market; or merely to adapt, in some rapidly-transformed industry where the eye of the master is everything; where

no one to a committee or appeals from one official to another would cause fatal delay; there is the natural sphere of individual enterprise, pure and simple. Between these two extremes there is surely a great sphere for voluntary association to carry on commerce, manufacture and retail trade, in circumstances where there is no natural monopoly and where the routine of work is not rapidly changing, but on the whole fairly well established and constant."

Now I do not like the tone of this passage. I think Mr. Williams gives altogether too condescending an eye to "association," and sees the State in too bourgeois a light. In other words, I think he fails to visualise the true outlines of a revolutionary order. He writes in terms of the present order, forgetting that if that order were done away with, the State as we know it, and consequently Red Tape, its machinery would disappear, and the distinction between "association" and "Socialism" would be far less deeply marked. But to get down from these heights of big-wordery, I must turn to concrete examples. Only first, let me say that in the main, this idea of a triple-order is, in my judgment, the right basis for our plans for the future. The order, as I suggest, has its Socialistic element, combined with a co-operative and a profit-making (or capitalist) element, and functions will be allotted to each in accordance with experience and experiment. Such a triple order would, Dr. Ryan remarks,

"give a balanced economy in which the three great socio-economic systems and principles would have full play, and each would be required to do its best in fair competition with the other two. Economic life would exhibit a diversity making strongly for social satisfaction and stability, inasmuch as no very large section of the industrial population would desire to overthrow the existing order. . . . The choice of three great systems of industry would offer the utmost opportunity and scope for the energies and the development of the individual. And this, when all is said, remains the supreme end of a just and efficient socio-industrial organisation."

cannot too strongly urge the reader to ponder Dr. Ryan's positions and arguments. In a very few words, he sums up volumes of thought. The principal objections to Socialism, to Capitalism, and to Co-operation would all go by the board if in the new order all three were so balanced that none of them dominated life and crushed out freedom. Socialism, as it was formerly interpreted, ruled, and all workers were employees of the State, there would be little liberty for the individual. Red Tape would come back, and small group of bureaucrats would dictate the conditions of life to one and all. Then if Co-operation became the universal order, the community would lack cohesion. Group interests of a new sort would arise, and new rivalries. Communes in naturally poor districts would find it hard to get their share of attention in railway services, and in allotment of imported goods. We know too well what is the result of allowing Capitalism a free hand.

Well, how are the three to be co-ordinated? The three do exist at the present day, but they are not co-ordinated. Something like the following would appear to be the solution:

(1) CO-OPERATION.—This will replace Capitalism as the NORMAL or general form of economic activity. Rural Ireland will be organised in Co-operative Communes like Templemore, and food supply, clothing production, general distribution and (probably) education, will be entrusted to these communes.

(2) COLLECTIVISM.—Railways and other transit services will be owned and controlled by the State or municipality. The question as to whether these services should be conducted by Guilds, Soviets, or State bureaux, is one outside our present argument. The medical faculty will be made part of the Civil Service. The post office and telegraphs will be collectively owned and controlled.

N.B.—Shipping is difficult to place. But probably the solution will be that the State will own sufficient shipping to serve the vital transport needs of the nation, while the Co-operatives, through their federations, will own coastwise and fishing fleets, as well as some ocean-going vessels for private services. Privately owned ships will also be on the sea, so long as private speculators find it worth their while to supplement the publicly-owned tonnage.

(3) CAPITALISM.—So long as the necessities of life are produced and distributed co-operatively or collectively, there will be no restriction on private enterprise. Most of the luxury trades, probably, will always be conducted on a private basis. There will, indeed, be co-operative and municipal theatres, but there may be private ones too, and learned societies, literary groups, etc., will own their printing presses, magazines, museums and libraries. Industries dependent on invention will be stimulated by the allowing of private gains, and as private gains will be practically confined to such cases, instead of being permitted, as at present, in gambling with necessities, the worker and inventor will be encouraged instead of the exploiter and triestler. A limitation will be placed on private gains by the compelling of profit-sharing schemes in all private enterprises. This will, however, benefit the entrepreneur as well as the workers, as it will make it easier for him to secure labour in a time when labour will no longer be easily secured in a competition market. It is notorious that luxuries become necessities through time, and so it will be the law that when a luxury trade has yielded profit during the inventor's lifetime, the community will have the right of reversion on his death, subject to some reasonable payment to his heirs. Thus, if a luxury trade has created a demand that has made it a necessity, it will pass from private hands on the inventor's death, all patents being withdrawable, and the workers, or else the local Co-operative or the municipality, being given the right to take over plant, etc., at a maximum cost payable to heirs, and fixed by the State.

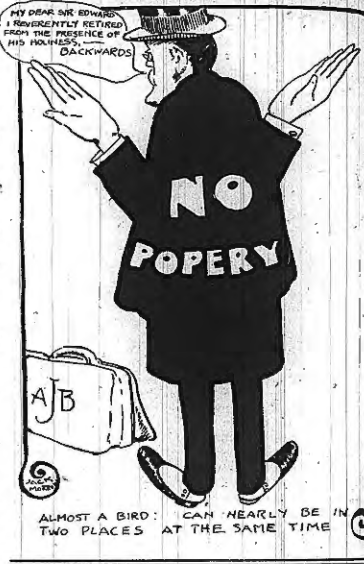
* Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Dr. Ryan is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Catholic University of America. His book is perhaps the most authoritative and exhaustive Catholic work of scientific available.

This rough outline may be considered worthy of debate. I would particularly like to get the opinions of some Liberty Hall men on it, and perhaps Father McKenna would favour us with his honoured counsel. But a certain important caveat must be made. Any scheme of "specialisation of function," such as the foregoing, must be considered in the light of social as well as economic circumstances. It is one thing to talk of a State-owned railway, but industrial control versus bureaucratic control opens a big range of differences. Also, State control will mean something very different from what it means now when revolutionary conditions come about. The State at present is an authority outside and above the community, created and maintained by the antagonism of classes. When ascendancy is destroyed by the victory of the masses over their exploiters, and class conflict comes to an end, the State as we know it will automatically disappear. No longer will a parliament or a government at the capital presume to legislate for the counties. No longer will we be governed by an external, remote authority. But a national executive to look after national affairs will still be required. How will it be formed?

In the first place it is clear that in a free country every interest will be self-governing and self-directing. Agriculture, education, industry, transit, etc., will each be directed by a College; or, if you prefer the word, a Guild—though Guild suggests things not here intended. The Department of Agriculture to-day represents the nucleus of an independent College of Agriculture. But the harmonising of these interests will require a forum, and here a Council of the Colleges will represent national unity and will constitute the State authority. In such a Council, not the victors in election campaigns, but the national leaders who have won their way in the great national services, will sit. The best farmers, the shrewdest educationalists, the cleverest industrial captains, the eminent and learned men of the Church, will come together and take counsel. The Council will have small coercive powers, its business being to advise rather than to compel the Colleges.

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It will also be noted that, since Co-operative organisation will be as natural to the free order as Capitalism is to ours, distributed property will be the general law, combined with the exploitation of such property on principles of association. There will be no compulsory communalisation of property, save in so far as that description may be applied to State-appropriation of great monopolies like railways and mines, or the assertion, where necessary, of the *altum dominium*. But voluntary communism will be encouraged, and as the communal sense revives in liberated humanity, the individualist will find himself pressed by public opinion, not by law or coercion, to the more civilised, more Christian, and more highly-productive practice of communal effort. As



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By what means are we to reach the Distributive Social Order? A worthy opponent of this program used this question as an argument against it, and I retorted on him: "How do you propose to reach the Marxian Social Order?" To reach the Distributive Order is no harder a task than to reach the Communist Order, but it is just as revolutionary an undertaking. Moreover, there is no reason why Distributivists and Communists should not work together in their efforts to end the reign of Capitalism. "The man who draws up programs for the future is a reactionary," said Marx, and so a loyal Marxian can admit that there is no reason why the revolution should not end Distributivism. It should be perfectly legitimate to advocate Distributivism

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Ireland from America.

Americans are on tip-toes expectation of what will next happen in Ireland. They are enjoying the humorous aspect of the progress of things in Ireland. For, despite the shadows huge and menacing, the situation is delightfully pleasant, a wondrous sunshine of joy lighting up the far reaches of the Republican horizon. The political strategy of the Republic commands a rare sense of admiration. The sweeping majority in the General Election of December, 1918, the sessions of the Dail Eireann, the superb Corporation and County Council successes, the glorious victory of Mountjoy Week, the astounding feats of every description throughout the Emerald Isle, have all clarified the atmosphere and sent scudding away the malicious fog and mendacious clouds of British anti-Irish propaganda, and the sun of truth is revealing the facts before the court of mankind. The Republic's tactics and strategy are meeting in America the warmest commendation and praise. Americans are quick in seeing a joke. They perceive, in ecstatic glee, the consequent consternation and confusion in John Bull. They laughed when they saw the Republicans send John Bull up a tree all of a sudden, where he has since painfully been forced to stay. Enforced existence on a tree top has been particularly tiresome, not to say galling, for a being of John's corpulence unused to such an uncomfortable posture and situation, especially harrowing at the moment when he was all prepared to dominate the world in *aequala aequalorum*. The destruction effected of his one European rival, through the very essential and tremendous aid of France, Italy, and America, John was about to have a "jolly" time of it, battering and fattening on and flattening out the *orbis terrarum*, when these Republicans in Ireland hoisted him up upon a tree's hard, untoward habitation, kept him within limits, and held him up as a laughing stock to an amused world. John had to fill Ireland with soldiers, tanks, machine guns, aeroplanes, constabulary, agents provocateurs, and Lord French, whose moral odour would almost stifle a Continent, as some Americans wittily put it. He had to hurry George into his Siamese Twin Parliament Bill to afford suspicious foreign eyes an illustration of gallant British benevolence and generosity. But in spite of his bi-facial contortions, John has remained up the tree, and the world as spectators have continued to laugh with inextinguishable laughter.

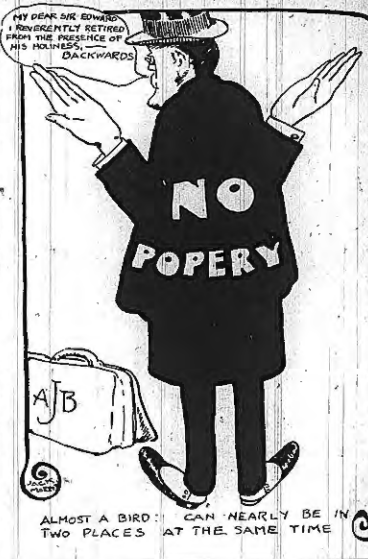
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Another important point in this connection is, that Ireland is a Catholic country and that employers are likely open to appeals on the basis of principle, we should, rather than plunging into class-struggle for the expropriation of the proletariat, offer a friendly settlement to the owning class. It would be possible to draw up proposals for the purchase and taking over by the workmen of different factories or industries and the division of big farms. These proposals could be made in terms as favourable to the owners as is reasonably possible, and couched in fraternal terms as from a loyal Catholic to another. They should then be presented to the owners through some ecclesiastical intermediary. Where the workers are yet too backward to be able to run the industry themselves a profit-sharing or co-ownership proposal should be made in place of a purchase proposal. It is quite possible that in many a case the Church's influence would here soften the asperity of class struggle, avert struggle, and secure a bloodless, glorious solution. How splendid a thing it would be could Ireland, by her supernatural faith, achieve what elsewhere has been won only by bitterness and passion! How noble would be the fame of the voluntarily-abdicating owner-class, how warm a current of national charity would be generated! Those who surrendered would never regret it, they would be remembered for ever; the people would praise them for ever.

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opposite character, a murderer in Ireland across the sea from Belgium, an adventurer as bloodthirsty as a Dornan head-hunter, an absolutist out-Tsarising the Tsars, the cheapest of tricksters, the diabolical flouter of all laws, human and divine, saved only from massacres like Amritsar by fear of consequences in America. The world, and especially America, is more than amused at his wrigglings and contortions, his shrieking explanations, and his self-contradicting apologies.

Moreover, Americans have been swift to observe how this Republican strategy has fused into a single unit the dispersed Irish tribes all over the world; how it has made short work of the shonens and cut down traitors. The assembly of the Dail Eireanna and the election of E. de Valera to the Presidency of the Irish Republic sent a thrill of enthusiasm and caught the admiration of every genuine American by its adroitness and its consequences. John Bull's Press agents were actually piqued and peeved when sturdy Americans instituted inquiry as to how he liked his circumscription on the tree, queried about his two-faced personality, and the problem of maintaining both when everybody knew the facts. Even indifferent Americans were attracted and fascinated by the blind helplessness of John up the tree, and the gaiety and power of the Irish Republicans who compelled him to climb so fast. Hence the Irish Republican loun in America became immensely popular, all classes caught the noble fever of enthusiasm, the almost universal joy at the distress of John Bull and the Parliamentary asinine antics of George.

The contribution of the Irish to the prosperity and progress, especially to the civilisation of the world, was gratefully dwelt upon by American leaders and the pre-eminent men in various countries. The practical and important success of Archbishop Mannix in Australia in defeating the imperialistic measure of conscription has made his Irish name a symbol for democracy everywhere. The American-Irish, by their prompt, trenchant exposure of the treaty of the League of Damnation, defeated both in America and here the chief agents in reducing Wilson to a cipher and his servile party to contempt. Senator Lodge, of the Foreign Relations Committee, is reported to have said that for this service alone America owes an inestimable debt to the Irish.

The American people are reading with great gusto that very illuminating book, "A Hidden Phase of American History," by Michael J. O'Brien. The American-Irish have been roused to such a degree by the strategy of their kinsmen in Ireland that for the first time in his black career of infamy in the American Republic, John Bull has been forced to attack and yield to the influence of the Irish in America out of a realisation that the old game won't work any longer. John Bull is admitting it in America. He's trying to fight it, but he knows his is a losing fight. He is badly wounded already, and the knock-out blow may come any day.

INSURE your LIFE and PROPERTY with THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE CO., 30, College Green, Dublin

The situation in Ireland to Americans is a thing of beauty and a joy for ever, both in its raw nature, its deep roots, and its fruitful consequences. Adroitly, firmly, and capably, the Irish Republicans have put John Bull in a hole which fits him like a hug of a grizzly.

The phase of the situation that causes Americans infinite delight is the fact that they are convinced that John Bull can never get out. They know that the will dig into his trick bag for every monstrous contrivance invented by human depravity, that he will stoop to any crime, any cruelty, that he will for methods research the repertoire of inhumanity. Castlereaghs, Pigotts, and Norburys in his archives, that he will employ any new devilry that he can devise. Supercilious fatuity will hurry his every step to dire and final confusion.

At Easter this year John Bull thought that he should advertise as he was promoting another rising. But he realised that if the American people should witness anything approaching a repetition of Easter Week, the American Congress would be up in arms very swiftly. So the British Press agents indulged extravagantly in lying fiction. And when the rising did not occur, but the "Fascal Fire" blazed forth instead, everybody in America enjoyed a merry laugh at British expense. The Irish Cause became a "Bulling Question" that fitted John Bull more tightly than ever into the hole. French and Macpherson snuffed out, and two new impostors proceeded to enhance the farce.

Americans had never heard of the Canadian knight who succeeded the Scot. But Macready's descent to infamy has long been known. As chief of the London police he was their hatred by his meanness and brutality. Americans are wondering whether he is the soldier of the same name who as colonel in Monmouthshire about eight years ago, used a number of machine guns on defenceless strikers with as frightful effects that numbers of men, women, and children were killed, and hundreds were wounded. The strike was in the mines, whose owner later became Lord Rhonda. The colonel was knighted and became a general.

Americans, especially Irish-Americans, are acutely aware of the fact that the situation in Ireland is entirely in the hands of the Republican Government of Ireland, which is established by the express vote of the Irish people and being sustained by their recognition and support. They also know that the Irish Republic is admirably supported by Gaels and sympathisers everywhere. John Bull is in a hole made for him especially. His game is transparent—entirely or good the Irish Republic to make a false move. He, checked and curbed by them, cannot move in any direction. The duty of the Irish people and their Republican Government is to walk commandingly forward as they are doing. Keep John Bull up the tree, in the hole, made for him and his devils. The Irish abroad will do their part. The eyes of the whole world are on Ireland and Ireland's leaders and people. And God is with them, because the Cause is an obligation to Himself.

AN AMERICAN—KEVIN STROMA DONRISSE

The County Councils and the Republic.

(Held over from last week.)

Ireland has a bitter time before her. The enemies of the National Will are for the moment in difficulties. The plans they had prepared have been rudely upset by the prison strikes. The victory is, for the day, with us. But that victory, though it strengthens us, humiliates and infuriates them. The lion as well as the leopard is not a chameleon. England has said there will never be an Irish Republic. Ireland replies that the Irish Republic even now exists and will continue to exist. Either one nation or the other must give way. Ireland cannot yield. Every fibre of her tradition is bound around the Republic. Every atom of her honour has been invested in it. To surrender the Republic now would be to betray every subject people in the world, the subject peoples of to-morrow as well as to-day. Destiny has made our case the test case of militarism against justice. We must bear honourably our responsibility. It is England, then, who must give way. Before England does she will take from us the price of our freedom. Militarism is repulsed for a period. But it dies hard.

Happily the Fates have a friendliness for us. We have been able to fix in the mind of the world the fact that Ireland has declared her own independence. If we can now fix in the mind of the world the fact that Ireland not only desires to sustain that independence, but is competent to sustain it, we shall have created a world respect that may well give us the necessary strength to outlive the desperate onslaught on our nationhood which is in process of preparation. To demonstrate that competence has become a national necessity. How may it best be done?

Nothing is quite so successful as success. Every people has the power to do anything it wills if it but wills. We can to-day govern Ireland as an independent Republic if we so desire. There is only one serious obstacle even to self-government. That obstacle is the lack of permanent earnestness in the people claiming self-government. Nothing else is of account. Tanks, machine-guns and boyish troops do not destroy a nation. They prevent for a time public national expression, but the nation, if its people are earnest, lives all the while, growing daily greater as the crown of bayonets is pressed in upon its head. And as each opportunity offers itself it is seized upon and used to demonstrate to the watchers afar off that undiminished and fuller life. One of these opportunities has come to-day. The County Council elections gave us a twofold opportunity: in the first place, to give public expression to our faith in our own independence; in the second, to put that faith into practice. Elections are normally but a means to an end. They are sought for and won that a party may experiment with its program. But in these abnormal days an election is, for us, an affair more important. We, as believers in Irish independence, must win these elections as well for the inter-

national effect of such a success as for the subsequent opportunity that success will give of putting the Republican internal policy into operation. Within the next fortnight we shall be called upon to make an act of faith in the Republic. If as a people we do so with earnestness, we cannot but impress our friends in other nations with our determination to shake ourselves free once for all from alien domination. The necessity for this act of faith it is not needful to stress. But it is even more necessary that, having won these elections, we should use them to prove the national competence to rule.

Up to the present we have been compelled to display more destructiveness than is usually good for a people. To prevent evil effects from this, not only abroad, but at home, we must now make it clear that that destructiveness was the necessary preliminary to any successful effort to express ourselves constructively. We are already doing this in regard to the enforcement of common-law; and the excellent impression being created here in Ireland and outside Ireland in many nations cannot but convince us that this is the most fruitful form in which to demonstrate our hostility to alien government and our desire for a government of our own. With the County Councils in Republican possession we can enlarge upon our successful enforcement of law and order and add to it the enactment of an internal policy which, if we will, we can make wonderfully efficient. If we are able, and we are able, to carry on our Local Government in spite of English interference, nothing more effective will have been done in creating prestige for the Irish Republic abroad and permanent support for it at home.

The County Council elections, then, were vital to Ireland's welfare and progress, because the new Republican Councils must be used to reconstruct Ireland upon lines which will express the national imagination. We can best create abroad a belief in the existence of the Irish Republic by creating at home a belief in the existence of our own powers. France, America, the British Colonies, Russia, all those nations who are potentially or actually our friends can be led to our assistance not by St. Patrick Day demonstrations in New York or Sydney or Montreal, or by speeches at Paris or in Rome, but by practical demonstrations of efficiency in government in Ireland. By such demonstrations we annul the effect of English propaganda, no matter what the expenditure upon it is. By such demonstrations we testify to our own unalterable decision to sustain the Republic we have created. Nothing is impossible to a determined people. But we have to be and to show unmistakably that we are determined. The County Council elections gave us the opportunity of doing this. The County Council victories will strengthen us to meet the anger of England, which is latent to-day that it may be the more powerful to-morrow.

PROVINCIAL GALLAGHERS.

Ireland and the International.

Próinsias o Gallechobhair's article in last week's *Old Ireland* is deeply interesting. He says, and says well, what most Irish Socialists feel—that if the constructive side of Socialism is to be lasting it must have its foundation in Christ's teaching, and that if Socialism attacks the Catholic Church it is taking a false step.

None have ever preached Socialism with greater force than the early Fathers of the Church, nor practised Communism with greater purity. The strength of most of the Religious Orders was built up by their strict adherence to its main principles, though when prosperity resulted, as it must result from their application, and riches increased faster than they were distributed to the poor, some of the evils of the capitalist system crept in, for the Devil is always watchful, and Christ's warning of the spiritual danger of the wealthy has not always been heeded.

"The use of all things is to be common to all. It is an injustice to say this belongs to me, that to another. Hence the origin of contentions among men."—His Holiness Pope Clement I.

"God created all things that their enjoyment might be common to all, and that the earth might become the common possession of all. Only unjust usurpation has created the right of private property."—Bishop Ambrosius.

"Let them know that the earth from which they sprang, and of which they are formed, belongs to all men in common, and that, therefore, the fruits which the earth brings forth must belong, without distinction, to all."—His Holiness Pope Gregory The Great, 600 A.D.

"If rulers exact from their subjects . . . anything by use of force against justice, it is robbery like the doings of highwaymen. Hence (St.) Augustine says: 'Justice apart, what are kingdoms but organised brigandage?'"—St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*).

These quotations I take from a leaflet I have before me, and which I wrote in collaboration with James Connolly when we were fighting a partial famine in the West in 1897—an English-made famine, for there was plenty of food in the country only the people could not get it. With the words of these great Catholic writers for text, Connolly went to Kerry and I to Mayo and succeeded where the Irish Party in Parliament had failed; for to stop that teaching, and to quiet the people who were heeding it, the free distribution of seed potatoes, which we claimed, was made and the people paid for planting them in their fields instead of wasting their time on the relief works and insuring another of England's providential Irish famines for the following year. Thousands of these leaflets were distributed

in the congested districts in the winter of 1897-98, and men were arrested for distributing them, but the famine was choked. Catholic priests took the chair at nearly all our famine meetings; Socialism and Christianity went hand in hand in Ireland then at all events. Próinsias o Gallechobhair is right in saying Christianity is Democracy, though when one sees, as one does in some of our Dublin churches, two Communion rails, one near the altar for those who can produce sixpence, and another for the poor who cannot, one perceives how misunderstandings may arise, as they have undoubtedly done in France, where some members of the clergy sought to bring back the ancient régime and overthrow the Republic. It would be as unfair to condemn the International because some of its members are atheists and anti-clericals as to condemn the Catholic Church because some of her priests in the belligerent countries were war mad and before Christ's altars preached hate instead of love.

The two great forces who spoke out against the war, which neither were able to prevent, were the Catholic Church and the International.

I know Socialists in France who are Catholics, and in that country it was the Radical party, organised by the freemasons, who led the bitter and evil fight against the Church; though undoubtedly some Socialists joined them, the Socialists, as a party, were opposed to the freemasons. I do not know how the Socialists in other countries regard the Church, but I do know that the legends about the Bolshevik persecution of the Church have been as completely disproved as that other English legend about the nationalisation of their women.

I have not seen the constitution of the International, but I understand it to be a council elected by the delegates of organised Labour in all countries who meet from time to time at different places to discuss and to co-ordinate the forward movement of the workers. Obviously each country regulates its own internal affairs, but on matters affecting foreign relations, where the interests of the workers themselves may overlap, the International co-ordinates. Its power to influence the public opinion of the world depends on the strength of the workers in each country. It must be a help and a stimulus to workers who often have such hard battles to fight at home to meet their fellow-workers of other countries and hear how they are solving similar problems and carrying on the fight, and, as in all fruitful and vital intercourse, each will glean and give ideas. England has always sought to isolate us, we should take all occasions of world intercourse. Ireland would have much to learn from Russia, as Russia would have much to learn from us, without either abrogating in the least their own individuality. Russia in the East, who has suffered more than any country from the war, has had dead lay piled millions high before she, first

of all the nations, saw the way to stop the war and fearlessly preached and practised fraternisation. It was Russia, not the Allies, who won the war and disarmed the armies of the Kaiser. Ireland, who until the blood sacrifice of Easter was a byword for disunion, saw the way of stopping future wars by solidarity of the workers in refusing conscription. She has done more than all the Peace Congresses to prevent war by demonstrating the power of democracy united. Against these two countries the forces of capitalism centred in the British Empire are coalescing.

Like a great orchestra, each nation has its own note to sound, and in this world-music it would seem that Ireland's and Russia's notes are dominant. Let Ireland go to the international and sound her note. As one has received, so must one give. Heaven loves not the miser who would hide away the precious light received from God in order to retain it for himself alone. Ireland has ever been a missionary nation, sharing her light with the world, giving, giving, and always giving. It may be that her note in the great orchestra of nations will be that spiritual appeal that Próinsias o Gallechobhair thinks is missing in the International, though I doubt he is right in thinking it is, for I have heard in France the "International" sung with the same fervour as the "Marseillaise" or as our "Soldiers' Song," and the crowds that sang were not thinking of material gain for themselves at least, but of the brotherhood of man.

The brotherhood of man is accepted by all Socialists, it was taught by Christ and it implies the Fatherhood of God.

MAUD GONNE MACBRIDE.

Irish Labour and the International.

I like the temper in which Próinsias o Gallechobhair approaches the renewed discussion of this question, expressed in that passage in which, speaking of his opinions, he says he would they were held by others, or if not worthy to be held had their falsity exposed. That is the true temper in which to carry on controversy.

There is no need to discuss Fr. Finlay's views. His reply to Thomas Farrer put his utterances on the proper plane, i.e., the private opinions of an individual. But when Próinsias o Gallechobhair goes on to insist upon basing every item of social policy and action upon Christ's teaching as expounded by the Catholic Church, the infallible interpreter, he is asking Labour to accept a position that has always been rejected by the Irish nation since the Reformation, and which, I am sure, Próinsias o Gallechobhair rejects in his capacity as a Nationalist.

You cannot have Irish unity upon a creed basis. It is legitimate to hope for it and to work for it. Nevertheless, the union of Irishmen in the struggle for national freedom

has always been conducted on the lines of creed neutrality. None is rejected by the nation because he is Protestant, Catholic or Freethinker. That mutual concession is the condition and basis of unity. The result is not national agnosticism, but a spirit of tolerance and fellowship in a common labour which mollifies the harshness of religious controversy and powerfully aids in making the world a happier place.

The Labour Movement, nationally and internationally, has had to face the religious question and it has found the same solution of creed neutrality. But the position which is recognised in Irish national affairs has been condemned by Fr. Finlay and others in respect to Labour, as agnosticism. Nay, they have gone further and claimed that Labour is anti-Christian and anti-Catholic if it does not confine its organisation to those who accept creed tests. It is very nice for schoolmen to argue the pros and cons of such questions, but would they have the Transport Workers' Union require a priest's certificate from every candidate for membership, or would they expect the workers in Harland and Wolff's to accept any conditions the employers cared to impose until effective unity should be reached by the conversion of the last feet-washing Baptist to orthodox Presbyterianism? To pose such problems is to show the impossibility of working class or national unity on a confessional basis. We have had enough of Hibernianism. The growth of the Board of Erin A.O.H. gave decadent Orangeism a new lease of life. O Gallechobhair cannot insist on a rigid sectarianism in public life which he certainly does not employ in his relations with private friends of all sects.

The reflex influence of alien oppression is evident in his argument that the International is useless because of the racial, lingual and cultural differences between nations. The Internationalist neither denies nor regrets these differences. They are essential factors of the problem of working-class unity, but they present no obstacles to co-ordinated action. The enemy, by common consent of the contributors to the discussion, is capitalism. Has capitalism been hindered in its rise and growth by these differences of race, tongue and culture? Have these prevented it becoming International? Have they buttressed any nation of the world in self-sufficiency? Cotton was the great world factor making for the internationalism of capitalism. It bound Lancashire to the United States, when identity of tongue and culture and practically identity of race had failed to save King George's Empire from disruption. It enslaved the ancient cultures of India and Egypt overlapping every obstacle of creed, colour or tongue. Then came the great struggle, rightly called by Brailsford the War of Steel and Gold—the twin expressions of modern international capitalism—plainly organised internationally. Before the war the British Dendimore-Brown-Vickers group was related by share-holding and exchange of processes to the German Krupps, the French Schneider-Creusots, and the American

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U.S. Steel Corporation. During the war the respective governments made the most generous arrangements for their alien enemy friends. Every gun of a certain pattern made in Britain yielded a royalty to Krupp, the royalty being paid to the Public Trustee in London and held by him for the period of the war.

Apart from such special instances the economic interdependence of all nations and the international organisation of capital are dominant elements in the world situation. Doubtless as Gallochobhair says, "We are powerful enough to break the capitalist system in Ireland"—but what then? Does he forget that the bourgeois revolution in France brought to her frontiers and over them the embattled tyrannies of Europe? Has he failed to read the lesson of the past two years during which the Russian Workers' Republic has been fighting ceaselessly against the open and secret combinations of international capitalism? "No man liveth to himself," and no nation. No nation can afford to draw apart from the world struggle against capitalism; and history and experience alike teach us that capitalism will not allow any nation to escape its bonds.

The correlative of international capitalism is international labour organisation, and as, in Connolly's words, "the progress of the fight for national liberty of any nation must, perforce, keep pace with the progress of the struggle for liberty of the most subject class of that nation," the organisation of those labour forces which daily recruit the wealth and consequently the power of international capitalism, is the line of progress for the nation as for the working class. Efficient organisation within the nation is the prerequisite of efficient international organisation. Any International must merely reflect the totality of its constituents. We are building the International by strengthening Labour in Ireland. We increase Labour's power in Ireland by

fellowship with the forces in other countries which are grappling with the powers of darkness. Their victories and failures are lessons to us. More, the victory of Communism will depend upon the readiness of the workers of all nations to co-operate at the right moment. As Marx declared, the Commune of Paris failed because there was no rising in Berlin and Madrid. Had Easter Week, 1916, seen a rising in Glasgow, in Manchester and Sheffield, would not the world's history be different to-day? Yet the workers, eye even those called "rebels," in these centres were stunned by the news of the Dublin's rising. Their internationalism had not been developed. The most promising opportunity of a century could not be seized. The Russian Revolution found them similarly unprepared. Don't let us fall into their error. Let us expand that old saw which has done us good service into "Capitalism's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." The verbal change does not change the thing. England dominates Ireland because she sums up in herself the most malignant forces of capitalism as in the preceding age she presented the most perfect example of feudal military monarchy. In her hour of difficulty she could summon to her aid her economic vassals, and even her new creditor, America, had to fight for England to save her dollars. Let us be wary of regarding England only. Capitalism, springing from her, has won the empire of the world and the struggle against capitalism must also be world-wide. Hence the need for an International of subject classes and subject nations. J. M. M. MACDONNELL.

P.S.—The International condemned by Fr. Finlay is the Second International, now left to those organisations which approve the co-operation of Labour in the government of the capitalist state. Surely it is not worth discussing. But the general consideration of Internationalism is a useful preparation for the entry of Irish Labour into the Third International.

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Flotsam and Jetsam.

Kingdom v. Republic.

Why a Republic? I know that the mere setting down of this query is quite enough to produce a Rising among readers of *OLD IRELAND*. In this matter, however I am only a reincarnation of Rosa Dettie. I ask solely for information. The point I raise is one for academic discussion. For the moment I detach myself from the pressing problem of present politics.

* * *

Once again, why a Republic? Are the inhabitants of this country altogether clear in their minds that this particular form of Government is the one most suited to Ireland? Are they convinced that it is the one they like best of all? Are they convinced that it is the one most suited to Irish temperament? We all know how much has been said and written on the point that Irish people are conservative; that they have a high regard for social distinctions; that in their hearts they delight in doing homage to their "betters." Further, it has been asserted in many and different quarters that, as a natural consequence of these impulses, Irish people as a whole have a profound respect for Royalty. It has been urged, even, that they entertain this sentiment for the Reigning House in Great Britain. Perhaps, it may be worth while to consider these matters.

* * *

Undoubtedly, it is a foible of humanity, the world over, to be awayed and impressed by Royal rank. We are told that even in the Great Republics such as France and the United States, a personage in whose veins flows the blood of Kings is looked on as a demi-God. Even the demimondaines hold him in this regard. Less than ten years ago we in Ireland beheld the spectacle of a King receiving acclamation from those who should have displayed more restraint. The divinity that hedges such persons is not a mere fiction of the poet. High rank has ever been the more respected in so far as it derives from heredity rather than merit.

* * *

My point just now, however, is this. Are the Irish people clamorous for a Republic as the ideal form of government, or do they look on it simply as the sole alternative to British Monarchy? Taking Separation as the aim which the bulk of Irish folk have in view to-day, are they equally insistent on a Republic as the institution under which they wish to live? I ask this question for the simple reason that, having regard to all that has been dinned into our ears as to the inherent love for social gradations we are alleged to possess, it is worth while considering whether a Commonwealth is the form of rule best adapted to our national temperament.

* * *

In the conditions of the moment certainly it seems the only possible status. In the first place it conforms to the

conditions of the times. Wherever a King or an Emperor has been overthrown a Republic has been instituted. Ireland, insular in many respects, is at least sufficiently cosmopolitan to follow in this tradition. Moreover, the difficulty arises—whom would one make King? Even Parnell—the Uncrowned King—might have failed to secure a diadem. No doubt there would not have been licking those on the Luperal who would have offered him a Kingly Crown, but we may feel assured that he would have refused it. I can visualise no one in Ireland to-day who would proffer a Crown to anybody, nor do the names of any among those who lead in the struggle suggest someone who would be foolish enough to accept it.

* * *

It may appear ridiculous to many good Sinn Feiners that this question should be discussed at all. Remember, all the same, that it is still steadily maintained in certain Irish as well as English quarters that the strong conservatism of the Irish people inclines to worship of Princes and Peers. Granted, that for the time being, those who belong to that Order are opposed to the National will, nevertheless it is strongly urged that points of difference having been removed, the psychology of our people is such that it inclines rather to a Hierarchy in the State than to a State of Equality.

* * *

The French Revolution commenced by killing a King, and ended by enthroning an Emperor. Some who profess to watch and weigh the movement now in progress in Ireland prophesy a somewhat similar happening. The Irish Republic of to-morrow will be the kingdom—or kingdom—of the day after. So, in their cynical wisdom, they proclaim. Have they any facts to support their view? Does Irish history in the past supply any warrant for such a prediction? Examine your hearts, my readers, consider your own predilections, estimate, if you can, the thoughts of your fellow-countrymen.

* * *

For my own part, I do not in the least incline to the belief that there exists among Irishmen any reverence for rank *per se*. This tradition has been carefully cultivated, faithfully fostered by adherents of "the garrison." The Land Wars of the past half-century ought surely to have shattered it completely. The "big house" failed entirely to keep in bondage the tenants who dwelt beneath its shadow. A means of escape from this tyranny having been provided, it was availed of with alacrity. There is a genuine respect for brains, for character, for qualities of genius, but mere money, proud position, prove of no weight in the combat for freedom as against oppression. And so, whatever the fates may have in store for Ireland, an *Ad-Rip* seated on the Hill of Tara is not to be imagined.

There are souls among us to whom this must be a matter for regret. There are natures that can be happy only when basking in the smiles of titled folk. It is conceivable, even, that there are Sinn Feiners who picture to themselves the splendours of a truly Irish Court. A "fountain of honour" from which titles, positions, patronage flow is to these a thing to be desired. Possibly the number is small, but human nature is the same everywhere, and so we must admit that we harbour in our midst some people of this type. Indeed, the history of our country down to most recent times affords sufficient proof that a craving for "honours" is a well-developed trait in certain Irishmen.

* * *

Taking the Nation as a whole, however, we are, I am happy to think, largely free of this snobbish taint. It is the outward mark only of the recreant Irishman. And so—a Republic be it.

WESTLAND ROWE.

Correspondence.

Clare, I.R.,
May 29, 1920.

The article of Proinsias O'Galichobhair on Irish Labour and the Internationale displays a very intelligent thinker. Especially striking is the statement "The Internationale has its foundations in public utility. The workers are to dominate the world because by that means more comforts will be theirs and less hardships; it will be a pleasanter world if the proletariat rule it than it has been under the capitalists. All this is very true, but the use of such arguments in favour of the Socialist State is an advocacy of that materialism out of which capitalism first sprang."

Your able correspondent puts the case in a paragraph. Hedonism, Utilitarianism and Selfishness are in their last analysis synonyms. What we do need is the practical application of Christianity. As fellow-travellers, camping here and there along the road home, we shall have more pleasure and be more useful to each other and to our hearts: "Love one another." As children of the Father who built the great house of the nations and gave to each group of His children a particular room—we of the Irish room or nation must always be wise enough to select the Best Counsellor. The social system of Jesus Christ cannot be approached by Hedonism, Utilitarianism, or any other human system on earth. The shadow of the Great Gorilla (Darwin's contention is accepted in action by the G.G.) with the long, strong arms of militarism and navalism is upon the emerald floor of our room in the house of nations. A wise, far-seeing man can defeat a strong, stupid monkey. It is the wisdom and foresight that matters. Christianity has

both. We may thoughtfully take a hint from others and develop it accordingly to our individual taste: only who we impart upon our work the individuality of our own mind does our work deserve our approbation. Merely copying something else is slavish when that something is no greater than our possibilities. Christianity has the charm of keeping us always striving to do still better. Christ, who "grew in grace and beauty of soul before God and man, is a grander ideal than John D. Rockefeller, who grew from an errand boy into the big, unhappy oil king.

Here, in Clare, we wish to respond to the appeal to help the dependents of the martyrs and confessors of Miltown Malbay, Kilmihil, Mountjoy, Scrubs, etc. We are selective the Christian way to do so. All the young men and the old men have declared an alcohol THIRST STRIKE ON TWENTY-ONE DAYS.

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OLD IRELAND

(NEW SERIES).

VOL. II. No. 21.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1920.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The Requisition of Ireland.

The military preparations which are going on all over
Ireland at present either mean nothing or they mean an
attempt to reconquer Ireland. Very probably they mean
the latter. Very carefully the ground is being prepared in
advance, and various English devices are being set in motion
in order to justify beforehand what is about to be done.
English newspapers, professedly friendly to Ireland, explain
that the military preparations are intended for "the murder-
ers." The *Times* writes: "While we deplore the con-
ditions which have led to a further increase of the British
garrison in Ireland, we do not dispute the present necessity
of increasing it," and Mr. J. H. Thomas, heavy-weight,
parrots at the chosen moment that he is opposed to "the
murder of policemen." Plainly, there is going to be a
batue of some sort here, which is going to be explained as
an attempt to catch murderers.

The Present Situation.

The present situation is that British government in
Ireland, which has been morally defunct ever since the
General Election of 1918, is now practically defunct. Over
the greater portion of the country the only authority which
is *de facto* is the authority wielded by Dail Eireann and the
Irish Volunteers, and England's hold on the country can
be measured only in terms of the extent and equipment of

the Army of Occupation. But to hold a country more is
required than an Army of Occupation. A certain amount
of goodwill, of acquiescence, on the part of the people of
the country is essential. Until 1918 England had that, and
so long as she had that her government in Ireland was
secure and triumphant. It had got Ireland into the habit
of recognising it, of giving it moral sanction, of helping it
to govern. And so long as it had that it did not trouble a
bit about the output of wild words and fierce revolutions.
At the time of the Boer War the people of Ireland were,
so far as their sentiments went, far more fiercely and more
generally anti-English than they were at the outbreak of
the last war in 1914—but in 1890 England was able to
withdraw her whole garrison from Ireland; in 1914 she had
to strengthen it.

The Moral Factor.

Why? Because in 1914 there existed in Ireland what
had not existed in 1890—a movement which, small though
it was, was yet well-knit and unmistakably articulate, and
which denied the whole moral basis of England's position
in Ireland. She could afford to ignore the wind of the '98
celebrations, because all that physical output was backed
up by no moral sense of nationality, because there was then
no organised body in Ireland spreading any kind of moral
revolt against England's position in Ireland. But in 1914
there was such a party of revolt, and England sensed that
it endangered her whole position. And it not alone endan-
gered the position, as things turned out, it has definitely
overthrown her position. Her strength in this country,
apparently physical, has all along rested upon the moral
factor. It depended upon her domination being accepted,
implicitly as explicitly, by the people, upon her machine of
government being suffered by the people, worked by the
people. When the General Election of 1919 withdrew from
her government the moral sanction which it had till then,
since 1690, enjoyed, the whole support of her government
collapsed, and from being in the position of being the
defendant, fighting in her own prepared position, she
became the assaulter. *Up to then she stonewalled us; but
since then we have stonewalled her.* And no physical force
she can bring to bear can possibly reverse this so long as
our people as a whole withhold from her Government that
moral sanction which was the real strength of her power in
Ireland.

The Problem of England in Ireland.

England's problem in Ireland is, then, the recovery of
her moral authority. All her stonewalling recognises that,
and all her journals recognise that. When the *Times* con-
demns the general Irish policy of the Government and at
the same time supports it in what it calls the maintenance
of "law and order," it is merely betraying its sense of the
fact that the thing which England must do is to recover her
moral authority—its sense of the fact that no physical vic-
tory will be of any help to her unless there is a correspond-

ing moral victory. What is worrying all England and all English-Ireland to-day is the fact that the Republic has made good its moral authority, and by so doing has come immeasurably nearer to a physical republic. England has no moral weapons to use against the Irish position. She has nothing but physical means to use, and she will use them. But she will use them with her objective as the moral position rather than the actual physical position. She will use them suddenly and sweepingly and comprehensively—very comprehensively. She has to break up the moral fabric which the Republic has erected in Ireland, or else she will have to withdraw altogether.

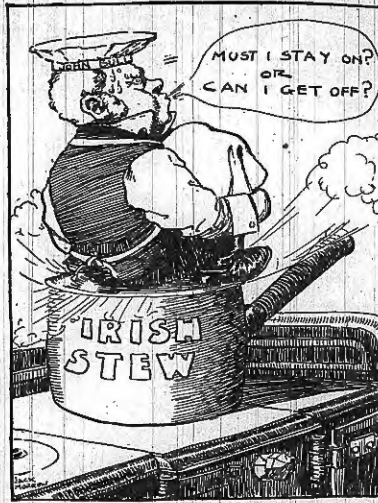
The Assyrian.

And so the Assyrian will come down like a wolf on the fold; come down suddenly and overwhelmingly all over Ireland. There will be a wholesale round-up of Sinn Feiners all over the country in the hope that by rounding-up a good proportion of the young men the framework of popular government there may be shattered for long enough to enable England to make a fight with some prospect of success for the recovery of her moral authority. It will fail, of course. But it will fail all the more quickly if we recognise that it is coming, and recognise also that one way to lame it considerably is the way which Irish Labour has taken in the present strike.

Direct Action.

Why should English soldiers in Ireland be transported by Irishmen? Or their munitions? Or their food? Or land? We will have to draw a sharp line between the people of this country and the foreign garrison in the country. Why not draw it now? The root principle of the policy of moral insurrection, the policy of Labour, is never to do anything which will help the enemy. The railwaymen who are on strike have made a beginning on this policy, but it ought to be taken up universally and quickly, and made effective on every possible line of supply. Why should soldiers be carried any more than munitions? Are they not more objectionable than the munitions? Why should they be carried in tractors? Why should they be facilitated in any way? Everybody feels that a *batiste* is being organised here. Why not refuse, here and now, to facilitate those preparations in any way? It is the commonsense thing to do, the right thing to do, and the moral-insurrectionary thing to do. Government can do nothing against it. All the Governments have learned during the late war not to be squeamish. They have all thrown away so much human life that they have ceased to regard human life. They have muzzled the Press in every country, and they have no longer any regard for public opinion. Public opinion is whatever they want it to be. But the peoples have learned something also. They have learned that no Government can go on unless they help it; unless they acknowledge its authority. And that is the revolutionary discovery of this age. If properly acted upon, will destroy even the strongest Empire.

That is the principle upon which the coming Offensive ought to be met, and can be beaten. Physically England can handle, and handle easily, any force which we can bring against her. There, she has all the advantages of position and equipment. But on a policy of moral insurrection she is at once out of her depth and away from her boat, with the initiative against her. And it cannot be begun too soon.



The Elections.

The local elections this time have brought little comfort to England. There are no statistics in her papers showing that Sinn Fein polled less than 50 per cent. of the electorate. There is only a woeful confession that "Sinn Fein has never been stronger than it is to-day." A Republican majority in 29 out of 38 counties is about as overwhelming a self-determination as anybody can wish for. And it does not bespeak very Elysian times for the new "Ulster" Parliament, either. So that, on the whole, the Empire is in distinctly low water. With the local machinery of government absolutely in its hands, Sinn Fein ought now to be able so to strengthen its moral authority over the country as to still further restrict the area within which at present an English writ may run. The local machinery of government will be a most valuable help in perfecting the policy of moral insurrection.

England's Threat.

England threatens to suspend the Irish railways because the Irish railwaymen will not help her preparations for a *batiste* in Ireland. And yet her Prime Minister talks about what England will do sooner than abrogate her function of government in Ireland. Can there be a clearer abrogation of government than the proposal to hold up railway transport?

England is in a difficulty, and in a bad temper. She may hold up the railways, but that will leave her with the

alternatives of holding them by military or else of having them run by the Republic. Where her machinery of government has become inoperative the Republican machinery has promptly become operative. And if her machinery becomes inoperative in the matter of transport it will only lead to another demonstration of our capacity for government.

Let Mr. Lloyd George try it.

The Last Throw.

England's coming throw will be the last. It will be the most violent and most overwhelming offensive she has yet undertaken in this country. If she fails, as she will if we hold tough, she will be beaten definitely, and she will know it.

And so, gentlemen—Courage and Endurance.

Yet will he rear Her throne
Aloft in golden sheen!

All Carrying "a Box of Revolvers"?

Mr. Lloyd George, in a statement on the refusal by railwaymen to handle munitions for British troops in Ireland, said on Saturday, June 5:

"We send a box of revolvers across to the police and a Trade Union comes in and says, 'If you do this we will stop the whole traffic of Ireland if necessary.'"

"A box of revolvers" is a typically accurate British description of the importation into Ireland of war munitions. Sixty-nine per cent. of the total shipping which arrived at Kingstown Harbour, Dublin, during the last year consisted of war vessels carrying troops, "tanks," aeroplanes, armoured cars, howitzers, shells, rifles, ammunition, and other paraphernalia of war.

Aoibhneas.

"Hobes schmerzliches Glück zum unerreichten zu ringen."—*IBSEN.*

Aoibhneas usal léanmbar,
Do chróitibh na dtéon,
Troid ar son rud nach féidir
E shroinnt go deo.

Aoibhneas doana iacobraibh
Do chloidheadh fad ó
Chuimhneamh go méadha a seolta
Dhá? léir-stiúradh fás.

MICHAEL O DONNABHAIN.

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Tweddledeedum.

In the English Parliament a generation ago there were two parties, the Tweddledees and the Tweddledums. Afterwards, with senectus, entered a third party. Its mission was to establish the rights of man, to ensure liberty, equality and fraternity, to eliminate economic injustices, to introduce honesty and unselfishness into public life, and to do a few other odds and ends of the same sort. This precursor of the millenium has in truth established a revolution, for, having faced every possible direction, it has got back to its original position of impotent parasitism. Its former potential energy has, however, been expended during its very complete revolution. This party may be called the Tweddledeedums. Combining, as it does, the autocracy of the Tweddledees with the sentimentalised materialism of the Tweddledums, it locks even the benevolence of the one and the intelligence of the other. Great is Tweddledeedum, and J. H. Thomas is his prophet.

Thomas made a speech last week. There is nothing unique in that. So far as we know, he never made anything else. He did not even make a fool of himself, having been forestalled in that effort by nature. But this particular speech shows what manner of man he is. In it he favoured his audience of London railwaymen with some profound utterances about Ireland in general and the Irish railwaymen's refusal to handle munitions of war in particular. "Law and order must be maintained." "It is through economic and not political forces, that a solution of Ireland's difficulties will be found." "Liberty—and trust the people." These, and other epigrams, scintillated from his mouth before he opened it wide to emit a cloud of poison gas. "They had seen in Ireland (only in Ireland, of course) soldiers and civilians ruthlessly outraged, murdered, and shot down." He did not go on to point out the obvious fact that the way to stop the "outrages, murders, and shootings" is that adopted by the Irish railwaymen—to keep out of the country the instruments with which they are committed. Having rid himself of this venomous slander, Thomas became syllogistic in a Mad Hatter style strangely reminiscent of the other Welshman, George. "If it was wrong for the railwaymen to carry munitions for Poland or anywhere else, it was wrong to make them. If it was wrong for the railwaymen to carry munitions of war, it was wrong for the collier to get the coal which enabled them to be made. If it was wrong . . . etc., etc. So, according to all the laws of logic, it is meet, right, and the bounden duty of English workers to make, carry, and operate all the implements modern science has invented for mangling the bodies of "lesser folks without the clay" of the British lion. Verily, the Lion is the King of Beasts. Mr. Thomas concluded his speech by enjoining his audience "not to be carried away by clap-trap." Nevertheless, they did not follow his advice.

The most frequently employed method of controversy is to construct a man of straw sufficiently like one's adversary to be recognisable by the audience, but sufficiently ludicrous and weak to be easily broken up, and then to set about its demolition. Anyone who thinks it worth while to deal faithfully with Tweddledeedum is saved the preliminary construction. He finds, ready made, a man of straw fulfilling all his requirements: big enough to look formidable, ridiculous enough to make Dean Inge laugh, and so invertebrate, weak in the members, and (in the expressive phrase) without guts, that its demolition is an easy and cleanly operation. We leave the task to anybody who thinks it necessary, and, as a few people in this country

have, or had, some faith in Thomas, we propose to touch on a few more of that hero's recent exploits.

It is a matter of history now that when the National Union of Railwaymen (which is Thomas writ large), in solemn convocation assembled, first withdrew its ban on handling munitions for Poland so as to deprive the Irish members of a precedent, and then quietly shelved the whole question of munitions and addressed itself to "settling the Irish problem." Thomas, Lloyd George's latest gramophone, has hearkened to "His Master's Voice," and started to grind out the "Dominion Home Rule" tune. This is encouraging, as this famous "record" is always turned on when the Hemphill is in difficulties. Its discords will not disturb the people of Ireland, because they know that the "Irish question" was settled four years ago, and that the settlement was confirmed by the proper authority—we ourselves—in 1918 and, with increasing emphasis, twice in the present year. But these facts do not excuse the gramophone.

Again, a reliable informant tells us that when the strike in support of the Mounjoig hunger-strike was declared, a telegram was received from this creature by the Irish Railwayman's Committee ordering them not to strike. If this insolent and inhuman order had been obeyed, one hundred and five good Irishmen might now be dead.

Journalists, actuated by a desire to be impressive, have established the very bad custom of using superlatives in describing ordinarily objectionable persons, with the inevitable result that even the most opprobrious epithets have lost their values. Consequently we find it impossible to describe J. H. Thomas adequately, and content ourselves with assuring him that Irishmen will, if they have to deal with him, obey at least one of his orders, and "not be carried away by claptrap."

E. W. PROUD.

Connolly, Marx, and Cant.

SEEMING that Séan McLoughlin's argumentative resources are exhausted when he has described my article on "Internationalism and the Republic" as a "jumble of contradictions"; seeing, too, that he does not condescend to tell us earthlings why he is angry with us, there is not much to say in direct reply to his courteous epistle. I would remark, however, that I purposely abstained from alluding to the quarrel between the Communist Internationale and the Berne Internationale because our argument was about Internationalism, not about the claims of the rival bodies to be the true Internationale. P. O'Gallachobair, I take it, objects to Irish affiliation with either body, and I was dealing with the argument at the point he brought it to. If I had a bee in my bonnet about Karl Marx, perhaps I would be unable to keep to the point or to maintain good manners in discussion. But Séan McLoughlin must pardon me for discussing Internationalism on its merits in a cool manner instead of rushing into the discussion at random and banging everybody in the face with a red flag.

When Séan considers us worthy to argue with we shall gratefully consider his expostions of "scientific fact," and endeavour to follow them as far as our limited knowledge of Anthropology, Psychology, Biology, Cosmology, and Hagiology goes. Meanwhile, we must plod along in the "clap-trap" style which is all that common men can

aspire to. And the present writer will take the liberty of considering Séan's epistle as a typical example of a certain type of language of which there is a great deal too much in the Irish Labour world.

Go to a meeting of the S.P.I., or to any other function of the kind at which the social issue is discussed, and you will always hear one or two speakers talking down to the crowd from the height of a real or alleged life-long study of Karl Marx. Always the crowd is assured that for it to nourish any opinions on Socialism, Co-operation or Trade Unionism, and it unreads in the tomes of the master, is the grossest of puerile presumptions. "Marx said—" and then you have a rignarole about the chicken bursting the egg, or the owing classes' "ownership and control of the means of production" (all ran into one word)—repeated, parrotwise, and calculated, as it is intended, to close all argument. These Marxian phonographs are not (please understand me) typical of the good men of the S.P.I., but they foregather at its meetings: they are means by which honest Socialists are made to look ridiculous.

And the truth is, that if they themselves would spend a short while beforehand working up an elementary knowledge of Marxian Socialism they would know better than to think that undigested chunks of Marxian phraseology are likely to convey to the public that which is useful in Marx's teaching. Their pretence that theirs is the "scientific" attitude (based solely on their use of big words) is not only intellectual snobbery; it is sheer charlatanism. They know nothing about science but its name, and their only merit that favours their "evolution," they are talking of a thing that they understand as little of as I do of Arabic. Science to-day is like Theology yesterday: no one is too ignorant to pretend to a deep knowledge of it. Commonly, too, their pretence to a mastery of Marx's writings is about as well-founded as their other claims.

Marx was one of the very greatest men of the last century, and the present writer would be the last to underestimate his importance (despite my lack of "an elementary knowledge," etc.). But no single writer on economics offers such a comprehensive survey of the subject that he may be taken as the last word, or as inspired authority. Marx, though he had an almost prophetic vision of the revolt against capitalism that is maturing now throughout the world, was by no means suited to be taken as an impartial guide, philosopher and friend. The intelligent student will read Marx carefully, but he will read many other writers, too, and the more thorough and candid he is in his studies, the less he will be likely to call himself a Marxian, a Prudhonist, a Bakuninist, etc., etc.—for he will realise that it would be over daring in him to decide where doctors disagree. He will realise that the ground on which a man can boast of certain knowledge is very small—is confined, in fact, to the truths of revelation and the facts of his own limited experience. In the vast world of dubiety he will see that it is wisest to go cannily, taking nothing for granted, even though MARX himself favoured the opinion in question. He will consider the views of those who seem worthiest of authority, and will tentatively be guided by those which appear to him most reasonable. He will never lay his hand upon a hypothesis and declare, "This is scientific fact, for MARX says it—believe accordingly or be damned."

Scientific fact, especially in social matters, is very difficult to arrive at. Every social issue is acted upon by so many factors—history, climate, religion, money, etc., etc.—that it is almost impossible to reach certainly about the cause of this or that social phenomenon. The man who

says "it is a scientific fact that every community must go through the capitalist phase of evolution" is talking through his hat, as the saying is. He might be applauded by Marxian fanatics—indeed, we have heard him so applauded—but he would be repudiated by Marx, who differed from some of his disciples in having the scientific spirit.

Though we cannot tabulate "scientific facts" about society, we can approach our problem in a scientific spirit, and if this lesson were learnt from Marx a great real good would be achieved. The scientific spirit is humble, just, inquiring, tentative, experimental, just as its perversion dogmatic, inflexible and impatient of argument. Science progresses by hypothesis; stubborn dogmatism checks its advance. When the atomic theory was an hypothesis, it led to one discovery after another. When it became a creed, men refused to believe in the indivisibility of the atom, and men refused to believe in the greatest triumph that science has to its credit. Marx's theories of economic materialism and capitalist evolution are valuable hypothesis that enable us to get at the truth of one after another of the phenomena of history. Our social knowledge has made incalculable progress because we learnt from Marx to look into the economic clockwork and to trace organic analogies in the course by which businesses are developed and expanded. But once we mistake Marx's THEORIES for LAWS we go astray. We depart from Marx himself, who described dogmatists as reactionaries, and who admitted that his theory of European capitalistic evolution might prove invalid in the case of Russia. We condemn ourselves to blunder after blunder, and shut the door to new discoveries. If Marxian theory broke down in regard to Russia, might it not break down in regard to Ireland? Your fanatic would rather that a nation perished than that a party or a shibboleth should be proved wrong.

But what at the end of it all does Marx matter to the masses? Perhaps P. O'Gallachobair and myself are not just stark ignorant of Marxian theory and history because we make our debate in intelligible terms rather than in Marxian code. My dear Séan, algebra that is "caviare to the general." My dear Séan, the Socialist Party of Ireland will never make the smallest mark on Irish history if it cannot talk to the masses save in the terms of "Das Kapital": it will be a futile debating society if it cannot talk in the language of real life, and debate such questions as "Internationalism and the Republic" in the speech that people understand. Do you think Séan, that you, with pretentious language about "scientific fact," stand nearer to the national mind than men who have not "worked up" Marx and Engels? Do you think Pearce, say, was "not worth dealing further with" because he was daring enough to hold opinions on Socialism, and yet never read Aveling? Do you seriously think a philosophy for the Gaal cannot be reached save via the researches of German theorists? (I don't mean the blessed Oliver Plunkett, how didst thou learn to be an Irishman and a martyr for the faith of Christendom, disarming true patriotism and international duty before Karl Marx arose!

No, if the S.P.I. has anything to say, it must speak in other than doctrinaire tones. If the Internationale is to be a real forum for Labour, it must be manned by men who are out for realities, not theoretic fade. A practical Socialism must deal with the realities of national life, one of the greatest of which is the sense of nationality. It must be

a burgeoning of national tradition, not a grafting-on of German jargon. What I said about the Connolly College holds good of the S.P.I.—it must be Gaelic, or it will be futile. P. O'Gallachobair, Peadar O'Donnell, and my clap-trap self—one of us, anyway, free of the suspicion of anti-Socialist virus—are trying to define a policy that shall be Socialist in the true sense of the word. P. O'Gallachobair, I think, is too fond of the clouds, and he condemns me for wanting a material or working policy. Peadar thinks I'm not material enough. It seems to me that the S.P.I. has a place in national life—to take charge of the social side of national development, and propagate a policy such as we are arguing about. But if we are to be guided by Séan, there is no place for any one of us three in the S.P.I. (for Peadar falls with me)—and accordingly, we are left to the assumption that the Socialist Party of Ireland, founded by the clear-headed, plain-speaking, Gaelic-hearted hero, James Connolly, has now shut its doors on those who (however humbly) follow "Labour in Irish History" in preference to "Marxian-Socialism-While-You-Wait."

Nonsense, the organisation that Connolly founded has not become a debating society for indistincts. His spirit is too virile to be choked by big words. The rank and file of the S.P.I. and of the Connolly College are sound, and like the founder of their party, are not creatures of a theory. The Socialist spirit in Ireland will play as great a part in the future as it played in Easter Week—but to do this, it must be free and flexible like a living thing, not bound up and summarised in words or formulas. It must be ready to follow truth wherever truth leads, and ready to abandon without a sigh any track that proves untrue. We have got to be ruthless and ready to part with our most treasured illusions when they are exposed. Only so can we have a live social movement and escape that bondage to cant into which social movements are so ready to fall. There is a good deal of cant in the social movement already. Here are some of the terms that are used freely but without clear understanding—internationalism, soviet, the Gaelic State, democracy, scientific fact, and the editorial "we."

Habet.

ADRI DE BLAQM.

[In fairness to Séan McLoughlin, we should state that he has explained to us that his use of "the editorial we" was due to a mislake. His original letter bore four signatures, three of which were omitted from the copy sent to us. His explanation is limited to this one mistake.—Ed. "O.I."]

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Labour and Catholicism.

The discussion initiated by Proinias Gallchohbar and Aodh De Blacum on Irish Labour and its connection with the International is being followed with interest by readers of **OLD IRELAND**.

Proinias would seem to suggest that the International is a functionless institution which at best can mean nothing to the national Labour movement, and in the case of Ireland the affiliation with the International was merely a purposeless whim, for the carrying out of which the Church is not beyond blame, inasmuch as it didn't warn the whimsical internationalists against the evil of their intentions.

To defend his attitude towards the International, Proinias suggests that national Labour can grapple with the national Capitalists for practical purposes. What limit does Proinias set to the practical purpose? If the workers confine themselves to purely national policies they will find themselves getting their first lesson on the International when an attempt is made in any one country to introduce the Socialistic State and the ramifications of International Capitalism come into audience and action.

It need not be suggested that the comparative failure of the International to rally the workers of the world to succour Russia is an argument against the International. It does show the necessity for a more vile policy, greater executive power, and closer cohesion among the workers, but these are considerations that really emphasise the need there is for the International, and clarify its programme.

The impetus given to the study of the social conditions of the proletariat by the Russian revolution could have been turned to wonderful account by popularising under its influence the social teachings of the Catholic Church. Proinias says when laymen come to discuss the Church's programme they can only be candid; they can't be authoritative.

When a Catholic worker adopts Socialism as his economic creed he speedily discovers the harmony of that creed with the teachings of his Church. An enthusiastic Roman Catholic Socialist is dangerously likely to become impatient with the clergy for not definitely pronouncing in favour of the Socialist state. The inertia of some and the downright opposition of other of his clergymen is likely to make him anti-clerical. If he temporarily confuses the views of the Gomban priest with Catholic doctrine he is in danger of becoming irreligious. But religion for Irish folk is entwined with too many associations to allow the disgruntled Socialist merely to turn on his heel. He sits back and brings his reason and perhaps a greater spiritual force to bear on the problem. He soon discovers the great tide of Christianity sweeping on, and although where men oppose it he discovers the clergyman among the gathering, yet the Christian doctrine of the Catholic Church was being preached at the priest, by the spirit of those who practice it, and that the clergyman was more to be pitied for a misconception than blamed for an un-Christian attitude. Co-operative pioneers in West Donegal fought the Gomban priest, and their religious fervour suffered nothing for the disassociation of the Catholic doctrine from the Gomban instinct of particular clergymen. Had a big section of the Irish priests taken up the Father Finlay attitude towards Irish Labour's programme the workers would no doubt have paused, shocked for the moment, and taken up a critical attitude towards the position, but the Catholics would no more have lost sight of the Catholic doctrine than did the people in the case I have previously mentioned, and although they would definitely have regretted the desertion and opposition of

their clergy they would have passed their Labour programme Catholic. Our social aspirations were not such a conscious reality when many of our present priests were forming the ideas and they could not be expected to reflect those aspirations. People get the type of priests they deserve generally speaking. Our young priest to-day has unfortunately a social economic outlook. Where he have been fortunate in Ireland is that we have even now many priests of a type keenly sensitive to our once slumbering social aspiration regarding an unaccepted present social order. I dream Father McKenna steps in where Father Finlay has been rejected. Father McKenna shows traces of a nervous hesitancy, but he will come closer to our Socialist programme yet. Father Slater, S.J., condemned the conscientious objector in England. We were conscientious objectors to service in the army of the British Empire during the war. Had Father Slater preached to us that our duty was to bolster up an empire that has its title deeds writ in blood in Amritsar and Miltonmelbay, does anyone suggest we should have confused his imperialism with Christian doctrine?

In so far as an attempt is made to show that the R.F. religion is not opposed to Socialism I agree with Proinias; where he gives me the impression of a desire to convey that Socialism could best be propounded through the Catholic Church I'm dumb. I consider the religious discussion is ended when the antagonism between Catholicism and Socialism is exploded.

Christ didn't advocate any particular Socialistic state; he was dealing with souls and good or evil weren't to him social conditions. I believe that the clergy of the particular churches should expound the philosophies of their churches and leave the preaching and guidance of social evolution to the pressure of the intelligent recognition of the evils of the capitalist economic conditions and the solution promised by the Socialistic state. Connolly says: "Socialism is neither protestant nor Catholic, Christian nor Free-thinker, Buddhist, Mahomedan nor Jew; it is only human." Love your neighbour as yourself is fundamental to religions; it is also fundamental to Socialism.

No religion that preaches this doctrine of love is an opponent behind his Socialism as the Roman Catholic can.

The convinced Presbyterian can as easily find a religious fervour behind his Socialism as the Roman Catholic can. To my mind one great problem in Ireland is to educate the Ulster worker to the connection between the political aspirations of the Irish nation and the social aspirations of the Irish workers. Socialism as an economic creed can be preached in Ulster and imbued with equal vigour by Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, Jew, and Free-thinker.

Should the ministers of any church attempt to stem the stream of Socialism the problem of those who are directly interested in the continued existence of that church is to prove that the action of those ministers has nothing to do with the doctrine of their church. Let us deal with the non-social clergyman as he arises. I should definitely and decidedly consider an attempt to suggest that Socialism can best be approached through the medium of the Roman Catholic Church as erroneous and reactionary. The Belfast worker can and will be made Socialistic and his Socialism will make him a good subject of the Irish Republic, though it may never make him an admirer of the Pope. We owe de Blacum and Gallagher much for their exposition of the concord between Catholicism and Socialism. We could easily have much to regret did they attempt to formulate a theory that Socialism can only be approached, or even most easily approached, through Catholicism.

PREDOR O'DONNELL.

The Internationale and Irish Labour.

I am beset on all sides. Not is the flank attack of those who agree with me less embarrassing than the frontal attack of my confessed opponents. What can I do but hold up my hands and pray for a parley so that those who have taken arms against me for me may cease further fire until they know the root causes of the conflict? Why should I be sacrificed by my controversial enemies for that which I did not say and by my unorthodox friends for that which I could never have said? Gentlemen, gentlemen, restrain your ardour until the air is cleared.

- I have been credited with saying
- (1) That the Internationale stands condemned because Fr. Finlay, S.J., spoke against it.
 - (2) That I am opposed to Irish Labour using the Internationale in order to declare its hostility to Capitalism and its desire for National Independence.
 - (3) That we should discard our own wisdom entirely or even partially.
 - (4) That sectarianism should be the basis of public life; that Irish unity could only be had on a creed basis.

None of these things I said. None of these things I implied. I refuse to be slaughtered in defence of any of these things. They have been attributed to me; but without my consent. They are not mine.

The main points of my previous statement I see not yet any grave or sufficient reason to surbate. Those main points I shall not apologise for repeating. For if I am to be stoned at the gates of the City of Duberte who use violence upon me must first understand my sin. For that reason in restating the gravamen of my original thesis I develop each point.

- (1) If the Internationale is anti-Christian in intent it is impossible that it can devise a permanent social system by which the condition of humanity will be improved.

My critics, in reply, said that this was an absurd statement, as the Internationale is not anti-Christian in intent. I did not say it was. I said "if." I will accept for the moment that it is not. Then, an absurdity had been obvious to my critics, my condemnation of the Internationale under this head lapses.

- (2) To me Christianity is democracy. In spite of the charge levelled at me that I am making the mistake of the heresiarchs, I think I can stand by that statement. Perhaps my phraseology is at fault. But I did not say "to me democracy is Christianity." I said, "to me Christianity is democracy." What I wished to imply was that the social system outlined by Christ contains for me all that is essential to true democracy: that social justice must be contained in Justice itself; that Justice itself is God and was interpreted for man by the Son of God; and that that interpretation is preserved by the Church of God. I am unable to see that it is any more heresiarchial to say "to me Christianity is democracy" than to say "to me Christianity is Justice"; for democracy, if it be democracy, must be Justice. I would also emphasise that I did not say "to me Christianity is democracy only." But a person may say that a certain thing is part of a whole without being taken to mean that it is the whole itself.

- (3) Any social system which makes for good must be in accordance with and have its foundations in Christ's teaching.

This certainly does not mean the basing of the Labour movement on sectarianism. If an atheist advocates Socialist doctrines which I find to be in conformity with Christ's teaching, and if I otherwise approve of these doctrines, I shall support the atheist in so far as he is a Socialist. If a Catholic advocates Socialist doctrines which I find to be opposed to Christ's teaching, I shall fight the Catholic in so far as he claims to be a Socialist. The question of the able To accuse me of an intention to rehabilitate the loathsome policy of Mr. Devlin's Board of Erin because I say that our social system if it is to be worth preserving must have its foundations in Christ's teaching, is not argument but rhetoric. Whether some Socialists approve of it or not, Christianity is a fact and a very widespread fact, and is the most powerful fact in the world. From the viewpoint of expediency alone, it is hopelessly unwise for those striving after social justice to advocate a policy which all Christian churches must oppose. By doing so they add to the immense material influence of Capitalism the opposition of the immense moral influence of Christianity. Socialists there are who believe that the social system they advocate represents justice and is essential to man's physical and moral well-being, and who are ready to fight Christianity in defence of this system. But an anti-Christian Socialism cannot be either justice or be essential to man's physical and moral well-being; and to court the opposition of the Christian churches to a social policy which, however plausible it may appear to be, must fail because it is without these qualities, is not progress but pigheadedness. Some Socialists are so wedded to planks in their own platitudes that they are ready to oppose society in order to attain them. But the Socialism which is opposed to society is Capitalism.

- (8) The Internationale is predominantly utilitarian in motive, is ineffectual and academic.

I did not say that in the Internationale there were no members who had ideals. To rebut my criticism of the material outlook of the Internationale by saying that Cathal O'Shannon, whom I know and admire, is a member of it is only a superficial reply. Every member of the Internationale might be as splendidly an idealist as Cathal O'Shannon, and yet the policy of the Internationale might be predominantly materialistic. Again, it is no proof of any idealism in the Internationale to say that it secured the universal eight-hour day or that it is striving to do so with child labour and the insecurity of employment. When Socialists realise that hours and terms of employment will have nothing to do with the essentials of Socialism? These are the devices of Capitalism. They bear no relation to the freedom of the worker. There are times when the domination of Capitalism depends for its continuance upon concession of Capitalism depends for its continuance upon concession of Capitalism, seemingly favourable to the workers, of hours alteration, seemingly favourable to the workers, being wise as well and terms of employment. Capitalism, being wise as well as wicked, concedes these things and remains safe for another generation; becomes, indeed, safer than in any previous generation. By the enforcement of the eight-hour day the Internationale has helped to perpetuate Capitalism.

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"Informed Criticism" for Geddes.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The following open letter has been sent to Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington, by Daniel T. O'Connell, Director, Friends of Irish Freedom National Bureau of Information:

May 28, 1920.

Sir Auckland Geddes,
British Ambassador,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Sir,—You are quoted in the Press as having said, at the dinner of the Pilgrims Society, May 25, at New York:

"I say without fear of informed criticism that British foreign policy is directed against no man, but is inspired by a desire to seek peace, to bring order out of chaos, to extend the boundaries of freedom, to improve the lot of the oppressed, and to increase the material prosperity of the world. That is our programme. Those are the principles by which I, as British representative in this land, am guided from day to day."

The following is informed criticism, phrased in a easily understood questions:

(1) In what manner does Great Britain extend the boundaries of freedom when she denies freedom to Ireland? Freedom, as understood in America, is the American brand of freedom, the freedom provided for by the Constitution of the United States and described in the Declaration of Independence. Do you wish Americans to believe that there are two kinds of freedom, and that there can be freedom when, by power of military arms, England says she can "govern without the consent of the governed"? Surely England has not the consent of the people of Ireland.

(2) In what manner does England improve the lot of the oppressed when she causes oppression to be heaped on oppression in Ireland; when England suspends the writ of Habeas Corpus in England; when 20,000 homes have been raided by Government agents; when men, women, boys and girls are imprisoned because they advocate freedom; when men are imprisoned for months without arraignment before any legal tribunal; when the Mayor of a great city is foully murdered by English-appointed police; and the English authorities refuse to prosecute the assassins; when liberty of the Press is suppressed, and to sing a song of freedom, of thoughts similar to the "Star Spangled Banner" of this country, is cause for imprisonment; when, in brief, oppression as practised in Ireland is to-day arousing the attention of the civilised world?

If you will enlighten the liberty-loving people of America with an explanation covering the "informed criticism" I direct your attention to, the American people will better understand your published statement as quoted above.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) DANIEL T. O'CONNELL.

Director, Friends of Irish Freedom National Bureau of Information.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Derry.

On June 15 the Special Correspondent of the *Times* wrote a column and a half about Derry, the gist of which was that Derry was "the danger point" and "a powder mine," and that an outbreak there might be followed by a "war of religions . . . over a score of countrysides." Three days later, on June 18, the mine was fired, and for a week Derry was in the hands of two mobs, potting at each other and hitting many neutral citizens. The police kept out of the way; the soldiers kept the ring; while men and women were shot; houses looted, and families evicted. Mr. Denis Henry assured the members of the British Parliament that nothing was happening in Derry which was not an every day occurrence. For a week the mobs fought, while Government circulated rumours that the Ulster Volunteers were mobilising, that the Irish Volunteers were concentrating on Derry, and so on. For a week the Government held out every inducement to the Irish Volunteers to commit suicide. Then, after a week, when the Irish Volunteers did come on the scene and restored order in the Nationalist quarter of Derry, the riots collapsed. The trap had failed. And like all failures of the sort, it has injured those who planned it, those who connived at it, those who applauded it. Every Unionist citizen of Derry who was not in the plot resents it. At a meeting of magistrates the chairman "complained bitterly at the inaction of the Government," and the pres-

dent of the Chamber of Commerce said that "he had lost all faith in the Dublin Castle authorities." Good. "The road which has led to Derry," wrote the *Times*, "extends beyond it to the calamity of internecine contest and to partition wider than any which legislative enactment could accomplish." Yes, if it goes beyond Derry, as the Government intended it should. But it has been held up.

Feelers.

On Friday night the riots subsided, and on Saturday Lord French threw out feelers towards Sinn Fein. He declared at Belfast:

I am firmly persuaded that most of those who declare themselves as enemies of the British Empire are earnest and singleminded in their belief that they are only aiming at the good-and-welfare of their country:

and he informed us that

We wish to give the people of Ireland the highest and the best form of political freedom.

And finally he renewed Mr. Lloyd George's invitation of a few days ago to Sinn Fein to state its case. "Why don't they do it?" says he.

Sinn Fein's Case.

Sinn Fein has stated its case and has won its case. It has stated it to the people of this country, who are the ultimate arbiters of the question, and they have given judgment in its favour. There is no reason why it should state it to England. England is anxious at present, more so than usual, for conversations. Mr. Lloyd George's bluff invitation to any representative Irish body to discuss things with him is merely a trick to induce Ireland to do something which would give England once more moral authority in Ireland. Sinn Fein has stated its case to Ireland and has won its case. It will not state it to England. It will not state it, in Mr. Lloyd George's sense, to any power outside Ireland, in the sense of admitting that it is a matter for anybody but the people of Ireland. The people of Ireland have decided, and it is for the rest of the peoples to recognise and accept that decision.

Discussions.

As between England and Ireland in present circumstances there can be no discussion. So long as England maintains her claim to govern this country, to keep it unwillingly within the British Empire, there can be no discussions. In the same breath in which Lord French asked Sinn Fein to state its case he said that England would never agree either to the establishment of an Irish Republic or to "the coercion of Ulster." Ireland's answer to that is, that Irish matters are the business of Irish people and interference by England is

impertinence. If England wants to discuss things with Ireland she must first withdraw her army of occupation, withdraw her claim to govern this country, and discuss the future relations of the two countries as one nation with another nation. Sooner or later she will have to do that, and she may as well do it with a good grace as do it with an ill grace. So far as Ireland is concerned she has nailed her flag to the mast and the day of compromise is over. Never again will any half-way house be considered by any responsible leader of the Irish people.

The Railwaymen.

Government wants a general strike on the Irish railways, and the men have refused to give it to them, a piece of tactics which is in line with the position of the people generally. The whole of the present war is a war for the initiative. In previous struggles we have been fighting mostly at England's convenience, on her chosen ground, and at her time. The provocation to a general strike was an attempt to restore that, to make us fight on an issue forced by England. By concentrating on the munitions question, by refusing to be rushed, the railwaymen have put the onus of a strike, when it does come, upon England. It is always safe strategy to do what the other side does not want done.

English Labour.

English Labour has passed another pious resolution about Ireland, this time at the Labour Party Conference, and at the same time appeared a report, written by Mr. Shaw, in which he stood on his head all over the Irish question. But the day when pious resolutions meant anything to us is over. If English Labour wishes to help Ireland, it can do so only by stopping the supply of men and the supply of munitions to that British army in Ireland which is now preparing for a *baits*. It can do that. But it won't.

The Tragedy of Derry.

The tragedy of Derry is part of the wages our people have earned by a great Nationalism. It is a bitter price to have to pay for the transient luxury of sectarianism, all the more bitter because it foreshadows even darker things. But it should not have been an unexpected tragedy. To many in the three other provinces of Ireland it was not. To many apportion the culpability for its occurrence is not the purpose of this article. The direct originators of the sad seven-day conflict were those whose policy it always is to destroy every promise of concord between Ulster Unionism and the generous National spirit of twenty-eight Irish counties. At a time when each of England's overseas possessions is a bubbling cauldron of revolt, the masters of England, for their own preservation, wish to deflect the struggle for independence in Ireland into channels which will run high and red with the blood of our own bitterness and leave the masters of England the masters of Ireland too. It is by no accident that in India the Hindus fight religious wars with the lovers of Mahomet; that in the new Jerusalem the Moslems and the Jews rush upon one another in defence of each people's creed; that in every quarter of the globe where the trade flag, the oil flag, the Imperial flag of England is hung out high above a people, that people is speedily split into bitter factions warring upon one another in an ecstasy of hatred. It is the plan by which England has built up an Empire among peoples who loathe the very

name of her domination. The Punjab, Palestine, Ulster, the plan is the same in each. It is the Irish people, have the power to defeat this plan in Ireland. In the greater part of the nation it is already defeated. It is because they know it to be defeated in the greater part of the nation that the masters of England now raise the roaring torch in Derry City. They hoped that it would kindle the sacred fires of hate in every hamlet in Ulster, that a conflagration would follow, and that the whole people of Ireland would lose its national way in the smoke mist in which it would then have been enveloped. For the moment that plan has failed. Another effort to operate it success may be made on July 12, and another on August 15. Nothing but the utmost restraint on the part of Republicans in Derry, in Belfast, in Ulster generally will cause the renewed effort to fail. Let us realize the real conditions in the North that we may have knowledge as our ally in dealing with this most grave danger.

There is mutual religious bigotry in several of the Ulster counties. It is the result of generations of English writer fanned North Derry in support of the candidature of the Republican candidate at the by-election then held in that constituency. From every platform from which he spoke he heard either before his own speech or after it the most virulent Devlinism preached with shameful effectiveness. Because again and again he protested he was marked down as one ignorant of Ulster psychology, and therefore of no further value in creating support for Republicanism in that province. On his return, when he wrote in these columns an exposure of the sectarianism which passed for patriotism in North Derry, he earned for himself much odium. Perhaps if patriotism had been preached at the North Derry by-election in 1919 the tragedy of Derry City would not have become possible. It is a humiliating recollection that some of the lesser local leaders of Republicanism in Ulster in order to secure votes ignored Padraig Pearse and defied Joe Devlin, not by name, but by the more sincere flattery of imitation. Republican Ireland has, thank God, progressed since then, and has carried Ulster with it in its progress. No more perfect act nor any more likely to wash away the stains which have darkened the Republican banner in Ulster was performed than when the Volunteers in Derry City gave themselves freely to all citizens, and protected the residences of Unionists as well as of Nationalists. That, and that only, is the spirit which will ever or can ever solve the Ulster difficulty. It will not be solved but perpetuated by blind ing ourselves to the fact that much of the so-called Nationalism in the North is filthy sectarianism. At the expense even of the Republic itself, we must prevent Republicanism in Ulster from ever touching so horrible a depth. Placed in the environment in which that Republicanism finds itself, it is useless to pretend that the danger of it is also becoming sectarianism does not exist. It does. On August 15 last year the Republican flag, the flag for which Pearse fell riddled in the barrack yard of Kilmainsham Gaol, was carried in a public procession through Derry City, in which procession scandalous effigies of Sir Edward Carson were also carried. Republicanism has progressed since then, but that miserable spirit which nullified its progression on August 15, 1919, still lives. It has not been exercised. Our duty, in so far as we can help to do so, is to withhold no effort that will assist in its exorcism.

The Nationalism which found its clearest voice in our greatest leaders was uninterruptedly non-sectarian. Wolfe-Tone, Davis, Fintan Lalor, the Fenian Leaders, Barnell,

William O'Brien, the earlier Redmond, Pearse, these all hated sectarianism as they loved Ireland. Sectarianism is impossible to President de Valera, or to Arthur Griffith, or to the Republican movement. It was only when Ireland through her leaders, denied her own national tradition, and the patriotism of her people became mere politics, that sectarianism ever showed its viper-circled head. The reign of Mr. Joseph Devlin was the latest, and let us take care, the last occasion upon which power, that might have freed Ireland, was used to create a Catholic ascendancy class which was even more hateful than the more ancient ascendancy. It is significant, too, that the organisation and development of the Board of Erin synchronised with the obsequious submission of Irish representatives to English politicians. The tragedy of Derry, while directly the result of the intrigues of these same English politicians who can no longer lead the Irish people along false roads by corrupting their leaders, is indirectly the fruit of that most evil period in recent National history. Had the Constitutional leaders not fallen away from the broad lecture preached most powerfully by Davis, the spirit which last week darkened normally generous hearts in Derry could not have preserved its influence. Four years of sturdy, unrelenting Republicanism has already done more to save even Orangeism from bigotry than the forty years of constitutional sweet nothings which preceded the Republic. Let us understand what this means. As long as the freeing of Ireland whole and entire, this class as much as that class, all religions equally is the holy object of the National leaders, Orangeism, as we understand it, will have no reason to exist, and when the spirit of the National leaders shall have passed into the least among their following—and if the leaders' spirit be great enough it must so pass—Orangeism will itself see that there is no reason for its existence and will die. As everything else that is akin to fanaticism, Hibernalism and Orangeism die hard, and when dying the least incentive will revive them, but die they both will if the people of Ireland love Ireland as Ireland, Ulster as dearly as Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, the Protestants of Ireland equally with the Catholics. They have all of them a right to be in Ireland, and to a place in a free Ireland. To their hostility to the National demand they are as entitled as we to our devotion to it. It is their public opinion. There must be no reprisals for it. As we strive to protect the Republic from destruction in Ulster, should any day of such sorrow as we have known dawn for them. For good or ill, Ireland is composed of Catholics and Protestants, of Unionists and Nationalists. It is for all these that we are seeking freedom. As we will not—and cannot if we be democratic—tolerate the ascendancy of any Protestant group, neither will we allow the ascendancy of any Catholic group. There can be but one ruling class in a free Ireland, and that class must be the whole people of Ireland. The Irish Volunteers in Derry have acted in that spirit. No other spirit can possess Nationalists without degrading them. When in all our acts we demonstrate our hatred of sectarian bigotry, our acts we demonstrate our love of Ireland. Derry riots will no matter by what name it is glorified, Derry riots will pass away as ingloriously as they now blaze into being.

Since these riots ended, I have heard one who thinks himself a follower of the Independence movement say that if life were made intolerable for Nationalists in Ulster life should be made intolerable for Unionists in the other provinces. It is a damnable pohoy, and God giving good men strength, will never obtain in Ireland.

PROTHIAS O'CALLOROBRAIL.

Shall America be a Vain Hope?

Many a query is put to an American about his country, the great Republic of the West. Its kaleidoscopic course of events is a stumbling block, when not a mystery, to most people who have not actually breathed and felt the sense of freedom of American life. A few people, however, who wholly unwarranted. They talk and talk, but know not what they say. Anything like a keen sense of responsibility for statements seems to be as far from their minds as truth from falsehood. Though they never set foot in America, though they never seriously studied American institutions, they would clamour up to the judgment seat and with scarce a hesitation give opinion upon modern conditions most intricate and profound.

The speculations I sometimes hear these days about America, and especially the happenings, actual and potential, incident to the Presidential campaign, are enough to make one's hair stand on end. One should not mind so much if these were thrown down as random remarks or as bait for information, but they are pronounced at times with all the peremptory seriousness of the dogmatist. As far as America goes, especially the reliability of America, they are pessimists and cynics, and pessimism and cynicism thrive on ignorance.

The day the news came over the cables that the Republicans had not included a plank in their platform to the effect that they believed the American Government should recognise the Irish Republic, some people croaked "I told you so," and others drooped in dejection. Reason condemns this—first, because it is not the practice of Sinn Féin, and secondly, because it is not based on understanding of the American situation.

Before the Republican Convention I remarked to some friends that if the Republicans took such direct action as to come out explicitly for Irish recognition I should be very much surprised, and I based my conclusions on the following facts: The Republicans acutely realise that Wilson and his administration are not only unpopular with the great bulk of the American people, but also and especially with the Irish in America. Now the chief bulwark of the Democratic Party are the Southern States, which go *ex bloc* so invariably Democratic in a national election that they are always spoken of as "the solid South." Here the Irish are proportionately a small minority of the population, and for the most part are Republicans. But in the Northern and Eastern States the Irish are numerically exceedingly powerful, and are, with few exceptions, Democrats. The Republicans are only too well aware of the disaffection and disgust towards Wilson and his administration in the ranks of Irishmen everywhere, and especially in the North and East. Personally I have heard many Democrats of great repute declare in public that they had voted all their lives for the Democratic Party but as long as they lived they would never do so again because of the infamy and disgrace it had brought upon America's fair name by coercing through its leader, Wilson, the United States of America an English satrapy. Hence the Republicans could easily afford to bide their time, keeping an alert eye on any move of the Democrats. Not that there are not influential Irish-American Republicans. There are. But the main strength of the Democrats outside of the Southern States consists in the Irish vote. The Republicans would not have considered it good "political" strategy to have included Irish recognition in their platform when they had the Democrats, so to speak, on the hip.

We have in America, of course, a small but powerful minority who are definitely pro-British—are indeed so pronouncedly so that they would seem to prefer British to American institutions, and scarcely conceal their mad infatuation for things English. In a thousand different ways this contemptible clique reveal their animus. Elihu Root, Secretary of State under Roosevelt, ex-President Taft, Nicholas Murray Butler, an American Union President, among these Tories stand out conspicuously. All three are members and proponents of the Anglo-America Inter-Dependence League! Their special forte is to indulge in "hands across the sea" gush, "blood is thicker than water" slush, and "mother England and mother language" mush. But their plot to dismember and render subservient America to the British vampires was discovered, revealed, and foiled by the Gaelic mind and spirit that pervade and enervate the Irish in America. A recent sample of the activity of these poltroons is the following advertisement, which appeared in the Boston (Mass.) newspapers:

"THE LOYAL COALITION.

Headquarters:

"24, Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

"BACKS TO THE WALL.

"Now that Secretary of State Colby has practically committed the State Department as favouring an Irish Republic in the heart of the British Empire, the Loyal Coalition and those who are strenuously endeavouring to conserve the friendly relations of the English-speaking nations, stand literally with their backs to the wall. On the strength of the letter of Colby to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee favouring the nefarious schemes of the Hibernians, the Loyal Coalition sent the following telegram to President Wilson yesterday (Sunday), which explains itself:

"Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, Washington, D.C.

"Colby's letter to Foreign Relations Committee construed as administration endorsement of Sinn Fein effort to erect Irish Republic in the heart of the British Empire. Loyal Coalition authoritatively informed that British ambassador and consular officers will be recalled if Mason resolution passes the House. Senator Lodge to pass the resolution in the Senate so soon as measure is disposed of in lower branch of Congress, it is authentically stated here. Careful poll of both Houses of Congress show a majority and perhaps necessary two-thirds vote to pass measure over your veto.

"Sinn Fein has created terror and turmoil in India, Egypt, and other British colonies, defeated American participation in League Covenant, and is directly responsible for playing cowardly game for infamous Hun-Sinn Fein vote. Same character of unspeakable chicanery has precipitated war after war for time immemorial. British people hold United States accountable for serious laxity in failing to prevent Irish loan and permitting alleged President of so-called Irish Republic to run at large. More than ten millions collected in this country to dismember British Commonwealth.

"Patriots of English-speaking nations and many other lands regard you as hope of the world. Can nothing be done?

(Signed)

"DEMARRET LLOYD, President.

"RANDOLPH WELFORD SMITH, Vice-President and Chairman Publicity Committee.

"Military experts declare that Great Britain and the United States will be unable to fight a month if the Congress extends recognition to the Irish Republic. No more dangerous situation ever confronted the people of the United States.

"If you are a good American and have the best interests of your country at heart, and do not wish to see America made a vassal State of Hun and Hibernian interests, send your contribution as promptly as you can to the Assistant Treasurer, Clifford L. Donald, etc.

"Make the sacrifice you made in the early stages of the war. This is as grave, if not a graver, crisis than that which confronted you in those momentous days.

"ARTHUR W. JOSLIN, Treasurer.

"DEMARRET LLOYD, President.

"GEO. W. SOLLEY, Exec. Sec."

I could quote more of similar rot from the same supercilious Tories which should make it evident to anyone who is not either a simpleton or utterly unbigoted with the slave-mind that our people in America are not only in solemn earnest, determined, and indefatigable in their resolution to have their Government recognise the Republic of Ireland, but that they have been and are daily succeeding more and more admirably. So much so that the Tories in America are as hysterical and panic-stricken as they are here in Ireland and across the Channel.

Criticism of views that I have expressed in my inadequate exposition of the strength of Ireland's cause in America, an invincible strength that has increased a thousandfold since I first wrote in reply to Mr. O'Hegarty's misgivings in regard to prospects of help from America, an invincible strength which is waxing greater even as I write, which can never wane, and never shall, because of its inherent force and power, have come to my ears: Now I like criticism in the finer sense of the word—honest, open, fearless criticism, criticism that is motivated by good principle for the common good, for the common purpose, that will promote our common aim, and I invite it.

The remark has been made that a certain smug boastfulness, common, it was added, to Americans, disfigured and spoiled the rest of a good edifice that I erected—that "no help would come from America"—and the mental finger of scorn was pointed at the past. This critic, I am inclined to believe, like any who make the same allegation concerning American characteristics, has been contaminated with a little, at least, of the superciliousness of the English mind, the English scorn of everything non-English, English cynicism. I consider to-day our race in Ireland, with its centuries of oppression behind it, and the frightful incubus of foreign rule that has lain on it, as somewhat scarred and seared by the consequences of it all, the slave-mind, as Arthur Griffith admirably termed it. As an American, I see in Ireland, almost everywhere, the slave-mind in varying degrees, from one hundred per cent. to a fraction of a per

HOGAN and HODGES

Painless Extractions
PERFECT FITTING
TEETH.

TERMS MODERATE.

51, Henry St., Dublin.



Gaelic and the Fairy Tale.

cent. I don't believe in blinking the truth. To state facts will do no hurt. Understanding is wisdom.

The tide of English ideas for centuries has been gaining on the shores of Irish life. Thank God it never got far. But it surged round and circumscribed the holy island 'nd its holy people. English ideas in Ireland are at napp now. But I cannot help observing the unfortunate remnant of the slave-mind in variant degrees. With the English, may it utterly depart from Ireland, as I believe it shall, very soon.

For my fellow-countrymen in America I hold no brief. Nor need they any defence. Until a few months ago all my life has been spent among them. Just they are, and noble as a nation, and their Governmental principles are the best as yet evolved in the world, Ireland's excepted. They have their defects—that is human. And our people in America are sterling in their strenuous energy on behalf of Ireland, sterling beyond description.

The Republicans did not put a plank in their platform promising to recognise the Irish Republic because they could less afford to antagonise American Tories than the Democrats, as I have suggested.

What will the Democrats do at their Convention? I do not know, nor can I predict. If they put such a plank in Ireland's behalf in their platform, I shall not be so surprised as I would and should have been if the Republicans had done so, but still I will be greatly surprised. Why? Because they will do their best, probably, to save Wilson's and their own faces. My left hand may be as guilty as my right. Wilson's is the Democratic Party's guilt, in a sense. One sane course alone is open to the Democrats, and that is to put such a plank into their platform and to repudiate Wilson and his policies. Whether they shall do this or not I cannot say. But I do feel certain that the National Convention of the Democrats will be a decidedly more stormy affair than the Republicans' was. And the latter was no peace meeting.

Help from America for Ireland—recognition of the Irish Republic—is bound to come, plank or no plank, politicians or no politicians. Anyone who really knows the unquenchable, unconquerable, inflexible will and determination, as well as the enormous influence—political, social, spiritual, and financial—of the Irish in America and their countless friends, especially the Germans, can never for a moment doubt this, and never does. Any thoughtful person, any man who is a sharp observer and a profound thinker, knows that British statesman's hysteria is not alone, to say the least, provoked by the magnificent conduct of the Irish people at home and their signal, continuous progress and series of victories, but is caused especially by the advance of the Cause all over the world, and in particular its strikingly perilous (to them) advance in America.

Ever since Easter, 1917, when I heard good Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington in Buffalo, New York, I have ever contended that recognition of the Irish Republic would come. Every day strengthens my belief and proves how it emanated from reason. Let there be no more nonsense of pessimism, no more manifestations of the slave-mind, no more cynicism. Instead, let all, as I believe the majority of our people in Ireland do, cherish a deep faith and trust in America, and confidence in their own blood in America, a human faith and a trust as their Divine, founded on reason. Recognition is bound to come.

KEVIN STROMA DORRBERG (an American).

It is indeed strange that while every topic of national interest draws the crowd and rouses venomous discussion, the Language of Ireland arouses no public interest, no heat, no ardour. It is even impossible to raise the question of the language to the fleeting honours of the "nine days wonder," so familiar to journalists before the war. Shall we learn Gaelic or shall we not? What does it profit a man or woman to know Gaelic? Has Gaelic any commercial value? Has Gaelic any literature worth reading? Is Gaelic as good a training for the mind as Greek? Would it not be better to start the people learning a universal language like Esperanto? Nobody ever asks these sensible questions now.

And why this abnegation of mind? Is it that the people of Ireland take it that the language has got to be accepted with or without disadvantages as to literary, cultural, commercial, or intellectual values? The people are in that peculiar frame of mind, apparently, that they are prepared to swallow anything Irish, however distasteful, simply because it is Irish. And that is an admirable frame of mind after generations of Shononism. But there is no great heartiness of appetite evident anywhere. The salutations are glibly uttered, and then the language of the foreigner starts with a rush and a hardly concealed sigh of relief that the painful introduction is over.

In the main, people are more disheartened than indifferent. At the back of their minds they have an uneasy feeling that the language cannot be learned. That uneasiness is fostered by several unfortunate facts. There is the fact that the number of those who actually succeed in learning the language is small. There is the fact that many of those who do learn to speak the language are ridiculed by experts for their want of blás or grammatical accuracy or lack of natural idiom. It is ridiculous that some people will insist on a standard of perfection in Gaelic, which is outrageous and insulting to sense and reason. Instead of being satisfied with a moderate standard at first, buoyed by delight in parodying the efforts of unfortunate beginners as if they were to blame for ignorance of the nuances and shades of accent and meaning which circumstances makes it practically impossible for them to acquire.

And there is again the fact that there is no freshness of outlook in regard to the acquisition of the language. From what I hear, thousands of classes are still conducted on the ancient methods laid down for the study of Latin and Greek. Grammar and strange abnormalities of grammar without regard to the practical value are discussed and taught. Text books are issued, containing hardly one sentence that a speaker ever requires. The amount of fables and fairy tales that a learner of Gaelic has to read through at this hour of the day to get at simple facts would make one seriously doubt the sanity of their authors if one did not know that they were simply following an outworn tradition.

The mistake is currently made of aiming at something beyond the powers of the nation. Instead of aiming at the production of Gaelic speakers we are aiming at the production of a literature that will be remarkable in European culture. That is at least the impression conveyed.

INSURE your LIFE and PROPERTY with THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE CO., 30, College Green, Dublin.

The idea of translating Shakespeare and other foreigners into Gaelic was turned down on the ground that it was better to aim at native originality than to aim at Gaelic versions of first-rate foreign art. The only result is that students of Gaelic have to put up with useless and antique texts when they would be better employed reading first-rate modern literature dealing with modern life and modern conditions. And the result is that students of Gaelic know all sorts of foolish fables and cannot find the words and phrases to hold an intelligent discussion on any topic more intellectual than the weather, the crops, and the last cullish.

Our literature is antique. Our system of language study is antique. And the nation itself is in the full stream of modern political, diplomatic, and industrial development, and obsessed by the most urgent modern conceptions. Is it any wonder that the modern Gael drops quickly into the Buir? The works of Henry Morris, Seamus Sharkey, and Joseph Lloyd are admirable, but they shed no light on modern Ireland. When I rise from them and go out to seek my fellows in the movement, I feel as Hume felt when he rose from the composition of a philosophic treatise, highly elevated, but completely out of touch with life as it is lived.

I would like to have an edition of George Bernard Shaw in Gaelic. It would at least save me from having to fall into Buiria when I want to talk as I like to talk. And in a country so intellectual as modern Ireland there must be thousands in the same plight, locked out from the modern world as expressed by Gaelic lips.

Besides, we are in despair falling into the bad habit of coining words heedlessly. People like us left without proper literary guides would destroy any language. Imagine British Tommies allowed to run amuck among the niceties of French. Such vandalism is intolerable. Sir John Rhys complains that modern journalism is destroying Welsh, but the Welsh language is in a long way safer than Gaelic. The Welsh miners and engineers are not without some guide in their use of Welsh for technical purposes. We in Ireland are completely uncontrolled when we are not completely helpless.

When we have brought the children under our care to the point that they can begin to use Gaelic to express their thoughts, what are we going to do with them? They cannot have pains in their heads for ever to form the subject of conversation. They cannot be interested for ever in the men who carry bags and the boys who steal apples. They cannot be expected to go home with tales about the king with horses' ears, or the old man who gave away fairy bottles to hard-pressed farmers, and then explain that they are the forerunners of the great genius who is to give Ireland a place in international literature.

The Dail Uladh in its day seems to have got nearer to modern life than any other body of Gaels. They gave us a sensible modern geography. They gave us a sensible modern reader. Both of these works are out of print. On all the multifarious activities of modern life there is nothing save perhaps a few histories. There are thousands of reasons why there are none. But in the meantime Gaelic books are being edited and printed, collection of poems and fairy tales, Fenian lays and seventeenth century poems.

It is no use thinking that we can put an intellectual barbed-wire round Ireland. If the people cannot get the

modern idea in Gaelic they are getting it in English. It is true that Measeic pretends to cater for modern Ireland but it does not. In the first place, it is hopelessly provincial. Its eyes are on Cork and Kerry. In the next place, it is hopelessly dull and flat-footed. I would suggest that a picture comic paper would do more to supply the needs of the growing generation. It is time that some such paper was started.

As it is, we have already a really scientific system of teaching Gaelic in the phrase method. That system takes cognizance of the fact that we are living in a modern country by adapting the material to modern conditions. All the phrases, games, and stories in the phrase method primers are immediately useful. Much of that material is also humorous. It is thus supremely human. But it is time that the lesson taught by Father Tom should be taken to heart, and that the public created by his work should be intelligently catered for. The phrase method has definitely turned the corner. It has definitely placed itself in Ulster at least on the sound basis of public confidence. It is merely a question of time till it be accepted throughout the country. The pupils of the phrase method are trained to look for works of immediate practical utility. Volumes of modern short stories and interesting articles on modern subjects are absolutely essential to develop them into trained speakers of Gaelic. If those volumes cannot be original then let them be proper translations from foreign languages. Germany built up her vast literature on translations from French and English. England went intellectually backward because of her dilatoriness in providing her public with decent translations of Continental thought. Is leor n' don fear leighinn.

SHAN MACCAUGHAN.

Labour in France.

The action of Labour in France is worth noting. Last November the Catholic Federation of Labour was founded in Paris. It has now an affiliation of 350 syndicates and a membership of 100,000. The aim of the Federation is stated in the *Revue des Jeunes* by M. G. Tessier as follows:

'The corporate relations between employers and employees have too long been affected by pseudo-scientific aberrations. Raised to the dignity of a social dogma, the doctrine of the struggle for existence has perverted ideas, vitiated methods, undermined institutions, and led extremists to utter the blasphemous doctrine that 'hated alone can create.' Thus our society, gasping already under the weight of the world war, sees the digging of new trenches and the raising of new barricades. The remedy will be to oppose to the syndicates, which have become schools of moral defamation and perversion, a syndicate which will make itself the enlightened, watchful, and ardent defender of the rights entrusted to its care, and will be bound by the force of logic to impress its members with the duties correlative to their rights.

'This it will accomplish only by taking its inspiration from the only ethics which stand above the fluctuations of interests and passions—the Christian Ethics.'

We see in this statement a parallel to the recent articles in *Old Ireland*, in which the Christianising of the "dismal science" of economics is advocated. P.O.A.

The International Again.

It would not surprise me if your readers are getting tired of the International. Perhaps like the drunkard looking at the advertisement of a lecture on Bobbie Burns and asking, "What did Bobbie Burns ever do for Ireland, anyway?" they may ask, "what has the International to do with the Irish Republic?" That is really the gist of the whole matter. If the International involves any interests affecting Ireland, it is important to us, because everything that affects Ireland is important. On the other hand, if it does not affect Ireland, it is useless for Republicans to proceed further with the discussion. No matter how tired we may grow of the question, it is our duty to proceed till we find our correct relationship in the whole matter.

At the present time we are involved at home and abroad in the struggle for Independence. North, South, East and West are movements which we all scan eagerly for signs of help and sympathy. Ireland lies in the peculiar political position that her future for many years can be affected by events East of West and apparently far removed from her orbit. No cataclysm, political or social, can indefinitely deprive her of her liberty if she is true to herself. But certain developments may retard or hasten the inevitable hour.

On the one hand, there is the growing force of American and enlightened Continental opinion. How far that will sincerely work we cannot tell. Only the test of action can decide that. Whether the democracies of America and Europe are sufficiently enlightened even yet is doubtful. Whether those democracies as at present organised could make their force felt is doubtful. Whether the leaders of these democracies are sincere or insincere is also doubtful. Finance and commercialism play such a formidable part in the diplomatic activities of their governments that no honest man can feel convinced of the efficacy of just claims. Yet at the same time all this work of enlightening those democracies will one day bear fruit, even if leaders prove broken reeds as did President Wilson.

On the other hand there is the growing force of social democracy at present most terribly powerful in the East and gradually weakening towards the West. But everywhere it is growing and accumulating and even at its weakest is something to be reckoned with like a rifle in the hands of a fool. But it is not easy for us in Ireland to understand the Social Democrats. They speak with so many voices and quarrel among themselves so virulently that the general mass of plain people are frankly bewildered. And so the discussion on the International requires careful handling and freedom from acrimony.

The International is itself an ancient institution among the Social Democrats. Not having access to the books, I cannot say offhand when it was first held, but it is well known that in the forties of last century it was meeting and promulgating its doctrines. Very early the same split in the forces of democracy as operates now revealed itself. At Ghent an International was held, in the forties, I think, at which a definite break took place. Carl Marx, on the one hand, and Michael Bakounin led their forces into opposition camps. Till today they have not reunited.

Now the issue at stake then was simply one of method and ways of bringing about the Social Revolution. Bakounin, like the modern Bolsheviks, insisted on direct action, preferably physical force. Marx, like the Marjory Socialists of the Continent, and the I.L.P. of Great Britain, insisted on political action. And all through the last century and up till now the controversy raged till it seemed as if the success of the Bolsheviks might have settled the matter. But the Marxians are still unconvincing.

There is thus a very interesting parallel in the history of Social democracy and the history of the struggle for Irish independence. One cannot help comparing Mitchell and O'Connell with Bakounin and Marx. And just as the doctrinaire disregard of all sense and reason made O'Connell the spectator of a noble nation starved by the million, so the same doctrinaire disregard of facts made the Marxians spectators of a Europe delivered up to the holocaust of an outrageous, terrifying war. And just as we have Parliamentarians in our midst prepared to repeat the whole sickening tragedy of Ireland, prostituted to make a political holiday, so we have Marxians prepared to deliver Europe again to the futility of politics and the ballot-box.

With O'Connell, Marx was among the most remarkable figures of the nineteenth century. His knowledge was encyclopaedic. His literary activity was enormous. In the field of political economy he was a giant who still towers above all the scribblers and the professors. And his followers have something of his remarkable erudition. They bring with economic facts, figures and arguments. They have the ponderousness of the steamhammer and its extraordinary delicacy. MacDonald, Snowden, George Bernard Shaw, the late Jaurès and Bebel are or were remarkable men. But of things practical they have less sense of perception than the veriest navvy.

In a sense it is difficult to understand their position. It may rightly be explained as sheer dishonesty, but that is hardly fair. All of the Marxians have some time or other faced the music of unpopularity. They dislike violence apparently. Whether that arises from mere distaste or from want of courage it is hard to say. One cannot help thinking of what George Moore said of modern painters, that they had all the education and all the training and all the tricks of the trade, but, that unlike the Old Masters, they lacked guts. It is hardly a poetic way of expressing the case, but it makes up in forcefulness what it lacks in poetry.

But neither lack of honesty nor lack of courage explains their position. The real explanation is that the Marxian school have analysed production of commodities exchange-value, use-value, rent, interests and profits so exclusively that they see in modern capitalism only that side of its activity. Hardly one in a thousand of them can give a decent definition of the meaning of the State; the government, the law, or parliamentary representation. In politics and the relations of the peoples to the governments, they are the merest infants. Imagine a man of the intellectual calibre of George Bernard Shaw making the statement that the policeman applies the law of the land with equal indifference to the earl and the navvy. One would not hear such an egregious statement from an amadan in a country village in Ireland.

And now one understands why Shaw, a typical Marxian, warned the British Labour Party against taking active steps to recognise the claim of Ireland to a Republic. To the Marxians nationality is a thing abhorred, a bete-noire. Shaw even wrote once that if we were not good boys in Ireland there was a danger that England might cut us off from our eternal economic damnation. Ramsay MacDonald once claimed that England had not the power even if she had the inclination to leave India and her other coloured dependents to their fate; for that she was there, as a great civilising agency. To such an extent are Marxians blind to facts and bulldozed by doctrines that an able Marxian refused a subscription to the Gaelic League on the ground that it was a reactionary movement and a tool of capitalism. Could ignorance go further?

A. S. CLARKIN, THE IRISH FIRM FOR COALS, 208, CT. BRUNSWICK ST. Phone 6927.

It is true that Bolshevik leaders claim that they are true Marxians. Now such a statement seems incredible, but it reminds me of Doctor Johnson and his definition of a feloek. It may seem presumptuous on my part to say so, but if Lenin and Trotsky claim to be Marxians they must either be very ignorant of Marxism or else they must have a brand of Marxism unknown to Western Europe. I could as soon suppose a Fenian like O'Donovan Rossa alleging that he was a true follower of Daniel O'Connell.

The fact of the matter as far as we in Ireland are concerned is that the Second International is thronged with men who have no use for any wile policy and who are not sure of themselves or their policies for twenty-four hours. As they are prejudiced by the nature of their doctrines against physical force and direct action, they have no love for Bolshevism. Nor again, have they any love for little trivial national questions like Irish Independence. Their doctrines take no account of nationality and national aspirations and national languages. Besides, the most of them seem to have their heads in a bag. Some of them like Shaw and MacDonaldiv live so close to the great government machine of the Empire that they think it unbreakable simply because it makes such noise and parade of power. Few of them have enough intelligence to see that, as proved in Russia and Ireland already, the most "powerful" governments are a hollow sham deceiving only the weak-kneed and the ignorant. But apart from these leaders the peoples are beginning to realise that governments are game-cocks for whom the peoples make themselves spurs. And in the meantime Ireland and Russia remain the riddle of the economist wisecrack and the imperialist adventurers.

Marxism, like Parliamentarianism, deceived the peoples for a century almost. It sent the followers of Bakounin into the wilderness as the Repeal movement sent Mitchell and the Fenians. But time has wrought revenge for both. The Second International cannot deceive Ireland any more than the S.O.H. or the United Irish League. The Third International exists only on paper. England, France, Germany and America stand aloof. One would have thought that the world had paid the price of blindness already. But apparently not. In the meantime we have enough to do to mind our own business without enlightening the world to its folly. Our language is still dying while we discuss economics. Our industries languish while we discuss politics. Our young men and women are growing up in ignorance while we enlighten the foreigner. And in the end the foreigners have more interest in their bit of the earth than they have in ours. We have sifted the grain from the wheat, and segregated the sheep from the goats in Ireland. Let us make that division permanent among ourselves consistent that the foreigner will do the same in his country some day.

And as our claim to independence is but the logical deduction from the first principles of Social-Democracy, that nation should not be subordinated to nation, we are at least sure of our ground. And as the will of the majority is demanded as the first principle of free institutions, we need not fear the test of democracy. And as the national will is that Gaelic and Gaelic culture shall return to Ireland, we, as Gaelic Leaguers can claim that we are but following the principles of Social democracy. The fact that English and Scotch and French Marxians have no interest in these things and think them foolish need not concern us. In a short time we may expect some ponderous pronouncement to the effect that national aspirations must be taken into consideration. Lenin made such a statement a year ago. The Marxians are generally behind the times.

SEAN MACCAUGHAN.

Dublin at Dawn.

In the chill, grey summer-dawn light
We pass through the empty streets,
The rattling wheels are all silent,
No friend his fellow greets.

Here and there at the corners
A man with a greatcoat stands,
A bayonet hangs at his side, and
A rifle is in his hands.

This is a conquered city,
It speaks of war not peace;
And that's one of the English soldiers
The English call "police."

You see at the present moment
The noble country of mine
Is boiling with indignation
At the memory of a crime.

In a path in the Phoenix Park
Where the children romped and ran,
An Irish ruffian met his doom,
And an English gentleman.

For a hundred and over a hundred
Years on this countryside,
Men and women and children
Have slaved and starved and died.

That those who slaved and starved them
Might spend their earnings then,
And the Irish ruffians have a "good time,"
And the English gentlemen.

And that's why at the present moment
That noble country of mine
Is boiling with indignation
At the memory of a "crime."

For the Irish ruffians, they tell me,
And it looks as if it were true,
And the English gentlemen are so scarce
We could not spare these two!

These verses were written by Francis Adams, a young Australian poet, in 1888. He had journeyed in many lands and had the evil that men do in the name of Empire everywhere he went. In Paris he visited Père la Chaise where the Communists had made their desperate stand but were overcome and shot down. "Morr's vaulted tomb was close at hand, and Balzac smiled his animal cynicism from his bust. Victims, murderer, and commentator, all were there."

Of Russia he wrote:

What shall the sea-wave be
Of this race of eternal belief,
This nation of passionate faith?

Through all his verse ran this prophetic vein, and the most prophets, he suffered martyrdom in the flesh. He deserves to be better known by the nation struggling to be free.
N.F.D.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

"ZOO" LOGIC.

There are drawbacks attendant on writing weekly for a paper which, owing to the trying conditions of the times, makes its appearance after one's contribution of the previous week has seen the light. Thus, last week I was distressed to find that nearly every article in OLD IRELAND dealt with the subject of Christianity and Socialism. To my grief I found that I had, all unknowingly, selected the same topic for my casual comments. The matter is one of vital interest, but as the adage tells us one can get too much even of a good thing. (Not that I rate my reflections in this way—modesty forbids—I mean the question under consideration.)

To-day I write unaware what the morrow, in a very literal sense, may bring forth. The Editor may, perhaps, to save his readers the boredom of a more than twice-told tale, have suppressed my observations on the hatefulness of war and the selfishness of nations. Anyhow, for this week a topic suggests itself which is so far from the beaten track, so unexplored by scribblers of any kind, that I feel safe in venturing upon it. Although it is concerned in some measure with the Phoenix Park, it has no bearing on politics. It does not deal with the Vice-regal Lodge, the Chief Secretary's Lodge, the R.I.C. Depot, nor the Royal Hibernian School. There is still another institution that merits attention in that beautiful Park, I mean the "Zoo."

The Zoological Gardens are easily the most popular enclosure in the Phoenix Park. Like many another public institution, they have felt the pressure of war and post-war times. Finances are in jeopardy, just as is the case with hospitals, which some people consider almost equally important. Fêtes have been held to raise funds in their aid and on all sides one hears people deploring the fact that this laudable undertaking may possibly have to close down through lack of money.

Now the question I would submit is, are Zoological Gardens a necessity; or, rather, since we all know that they are not necessary, are they desirable? These are taken for granted by most people, like museums, the water supply, or the postal service. For my part, I see no advantage in these collections of wild animals. On the other hand, I can see good reasons for doing away with them. I am not what is called a lover of animals and, therefore, have a strong objection to seeing them suffer. And that they must suffer thus went up in captivity in foreign lands, I feel convinced.

No doubt my attention will be drawn to their educational value. I do not believe that they have any, or, at any rate, I am sure it is greatly overestimated. No one is much the wiser for seeing a lion or an elephant. The monkey, indeed, may for those not "on the side of the angels," possess a certain melancholy interest. Pictures and stuffed representations of these beasts convey a sufficiently clear notion of their appearance for the needs of the ordinary man, and any gazetteer of useful information will supply such particulars as to their habits as he requires. Why, then, capture and cage unfortunate beasts to make a Sunday holiday for unreflecting folk under the feeble and false excuse that it is done in the sacred cause of education?

Remember, also, that the majority of dwellers in European lands never see a "Zoo." These are limited in number and confined for the most part to the larger cities. Is the man or woman, boy or girl, who has never visited a "Zoo," any worse off than those who have? He or she may have missed the thrill to be derived from contemplating a ferocious beast, thoughtfully labelled "dangerous," pacing up and down behind iron bars. Such a loss is in reality a gain. Cruelty and curiosity are about the only qualities served by such exhibitions. They are as barbaric and almost as brutal as public executions, and should be abolished as these have been. Yet the educational value of these last mentioned horrors was at one time much belauded.

I should like to make it clear that I have no "edge" against the Dublin "Zoo" in particular, nor do I wish the unfortunate inmates to starve. I am opposed to the general practice of jailing a number of miserable beasts in cages for the idle amusement of unthinking people. Nor need our Zoological Gardens be left entirely derelict; if the present occupants are removed, a "raid" might profitably be carried out in the Phoenix Park—and the entire city—and choice "specimens" transferred to more suitable habitats—the vacated cages to wit.

There would be no call to label them "dangerous" then.
WESTLAND ROWE.

Cursey Comments.

Murray in Parvo.

("The Economic Case for Irish Independence," by Darrell Figgis, Maunsell, 2s. net.)

A condensation, marshalling in 91 pages all the essential facts and figures.

Originality in statistics is not to be desired. It is only to be found in the writings of apologists for the English exploitation. When these people venture anywhere near the facts (which is not often), they do so only to misrepresent them. Mr. Figgis contents himself—and his readers—by setting out the truth and letting it speak for itself in Ireland.

With this well-packed arsenal in our pocket and Miss Alice Murray's "Commercial Relations" of the robbers and the robbed in our library, we are equipped to explode any arguments there may be on the economic side for the English connection. Everyone should study Mr. Figgis's comparison of the progress of Poland under the iron heel of the Tsar with Ireland's decline under beneficent Britain's protection.

Applied Idealism.

("An Irish Commonwealth," by "Delta." The Talbot Press; 6s. net.)

"The restoration of the common right to the land must be the basis of the Co-operative Commonwealth," is "Delta's" text. Sketching briefly our ancient system of land tenure, he describes most vividly the struggle for the land of Ireland from the time our national polity was invaded and shattered by a race of lower ideals and culture, but greater military strength, and how for seven weary centuries the national tradition has survived all the brutalities a commercialised militarism has been able to

deviser. He contrives to vitalise with the spirit of that tradition the apparently prosaic facts of modern life—agriculture, canals, harbours, and even local rating. Beginning with the *Senchus Mor*, he ends with a carefully devised system of taxation of land values, and so successful is he that there is no anti-climax.

This analysis of the principles essential to the success of a self-organising community is worthy of its inclusion in the Talbot Press series of books on "Modern Ireland in the Making."

The printing and binding are a credit to the craftsmanship of the Talbot Press.

Studies.

An Irish Quarterly Review (The Educational Company of Ireland, 2s. 6d. net). "Studies," unlike that typically British ponderosity, "Punch," is always as good as it used to be. Each of the contributions to the June number is so good of its kind that it is unnecessary to single out any for special notice. "Studies" has an atmosphere of its own. It is not unenthusiastic, it is not hysterical; perhaps "sane" is the best word to describe it. The contents of the present number are:

- I. Character and Development of Post-War Socialism *Lambert McKenna, S.J., M.A.*
- II. Euripides the Politician *W. J. M. Storie, M.A., Litt.D.*
- III. Two Bishops of Killaloe and Irish Freedom *James Hogan*
- IV. War's Disinfectant *Virginia M. Crawford*
- V. Spiritualism and its Dangers *Herbert Thurston, S.J.*
- VI. Poetry—Terra Firma *Katharine Tynan*
The Violin *Guthoor O'Driscoll*
Ships that Depart *George O'Neill*
The Lovable Will of God *George Noble Plunkett*
- VII. Unpublished Irish Poems—No. 10 *Professor Osborn Bergin, Ph.D.*
- VIII. Louvain Since the War *Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., M.A.*
- IX. The Irish Climate and Tillage Farming *Professor T. Widdery, N.D.A., N.D.D.*
- X. Chronicle—I. Kuno Meyer, 1858-1919 *Professor Wilhelm Schulte, Ph.D.*
II. Canon Peter O'Leary, 1839-1920
- XI. Reviews of Books *Professor Douglas Hyde, LL.D., D. Litt.*

Insecticides.

There is one weapon which is fatal to that prolific poisonous insect the British propaganda department. Apart from its intrinsic merits, this weapon is effective because it takes our enemies by surprise. They are quite unfamiliar with its use in controversy. It is truth. The principle of British propaganda is simple: Flood the Press with lies, and if at first you don't succeed, lie, lie again.

The National Bureau of Information of the Friends of Irish Freedom in America is the great munition factory in the war for truth in the States. In its pamphlets and weekly news-letter, it states the facts, and so enables the American people to estimate at their true value—all—the emanations of the John Bullies. To take but one example: The news-letter for June 6 forestalls the inevitable flood of misrepresentations about the Derry Orange outbreak by pointing out that the cause of the troubles was that "Unionist mobs took possession of the centre of the city, ejected Nationalists from their homes, and stoned theatregoers, while the English military made vicious attacks on Republicans in the outlying districts."

Week after week the Bureau sends out its antidotes. Thereby it helps us, and annoys and hurts the enemy. More power to it. B.W.P.

Derry— and Other Places.

The British Government, through a Dublin Castle communique issued on Friday last, stated that it "had no ground for anticipating, and did not anticipate, that the riots would occur" that raged in Derry for over a week. The message fact that this statement is an "official" affirmation of the British Government is the only proof of its falsehood that impartial men and women nowadays require. There is, however, abundance of proof besides. The British Government may be right in asserting that it did not anticipate that the "riots" would take place at the exact time they did, but knew they would take place very soon. Not only did it plan and prepare them, but it instructed its agents in Derry to act when the outbreak came. So "dirty" is his old description—was the course of action thus outlined that of constable of the R.I.C. a fortnight ago threw off the uniform handed in his resignation, and, before leaving the city, warned the non-Unionist section of the population what was coming and what they might expect from the combined force of England's imported Army of Occupation, England's resident Army of Occupation (miscalled the R.I.C.), and the unfortunate dupes of British capitalism in Ulster who were to be made both the instruments and the scapegoats of the pogrom. What were the R.I.C. in Derry told a fortnight ago that caused this constable to resign? The answer to this question, if Dublin Castle answers it, will prove the falsity of its allegation that it did not anticipate that the "riots" of last week.

British Government's Complicity.

In the same communique the British Government denied that it had anything to do with the rioting or with the curing, storing, or protecting of the rifles employed by Orange dupes. That is absolutely untrue. In the May riot, the preliminary to Dublin of last week, the rifles of the Orange men were, under British military protection, removed from Hawkins Street and stored in a house in Wapping Lane, and during the day (because the fighting was then confined to the evenings) were guarded for them by an officer's twenty-four soldiers of the Dorset Regiment of England's imported Army of Occupation. Prior to that the duty of protecting the rifles was discharged by the Royal Irish Constabulary. Furthermore, additional arms sent into Derry for the Orangemen were sent in care of the R.I.C. Finia (I am still dealing with the May outbreak), the British army soldiers and the British armed constabulary never, on their own admission, made even one attempt to repress the Orange riflemen. Their bullets and their bayonets were solely reserved for the non-Unionist section of the people who were nothing to oppose to the rifles but stones and revolvers.

On June 4, at the English Quarter Sessions Court, Derry, Matthew Deehan, a non-Unionist, applied for compensation for injuries received by his being deliberately shot by Orangemen while passing through the streets of the city on Sunday, April 18—the occasion of the first outbreak. Detective-constable Darragh, of England's resident Army of Occupation, swore that in the rioting "the people of the Fountain" (i.e., the Orangemen) "were on the side of military and police," and the British judge, while admitting the deliberateness of the shooting, decided that British soldiers should not give compensation because the persons shot Deehan, being "on the side of the military and police" were not "an unlawful" or "organised" association to carry out unlawful acts."

June 4. In June we had a continuance of this "fraternisation" between England's soldiers, England's constabulary,

England's Orange dupes. During the opening days of the week of terror both branches of England's armed forces in Derry stood idly by while the Orange riflemen shot and wounded and looted and burned. When English members of England's Parliament asked the reason why, the British Government through its jacked, Denis Henry, stated that saw no reason to interfere. Of course it didn't, because far everything was working out "according to plan." The Orange riflemen and the English riflemen "fraternised"; the Orange riflemen and the English riflemen looted the loot; the English riflemen helped the Orange riflemen to drive defenceless non-Unionists out of their homes, and stood beside them while they took deliberate aim non-combatant pedestrians and shot several of them dead. All these things have been publicly attested in the Press.

As to England's carbinement, the newspaper reports show the part they played. Here is one typical extract: "It was known to the police that roughs and corner boys carried arms and held up passers-by and searched them. Citizens were held up and searched in full view of the police. On Saturday night the present inferno had its origin at Bishopsgate in a trivial street brawl. When the firing began it was confined to this locality. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY THE POLICE TO STOP IT."

The completeness of unanimity, the singleness of aim, the one-for-all and all-for-oneness of "fraternisation," of the three are shown in the evidence of Samuel Ramsay at the inquest on Thomas Farren, one of the victims of the British pogrom. In answer to an R.I.C. Head Constable's witness said "the shots (one of which killed Farren) came from Fountain Street. There were policemen and soldiers there, and civilians were lying with them." All log and firing together into a non-Unionist street from which this same witness swore "no shots had been fired" again, at the inquest on James Doherty it was proved that he ceased was one of a group of mourners at the house of Thomas Farren, previously shot, when a woman in Fountain Street called a boy of twenty-three years, who had a rifle, to her door and spoke to him. He immediately got down on his knees, took aim, and fired at the mourners, who included ladies, and one of them, poor Doherty, was shot dead. A witness, Mrs. Moore, also a mourner, said she could not identify the woman, but, she added, "that policeman was standing with her. He knows the woman, because she was standing with her. He knows the boys, too."

So much for the British Government's assertions and denials in its "official communique." Now for the plot and purpose.

The Plot.

It has been known for at least two months, that the British Government, through its capitalist interests chiefly in Belfast, had arranged for Ulster pogroms this summer. These were not, however, intended to take place before August or September. Their object was the old one of manufacturing a "party" sectarian riots with intent to prove that "Ulster" would not tolerate the Republic, and that the presence of the British Government, through its armed forces, was necessary to ensure safety of life and property in the North, and prevent both sections of the people from destroying each other. The results of the recent elections made it essential, however, to precipitate a crisis. The loss of Carismism of Tyrone and Fermanagh, two of the six counties to be held for England; the return of Carolan, the Labour Republican, at the head of the poll in the "sacred" bank of Belfast; the defeat of the chairman of the almost

equally sacred Antrim County Council by an out-and-out Republican; the victorious election of a Republican for North Antrim; and the fact that in the whole of England's so-called "loyal provinces" the official Republicans secured a majority over the official Carismite—all called out for something immediate and drastic if England's case against the Republic was not to be exposed to the world for the artificial fiction that it is. The growing power of Labour, the growth of the party of Labour's independence, and, with both, the workers' breaking away from the trammels of the body-crushing and soul-killing capitalism that used them for its own ends by playing on "party" prejudices and fanning the flames of sectarian hate, made action urgent in Carismism—which is Englishism—was not to be ignominiously driven out of its last stronghold in this country. Accordingly, the pogroms were crushed. Derry was ripe for a beginning. The overthrow of Unionism at the municipal elections and the removal of the name of Viscount French of Ypres from the rôle of the city's freemen were had enough, but worse, from England's standpoint, was the fact that the efficiency combined with the impartiality of the new Corporation's administration was winning Unionist approval and admiration, and even old Orangemen, speaking of the present mayor, were heard to say that they wished he had been mayor years ago. Yes, Derry was ripe for a beginning of the pogroms, and in Derry the beginning was to be made. London got in touch with Belfast, Belfast linked up with Derry, and the masked men of a fortnight or more ago set afire the fire that burst into the conflagration of last week. In these masked men lies the connecting link between British capitalism in Belfast (representing the British Government) and the unfortunate Orange workers who shot down their fellow-workers during Derry's eight days of terror. Some of these masked men are known. One of them is a leading Unionist manufacturer, another is a prominent Unionist magistrate, and yet another is a professional "gentleman." To have revealed their identity would have given away England's and Capitalism's game. The rank and file, however, had been aroused and inflamed somehow, and the mystery of the mask but added to their influence over the mob. Accidents happen in the best regulated families, and an accident, in disclosing the immediate instigators of the Derry pogrom, disclosed all the whole plot of which it was the first culmination.

P. S. O'FLANNAGAN.

(To be concluded.)

Tara.

Erin, thy silent tear never shall cease,
Erin, thy languid smile ne'er shall increase.
Till, like the rainbow's light,
Thy various tints unite,
And form in Heaven's sight
One arch of peace.

MOORE.

I sat in a room discontented, weary in body and mind. My spirit was bitter within me. The world had been unkind. In a simple way I had tried to live for Ireland, according to my light. I was misunderstood. Both friend and foe of Ireland had done me hurt for Ireland's sake; and that which had been my home was 'home' to more. Such were my feelings and such my position.

Something within prompted me strongly to go hence more by a particular route to the place that had been 'home.' The distance was between five-and-a-half and six Irish miles. I obeyed.

As I walked along, the theme of my prayers and thoughts—the unity of Ireland—usually uppermost in my mind, was absent from me. I felt as though the spirit were detached from the body and everything seemed blank. The resolve to complete the journey alone remained with me.

Half the distance was completed and at a point where a railway line ran close to the road I turned off by a path which followed the line. I came to a high embankment. Passing along the top of this a thought of Ireland suddenly came into my mind. It said: "Is there not some simple way to bring unity to Erin?" Almost immediately a mental vision appeared to me.

I saw three separate communities of the Irish people, representing the three divisions of Irish political thought, lying beside one another on a large tract of land which sloped upwards to and surrounded the ancient Hill of Tara. Each community was engaged in demonstrating by labour of mind and body its ability to promote the highest interests and the greatest happiness of the Irish people. Political activities, as such, had become awary and all parties had been brought together in the centre of Ireland. The talent and energy that had hitherto been given to strife was now devoted to the common good. A new Christian spirit was generated. Old prejudices and bigotries ceased to exist and the terrible feeling of mistrust gradually disappeared. Brought face to face with one another on a common plane, all engaged in a good work, the natural kindness that exists in every true Irish heart soon enabled the people to forget the dark past. They thought no more of the "Dublin of the South," or the "Belfast of the North," but all eyes were directed by the Spirit of Light and Love through Tara to Erin.

The vision was only momentary, yet it answered the prayers and thoughts of years. It showed that just as the

sacrifice of Easter Week was necessary to enable Ireland to lift its mind off Parliamentarianism, so the example of Tara would be necessary to enable Ireland to lift its mind off the memories associated with internal political divisions and to fix its gaze on something entirely national and new.

Thus, sitting in what might be termed central and intellectual, having no memories but those of spiritual and intellectual glory (themselves an inspiration for good) Tara would become the telescope through which the people could see the real Ireland that prejudice and strife had long hid from their view.

Let us decide to secure Tara and enough of its surroundings to try the experiment of the vision. Let us prepare to make welcome to the heart of Erin those of our countrymen who have hitherto held aloof from the Gaelic ideal, and provide them with a full and free opportunity to compete with us on equal, friendly terms for pride of place in promoting the commonweal. In this way we will finally win them heart and soul for Erin—and Moore's poetic prophecy will have been fulfilled.

But, meantime, let us not forget that it is our duty to use every means to atone the hearts of the people to the highest ideal of the Gael. God grant us the wisdom and power we need to complete our task.

TOMAS MACNEIL.

A CORRECTION.

In my article, "Socialism—A Forecast," a misprinting omitted a single word reversed the meaning of an important sentence. I wrote: "There is no reason why the revolution should not end in Distributivism." The little word "in" was left out of the printed version.

AODH DE BLACOM.

SHELBOURNE FAIR, SHELBOURNE PARK, JUNE 29th—JULY 5th

CHILD WELFARE MOVEMENT

WOMEN'S NATIONAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND (Incorporated).

Tuesday, June 29.		Miss MASON'S CONCERT PARTY	
GRAND FLORAL MOTOR PARADE	3.30 p.m.	Mr. B. WALSH—THE FROLICS	5.30 p.m.
CHILDREN'S PAGEANT OF DANCING	4.30 p.m.	Mr. RIORDAN'S CONCERT PARTY	7.30 p.m.
Mrs. E. J. MALLIN'S CONCERT PARTY	5.30 p.m.		9 p.m.
Miss B. O'Carroll and Miss E. O'Connor Present.		Saturday, July 3.	
ALICE IN WONDERLAND	7.30 p.m.	VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT (Dundrum Coons)	5.30 p.m.
Miss MGRATH'S CONCERT PARTY	9 p.m.	VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT (Dundrum Coons)	7 p.m.
		Mr. B. WALSH—THE FROLICS	9 p.m.
Wednesday, June 30.		Trotting Match—Monday, July 5.	
ALICE IN WONDERLAND	3.30 p.m.	BALLROOM DAILY SESSIONS	5.30 to 7 p.m. and 8 to 10 p.m.
CHILDREN'S PAGEANT OF DANCING	5.30 p.m.	IRISH DANCING COMPETITIONS DAILY.	
Miss FLEETING'S CONCERT PARTY	7.30 p.m.	Adjudicator: Prommoss O. Sailleabhain. Sunday Finals 5 p.m.	
Miss MGRATH'S CONCERT PARTY	9 p.m.	Putting Competitions for Valuable Prizes Daily.	
CHEESE MAKING DEMONSTRATION	3.30 to 5.30 p.m.	CHILDREN'S CORNER.	
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Thursday, July 1.		CHILD WELFARE, FOOD & HOUSING EXHIBITION OPEN DAILY.	
PONY SHOW (STYLE AND APPEARANCE)	3.30 p.m.	Lectures and Demonstrations Daily.	
WHIPPET RACING	6 p.m.	Hobby-horses Mountain Slide, etc.	
VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT (Dundrum Coons)	5.30 p.m.	Motor Enclosure on Grounds.	
VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT (Dundrum Coons)	7.30 p.m.	Admission: 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. Is. Children 6d.	
Mr. B. WALSH—THE FROLICS	9 p.m.	From 5.30, 6d. Season Tickets 2s. 6d.	
CHEESE MAKING DEMONSTRATION	3.30 to 5.30 p.m.	Trams No. 2 and 3, Id. Fare from Nelson's Pillar	
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Friday, July 2.			
FOLK DANCING FETE	3 p.m.		
WHIPPET RACING	6 p.m.		
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OLD IRELAND

(NEW SERIES).

VOL. II. No. 23.

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1920.

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Business communications to the Manager.
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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Friendless Republic.

The refusal of the two great presidential parties in the United States to recognise the Irish Republic is a disagreeable incident. But it is no more than that. Had a pledge secured from either side to give official recognition when a candidate had been returned to high office, our immediate reward would be brighter than it now is: we might have been an internationally-recognised Republic without any further sacrifice than we have already made. So long as we have a reasonable chance of securing this pledge from one of the American parties our duty was to exploit that chance. We have done so, and have not succeeded. The campaign of our President in the United States has not ended. It will yet bear fruit an hundred-fold. But the immediate object has not been secured. The fight now swings to Ireland. These are to be great days. Personally, I think it is better for Ireland that on her and on herself alone, depends the realisation of the ideal. We, the outpost of Europe, are to be left to Europe's battle—the world's battle—alone. We have allies except our brothers in pain. The Indians and the Chinese will be true to us. Perhaps no others. Of the blighted natures of the world, this one will help us to-day that to-morrow, this one will desert us to-day and that to-morrow. Not as Justice dictates will we have foreign

friendship, but as self-interest dictates. That is the kind of world to which we have to explain sacrifice.

We were closely linked up with any foreign power in the fight that we must now wage, such union might injure us. We would be prone to accept standards with which we did not entirely agree; we would be bound to sustain institutions in other countries which are inherently evil. Our freedom of choice in the details of our own Statehood might have been affected to our permanent hurt. Being deserted, we are now free to recreate the Irish nation as we love to recreate it. It is well.

It is a curious commentary upon civilisation that a world which pretended to be ready to squander the last man and the last shilling to purchase freedom for oppressed peoples, should, when the real contest for that freedom is in progress, stand silently aside. To this small island is now delegated the task of teaching the world the practice of its own preachings. It is a destiny greater than may be explained in words. We cannot fail in it unless we want to fail.

As our fight is now for Justice itself, we must fight justly. Nothing that can be cast back at us by men who love all freedom must be done during the struggle that has begun to-day in earnest. As our fight is now for liberty itself we must fight only to liberate. Nothing that is of hatred, of intolerance, must make unclean the struggle that will one day end in victory, but not to-day or to-morrow. As the sacrifice that is now asked of us is almost without limit, none can refuse to give what God has put into him to give. What if we were deserted by the world? We cannot live if we are deserted too by an inactive section of our own people. The refusal of America's politicians to champion the cause of right against oppression shoulders all of us with a grave responsibility. We are a people of four millions against an Empire. Every man and woman amongst us who thinks that it is enough that many should sacrifice time and enjoyment and wealth for Ireland and that no necessity exists for further sacrifice is deserting a people already hungering for support.

For every believer in the high mission of Ireland there is room in the ranks of Ireland's combatants; in the volunteers there is room; in the innumerable groups which are toilsomously recreating an Irish State there is room. All our people know in what way they are most fitted to help. To honour the dead, to succour as many of the living as is possible their help is needed and cannot be refused.

PROINNSIAS O GALLCHOIBHAIR.

Note.—We recognise the value of emphasising the importance of not relying too much on outside help, at the same time we do not feel that Ireland is less strong in America than hitherto. The issue is by no means decided. We never entirely relied on the sentiment appeal. America will not fight for the sake of the blue eyes of Ireland, except when the great clash of commercial interests makes war between England and America necessary: war may never be necessary. To put the forecast in a phrase: when America realises that

it is to her own interest that Ireland be free, and when America's navy is greater than England's, Ireland will be free. In the meantime Proinsias advises wisely: fight as if we had no friends.—Editor, O.I.

To Send Children to the Gaeltacht.

The many friends who contributed last year to the scholarship fund will be glad to know that arrangements are being made to send a party of children to the Gaeltacht for a short while this year also. All who knew and admired Sadhbh Trineach, and appreciated her worth, will feel it an honour and privilege to be associated with the Terenure Branch of the Gaelic League in its effort to restore to the young people that heritage of national culture of which the Irish language is the localisation. Subscriptions may be sent to Brigid bean ni Lochlainn, Beechlawn, Rathgar.

An Easter-Week Hero: Alexander Carmichael.

It is again our sad duty to record another death in the ranks of that noble band who struck a blow for freedom in 1916. Alexander Carmichael, of Glasgow, who died in the Western Infirmary in that town, was one who played his part in keeping the old Republican Faith alive in the West of Scotland when it was much less popular than it is to-day. "Sandy," as he was familiarly known, was born in Glasgow of Irish parents. At an early age he joined the Fianna, afterwards transferring to the Volunteers, A Company, where he proved to be a wifing and sincere worker. The early days of 1916 found him at Kimmage Garrison, eager and anxious, and painstaking in his first duties in the active service of the I.R.A., preparing for the day of battle. He took part in the fighting at C.F.O., and as a prisoner of war was imprisoned by the British Government at Knutsford and Frognoch until the general release at Christmas of the same year.

On returning to Glasgow he soon became active once more in the ranks of the Volunteers, where he remained until the time of his death. In accordance with his dying wish, to be buried in Dublin, the remains were brought from Glasgow by his comrades, and the funeral took place from the (Glasgow boat) North Wall, on Wednesday, June 30. The funeral procession was one well fitted to honour a hero of Easter week. The dockers employed along the North Wall all leaving work, to the number of over 1,000, marched in military formation with a large body of Volunteers to Glasnevin. Fr. Walter MacDonald officiated at the graveside, where a decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish. A volley was fired over the grave.

The Paris Failure, Moscow, and the Internationale.

"What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind."—The late Woodrow Wilson. "Praise Allah for his diversity of creatures!"

A good deal has already been said about the Internationale. Perhaps the readers of OLD IRELAND will think quite enough, but there were some questions raised by Proinsias o Gallechobhair that were only very lightly touched on in the controversy, or not touched on at all. That, and the extreme importance of the whole subject, may be sufficient excuse for this new contribution.

Mr. o Gallechobhair will probably be surprised to anybody say that he finds it difficult to take Ireland granted. Yet to one of his readers that is Proinsias Gallechobhair's main fault. Addh de Blacain is little be. Neither of them is much interested in what Wilson "the tides that run in the world." They want to up the Irish State without taking any account of contemporary tendencies. They are still on the line against a false internationalism which used to be common amongst Irishmen, but is common no longer. We have passed out of the period when indifference about country was supposed to be a sure indication of a mind, the day of the "true European," the "no-politician and the "international man," friend of nation but his own. That day is happily over. We want international recognition and the withdrawal the foreign army, but we have no fears now that our will ever go back on themselves or be allured by "broader" issue.

Irish nationalism is unassailable. We are a amongst other nations. We ought to see what can be done in being taken or ought to be taken by others, to restore and maintain general peace, to readjust and food supplies, and to construct some sort of an international platform. I do not agree that the differences of races, languages, and psychologies are too great for such a platform to be formed. It is all very well that each nation must destroy the capitalist state in its own borders. The spectacle of a hundred distinct between Labour and Capital, all absolutely unrelated, each other, has been impossible ever since the invention printing. One great nation, Russia, "destroyed the capitalist system within its own borders," and was forthwith upon by the entire organised strength of international capitalism. Could anything else but the workers' nationale have defeated the capitalists' internationalism, saved the Russian Revolution?

Proinsias o Gallechobhair rightly condemns the "League of Nations," which indeed is no more than a branch of the white internationale. But he should remember that the idea of a real league of nations is a noble one well worth working for. As proclaimed by a certain in 1917 and 1918, it may truly be called an ideal, the "moral upliftment of man" for its chief end. "Men must follow the clarified common will or be broken." What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind. "were some of the things this man said, irrelevant to discuss his sincerity then or now. He is subsequently fighting till his limbs were paralysed, his mind gave way for an alliance of monarchs and got to crush the ideal he shortly before upheld so proudly, bewildering, but no one can deny that on Mount Vesuvius and in the Capitol he spoke eternal truths.

There can be no such league of peoples yet, but can be the next best thing to it—an international association of the workers. Personally, I regard the Internationale as only in the process of being formed, and for all purposes the "Third" (Moscow) Internationale is the first Internationale and the only Internationale in matters (the others were only necessary steps leading to it). The Internationale is not "merely ornamental," has not attained its full strength, yet it is already strong enough to break the offensive against Russia and to the murder Government of Hungary to reason.

Proinsias o Gallechobhair complains a good deal the materialism of the Internationale and the pres-

ur tendency to accept dolos of hours and wages instead existing on a complete readjustment of the whole social order. His well-known social principles and straightforward style forbid the accusation of cant, but it is an idea that those who know how the majority of the workers have to live will have little patience with. You do not call a man a hedonist because he wants a little more sport, amusement, leisure, and sunshine for himself and children. Life is very short, and it is little consolation now that his descendants will be better off than he is. A rational life in decent surroundings need not make a materialist; it will probably make him more of a socialist than when he was merely one of the "submerged." Mr. o Gallechobhair disclaims any attempt to sectarianise Irish politics or world politics. But he preaches a heroism of man "having for its end the establishment the beauty of Christ in the heart of man." Like him, I say that "Christianity is Democracy." That is my own belief, but there are at least ten human beings of every fifty who do not believe anything of the kind. Every three inhabitants of the world only one is a (genuine) Christian, out of every five only one is a Jew.

Very few of the contributors to this controversy seem appreciate what I will call the extraordinary acceleration internationalism. No one expects or even wishes that "workers' Internationale could "dispel racial and biological differences." What many do expect is that an bring peoples closer together than they have ever in the history of the world before, help them to change ideas and sympathies and avoid the trivial misunderstandings that lead to wars. Year after year the statista are eating up space and time; nearly all the young voters of our day have Socialist sympathies. There is statement of Proinsias o Gallechobhair which frankly consider rimeis—that there has been no advance in class solidarity since the days of Napoleon. Rapid progress to advance working-class solidarity? Madam has held a wireless telephone concert in London last night and was heard and appreciated in Kingstown. Is not a sign of a changing world order?

Can you see—the Atlantic night mail . . . yesterday's cargo Havana . . . fruit gathered hours ago in Campania . . . The Irishman who knows, not as book legends, but remembered sights, the snow-sun on Cotopaxi and the phosphorescence of the Malayan interspaces . . . Irish child who gets his conversational Spanish from the pampas of Paraguay, the South American who gets his conversational Irish rounded off in the use of "Antrim?"

All that demands no more than the logical development present tendencies and the extensive use of inventions already have been made.

Enlightened internationalism is perfectly consistent with Irish nationalism. In fact, there can be no true internationalism without it. Selfish segregation was not the policy of the Gaels when Ireland once before was an international State. It ought not to be our aim now. In the Irish schools of the near future every child will be taught the history of Ireland and, side by side with that, an attempt to write such an outline. His is a hard-headed school of materialism, it treats Christianity as an unimportant episode in human history, it regards the creation of the universe by a personal God as a dismissable hypothesis, its labor has the narrow vindictiveness towards Ireland and

the refusal to admit that there is an ancient and considerable Irish civilisation, which distinguishes many of his countrymen, but his "outline" is a noble and unprecedented piece of work. Irish Republicans whose national faith and religious faith are not liable to be easily shaken can read it with pleasure and profit. It is one more evidence of that acceleration of internationalism which will go on until Wilson's vision and Lenin's is translated into concrete reality in the federation of the world.

JAMES CARTY.

"If the Time Should Come."

An Eminent English Jurist on Ireland.

"Then it will be clear that the Union must come to an end."

The following is an extract from the writing of Professor Dicey, the eminent English Jurist and authority on International Law. It is quoted from page 287 of "England's Case Against Home Rule," written in the year 1886:—

"If the time should come when the effort to maintain the Union of the State is too great for the power of Great Britain, or the only means by which it is found maintainable are measures clearly repugnant to the humanity or the justice or the democratic principles of the English people—if it should turn out that after every effort to enforce just laws by just methods, our justice itself, from whatever cause, remains hateful to the mass of the Irish people—then it will be clear that the union must, for the sake of England no less than for Ireland, come to an end. The alternative policy will then be, not Home Rule, but separation."

The following excerpts from the English Press and from the speeches of English statesmen disclose powerfully the fact that the circumstances under which this celebrated Jurist declared that the union must end and Ireland be set free, have come to pass. They are England's own confession that "the only means by which it (the union) is found maintainable are measures clearly repugnant to the humanity or the justice or the democratic principles of the English people," and that English "justice itself remains hateful to the mass of the Irish people."

"The community (in Ireland) refuses to support the Government because it rests on force, not on willingly delegated authority. Government uses force and is daily driven to use more force because it cannot get support from the community."—London Times, December 9, 1919. "Ireland is now being governed under military law."—Sir Herbert Samuel, ex-Cabinet Minister, Dec. 8, 1919. "Not since the black years that preceded the union has Ireland been ruled so nakedly by the sword, or have the wielders of the sword encountered so fierce a resistance to their will."—London Daily News, Dec. 12, 1919. "The authority of the British name in Ireland has come to rest upon military power."—London Times, Dec. 16, 1919. "The fact that in the black years that preceded the union has Ireland been ruled so nakedly by the sword, or have the wielders of the sword encountered so fierce a resistance to their will."—London Daily News, Dec. 12, 1919. 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destroy. Sinn Fein has been proclaimed; yet in spite of official ostracism Sinn Fein candidates have been elected everywhere as guardians of public affairs."—*London Times*, Jan. 26, 1920. "An oppressive and exasperating system of military rule."—Mr. Asquith, ex-British Premier, Jan. 21, 1920. "There is a huge army of oppression in Ireland."—*London Daily Herald*, Feb. 24, 1920. "If 73 Irish members of Parliament demand a Republic for Ireland, the problem thus created . . . is merely a matter for law and order—guns, bayonets, bombs and tanks."—*Declaration of English Moderate Party*, Feb. 26, 1920. "British rule there (Ireland) is a stark regime of oppression."—*London Daily Herald*, Feb. 26, 1920. "The civil and military authorities between them have destroyed practically all the safeguards of political and personal liberty."—*Report of English Labour Delegation after visit to Ireland*, Feb. 26, 1920. "There is no longer in Ireland a pretence of moral support for the most normal and necessary functions of a Government which has come to be regarded with loathing as an alien tyranny."—*London Times*, Feb. 28, 1920. "If Irishmen ask for independence it is because they have become convinced that in no other way can they restore to Ireland at once her dignity and her full prosperity."—*Manchester Guardian*, March 5, 1920. "Constitutional experiments are of no value in Ireland. We are now at war with naked force, and the struggle is for bare life."—*London Morning Post*, March 11, 1920. "The Government abandoning even the pretence of state-ship rely solely on the strong hand. There is no mistaking the viciousness of their blows."—*London Daily News*, March 13, 1920. "Events in Ireland have been drifting rapidly. The process of military government perforce develops."—*London Daily Mail*, March 18, 1920. "In Ireland the military are running amok."—*London Daily Herald*, March 24, 1920. "Ireland is being ruled like a conquered province."—Mr. Philip Snowden, Ex-English M.P., April 3, 1920. "I see a militarism to-day (in Ireland) which is unparalleled in Europe, with machine-guns and tanks and armoured cars everywhere."—Mr. Clement Shorter, English Publicist, April 6, 1920. "Government conducted without a thought for the susceptibilities or desires of the governed."—*London Times's* definition of British rule in Ireland, April 15, 1920. "If the name of Poland and Serbia replaced Ireland in reports of the last fortnight's doings, Englishmen would be ablaze with indignation."—*London Daily News*, April 19, 1920. "The Irish will not allow themselves to be ruled by England. They will, as the Mountjoy men have proved, prefer the alternative of death."—*London Daily Herald*, April 19, 1920. "Virtually every official in Dublin Castle, and certainly every policeman and soldier in Ireland, has been hard at the task of apprehending Sinn Feiners."—*London Morning Post*, May 4, 1920. "The intolerable position in which we stand of governing Ireland simply by military force."—*Manchester Guardian*, May 4, 1920. "In the struggle between Sinn Fein and the King's Government, Sinn Fein is winning all along the line."—*London Globe*, May 13, 1920. "The union is broken: England can never govern Ireland again."—*London News Witness*, May 22, 1920. "A policy which resolves itself into holding indefinitely by main force every Irish village."—*London Daily News*, May 28, 1920. "Sinn Fein effectively is taking over the executive and judicial functions of Government. It has become the *de facto* Government in three-quarters of Ireland, and virtually possesses treaty powers."—Sir Horace Plunkett in *London Times*, June 2, 1920. "In their long sustained effort to overthrow the power of Sinn Fein movement in Ireland the Government have suffered a cumulative

series of reverses. In the political field the triumph of opponents is complete. Sinn Fein has never been stronger than it is to-day."—*London Times*, June 12, 1920. "In spite of the soldiers, the tanks and the aeroplanes, Ireland building up its own form of Government."—*London Daily Herald*, June 24, 1920. "These quotations are conclusive. The time has come when the effort to maintain the unity of the State is great for the power of Great Britain. . . . The United States must, for the sake of England no less than for Ireland, do to an end." The alternative policy, as Prof. Deacy details, is not Home Rule but separation. That separates eighty per cent. of the Irish people now demand.

New Enterprise in Meath, Westmeath and Cavan.

The movement for the development of Irish mineral wealth has lately received a great impetus by the resumption of operations on the gypsum and brick-clay deposits in neighbourhood of Kingscourt. There is no part of the country more rich in mineral resources than the area which includes the north of Meath and Westmeath, and the south of Cavan and Monaghan, and if the new enterprise is well guided it may well prove a landmark in the history of Irish economic progress. The quarries are already employing considerable number of men, and arrangements are being made for the erection of a mill for the manufacture of plaster of Paris, as well as for the renovation of the brickworks, which only need to be fitted with modern machinery to be quite unaffected by years of neglect and disuse.

It has long been known that deposits of valuable minerals are available in the district. Eminent geologists have testified to the richness and abundance of the gypsum, brick-clay, barytes, and lead, and coal of a rather inferior kind has also been proved to exist. Professor Hall, E. G. O., late director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, reported on the deposit of gypsum, expressed amazement that it was not being worked; and a statement which has recently been obtained from Mr. Seymour, Professor of Geology in the National University of Ireland, shows that the supply of high-grade gypsum, easily obtainable and suitable for manufacture into plaster of Paris, is sufficient to supply the requirements of the whole country for generations. The result of the borings carried out within recent months at several different points has been to show that the beds are in depth from fourteen to seventy-four feet.

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The plaster of Paris industry will not be entirely new to the district. About the middle of the last century a mill at Knocknacran maintained a steady output and supplied all the surrounding towns, but it was accidentally burnt in 1859, and no insurance having been effected the proprietors were not in a position to replace the machinery. In the present position is, however, much more favourable to the prosperity of such an undertaking. Owing to high freights by sea and land, and other circumstances, British firms are no longer able to dispose of a rival by the stroke of a pen. The average freights to Irish ports from the countries where the plaster is manufactured amount to rather more than 50s. per ton, so that there is the equivalent of a high protective tariff in favour of the new enterprise. The Irish demand, already about 6,000 tons, is certain to increase considerably as soon as the extensive building schemes which are contemplated have begun. There are also good prospects for an export trade, and bearing in mind that the plaster is extensively used in the manufacture of statuary and as an ingredient in the preparation of certain artificial manures, there is little doubt that the market for the product will not be difficult to find.

The opening of the brick works should have the effect of solving the chief difficulty in regard to the exclusive use of Irish bricks for building purposes. Builders who are favourably disposed to the use of native materials are often heard to complain that while bricks for internal use are easy to obtain, suitable facing bricks are far from plentiful. During the period of the late eighties, however, when the works which are now to restart were working, a leading authority wrote as follows: "In this county (Meath), in the vicinity of Kingscourt, first-class bricks are now being made from the Keefur marl and clay in the drift; red, parallel, free from lime, equal to the Bridgewater and slightly darker in colour, superior for facing, they have rapidly taken their place in the Dublin markets."

Unfortunately, bricks from England were at that time on sale in Dublin at less than £4 per thousand, and the small Irish industry could not stand against the heavily-capitalised British concerns, which were prepared to sell at a loss during such times as they required to dispose of the Irish rival. At present, Irish facing bricks realise £10 per ton, and circumstances have changed even more favourably in other respects. It is Ireland who is now prepared to be the aggressor and to invade markets outside her own shores. Apart, however, from the latter consideration, there is no doubt that Irish producers can capture and hold the Irish market, and it appears that the works we have alluded to will play a big part in raising the standard quality as well as increasing the supply of the best Irish bricks.

The new quarries are situated within a few yards of the railway line near Kilmahamwood Station, and the transit of both the gypsum and the bricks to all the chief centres in the North and East will be extremely easy and inexpensive. It is said that the operations evoked a very wide interest and that inquiries with a view to business have been received from many quarters. An English company is open to take large quantities of the crude gypsum; a Dublin company has ordered a substantial consignment of the stones most suitable for polishing; and some brick companies, having examined the clay, have expressed their willingness to purchase regular quantities for use in their works. Although the mining of the lead and barytes has been postponed in order to concentrate on the other more easily-worked minerals, there is no doubt that a great future is assured for them also.

Every friend of Ireland will wish heartily that nothing

will occur to prevent the successful continuance of the work. The importance of the development can scarcely be exaggerated at a time when the necessity for more production is being preached so persistently, and when emigration has again begun its ravages. There are no finer specimens of Irish manhood than the men of the North-Midland counties, and an enterprise which offers them regular employment of a useful kind deserves well of the nation. The gain to the national wealth by the production within our own shores of such important utilities will be no less significant.

Flotsam and Jetsam.
Pomp and—Circumstances.

Flourish of trumpets, hautboys, a procession of judges. So, following the old stage directions, has it been as long as the memory of men carries, and even longer. Not a very extended period that, for the memory of men is proverbially short. Public records, however, exist to refresh our intelligence on this point, and, anyhow, it is a matter of common knowledge that the movements of the Lords Justices of Assize have ever been surrounded with splendour and formality.

Before railway trains were established for the smooth and regular conveyance of humanity from point to point the Judges of Assize were wont to "ride the circuit." True, the boundaries of their jurisdictions, and, indeed, should infirmity or incapacity (if, without contempt of court, one may suggest such contingencies in the case of personages of such note) preclude equestrian exercise, they might cling to its sanctuary until the town or city fixed as the seat of their deliberations had been reached. In this event the faithful Bar provided escort. Jewells or Halberts met them at the city gates or the "mouth of the town"; in Ireland the armed forces of the Crown received them on arrival, and mounted guard outside their residences during their short sojourn.

Very right and proper, too, all this hedging with divinity of the representatives of the King. The majesty of the law must be treated with due homage. It forms part of that panoply with which judges have been surrounded for ages past. The tradition which has grown up around their high office derives strength and influence from all this display. Who dare scoff at judgments maintained by such manifestations of the sanction of the State? The judge is himself a High Priest. His robes are those of the Ecclesiastical Courts, of which he is the modern embodiment. Indeed, as Tom Kettle wrote in his arresting essay, "Reveries of Assize":

"the judge . . . is a wild symbolist. He wears scarlet to manifest the wrath of the law, and ermine for the purity of the law . . . and a black cap by times for the gloom of death. [Probably there is some guarded mystery in the number of curls in his wig of white horse-hair. And the policemen . . . are admirable studies in silver and jet. . . . It seems an artistic impertinence that crime should lift its shaggy head against so many perfumed people. . . ."

Of this crime of "artistic impertinence" the Irish people stand guilty at the present moment. They have set up courts of their own; they have set at naught the King's

courts. It is no longer a case of "riding the circuits," or even "going circuit." Crawling the circuit is perhaps the most fitting term by which to describe the fashion in which the High Court has proceeded on its functions in this present month.

In view of the railway unrest and the general commotions, it has been gravely decided that barristers need not bring with them their wigs and gowns. Permission to discard these sartorial aids to legal exposition has been solemnly granted by His Majesty's judges. Further to promote the dispensation of indifferent justice it has been agreed that the customary guards of honour should be discontinued for the present. No doubt there is a feeling that military protection has ceased to be a guarantee of security. In point of fact it has become a species of lightning-conductor. The Benches at King's Inns, be it remembered, are neighbours of the Registry of Deeds.

All this represents a sad falling-off from old conditions, and must, of a surety, make "the judicious" grieve. The reason for this state of affairs is a further cause for sorrow. Public opinion in the ultimate analysis is the mainstay of the law. His Majesty's judges, in a properly democratic State, represent the community. The better to show the authority behind them they are publicly supported by all the homage and dignity with which the State can surround them. Soldiers are at their beck, not to strike terror but to secure respect. Such, at least, is the fundamental idea, abused as it may have been, and may still be, in many nations. In Ireland we know that steel has glistened and sabres have rattled for other purposes than that of winning merely the admiration of the spectators. They do so now. And we know why. No doubt, in the past a certain measure of success explained, if it did not excuse, the adoption of such methods. Those days are dead.

A ribald "Limerick" hits off the situation briefly:—

"There was an old Judge of Assize
To his brethren who said 'Now, be wise,
Having care for our health,
Let's do justice—by stealth,
In these times we should not advertise.'"

So be it.

WESTLAND ROVVE.

Portadown, Peadar, Proinnsias and the Pope.

THIS debate is growing to classic dimensions—in space and in profundity! Many issues have been raised on which it is very desirable to have clear decisions. Comrade Macdonnell practically denounces P. O'G. as a Hib., and appeals for "creed neutrality" in the Labour as in the political world. I will offer some observations on this point first.

Proinnsias does not need my shield—he would rather abruptly refuse it, I fear—but I want to emphasize that he does not "insist on a rigid sectarianism in public life" merely because he declares that he adheres to Catholic ethics in his social views. And so, too, when I wrote that we must not dissociate Christianity from Catholic authority, I was not pleading for sectarianism. Peadar O'Donnell echoes Mac and hints that both Proinnsias and myself advocate sectarian tests, but he has misread us both. We do not want to oblige Peadar to open his Transport Union meetings in Portadown with "The Red Flag" and close them with "Faith of Our Fathers." We said, however, that our social policy must be in harmony with Christian teaching;

and because many errors, exaggerations and perversions have gone abroad under the Christian name, I said that Catholic authority must be held to, and Proinnsias used the safeguarding phrase "as interpreted by the Catholic Church." In view of the multitudinous sects that claim to be "Christian," the word cannot safely be used without definition. Mormons claim to be Christians, but when we refer to Catholic authority we find they are contravening one of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. This is a glaring example; and it is in the subtler cases that the need to get back to authority becomes pressing. Particularly is the need of authoritative interpretation marked when we handle the cash of property. Here the name of Christianity is abused again and again. Doctrines that authority condemns are loudly preached as specifically Christian. In these cases we need to hold fast to Catholic authority for two reasons. Firstly, we might make the mistake of believing a certain policy to be Christian when true interpretation showed it was not. Secondly, we might make the mistake of using methods that would injure our own cause. Thus we advocate Catholic interpretation firstly for what I may call religious reasons, and secondly for practical reasons. In the former issue we argue as Catholics; in the second as wishing the best for humanity, and knowing that the Church (through long experience, if nothing else), has important advice to tender. Coming now to practical examples:

The Communistic-sounding texts which Madame Gonne MacBride quotes are capable of much misunderstanding. They are forcible and splendid statements of the duty of the rich to share the use of their wealth with the poor, and of the moral wrongness of exploiting monopolies. But they have been used (not by the distinguished contributor in question, but by others) as flat, conclusive denials of the right to property, and so Communism, in a crude and violent—not voluntary and co-operative—form has been preached as true Christianity, these texts, sans context, being used in evidence. Here we see the peril of theorising about Christianity dissociated from authority. To Catholics it is a disaster to be brought into conflict with their Church. To mankind it would be a disaster, for a reckless disregard for property to set in. So, on the religious and practical scores, authority must be held to.

We know that property is unjustly distributed at present; that wealth has been amassed by the owners by means little different from legalised robbery. We know that the present social order is founded on violence. The greatest authority in the world has condemned the present conditions as fundamentally unjust. Are we, then, to consider ourselves at liberty to help ourselves from the wealth of the rich? If, say, a gombeyman's till happens to be open before us, are we to pocket something from his ill-gotten money? May we steal and justify theft by quoting "The use of all things is to be common to all," etc.? Authority condemns such a proceeding, and demands that present possession shall be recognised. This doctrine would not be agreed to by all Socialists (although it was asserted by the founder of scientific Socialism), and so we see that "creed neutrality" might easily bring us into a disastrous position. It might make us resort to methods that would be both morally and practically injurious.

The expression "Catholic ethics" does not mean anything sectarian. It means "Christian ethics properly interpreted." In such teaching there is nothing that any non-Catholic, unless he were also an anti-Christian, could object to. He might reasonably call us bigoted if we refused him admission to a Trade Union until he admitted the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory or practised the Invocation of Saints. But he could not complain of our demanding that he accept what we accept regarding life and property before we accept

as comrade. It would be sectarian to confine our Catholic workers to Catholic unions, or to make Catholic test in some way a test case. But it is not sectarian to make Catholic ethics the test case. So if Macdonnell holds as "creed neutrality" implies moral as well as ritual neutrality he is not only wrong but he is running his head against the stubbornest fact in Ireland. He says that P. O'G. tries to

"insist upon basing every item of social policy and action upon Christ's teaching as expounded by the Catholic Church, the infallible interpreter," and, further, that this is asking Labour to accept a position that has always been rejected by the Irish nation since the Reformation. It is to this there are two important replies to be made. First, P. O'G. would be quite right to insist on what Macdonnell puts in his mouth; and, as shown above, would not be sectarian in so doing. And, secondly, the Irish nation is never, not even since the glorious Reformation that Macdonnell has undertaken to preserve from harsh insult, a true Christian or Catholic ethics as the basis of social policy. The nation was never creed-neutral. It was

always guided by moral law, although it did not consciously explicitly analyse its motives. Catholic ethics were, in fact, second nature with the masses, but none the less a pernicious influence. Had the nation been creed-neutral, if it refused to listen to its interior moral promptings, it would have a far less pride-worthy record. If Macdonnell is to change the national attitude in this matter he will find that the Connelly College has a big task cut out for it, and that allegiance to the Pope or Ulster. The conversion of Ulster would probably be the shorter and easier road than the persuading of Ireland to allow some "isms" into her social program that were not based on Christ's teaching.

The truth is that creed neutrality will never create Irish unity. Toadying to Protestants will not make them respect

Moreover, neutralities and negotiations can never be a thing or uniting forces in any worthy cause. Macdonnell denms Proinnsias for wanting the new order to be based on Christianity; but take away Christianity and it would be left worth founding? This creed-neutral, unless, machine-built Ireland that is preached to us—land of "economic men" or soulless automatons—what moblance would it bear to the land of Colum and Malachy, and O'Neill? Was it for a creed-neutral, doctrineless, tradition-less, past-denying Ireland that Padric rose, taught and died? No, the Ireland he worked for was a colourless, virile, self-confident, unafraid, unanimous reincarnation of Columban Eire, and cowardly sitting down of our traditions, watering of our faith, denial of our vision, will not bring us nearer to what he sought. It must be, above all things, open, truthful and faithful to the vision—the vision of Eire na n-Gael.

That Eire is a Christian country with creedlessness materialism are an abomination. We have no room in the anti-Gael, the anti-Christian, the denier, destroyer, decadent—a poison in the national life. No nation has in it for poisonous bodies any more than any healthy nation has. But there is room in Ireland for the Freer, Agnostic, Buddhist, Protestant, etc., who stops of being definitely anti-Christian, because any of these will be in favour of Catholic ethics. These men may be social and ethical, as distinct from doctrinal matters, but they will be in favour of what is in fact the Catholic teaching policy issues. There is room, I repeat, for all these in

modern Ireland, and I would strongly resent as sectarian any attempt to rule them out of our secular life or exclude them from office in our Trade Unions, societies, Government, etc. At the same time, I will say frankly that I do not believe complete national unity will or can be reached while sectarian divisions linger. I have a great admiration for Buddhists, but I cannot believe that if a little parish in the Gaeltacht turned Buddhist, and shut itself out of the normal religious life of the country, it would be (for all its Gaelic speech and, may be, Republican politics) in true and full communion with the nation living and departed. Many of my friends are rationalists, and Coluimcille means nothing to them. I cannot believe they are as closely knit to the nation as the ideal dictates. The spiritual unity of Ireland is far distant still, but that is no excuse for abandoning and even denouncing the desire for it. So far from it being a mere dispensable trimming, it is the great climax, end or object, to which all our endeavours in material and intellectual fields are but steps on the way.

ADOLF DE BLAUM.

The Planter At It Again.

The Plantation of Ulster was a violation of every moral law. It established in the Gaelic economy a social, religious and political structure based on murder, theft, chicanery, religious and national bigotry, and legal fraud. Those who participated in the dirty business at the start had no delusions about what they were morally or what they meant to do. The men and women, the landlords and tenants, the schoolmasters and ministers of that generation, the government officials and the merchants all alike knew that they were doing an evil and an unshiny thing.

Some people imagine that human nature has altered so rapidly in three hundred years that a man might commit open murder, theft and underhand forgery then and think that he was acting honourably. But it is remarkable that contemporary documents prove that Planters were anything but saints. The ministers of the period of Plantation were aghast at the godlessness and immorality of their flock. Reid, the historian of Presbyterianism in Ulster, has been quoted time and again on that point. Mr. Tim Healy's illuminating work on the underhand forgeries of Chichester and his confederates leaves hardly any doubt as to the moral character of the aristocratic robber-brigands of Ulster.

The generations of men and women that came after the Plantation must have been nurtured on the moral and political ideas of the original invaders. What those moral and religious ideas must have been can readily be conceived. At the top mass of rich men and women aristocrats connected with the robber gang of England and Scotland, which had shamelessly robbed the Church and the petty farmers and the workmen of their hereditary rights and possessions and had promulgated the most oppressive statutes against

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yet, little concern, more so than in any other concern in the whole country, has already been realised the fraternity and true-fellowship of work, of which many people may have read much, but as yet have seen so few examples.

While the Society's business is at present, and will be for some time, almost solely confined to the making of garments from cloth manufactured in Ireland and elsewhere, its committee have wider ambitions. Their direct aim is to wrest from the foreigner, as far as it is possible, control of the Irish trade in ready-made clothing. That aim alone should command the hearty support of the mass of the Irish people. But the committee hope to accomplish more. Amongst other things, they ambition being able to develop the business until, instead of buying their cloth from Irish or foreign manufacturers, they are able to manufacture the material in looms owned by themselves. That would mean buying wool grown on the backs of Irish sheep, manufacturing it into cloth in their own looms, and making it into garments bearing the stamp of honest, skilful Irish workmanship—an aim or ideal that should win the support of all who are not directly interested in the import of foreign "shoddy" in preference to Irish-made goods.

To enable the Society to materialise such an ideal it must get support from outside itself. The working members, who still constitute the bulk of the Society's shareholders, are not dowered with such an abundance of the world's goods as to be able to put into the concern the capital necessary to expand the business. But they look with confidence for support to the Irish public which they are striving to serve. They expect from those who stand for the industrial prosperity and economic freedom of the Irish nation such help as will enable them to wrest from the control of the foreigner an important branch of Irish trade. They expect such assistance as will enable them in the near future to provide decent employment at home for thousands, instead of scores, of working members who would otherwise have to emigrate, the support that will enable them to develop a great Irish industry on the solid foundations already laid down. The most effective form such help may now take is that of increasing the Society's membership and capital so as to enable its committee to undertake the larger schemes under consideration.

The men who have best visioned the Ireland of the future have visioned it as a land pulsating with industrial as well as agricultural activity. Some of them, in books that will live and influence the social and industrial activities of future generations of our people, have pictured the kinds of industries that should arise in the new Ireland. Their pictures are altogether unlike the industrial "hells" of Pittsburgh or the "Black Country." They have, in words, painted a different order of things to what obtains in those and many other places. The order they have painted con-

tains great Irish industries which will utilise the rich and varied resources of the land for the use and benefit of the people of Ireland, industries which will, under the best possible conditions, provide ample scope at home for the genius, skill and energy of millions of Irish workers, and in the control and management of which the workers themselves will have a rightful share.

The men and women who planned and promoted the Irish Co-operative Clothing Manufacturing Society made a new departure in Ireland, are seeking to develop the enterprise along those ideal lines, and with the aid of an appreciative Irish public the Society can and shall be quickly brought into line with the best and truest of such industrial visions. P. J. TUSHY.

The Language Problem and the University Student.

There is, I think, a good deal of truth in "Maire's" article on the "Language Problem" in last week's *Old Ireland*. When one hears of the thousands of people who wear the Famine and then when one remembers how difficult it is to sell an Irish book, among the promoters of "An Irish" monthly magazine one feels that most of the talk about saving the Irish language is the merest froth. In spite of appearances, however, I believe that there are a large number of people in the country who are genuinely anxious to extend the use of the language and to make it once again the principal tongue of the whole of Ireland. These people, however, are prevented from doing anything, simply because they don't know what to do, and it is with a view to bringing under the notice of such earnest ones one of the many steps which they, or at least some of them, can take to promote the use and development of Gaelic that I write these lines.

The value of a language is proportional not merely to the number of people who speak it, but also to the variety, novelty and importance of the thoughts that are expressed in it, and any language that ceases to express new thoughts and new ideas ceases to be of any but a philological value. This is what has happened to Irish. We are justly proud of the clearness and variety of the language spoken by the people in the Gaeltacht, but as the great bulk of these people are out of touch with modern thought movements, and as those who are in touch with such movements are obliged not merely to do all their reading in other languages, but also, in the absence of a public who would appreciate them in Irish, to do all their writing and speaking on modern subjects in other languages, so the Irish language has ceased to grow, and while one could converse freely about fishing or agriculture in Gaelic, one must turn to English to speak of science or philosophy. On the western side of this island you have a population speaking vigorous, living Irish; on the eastern side you have a population many of whom have learnt Irish at school and many of whom are in touch with modern thought. The problem of the Irish revival appears to me to be to bring these two classes together, and strange as it may seem there is an easy way to do it. The city of Galway is almost an Irish-speaking town. Everybody in the town, except a few settlers and a few people who have not sufficient intelligence to react to their surroundings, knows Irish. It is spoken in most of the shops, and one will rarely walk through the main streets without hearing it. Half a mile outside the town little else is spoken by the people. To understand how much Gaelic is still a living tongue one must come to Galway. Galway is also the seat

of a college of the National University, a college with a good medical school, a widely known engineering school (equipped for the teaching of civil and electrical engineering), and with faculties of science, arts and commerce. Many of the professors and many of the servants in the college are fluent Irish speakers, and, needless to say, many of the students, who come from the Gaeltacht round Galway, are native speakers.

Now it seems to me that any student who is in earnest about becoming an Irish speaker and about doing his part to raise the status of the language can easily do so by spending his student days, or part of them, in Galway. Here he can pursue his studies in engineering or science or arts or medicine and at the same time get into close touch with the living Gaelic. He can choose an Irish-speaking house to live in. He can walk down to the docks and talk to the boatmen from Connemara. Ten minutes' walk will bring him into an Irish-speaking district. In the summer term Connemara is within easy reach on a bicycle. In fact any person living in Galway will have little difficulty in acquiring a good knowledge of Gaelic.

During the past year some people connected with the college, recognising the important part which that institution can play in the language movement, have started a scheme which will give practical effect to the suggestions as to a Gaelic University made by Professor Cleary some years ago. Courses of lectures on various subjects, to be delivered in Gaelic, have been organised. These lectures are to be open to all students and to the public, and there are to be given at an hour which will not interfere with the ordinary university lectures, so that any student may attend them. A beginning was made last term, when Professor O'Malley gave a series of four lectures on Irish literature. Next term these lectures will be continued, and other courses in psychology and literature have been arranged.

If there is any reality in the talk about the language we should have at least a few students coming annually to Galway from the Eastern side of the country. Even ten or fifteen such students would have an incalculable effect on the development of the language. The movement would have a double reaction, on the one hand a body of students going among the people would increase the respect for the language, and raise its standard. On the other hand, there would be created a group of educated men having a familiarity with the language which can only be obtained by long residence in the Gaeltacht. These men would soon begin to write on all subjects in Gaelic they would create their own reading public, and they would carry the idiom into the language of the native speaker throughout the island. The language of the native speaker throughout the island. The present system, by which people spend a month of the summer in the Gaeltacht, has been wonderfully effective in spreading the language. The residence of a number of young men and women in the Gaeltacht at a period when they are engaged in study would be ten times more effective.

By the regulations of the University a student can get credit in one college for a year spent in another. He may, therefore, by passing from one college to another obtain the peculiar advantage of each, and if, having spent a year or two in Galway, he wished to go to Dublin he could do so. The Gaelic language ready to our hands. Hitherto that lever has not been used, perhaps because its existence had not been pointed out. At the time of the foundation of the University the importance of that institution to the language movement was widely recognised, and parents, students, and schoolboys enthusiastically demanded compulsory Irish in the matriculation. A hundredth part of that enthusiasm should now suffice to bring a few students annually to the

University in the Gaeltacht. Let the parents of University students and the students themselves consider whether they should not take such an opportunity of acquiring a good knowledge of the language. Many people have taken pains to have their children brought up Irish speakers. Much of this trouble is wasted by these children giving up Irish completely when they take to the specialised studies of the University. If they came to Galway this would not happen. This is something for which no sacrifice is required, except perhaps by those whose parents actually live in Dublin; and if there is a financial sacrifice here, it is one that will pay a personal as well as a national dividend. If the new councils are as earnest about the language as they appear to be, they will require engineers and doctors and secretaries, not with a smattering, but with a good knowledge of Gaelic. Let our University students see that such men are available when they are wanted. TOMAS DIOLUAIN.

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TO OUR READERS.

Owing to the strike of Gasworkers in Manchester, we have been compelled to reduce this issue to twelve pages, and also to omit several of our usual features.

Education and Nationality.

It seems as if the matter of nationality in education is going to be indefinitely postponed. Since 1916 there has been a discussion of many things and action in many spheres, education remains where it was. Yet in many ways the problem of education is less intricate and less difficult than any, such as the baffling and nerve-racking industrial blights, which are being bravely faced. Now, education is not less important than industrial development, at least in a national point of view. In fact, a very little consideration will lead one to the conclusion that it is vastly more important. Such, indeed, is the view of the Catholic Church, and who will gainsay the wisdom of that body? In dealing with the question of education one cannot help feeling what may seem obvious and outworn, but as long as the significance of a statement is not so strongly grasped as to result in a change of mind, we must go on repeating, stating, repeating the old truisms. Education is a means to an end. That end is the development of a certain bent of mind, a certain fixed way of looking at things and people, a certain attitude towards the world and its ways. Education is at developing the mind; but along what lines? Obviously along the lines laid down by authority. And so or what is this authority that lays the lines down along which education is to lead the growing generation?

Once the significance of education as a means of training mind to develop along the lines laid down by authority is grasped it becomes obvious that a teacher is a very responsible person. If he blindly and unthinkingly accepts a dogma that his or her only function is to teach irrespectively of what he or she teaches, it is obvious that a teacher is not only a very responsible but also a very dangerous person. If the things taught and the attitude of mind inculcated are anti-national then the teacher who teaches these anti-

national ideas or this anti-national attitude of mind is extremely dangerous to the safety of any nation in which he is at work.

Now anti-nationalism can dominate a school system where national ideals and national traditions are omitted from the course of instruction just as effectively as anti-nationalism can dominate a school system where the national ideals are actively contemned. And that is exactly what is taking place in Ireland to-day. A child, locked up for ten years of his life in school, has to pick up its national conceptions outside. And we tolerate this haphazard, careless way of training our children as if it were the most natural thing in the world, just as priests and nuns and parents now tolerate and take it as the most natural thing in the world that the visible marks of religion be banished by authority from schools where the pupils are all Catholic.

But such an attitude in this generation is hopelessly archaic. Whatever may have been the attitude of our grandfathers on these matters, we have no use for it in this generation. Our grandfathers allowed capitalists to ride roughshod over them, but we of this generation have already limited the tyranny of capital. Officialdom may have played to its heart's content with the religious and national feelings of our grandfathers, but we cannot tolerate its insolence any longer.

Unfortunately the persons who are really most interested in the whole matter, the teachers themselves, are apparently the least interested. It is impossible to have any patience with the teachers as a class. For years they have tolerated a system of official tyranny such as navvies would have broken in a week. They have for years pestered Dublin Castle with petitions couched in the language of servility and slavery, and begged ignominiously for what they should have fought for as men. At the eleventh hour they were prepared to accept an Education Bill which, on the face of it, was obviously designed to work national havoc. The religious aspect of the case excited the greatest commotion, but what was equally serious was the evident intention of the British Government to frame a system of education more effectually anti-national.

As I said before, teachers as a class are very responsible persons. They can also be very dangerous. If the British Government has reduced the teachers of Ireland to such a frame of mind that they are prepared to teach anything under any system for the sake of a living, there is little to choose between teachers and policemen. And it is obvious that the teachers are not far off that point at present. Their executive walked into the Government trap so quickly and so easily that the only remedy I can see is to let that executive loose in the Clyde among the shop stewards or let them have a chat with Gallagher and Davie Kirkwood and

Bob Smillie on how to negotiate with Government agents like Macpherson. Such beautiful faith in British officialdom is too pathetic for words. The Teachers' Trade Union is indeed very green.

Of course I know that the teachers have great difficulties to contend with. So have policemen, but the teachers will have more to contend with very shortly, for it is dawning on the people that the schoolroom is not much better than the barrack-yard from a national point of view. Any change in the system of national education can only be effected by driving the British Government out of the schools. There is nothing else for it. As long as British authority holds the schools, British authority will mould the minds of the pupils. The idea of the people of Ireland handing over their infants to the tender mercies of the British Government is as disgusting that one can hardly credit that it daily occurs—but it does.

The priests are not without blame in the matter. While Carson and the Orange gang are continually ranting about priest-ridden Ireland, the fact remains that the priests of Ireland do not use their position and authority to anything like the extent they should. I suspect that the priests of Ireland are more or less scared of Carson and the Orange-man's bad tongue. They need not be. For it is as well to be hung for a sheep as a lamb and one can never keep one's self right with bigots anyhow. The priests of Ireland should make a definite effort to get the schools wholly and completely within parochial control. Better the hedge school than the rotten simulacrum of education now dangled before the people.

And who would man the new schools? There are the teachers already in the pay of England. Let them take the pay of Ireland. But what about security of tenure? Well, if England keeps on at the rate she is going the present value of the teachers' security of tenure is not high. Is the security of the land and factories and right arms of Irishmen and Irishwomen not good enough? And there is the Ireland overseas to draw on besides.

It is alleged that I am unduly harsh on the unfortunate teachers. I beg to assure them that practically all depends on them. Nobody cares to give a lead in a matter of this kind, out of consideration for the teachers. After all everybody is perfectly conscious that it would be a venture for the teachers more than for the public. In this dilemma there is nothing for it but that the teachers should strike for a new national system themselves. If they declare themselves willing to break with the British Government, they will not merely relieve the situation, but they will throw the onus on the priests and people of Ireland of refusing or accepting a decent offer. Some people may think that such an offer by the teachers would be very bold, daring, and venturesome. I cannot see in it anything more than a frank recognition of the Republic and a token of confidence in the strength of Ireland. That recognition is being paid already by labourers and wage slaves in Ireland, and anybody who lacks confidence in the strength of Ireland to-day must be sleeping on his feet. A public offer of this kind would put that unfortunate executive right with the priests and people of Ireland. How long is this abominable anti-Irish system to endure? What steps can be taken to end

it or to begin the process of destroying it? Probably the movement so widely spread and so deeply sunk as the modern nationalist movement in Ireland is so hopelessly non-educational. The people, men, women and children of Ireland, are being most shamefully neglected as far as intellectual training is concerned. The fact must be faced that we have reached such a point that we have ceased to attach any practical importance to mind training at all. That is a definitely English attitude and far from characteristic of the Gaels in their natural development and in the past history. We may not have reached this antipathetic mind training by the same road as the English, by the worship of money and power, but we have reached it at a rate. It is useless arguing that education of a national type is denied us. Religion was denied our ancestors by us and still they got it, and they kept it in spite of law and force because of their love for it. In Poland, in Czecho Slovakia, in Ukraine, in Hungary, national education flourished in spite of law.

Besides, we seem obsessed by the modern conception of education as a business involving large capital. Education is not a business involving any great capital outlay. Ancient Ireland it was carried on not by elaborate construction of buildings, nor by a system of fees and government grants, but by the voluntary efforts of the men with education. It does not even require experts. Who shall say that the products of training colleges are superior to untutored teachers like Pearse? Besides, ninety-nine per cent. of machine-made teaching is admittedly useless. As far as ideas are concerned and mental equipment they picked outside the school there is hardly a writer, a politician or a thinker of any kind to-day in Ireland who would seriously claim to have got his most useful ideas and most practical methods from his school training.

In fact, modern schools are hopelessly out of date simply because they are concerned with things that do not enter into the practical life of the pupils in later years. A course in Geography, for example, in a modern technical school in Ireland gives the pupil no enlightenment as to the real economic problems of modern Ireland. Text books on Geography are in the hands of technical pupils which teach the pupils everything but the one thing that counts in the economic resources of Ireland and how they are neglected or developed. Were it not for the work done by men like Arthur Griffiths outside the educational institutions of the country, the average Irishman would have no idea of the economic position of Ireland at all.

And so it is with everything else, history and science and literature, the eyes of the educational authorities in Ireland are, like the fool of Scripture, on the ends of the earth. The industrial revolution, the mountains of the plateaus of South Africa, the reign of Queen Anne, the value of the British Navy to British Commerce, the French Revolution, the French Revolution, are vastly interesting where do they concern the future citizens of Ireland? All right for men of means and culture to study subjects because they are perfectly useless and perfectly beautiful but the labourers' son and the farmers' daughter have no problems to solve unknown to men of means and culture.

The teachers of Ireland are supremely ignorant of

Flotsam and Jetsam.

Churches of Ireland.

The suggestion which I am about to make this week will arouse quite a considerable amount of opposition. From totally different quarters this hostility will come. Nevertheless, I offer it in perfectly good faith, feeling that it is a reasonable idea to put forward, and prepared to bear cheerfully the slings and arrows of those who will, through perfectly honest motives, dissent from it. Any new thought is certain of criticism.

It is well known that the Catholic Community in Dublin desire a Cathedral worthy of their city. It is equally well known that the spacious, albeit dingy, pile in Marlborough Street, called the Pro-Cathedral in view of its insufficiency, in no way meets with the requirements of those who are faithful to the Holy See. Frequent reference to the splendours of Westminster Cathedral serve only to exasperate Dublin Catholics at their own shortcomings in this respect. It is galling to read that in Protestant London there is a magnificent, if modern, Catholic Cathedral whilst Catholic Dublin has nothing better to show than the Metropolitan Church in Marlborough Street.

From time to time this question becomes acute. Not very long ago a more or less definite project was under consideration for erecting in Dublin a Cathedral corresponding with the importance of Dublin as a Catholic city and the capital of a Catholic country. For lack of a suitable site the scheme collapsed. It was understood then (I write subject to correction by higher authority), that so far as finance was concerned no apprehension need be entertained.

It is a matter of history that the two magnificent Protestant Cathedrals in Dublin—St. Patrick's and Christ Church—were at one time consecrated to Catholic use. When Henry VIII "went Protestant" (if one may be pardoned for phrasing up in this modern phrase the medieval metamorphosis commonly called the "Reformation") these edifices were attorned to the practices of the new creed. They have remained in the possession of its followers in this country ever since, save for brief relapses in the reigns of Mary and the second James. On the question of "title" it is not easy for a layman to say how the case stands. But we are learning in Ireland every day that matters like this must be dealt with on a basis of fair play and common sense and not considered in terms of title deeds and lawyers' parchments.

Now, the proposition I would venture to submit is this: Dublin is a city predominantly Catholic. It has been the Capital of Ireland for centuries. It contains two ancient,

these practical things. How ignorant they are of these exemplified by the recent conduct of their executive. The teachers' executive may know many things but it certainly knows nothing about modern politics or the machinery of governments. However learned men or women may be otherwise, yet if they be ignorant of the innate and unaltered knavery of modern governments, they are incapable of teaching children so as to make them intelligent citizens.

Children need training in citizenship even more than in spelling and geography. The children of Ireland need to have their eyes opened to the facts about Ireland. The children of Ireland need to have their eyes opened to the facts about the industrial and agricultural resources of Ireland. They must be taught the essential facts of Irish nationality and not left to gather these facts in any sort of higgledy-tiggledy fashion. What teacher thinks it worth his while instructing his pupils in the machinery of government, the meaning of democracy, Local Government, Imperialism, Trades Unionism, the modern problems of Capital and Labour. It is useless saying that these are political matters. They are not. They are practical every-day matters. They are matters of national importance. The neglect of them in the past is bearing its fruits in the present. In Ireland, as in western countries generally, the vast majority of the people do not know where they are in matters political and economic, and as a result of it all the people of Ireland have to fall back for instruction on an already over-worked class, the priests. It is indeed lucky for Ireland to-day that her clerics, like Dr. Fogarty, have the courage to stand in the vanguard of progress instead of lingering in the rear.

In fact, the Pulpit, the Press and the Gallic League class, the Trades Union branch and the Sinn Fein Club are endeavouring to educate a people, the youngest members of which are in the meantime being shamefully neglected in the anti-national antiquated schools. But the process is so polish that an end of it should be made once and for all. Even if we cannot take the schools over to-morrow, can we not form National Sunday Schools in each parish to give the national instruction omitted by the schools. Something like this was done in the days of the Repeal Association and of the Young Irelanders. Are we less keen and less competent than they? Perhaps the other provinces do not need this instruction. I am convinced that Ulster at least cannot do without it.

SEAN MACCAUGHAN.

Correspondence.

To the Editor, "Old Ireland."

It will save time and space if you will permit me to say, with reference to Mr. Aodh de Blacam's article in your issue of July 10th, that I disown and repudiate every opinion attributed to me in it.

J. M. M. MACDONNELL.

Dublin, 10th July, 1920.

INSURE your LIFE and PROPERTY with THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE CO., 30, College Green, Dublin.

historic Cathedrals, both admittedly devoted at one time to Catholic worship. Noble edifices, worthy to compare with the famous fanes of Europe. The Protestants have possession—nine points of the law. The Catholics urge wrongful expulsion under an alien tyranny. Clearly a case for compromise. Compromise is hateful to many folk, yet it provides in all matters where a vital principle is not involved the only path to agreement. To my thinking it might operate here. The recent Synod of the Church of Ireland disclosed the fact that congregations are dwindling and revenues declining. It was even proposed that a number of Dublin parishes might be amalgamated. Christians of all churches have no reason to rejoice at any shrinkage in religion. My proposal is that, in the circumstances, the Catholic community should offer to purchase from their Protestant brethren one of these cathedrals—preferably St. Patrick's.

The shrieks of indignation from both sides having subsided, I continue. Protestant Dublin does not need two

cathedrals; Catholic Dublin wants one. The financial consideration (I believe) exists. What is lost on the Catholic side in the way of a central site is more than compensated for by the recovery of an ancient, historic architectural splendour like St. Patrick's, Christ Church, with its adjacent Synod-house, is more adapted to Protestant requirements. For Protestants the tradition of Swift clings, it is true, to St. Patrick's, but Swift might easily be a Sinn Féiner were he alive in these days. He would very surely not be a Unionist. Catholics, on the other hand, might find this notion hard to stomach, but St. Edward the Confessor did not trouble the Protestant worshipper in Westminster Abbey, nor do the bones of Becket disturb the prayers of his Grace of Canterbury. The past is dead. Failing restoration, or the recovery of one or both of these temples the matter can be adjusted only by negotiation.

I submit that for followers of both faiths the matter worth consideration.

WESTLAND ROW

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

MUNITIONS OF WAR.

THE Irish Railwaymen, rather than assist in providing the Army of Occupation with Munitions for the war against Ireland, are sacrificing their wages and risking their livelihood in the Nation's interest. Nearly 1,000 men are now on the victims' list, over 400 have been unemployed since May. Their ranks are being added to daily.

This is not a railwayman's fight alone, nor a Trade Unionist's fight—it is the nation's fight—**It is YOUR fight!**

It is a fight against self-extinction!

The issue that is raised is identical with that which was fought out to victory two years ago in the struggle of the Irish Nation against conscription. Then, it was sought to take our bodies and compel us to bear arms in a fight not of our choosing; now they seek to compel us to become co-workers with them in the destruction of our Nation.

It is the imperative duty of every man and woman in Ireland to rally to the support of the locked-out men. You cannot afford to hurl gibes at others for refusing support until you have borne your share of the burden.

32, Lower Abbey Street,
Dublin.

July 12th, 1920.

THOMAS FARREN, *Chairman.*
J. C. O'CONNOR, *Vice-Chairman.*
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Secretary.*
THOMAS JOHNSON, *Treas. & Acting Sec.*

Jim Larkin's Trial—Was it Impartial?

Let there be any who may be of the opinion that the trial of Jim Larkin in New York—which resulted in a sentence of from five to ten years' hard labour in Sing Sing—was an absolutely impartial one, the following points are worth considering:—

A notorious Anti-Labour Judge—a gentleman named Weeks, presided at the trial. Conducting his own defence Larkin objected to such a man dealing with the case. The objection was over-ruled. Practically all the Jurors admitted when questioned by Larkin that they were prejudiced. Larkin demanded discharge of panel: again over-ruled. Two Jurors were challenged by Prosecution, one because he declared he managed a Co-operative Stores and the other because he stated he favoured the 1776 Revolution (which made U.S.A. independent). Judge Weeks upheld prosecution's objection.

The police took the names and addresses of every person entering the Court during Larkin's trial—a novel form of intimidation. One lady who stood up as a mark of respect when Larkin entered Court was hauled before the Judge, who severely reprimanded her and ordered the police to eject her from the building, which was done in a very rough manner.

The most important evidence against Larkin at the trial was a manifesto which appeared in a paper published first in Boston and afterwards in New York, called "The Revolutionary Age." This paper ceased publication in August, 1919. Larkin was not arrested till November, 1919, three months after the alleged "offence." Larkin's arrest in America, strangely enough, took place in November, about three weeks or a month after an agitation had been initiated in Dublin towards a General Strike, to compel the British Government to allow his return to Ireland.

As a matter of fact Larkin never once wrote a line for "The Revolutionary Age." The Editors were Jack Read (at present incarcerated in a Finnish prison) and Eamonn McAlpine "somewhere in Europe." Larkin's name was not to the manifesto in question notwithstanding the Prosecuting Attorney's horror and hour's eloquence in Court because "a copy of the Manifesto was found in Larkin's rooms."

The following replies given in the British House of Commons are illuminating:—

Mr. N. McLEAN asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that the British Consul has refused a passport to James Larkin, of the Irish Transport Workers, to enable him to return to Ireland from America, whether the refusal was at the instance, or on the instructions of the Foreign Office; and whether he will now issue instructions that a passport be issued.

Mr. HAINSWORTH—According to the information in the possession of the Foreign Office James Larkin applied for a passport about the end of last month. After reference to the Government of Ireland it was ascertained that James Larkin was prohibited by an order dated December 24th, 1914, from entering or residing in any part of Ireland and the Acting British Consul General at New York, who had made enquiries about the matter, was so informed. (The above question and reply were made on 18th August, 1919).

On 19th November, 1919,

Mr. N. McLEAN asked the Home Secretary whether he will

remove the ban placed upon the granting of a passport to James Larkin to enable him to return, as he desires, to this Country.

Mr. SHORTT—There is so far as I am aware no such ban.

In August there was a ban (Larkin then being a free man in America); in November, exactly three months afterwards, there was no ban (but Larkin this time occupied a cell in an American Jail). A case of the pen and the thumb— "Now you see it and now you don't." One wonders whether it was "Said Brother John to Jonathan."

The presiding Attorney at the trial painted a lurid picture of Larkin's great crime of sedition in Ireland in 1913. Said crime was the burning of a proclamation from the windows of Liberty Hall (which ordered Larkin at his peril not to address a meeting in O'Connell Street) and declaring that he owed no allegiance to kings or crowned heads. Larkin's comment on this is: "As to my conviction for sedition against the British Government in Ireland, that is a 'crime' no rebel need feel ashamed of."

The Judge's sentence and the hurrying away of Larkin to Sing Sing occupied just ten minutes. "Justice" moves rather quickly betimes.

The British authorities forwarded a special report of convictions against Larkin for trial. Though late for trial this report was afterwards entered upon the Court records. Considering these points no fair-minded individual, be his creed, his class, or his politics what they may, can arrive at any other conclusion but the one, viz., that Jim Larkin at his trial got anything but a "fair show." The sentence imposed, from five to ten years' hard labour, speaks for itself and for the Judge who inflicted it.

The American Consul in Dublin has declined to forward on the demand of Irish Public Boards, Trades Unions, Trades Councils, etc., that Larkin be released and allowed to return to his own country, but has suggested that the matter be taken up with the British authorities. In this regard the Consul is rather interfering with the internal affairs of a country to which he is the accredited representative. The Senate of his Government has recognised the claim put forth in behalf of this country, and the suggestion made in replies sent to demand warrants the Irish people in demanding his recall by the U.S. Government.

Public bodies should continue to send on resolutions to Consulate (U.S.A.), 15, Lower O'Connell Street, Dublin, and every American letter from Ireland should contain a request to the "Friends in the States" to refuse to vote for any candidate at the coming elections unless satisfactory replies are given to the release of Jim Larkin, and facilities afforded him to return to his home, family, and work on behalf of the downtrodden in Ireland.

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Derry—And Other Places.

Having got the internecine fight well started, the masked "gentlemen" agents of British capitalism, which in this respect is British Government, slipped quietly out of the way and allowed their dupes to "carry on." Of course, as anticipated dupes on the other side were not long in putting up a defensive, and very soon an offensive was in action. An undisciplined mob, unreasoning and unthinking, without any intelligent conception or understanding of nationality, with a blind fanaticism as fierce as that of its opponents, and having no sense of cohesion save a common claim to Catholicity and a common delusion that it was Catholicity's champion, was not only arming itself against the British Government—armed tools of Catholicism—but indulging in reprisals that were as wanton as in some cases they were savagely brutal. England had achieved the first point in its purpose, and England stood calmly by and watched the bloody result of its plotting with scarce-concealed satisfaction and delight. Its imported and resident Armies of Occupation, acting on instructions, at first kept the ring while men deliberately shot and murdered each other. Their only attempt at interference was their encouragement of their Government's Orange dupes to go in "a little stronger." At the same time the British propaganda dubbed the rival mob "Sinn Feiners" in the hopes that such a designation would not only make a foreign case against the Republic, but, as the provocation increased, would drive the Irish Republican Army to come to the aid of the so-called citizens of the Republic in Derry. That was the British Government's main object. It wanted to drag the members of the Irish Republican Army in Derry into the open so that it might hurl against them all its modern engines of war. That done in Derry, it believed the "trouble" would spread to other parts of the North. That the South would be forced to come to the rescue of its fellows in Ulster, and that thus the three years' aim of successive British civil military leaders would be achieved in a general rising of the Irish Republican Army that would give the British Government an opportunity for carrying out the long-desired design of Lloyd George, Churchill, French, Birkenhead, Macpherson, and, I presume, Macreedy and Greenwood—a general slaughter of the Irish people. Every effort to break by provocation, by intrigue and by murder the splendid discipline of the Irish Republican Army in the South had miserably failed. The British Government recognised the futility of attempting to make it fight on the field that England selected and in the way that England planned. If it could only embroil the Northern sections of the Army of the Republic it might yet accomplish its purpose. To that end it directed events and instructed its agents in Derry.

Enter the I.R.A.

The Derry members of the Irish Republican Army at last entered the fight in that city, and as soon as the fact became known the British Army of Occupation made a quick ending of its inactivity. It brought its forces into action, and without waiting to inquire what part the Irish Republican Army was playing turned machine-gun and armoured-car fire on the quarter in which it was believed the army of the Republic was operating. That was its instructions. The Irish Republican Army must at any cost be brought into open and direct conflict with the armed forces of the British Crown. The British Army acted with over-promptness. The Derry companies of the Irish Republican Army entered the Republic not to side with any party, but to protect without any distinction of party the property and the lives that were being attacked by the warring mobs. The Irish Republican

Army entered the struggle, as the instrument of the Executive of the Government of the Republic, to restore law and order. That was the very thing that the British Government did not want restored, and above all by the Irish Republican Army in Ulster. Such a thing might make Unionists think and if they began to think—goodbye to the British fiction in the North. Again, what would they say if in the second city in Ulster the Irish Republican Army succeeded in restoring the law and order that the British Government had deliberately destroyed? No, it must be. The British Government, frustrated in its original design, must save for itself as much of the situation as it could. Accordingly, McMahon and Anderson went post-haste to Derry. They interviewed a lot of people, shook hands with a lot more, rolled off the usual British Government falsehoods, saw a "Conciliatory Citizens' Committee" formed, and then hurried back again behind their barbed wire entanglements in Dublin Castle.

The I.R.A. and the Future.

Nothing that the British Government could, or can, do is able to nullify the action of the members of the Irish Republican Army. It is the one praiseworthy feature of a web of blood-mad sectarian savagery. I hope that with such startling record the I.R.A. in Derry will not only strengthen and consolidate itself but foster throughout the city the national spirit of which its own conduct was the outward evidence. And there will be much need of it. There is much need of national education, too. The greatest danger to the nation is in the aftermath. With clear thinking all might be well, but the "leaders" on both sides in Derry are nationally-muddled thinkers, and if the Irish Republican Army does not keep the line of national duty straight before all, the city will drift from bad to worse. The votes thanks to England's resident Army of Occupation expressed from Catholic pulpits by priests who are supposed to be Irish and the announcement of the Conciliatory Citizens' Committee with its "Sinn Fein" members, that "the competent Military Authority" (British, of course) "has made arrangements to have the main thoroughfares efficiently protected," the "cordial co-operation" of the same Citizens' Committee, with this same British "competent Military Authority," the help of Republicans in the organisation of the "Catholic Relief Fund," inspired by that discredited apostate, the British-mad sectarianism, John P. Nugent, the attack of the alleged "Nationalist" mayor on the British Government for not protecting life and property in an Irish city and the hailing of the British "competent Military Authority" by the Derry Journal as the saviours of the erstwhile city of Colm-cille—all these things show the most thin muddled condition of the National mind in Derry, and demonstrate the blighting effect of sectarianism. In other places in Ireland where people are National they think such things are impossible. Men are not guilty of even unconscious treason by seeking the aid and welcoming the co-operation of the armed forces of the usurping foreigner. If the forces of the Republic are not sufficiently strong to preserve life and protect property they ask Headquarters for reinforcements. The people of Derry are still in the wilderness. They are still unaware that the Irish Republican fact and the Irish Republican Government the only lawful—constituted government in the country. If they would only watch what is done in the places in the South and West, and in the North, too, in matters affecting their duty to the Republic and endeavoured to imitate them they would be guilty of such nationally hideous performances as some of those that I have outlined. P. S. O'FLANNAGHAN.

Current Happenings.

Rate for Support of I.R.A.

At the last meeting of Boyle No. 2 Rural Council it was proposed that the Council should take steps to compel all physically fit men between the ages of 17 and 40 in their area to join the Irish Republican Army; and that the Council should levy a rate of sixpence in the £ for the expenses incurred in training and equipping the local corps, such rate to be collected by members of the Army. In the course of a discussion on the amount of the rate, Councillor O'Donnell said that over £100 a week was spent on porter Guirtean area. Of that £100 about £70 went to the British Government in taxation. The consumers would be long looking at it before they would give that to the Volunteers. It was eventually decided that the Council would form itself into a tribunal to hear objections of such married men as did not wish to undertake military service, and that the present officers of the local corps of the army be supplied with the list of valuations so as to enable them to proceed with the immediate collection of the rate.

Reply to Judge Gibson.

At last week's meeting of the Athy Poor Law Guardians the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That we, the Athy Board of Guardians, endorse the remarks of Mr. Justice Gibson at the Waterford Assizes when the unparalleled situation of no jurors attending was experienced namely,—what is the use of life if we are to live as slaves, and we emphatically state it is no longer our intention, to live as slaves, or allow a foreign power by militarism or terrorism to treat us as such."

Protests to Foreign Governments.

The reply of Mr. Dumont, American Consul at Queestown, to the request of the Fermoy Urban Council to forward to the United States a resolution demanding the release of Mr. James Larkin, the one-time Dublin labour leader, declining to comply with the request, is the only reply Irishmen who have pledged allegiance to the Government or the Irish Republic could expect from the representative of a friendly nation. It should be unnecessary to state to men of intelligence of those who compose our newly-elected Public Bodies that having pledged their allegiance to their own Government, they must approach the Government of other Nations through the Ambassadors of the Government public to those nations. Had Mr. Dumont accepted the Commission offered him by the Fermoy Council he would have committed a serious breach of international etiquette. Irishmen who have pledged allegiance to Dail Eireann must remember that Dail Eireann is the only Government or Country recognised by the vast majority of the Irish people, by whom it was formed, and not a collection of popular men called together to act individually. Dail Eireann has been vested with the functions of Government by the Irish people, and an ignoring of the Government is a punishable act of treason. Dail Eireann has an ambassador in America to whom these resolutions should be forwarded through Dail Eireann. Let Irishmen, especially the newly-elected Public Representatives, realise that allegiance to the Dail must not be merely lip-service; Dail Eireann in the Government of the Irish Republic and as such it must be treated in every detail.

Public Bodies and Republican Courts.

Following the action of a number of Public Bodies, cases of alleged breach of by-laws tried in British courts, and have contested claims for "malicious and criminal injuries" contested in the same tribunals, the action of the Birr No. 1 Rural Council is most refreshing. At their last meeting the following motion was passed unanimously:—"That in future all law proceedings of the Council be conducted in the Republican Courts."

Nationalising Education.

I note that a Killarney Board of Guardians have adopted the following resolution, which is a very commendable action:—"That our Clerk be directed to request all the school managers in the Rural Districts to make arrangements for the teaching of the Irish language and Irish history in the schools for at least one hour each day; the Sinn Fein clubs in the district to be asked to see that the request is complied with." The Gaelic League has already in existence an official programme for the teaching of the Irish language and Irish history in Primary Schools. Copies of this programme have already been sent to every school manager in Ireland, and as it has been drawn up by education experts, and therefore does not leave the course to the discretion of individual managers or teachers, I would suggest that the other Public Bodies, should be similarly compelled to put this programme in operation. EUNAN.

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Gaelic and the Fairy Tale.

As one who has been through the mill, I took a great interest in Sean MacCaughan's article on above subject in the July 3 number. There is no public interest taken in the Irish language, for the precise reason that nearly all seem to be agreed that it ought to be revived, and at the same time shirk their duty in neglecting to make any sustained effort to learn it or to force it into the schools. The first shirking is patent to everyone; evidence of the second can be procured from the Secretary of the Dublin Schools Committee, 25, Parnell Square, Dublin. The general body of the people of Ireland now, as always, are quite content to read in the Press of the work being done by the ever-small minority and to clap themselves on the back and say "We are a mighty nation." Undoubtedly, as Sean says, "at the back of their minds they have an uneasy feeling that the language cannot be learned." This is merely the schoolboy's common excuse, "I can't." Tens of thousands of shirkers have, at one time or another, had a mad enthusiasm for Irish—that kind of which several tons produces one gramme of solid action—and they have attended an Irish class for a while. But the poor darlings got tired soon. They found that the learning of a language was not play, and that no amount of brilliant genius could do away with the mountain of hard work that must be done in order to acquire even a fair speaking knowledge of any language (Esperanto and Ido included). The learning of a language, or indeed of anything worth learning, is 99 per cent. plodding sweating, regular as clockwork. New methods make no difference. The learning of Irish has been so far methodised that nowadays it would seem to those who swotted in ancient times (15 years ago) that it ought to be as easy as taking potions out of a bottle at regular intervals. The methods are not to blame. Neither is the criticism which we are told is so often levelled at the student who endeavours to express himself in broken Irish. Nor is it lack of text books, of which we have an abundance, of all grades of simplicity and difficulty, and extremely well annotated—so well, in fact, that those who can read Irish with facility complain that in buying an Irish book they generally have to pay for twice as much annotation and vocabulary (which they don't need) as text. The fact of the matter is that the "Disarmament Committee" do not realise the meaning of the whole business. When I was induced to give up learning the language in the old days, what made me stick on was the reflection that, shameful and rotten as it was to have been robbed of my freedom and country by the foreigner, it was doubly so to let him have it to say that he forced my mind into his mould and made of me a monkey-like imitation of himself. A man who got kicked and cuffed might endure like Job; but who, even the cursedest slave, would consent to imitate the very accents and mode of thinking of the kicker? A lack of realisation of this, backed up by mental laziness and inertia, is responsible for the failure of nine-tenths of those who have not succeeded in making good in regard to the language. These cracks come along again sometimes and say they will, for the last time, make another attempt, and will learn by such and such a method. This is not really a resolution to learn. It is a ruse to deceive the listener, and a resolution to get out of the learning of Irish as quickly as they feel they decently can. If they really want to learn they must make up their minds to stick on,

not for a month or two, but regularly and constantly until they have succeeded, and they must aim, not at the ability to speak broken Irish with a vile accent, but at absolute perfection in speaking, reading and writing it. The old hands succeeded, in spite of dull classes and no books or methods worth a damn, simply because they were resolute plodders—not geniuses as some suppose them to be. This is the only method—in spite of a hundred Father Toals.

As for the carping critics of learners, I seldom come across any of them now. I had the good fortune to have one near me always when I was myself learning the language and was glad to glean what guidance I could from his sarcasm. By all means let us refrain from criticising one who is just trying to express himself in broken Irish. But what about the fellow who has learnt the language so far as to be able to express himself fluently and volubly in Irish which is atrocious in both bias and grammar, and refuses to do any more study with a view to making his jargon a little less horrible to native speakers and honest learners? Should he be let off like one who has only commenced to learn? Should he not rather be shamed into doing a little work to try and perfect his speech? Would child-talk be tolerated from a grown-up speaker of any language but Irish? (In making these last remarks let it be clearly understood that I do not mean them to apply to some people who, no matter what efforts they may make, will never be able to speak Irish very correctly owing to the fact that their minds are cast, thoroughly and enthusiastically, in another mould—that of music, art, or mathematics, for instance.) Laziness should not escape criticism. MAC NEARA.

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SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1920.

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Carson Asks for More.

The power of Carson lies in LONDON, and the important part of his speech is addressed to the English politicians in power. He asks for more—coercion. His word of command to them is to attack the Irish County Councils and the new Irish Republican Courts. Carson, with the true instinct of a reactionary, feels the danger of really free institutions of justice, based on the will of the people, growing strong in this country, hence he calls for the suppression of the Dail Courts. He knows that for the first time in Irish history for many centuries, institutions of justice founded on the consent of the Irish people are growing so rapidly and with such strength that the invader will in a short time have no say in the administration of justice in the country. Carson knows well, and the knowledge is a further inducement for using violence towards these Courts, that violence and not machinery of justice will work in the country once they have disappeared, and that nothing but violence and chaos will remain. Unionists have already learnt the value of our Courts; let them realise their prospects when the Courts are gone. The British Government hitherto has for the most part obeyed the orders of Carson, and in the course of the last few years interpreted its own policy of "no coercion for Ulster" as coercion for the rest of Ireland at the dictation of Carson.

The Logic of Carson's Bigotry.

As to the "religious aspect" raised by Carson, one could imagine the outcry against Catholicism and tyranny, suppose Carson were a Catholic repudiating the Government of the majority of the people in the nation because they were Protestants. Catholics have democratic rights as well as Protestants. But Lloyd George hates Catholics with the same bigotry as Carson, hence the strident note of bigotry in Carson's speech. How, after this, can any man calling himself an Irishman or a Catholic continue to uphold the Empire and the Government which protects Carson and obeys him and his caste? It is time now like Sir James MacMahon, from the highest to the lowest rank, examined their consciences and took count of their own actions from an Irish and a Catholic point of view. Without for a moment suggesting a bigoted attitude on the part of Catholics, we can impose the logic of Carson on himself and his Government and teach them that Ireland cannot be ruled without the co-operation of Catholics. Our point is that it is only through the services of Irish Catholics that the bigoted tyranny of the stranger is possible in this country. Well nigh two hundred Irish officials have in six weeks resigned, thus setting an example to the rest. Here is what the Irish Bulletin says: "On June 21, 1920, the Irish Bulletin published a list of one hundred and fifteen British officials who, in the previous four weeks ending June 10, had surrendered their office rather than continue to assist British militarism to crush the demand of the Irish people for independence. To-day an additional list is given of magis-

NOTES OF THE WEEK.**he "Twelfth."**

The "Twelfth" has been celebrated without any notable incidents. Sir Edward Carson's speech seems to have been one of the sideshows at a kind of Orange oridhaeth at Finaghy. The general crowd displayed many coloured banners and enjoyed a day's outing, whilst select few—some hundreds at each of the two platforms—attended to the speeches. In order to complete the pleasure of the day's outing for the people we cannot see why bagpipe competitions, Irish step-dancing, and Irish songs should not be added. No Irishman wants to interfere with the pleasures of twenty thousand people of Belfast; in fact, the more they enjoy themselves, with the help of higher wages wrung from the Orange capitalists, and the more Irish that enjoyment, the better pleased shall Ireland be. We do not desire to pass over the "Twelfth" lightly, but this aspect of the entertainment holding the crowd and the politics attracting only minorities cannot escape general notice. It reminds one very much of the last days of the old Irish party demonstrations. The spirit of roused enthusiasm is gone. The imagination of the people is no longer caught up by the leaders or their ideas. Something has happened. Some cautious decay has set in. Is it labour, or what?

trales, high police officials, police officers and men who have left the British service up to July 6. Sixty-two persons are named in this additional list. Except where retirement is especially mentioned all the following have resigned, then continue to act as the agents of an alien tyranny. How many more will follow? The time will come when the reckoning will come for those who stand by Ireland and those who stand by her enemy, England. Ireland will remember those who make sacrifices for her, and those who do not.

Trade Unions and Tyranny.

The forces of English Labour were summoned last week to a special conference to consider the Irish crisis. The truth of the situation was put in a phrase or two when Ben Tillett said the Irish are growing as suspicious of English Labour as they were of the aristocracy, and above all when Tom Mann said that Ireland knows her own class and conducts her own case, and the Government is up against it, and "we" (the English) Labour movement are up against it, too. This is the real fact. Mr. Thomas and his politico-labour ilk, Lloyd George's tools, are all up against the Irish activity, and in particular the solidarity of the railwaymen in Ireland. Mr. Thomas thought he could, at the meetings of delegates to the N.U.P. in England and Belfast, fool these Irishmen into some compromise on carrying munitions to kill their own kin, but he failed; his failure constituted a crisis, which the Emergency Trades Congress was to resolve. Some of the delegates at that Congress were dishonest in argument, some crassly ignorant, and some impudent. One Abraham favoured a Workers' Republic but was against justice and freedom for Ireland. That Labour Congress really did nothing to save the position of the railmen victimised for refusing to carry guns, etc., to shoot their own kin; true, it committed the Trade Unions Congress to direct action against the Government, but left the individual Unions to decide on actually striking. This method of allowing units to attack the enemy as they please is a novel one in warfare, and does not show that the central Congress is determined and very serious in its opposition to the Government. Bob Williams was very sound, and pointed out clearly the issue which the intriguers were trying to confuse, namely, that the object of the action of the railwaymen was to block the tyranny of the English Government in Ireland. Smillie was just what we expected—strong and clear-headed; he would be a party to no hugger-mugger, and stood definitely for self-determination for Ireland, and would not be deceived by the cant of Home Rule, dominion or otherwise. The statement of Hayes, secretary of the Police and Prison Officers' Union, was particularly significant, namely, that that union is in favour of disarming the constabulary force in Ireland. The upshot of this Congress is not very clear; it was not intended to be clear. Mr. Thomas told a member asking when direct action should be actually used to wait and see. Now any Irishman can tell Thomas that if he waits long enough he will see more than he will like in Ireland. We understand he and Cramp are visiting Ireland at present. We urge very strongly that no one should have anything to do with either of them. The only method is to cold shoulder them and ignore them as Milner was in Egypt.

"The More the Merrier."

The Speaker of the English House of Commons said that the speech of Inspector Smith at Lisowel did not

involve an issue either definite or urgent, and that therefore there should be no discussion on the matter in the House of Commons. The Speaker will probably change his mind on this speech advocating outrages on the Irish people, the more the merrier—now that Inspector Smith has been shot. The Speaker can examine his conscience on realistic facts and foreseeing possible results. But apparently, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Thomas, he, too, preferred to wait and see.

What's the Matter with Shaw?

For two years Shaw has been the most considerable personal force against us in the whole world. He is one of the few important Irishmen abroad who has steadfastly refused to welcome the most astonishing national reversion of modern times or to perceive its implications. It is not that he does not know and is indifferant; he knows and is hostile. The British are fighting, as we Macready's army corps, Greenwood's spies, Tudor's satellites, French's deceiver, and Shaw's typewriter. Last month, when it was evident that strong elements in the British Labour movement were working towards the re-creation of the Republic, he, a willing accessory, was detailed by Clynes, Thomas, and the other revolutionary comrades to prepare a Report that would dish the Republic of Ireland finally and for ever. The flaming barrage of Stephen Green, the formal affirmation of its independence by the Irish people, the proclamation in the Dublin Mansion House, the constructive legislation and administration of the Dail—all that was to become inconsequential and insignificant before Bernard's Report. The Report came. An incredible document it was for a grown-up man produces.

He, one of the most brilliant intellects in Europe, his "Man and Superman" and "Elancor Posnet" revealed him, the mocker of militarism in "Arms and the Man" the defender of self-determination in "The Devil's Disciple," the enemy of Imperialism in "Androcles," Did he oppose the war and write "Hints for the Peace Conference"? And that the "United Kingdom" should have "federal Parliaments" for England, Scotland, and Ireland is the recommendation of one of the most brilliant intellects in Europe in the summer of 1920.

Shaw is emphatically not the oat that this performance of his would naturally lead one to expect. He probably knows that his attitude is indefensible. His position, that he dislikes Ireland, which he regards himself as having "escaped" from in his youth. That is a perfectly intelligible position for an individual—and certainly Ireland of the A.O.H. and U.I.L. was bad enough in some ways. But he does not allow that it is an individual position. He consistently assumes that no one could possibly live in Ireland, past or present, and not want to escape from it. And in one of his war plays he explains the large number of Irish enlistments for foreign service in 1914 by the fact that obviously any Irishman would join anything, even the British Army, to get out of Ireland.

Shaw! That isn't our Ireland, Republican Ireland. Why doesn't he come back and see? He cannot deny that for every practical purpose he has become a naturalised British citizen. He admires

content to tolerate that distended conspiracy against peace and freedom, the Empire. Like many another countryman of ours, he succumbed to the temptation of trying upon his wits among an unusually dense and doleful crowd. Coventry Patmore (was it?), who had been in that parts of the earth, firmly maintained that, in collective intelligence, the English ranked far below the negroes, haw battered upon this peculiar race, "half devil and half child," as one of their poets says. ("Why are the English so cruel?" asks John Butler Yeats.) He joined the Fabians because he did not really desire the destruction of the national system, which suited his vanity and his pocket so well. So this bright young Irishman fell among the Philistines, and important as his achievements afterwards were, they were not nearly as noteworthy as they might have been had he possessed a little of the freedom of Wolfe Tone, Jefferson, Lenin, De Valera, or any other of History's pivotal men. When the war came Shaw was looked on with dislike by the bloodthirsty and literate British mob, but he never really lost prestige with the governing classes, amongst which he numbered many intimate friends and fellow-Fabians like Sidney Webb and Sidney Olivier. That was shown by his cordial reception from the officers at the front in 1917. He frequently checked the cruder manifestations of Imperialism (e.g., the Benahwai incident), but later we find him writing with noisy approval of the Amritsar massacre.

Notwithstanding his errors and wrong-headedness, one cannot, of course, help admiring Shaw for his many bright qualities, the fascinating fecundity of his mind, his showing-up of the illogic, absurdity, and egregious pretentiousness of accepted institutions, his originality and honesty, and the low and pop of all his writings.

Why does he not disguise himself as a Sinn Feiner as the British propagandists would put it) and lie to some part of Ireland (there are such parts) where he has never been heard of, to emerge at the end of three months, invigorated in body and spirit, and then to become the Republic's chief defender abroad?

The day comes when Ireland will care more insistently than ever before to her absent children. Some of them may return to her, and many of them who cannot return will stand up and be proud. . . . George Bernard Shaw, too . . . perhaps.

JAMES CARTT.

Will You Lose Your Vote?

The work of revision is this year of particular importance. Attempts are likely to be made to disfranchise Sinn Feinidthe in order to reduce as far as possible the vote of the Irish people in favour of the policy put forward by their elected representatives. The Election Committee have sent printed instructions to each Constituency Director for distribution amongst sub-directors. Each person in charge of an area should by now be in possession of a copy of these instructions and of the election list (the year divided into three different parts) dealing with the area. Last day for objections July 24, for claims July 27.

The Latest Bugbear.

War Between England and the United States.

Like children at night, some people are always seeing bogies in the dark, or in the half-dark, of their mental existence. Would that Ireland did not shelter any such craven spirits within her hallowed shores! But in these wondrous days of Erin's Dawn they live and have their being in the "low visibility" of intellectual twilight. England to them is, indeed, the execrable thing that it is, but, alas! it is also a bugbear. As the eerie child shrinks from the fantastic shapes and grotesque images which his imagination conjures up and can hardly be coaxed back to reason, so, too, certain individuals clogged with the slave mind, whether consciously or unconsciously is sorely relevant, tremble at the thought of English might, entertain divers wild misgivings, and allow chimerical terrors of danger to chase one another round in their craniums until they become utterly impervious to reason. Not all the limpid waters of ratiocination would edulcorate the acidity of their forebodings. With orathitic timidity they will jump and fly from fear to fear.

Take the all-important matter of the recognition of the Irish Republic by the American Government. When I tell people of this frame of mind that I firmly believe and am intellectually convinced that this recognition will inevitably come before very long they scurry to this fear—(by the way, precisely to that foolish alarm to which the enemy not only wishes them to go, but also to which they are neglecting no means to drive them)—namely, "supposing the United States Government does recognise the Republic of Ireland, and England should get nasty about the thing and declare war, what! what! what! then? Would the United States fight for Ireland?"

As an American, nobly proud of my country, I have no doubt that my fellow-citizens and their Government will not be intimidated or moved by fear of the consequences to any decision they may arrive at or to any step they may take. When the people of the United States, through their Government, recognise Ireland's duly constituted Government, not all the imperialism of this world nor all the powers of hell will cause them to turn back.

But when American recognition comes, and it is coming just as certainly as the sun will rise in the heavens tomorrow morning, England will never consider or make it a cause for war. Here are my reasons for this conviction. If my reasons are not sound I should like to have their invalidity pointed out.

Stupid as I consider English statesmen are in some of their manoeuvres, still I concur with Judge Cobalan's view of them, that for skill, subtlety, adroitness, and ability in the marvellous manner in which they have imposed their will upon other people and flung across the world their visible and invisible Empire, they have never had equals, much less superiors, in all human history. So I contend, in the face of the following indisputable facts, that in the moment of deliberation of whether it would be profitable or no for England to war with the United States of America,

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British statesmen are too clever and too shrewd to risk such a conflict.

In the first place, such a war would likely be world-wide owing to the extent of the British Empire and the unique standing of the United States to-day among the nations of the world. How about English dependencies? Would Canada agree to fight for England against the United States? The Irish in Canada are a formidable power. Anyone conversant with the temper of Irishmen's minds the world over will not hesitate to declare that they would be against England and on the side of the United States and Ireland. The French in Canada are very potent, and their disaffection to England was by no means lessened by the latter's attempt to conscript them against their will in the war. The enactment of a law in the Canadian Parliament that forbids Canadians receiving British titles is another token of the trend of Canadian sentiment. And the successful persistency with which Canadian statesmen have insisted on a national status and power for Canada is an added indication of how the wheels of Canadian destiny are turning—certainly not towards England or English supremacy.

Need I labour at all to prove on which side India would fight, or South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the rest of the restless British dependencies? It is a noteworthy fact that England's military strength has mainly been drawn from her colonies.

Germany is fast recovering—faster than her allies, at any rate. As between England and the United States, who doubt for a moment on which side German genius and capacity would be found?

Returned travellers from France and Italy tell me that resentment and anger at England is already great and daily grows apace. And certainly no one would be so foolish as to think Russia might take England's part. Of course, all the world is sick of war. But I think that reason supported by all these analogous facts dictates the conviction that in the event of a war between the United States and England over Irish recognition, the whole world would stand on the side of justice and the United States and Ireland.

Further, and most vital of all, is the fact of the tremendous, aye, incomprehensible resources of the United States within her own borders. I need hardly advert to her present financial superiority, her economic plans and projects, her exceeding millions of population, her self-mastery and exalting spirit of patriotism. I affirm that I doubt if America's innate and intrinsic superior qualities can be exaggerated in extent and in value, not to mention the fact that she is in her early youth, not to mention her vast potentialities.

Look, for instance, at these facts. With only six per cent. of the world's population and only seven per cent. of the land, the United States produces: 25 per cent. of the world's wheat; 40 per cent. iron and steel, lead, silver; 50 per cent. zinc; 52 per cent. coal; 00 per cent. aluminium, copper, cotton; 50 per cent. oil; 75 per cent. corn; and 85 per cent. automobiles.

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There is such a virtue as noble pride. The American people possess this pride in their serene and manly consciousness of their own power, inventiveness, and resources. Given

the persuasion that they are right—and that persuasion be unquestionable when they recognize completely the Republic—they fear war with no nation or combination of nations.

But not only do Americans know all this, but the whole world, and the cunning statesmen of England especially realise its force. The Japs realise it, and their undeniable shrewdness would think twice before they entered the lists on the losing side. Where the hundreds of millions of Chinese would stand there can be no doubt.

In this magnificent cause of Ireland's independence in the favourable colour of the times, in the sympathetic attitude of men everywhere, in the inflexible determination of Gaels in every part of the globe, in the astounding spirit of the people and the rapid succession of victory after victory at home, in the approbation of the Church itself, in a word, we are forced to exclaim: "Digitus Dei est hic."

KEVIN STROMA DORSEY—AN AMERICAN.

Some Notes of India.

The diabolical ingenuity of the English politicians has hit on a new way of holding "the glorious East in the East. It is an old way, really—namely, attempting to corrupt the Indian leaders by making them petty tyrants in the New East. India, to shake her divine discontent, her craving for liberty, is to be made mandatory for Mesopotamia. India's leaders will become England's garrison in Asia Minor. Here is the healthy comment of a well-informed Indian writer:

"The slave that serves the master is himself the worst of tyrants when fates create for him the necessary opportunity. It is possible that a thoughtless citizen would jubilate that India should be the mandatory for Mesopotamia. Is this not mere camouflage for retaining Mesopotamia under the thumb of Britain? What is India's status in the British Empire that it should affect to be the custodian of Mesopotamia's civic rights? India is herself a subordinate factor within the Empire, despite all assertions to the contrary, and it would be futile to imagine for a moment that she has attained the status of dominion. Let us, however, see what this mandate means to us as custodians of peace and order and good government in our appendage. We shall be called upon to maintain an army and police the country. As overlords of ourselves the British will have the run of oil wells and the untold mineral and vegetable wealth of Mesopotamia. England is already rejoicing that she has her hold on a supply of oil which will last a century and a half while America is only sure of twenty years' stock. In the aggregate, then, all the blows will be ours and all the spoil would be Britain's!"

The following, quoted from the same writer for *Janmabhumi*, will be of great interest to those who realise the relations of language to nationality. Some of the remarks bear directly on the power of the English to destroy nationality. Commenting on the remarks of an Indian contemporary—the *Indian Social Reformer*—the writer *Janmabhumi* says:

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as their language, and the four million Indian Christians doing the same with English. Let us examine the facts and the possibilities. The Moslems and the Christians are scattered all over India. If either community could or could aggregate itself in one tract of country in the process of their organisation, we should not quarrel. It is clearly impossible. The Moslems in Bengal, East and West put together, are nearly 50 millions, a clear half the total population of India, and they speak Bengalee. Sometimes they are innocent of Urdu. In South India the Moslems are more numerous in the Tamil districts and speak Tamil. They know precious little of Hindustani. In U. P. and in the Moslem areas of the most influential community, and who is so closely allied to the Hindi spoken by the Hindoos that the affinity between them is made an argument for making Hindi as the common language of India. This would have about 10 millions of Moslems scattered about the rest of India, and while their language and their culture are allied to patronage and profession, they will find English stronger tongue to them than the vernacular of the province. With the Indian Christians who affect to make English as their language, we have no sympathy. Let us be frank. They deserve no sympathy whatever under those conditions. They do not stand to gain by throwing away the traditions of ages, the culture of their race, merely because they have changed faith. They are scattered, but nevertheless they speak at home the language of the province. Neither the Indian Christians nor the Mohammedans then, would constitute a barrier to 'linguistic provinces' or justify the charge that the idea is a Hindu one.

"The *Indian Social Reformer* compliments us as 'a journal which is written, and very well, too, in the English language.' But is this a reason why we should bear a badge of servitude in the language that we speak? It is his pride in the command of a foreign language which has provoked the bane of our activities. We have forgotten essentials of life and civilisation, and are revelling in the accessories thereof. We speak and write English because we cannot help it. It has been imposed upon us. Would India become an outhouse of England because it has adopted English as its national language. The Americans did not adopt English as their national language. They spoke their own tongue. They were Englishmen; they were at first Englishmen transplanted.

"But now in America there is a medley of races. In the veins of the American flows the blood of a dozen non-English races. The Irish and the German, followed by the Italian, Scandinavian, the Jew, the Lutheran, and an increasing medley of Mid-European people, formed the successive layers of the new Americans. May we point out that the American presidency is contested in sixteen languages. The influx of any race has not been followed by the annihilation of its language. At best the American analogy can only plead for the continuance of English as the common language of India for some more years. It cannot provide an argument against linguistic provinces. The Brahmin, non-Brahmin controversies that our contemporary refers to are the outcome of a designing extraneous agency and are irrelevant to the issue under consideration. The Bihar-Bengalee, the Andhra-Tamil, the Telugu-Urdu, the Guzerat-Deccani amenities can only be promoted and

fostered by 'linguistic provinces.' Nor is it true that we are enamoured of the two hundred languages and the two thousand castes in India. If we may interpose a personal belief or article of faith, we approximate as much as we can to the Brahmin. And as for languages, may we make a present of the fact that there are only 14 or 15 cultured languages in India and all the rest are dialects that count no more than the countless dialects of the shires and the counties in England, Scotland or Wales. Is it an enormity to urge the division of India into 15 provinces?"

Cards on the Table.

The noblest trait of the Irish-Ireland movement has been the truthfulness which it has restored to public life after a century of diplomacy, intrigue, and lies. If ever Sinn Fein resorts to "diplomatic" methods such as were favoured by the parliamentarians, its doom will be sounded and a new movement will be required to blast away the entanglements and clear the road once more. One day after the triumphant General Election, Father O'Flanagan said in a speech that though Sinn Fein had carried the majority it was to be remembered that the majority was not only imperfectly understood Sinn Fein, and it was Sinn Fein's business not to rest on its victory, but to set about educating its new adherents in the full meaning of its doctrine. This fine utterance I heard condemned in conversation by a good friend, who said: "These things should not be said in public. We know what Father O'Flanagan means, but hostile critics can take a wrong meaning from his words, and he is giving them ammunition. They can say, 'It is here admitted that Sinn Fein's victory is only superficial, and that the masses are not Sinn Fein to the core.'" But this is wrong reasoning. The hostile critic will say hostile things, whatever you yourself say or do, and if you study to please him, your labour will be all in vain. Better give your energy to telling the truth to your own people. Stand on truth. Utter the whole truth. If your cause be false it will come to naught, critic or no critic. If it be of truth no criticism will withstand it. On two occasions since the General Election the country's pulse has been felt. It has been found that devotion to the Republic is increasing, not decreasing. No amount of poetry to distant critics would achieve this; it has been achieved by honesty and resolution working at home. The facts speak louder for the Republic than any nicely prepared propagandist story could do.

Cards on the table should be our policy. I have always held that Sinn Fein should make no concealment of the terms it is prepared ultimately to accept. I detest those who reply to feelers about peace which take this form: "We cannot answer when England always breaks her promises"—with the half innuendo that we would consider something if it were actually put into force instead of being merely offered. Or again, those refusals to discuss, until we are free, what accommodations we would make with England, as if we would be prepared to accept 16s. in the £, but are striving for 20s., which claim we don't want to commiserate with only plead for the continuance of English as the common language of India for some more years. It cannot provide an argument against linguistic provinces. The Brahmin, non-Brahmin controversies that our contemporary refers to are the outcome of a designing extraneous agency and are irrelevant to the issue under consideration. The Bihar-Bengalee, the Andhra-Tamil, the Telugu-Urdu, the Guzerat-Deccani amenities can only be promoted and

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precedent in the late war for this course, and must abide by it.

This being so, and making it clear that we will never accept less than evacuation and recognition of our unfettered independence, I hold we should never conceal, as if it were a matter for bargaining, the mutual arrangements we are prepared to come to with England after the recognition of the Republic. These arrangements are not a matter for bargaining; we want justice and equity only, and will accept no less. To our Dominionist friends we say: "We have put our cards on the table, now do you likewise. You say Ireland has common interests with England that make collaboration on certain issues necessary or at least desirable. Very good. But how is this an argument for the inclusion of Ireland in the Empire? If an Irish Dominion could profitably to itself collaborate with England on certain services, why could not an Irish Republic? If this collaboration is honest it could be engaged in by an Irish Republic. If it could only be engaged in by an Ireland that surrendered its liberty, then it could not be honest!"

Study that reasoning carefully, for it is the key to the situation. Our Dominionist friends talk of the British Isles as a strategic unit. I have always advocated the facing of this question, and the discussion of what degree of alliance an independent Ireland would need to enter with England for its safety. The editor of *OLD IRELAND* seemed rather to oppose such a discussion when I advocated it. But what are the facts? The Dominionists were the people who refused to put their cards on the table. It was they who shirked the issue. Sir Horace Plunkett (whom I personally respect, believing him a sincere patriot according to his lights) simply ran away from the question. He said that "military experts" declared the islands to be a strategic unit, that he himself did not understand the question, and that this was a technical point. The *Irish Statesman* was equally evasive. This shows that it is not we who stand to lose by a "show of hands." The Dominionists could never be got to say from what quarter danger threatened this "strategic unit," or why Ireland must surrender her independence to be safe when Holland, Belgium, and France need not. This, forcing the Dominionists to an issue, revealed that, consciously or otherwise, they wanted Ireland in the Empire for the Empire's good, not Ireland's. If they would state what they mean by "strategic unit," or what commercial accommodations they think desirable between the two countries, we should, I hold, be ready to answer them as to how far the Irish Republic would go in those directions. We stand to gain nothing by mystery-making, and we advance our cause when we show that it is not we who depend on huggard-muggard.

In the same way we should stand for openness in social matters. I have advocated the stating of a credo by Labour. The differences with Father Finlay are deplorable, and in my opinion their like could be avoided if we stated

our case in a detailed way instead of hanging by ambiguous terms. If we use the word Socialism, and try to give it the meaning of innumerable constructions, we should define it, or we are opposed to it. If we put our cards on the table and disarm all reactionaries.

Ulster is another case of the need, for honesty. It is the worst mistake possible to suppose that Ulster can be converted by preaching Sinn Féin to a disguise. It is one is quicker than the Ulsterman to take to arms to resent them. The Ulsterman's bark is worse than his bite, and the fact is that he would come to terms with St. Ignatius Loyola sooner than with a camouflaged Socialist. He could be, and, maybe, some day will be reconciled to the Pope sooner than he would give way to a mongrel nationalism. He has got to live with Papists, and it is useless to pretend to him that we are not Papists. Take the facts by the horns of them. Say to him: "The Irish Republic, a tolerant and liberal State, honest and candidly populated by Irishmen who are mostly Catholics, the State recognises no religious distinctions in civil affairs. You are welcome. Study this Ireland." Mix with the Papists. You will find more at home than you will do in any country elsewhere in the world. We will not deceive you, but we will not toady to you. We are men and wish to meet you as man. Our heroes are the men who lived and died for Ireland, Catholic or Protestant. We will not disguise our loyalty to them, but we ask you to share it. We have every welcome for Protestants in the State; but we are obliged to allow no bigots or fanatics to police fanatics, be they of what creed they may." The Ulster problem is neither greater nor less than the problem of making Irishmen of Protestant Ulster.

The more completely Irish ideals are enunciated, the more absolute will be the unity achieved. I have just come from the opening of a Gaeltacht summer college. As I sat there, listening to the musical speech of the native speakers, the quaint, earnest language of the learners, the memory-redolent traditional songs, the stirring old airs, the animated faces and recalling the hundred and one gatherings of the kind that one has enjoyed at country fairs or city céilidhe, I felt that here was reality, tangible nationality and forward-looking growth, beside which our social and political formulae are little more than shadows. How needful it is to keep this atmosphere of Gaelicism, tradition, and memory about us; where this is binding us together in our dearest associations we are in no danger of going astray. This is the real propaganda. Soak your Ulsterman in Ulster love; hold your national discussions in the heart of the Gaeltacht; keep Irish-Ireland before your eyes, and the winds of the compromiser and the errors of the doctrinaire will alike affect us nothing at all. The true gospel is the old gospel—that which we learnt when Brian Boru's Englishman, the Dominionist Irishman, the Ulsterman, the Shoneen we have a message that we need not camouflage or dress in other phrases than Brian's:

Wit back your own again,
Tear off the thralldom chain,
Oward—the war cry is Sinn Féin amháin.

A. de B.

"Evening Memories."

"Parnell stood out from the whole crowd." That is the almost inevitable comment of the average man upon the Irish Parliamentary Party in its hey-day. It is certainly true in one sense. He did stand out. He was in the party, not out of it—its leader but not its type. Mr. William O'Brien, on the other hand, typified all that was best in Westminsterian. He devoted all his energies to the movement, but he appreciated its limitations. It was a raid to the enemy's citadel, designed to be short, sharp, and decisive—to harry him, obstruct the conduct of his business, and (sublime faculty) shame him into a semblance of decency. It follows that neither Mr. O'Brien nor his great leader was a "constitutionalist" within the Dillonian definition of the term. "The two master keys to Parnell's success," says Mr. O'Brien, "were obstruction in Parliament and boycotting in Ireland—both frankly unconstitutional. No disguise was ever made of the foundation tenet of Irish agitation, that the only way of winning good laws was by breaking bad ones. [To make our own good laws, and keep them, is a better 'tenet,' by the way.] To be constitutional the first postulate is a constitution, and Ireland had none. We had, therefore, no moral obligation towards England, except to hit her. With what weapons as a matter not for England but for ourselves to settle. He held by Butt's federalism, and at the last by Grattan's parliament, rather than by an Irish Republic," but without any definite prejudice against any of the three which might be practicable. But "Emmet's plan, wild as it seemed, going straight to the heart of English rule by attacking Dublin Castle, always won his homage." It is, indeed, unthinkable that he would have "set bounds to the reach of a nation" had he lived a generation later. "Violence," Mr. O'Brien maintains, "is the only way of assuring a hearing for moderation. That is, in a nutshell, the history of what is absurdly styled the constitutional movement. . . . The only claim I ever heard from a Land League platform to the constitutional character now historically arrogated to themselves by Parliamentarians led to cause Parnell and ourselves a good deal of merit." The speaker was P. J. Sheridan, of Tobocoury, and he said, "We'll give the landlords what they got in the French Revolution, and that is twelve feet of rope—but always in a strictly constitutional manner."

Nevertheless, Mr. O'Brien was a Parliamentarian. He perished in the dismal eighties and nineties, not in the fifth year of the Republic, and if we mean to be just to him and his book we must bear the fact in mind.

With William O'Brien, the untiring agitator, the great orator and orator, the victim and vanquisher of Balfourism, most Irishmen are acquainted. In "Evening Memories" one meets him on a more intimate footing. He converses, as it were, with each of his readers personally, and such conversation! One could read for hour after hour the veteran of the Land Wars yawns on and on and remains

"Evening Memories," by William O'Brien. Macmillan, 16s. net.

recently of men who have passed or are passing into history or oblivion, and allusively of the scenes through which they moved; men famous, infamous, and merely insignificant, but men of whom we somehow want to hear: Parnell, the loathsome French (who sullied Ireland with his presence in the eighties), and Carson; Arubhish Croke, Plunkett (of "don't hesitate to shoot" fame), and the Redmonds; Tim Healy, Charles Stewart, and Peter the Packer; Gladstone, Balfour, and the Prince of Wales; Bishop Duggan, Pigott, Chamberlain, and hosts of others, playing their parts in the plot of campaign, in the English Parliament, at Orange riots in Ulster and Toronto, in Tullamore and Cork gaols, at famous meetings in Ireland, England, and America, at the splendid "Irish welcome" to the Prince of Wales at Malrow (where thousands greeted His Royal Highness with "God save Ireland" and shouted "Down with Foxy Jack"), before the Parnell Commission, in the "United Ireland" office, and wherever the fight was hottest on the Irish front.

And now we must again disobey an implied inhibition imposed by Mr. O'Brien. In rebutting the charge of anti-clericalism brought against "When We Were Boys" he lays the blame on a certain newspaper critic, whom he slays with these words: "With the indolence of his tribe, his matured judgment took the form of a pageful of extracts, strung together by a few sentences of golden laudation," which extracts were selected to support the critic's own anti-clerical bias. Our sympathies are with that critic. He gave his readers what they wanted, and, anyhow, it is largely Mr. O'Brien's own fault. His style is allusive, anecdotal, impressionist. He quotes freely from anyone who is worth quoting—even from himself; so what is a poor scribbler, whose matured judgment took the form of a pageful of extracts, strung together by a few sentences of golden laudation, who wants to tell his readers about the book, to do?

The memory of Parnell is apparently never long absent from Mr. O'Brien's mind. He is considered at great, but certainly not too great, length as "the man," and "the statesman," and in every Irish or Anglo-Irish event from the commencement of his leadership until "The Split" his influence is indicated. The man is best described by Mr. O'Brien's own method, a characteristic anecdote. In the early obstruction days he was ordered to discontinue his speech in the English House of Commons while his suspension was being considered. He withdrew, and after half an hour was invited to return. He walked to his place and, facing the growling mob of excitable Britons, said quietly, "As I was saying when I was interrupted," continued his speech from the point at which he had been stopped. That cold Irish logic of his had much to do with his power over his hysterical opponents. He was not the aloof, elusive man of mystery of tradition. Reserved and austere as he was, he was too big for pride. "I was never a Parnellite," he once said. In his relations with his party he was not, as has been alleged, harsh and autocratic. The hardest thing he ever said about any of them was "he is as vain as a peacock." It was, we are told, not he who called the same gentleman "a melancholy humbug." That very adhesive label was affixed by a writer in the *Freeman's Journal*. Of course, he was a disciplinarian, and he did

not tell all his plans to all his colleagues, but surely that was justifiable. Do we not know some of them? We are tempted to quote many of the "Parnelliana" contained in the book, but it is a pity to take them out of their context, and after all it is Mr. O'Brien's book, and can be purchased.

The chapter on Parnell the statesman is of deep interest. After all, to later generations the statesman is the man. It seems to us a tenable theory, supported by the facts, but possibly totally wrong, that Parnell's life was a struggle between the two great influences of his youth—his mother and his *nima mater*. His mother was magnificent. She "entertained a fanatical hatred of England"; her house in Merrion Square was the rendezvous of the Irish-American Fenian leaders, and was constantly under police supervision. Parnell was heard to say that the first time he ever found himself singing was when he joined in the chorus of "Out and make way for the Fenian men," as it was roared by the bronzed soldiers of the civil war in his mother's drawing room. Of the other influence we need only say that he was educated at Cambridge, and thank God it was no worse. It might have been "Trinity."

"Whatever is best for Ireland at a given time—be it moderate or extreme—is best for her statesmen." This, says Mr. O'Brien, was Parnell's supreme test. "The morality of an alliance with Russia (a Russian raid into Ireland was negotiated), or with the English Whigs or Tories was equally indisputable in his view. Policy, party, or methods did not matter. They were not ends in themselves, but weapons in the struggle towards the great end."

Having dealt with Parnell, "the man" and "the statesman," Mr. O'Brien betrays him as the politician struggling in the mire of English politics. It was a fine struggle, but neither the supply of paper nor our resolve to be non-political would be equal to the strain of following it here.

Mr. O'Brien was influenced by Parnell. He was inspired by Archbishop Croke and Bishop Duggan. And no wonder. The stout Archbishop of Cashel risked his all for Ireland. He stood by his people in the darkest days of the Land War. He strove against Anglicisation in all its forms. He withstood even Rome herself, confident in the justice of the cause. "Unchanged and unchangeable" he fought our battle in the Vatican against all the vile absurdities of English propaganda. One story in the "List of outrages officially reported" by the British Government, greatly impressed the Pope, who summoned Dr. Croke into his presence. It related the capture by a British army corps, after a fierce battle, of a rebel stronghold in His Grace's Archdiocese. Mr. O'Brien, who witnessed the gallant exploit, explains that in fact a company had bravely stormed a ruined tower and driven out the occupying army of crows. Archbishop Croke's refutation of all the outrages on the list angered His Holiness, and he cut short the explanation with "Enough! Rome will speak." "Good," was the reply. "If Rome speaks, I will obey. But I'll go to my pulpit in Thurles and tell my people it is Rome I am obeying and not my Irish heart and conscience, and that

it will be the last time I shall address them as Archbishop of Cashel." Rome did not speak—then. She has spoken since, and her speech is Dr. Croke's vindication.

And what of Dr. Duggan, "whose influence over his generation surpassed that of any layman except Parnell and only thus) was the versatility of an English gentleman indicated. Balfourism, shaken by the courage of Mr. O'Brien and his fellow-prisoners, was finally beaten down and not spoiled by compression the story of Mr. O'Brien's escape from Carrick courthouse, where he was being tried Balfour's instigation, nominally for sedition, but really to prevent his addressing a meeting in that Right Honourable gentleman's constituency, his exciting journey to Manchester while all the police in Ireland and England were hunting for him, and his triumphant arrival on the platform in time to deliver his speech.

Whilst "Evening Memories" derives its importance from the light it throws upon matters of history, its harm, to us, at least, depends upon manner rather than matter. Rhetorical Mr. O'Brien often is, but his rhetoric

the "Home Rule Bill" of 1886.

The writer once heard Arthur James Balfour taking part in a debate on "Home Rule" in the English House of Commons. His speech was characteristically reactionary and insolent in substance, and false in fact, but, so great were his personal charm, his dialectical brilliance, and his intellectual force, that distaste for the performance was temporarily overcome by unwilling admiration for the performer's skill. It was not till Mr. Tim Healy had blown his sophisticates sky-high that his nastiness was realised. Even Mr. O'Brien, who has suffered so much at his hands (vicariously, of course; those aristocratic fingers would do their own dirty work) has felt the charm of his personality. Nevertheless, his childish vindictiveness, his incurable evasiveness, and anti-Irish venom are made manifest by incident after incident. His treatment of Mr. O'Brien and poor Manderville in jail equalled in sheer brutality the performances of his successor, Macpherson, and exceeded them in incidental offensiveness. "Unlucky Balfour, Macpherson drew the line at open rejoicing at puppyish jibing at the sufferings of his victims. He merely called them names which, bestowed by him, were titles of honour.

One incident of which Mr. O'Brien reminds us reveals the quintessence of Balfourism. The happenings at Tullamore Jail having disgusted the House of Commons (and is of sterner stuff nowadays) and the Chief Secretary's customary efforts to conceal himself "under round laughter" having failed, he brazenly asserted that he had no jurisdiction over the Irish prisoners. Subsequently he claimed full credit for his maltreatment of the Irish

It will be observed that, by a subtle *distinguo*, the two statements do not contradict one another. Thus (and only thus) was the versatility of an English gentleman indicated. Balfourism, shaken by the courage of Mr. O'Brien and his fellow-prisoners, was finally beaten down and not spoiled by compression the story of Mr. O'Brien's escape from Carrick courthouse, where he was being tried Balfour's instigation, nominally for sedition, but really to prevent his addressing a meeting in that Right Honourable gentleman's constituency, his exciting journey to Manchester while all the police in Ireland and England were hunting for him, and his triumphant arrival on the platform in time to deliver his speech.

Whilst "Evening Memories" derives its importance from the light it throws upon matters of history, its harm, to us, at least, depends upon manner rather than matter. Rhetorical Mr. O'Brien often is, but his rhetoric

is the expression of an intense, sincere, many-sided personality. When he so wishes, he can be very incisive. By an anecdote or a few impressionist strokes he can convey a complete impression of a man. For instance, take his remark upon an incident in the British House of Commons: "Even T.P.'s cry of 'cheers for the Grand Old Man' did not succeed in vulgarising the demonstration." It does not matter now what the demonstration was. The comment sums up completely the Philistine funkyness of O'Connor of Liverpool. Carson, that fanatic without faith, impressed Mr. O'Brien more by his appearance than by his mental powers when they first met as prosecutor and prisoner. "A liverish young man with the complexion of one fed on vinegar, and with features as inexpressive as a jagged hatchet." His method was unoriginal—"the traditional truculence of the Crown prosecutor."

We have been tempted sorely to retail some of Mr. O'Brien's stories of Mr. Tim Healy's ingenuities, but we must be satisfied with one. The Land League had been

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

MUNITIONS OF WAR.

THE Irish Railwaymen, rather than assist in providing the Army of Occupation with Munitions for the war against Ireland, are sacrificing their wages and risking their livelihood in the Nation's interest. Nearly 1,000 men are now on the victims' list, over 400 have been unemployed since May. Their ranks are being added to daily.

This is not a railwayman's fight alone, nor a Trade Unionist's fight—it is the nation's fight—*It is YOUR fight!*

It is a fight against self-extinction!

The issue that is raised is identical, with that which was fought out to victory two years ago in the struggle of the Irish Nation against conscription. Then, it was sought to take our bodies and compel us to bear arms in a fight not of our choosing; now they seek to compel us to become co-workers with them in the destruction of our Nation.

It is the imperative duty of every man and woman in Ireland to rally to the support of the locked-out men. You cannot afford to hurl gibes at others for refusing support until you have borne your share of the burden.

THOMAS FARREN, *Chairman.*
J. C. O'CONNOR, *Vice-Chairman.*
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Secretary.*
THOMAS JOHNSON, *Treas. & Acting Sec.*

32, Lower Abbey Street,
Dublin.

July 12th, 1920.

JULY 24, 1920.

solemnly "proclaimed" out of existence, and Balfour boasted in the House of Commons that it was "a thing of the past." Monster meetings of the League were accordingly held the next Sunday. Mr. O'Brien's meeting at Loughrea was dispersed by Hussars, and the speaker arrested and put on trial. Mr. Healy and Mr. Bodkin defended, and proceeded to put every man of the thousands who were at the meeting in the box to swear that he came there as a member of the League "to give Balfour the lie." This procedure lasted several weeks, the "things of the past" marching to Court in contingents from townland after townland, while the magistrates laboured, writing down thousands of depositions containing the defiance of the countryside, *ipsisima verba*. Finally, the depositions all disappeared one night, a *noctis prosequi* was entered, and the Crown had to pay the costs of the whole farse.

When Mr. O'Brien comes to the period, 1890-1920, he gets amongst men and happenings about which the present generation holds very decided views and, remembering our preliminary caveat, we very reluctantly leave him, for the present, in his "*Beata solitudo, sola beatitudo*"—but only in the hope that from his "blessed solitude" more "Evening Memories" may emerge. E. W. FRANK.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

Barbed Wire and Bayonets.

About ten days ago I journeyed with a friend to Dunleary. We travelled in a motor. The car was not mine; I am no millionaire, no member of the swollen ranks of the New Rich. Nor does my friend, indeed, belong to either of these properly contemned classes. He is a doctor. We had not gone very far before we encountered the far-flung battle line of Britain. Bayonets and barbed wire. Our Irish "hold up," however, was not a matter of much moment. My friend simply uttered the magic word "Doctor" and it acted as an "open sesame." Bayonets were lowered, opposition was withdrawn, and we passed unscathed on to our destination without further check.

On the return journey, however, we were made to feel the might of Empire. The password failed on this occasion to work the circle. More stern defenders of Imperial needs presented themselves. A youthful warrior in steel hat, and with fixed bayonet, made us "stand and deliver." His equally well-equipped colleagues, in menacing manner, gave him support. The precious "permit" was presented for inspection, and being found in order we were suffered to proceed. As we jolted home (we travelled in a Ford) we commended together on the majesty of British law and the delights of dwelling in a small nation now that the world has been made safe for democracy. We pondered, too, on the freedom of the seas, and speculated as to the possibilities of freedom of the highways.

Another friend of mine, a lady from abroad, visiting Ireland after a lapse of many years, expressed a desire to see this particular manifestation of Imperial rule. I took her, therefore, by tram, through a barbed wire. She was much impressed. She will return shortly to her continental home in a position to give first-hand evidence as to the curious methods by which the blessed doctrine of "self-determination" is encouraged in Ireland. Having already experienced the thrilling sensation of a trip to the South and back, she should be able to enlighten the foreigner on

the measure of freedom the inhabitants of this island enjoy. It is well to export folk who have, if one may employ a cliché beloved of the British journalist, "studied the matters on the spot."

The tumult and the shouting dies. The Captain Corporals, and Privates have, for the moment, departed. Now, we may ask, what was all this "to do" about? The plausible theory that "unpermitted" motors were rounded-up breaks down in view of the fact that all classes of vehicles were exposed to this annoyance. An excursion, a wedding party, a funeral, each was subjected to examination. Horse-traction was deemed as dangerous as any low power motor. Cans containing necessary, if not entirely harmless, milk were carefully investigated. It is clear, therefore, that this display of militarism was not designed merely to detect those who had evaded the regulations to permits for motor-cars.

No less difficult to sustain is the strange supposition that this cordon was drawn round the city (how easy it is to fall into the journalist's error of the moment) for the purpose of circumventing a possible advance of Irish Volunteers to Belfast or Derry. The Irish Volunteers are during men, there is abundant evidence to show, but they add intelligence to their other qualities. The likelihood of their marching out in battle array from Dublin to Belfast, in the full light of day, could have suggested itself only to the Napoleonians of the High Command in the Army of Occupation. If all these elaborate precautions were adopted to cope with such a contingency, one can only marvel that the Great War ended as it did.

It seems to me that this particular activity, like many another, may be ascribed to the necessity which those in command of the troops feel from time to time of finding some mischief for idle hands to do. Throughout the country, the general weal, but in Dublin time must often hang heavy on their hands. When they are not in theatres, picture houses, or on "the front" in O'Connell Street, some work must be found for their employment. The "Curfew" parties, occasional raids, an odd demonstration like the Portobello shootings, vary monotonously, but these do suffice. Hence the desirability of a display like that which we have lately witnessed. An Army of Occupation may be distressing to the country occupied, but an army of occupation becomes a bore to itself.

Furthermore, as I think I pointed out at Easter last when a similar performance was gone through, the British taxpayer must get value for his money. The Irish taxpayer must get value also. It is provided for him in some degree by these sterile "stunts." The Briton reads of them in his morning paper. So do the generalities of "loyal" Irishmen. The privileged few have the satisfaction of actually beholding these exhibitions of fightfulness in all their grim splendour, and, no doubt, in the better in consequence. The tin hats, the fixed bayonets (possibly waving at times) that God bless the British God— in His heaven and all's well with the world. In these days, when the walls of judges with no one to judge are ringing in our ears, it needs some outward manifestation to bring a sense of security to the minds of those who depend for their safety on the gallant defenders of the Empire.

Poor comfort after all. Where were the troops last week when the mails were seized at the General Post Office? WESTLAND ROW.

JULY 24, 1920.

Correspondence.

FRANCE: A WARNING.

to the Editor, "Old Ireland."

Versailles, July, 1920.

Sir,—When, in times gone by, France was at war with England, she professed an unbounded admiration and sympathy for all things Irish. The Irish were heroes and martyrs: moreover, they were her friends. It was her mission, as the first to proclaim the Rights of Man, to come to the help of all oppressed nations. Therefore, because we were oppressed and because they were her friends, she could burst the chains of the Irish people!

Times have changed. To-day, France needs England, and Ireland and the Irish appear to her in a very different light. At the Peace Conference, when Ireland might have hoped to hear her plead the cause of her sons who on many fields of battle fought and died for France, her voice was silent. It is true that the Irish and Fontenay are never associated in the minds of even educated Frenchmen. As for the masses, they know as much about Ireland as they do about Iceland, and care less. Stump orators no longer seek to make capital out of the "horrible sufferings and heroic martyrdom of Ireland, the Hero of France." Since 1914, when by chance a casual mention of Ireland and the Irish has been made in a French paper, it has generally been the reverse of friendly. But of late "The Irish Question" has loomed too large on the horizon of European politics to be any longer completely ignored. French correspondents are being despatched with orders to bring back the key of the military are busy enough, too busy, indeed, for the annoying problem. One of these modern Sir Galahads lately came to the conclusion, after deep reflection, that his best chance of finding the Saint Graal was to search for it within the classic precincts of T.C.D. Thitherwards, accordingly, he first bent his steps. Many of his discoveries will be as instructive to your readers.

"Trinity College, Dublin," he informs us of his countrymen as "the question" of Catholic Ireland may first, "is the true stronghold of Protestant thought and Anglo-Saxon culture. It was thanks to this stronghold that the British troops succeeded in crushing the insurrection of the Sinn Feiners. The fellows, professors, and former students of Trinity College are all men of enlightened spirit and have ever been the apostles (sic) of conciliation between the extremists. T.C.D.," continues this well-founded gentleman, "is not sectarian: thirty per cent. of our students are Roman Catholics." Moreover, "from her halls, during the war, issued forth the flower of Irish manhood to do battle for the Allies. Therefore," he concludes, "anyone desirous of knowing the opinion of moderate men, the Irish patriots who would fain end the present crisis without breaking the bonds of a Union that has subsisted for centuries, cannot do better than apply for information to this stronghold of Protestant thought and Anglo-Saxon culture."

* Echo de Paris, June 23.

Acting on this conviction, he proceeded to interview the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Dr. Bernard, ex-Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and present Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

I will not trouble you with the political opinions of the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Provost, which you will certainly be able to guess. Suffice it to say that they do not exactly tally with those of the electors who recently filled the County Councils with representatives of the Irish Republic. I wrote to the editor of the paper in which the interview appeared, politely pointing out to him the fundamental error of his correspondent, who imagines that "the stronghold of Protestant thought and Anglo-Saxon culture" is the best place to go to to learn the truth concerning "the Irish question." As the best refutation of Dr. Bernard's dicta, I laid before him the results of the elections above alluded to.

"Would not France," I asked, "have triumphantly appealed to the civilised world against German injustice and tyranny if, before the war, such a plebiscite had taken place in Alsace-Lorraine, a plebiscite so conclusively demonstrating the will of the people to free themselves from the yoke of the stranger?"

No notice was taken of my letter, whence I conclude that until French and English are once more "on different sides of the barricade" Ireland may wait for any proof of sympathy from Catholic France. I should not be surprised if she then no longer needed nor cared for it. Meanwhile, let her learn from a Frenchman what she certainly never suspected—that T.C.D. is the home of enlightened patriotism and shelters beneath its venerable roof the flower of Irish manhood.—Yours truly, E. PATRICK.

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The White Man's Burden.

(With acknowledgments to the "Nation.")

There is unrest
In India,
In Egypt,
And in Ireland.
I cannot understand it.
It must be a plot.

Unrest in foreign countries
Is different,
—They may be misgoverned—
But if there is unrest
In the British Empire
It is always
A plot
On the part of foreign countries.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.

It is ridiculous
To talk about the rights
Of small nations.
It is nothing of the sort.
We only keep India
Because, if we leave it,
The Indians
Would fight one another.
It is different
When Europeans fight one another.
But the Indians
Are a backward and brutal people,
And would not use
Guns, rifles, gas, bombs or flame-throwers.
It is better,
If you are an Indian,
To be bombed by a British aeroplane
Than to be hit
By another black.
We only stay in India
To protect the natives;
When we leave it
There will not be one rupee left.
No Englishman has any right

To talk about India,
Unless he has been there;
And no Indian
Has any right to talk about it,
If he lives there.
If he is a Maharajah
And plays cricket,
It is different.
A sportsman is a sportsman,
All the world over;
Except in Russia, of course;
And if an Indian Maharajah
Goes to an English Public School
He ought to be fairly safe—
Mens-sana-in-corpore-sano-and-all-that!

The doctors say
That a healthy man
Is unware of his body,
And in the same way
You feel
With a healthy-minded public school man,
That he is unware
Of his mind.
Look at our Generals!
They will show you
Where we should be
Without our public schools.
But none of the Indians
Know what they really want.
They only know what it is
That they don't want.
It is a plot.

It is the same in Ireland;
Sinn Feinism
Are no better than Bolshevism,
I'd shoot them all,
The bloodthirsty brutes!
A great big nation
Attacking a poor little country
Like Poland.
It is true

That the plucky little Poles
Had to advance first,
Or the Bolsheviks
Might not have attacked them.
But we never gave them any arm

To fight the Bolsheviks,
We merely sent it
To help maintain
Law-and-Order,
Just as we sent it
To Ireland;
And now the Bolsheviks
Have even attacked
The plucky little Persians.

It is a shame,
And prevents us
From keeping
Law-and-Order.
By Law-and-Order
I mean the shooting
Of people

Whom you don't happen to like;
But if they shoot back
—Or even answer back—
It is what I call a plot.

The burglar,
Who had been caught red-handed
With the contents of three houses,
Said:

"Directly I saw the police
I knew
That there was a plot
To deprive me
Of my possessions."
Unless people
Are allowed to keep
What they have obtained,
There will be an end
To Law-and-Order.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.

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(With acknowledgments to the "Nation.")

There is unrest
In India,
In Egypt,
And in Ireland.
I cannot understand it.
It must be a plot.

Unrest in foreign countries
Is different,
—They may be misgoverned—
But if there is unrest
In the British Empire
It is always
A plot
On the part of foreign countries.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.

It is ridiculous
To talk about the rights
Of small nations.
It is nothing of the sort.
We only keep India
Because, if we leave it,
The Indians
Would fight one another.
It is different
When Europeans fight one another.
But the Indians
Are a backward and brutal people,
And would not use
Guns, rifles, gas, bombs or flame-throwers.
It is better,
If you are an Indian,
To be bombed by a British aeroplane
Than to be hit
By another black.
We only stay in India
To protect the natives;
When we leave it
There will not be one rupee left.
No Englishman has any right

To talk about India,
Unless he has been there;
And no Indian
Has any right to talk about it,
If he lives there,
If he is a Maharajah
And plays cricket,
It is different.
A sportsman is a sportsman,
All the world over;
Except in Russia, of course;
And if an Indian Maharajah
Goes to an English Public School
He ought to be fairly safe—
Mens-sana-in-corpore-sano-and-all-that!

The doctors say
That a healthy man
Is unwarlike of his body,
And in the same way
You feel
With a healthy-minded public school man,
That he is unwarlike
Of his mind.
Look at our Generals!
They will show you
Where we should be
Without our public schools.
But none of the Indians
Know what they really want.
They only know what it is
That they don't want.
It is a plot.

It is the same in Ireland;
Sinn Feiners
Are no better than Bolsheviks.
I'd shoot them all,
The bloodthirsty brutes!
A great big nation
Attacking a poor little country
Like Poland.
It is true

That the plucky little Poles
Had to advance first,
Or the Bolsheviks
Might not have attacked them.
But we never gave them any arms
To fight the Bolsheviks,
We merely sent it
To help maintain
Law-and-Order,
Just as we sent it
To Ireland;
And now the Bolsheviks
Have even attacked
The plucky little Persians.
It is a shame,
And prevents us
From keeping
Law-and-Order.
By Law-and-Order
I mean the shooting
Of people

Whom you don't happen to like;
But if they shoot back
—Or even answer back—
It is what I call a plot.

The burglar,
Who had been caught red-handed
With the contents of three houses,
Said:

"Directly I saw the police
I knew
That there was a plot
To deprive me
Of my possessions."
Unless people
Are allowed to keep
What they have obtained,
There will be an end
To Law-and-Order.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.



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Current Happenings.

Law and Order"—As We Know It.

In the British House of Commons recently it was
officially stated that the Army of Occupation in Ireland
was necessary to the preserving of "Law and Order," and
that the protection it affords had been asked for by the
villan population. It is interesting to note how Law
and Order are maintained by the miscalled R.I.C. and their
qually active comrades of the Army of Occupation. Below
we some extracts taken at random from the daily Press
of last week. A better selection of quotations could easily
be reproduced; but those I have selected will give an idea
of the British Government's conception of how its Army
of Occupation preserves "Law and Order."

A coroner's jury in Tipperary on Monday, after hearing
the evidence as to how Richard Lumley, a civilian, met his
death, returned the following verdict:

We find that Richard Lumley was wilfully murdered by members
of the police and military forces.

We express our greatest horror and indignation at the dastardly
outrage; also at the conduct of the police and military in firing
into a house, without any provocation, where a respectable woman
was being visited.

And we strongly condemn the Dublin Galtie official report of the
occurrence as a baseless lie, having for its object to give an excuse
for a foul and cowardly murder.

Inquiring into the cause of the death of an aged man
named Thomas Feeney, of Tullamore, King's County, the
jury found that

death was due to shock and hemorrhage due to bullet wounds
inflicted by military. They strongly condemned the firing of rifle
shots recklessly into the house of deceased, and considered that the
Government should adequately compensate the next-of-kin."

In a similar case in Tipperary, the jury decided that
death was caused by

shock and hemorrhage caused by bullet wounds inflicted by an
armed (British) military party. There was no reliable evidence
produced by the authorities to show justification for taking away
the life of this young Irishman. We are convinced he met his
death at the hands of British soldiers, and we are confirmed in this
opinion by the refusal of the authorities to produce the officer in
charge of the military party responsible for his death. We strongly
censure the authorities for not giving any help to the jury at this
inquiry. We deeply sympathise with the relatives of the deceased,
who died a martyr to his country.

So much for the "prevention is better than cure"
policy of the preservers of "Law and Order."

It is a well-known fact that in the course of midnight
raids on civilian residences the members of the British
army have proved themselves eligible for admission to the
society for light-fingered gentlemen. Hen roosts have not
even escaped attention, and in more than one instance
they have bayoneted to death such fowl as they were un-
able to carry off.

The methods of the raiding parties can be judged from
some of the following extracts:

Military, accompanied by police, raided and searched the house of
Mr. P. Tobin, U.D.C., Emisborough, on Sunday. During the search
photos of men prominent in the Sinn Fein movement were smashed
by the soldiers.

Military carried out raids in Wicklow on Tuesday night. Mr.
Carroll, whose house was three times visited last week, was again
raided, and also Mr. W. O'Grady, U.D.C., President of the Sinn
Fein Club, and Mrs. Conside, Abbey Street. Pictures of Sinn Fein
leaders, a flag, and children's drawings were seized. The deporta-
tion order of a boarder in one house who had been in Wormwood
Scrubs, and some photos of Dublin in 1916, were torn.

Military, who raided the home of Mr. P. C. O'Mahony, Dungarvan,
after midnight, smashed to pieces photos of the Republican leaders.
They took up the children, who were in bed, and searched their
beds. A file of "Nationality" was also destroyed. They then
ransacked the houses of Mrs. Lennon and of Mr. M. Greaney,
U.D.C., taking away Rosary beads and religious medals from the
latter house.

A new means of preserving "Law and Order" was
introduced last week, as can be seen from the following,
vide the "Freeman's Journal":

"We English came over here to keep the life of you quiet."

This was the parting remark made by five armed and masked men
who forcibly removed a young man from Castleiney, near Thurles,
from his own home during the week, and later tied him to a gate
and flogged him with ropes until he was severely injured.

Prior to the flogging, the men warned their victim that he would
be shot, but later said they would deal with him in a way other
than with lead.

A similar incident is reported from Templetochy district, where
armed and masked men broke into the house of a much-respected
resident, and forcibly removed a young man.

They asked him was he a Sinn Féiner.

He replied "Yes."

He was then taken about half a mile from his house, stripped naked, and flogged with a riding whip until he was deluged with blood.

Some neighbours found him next morning lying naked and helpless. He thinks he can identify at least one of his assailants, having seen him wearing uniform. Several men in the district are obliged to stay away from home at night.

This last extract tells, of perhaps, the most disgraceful incident of all.

When the body of Mr. Pk. Fallon, accountant, who was drowned while bathing in the Slaney, was being removed from Wexford to Co. Galway for interment, the funeral party, who travelled by motor, was held up by military and police in the neighbourhood of Cloghan, King's Co. Before allowing the party to proceed the coffin was opened and the names of the party taken.

Even the dead are not immune from the courtesies of the marauders who are being continually imported from across the Channel under the guise of preservers of "Law and Order."

Who Shot Smith?

The shooting of Divisional Commissioner Smith in Cork on Saturday week has created quite a sensation. As is usual after such occurrences, practically everyone one meets asks, "Who shot Smith?" And everybody has a theory of his or her own—some outlandish, some possible. Some people, not quite in the fashion, ask: "Why was Smith shot?" Of course, it is a fact that Col. Smith's position was one which immediately condemned him, but some of the theorists have it that he was shot for another reason. The sensation created by the mutiny of the fourteen Lisdowney police following his "shoot at sight" instructions, and the crisis which subsequently faced his political masters when they were taxed with the matter in their Parliament, are all fresh in the public mind. Smith's conversation with his masters in London showed no means of getting out of the awkward corner into which his outspoken advice to the police had landed them. One of the two ways of saving themselves and "British prestige" was to confront Smith with his accusers and get them to withdraw the charge. But that was impossible. Smith had been over-indiscreet even with policemen, and in their indignation there was no hope of them speaking anything but the truth. The other was the removal of Smith. Smith has been removed. But the questions still remain: Who shot Smith? And why was he shot?

EUNAN.

Correspondence.

To the Editor, "Old Ireland."

CONSCRIPTION IN BOYLE.

Sir—In this week's OLD IRELAND Boyle No. 2 Rural Council are reported to have decided to take a step which practically amounts to enforcing conscription, namely, "to compel all physically fit men between the ages of 17 and 40 in their area to join the Irish Republican Army." Has Dail Eireann passed conscription? It seems rather beyond the scope of a Rural Council.—Yours faithfully,

K. O'SULLIVAN.

JULY 31, 1920.

Authority in Ireland.

Some weeks ago the Bishop of Ross took advantage of an address to children about to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation to launch into an attack on the authority of the Government of the Republic of Ireland. The particular case he chose and the particular manner in which he represented it do not matter. The essential thing is the allegation that the Government of the Republic has no right to function as a Government. And that, therefore, it is not a lawful Government at all. Though the making of that allegation from the pulpit of a Catholic Church in its capacity as a Catholic Bishop laid his Lordship open to charge of seeking to attach to his words the sanction of the Catholic Church, the matter was allowed to pass unnoticed in Ireland because the Irish people know the most Rev. Dr. Kelly as an ardent and active upholder of British Imperialism in this country, and, accordingly, on all questions to which the British Government is a party hold views as more than suspect.

Two weeks ago an Episcopal brother of his, the Bishop of Ardagh, also seized upon the occasion of the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation to hurl a similar philippic at the innocent and uncomprehending heads of little ones who had barely reached the years of discretion. The burden of his tirade was the same—a denial of lawfulness of the authority of the Government of the Republic. Admittedly, that he did not say it in so many words. What he did allege was that there was no authority in Ireland that could lawfully declare war on England. As the declaration of war is within the power of every lawfully constituted Government it follows that, if the Government of the Republic has not the right to declare war, it has not the right to function as a Government at all. In short it is no lawful existence. It is simply what the British Government might proclaim it to be—"an illegal organisation."

This Episcopal exposition of Catholic theology passed unnoticed as that of the Bishop of Ross, because the Irish people also know the most Rev. Dr. Hoare, and do not forget the mouth of May, 1916, when his Lordship likewise quoted theology to "prove," to his own satisfaction and that of the then editor of the anti-Irish Irish Catholic, that the men who had fallen in the fight, as well as the martyrs of Easter week, were eternally lost.

I would make no reference to either of these harangues now were it not that I find Bishop Hoare's opinion approvingly published by the London Catholic Herald and create misapprehension in the minds of Catholic friends and supporters of the Republic across the water, it may not be amiss to briefly examine what really are the teachings of the Catholic Church on such a situation as exists in Ireland to-day, and has existed here since December 29, 1918.

The Sovereignty of the People.

St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologiae* (I, II, q. 90, a. 3) places "the essential note of sovereignty, namely, the legislative power, in the people or in the viceregent of the people, and assigns a reason for it which is valid for the whole content of sovereignty, that is, the legislation is the necessary direction of means to the end of civil society, and that, whereas the end of civil society

JULY 31, 1920.

belongs to the people, the direction also of means to that end is with the people."

Apply that to Ireland, and what have we? The end of civil society in Ireland belongs to the Irish people, and to them, therefore, also belongs the direction of the means to that end—legislation. This power to legislate, which is the essential note of sovereignty, the Irish people by their votes in December, 1918, conferred on their then elected Government, Dail Eireann, as their viceregent. Accordingly, the only lawful legislative authority in Ireland is Dail Eireann, not of itself but acting as the viceregent of the Irish people. That is Catholic teaching, and that is the people that has been accepted throughout the ages, even in Pagan times. "The essential idea of civil society consisted by consent, and of fundamental sovereignty in the people, has come down to us from a respectable source," says his posthumous publication, *Sovereignty and Consent*, late Very Rev. Charles B. Macksey, S.J., Professor of Politics in the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, says:

"The idea" (that is, the sovereignty of the people) was indicated by Aristotle and outlined in St. Thomas; it was only when there took place the great contention between the Empire and the Church, between the power of kings and the ecclesiastical power of the papacy, that the controversy arose which led, step by step, to the fuller development in the Catholic Schools of the juridical origin of civil power. From the middle of the sixteenth century both of the great palaestrae of scholastic theology, the Dominican and the Jesuit lecture freely taught what in the seventeenth century Government is thus, through the natural law, directly received from Almighty God by the people, and thence transmitted to the rulers of the State by constitutional consent."

The Irish people have received civil sovereignty in Ireland through the natural law directly from Almighty God. To whom have they, on their behalf, entrusted that sovereignty? To Dail Eireann as their viceregent. There, according to Catholic theology, Dail Eireann, as the lawfully-elected viceregent of the Irish people, to which civil sovereignty is entrusted "by constitutional consent" of the people, is the only body in Ireland that possesses the powers of sovereignty, and is *ipso facto* the only lawful and constitutional Government in the country.

Sovereign Powers.

Further in his *Sovereignty and Consent*, Father Macksey says:

"The community (i.e., the people) has in itself all the powers of governing provisionally in the interim of organisation; may organise, if it so choose and the thing be expedient, a purely democratic form of government, and so retaining all its powers may stably govern the State. In one word, original sovereignty as in the people includes the governing powers as well as the powers of organisation. Outside of an absolute democracy the people entrust the governing powers to the rulers, retaining the organising powers for the emergency of necessary organisation."

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This is Catholic theology as expounded by the late Professor of Ethics in the Pontifical Gregorian University of Rome—an authority that even their Lordships of Ross and Ardagh will scarcely attempt to gainsay. According to this last extract that I have quoted, the powers of governing in Ireland belong to the Irish people, and these powers the Irish people have entrusted to their rulers "by constitutional consent"—Dail Eireann. Dail Eireann, therefore, by virtue of being elected by the Irish people as their viceregent is invested with all the powers of government in Ireland, and is the only body so lawfully invested. Those powers of government include all the powers of governing that are embraced in sovereignty, and amongst them are "the duty and function of providing for the purpose of civil society, for the security of rights and for the promotion of civic opportunities, in a word, of directing civic co-operation to civil society's specific welfare." This means that in Dail Eireann, as viceregent and only as viceregent of the Sovereign People, rests the sole lawful authority to discharge in this country the functions of constitutional government. The attempt of any other body to exercise such authority is a usurpation of the sovereign rights of the people, and a violation of both the natural and the Divine law. The denial of the right of Dail Eireann, or the moral recognition of the right of any other body, to possess and use in Ireland the sovereign powers of government delegated by constitutional consent by the Irish people, is a flouting of the ethical law as held through the ages, and a repudiation of the Scholastic doctrine. This doctrine Father Macksey sums up in these terms:

"The title for the juridical existence of an actual State is the consent of the people who constitute it. Immediately consequent on this follows by Divine right of the natural law sovereignty in the people, now a juridical unit, a body politic, a moral person. Logically and juridically subsequent to this comes constitutional organisation of a form of government and a determination of definite rulers, who constitute the government, the juridical and derivative title to whose sovereignty is the consent of the body politic, the people. In this sense lies the truth of the principle that 'government derives their just powers from the consent of the governed.'"

I commend this statement of Catholic doctrine to those who still deny the authority of Dail Eireann, and argue that there is no lawful authority in Ireland but the British Government, functioning through Dublin Castle, and the British Military Headquarters in Park Gate Street.

P. S. O'FLANNAGAN.

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The Pope is Not an Irish Nationalist.

Sean MacCaughan's article, "The Planter at it Again," was an honest statement of the attitude of the majority of Ulster Catholics towards every Ulster Protestant, without distinction. As such it is valuable, for it not only segregates this Anglicised majority of Ulster Catholics from a small but very resilient, and what will in the future prove to be a very effective minority of upstanding Irishmen among the Catholics of Ulster, but it definitely strips the Hibernian type of that hypocritical cloak of smirking tolerance with which he covers a deep-seated bigotry absorbed from the vicious majority in Protestant Ulster.

Just as the tare fruits frankly as no wheat in the eyes of all men and commands a respect we cannot extend, be it ever so golden, to the empty husk of the cornless wheat, so we must respect the MacCaughans who present fearlessly and vividly a vital falsehood, who, as Catholics, believe honestly that Catholicity is the only possible form of Christianity, and extend, as Irishmen, this credo to its logical conclusion, and openly confess their belief that only Roman Catholics can be good Irish Nationalists. For Irish Nationalism, we must all believe, is an outward manifestation in the realm of State affairs of the Irishman's conception of God. And MacCaughan, facing this fact, irritated, one not at all compared with him who, enunciating the creed that religion has nothing to do with politics, evades the issue and denies the obvious truth that every man's conception of God radically affects his relations with other men.

His religion impregnates every facet of a man's social relationship. When by his religion one is understood to mean his daily-lived answer to his question: "What is God?" So we find the Catholic God crystallise the essentials of his Catholicism when he opposes Catholic, Norman, and Parsi bull alike through eight bloody centuries. Everyone must admit a radical difference somewhere between the Christianity of the Fenian and the Anglicised heirs of O'Connell, who ostracised and persecuted him while he faced death, or a living death, to save Ireland. Everyone must face the essential difference between the followers of Pearse and the dupes of Redmond, and to-day between the heirs of Pearse and the heirs of Redmond. So that now, having conjured up the dead hosts of the fighting Catholic Gael to separate for me the Irish from the English and Anglicised Catholic, I shall state my own belief that in the Irish volunteer type of the present-day Catholic, the seriously religious Ulster Protestant found in '96, is finding since 1916, and will find in the mass, after incidents like Derry, a man whose conception of God differs no whit at its foundations from his own. These two, this Irish Catholic and this Irish Protestant, will manifest their Christianity in a practical and effected realisation of Wolfe Tone's object by substituting in the affairs of the State the common name of Irishman (springing from a Christian moral outlook common to both) for the denomination of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter.

The implied conclusion of MacCaughan's article, that only a Roman Catholic can be an Irish Nationalist, is an abrogation of the truth that only an Irish Christian can be a sound Irishman, and which MacCaughan knows subconsciously. But the false translation of this truth by his consciousness has led him to corral for his support a series of glaring misstatements of fact, wrapped up in a full-fronted display of Catholic phrasemongering, which by its gross failure to discriminate provide the necessary basis on which to

build what is at all times a subtle structure of discrimination. He says: "The men and women, the landlords, tenants, the schoolmasters and ministers of that generation the Government officials and the merchants, all alike knelt that they were doing an evil and an unholily thing." As a matter of fact, they knew and believed nothing of the kind. The planters stood for feudalism, which was the basis of what we call civilisation. This they considered, and this the native Irish have erroneously learned to look upon since the light of the world. They saw in the laws and customs of the Gael (as one reads in "A View of the Present State of Ireland," by Edmund Spencer) the darkness of the barbarian world. They were out to dissipate that darkness, and if necessary to exterminate the Irish, whom they looked upon as evil beings. In their own opinion they were apostles of Christianity. The Pope who presented Her the Second with a bull, and their other who afterwards presented the Catholic agents of English Imperialism in Ireland with another against the Fenians, must have regarded English as good Christians.

"The generations of men and women that came of the Plantation must have been nurtured on the moral and political ideas of the original invaders." It does not quite the existence of the peculiar Ulster tenant right which was instituted by the Covenanters Colonist, and which is directly traceable to his original Gaelic social faith, prove that the Ulster Presbyterian had not been nurtured on the moral and political ideas of the original English Catholic invaders. Nor did they evidence a similarity moral and political outlook to Wolfe Tone, as recently a century ago, when in his memorandum to the French Government Tone marked the radical difference between Scot, Dissenter and English Episcopalian, the former in opinion being "to a man sincere Republicans" and the latter as hopeless dual monarchists. If a concentration of English industrialism during the past hundred years has succeeded where English feudalism failed to dull and blunt "the spirit of inquiry" which existed before 1800, and which he considered had sprung from the genius of their religion, or more thoroughly than it has succeeded to wipe out nice discrimination in the Ulster Catholic of which MacCaughan is a type, then as the victim of English quest, whose mind has been robbed from him, he, the MacCaughans, should be the object of our sympathy rather than of our unthinking condemnation.

"At the bottom a mass of disinherited, uneducated Godless scamps. Slaves who yielded to tyrants in England; bullies who trampled on the weak in Ireland. Of the comparatively few retainers of the English adventurers this is literally true, but it is so blatantly untrue of the Scotch Covenanters, whose ancestors went to the aid and fell on the battlefield for their faith, and who constitute the mass of non-Catholic Ulster, that one had almost tempted to quote it without comment. When the business of 1841 had subsided we find the Ulster Presbytery subscribe liberally towards the erection of St. Michael's Cathedral in Belfast, and we see the Belfast volunteers of these days provide a guard of honour for the Roman Catholic bishop at the opening ceremony.

The present writer will be the first to admit the fact that there is in Protestant Ulster, as there is also in Catholic Ulster, a cruel, hard type of unmanly, brutalised individual who is the product of the soul-destroying corner machine, but through this spoiled child of Ireland must upon him the iron hand of the uncompromising Christian in Irish Nationalism, let us see clearly that our enemy

also his. While we must deal with him ruthlessly, for his own good and our safety, when he gets between us and the enemy, let no sane man imagine that to exterminate Protestant Ulster would solve for us in any degree the English problem in Ireland. The great "betrayal" of the Nationalists of Ulster," as well as the betrayal of Ireland, MacCaughan, would be to allow the Ulster Catholic to imagine that he was ipso facto an Irish Nationalist, and to concentrate the forces of Ireland to set the Catholic, as such, astride the broken body of the Ulster non-Catholic, who is potentially, and in some cases actually, as good a Republican as you are.

Having argued that the Godlessness of non-Catholicism is at the root of the trouble, not only between Ireland and England but between Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ulster, MacCaughan appeals for a revival of Defensiveness, and almost hysterically waving the Devlinite green flag, on which is inscribed "Faith and Fatherland," he asks, "How any sane Republican can put the Nationalists into the same category as Orangemen passes comprehension." It probably would stand outside the comprehension of one who is himself frankly and confessedly an Hiberno-Orangeman, if I understand him to mean by "Nationalists" the Catholics of Ulster, for he who calls his particular religious sect the only possible apostle of temporal truth is blood-brother to the Orangeman who does exactly likewise.

The last words of the article, "as recent events have shown," tempt me to take the writer of it and the reader to Derry, where recent events have shown that Irish Nationalism lay not in Catholicism any more than in Protestantism or Dissenterism, but in the still, small voice represented by forty fighting Gaels, who, standing by their traditions, walked between the "cowardly, greedy, swaggering bullies" and the howling, hysterical Catholic mob. These latter, because they were not Irish Nationalists, but only Anglicised Catholics, were impotent to defend themselves. It is at once a practical illustration of the insufficiency of the merely sectarian outlook and organisation which MacCaughan suggests in his article, and a proof that there exists in Ulster a small but effective minority with that Gaelic, Fenian, Irish Volunteer outlook which must form the nucleus of the force which will ultimately drive England and Anglicised Catholicism alike out of Ireland.

W. FORBES PATTERSON.

N.B.—I would have MacCaughan note the fact that there was at least one co-religionist of the present writer who placed the so-called Nationalists and the Orangemen in the same category, and who marched and fought with the Irish Volunteers.—W.F.P.

NOTE.

It is well to remember that at the present moment Mohammedan and Hindu are also proving to be good Nationalists and good Internationalists. Anyone who truly believes in his own religion must believe it to be the best. The person who believes that the principles of his religion are to be vindicated by looting, rioting, and smashing up the homes of unoffending and unaggressive individuals, or who attack nuns or ministers—these people belong to no religion, and are the real enemies of all religion and of the State. With the deep, serious conviction of individuals no legitimate argument man naturally try to win others to

their beliefs. The pride of Irish Catholic traditions is based on the historic facts that as the apostles of the spirit of Christ they appealed to the world in the great epochs of Irish freedom, not through violence and imperialism, but through gentleness, self-sacrifice, and learning. To-day the enemies of Ireland will hail as a real victory the first set of reprisals by Catholics on Protestants. The English politicians, by careful organisation and by bribery, are stirring up riots in Derry and Belfast, in the hope of making Catholics attack in a wild and promiscuous rage not the real authors of English tyranny and usurpation, but the dupes of that tyranny. To obliterate the ideals of Irish Nationalism, which became so intense since Eshelar, 1916, is the object of the enemy. The method of that enemy is to pay hooligans to resort to the lowest acts of incoherent anarchy; the hope of that enemy is that we all may see red with rage and grow blind to the real issues and confuse hooliganism with Protestantism, and attacking the latter let the authors of English tyranny escape and go free to wreck the Irish nation. The supreme value of the Volunteers lies in their power to maintain order and to preserve the ideals of 1916. They will protect all Irishmen, and will injure no one who is not an active enemy of the Irish State. It is well that Irishmen at this crisis should know what has recently occurred in India. For generations the conflict between Hindu and Mohammedan was carefully fostered by the English invader. After Amritsar, the Mohammedans and Hindus united in mourning for their fellow countrymen, the victims of Dyer; they did not stop at this one act, but recently the Mohammedans removed a perpetual cause of offence to Hindus by promising not to kill cows—the cow being regarded as sacred by the Hindu. In return, the Hindus have promised not to kill pigs—for the Mohammedans regards it as contrary to their religious traditions to kill pigs. Thus a mutual regard and respect is established between the votaries of each religion. Our readers understand, of course, that our contributor's views are his own, and we do not accept responsibility for them. We agree with most of them. A few remarks approach too closely to purely dogmatic controversy, and we have the layman's awe of the dread field of theology.—Ed., "O.I."

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Muddled About Marx.

Ireland has never reciprocated the lively interest that Karl Marx took in her. But in these days Ireland cannot afford to neglect the analysis of capitalist society, the author of the program of revolutionary Labour, the man of action, conspirator, constructor and critic, "who, being dead, yet speaketh" in the world revolutions he forecast with scientific accuracy.

His name has hitherto been known only through its use by certain clergymen as a sort of bogey. True, there has been published within the past three years a fair criticism of "Marxian Socialism" by Father Larkin, O.S.F.C., but that work has not received the attention deserved by the importance of the subject and the manner of its treatment by the author.

The recent article on Marx by Sean McCaughan takes a different line from the old-fashioned clergy. Marx is not the dread bogey of Continental Atheism and Red Revolution. He becomes the political trickster, pacifist, parliamentarian, cosmopolitan misleader, an international Lloyd George or Dan O'Connell. As McCaughan is so hopelessly wrong in his facts, I have collected a few of the gems of his article and appended comments upon them. The gems are given below, within quotation marks.

"At Ghent, an International was held, in the forties, I think, at which a definite break took place. Karl Marx, on the one hand, and Michael Bakounin led their forces into opposition camps."

The Bakounin split took place in 1872. The International was founded in 1864.

"Marx, like the Majority Socialists of the Continent and the I.L.P. of Great Britain, insisted on political action."

The Majority Socialists in Germany have abandoned Marx's teaching of no compromise, no political trading, and have become instruments of capitalism. The I.L.P. of Great Britain never was Marxian. On one hand, it is State Socialist, on the other, sentimentally anarchistic. Marx had no use for the State, but he refused to abandon any field of action upon which the working class could attack, harass, and impede its enemy.

"One cannot help comparing Mitchell and O'Connell with Bakounin and Marx."

Just so. Mitchell and Bakounin, the fiery apostles of revolt, O'Connell and Marx, the pacifist hot-air specialists. The comparison is false. Marx and Mitchell were editing the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" and "United Ireland" at the same time in 1848. Their policy was identical, or as nearly so as different conditions could allow. "Refuse to pay taxes. Meet force with force" was Marx's message. Like Mitchell's, Marx's paper was suppressed. Like Mitchell, he had to stand a trial (two in fact). He was sent into exile, personally free, but that was due to the fact that the Prussians were not so fully "civilised" as the English.

"His followers . . . MacDonald, Snowden, George Bernard Shaw, the late Jaures and Bebel."

Of these, only one, Bebel, was ever a follower of Marx.

The others were all, and always, anti-Marxian, in economic as in social action. Sean McCaughan may be right in other statements he makes about Shaw and MacDonald, but the weight of his statements tells in favour of Marxism, as against the opponents of Marxism he mentions.

"An able Marxian refused a subscription to the Gaelic League."

I know a Gaelic League who refused to buy a ballot ticket in aid of Thome Bridge Church . . . the Gaelic League is anti-Christian. "Could ignorance go further?"

"The Bolshevik leaders claim that they are true Marxians."

Yes, and they prove it, too. Read "The Collapse of the Second International," "The State and Revolution," and "The Proletarian Revolution," by Lenin. Refer to the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," "The Civil War in France," and "The Socialist Programme," by Marx. The claims of the Bolshevik leaders to be true Marxists will be fully borne out by that 10s. reading course in Marxism.

"The Third International exists only on paper. England, France, Germany and America stand aloof."

Representatives of the British Socialist Party and the Workers' Committee movement of England, the Communists of France, Germany and America, are even now (July 15) participating in the Congress of the Third International at Moscow.

"The fact that English and Scotch and French Marxians have no interest in these things (Gaelic culture) and think them foolish need not concern us."

English, Scotch and French Marxians' declarations on Gaelic culture would be difficult to find, but it may be suggested that the opinions of an Irish Marxian, e.g., James Connolly, would concern us. Let us explore the opinions of those in our midst before seeking light in darkness.

"The Marxians are generally behind the times." Eden and Cedar Paul tell us in their "Creative Revolution" that Marx was a Sinn Feiner in 1864. The Kuglemann letters are the proof.

In 1891, the demand of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people was for a subordinate Parliament, i.e., the Home Rule Bill of 1890 subject to minor amendments. Friedrich Engels said then that a Federal Republic in the British Isles would be an advance on the then existing Government. How many Republicans were there in Ireland then? The passage quoted is only an incidental reference in the course of a detailed criticism of the Erfurt program, in which the main argument was the necessity of declared opposition on the part of the German Social Democrats to the German Empire.

Says Lenin, "With Engels, as with Marx there is nowhere a trace of any desire to ignore the national question."

What a dreadful thing it would be if our opinions on the Gaelic League were to be based upon statements as false as I have shown these to be, if Sean McCaughan were always as unreliable! The "College" in which it may be assumed he met the Marxians who have formed his opinions on Marx is too lively a place for serious discussion. Let him unpicker his brows when he goes there again and sit humbly at the feet of the presiding genius, "a Daniel come to judgment." J. M. M. MACDONNELL.

Marxian Socialism "Made in Germany."

A short while ago I was rash enough to write a letter setting against Aodh de Blacam's article on "Internationalism," because I believed his unnecessary apologies working-class participation in the International were of a certain amount of harm, coming as they did from a man who was believed to be a Socialist. Since I have been held up as a horrible example, tried, found guilty, and condemned as a Marxian fanatic, which would be very well in its way if I were a normal "practical" man, but being a fanatic, "I refuse to recognise the fact," and not only do that, but I also question the ability of the judge to try me.

In order to clear the air a bit, I have certain explanations to make. First of all, Aodh, I am not a member of the I.L.P. I was once, and during that period I never came in contact with the people who go under the S.P.I. functions, and Marx like a "phonograph." The average members of the S.P.I. as I knew them were quite normal people, of whom had read Marx, others who had not, most of us as anxious as you, Aodh, to help forward the cause of socialism, and not a few who had translated their anxiety into action when the need arose. So you will see, my dear Aodh, there are two sides to every story, and that your side here like the report of Mark Twain's death, "greatly exaggerated."

I do not intend to trouble further with your imaginary fears, you serve as useful cockshits for occasional use, your attitude in that respect reminding me forcibly of a childish amusement of building sand castles, and then finding them from lack of space; to open up a discussion on Marxian economics is a big proposition, and however one might be, editors and circulations have to be considered; but I am convinced I could prove to you that a particular Marxian I have studied a little, sufficient to prove that it is you, my dear Aodh, who is guilty of spinning and "mouthing phrases."

Nearly seventy years ago Karl Marx, in conjunction with Friedrich Engels, issued the now famous Communist Manifesto, and in that manifesto was propounded "the story of all hitherto existing society is the history of struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in one word, the oppressed, standing constantly in opposition to the other, carried on an unintermitted warfare, now victorious, now vanquished; a warfare which always ended either in the revolutionary transformation of the whole of society to the common ruin of the contending classes." Now we see that all through the ages the class struggle has proceeded as Marx again points out in our own day, society is more and more splitting up into two great and opposed hostile classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Ever since this famous document was adopted by the advanced sections of the world proletariat, as their charter of freedom, a constant warfare was maintained by bourgeois economists against this view of the class struggle—they have denounced it as wicked, inhuman, etc.

And de Blacam is now engaged consciously or unconsciously (I believe the latter) in distorting and obscuring the issue, and persisting in trying to convince us that it is the fight for Capital and Labour to go hand in hand, as if the

wolf could lie down with the lamb, and the common ground of agreement is to be Christianity!!

To attempt to carry on this particular issue of the class struggle would need a great deal more space than the editor can spare, and anyhow it would not convince Aodh, for the simple reason that he lacks that which is the first essential to understand Marxian theory, class consciousness. Without this he is in the same position as a broad-minded Englishman, who thinks a good measure of Home Rule will satisfy the Irish people; just as the Englishman fails to grasp the significance of National Consciousness, so in the same way does Aodh miss the essence of Marxism. He does not feel it, and because he neither feels nor understands, he abuses and sneers, thereby condemning himself. When I used the phrase "an elementary knowledge of Marxian economics," I really meant it, and you have proved it, Aodh.

To deal with the question in a straightforward manner, it is quite plain that Aodh rejects Marx, and endeavours to prove it is possible to build up a Utopian paradise by taking certain elements from the present form of society and blending them together to make a "democratic Gaelic State." We Marxians, on the other hand, say that this is impossible, and out of harmony with the evolutionary progress of human society; to establish the new form, or new society, it is necessary to completely, and necessarily, forcibly overthrow and destroy the present order, and build up on the ruins of the old the freedom of mankind.

In his attempt to prove his case against the Marxians, Aodh, like all other sentimentalists, appealed to the shades of Columcille to help him. It is, I must confess, news to me to hear Columcille was a member of the International, but even if he was I am assured enough to stick to Marx. From what I read of Columcille he wasn't very strong on Christianity, for was he not the cause of a horrible butchery which was enacted in order to allow him to retain a book he had pilfered, but as the people who were killed were only protestants, I suppose it doesn't matter much.

No, my friend, it is useless talking to Marxians about Columcille or Christianity. For the last four years we have had Christianity in its most intense form in Flanders and elsewhere, and leading apostles of Christianity had bills on every dead wall in Dublin, urging us to go out to France to uphold "Thou shalt not kill," and to-day, in Holy Ireland, we find girls selling their bodies in every large town in order to live, poverty and hunger everywhere, and everybody happy, at least let us hope so.

Of course Aodh will point out it is not his kind of Christianity, but what would you have? Ah, me, I am sorry I cannot talk in "the language of real life," whatever that is, but I am willing to be educated, and I would like to find out while I am being educated what is "Gaelic" Socialism, and in order to apply "Gaelic" Socialism, where are we to find "Gaelic" Capitalism? But is it worth my while bothering? P. O'Galleobhair and Aodh are "defining a Socialist policy" for us all, and P. O'G. does not want the policy to be "too material." Needless to remark, the workers of Ireland are not to be consulted about it. If they were asked to define a policy, they might stick to Marx, and be mean enough to abolish parasites and co-operators, Trades Union officials, etc., and become rank materialists. They might want better times, more food, clothing, leisure, and generally run the country, and even in a moment of madness clear out Heaven-sent leaders. So we must guard against that.

I have very little more to contribute, as it is unfair to

the editor to propound views which, at the moment, are distasteful; to discuss Marx, to propound any theory as to the future of Ireland is not permissible, at least to Marxists. We are "enemies of the cause," because we are not orthodox, either in politics or economics, and that is sufficient to condemn anyone just now. To be harassed and persecuted by the M.L.S. Department of Scotland Yard is bad enough, but to add to the misery by being watched by Republicans is intolerable, and because of these things the Marxists are compelled to allow every false view of their position to go unchallenged. But times are changing, and when it may be possible to put forward the case for reason against sentiment, Marx will be as much honoured in Ireland as he is in Europe. The cheap sneer at "made in Germany" is but a sneer after all, and it is an accident of birth that determines a man's country, and not any great merit in himself. If Marx was a German, well Connolly and Larkin were Irish, and they realised the truth of the "German philosophy." Since then, of course, Aodh de B. and Father McKenna have proved that Connolly never meant what he said, and that he died in Dublin to show his mistake!!! What rubbish! But in spite of all the fog in

the near future the teachings that guided the Eoin will guide Ireland of the Irish working class to victory, the meantime I will be glad to see A. de B.'s definition "Democracy," "Soviet," etc., and I would advise him to give up for a while Biology, Sociology, etc., and try a study of that well-known science, *Geology*. It may give him a clearer outlook on life, and incidentally show that the "Freedom of the working class is the work of working class," and the working class in Ireland realising it. Twelve months from now the class struggle will rage in Ireland, and will finally end in the abolition of classes and the risk of the Communist Republic.

Note.—Our contributor is unfair to Christianity and to Columcille. In fact, his remarks on these subjects are shallow and offensive. Columcille did not "pirate" books. He merely took a copy for his own use. He was a Christian, repented bitterly, and did penance all his life for the fight he caused. The term "butchery" is absurd. There was a fight between two parties, but the word butchery one would imagine that an American

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

MUNITIONS OF WAR.

THE Irish Railwaymen, rather than assist in providing the Army of Occupation with Munitions for the war against Ireland, are sacrificing their wages and risking their livelihood in the Nation's interest. Nearly 1,000 men are now on the victims' list, over 400 have been unemployed since May. Their ranks are being added to daily.

This is not a railwayman's fight alone, nor a Trade Unionist's fight—it is the nation's fight—**It is YOUR fight!**

It is a fight against self-extinction!

The issue that is raised is identical with that which was fought out to victory two years ago in the struggle of the Irish Nation against conscription. Then, it was sought to take our bodies and compel us to bear arms in a fight not of our choosing; now they seek to compel us to become co-workers with them in the destruction of our Nation.

It is the imperative duty of every man and woman in Ireland to rally to the support of the locked-out men. You cannot afford to hurl gibes at others for refusing support until you have borne your share of the burden.

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 Dublin.

July 12th, 1920.

something of that kind had occurred. As to the war it is intensely unfair to attribute to Christianity the views of a few people like Fr. Vaughan. The war killed Pope Pius X. He refused to bless the arms of any belligerent, and declared that he blessed Peace. He died murmuring "My people—my poor people." His successor made continuous and strenuous efforts to bring about peace, and he wrote in his own hand congratulating Dr. O'Dwyer on his great Peace Pastoral. The Church was continually praying for peace. All the ideals of Christianity are of peace and gentleness. These are the most obvious incidents that occur to one, as showing the shallowness and falseness of the statements about Christianity. If Sean McLoughlin expects to establish his Communist Republic by attacking Christianity in Ireland, and sneering at co-operation, he had better hurry up or the world will have ended before his particular kind of millennium comes. Indeed, the same shallowness of view marks the individual who can condemn co-operation and at the same time acclaim himself a follower of Connolly and the Russians. Ireland wants industries and a large population.

We have a blank sheet to fill in, not a highly-organised capitalistic system to be smashed. Organise industries on the most cooperative basis possible, give your workers control—and work not words. The poverty problem in Ireland cannot be solved merely by smashing capitalists. There is an immense field for new industries started on democratic lines. Why not start at that end? If the agricultural workers were educated up to it they would be organising Communal or Co-operative farms all over the country to-day instead of looking for small plots to work on the old-fashioned uneconomic lines. Why this mouthing about Christianity when the people have not even industries to fight about? But Ireland does not propose to listen to this sort of attack on its faith and ideals—an attack wholly irrelevant to the economic rights and interests of the people. If Sean McLoughlin would confine himself to expressing the Marxian economic point of view and leave religion alone, he would help far more towards clearing the air.—Ed. "O.I."

Derry—Cahal Bradley Protests.

Under the heading of "Derry and Other Places," P. S. O'Flannagain has said many things without, I presume, being acquainted with the truth regarding happenings in Derry. He states: "The votes of thanks to England's resident Army of Occupation expressed by Catholic priests." This is a general statement and is unjust. Personally, I have yet to learn where any clergyman, publicly or otherwise, expressed his thanks to England's resident Army of Occupation. If P. S. O'Flannagain can tell us of one case we shall be pleased to have particulars. Furthermore, his reference to the Citizens' Conciliatory Committee seems to have been entirely based upon Press reports, which were misleading. This Committee was called at the request of the leading business men here, and to it were invited a small number of the members of the present Corporation and several clergymen. The writer, with others, accepted the invitation to attend, but on finding that the assistance of the Army of Occupation was to be invited, we refused to take further part in the proceedings of that Committee. Those Sinn Feiners who attended the Committee concerned themselves only with the settling of the strikes and renewal of work. These being accomplished, they ceased to take further part in the proceedings.

As regards votes of thanks, it may interest P. S.

O'Flannagain to know that the only public testimonies that we are aware of were to the Irish Republican Army.

Again, it is unfair of P. S. O'Flannagain to talk about a Catholic Relief Fund when no such fund exists in Derry. The name of the fund I presume he refers to is the "Derry Relief Fund," and if the Press have juggled with the title occasionally, I do hope that he will not attribute this to those who have insisted upon it being otherwise than "Catholic."

If P. S. O'Flannagain had known more of the happenings in Derry, I am sure his article would have been more interesting and more useful. We in Derry had considered that we had an exceptionally difficult situation to deal with, and believing that we handled it with care (and, I believe, national vision), it is but natural that we should feel the severity of your writer's criticism. There are many things that have yet to be known of Derry, and when these are known perhaps P. S. O'Flannagain and others may have a different message to give us. CAHAL BRADLEY.

Another Protest.

A Chara,—I have read with much interest P. S. O'Flannagain's article, "Derry and Other Places." As a Derryman he knows what he is talking about, he knows the peculiar circumstances Republicanism in Derry is placed in. I would be very pleased if P. S. O'Flannagain in another article would give an idea of how a Republican should act in the following circumstances to avoid being mixed up in sectarian strife. Of course, P. S. O'Flannagain will understand police and military are not available for the protection of Republicans, even if their protection was desirable.

If, when going to or from work, one is forbidden to, let me say, cross Carlisle Bridge under penalty of being maltreated by a gang of hooligans and perhaps thrown into the river. (See case of J. Dobbins, since dead.)

If he attempts to cross by ferry he is shot at. (See cases of shooting and wounding passengers in the ferry boats.)

If P. S. O'Flannagain were held up at the revolver's point and his religion questioned. (See case of J. O'Kane, shot dead for not denying his faith.)

If his house is entered by masked and armed men, his furniture looted, he and his family ordered out of the district and forbidden to return under penalty of death. (Dozens of such cases have happened, the object apparently being to clear non-Protestants out of the South-East ward and so regain the old Protestant ascendancy in municipal affairs.)

If a Republican be a total abstainer and a member of the Pioneer Society, wearing a Pioneer pin, should he withdraw from the Pioneer Society and take down the pin to avoid attack? (See case of Gerald McLaren and companion, who were savagely beaten on Prehen Road for this offence.)

If an employee of a Unionist firm is dismissed solely for being unfortunate enough to be a Catholic; no other cause is assigned, the boss simply says, "You are a Catholic and must go." (Particulars of this case can be given.)

When hundreds of people are in starvation, many of them homeless, simply on account of their religion, are Republicans to withhold their money and refuse aid because John D. Nugent contributes to the same fund?

Perhaps Republican ideas have not spread so far into the North as they have in the more congenial South and West. Granting we here are in the "Wilderness," will P. S. O'Flannagain undertake the rôle of a second Moses to lead his fellow citizens out of the bondage of sectarianism into the promised land of true Republicanism. Is mise, C. HYNDMAN.

An Appeal to the Hierarchy to Recognise Dail Eireann.

[By the special request of a much-respected Irish theologian we publish the following article from the *Catholic Herald* by Oliver Cross.]

Twice during the past three years have the Catholic bishops of Ireland come to the aid of the Irish nation. In 1918, when Ireland was threatened with conscription by an alien and hostile power, the Bishops took action. In solemn conclave they met and denounced "the unconstitutional proposal to conscript the Irish people against their will." "Who can doubt that their action helped materially to defeat the iniquitous proposals? For a second time they acted with promptitude and with decisive effect in the present year. All Ireland was standing aghast at the tremendous tragedy of Mountjoy. Labour acted magnificently in the crisis. When the Bishops met again and voiced the feelings of an outraged people, who can doubt, also, that the defeat of the Government which followed was largely due to their solemn pronouncement? And this brings me to the momentous question I put to the Bishops of Ireland: Will they—for the third and most important time—come again to the aid of the Irish nation?

Turning-point Reached.

Before I develop this question, I want to clarify the situation. Ireland has reached the turning point of her chequered career. For here there can be no longer any turning back. The day of compromise has passed, once and for all. The time for action has arrived. Weak, shackled, divided, apathetic, and perplexed, Ireland several times during the last hundred years was willing to accept a partial settlement of what is, after all, her inalienable right. Under the guise of Home Rule she was willing to compromise her claim to nationhood—willing to accept, temporarily, the half-loaf, to full and complete independence. Morally, her position was unassailable. Tactically, she had to consider the present as well as the future. She was ready to accept a partial measure of Home Rule. Partial—never final.

Always the Same.

Her greatest Parliamentary leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, made that quite clear. Everyone knows the famous phrase outlined on his monument in Dublin, to the effect that no man can set a boundary to the march of a nation. Parnell himself had no illusions and no deceptions in the matter. His ideal was that Home Rule was to be used as a stepping stone to eventual absolute independence. His ideal was a free Ireland, in every sense of the word, free from any connection whatever with England. His speeches

proved that he disagreed with the Fenians only on the question of tactics. All the unhappy differences, even between Nationalists and Sinn Feiners, in recent years, have been on the subject of tactics only. All were agreed that an independent Republic was the best for Ireland—it could be got.

Tactics or the Truth.

John Redmond, Imperialist though he pretended to be, in the mistaken notion that he would placate England thereby, would have welcomed an absolutely independent Ireland. I could quote scores of sentences from his earlier speeches to prove it. Only as he grew older, and more portly and more conservative, he believed the project impossible, and, pursuing always his favourite tactics, sought to convince England that Ireland would be satisfied with even less than Dominion status. His hope of pleasing England, and of carrying Ireland with him, are now proved to have been completely illusory. Ireland never surrendered her moral right to be independent. But her voice was feeble in the past. To-day it is strong and firm. To-day she demands what yesterday she only dreamed of.

An Ungovernable Ireland.

"Ireland," said John Redmond in the fall of 1916, "will be absolutely ungovernable unless she gets Home Rule." He was a little premature. Ireland is and will be absolutely ungovernable unless she gets independence. That is the crux. That is the point. No amount of quibbling will get over that patent fact. Spain was ungovernable under the French domination of 1811. Cuba was ungovernable under the Spanish authority of the nineties. Ireland is and will be ungovernable under English occupation. Let there be no mistake about that. It cannot be too clearly envisaged. English government in the past in Ireland has been everything from a farce to a tragedy. In the future, so long as it continues, it will be a blunder. A blunder for the so-called governors. A blunder for England of the first magnitude. A blunder that will cost her dear.

Issue Clearly Stated.

This brings me close to the vital point underlying this whole article. Many lives have been lost in Ireland during the past twelve months. What sane man can doubt but that many more will be lost during the coming year? Once the killings start it will be very hard to stop them. The saying is true. If it were merely the stopping of a Ku Klux group the thing would be possible. But when it applies to a whole nation the thing is impossible. In the Italian war of independence the killings were done very, very similarly to what has been taking place in Ireland. Had Austria recognised the justice of the Italian claims then

would she be now in the pitiable position she is in? Like the Bourbons, she learned nothing. But Italy won.

The Impending Tragedy.

If it were only a matter of sporadic unrest, the Bishops of Ireland might plead that their silence was golden. But Ireland is rapidly reaching the culminating point of her tragic career. One awakens every morning with the uneasy feeling that the day may bring forth awful happenings. The very air is electric. Hundreds of thousands of ardent, high-souled young Irishmen are straining at the leash. They long to burst the accursed chains that bind them to England. They aspire to be free. Around them, everywhere, are English police and English soldiery—English police armed with rifles and bombs, and English soldiery supported by tanks and machine guns, and seven-inch naval guns. The terms of a fearful tragedy are here!

A Question for the Bishops.

Can anything be done? I put the question to the Bishops of Ireland: "Can anything be done to avert the impending tragedy?" My opinion is that much can be done. Through her duly-elected representatives in Ireland and abroad, Ireland has told the world of her anguish. But her representatives—some of them—are in English goals. They are forbidden to meet. They are forbidden to govern. They are almost forbidden to eat, to live—to exist. They require every support that can be given to them. Ireland needs now every voice on her behalf—needs it more, and needs it more urgently, than ever before in her long and sorrowing history.

A Straightforward Suggestion.

Bluntly, the suggestion I make to the Catholic Bishops that for the third time they should meet and come to Ireland's aid. They should, with all moral force at their command, tell England and the world that Ireland can never never be peaceful, happy, and contented until the invaders are out bag and baggage. They should recognise Dail Eireann as the one true and only "de jure" and "de facto" Government of Ireland—a Government elected by the vast majority of the Irish people, a Government that has the confidence of the Irish people. Let them do that, and the world will then see who is right in Ireland.

Its Electrical Effect.

Such a pronouncement would go ringing round the world. It would have a momentous effect. The voice of Church and the voice of the people. Separately they are powerful, each in their sphere. Combined they would be irresistible. They would make Ireland's moral position unassailable. The naked Prussianism of the present regime would be stripped still more bare—it would become a

skeleton, a scarecrow. Even the most ill-informed man or woman in foreign countries could hardly fail to be struck by such a pronouncement. The Church and the laity—Ireland, in fact, speaking with one voice, recognising its own Government and no other.

Another Reason.

There is another reason why they should do so. Everyone knows the play that has been made about the alleged Bull of Adrian granting Ireland to England. Ireland repudiates the idea of such a Bull with disdain. But ignorant people at home and abroad have still been known to say, "Didn't a Pope give Ireland to England? And as the Irish are Catholics must they not obey the Pope?" I will not stop to answer these questions. But I must point out that the cocorionist, Balfour, has been received by the present Pope. His visit was followed by a flaming placard in red of an English newspaper, "Pope and Sinn Fein." Balfour was said to have devoted the whole interview to Ireland.

An Effective Answer.

Now, the Irish people, the most loyal and the most deeply Catholic people on earth, do not like these reports. They do not like the insinuation that England can influence the Vatican in Irish matters. English journals and English statesmen know that. Therefore they circulate them with the hope of exasperating Ireland. The best and the most effective way to counter them would be for the Irish Hierarchy to meet and issue a pronouncement putting Ireland's case before the entire world. The time is singularly ripe for such a splendid opportunity. The brave and fearless Archbishop Mannix is coming on a visit to Ireland. His reception (if the Junkers do not get their tanks out to stop it) will be electrical. Now is the time, therefore, I respectfully suggest, for the Bishops to move.

Reasons for Action.

I put this forward, therefore, on several grounds, all rational and exclusive. I say it must force the hands of an obstinate alien Government. It will help to save many lives. It will rouse the moral conscience of the world. It will help the friends of Irish freedom in their great work in the United States. It will have a sobering effect in Ireland; it will clarify the whole situation. Young men who know that the Church and the State they are creating are both behind them, will be less liable to ill-considered acts. Amongst the foreign garrison in Ireland, it is likely a pronouncement of the kind would have a profound effect—at least, in the case of those with any sort of consciences.

The Church and the Police.

Many of the police have resigned in Ireland recently. When the Bishop of Cork, during the awful couple of weeks that followed the murder of the Lord Mayor, suggested that the Bishop might yet have to tell the police that their duty was not to goad the people; when the Prelates supported the Republican candidates in the elections; when the young priesthood of Ireland is to a man Sinn Fein and Republican—I ask in all seriousness, Has not the time come for the Irish Hierarchy to declare in solemn conference that Ireland's hour has arrived—that her day of freedom is at hand—that her duty is to her own Government—that the Government of Ireland is Dail Eireann, and not Dublin Castle, or Westminster, or Downing Street, London?

Let it be Done Quickly.

Only let it be done quickly, effectively and solemnly. It will have to be done some time. Why not now—when it will be ten times more effective than later on? Let their be no quibble about it. Let it be a complete and absolutely clear definition of duty a direction to the Irish people that that allegiance is due to the Government elected by themselves. The moral effects would be tremendous. The time is at hand. God grant that it may not be done too late!

OLIVER CROSS.

Brian Boru, Esquire.

A Carr,

I was astounded recently to see, in an advertisement of a Gaelic College, the secretary's name given with the title "Esq." added.

Now that we have shaken off so much of the dust of Anglicisation, surely it is time to drop for ever this custom so essentially English and snobbish. I appeal to all Gaels and Republicans to set the example. Let us revert to the old Gaelic use, the surname and Christian name alone, without prefix or suffix, alike for all without distinction.

Mire,

CAIRÉ CEAN MÍO HAÍM.

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OLD IRELAND

(NEW SERIES).

VOL. II. No. 27.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1920.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Great Churchman, Great Irishman, Great Man.

The progress of Archbishop Mannix from Australia to
America and to Ireland has become one of the great episodes
of the struggle for recognition of the Irish Republic. The
progress of this great Churchman to the position he now
occupies in the front ranks of Ireland's defenders is the pro-
gress of one mainly concerned in spiritual and ethical issues.
He has heard the voice of God's justice crying through the
voices of the Irish people. He sees that the future spiritual
interests of all democracies, from Australia to Ireland,
whether one travels by America or the East, depend upon
the honest and impartial application of the principles of
international justice—in a word, in the unrelenting applica-
tion of Self-determination. All the forces of sheer
materialism, of political ruthlessness, of intrigue uninformed
by any ideal save that of ceaseless robbery of territory, are
ranged against Ireland; all the forces of sinister finance and
British tyranny look to the English Government as their
defender. In throwing his energies and the great weight
of his authority into the struggle for Ireland, Dr. Mannix
deals with a perfectly clear vision the world-wide value of
the issues involved. The happiness in the highest and in every
sense of the peoples of the world cannot be based on injus-
tice to any nation. That happiness of the peoples cannot
be based upon international justice. Being an Irishman,
Archbishop Mannix fights for those great principles of human
freedom on the Irish front, fully realising that the hopes of

Ireland and of all democracy are involved in the defeat of
our enemies, who are the enemies of the real democracy
across the face of Europe, Russia, India, Siberia, the Nearer
East, Egypt, and in America also. Ireland will welcome
Archbishop Mannix, if he succeeds in coming to Ireland, as
a most powerful Irish patriot and as a great defender of the
cause of human freedom.

The Only Prudent Thing—Hostility.

One might set out at length the series of acts of dis-
honour, intrigue, violence and tyranny committed by the
English Government which have taught all men and women
of integrity that no good can come from that group of con-
spirators. People with any intelligence, and even the
crudest sense of justice have, with Archbishop Mannix,
learned from the base actions of that Government, accumu-
lated from day to day and year to year, that compromise is
no longer possible, and that where, ten years ago, many
imagined that a compromise with these rulers of a great
Empire was possible, now the only right, prudent, and long-
sighted course of action possible, is unrelenting hostility to
these enemies of democracy—the Lloyd Georges, Churchills,
and the rest.

The Madness of Easy Optimism.

One could trace, as in time the impartial historian must,
the same perfidious policy followed by the British Govern-
ment in all its dealings with the great peoples of the world.
Its attempt to enforce conscription on Australia; its gigantic
conspiracy against the Russian people from Siberia to
Poland; its opium drugging of China; its promotion of wars
in frontier States against Russia until Russia pounded them;
its subsidies in munitions and money to those inhuman
monsters, Koltchak, Denikin, and the rest of the Czarists;
its starvation of millions of people in Central Europe and
Russia; its lies to the Emir of Fezul, and generally its treat-
ment of the rights of the peoples in Asia Minor. All these
acts, together with Arrisarr, Dublin, and the multitude of
imprisonments, murders, sacking of towns, destruction of
property, pogroms and outrages in Ireland, are filling the
cup of the British Government's iniquity to overflowing. It
would be contrary to all the lessons of history, and to the
best instincts of human nature, if the authors of these crimes
should escape the fate of all Empires founded on violence.
One can only judge men by their actions, and on that judg-
ment alone can one form one's line of action towards them;
hence to-day, in view of the actions of that Government, an
attitude of easy optimism, of hoping for justice from such
hands, is madness, and in a statesman entrusted with the
destinies of any people that madness would be criminal.

Lloyd George Promises More Coercion.

There was really nothing new in Lloyd George's answer
to Mr. Thomas. The position remains unchanged, and
Lloyd George merely repeats his "never, never, never"
to the claimants of an Irish Republic, i.e., the vast majority

more the physical, moral and economic welfare of the nation, and so do a work redounding magnificently to the greater glory of God and the honour of Erin—a work which many thinking men, for the gravest reasons, believe absolutely imperative.

We propose to establish a branch of "An Gaedheilach" in every parish of our diocese, each branch appointing one delegate to the Diocesan Executive. We suggest a minimum membership fee of sixpence, half of which to be sent for organisation purposes to the Diocesan Treasurer. It is our earnest hope that "An Gaedheilach" will be established in every diocese in Ireland, and that, in a short time, representatives from all the dioceses may form a Central Executive.

By "An Gaedheilach" we understand a national organisation in the broadest sense of the term—not a sodality in the ecclesiastical sense, nor a political association in any sense—but of the people, for the people, by the people.

(Signed) S. L. O'MIOCHAIN, C.C., President; P. S. O'MORAIN, P.P., Vice-president; T. DE BURCA, C.C., Secretary; S. O. O'DWYER, C.C., Treasurer; P. E. MACGIOLLA SHEANNAIGH, P.P.; S. O'RUADHAIN, C.C.; M. CIONNAITH, C.C.

Galway, 12th July, 1920.

"Derry and Other Places"

In the last issue of OLD IRELAND Alderman Bradley, of Derry, protests against some things I wrote in my recent articles on the rioting in that city, and impugns the accuracy of certain of my statements therein.

Alderman Bradley's first charge:

"He (i.e., I) states . . . the votes of thanks to England's resident Army of Occupation expressed by Catholic priests." This is a general statement and is unjust. Personally, I have yet to learn where any clergyman, publicly or otherwise, expressed his thanks to England's resident Army of Occupation. If P. S. O'Flanagan can tell us of one case we shall be pleased to have particulars."

My reply:

My authority for my statement is the Dublin daily Press and the Derry Catholic sectarian organ of June 28, 1920. The *Derry Journal*, which should be the best informed, in its issue of that date (page 2, col. 5) and under the heading, "References in the Churches," says: "At the Masses in the Catholic Churches yesterday it was stated that while little assistance was forthcoming from the authorities the people should be thankful to the police for the impartiality they displayed and the assistance rendered in the protection of the lives and property of peaceable citizens." I regret as much as Alderman Bradley the generality of this statement. There are some priests in Derry whom I cannot conceive as guilty of such an act of treason, and such a general statement leaves them open to the charge. If the statement is, as Alderman Bradley says, unjust, why, in view of the seriousness of the allegations involved, has it been permitted to go uncontradicted for five weeks?

Alderman Bradley's second charge:

"His reference to the Citizens' Conciliatory Committee seems to have been entirely based on Press reports, which were misleading. . . . On finding that the assistance of the Army of Occupation was to be invited, we refused to take further part in the proceedings of that Committee. Those Sinn Feiners who attended the Committee concerned themselves only with the settling of the strikes and renewal of work."

My reply:

The first of the two references I made to the Citizens' Conciliatory Committee was taken not from a Press report, but from an official announcement of the Committee itself published as an advertisement in the Press. That announcement, dated "this 29th day of June, 1920," assured "the master carters, dockers, factory workers and all others" that "the Competent Military Authority (British) has made arrangements to have the thoroughfares efficiently protected." Alderman Bradley says that the Sinn Feiners on the Committee concerned themselves only with the "renewal of work." This announcement had to do with the renewal of work. Does Alderman Bradley not think that those Sinn Feiners should publicly and at once have repudiated all connection with it? Up to the present they have not done so. I accept Alderman Bradley's statement that he and his colleagues refused to take part in the proceedings of the Committee when the assistance of the British Army of Occupation was invited, and I am glad to know it, but again I ask—why have not the fact made public? The motor strike, with which, according to Alderman Bradley, the Sinn Feiners were concerned, was settled by the Committee on June 28, two days after the issue of the announcement I have quoted. Can I, as the public generally, be blamed for connecting the Sinn Fein members of the Committee with the performance when they have never dissociated themselves by statement or resolution from the Committee's acts?

Alderman Bradley's third charge:

"It is unfair for P. S. O'Flanagan to talk about a Catholic Relief Fund when no such fund exists in Derry. The name of the fund I presume he refers to is the 'Derry Relief Fund,' and if the Press have juggled with the title occasionally, I do hope that he will not attribute this to those who have insisted upon it being otherwise than 'Catholic.'"

My reply:

If it is unfair for me to talk about a Catholic Relief Fund what of those who have organised and are running the fund? It is not a case of the Press having "juggled with the title occasionally." The title is official, and is contained in the officially advertised list of subscriptions issued every week. No later than Friday last, July 30, the *Derry Journal*, the organ of the Catholic Sectarians in that city, has (page 2, col. 3) an advertisement of subscriptions. That advertisement, in quarter-inch block type, is headed, "Derry Catholic Relief Fund, 1920," and is signed at the bottom "J. O'Doherty, C.C. (St. Eugene's, Wm. Duffy, J. Kerr, Treasurer, John Han, Treasurers, T. F. Cossey, St. Columba's Hall, Hon. Secretary." If that is "juggling with the title,"

as Alderman Bradley alleges, then the "juggling" is clearly attributable not to the Press, but to the officers of the Committee whose names are appended to the advertisement. And their "juggling" has not been "occasional," but continual and consistent, as every issue of the *Derry Journal* since June 28 proves. In this case Alderman Bradley's quarrel is not with me, or even with the Press. It is the Mr. J. O'Doherty, C.C., Mr. Wm. Duffy and Mr. E. F. Cossey who have, as he asserts, "juggled with the title of the fund. Their official advertisement is good enough for me. As it is apparently not good enough for Alderman Bradley, the three gentlemen concerned have, I feel sure, a sufficiently satisfactory answer to his charge against them of juggling. Let me state frankly—and I have read every published item about the fund—that never since its inauguration has it been called anything but the "Derry Catholic Relief Fund," and never has the slightest indication been given that the subscribed moneys will be used for the relief of any but Catholics. If there is such a thing as a "Derry Relief Fund" let Alderman Bradley produce the evidence. Let him also give facts to show who insisted, and in what way, on the mysterious fund to which he refers being "otherwise than 'Catholic.'" Alderman Bradley's statements about the fund become still more puzzling when we consider that (*Derry Journal*, June 28, 1920, page 8, col. 6) he himself is one of the representatives of the St. Eugene's Parish on the Executive Committee of the "Derry Catholic Relief Fund, 1920."

Let me say that I admit that my knowledge of the events in the Derry rioting are not altogether confined to what the Press reported. I had other sources of information, and on the information before me I strove to be accurate in my statements. I know the situation and the conditions, and I repeat now what I wrote in the article that has offended Alderman Bradley, that the only people in the city who possessed any national vision and handled the affair in a national manner were the members of the Irish Republican Army. The Irish Republican Army saved the situation for Ireland. If Alderman Bradley knew the propaganda that the British Government made out of the Derry riots abroad, if he knew the cables that were sent to the United States, and if he knew how the case that the British Government sought to make against the Irish Republic was smashed by the action of the members of the Irish Republican Army, it might alter his viewpoint.

The "C. Hyndman" Letter.

When the writers who, lacking even the courage to be anonymous, sheltered themselves behind the name of a perfectly straight, sincere and honest man who could not possibly have written the letter, develop sufficient manliness to come into the open, I shall have a complete—though brief—reply to their questions.

P. S. O'FLANAGAIN.

Correspondence.

To the Editor, "Old Ireland."
A VIEW OF AMERICA.

Sir,—America will help Ireland when it is to her interest, financially to do so. At present it is not.

The U.S.A. is ruled by the powers of finance; there is no desire to embarrass England, therefore she will not be embarrassed.

The President of the U.S.A. is placed in his exalted position again by the powers of finance, therefore he obeys

his masters, who do not desire the freedom of Ireland at present.

The Irish in the U.S.A., assisted by the Germans, could settle the Irish question to-morrow; they will not do so because their desire is not sufficiently virile to induce them to take the necessary steps to do so.

Most Irish people in the U.S.A. are not particularly wishful that you should know they are Irish. They would much prefer to be "Anuracan."

IRELAND MUST FREE HERSELF.
MICHAEL J. LORD.

HERE ENDETH—

Sir,—In last week's issue you appended some notes to my article on "Marxian Socialism," and in the notes you accused me of attacking religion, and the Catholic religion in particular. You grossly and deliberately misstate the facts. I did not attack the Catholic religion. I simply refused, as an individual, to be restricted to the view that it is impossible to build up a new social order without the aid of the modern conception of Christianity. That is a much different thing to attacking a particular form of religion. When I wrote of "The Apostles of Christianity Who Displayed Bills in Dublin" to get recruits for the shambles, I did not mention Cardinal Logue, nor did I mention Dr. Crozier, John Dillon, or any individual, or clerical, lay or any particular denomination. So you are wandering, Mr. Editor, when you say I attacked the "faith and ideas of Ireland." The rest of your remarks are equally wrong; I did not condemn co-operation, the word in the article is co-operators, there being as much difference in the two words as there is between army and soldier. Indeed all of your statements are false, as, for instance, where you say I claim to be a follower of the Russians. What Russians? Do you mean Denikin and Koltchak?

I congratulate you on your nice discrimination in the term "butchery." Being slaughtered by a blow of a brain ball, or being cut in two halves with a primitive battle axe, does not seem to be very much different to being riddled with modern bullets, but I suppose I don't know any better. Shall we leave it at that?

Your remarks on "shallowness," etc., simply demonstrate the depth of your own mind. They remind one forcibly of the type of person who, when cornered in an argument, shouts at opponents: "Yah, I know you, your granny was a boozer." I have contributed my first and last article to your paper, not that it will harm you, but having had two experiences of your "fairness and impartiality," I don't desire any more. The working-class revolution does not depend upon me, or you, for which the Lord be praised.

SEAN M'LOUGHLIN.

8, St. Ignatius Avenue,
Drumcondra,
Dublin.

[Our contributor in last week's issue gave us the benefit of some serious ideas, others in his contribution we took exception to. We publish the above, feeling that his "points" against us are merely frivolous. We never backed Koltchak, who was never a co-operator.—Ed., O.I.]

"No Household in Ireland should be without them."

This is the opinion of all who see the beautiful Companion Pictures of the Patriotic Martyrs, ST. JOAN OF ARC and BLESSED OLIVER PLUNKET, published 2s. each.

Publisher: On Sale Everywhere,
Maire Ni Raghallaigh, 37, Upper Dorset St., Dublin

INSURE your LIFE and PROPERTY with THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE CO., 30, College Green, Dublin

Columcille's Lament.

Oh! I was proud and full of fire, Like all my gallant race, And only before the Lord of Heaven Did I bow down my face: Yet did I sheathe the shining sword And choose the life of grace.

While other boys roamed wild and free, I spent the hours of youth Reading in ancient manuscripts And seeking for God's truth, Until more learned I became Than anyone—in sooth!

St. Finnian had a precious book, In comely letters writ: The Book of Psalms, a holy book, For me it was most fit: Yet he refused my supplicance That I might copy it.

Obedience is a precious gift, O God! Thou knowest well, But learning is a greater power, As learned men will tell: I went into his church by night As a monk into his cell.

Only the shadows watched with me. But more than shadows saw How all night long I copied there Till dawn crept by the door, Then happy, weary, fearful, I Stole soft across the floor.

At last 'twas done! Ye mothers who Clasp children to your breast, 'Tis only ye can understand The bitter grief and smart That came to me, when from my book They called on me to part.

I would not—not for all the kings Or saints the wide world o'er, 'Twas mine! Oh, counsellors more wise, I went through Tara's door Up to the north and called on all My kinsmen to make war.

Did ere the soil on the O'Neills And meet with silence base? From each man's heart the answer sprang In joy up to his face. 'Twas I who led them on to war: On me then the disgrace.

I had the right? What! shall a man Bring grief into his mother? St. Finnian was my countryman: My wrath 'gainst him I'd smother. Had I been true—Oh Ireland! why Does naan war with his brother?

Oh madness base! my book I kept, But when the red blood flowed— 'Twas Irish blood—I knew my sin And—Father! hear: I vowed To leave the country that I loved: Ah! would I wore my shroud.

For what is life in other lands? Better lie dead in this: And now an exile's bitter life Is all remains to me. Ah! would that I to Finnian's word Had bent my stubborn knee.

Farewell oh island fresh and green, The land of saint and song; Most bitter penance must I do For I have done thee wrong. Oh! would that I lay dead in death: Life elsewhere is so long.

PATRICIA LYNN.

Heureux Qui Comme Ulysse.

Is coibhinn do'n té sin i gcéin-leat d'ois tualta, Mar fason, fear éachtach an lonna óir, Nuair thigheann sé ó'n tréan-mhuir fé dhéim léighe shíar-leat, Is é tuille le cail' ear óis ceantabharat mé.

Acht is ríghin liom, mo léan gear! go bhféachfad arís An deatach beag éirthe ós eann m'wneid chóir, M'árus beag aobta ar Eirinn ní dhíofatna, Mo chingne gur b' é sin a's gan amhras níoj mé.

Lem' fuintia is eacra, zan déanamh non mhaidéite, Ní páleis móiréiseacha, ceann-árd na Romba, An teach úd do déanadh 'gen saor-shliocht dár dhíobh mé An slinteach thar réidh-inbermar thoghfaim le meon. An Leat gheal be mhéin fionn thar réidh-shha Tibur, A's do b' coibhne liom frach-chnuic Maigh Corositha go mé Ní an Palaikín maorthe, agus geoth ghlan Corositha thar Ní cointibheacht na tréan-mheir sillea ar róimhan. L. S. GOGAN.

NEW IRISH CHOCOLATE.

A new chocolate of exquisite flavour and richness has just been put on the market by Maxwell Lemon. It is entirely manufactured in Ireland, and is equal, if not superior, to the best French makes. It is called Celtic chocolate, and can be obtained in 1s., 2s., and 4s. tins (postage extra), from Maxwell Lemon, 22, Nassau Street, Dublin.

ABBAY THEATRE.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2nd, and following nights, at 8.15. Matinee, Saturday, 3.30. MIXED MARRIAGES, by J. J. ERVINE. CATHEEN NI HOULIHAN, by W. B. YEATS. S. ALLGOOD. J. M. KERRIGAN.

State Socialism and The Dail.

The Gaelic element in the revolution to which we have alluded. The Gaelic element in the Irish-Ireland movement is its great safeguard against the growth of autocracy and corruption. Education, education, education is national salvation. State Socialism or paternalism will never be more than an expedient in Ireland. State Socialism is repugnant to the national temperament if we are to judge by the unanimity with which it is condemned. Of course enthusiasm for the native state might reverse present-day objections, but it is likelier that centralisation will pass as rapidly as the necessity allows. However that may be, at the present stage Socialists, Individualists, Distributivists, or Co-operators have all to recognise the ascendancy of State—or rather, community—interest. Much will be done just now that individuals are inclined to rebel against. Certain movements, societies, groups, unions, etc., may find their activities curbed as compared with pre-revolution days. This will institute a test of character. A wessing out will take place, and in the ability or otherwise to subdue private ends to national needs, men will reveal their fitness or want thereof for authority or office hereafter. No political needs alone, but the very constitution of human nature requires discipline and orderliness as a condition of liberty, and according as it learns to produce, and in turn obey, authority, will the nation be safe when freedom comes. These principles lead to another conclusion—the possibility of solving the social deadlock in the crucible of the national crisis. If the agitator is commanded to abstain from unlicensed action, the reactionary, on the other hand, may be commanded with equally authoritative a voice to yield to public interest. A government that is strong can afford to be impartial, and we shall hope to see the social question grappled with in Ireland by—those whose motives are above suspicion. Patriotism must become a social force. If this comes to pass Ireland may leap to the very van of the world's progress.

In all industrial disputes there is right and wrong. If right and wrong are not differentiated it is because an impartial and powerful authority is not brought to bear. Sometimes the workers are absolutely unreasonable, and make demands that can lead to nothing but the decline of an industry that they cannot conduct themselves. A just and firm authority could determine their fault. More often the owners are greedy and selfish, and will not allow the workers any place in the sun, though public interest would be served by an opposite course. Here authority should condemn the masters. If abstract Christianity were conscientiously obeyed by both classes, the Church could command a just arbitration in each case, and the Workers' Republic could be peacefully and progressively approached. The State has coercive powers that the Church has not, and can command where the Church can only advise. Social strife should be dealt with by appeals to reason, justice, morality and patriotism. When an employer or a class ignores stubbornly all these appeals, then the Big Stick should be used. But not before. In England, France or America it would be preposterous to ask the workers to abstain from class war and trust the government, because in these countries the governments are class governments, and are in the enemy camp already. In Ireland the Dail is not a class government. It is (to put the case at its minimum) the most representative patriotic body—and hence it is the embodiment of the community's authority, which in internal disputes must be supreme. AODH DE BLACAM.

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* A recent order in respect of land agitation in the West indicates the case is mild.

Current Happenings.

Place Names.

Two weeks have passed since Dublin County Council made absolute by assent the Order of the Dun Laoghaire Urban Council abolishing the foreign appellation "Kings-town" and reverting to the Irish name of the district, Dun Laoghaire. During these two weeks our half-hearted Press have learned to respect the wishes of the people of Dun Laoghaire in this respect. When will the Dublin United Tramway Company be made to act similarly? The Councils of such other districts as are afflicted with British titles would do well to follow the example of Dun Laoghaire.

Derry Coronership.

There was a vacancy for the Derry Coronership. The candidates were the deputy coroner, Mr. J. P. Thomson, a Unionist, and a British Imperial solicitor named John Tracy. Outside his other pro-British performances Mr. Tracy will be remembered for the prominent part he took during the war as an advocate of the exportation of Irish potatoes to England, contrary to Sinn Fein's effort to make the requirements of the Irish People the first consideration of the Irish farmer. Mr. Tracy is also remembered for his assertion during the Partition Campaign that the people of Ulster were agriculturally, industrially, and even racially, distinct from, and superior to, the country men and country women, South, West and East. As deputy coroner, Mr. Thompson was, in the absence of a better qualified man, entitled to the position. On the grounds of political honesty he was head and shoulders over Mr. Tracy. But he happened to be a Protestant, while Mr. Tracy is a Catholic, bearing the hall-mark of A.O.H. approval. As too often in the past in Derry, national principle would seem to have been sacrificed to sectarian compromise. At any rate, a Catholic majority of the Corporation, which included all the Republican members, voted for the British Imperial Mr. Tracy, and Tracy and Intolerance proved triumphant.

"Letting the Cat Out of the Bag."

In an article in OLD IRELAND early in June I contended that the May disturbances in Derry were engineered by the British Government through its agents. If proof were necessary of the righteousness of that contention, it has since been supplied *ad lib*, as anyone who reads the Press can see. But as further proof I give below a comparison of sentences by British Courts on England's dupes in Derry and Irish Nationalists in the South and West of Ireland for the same "offences," viz., being in possession of arms and ammunition.

Just a few of the Derry sentences:

On Thursday last, before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction under D.O.B.A., in Derry, a Unionist ex-

soldier, John O'Bryan, was charged with having several revolvers, component parts and rifle ammunition, some of which had the bullets invested, in his possession. *Fine of £5 imposed.*

Three Unionist ex-soldiers, John McNeill, Grieve and Wm. Peoples, held up in a motor passing through Coleraine during the Derry Riots, and found in possession of a quantity of arms. *Fined £5 each.* (At a previous hearing of this case Head-Constable Cucklin, R.I.C., stated that, owing to the feeling created by the arrest of these men he thought it would be better to discharge them.)

James Deshan, a Catholic ex-soldier, charged with having a revolver in his possession was *fined £2.*

And in other parts of Ireland:

Wm. McAuliffe, Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick, tried by court-martial for being in possession of a revolver on June 25 was sentenced last week to *two years' imprisonment with hard labour.*

John Crawford, Cullane, Co. Limerick, tried by court-martial for a similar "offence," was sentenced to *two years' imprisonment with hard labour.*

James Reynolds, Knocknacorney, Dromod, Co. Leitrim, charged with a similar "offence" to the above was sentenced last week to *one year's imprisonment with hard labour.*

From the above it can be seen that England must give her hirelings and dupes preferential treatment, otherwise they might, in Yankee parlance, "blow the gaff."

"The Wages of _____"

On July 20 a British military party swooped down on Carrick-on-Shannon Courthouse, wherein a joint meeting of the Leitrim and Roscommon County Councils was in consultation with representatives of the Irish Industrial Commission re the development of the Arigna coalfields. A number of those present were arrested and subjected to drum-head court-martial. Subsequent to this, and while awaiting his execution, Darrel Figgis was informed by the officer commanding the British troops, one Capt. C. Crowther, "... I have no doubt there will be trouble, but I know well they (the British Government) will be glad to be thankful to me for having hanged you. It will mean a good thing for me." With all its powers of evasion, the British

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Government have since been unable to deny the truth of Capt. Crowther's statement. But that he was speaking the truth when he said, "... It will be a good thing for me," is evident by the fact that the gallant Capt. has (according to the daily Press) since received an important command in the Curragh area.

The Expected Sequel.

Last week I gave the theorists' opinion regarding the meeting of Divisional Commissioner Smyth. While he was in the British Government were unable to explain satisfactorily his extraordinary instructions to the Listowel police. But hardly had his mortal remains been laid to rest when what was alleged to be his actual words were given to the public from the British House of Commons. Smyth was of the way and could not be questioned, but at least one of those present with him on that memorable occasion was in Ireland. So simultaneously with the publication of a British Government's version of the speech which caused the R.I.C. men in Listowel to revolt, Capt. Chadwick, who accompanied Smyth on his visit to the Listowel police, retired "from the army and returned to England. Truly the psychology of our rulers is marvellous. EDWAN.

Iol-Scoil Uladh.

For a number of years many thinking Gaelic Leaguers Ulster were of opinion that one of their greatest wants was an Irish college whose aim it would be to teach those Gaelic Irish who had already acquired a book knowledge of the language. It was felt that while the existing colleges were doing great work in preparing teachers to teach bookish in their schools, it was necessary to open a *Colasate* institute to give everybody who had an interest in the language, an opportunity of discovering that the Gaelic tongue was a living tongue, that it was more than a string of conjugations and declensions, that it was a medium for pressing thought, and that ability to read and write it was only a small faction of the language.

Like every other movement of its kind there were great difficulties in the way. In the first place the organisers had to find teachers who, at once, were willing and competent to carry on the work. In the next place they were confronted with the problem of finding a suitable place for the college in the Gaeltacht. Finally it was decided to start the *Iol-scoil* in Dungloe, Donegal, this summer, and to move to a fresh place every year, with the two-fold object of learning the language and planting the flag over all Ulster.

Final arrangements were made for opening in Dungloe on the 14th inst. The college was to open at 11 a.m. When teachers and students arrived at the hall where the college was to be held, they were met at the door by an armed party in khaki and turned back. A party of military had been in the early morning and had taken possession of the Parish Hall; with the result that the college staff had to begin in the new to look for a school-room. Fortunately

the use of the local school was got, and the *Iol-scoil* made a beginning.

As far as I can understand, all the students, as well as the staff, have one point in common. In many respects they differ. Some of them can read Irish well. Some only muddle. Some have done this text-book, some that one. Some have certificates. Some have gone through the Intermediate Irish course. Altogether a motley crowd, as far as requirements are concerned. And accordingly it would be very difficult to classify them in a "book-Irish" college. But here there is no difficulty. The one common qualification, or rather quality, which they have is *sincerity*. They are all in dead earnest about learning to *speak* the language. And already there is ample evidence among them that they are fully resolved to work along the lines laid down by the *Iol-scoil*, and to attend it again next year.

MAIRE.

Your Vote—Have You Lost It?

The list of objections to the Electors' List appeared on Friday, and the list of claimants on Monday, August 2. Copies of these lists must be obtained immediately on publication. They must be carefully examined to ensure that the names appear on the respective lists of all persons for whom claims or to whom objections were lodged. Should any names be missing, written notice of such omission must immediately be served on the Registration Officer. Where objections to supporters have been lodged arrangements must be made for producing evidence in the Revision Court to defend such objections. Note particularly that an objection is invalid unless a copy of same was served on the person objected to. All persons in receipt of such notice of objection should immediately call at the Local Committee Rooms and furnish particulars of their qualifications for registration. Rule 22 provides—

"If on the consideration of any claim or objection it appears to the Registration Officer that the claimant, or person in respect of whose name objection is taken, is not entitled to be entered on the register in the character in which he claims to be registered, or in which he is entered on the list, but is entitled to be entered on the register in another character or in another place on the register, the Registration Officer may decide that the name of that person shall be so entered on the register." The list of claimants is certain to contain the names of many opponents who do not possess the necessary qualifications. To all such persons objections should be lodged. Last day for objecting to claimants August 13.

To the Citizens of the Irish Republic who live in Rathmines.

Mr. BENJAMIN JORDAN, of Mountpleasant Square, is sending and will send you a Form of objection to your Vote. Bring that form at once to any of our Offices any evening at

37 Rathmines Road,	between 6 p.m. and 10-30 p.m.
St. Enda's, Oakley Road,	" 8 " 10-30 "
27, Harold's Cross Road,	" 8 " 10-30 "
Forester's Hall, Terenure,	" 8 " 10-30 "

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Remember! Your Vote may Win or Lose the next Election. Rathmines Registration Committee.

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AUDITORS:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, Esq., Chartered Accountant, 46, Dame Street.

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Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1920.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Capital, viz.—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	600,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers	1,828,221 10 0
Reserve Fund	170,000 0 0	Investments, viz:—	6,908,387 10 0
Deposits, Current and other Credit Accounts, including	12,642,382 12 0	War Loans and other Government Stocks	5,908,387 10 0
Letters due on Deposits	10,573 12 0	Colonial Government Stocks, Corporation Stocks, Railway	6,908,387 10 0
Special Agents	42,850 5 4	Debenture Stocks and Mortgage Bonds, and other	600,000 0 0
General Superannuation Fund (of which £27,000 is 7½% invested in Govt Securities)	11,000 10 7	Investment, viz: Officers' Superannuation Fund—£20,000	7,780,000 0 0
Balance on Bills Discounted not at maturity	11,000 10 7	2 per cent. War Stock, 1919-1917	3,700 0 0
Profit and Loss Account	£50,000 0 0	Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	4,600,000 0 0
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund	£50,000 0 0	Special Agents	50,000 0 0
Fixed or Credit of Investments up to 10,000	50,000 0 0	Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Office and 23 Branches)	140,000 0 0
	30,158 7 4	writes down to	210,000 0 0
	232,907 00 12 4		210,000 0 0

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT For Half-Year ending 30th June, 1920.

To		By	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees; Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rent and Rates, Repairs, and all other outlay	22,850 5 2	By Balance from last Account	17,000 0 0
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Depreciation on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	120,750 0 0
Amount added to Credit of Investments Account	10,000 0 0		
Dividend to be paid in August, 1920, subject to deduction of Income Tax	200,000 0 0		
Balance to next Account	210,158 7 4		
	36,156 7 4		
	£196,012 12 4		

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.
I have verified the Investments. Those redeemable at par or over par on fixed dates (including the War Stocks and War Bonds) stand in the Balance Sheet at under cost price, and all the other investments at the market price current on June 30, 1920. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.
The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.
JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (Kess and Co.), Chartered Accountant, Auditor.
Dublin, July 21, 1920.

JOHN MURPHY,
T. LEVINS MOORE,
MARTIN F. MAHONY,
JAMES M. GREER, Secretary.

Flotsam and Jetsam. A Parallel from the Past.

History repeats itself. This is a platitude, but as in the case of many another, one may be excused for giving expression to it in certain circumstances. When dealing with Irish political movements a lapse into this particular truism may easily be excused. Students of Irish politics must be keenly aware of the frequency with which events similar in kind recur. Take up any of the numerous accounts of Land League days, such as "Evening Memories," so ably reviewed by W. Proud last week, and read them just now, with certain modifications they might be the story of our own days. Go back further, and the history of the Fenian Movement, the Tenants' Fight Agitation, the Tithe War, once again the perpetual mess, the unessential changes impress the reader strongly.

A recent episode that has stirred the public mind affords good example. Not the institution of Sinn Féin Courts; sought a parallel for these too may be found in Repeal times, and in the days of the Land League; not the disloyal attitude of the "loyal" North, though we recall a threat to kick the Crown into the Boyne in certain eventualities; the alleged instructions to the Listowel police are what I have in mind at the moment. There exists a remarkably close parallel for those mysterious orders to which so far as I am aware no reference has yet been made in print. The late Mr. Smyth's speech, whether the Government or the police there have told the truth about it, we do not know, and therefore, we may not assume the accuracy of the accounts which have been given publicly. But there is a precedent for them they have been described. Or, at least for a part of them, this is not the first time, anyhow, in Irish history that the "shoot on sight" doctrine has been preached to the R.I.C. The notorious precept "Don't hesitate to shoot," which was promulgated during the Balfour regime in the latter 'Eighties is not the precedent to which I refer. My analogy is still deeper. Undoubtedly, the Balfourian injunction had points in common with the instructions alleged to have been given at Listowel. In the earlier times of "Bucksbot" Foster we met, however, on something approximating still more nearly the counsels said to have been bestowed on the Guardians the peace in these specious days when the world has been made safe for Democracy. Truly, the more things change the more they are the same.

In the year 1822, when Parnell lay in Kilmainham Gaol advocating the principles that George Wyndham subsequently embodied in large degree in the Land Act of 1903 amid salvos of applause; one Major Clifford Lloyd, now happily forgotten, achieved fame, or at least notoriety, by enjoining on the R.I.C. commands similar to those which, it is said, were lately promulgated. The gallant Major was one of the Special Magistrates or Commissioners appointed by Foster Chief Secretary at the time—to grapple with the "village ruffians" who were then disturbing the Queen's Peace. Clifford Lloyd is described by Davitt as the chief of these "Deputy despots." He swept through the country like a second Cromwell, or perhaps he might more fittingly be compared in some respects to the infamous Judge Jeffries, whose "Bloody Assize" flowed on Monmouth's abortive rising.
The fire-ating Major issued in 1822 a circular to the R.I.C. the course of which they were informed that should any member of that force

"accidentally commit an error in shooting any person on suspicion of that person being about to commit murder"

he would, on production of this precious document, be completely exonerated from blame. Naturally, public attention promptly fastened on this circular. Nor was it less natural that this "licence to kill" was promptly condemned by popular opinion. Even in England, this doctrine of "shoot on sight" (as it was called) met with disapproval. The matter was discussed in Parliament (at that time a venue where such matters might be raised by Irishmen); the Press teemed with articles on the subject, and, of course, "the agitators" made the most of it. The usual official evasions followed, but in the end the criticised circular had to be withdrawn. The principle of "Shoot first and inquire afterwards" was more than the pre-war conscience in Great Britain was able to stomach.

In these days, however, when the freedom of mankind—as we are repeatedly reassured—has been purchased at such a price, official support for this democratic doctrine is more readily forthcoming.

WESTLAND ROWE.

Chicago, 1920.

From "The New Republic."

It was true, of course, that it mattered a great deal what was decided, and who was chosen at Chicago. But a more compelling fact is that Chicago was too hot, the Coliseum too crowded, the hotel nerve lobbies too nerve wracking, and the prices too high, for an enduring interest either in the future of the world, or even in the assured victory of the Republican party.

One delegate blurted it out on Thursday evening. "There aren't three hundred delegates in this convention," he said, "who care enough personally about the result, to persevere all Sunday and pay twenty dollars a day in order to start Monday morning looking for the right candidate. Saturday night is their limit, and they will vote for anybody who can win by Saturday night. All they ask is to be told by somebody, who acts as if he knew, the name of the man who is going to win."

It has been called an unbossed convention. It was, in fact, a convention hopelessly astray until it found men to boss it. Being unbossed consisted in having no purpose or will except the will to get out of Chicago. It happened that one set of bosses showed the unstructured delegates the quickest way to achieve that object. Had they not shown a way, the delegates might easily have stampeded some other way if that was also the way home. Thus when the Old Guard, speaking through the neoclassic Mr. Lodge, seemed

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to be hurrying matters, the delegates were satisfied; whenever Mr. Lodge and his friends proposed delay there were howls of protest, and a glimpse of insolvency.

Harding was chosen, not because the convention was in love with him, but because his was the first name seriously proposed to end the deadlock. Had he failed to secure a steadily mounting vote in the ballots on Saturday morning, had it looked like another deadlock lasting over until Monday, Harding would have failed. A drift towards someone else, perhaps Sprout or Knox, would have set in at once. But by the clever manipulation of sixty or seventy votes on Saturday morning so as to create the illusion of an irresistible tide, the clique was able to start a rush to Harding, which was really a rush for the next train out of Chicago.

It was a coup by master politicians who knew just what they wanted at a time when all other groups wanted the impossible. Wood was impossible, Lowden was disqualified, and as Johnson was impossible, Hoover was inconceivable, and as Johnson was impossible, Sprout or Coolidge, no powerful group wanted them badly enough on Saturday. The dark horses were waiting for Monday or Tuesday. Each expected to win as Harding won, by sheer fatigue from a deadlock, but all of them miscalculated the endurance of the delegates.

That the deadlock was deliberately prolonged in order to reduce the resistance to Harding, there can be no doubt. The way big batches of votes were distributed in the early ballots shows that to have been the case. Not accident, but design kept Wood and Lowden neck and neck on the ballots of Friday in such a way as at one and the same time to raise false hopes among their followers, and yet convince the uninstructed delegates that neither could win. Take New York: On the first three ballots Wood had 10, 19, 23 votes respectively. On the fourth he went down to 20. On the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth he had 24, 23, 24, 23. Did these votes represent conviction or a plan? If we assume that the New York delegates were voting for a definite candidate then there was an open-minded gentleman on the delegation who was for Wood on the fifth, against him on the sixth, for him on the seventh, and against him on the eighth. I suspect there was no such gentleman. I am inclined to doubt whether Senator Wadsworth could name the delegates who were for Wood and for Lowden on each of the ballots. I am inclined to suspect that 88 votes of New York were distributed so as to tease Wood and Lowden, prevent a combination Friday night, and compel a deadlock. I am inclined to think the same thing happened in certain other delegations. It was this perfect control of a few powerful states which created the nucleus for the stampede of the delegates, who in all senses of the world were uninstructed.

The master minds who worked this ingenious mechanical play had a rather simple idea. They were, as Senator Lodge insisted in a voice magnified by the electrical apparatus out of all proportion to his body, against the autocracy of Wilson, against despotism, dynasties, tyrants. To the public, whether in the galleries or among the delegates, these phrases meant the isolation of Wilson, his stubbornness, the dismissal of Lansing, his jealousy of advice, his self-sufficiency. But to men like Smoot, Lodge, Penrose, Watson, the phrases had a longer history. They were associated quite as definitely with Roosevelt as with Wilson, quite as certainly with the Roosevelt dynasty as with the Wilson. The audience may have been thinking of McAdoo, but the clique was thinking no less of Wood and Johnson, the Bull Moose, 1912 and 1916.

(To be continued next week.)

CORK UNION.

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(NEW SERIES).

L. II. No. 28.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1920.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

Appeal to Our Readers.

The rise in the price of the Irish Daily Press from one
penny to twopence, and of the Dublin evening Press from
penny to three-halfpence has been foreseen for some
time. It is more or less inevitable, owing to the increase of
of paper, materials, machinery, and wages. We take
opportunity of telling our readers that owing to these
reasons Old IRELAND has had a severe time. Our readers
realise that our difficulties have been multiplied a
hundred times by suppression, by subsequent police
censorship of printers which rendered it necessary to print in
London, and by the intimidation of newspapers, preventing
them from selling the paper. In some instances police have
seized shops and put revolvers to the heads of the atten-
dants and seized our issue. This barbarous treatment was
continued for months; it has ceased; apparently the prac-
tice was merely bringing odium and discredit upon the
press and the authorities. The suppression of opinion is
of the lowest forms of tyranny, and has naturally
brought its own consequences upon the authors of that
policy. Our individual opinion is that Macpherson was
responsible for it than anyone else. He is a back-
slider now, but we still suffer the effects. If our readers
realise it worth while keeping Old IRELAND alive, they
should ask themselves how far can they help in this
struggle? There are two ways of doing it: they can
subscribe capital to help it: they can advertise in our
columns. A great many firms and Irish enterprises have

made their money out of the Sinn Féin movement. The
spade work of propaganda was done by the Sinn Féin Press.
These firms, therefore, owe a good deal to the weekly Press.
For Irish firms Old IRELAND is an excellent medium for
advertising in, because our readers are drawn from the most
thoughtful and energetic forces in the country, who, acting
on principle, are willing to give their custom and patronage
to those who advertise in our columns. Several times we
have been told that advertisements brought in remarkable
results, and in a few cases these results were astonishing.
We have always been loath to appeal to our readers on this
subject, but the time has come when victory or defeat for
an organ of free Irish opinion depends on our readers and
supporters, and we feel bound to put it up to them; the
matter is in their hands. They can assure the strength of
this journal, or they can let it struggle alone against great
odds; then they shall have no part in the victory.

The World Watches Archbishop Mannix.

The visit of Archbishop Mannix to his native land has
aroused an intense interest throughout the world. The sen-
sation is not of the Archbishop's making. Letters from him to
Dr. Browne, Bishop of Cloyne, and to others show that
he expressly wished to visit quietly his native country. But
the British Government would have it otherwise. Possibly
the news of his intended visit was gained by spy methods,
or by intercepting the personal correspondence of His
Grace. Howbeit, the British militarists raised an agitation
to keep this high dignitary of Catholicism from visiting his
home and his mother. They are the aggressors, not he.
For they intimidated Lloyd George, who will risk no act of
human decency, nor scruple at any act of vindictive brut-
ality or intrigue, where his passion for power is involved. At
first Lloyd George, consulting his better instinct, evaded
the dilemma of losing caste with the militarists or coercing
an Archbishop by preventing Dr. Mannix from landing on
English soil, but he did not know the man he had to deal
with. He who could smash the power of Hughes in
Australia, would not lie down under the indignity to his
Church of any ban placed upon his action. His answer
was defiance to this politico-religious bigot. He said it was
his intention to land on the soil of the Irish Republic. The
anger of the militarists was aroused. They must have
brought great pressure to bear on Lloyd George, for he was
obliged to have recourse to a childish subterfuge. His
underlings announce in the Press that the reference to
English soil was a clerical error for Irish soil. This error
was only discovered after a long delay of some days. It
probably took the whole British Cabinet some hours to
invent this error. But the Archbishop's spirit was also
roused, he was determined to see the matter through. This
insult to his Church and nation—nay, to the dominion of
Australia—would not be allowed to pass unchallenged. He
announced his intention of putting Lloyd George's insolence
to the supreme test. He came. His ship, the *Baltho*,
was then ordered not to put into Queenstown. Four British

the material of suitable text books may be compiled from these lectures, and to provide specially trained professors for the work if necessary. The University should be able to give certificates to students attending these courses after five years, certifying their ability to teach certain subjects through the medium of Irish. No college of the University should be permitted to grant a degree to any student in any branch of study who was not able to speak Irish fluently. The resolution added: "We regret to have to complain that the University has so far failed to do its duty with regard to the publishing of texts in Irish."

The resolution was seconded by Sinead Ní Chiosáin and adopted.

The reception at the Mansion House was extremely satisfactory, and showed that no Gael, however hunted and persecuted by Castle tyranny, allowed himself to be intimidated or depressed. Here there was no loss of nerve, nothing but gaiety and absolute indifference to lanks and coercion. A stranger who had had a recent opportunity of judging the loss of nerve and the gloom dominating the tyrants and coercionists in Ireland was amazed at the utter failure of our enemies to cow the spirit of those against whom all the engines of war and destruction were directed. In a great struggle like that of Ireland against England, morale counts more than anything else. The Oireachtas demonstrated beyond all doubt the morale of Ireland's fighting forces. It was a certain evidence of coming victory over the enemies of Ireland.

A Reminder of Thomas Ashe

There are three Irish Republican prisoners on hunger-strike in Manchester goal. They are being forcibly fed.

Requiem for Roger Casement.

A Requiem High Mass was celebrated in Berlin on the fourth of August in memory of Roger Casement. Two hundred people honoured his memory by attending the Mass and service.

Britain Drugging India—A Protest.

In the U.S.A. House of Representatives the following resolution was submitted by Mr. Mason: it has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Whereas the facts collected from the British Blue Book and other official documents, and set forth in the work, "Opium Monopoly," by Ellen N. Le Moine, 1920, shows that the cultivation of poppy and manufacture of opium, and the opium monopoly of Great Britain in India and other parts of her Empire, where the people are robbed of their birthright of liberty, is one of the most serious menaces to civilisation and is one of the most dangerous international nuisances practised by any civilisation and Christian nation at any age; and

Whereas the alarming growth of the drug habit among the three hundred and fifteen million people of India is injurious to their health and their moral and spiritual well-being; and

Whereas the people of India, deprived of self-government by the alien rule of Great Britain, have been pleading for the last few years through the 'All-India Christian Conference and other organisations for prohibition and curtailment of growing poppy, and the manufacture and sale of opium in their country; and

Whereas morphine manufactured from Indian drugs is being smuggled into China, America, and other countries; by tons, is a serious menace to humanity at large:

The Future in Ireland: An Anticipation

Therefore be it resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the American Government should make a friendly request to the British Government that the latter should, for the benefit of humanity and Christianity, follow the example of abolishing the cultivation of poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in India and other parts of British Empire, except for medicinal purposes.

Resolved further, That the attention of the Parliament be drawn to the fact that it should exert influence as a matter of Christian duty and conscience on the intolerable sin and crime of the drugging of Great Britain.

Sgoil Eanna.

Millions unborn shall dwell

In the house that I shaped in my heart,

The noble house of my thought.

British bullets have sanctified the memory of the founder of St. Enda's College in the minds of the people. His heroic mother still keeps his College open despite raids and occupations by the British military. It reopens in September, and parents who wish boys to receive a sound education in the right atmosphere should not lose any time in seeing that their sons dwell at least for a time in perhaps the noblest house of the island.

To even walk through the grounds of a national education, Pearse still seems to breathe here!—as we walk the words of a prominent cleric on a recent visit. And with a staff mainly composed of colleagues, past-pupils and fellow-soldiers of the founder it could hardly be other.

The curriculum for the coming year embraces the Fheis educational program, special commercial and business courses under a specially trained tutor. Students are prepared thoroughly for all University and public examinations. Mrs. Pearse, personally and in a very real sense, "mothers" the younger boys. The climatic conditions, healthy surroundings cannot be excelled in Ireland.

The "cuisine" is unequalled in any school in the country. The "crani" system is abhorred, without pupils are made to work, and work well.

The staff are thoroughly qualified and competent. The school and surroundings are steeped in the highest and best of national traditions.

The terms are not exorbitant despite the general tendencies of the times. There are still some vacancies and the parents of intending pupils should write at once prospectus to the Principal, at Rathfriland.

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Mrs L. GAVAN-DUFFY, M.A., Scoil Bhrighde,

70, Stephen's Green, Dublin.

who will be at home to parents every morning, except

Saturday, from August 18.

There were five of us that June night before an open window somewhere in the West, and it was there that the Hunger-striker (let us call him) told us his story. A baffling man he is, not one of those people that he who runs the world reads. I have watched him stupidly innocent strangers in the infinite variety and detail of his knowledge of fairy-tales and his affectation of literal belief in it all. I have often heard him railing off some grotesque invention with such steadfastness and conviction that it was impossible to think that he did not himself believe what he was saying until some subtle change of accent, some break in the mobility of his face or the trailing-off of a crowning probability revealed that he was laughing at us all. It may have been that he was laughing at us that night in the West. But to us four, who all know him so well, it must have been that something in his manner would surely have betrayed him to some one of us. The intermediate teacher, the journalist, and our host, a hard-headed, practical farmer, have all admitted that they believed him quite literally at the time, and it was only afterwards that doubts began to creep upon me. It was so with me. Whenever I meet him now I never get him to talk of his vision (he does not like that word "vision") or to discuss whether or not he was "having" us. . . . But when I see him again, profiled the dim light against the large open window against the gloriously starry sky, with the scent of the sleeping garden uttering up to us on the wind across the lawn, and twinkling lights below us marking an odd seanachas in the valley, I cannot doubt these, but believe he was telling us the truth

It was after ten and the dusk had come down (they don't keep summer time in that district). We had been talking for hours on all manner of things, politics a lot, of course, working out the probable sequences of constructive republicanism, when suddenly the Hunger-striker, who had hardly spoken at all the whole night, switched the conversation (quite irrelevantly it seemed to us) on to astrophysics. Can anybody give me a concise explanation of Einstein's theory?" he asked. "Don't all speak together." The teacher, obliged with praiseworthy humility, employing all the familiar illustrations of the bend in light, the universe as a sphere instead of a limitless void, space-clocks and time-clocks, and the interesting consequences of the theory that whilst event A might pre-happen event B according to the inhabitants of planet X, event B would pre-happen event A to the inhabitants of planet Y.

"Of course, Sean," said the journalist, "that upsets all the geometry we learned at school, parallel lines, the angles of a triangle."

"Naturally."

"But do you teach the new mathematics now?" Sean smiled merrily. He was employed in an intermediate school.

"You understand," he went on "how Einstein definitely establishes the Fourth Dimension, Time, a dimension which has not entered into human reckoning at all, because human beings have never been able to control it as they have been able (to some extent) the other three dimensions. Imagine a planet which has only two dimensions, length and breadth, but not thickness. The inhabitants could not begin to understand how we travel up and down. We travel up and down stairs, lifts, aeroplanes, but to the people of two dimensions our disappearances and

reappearances in the third dimension would be absolutely bewildering. It would be just the same with ourselves and a four-dimension people."

"But suppose we could travel about in Time," I suggested.

"I think that is beyond all possibility. An English writer, Wells . . ."

"Yes, I know, the Time Machine," interrupted the journalist, "but how could a machine of quarts and nickel travel through a dimension, of what?"

"Exactly," said the Hunger-striker. "A machine constructed in units of only three dimensions could not possibly travel through the fourth dimension, anyway it would be invisible in our dimensions, suppose a machine constructed in time units . . ."

"This is getting too deep for me," said our host, honest man. "There's nothing very obscure about it," said the teacher, "but it seems to me that this fourth dimension must be quite beyond human control and much more spiritual than physical."

"But human beings have caught glimpses of it," said the journalist. "The saints . . ."

The Hunger-striker cut in peremptorily. "I have caught glimpses of it . . . a month ago . . . without any deliberate intention or expectation. . . . I travelled backwards and forwards through time . . . in Ireland."

All the talk stopped. When the Hunger-striker began one of his flights of fancy there was nothing for it but to listen, and we prepared to listen to one of them now.

"I asked you about Einstein just now, Sean," he said, "because it seems to me that there in Wornwood Scrubs I was translated in some way into the fourth dimension. What I saw was not the least bit like a vision or a dream—it was not a dream. I was there. Things happened—it was actually." He paused for a moment, glancing along our attentive faces, and then went on quickly.

"You can imagine what a hunger-strike is like; very bad at first . . . then not so bad . . . and then bad again. . . . After a week without food thoughts is extraordinarily swift and intense (there were others, I found afterwards, whom it affected quite differently), but with me, at any rate, the novel acceleration of mental processes seemed to compensate for the extreme physical weakness. I did not sleep much, for days I did not sleep at all, and I am certain that these impressions—impressions, no, happenings—did not come to me in sleep. I have the most distinct remembrance throughout of the cell walls, of warders flitting in and out, of a great wind of rising and falling voices outside, of songs and saying the Rosary. . . . I tell you it was no vision."

"As nearly as I can remember it was the fifteenth day that the first glimpse came . . . the walls faded . . . I had the vaguest impression of London beneath me, vast and lowering, and suddenly I was in a huge plain of grass . . . and I knew intuitively that I was in Ireland, and not in the present, but almost instantaneously I was back in the Scrubs. . . . I was dazed and tremendously excited. I waited for the same thing to happen again; originally enough I had no doubt that it would happen again, and that in some way, unhampered by the ordinary limitations of time and space, I would see Ireland of past and future days. . . . All Ireland seemed to live in me."

"I could never control those glimpses; they were of different lengths, and I am almost sure they followed each other in chronology. At first they were very fleeting and

achievement must have its inception in and finally emerge out of the voluntary constructive trade union effort. We see the splendid start which the workers of India are now launching, a triumph of industrial justice, freedom, better living and working conditions, and moreover a final realisation of the political hopes and aspirations for freedom, democracy and self-government.

President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

British Prohibit Prayer in India.

Delhi, India.—As a protest against the British annexation of Turkish territories the Hindus and the Mahomedans of India have issued a joint prayer for the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish empire. The prayer, which was first offered in a mosque, was printed and distributed. The Government, however, has ordered the confiscation of this prayer. The entire country is incensed over this act of the British interference with the religions of India.

Funds for Workmen's University in India.

Poona.—The women's university at Poona is progressing rapidly. Many rich people are being interested in this movement for the education of Indian women. People all over India do resent British attempts to crush all education in India. In a recent speech Professor Kharve, the founder of this university, said that after 150 years of British rule only one woman out of 150 could read and write in British India.

This university has been greatly benefited by the recent gift of \$600,000.00 by Hon. V. D. Thackersey, of Bombay. This institution has also most gratefully received the generous donation of \$200.00 by Mr. Duli Gulsher Khan, Indian merchant in New York. The money was forwarded through Mrs. Parvatibai Athvale, of the Kharve Widows Home at Poona, now residing in New York for education in social service work.

British Dig Trenches in India for a Defensive War.

Peshwar.—The Anglo-Afghan peace conference at Moushar has broken up. They could not come to an understanding, and the British Government is said to have abundant proofs in its possession pointing to the fact that the Afghan delegates came to do propaganda work in India—to perfect plans for co-operation with the Indian nationalists for the freedom of India from the British rule. A Hindu by the name of Mr. Roy came as a delegate from the Mahomedan country of Afghanistan. It is reported that several prominent Indian leaders secretly met the Afghan delegates, and they were afterwards interned!

Around Peshwar, and specially around the Quetta sector, the British military forces are engaged in digging trenches and are preparing for a defensive war. The Turkish situation is very critical. The Russians are very busy at Kabul. A Persian delegation has recently arrived at Kabul.

The British Government is evidently upset over the report that Mr. M. N. Roy, the eminent Indian revolutionist, is on his way to Kabul. The British Government has ten warrants issued for his arrest, and a large sum of money is fixed on his head. Many prominent Indians are leaving India for Afghanistan as a protest against the humiliation of Turkey. The peasants and the military classes of the Punjab have given an ultimatum to the British Government that unless the Turkish treaty is thoroughly revised the British could expect no loyalty from them. The British

are puzzled and nervous beyond comprehension; and the Indians all over the country are asking the question: "What next?"

Hindus Put Indian Independence Up to Democratic Party.

San Francisco, July 1.—India's demands for independence from British rule were to-day placed before the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention by the Hindustan Gadar party, represented by an Indian committee headed by Surendra Kari.

The Indians urged the adoption of a plank acknowledging India's right for complete independence of British rule. India, explained the committee of Indians, is the key to the British Empire. The freedom of India means the dismemberment of the British Empire, which is the first essential of world peace. The menace of British imperialism, they explained, is not only felt by subject peoples of the world, but it is an American problem as well.

The aims and objects of the Hindustan Gadar party were stated. It is a body of Indians, they explained, working for the political and economic independence of India. It is working for the same principles for which the American revolutionary soldiers fought. Its headquarters are at 6, Wood Street, San Francisco.

"Non-Co-operation" in India.

Bombay.—Mahatma M. K. Gandhi has recently served an ultimatum on the Viceroy of India that failing to revise the Turkish peace terms in accordance with the solemn pledges of the British ministers, he will call the principle of non-co-operation into immediate effect. This movement of non-co-operation will be played in three stages. The first stage is giving up of titles and resignations of honour posts. In the second stage, Government servants will be asked to give up their posts. In this connection Gandhi says not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Committee is able to bear the burden. Co-operation with the Government is to be withdrawn because the people must not be a party to a wrong or a broken pledge. The third stage consists of asking the police and the military to give up their posts. No force or violence will be attempted, but those who will not respond to the call of non-co-operation will be socially ostracised, a weapon greater than anything else in modern Indian politics.

"I admit," he says, "that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of supineness in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organising non-co-operation."

Lenin and India.

Moscow.—It may be of interest to draw attention to a book which has recently appeared in Moscow entitled "Blue Book on the Affairs of India: Edition of the Commissary of Foreign Affairs." Trotskyanovsky dwells, among other things, upon the importance of India to Great Britain and the rôle India plays in world revolution. "England," he says, "is nothing without India. It would be a terrible blow to the very foundation of England's greatness, and would even threaten her existence, if she were compelled to give up the unrestricted exploitation of her richest possession. This is why she has always been unwilling to ease India's yoke; not only does she refuse to grant India independence but even the most moderate autonomy. It is not incorrect to say that England took part in the world war solely with a view to India and the territories adjacent. Suspecting the danger of Germany threatening Russia

Polonia, which, second to Egypt, is the route to India. England has not scrupled to plunge the whole of Europe into war. India is of enormous importance to England. Consequently the liberation of India is exceedingly desirable, and it is essential that we should work towards that goal by every possible means."

As for present-day Russia, exposed as she is to the danger of becoming a colony for Capitalist Europe, it is a matter of the greatest urgency to find an ally against the common enemy in India, which country, like ourselves, is being exploited and with which we share a similar fate. We Bolshevists and international Socialists must not only hail a revolution in India, we must also give it our full support, either directly or indirectly, and with all the power at our command; we must unite with her in combat against imperialism, and help her rid herself of the detestable English yoke."

India, Egypt and Ireland Form a Coalition in Italy.

Rome.—The Rome *Tribuna* recently published a letter from the "Roman Committee of Nations subject to England" which is addressed to the Council of the League of Nations.

The letter begins "From the abyss of profound misery caused by British administration the people of Ireland, India and Egypt demand justice."

It goes on to say that while societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals exist all over the world no potent champion has hitherto come to the defence of the peoples mentioned above, which form more than one-fifth of the entire human race, with the object of rescuing them from the brutal clutch of British Imperialism, whose methods of governing constitute a challenge to humanity and modern civilisation.

The letter says that the hopes which were raised by promises given during the war have been bitterly disappointing and that the decisions of the Peace Conference have been inspired by one sole principle—that might is above right. The League of Governments, which is a creature of the Treaty of Versailles, has no right to call itself by the pompous name of Society of Nations? If the League does not wish to be considered as the instrument of the British imperialism, it must at once demand recognition of the independence of these three nations of ancient and highly developed civilisation.

The above letter was signed by E. T. O'Caellaigh for Ireland, Dr. Abdul Hamidaid for Egypt, and S. W. Walid for India.

British Prepare for Defence of Calcutta—Remove Mint.

Calcutta, India.—The revolutionary activities in India are growing so fast that the British authorities are simply panic-stricken, so much so that they have decided to remove the Mint of Calcutta from Bari Bazar to the Hastings by the Ganges. The British expect a revolution soon in India, and in that case the present location of the mint makes it very inconvenient for defence. In its new position it can be easily commanded by the guns of the Calcutta fort, and if necessary gold, silver, and other treasures may easily be shipped off. The revolutionists in Calcutta look upon this as a great victory.

Strikes, More Strikes to India! British Government Can't Move to Summer Capital.

Delhi, India.—The North-Western Railway strike has paralysed transportation to such an extent that in these hot summer days, the Government of India cannot be removed to Simla, the summer capital.

Famine in Orissa.

Calcutta, India.—The province of Behar and Orissa is under the grip of a serious famine. Hundreds of men, women and children are dying of hunger, and thousands are about to die, for they are living on leaves and roots of trees. The British Government is doing nothing to save the lives of the people. Consequently the waves of political unrest are rising higher and higher in this province.

British Rule Breeds Famines in India.

New York.—In connection with the gruesome tale of the present famine in Orissa, the *Friends of Freedom for India* have compiled from British Blue Books and other British sources the following statistics showing the record of famines in India, both before and under the British rule:

Famines in India before British Rule.

Eleventh century	2 famines
Thirteenth century	1 famine
Fourteenth century	3 famines
Fifteenth century	2 famines
Sixteenth century	4 famines
Seventeenth century	3 famines
Eighteenth century to 1745	4 famines

Under British Rule.

Eighteenth century (1760 to 1800)	7 famines
Nineteenth century	31 famines

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there were five famines with 1,000,000 deaths, and in the fourth quarter eighteen famines with 26,000,000 deaths.

British Prohibit Public Meetings at Delhi.

Delhi, India.—Such is the latest development of the Hindu-Mohalem co-operation and their pledge to oppose even with force of arms the British attempt to annex Turkish territories to the British Empire that the British Indian Government has been forced to prohibit all public meetings in Delhi, the capital of India.

It is openly discussed by the progressive Hindus here that though Lloyd George is flirting with Krasin, the Russian trade envoy in London, the Soviet Government is giving undivided attention to the Afghan, Persian and Indian situation for the political and economic freedom of these and other countries in Asia.

Asia Insulted in South Africa.

Cape Town, Union of South Africa.—Sir Abe Bailey has recently presented a monster petition in the Union Assembly signed by eighty thousand signatures from the Transvaal. The petition requests the Parliament to take immediate action to deal with the Asiatic menace.

The Asians in the Union look upon this as an insult to their respective countries, and are condemning in strongest terms the wanton ungratefulness of the South Africans, for it is the Asians that have helped the most to develop the colonies of the Union.

India Discovers Silver Mine.

Jamshedpur, India.—Very near the Tata iron mines a silver mine has recently been discovered. This mine is soon to ship \$2,000,000 worth of silver to Calcutta. Heretofore India's silver output has been negligible.

How England Wages War.

"We have in Ireland something which calls itself the Irish Republican Army; they issue decrees signed by Generals and Captains. This army declares that it is at war with the British Empire. Can they complain if the conditions of war are employed against them?"

—Mr. LLOYD GEORGE in the British House of Commons, August 5, 1920.

I am not concerned with the obvious freedoms with fact and the equally obvious freedoms with his King's English in which the British Prime Minister indulged in these two sentences. My sole concern here is with the admission of Mr. Lloyd George that conditions of war are being employed by the British Government against the Army of the Republic in Ireland, and that the object of the same Government's "Restoration of Order" Bill is the further enforcing of conditions of war in this country. That is the most important admission that a British Prime Minister has made for a long time, because, by an examination of this reality, it enables us to learn what the British Government's conception of conditions of war is. The knowledge thus gained of how England wages war will be nothing new to the generality of mankind. Its newness, as well as its significance, lies in the fact of its deliberate admission by the executive head of the British Government.

The British Government is employing its conditions of war in Ireland merely against the Irish Republican Army but against the Irish civilian population.

"War Conditions" Against I.R.A.

England wages war against the Irish Republican Army by declaring it "an illegal organisation" and "suppressing" it. As the army of the Republic declines to be suppressed "at the bidding of the usurping invader, the British Government declares its soldiers criminals, and when it captures them it calls the capture 'arrest,' tries them by court-martial, and sentences them to long terms of imprisonment with hard labour. England's idea of war, as we have it in Ireland, is to treat the Irish prisoners of war that she captures as criminals of the worst stamp—their "crime" being their membership of the Army of the Republic—and to compel them to accept the status of the thief, the robber, the wife-beater, and the blackguard. For captured members of the Irish Republican Army to be in possession of arms—the primary duty of the soldier—she has made the most heinous crime in her whole criminal calendar, and has ordered her courts-martial to visit with the longest and severest punishment in their power. Acts of war on the part of the Republican Army, like the burning of enemy barracks, the destruction of enemy outposts, and the raiding of enemy strongholds, she pronounces "outrages." The capture by the Irish soldiers of the arms or ammunition of her own army she has categorised as larceny, robbery, or burglary, according to circumstances, and has affixed to it the penalties meted out to these crimes. The killing in the course of warfare of any of the soldiers of her armies of occupation, resident, or imported, she sets down as murder to be expiated by capital punishment. In one word, England's way of waging war in Ireland is to declare the Irish army criminals, and on the strength of that declaration to hold herself justified in treating and punishing them as criminals.

The Irish Republican Army have not complained, and do not complain, about conditions of war being employed against them. Neither has the Irish Republic complained

against conditions of war being employed against its soldiers. But both protest against such "conditions of war" as the British Government is employing, because they are not the conditions of war at all, because they are a violation of the internationally recognised laws of war, because they are Governmentally organised and sanctioned brutality and barbarism.

The Irish Republic declares that a state of war exists between it and England, and its soldiers fathers to the canon of warfare. Every British prisoner captured, from the private to the General, has admitted the gentleness of his treatment. Every raid on a British stronghold has been a clean raid, and the raided have invariably borne testimony to the courtesy and chivalry of the soldiers of the Republic.

The British Government, through its Prime Minister, now also declares that it is at war with the Irish Republican Army. But what a contrast in the mode of waging! If the conduct of the British Government and its Army of Occupation in Ireland is, as Mr. Lloyd asserts, its conception of employing "conditions of war" against an enemy, then I think that Dall Eireann should invite an international commission to this country to see and judge for themselves. As England is a subscriber to both the Hague and the Geneva Conventions, and as England is now the greatest militant nation in the world, and is at present engaged in several wars, it is a matter of international importance that her conception of her duties and privileges as a belligerent under these Conventions should be internationally understood.

"War Conditions" Against Civilian Population.

The British Government is also employing its "conditions of war" against the Irish civilian population. Witness the sacking of Tuam, of Thurles, of Ennis, of Doon, of Fermoy, of Kilmallock, and of a dozen smaller places; witness the terrorist atrocities in Dublin, in Cork, in Limerick, in Ennisceorthy, and elsewhere. When one of England's soldiers falls in warfare England's army, resident and imported, turns out in the dead of the night and takes revenge on the civilian population of the nearest town or district. Houses are fired into, wrecked with bombs, and set ablaze; shops are looted and burned. Old men, women, and young children are terrorised and sometimes murdered. Individual Republicans, like the Lord Mayor of Cork, are dragged from their beds and assassinated, and harmless groups of people, like the rejoicers at Millow Malbay and cross-roads dancers, are riddled with bullets under cover of darkness, private houses are raided, women are ordered from their beds in their night attire, and treated with brutal coarseness, and money and jewellery and valuables are carried away. Such is the ordinary run, night in, night out, of what the British Prime Minister declares to be the "conditions of war" that his Government is employing against the civilian population of the Irish Republic. We are accustomed to them. We see how England expects nothing else. But with other nations at the moment it may be different. Considering, as I have already said, that she is a subscriber to the Hague and Geneva Conventions, and considering, moreover, that in the last war, as in every war in which she was engaged, she was the champion atrocity-monger, her conception in practice of "conditions of war employed" against a civilian population should be made the subject of international investigation and action. P. S. O'FLANNAGHAN.

Marxism and Nationality.

The Marxian is most concerned with the facts that are dominant in the life of a community, their origin and history and present relations. Hence it is not in the Marxist literature of America, Germany or England that we shall be rewarded in a search for Marxist opinions on the national question. The claims of oppressed nationalities do not intrude themselves upon the peoples of these empires. The mass of them are directly concerned in the struggle for existence with a ruling class of their own nationals, and find enough to engage all their efforts in the fight of better wages, the practice match that must always precede the Revolution cup-tie.

It is among the small nations, already under an alien yoke or in continual danger of succumbing to the power of a great neighbour, that the Marxians have been compelled to give prominence to the study of the factor of nationality in the social problem. Thus, W. Levinsky, of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, has supplied to us an investigation of the problems of nationality and of the State in a volume which has been translated into French under the title "La Nationalité et L'Etat."

As might be expected, the subjects are treated historically, with a thoroughness one would not anticipate from the refusal to attempt a definition of nationality. It seems more important, to the author, to understand the fundamental elements—language and culture—than to attempt a complete and satisfactory definition of nationality itself. The growth of language from the simple expression of primal needs and emotions accompanies the development of mankind's command over nature and the growth of human needs and experience. The human brotherhood based upon the common struggle for existence against the blind powers of nature finds expression in speech, which in turn produces new bonds of union between the speakers. Inter-communication of thoughts about things and experiences is the principal function of speech. It is also the medium by which the accumulated experience of generations is passed on to the young, thus linking past, present and future in a unity.

More, language is the indispensable instrument of thought. The oral signs we call words give definition and character to our mental conceptions. The process of thought is speaking to ourselves in the terms of language. When words fail us, our thought process is arrested. At the same time it must be admitted that there is a thought without words, as when a new conception is discovered, but when the word is found to describe the new conception it passes into the store-room of mental tools. By speech and writing, the employment of visual and aural signs, thoughts are entertained, transmitted and fixed, relations entered into between man and man, and where a common language is employed in a social group there is a community of thought

and feeling which, with a common culture, make up the essential basis of nationality. The common language gives expression to common material and moral interests, and as long as a particular language serves as the intermediary between members of such a community there is a distinct nation.

The progressive march of a nation is bound up with that of the language, that is, with the development of the thought of the people. But this development demands an assurance of freedom. Where a nation is enslaved and its language violently suppressed, the thought of the nation is destroyed. Its people are unable to think freely, in the terms familiar to them, of the ever-changing world around them. Intercourse with their nationals by meeting and Press, essential to the normal development of civic life, is forbidden. Public education in a strange tongue cuts off the younger generations from the amassed experience of the historic nation. The cumulative effect of language suppression, traced through all the channels by which a language serves the nation, is to condemn the nation to brute-like vegetation in which the sense and memory of liberty is entirely forgotten. The destruction of a language has more than political results. It involves the intellectual degradation of the entire people, and as the mass of the people is dependent upon the mother-tongue as the vehicle of mental and spiritual perception, to rob it of its language is to steal its soul.

By culture, Levinsky understands the activity of a people directed towards the material improvement and intellectual enrichment of its existence. Material culture denotes man's reign over nature and command of natural forces. The activity and the state of development of the means of wealth production of a people, its relations through the exchange of its products with other peoples, and the manner of living, enable us to judge the degree of material culture attained by a nation.

(Continued on next page.)

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Culture, properly so called, or intellectual culture, is the development of the human spirit in all that makes for beauty and worth. The state of education, science, literature, art, of moral standards, give us the criteria by which to estimate national culture. It is in these aspects of culture that a nation realises its individuality and distinction. Through the struggle to attain material and intellectual culture a nationality acquires definite marks or qualities. Through the mother-tongue these are apprehended, fixed, and transmitted. A people's language is the storehouse of the riches of its culture and it is also the organ of that culture. Here the mother-tongue plays a decisive rôle, not only because the mother-tongue is the familiar vehicle of thought but also because the mass of the people can never attain such a mastery of a foreign tongue, in speech and thought, that it will serve them as efficiently as their own.

In the conflict between languages, involving the struggle of the material civilisations and intellectual cultures estranged by them, there is also involved the existence of the nationality. A people adopting a foreign tongue (and incidentally handicapping its own material and intellectual progress) abandons with its mother-tongue its distinctive culture, and adopts a new nationality. For language and culture are the fundamental (not the sole) elements and creators of nationality, by which its existence is decided.

There is not a proposition advanced above that cannot be sustained and illustrated out of the experience of the Irish people, and there is little in Levinsky's conclusions with which any Gaelic Leaguer or Sinn Féiner will quarrel. What is important in relation to current controversy is that the above reproduces the sense of the introductory chapters of an official publication of a Marxist Party in a small nationality. J. M. M. MACDONALD.

We regret that owing to the great pressure on our space this week we are unable to conclude the article "Chicago, 1920."

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DUBLIN UNION.

The Board of Guardians of the above Union will, at their meeting on WEDNESDAY, the 18th AUGUST, 1920, proceed to elect a duly qualified APOTHECARY or PHARMACEUTICAL CHEMIST to act as Compoinder of the Rathfarnham Nos. 1 and 2 Dispensary Districts (Dispensaries—Rathfarnham, Terenure, and Crumlin) at an initial salary of £100 per annum, rising by annual increments of £5 to a maximum of £250 per annum.

The person appointed will be required to carry out all the prescribed duties attaching to the position.

Applications, accompanied with copies of testimonials, to be lodged here with me not later than 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 17th August, 1920, and candidates will be required to be in attendance at the meeting of the Board at 4 o'clock p.m., on the following day, Wednesday, the 18th August, 1920, when the election will take place.

By Order, JOHN P. GORDON.

Clerk's Office, 1, James's Street, Dublin, Clerk of the Union.
4th August, 1920.

RATHDOWN UNION—MEDICAL OFFICER WANTED.

The Rathdown Board of Guardians will, at their meeting on WEDNESDAY, 18th AUGUST, 1920, be prepared to receive and consider applications for the position of MEDICAL OFFICER in the Sallorgan Dispensary District of the Union, at an initial salary of £250 per annum, rising by annual increments of £5 per annum, until a maximum salary of £300 is reached, together with the usual small maximum salary of £200 per annum. Candidates must have the necessary professional qualifications for the position, and it will be a condition of the appointment that candidates having a knowledge of the Irish language, other things being equal, will be given preference; and also that the doctor elected will be prepared to take an oath of allegiance to Dail Eireann.

Candidates canvassing for the position, after the issue of this notification will not be eligible for election.

The person appointed will (in pursuance of the provisions of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1876) also be entitled to be appointed as Medical Officer of Health for the Stillorgan Electoral Division, at an additional salary of £20 per annum (payable by the Rathdown No. 1 Rural District Council).

Applications, accompanied by testimonials, addressed to the undersigned, will be received by me up to 3 o'clock p.m. on the above-named day, when candidates must be in attendance.

By Order, PATRICK CUNNIAM,

Clerk's Office, 5th August, 1920. Clerk of the Union.

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payable to New Ireland Publishing Co., Ltd., 15 Fleet Street,
Dublin.**"Old Ireland" Attacked by British
Government.**

A large portion of the issue of OLD IRELAND was seized and stolen last week. Up to going to press we have had no notification from the British authorities for the reason of this holding up of our supplies. The low standard of our enemies' morals may be judged by their action in this matter. They may drive opinion underground, but it will explode under them if they do not allow it to pass through the normal channels of the Press. Apart from the universal condemnation incurred by the British Government in the course of the last year by the wholesale suppression of opinion in Ireland, one would imagine that the results of that suppression in making the struggle more violent and the oppression more futile would induce the British Government to return to more civilised methods. We made an appeal to our readers last week to come to our assistance with capital and advertisements. We appeal with this last attack of our enemies as a further argument showing that we must be doing useful national work when the Government suppresses us.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.**The Irish Republic and Dominion Home Rule Farce.**

Dail Eireann issues an official statement that no negotiations whatsoever have taken place, nor is there any intention of negotiating on the subject of Colonial Dominion Home Rule. The position is perfectly clear. The Irish people have finally decided the issue at the General Election. The Irish people established by an overwhelming majority *The Irish Republic outside the British Empire. The Irish people will never go back on that.* Any attempt to induce the Irish people to go back on that will be regarded as an attempt to upset the Irish Republic, as in fact it would be.

Such an attempt is based on the hope of throwing over every prominent Republican and all the leaders of the people. Every one of those prominent Irishmen are bound in honour by their pledges at the General Election, and by every expression of the organisations of the country since then to stand by the Republic, and by that alone. Nay, by solemn oath the most responsible leaders are pledged to the Republic. To suggest a breach of that oath is, to put it mildly, an insult to our representatives; to suggest that the whole country would accept Dominion Home Rule is to suggest that the Irish people would commit a base act of desertion from those who have given their lives for the Republic, and from those who have devoted their entire earnest activities to the Irish Republic.

The Irish Republic is not the subject of mere political action at all, it is an established State, backed by the authority of the Irish people, functioning effectively all over Ireland, save in those spheres of life where foreign military occupation directly interferes with the work of the Irish State. One might as well talk of making Poland a Colonial Dominion under Russia at this moment, and call the act a "political" act on Russia's part. We do not suggest any similarity of intention between Russia and England. Russia herself will be the first to leave Poland independent, when Poland gives up its intentions of imperialist aggression against Russia. But would Lloyd George or Thomas, or any other responsible politician in Europe be satisfied with "a settlement" of the Polish question with Poland a Colonial Dominion of Russia? Would any statesman use the term "politics" in the current acceptance of that word in connection with the international rights of Poland. The issue in Ireland is one of International justice, or it is a farce.

The Landslide from Unionism.

During its rapid growth to power the Irish Republic has demonstrated its strength and its fairness to all individuals living in Ireland, the result is the crumbling of Unionism. Prominent Unionists are men of a high intellectual order, and above all dominated by the spirit of "real-politik." It is not from their point of view offensive or unfair, it is not even unkind to point out that their conduct is guided by

considerations of their commercial and industrial interests. They are not attracted by Irish national and cultural ideas. This is not to say that they are not honest or well-intentioned according to their lights. If they are open to the influences of Irish culture they should be afforded every opportunity of absorbing the splendour and ennobling humanity of Irish ideals. No one with the most superficial knowledge of Ireland could deny the power of these ideals. As we believe in them, we believe that they will ultimately absorb all Irish elements into the Irish nation, even as they have done from century to century, and from generation to generation in the past, making those immigrants or their children who dwell in the land, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." At present we are witnessing a landslide from Irish Unionism, due to the firm and energetic government of the Irish Republic. That landslide is only half accomplished; the facts which have brought apparently obtuse Unionists of yesterday so far as "Dominion Home Rule," which English Unionists call "a veiled republic," will bring them further. In the meantime, we shall watch patiently and prepare to receive these people into the Irish Republic. The industrial and commercial interests of Ireland will be more carefully fostered by an Irish Republic than by England, and the extravagance of the English Government now necessitates such taxation on Ireland by England, as to render in this country great progress, or even reasonable growth impossible. Again, in the distribution and prices of raw materials England has penalised Irish industry; no one knows this better than the linen manufacturers or the wool producers. These are but a few considerations mentioned offhand, which must carry weight. Again, are the Unionists of the North going to forego all the new foreign markets which Irish Republican effort will open to the benefit of Irish trade and industry? We do not think so; nor will the traders in the North long tolerate being dragged down to ruin where the Irish home markets are concerned, merely to make an Orange bigot's holiday. We may rest assured that Irish economic interests are all on the side of the Irish Republic, and that the facts will impose themselves ultimately on the minds of all who think, be they Unionist or nothing.

Enforcement of Decree, Illegality of Tests.

The resolution of the General Council of County Councils, enforcing the decree of General Eireann, whereby religious and political tests, are declared illegal, shows that the Irish Government has absolute unanimity of support from the local government bodies. The resolution declares a trade boycott of all trade in Belfast, save that of such firms, not victimising Irishmen on religious or political grounds, as have their names entered on a white list. All the forces of the country will be put into action to enforce this decree, and especially, with the help of organised Labour, the ban upon the 5,000 Irish workers driven from employment by Orange conspiracy shall be removed, and these workers, involving the existence of 20,000 persons, shall be reinstated. It is idle for the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*—the organ of Unionist Belfast—to threaten Unionists all over Ireland must be subjected to moral coercion. The antithesis of moral coercion is immoral coercion. No one wants the latter, but coercion is moral provided it aims at achieving a moral end, and is not harsher than

is absolutely necessary. Irishmen are perfectly free to trade with whoever they choose, and there is no moral obligation on them to trade with Belfast. If a boycott were organised by private interests or to benefit one class in the community it would be different; but here, right principle is to be vindicated, and that is the principle of no religious intolerance against any workers. This policy is really the mildest and most merciful, and one which can be stopped at any moment's notice, when the persecution of Irishmen by Orangemen ceases. Orangemen may choose to prolong the struggle. They will then be the authors of the destruction of trade in Belfast, and by withdrawing capital from the many of the industries there. With the loss of credit these industries will not be able to work, nor is it likely that English banks could be induced, where political conditions make for so much insecurity, to take any risks in Ireland. The enforcement of this blockade will certainly be universal, and if obstinate traders disobey the decree they shall receive a fitting little consolation in their subsequent troubles by calling to their assistance the army of occupation.

Cahal Bradley and Religion in the Wrong Place.

We print elsewhere a further contribution from Cahal Bradley, of Derry, who in his concluding remarks shows where we differ with him. A Catholic's action as a citizen of a mixed community must avoid the danger of being merely for one section of the nation. No one should allow himself to be deluded into the belief that because Catholics are victimised that therefore we should allow the purely sectarian aspect (we use the word with respect) of the problem to dominate our outlook. The object of English politicians is to obscure the national issue by stirring up violent dissension between two sections in the community who happen to hold different religious dogmas. Religious beliefs are sacred to the individual, and any religious beliefs are better than sordid, uninspired materialism. But for English politicians religious beliefs in Ireland are worked on to create anarchy, and the object is best achieved when Catholics, in suffering their injuries, forget the national ideal and adopt the same methods and the same psychology as their deluded enemies. An "eye for an eye" policy has had nationality; it also happens to be bad Christianity even in Belfast or Derry. When Hibernianism was organised of lines similar to Orangism the work of England was best done, because it made permanent the split between Catholic and Protestant. It also appealed to the most selfish interests of certain sections in the country. When the Irish Republican ideal became a reality, it cleared the temple of religion of the traders and jobbers by standing for tolerance and respect for all traditional religious beliefs, and by insisting in public life on the national ideal, placing the good of Ireland, as a whole, first and last. The remedy for Orange aggression by riot is not Catholic retaliation by riot; the remedy lies in the firm imposition of the national rights and duties of all citizens towards each other. When a fund is started to remedy these evils, it should not even suggest by name the maintenance of a cleavage in purely civic matters between equal citizens with equal rights, of no matter what denomination.

Thomas Farelly—Martyr.

Thomas Farelly—murdered by the military—August 10, 1920. Such was the brief description of the young man who was buried with public honours on Friday last. The funeral was a mile long, and consisted mainly of working people. Such a funeral in the middle of the working week

and during working hours, is indeed a tribute of honour to the dead. He did not die as one who went forth to fight for the enemies of his country, as a leader who had thrown defiance in the teeth of the politicians; he was not killed as a prisoner in Mountjoy, nor did he die at the hands of infuriated Orangemen. He was simply rejoicing in the visit of Archbishop Mannix, and taking part in the popular tribute to a great Irishman, when he was shot stealthily by silent-footed soldiers. Yet he also is a martyr—one of Ireland's honoured dead. Death knows no distinction of class, and the greatness of dying for Ireland falls like the sunshine—where it will. In perfect order, men and women, boys and girls, poor mothers carrying their children, walked by the hearse, paying tribute of immortal fame to the boy, shot in a by-street for rejoicing at a bonfire fit in honour of a great prelate of the Catholic faith, a great Irishman and democrat of world-wide reputation. The fires lit upon the southern shores were seen by the Archbishop far out to sea. The little bonfire at a street corner now sends up a brightness that never shone on land or sea; it will linger a long time in the hearts of the Irish people. The coffin was wrapped in a tricolour flag made by this boy, and decorated by him with the name of Dr. Mannix. Little he thought it would be his catafalque, the trappings of his own: more than princely obsequies. Marching in the procession one thought of other funerals, and one's mind travelled back to the first great funeral that marked the New Era in Ireland. Significantly, it, too, was of the poor—namely, the funeral of Satchel's Walk, following immediately upon the Hoyle gun runnings. When Irishmen were content to talk, English politicians knew that it was mere talk. When Ireland began to arm, the English politicians began to kill: because Ireland armed meant Ireland free—and the English politicians knew it. This is the significance of the series of funerals, and of deaths with no funeral, like that of Casement. Since that first funeral before the war, the emotion of the people at such public demonstrations has changed. There was a time when the overwhelming sorrows brought Ireland only anguish; then there came a time when the terrible joy of an heroic struggle was added, making of a funeral a triumph; now there is something else added. It is the fierce anger of a united people at the insult, the *Mac mortified* to the established government of this nation, the Irish Republic.

Government by Outrage.

The English Government policy of reprisals continues; it is now developing into a policy of shooting at sight upon the least demonstration of national convictions. This is obvious in the case of Thomas Farelly. In Limerick the violence of the "Black and Tans," or R.I.C., is causing the wrecking of large parts of the city; in Dublin, too, the riotous conduct of the soldiers shows the universal nature of the policy adopted. In Tralee, £80,000 worth of property is destroyed; and on Saturday night last, in Hospital, just outside Limerick, a non-combatant named Patrick Lynch, a brave force, is taken from his house and murdered in cold blood by the forces of the Crown. The Government enforcing the policy which inspires and condones these acts talks of compromise with Ireland; what better example of men of blood and inquiry bearing gifts in their hands. The policy of the English Cabinet in Ireland reminds one of the policy of Churchill's agents in Russia—namely, Koltchak and Denikin. Their policy was so brutal that it finally turned the whole population, at first neutral or friendly, into open hostility. The effect of the present policy of

reprisals is having just the same effect in Ireland, and nothing has caused such an earthquake amongst Unionists as this policy as carried out by the Orange agents of the English Cabinet in Belfast. The demoralisation is setting in rapidly, and in spite of the harrowing sufferings of the people one sees in every new turn of the screw (such as the new Coercion Act) another stage of dissolution and disintegration of the Empire arrived at. Irishmen to-day are indeed exasperated, but not dismayed; rather are they filled with more courage and hope at every fresh outrage committed in the name of Empire.

The Mannix Demonstrations.

The position of Archbishop Mannix in London is now quite similar to that of Cardinal Mercier when he was forbidden to go outside certain areas. At least Cardinal Mercier was not interned out of his native land, as this great Irishman is. For the latter can go where he pleases, to the moon if he likes, but he must not visit his native land. The demonstrations of immense proportions held in London, Melbourne, and Sydney show where the power lies, and now we can hardly believe that the arrogance of the English Cabinet will blind it to the consequences of keeping a prelate with the greatest democratic support in the world from visiting his family and his native land. At that London demonstration in honour of Dr. Mannix we are glad to notice that two members of Dail Eireann, Messrs. MacDonogh and O'Kelly, have taken the first opportunity of pointing the significance of An Dail's official statement that there was no intention of negotiating with English politicians about "Dominion Home Rule." The Irish Republic is a *fait accompli*—established at the cost of supreme sacrifices on the part of the heroes of Irish nationality, and in future any act to subvert it will be regarded as an act of treason.

The Milk and the Murder of Babies.

By DR. KATHLEEN LYNN.

Will anything in the world make people realise the seriousness of the milk question? People will take all sorts of precautions about far less essential things. I know many people who would not pick up a pin off the street for fear of contracting an infectious disease, the same people will cheerfully drink and let their little children drink milk laden with filth and disease germs and adulterated beyond recognition by the cow that gave it.

Nature made no mistake when she designed that mammals should suckle their young. The foal, the puppy, the kitten, receives its milk supply, pure and uncontaminated, direct from its mother. Human beings, endowed with high mental faculties, are contented to nourish themselves and their young on the produce of the town milk-cart or dairy. Let us see what it is like! In the country round any large town, or, indeed, in any part of the country, one sees milk cows grazing in the fields, with their hindquarters thickly plastered with manure; follow these cows to the farmyards, in many, perhaps the majority of cases, the yards are in a state of indescribable filth, the byres and cowsheds ankle deep in more or less liquid manure. The milkers are just on a par with the cows and the cowsheds: men, whose clothes one can smell from a considerable distance, being thickly felled with the accumulated dried splashes of milk of years, their persons are usually as cleanly as their clothes, and these are the persons who do the milking. One can judge of the care taken in cleaning the cans from a case

Inner History of the Belfast Riots.

(From Irish Bulletin.)

" Riots instigated by the professed partisans of Great Britain in Ulster."—London Times' description of Belfast Riots, July 23, 1920.

The following are three valuable additions to the inner history of the rioting which began in Belfast on Wednesday, July 21.

A is a statement tracing the origin of the riots. The statement is made by Mr. John McNeill, Professor of Ancient Irish History in the National University of Ireland, member of the Ministry of Dail Eireann, and elected representative of the Parliamentary Constituency of Derry City and the National University of Ireland.

B is a series of excerpts from the report of the Brigade Commandant of the Belfast area of the Irish Republic Army. The report deals with the activities of the Irish Volunteers during the riots, and is a diary of the events of the five days' rioting.

C is a series of excerpts from a report by the Sinn Fein Councillors of Belfast. These excerpts show that the Unionist Lord Mayor of Belfast, Alderman Coates, refused to exercise the power inherent in his office to call a special meeting of the Corporation to devise means of protecting the lives of the citizens and of ending the riots. These excerpts also show that the Lord Mayor established sectarian Police Patrols without consultation with the citizens of Belfast, or without consideration of the rights of the Catholic population to be represented in such patrols.

A.—Professor McNeill's Statement.

" The origin of the pogrom campaign in Belfast and some neighbouring towns is not disclosed by Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir Edward Carson, and other British politicians in their public statements on this subject, however well it may be known to them.

" The pogrom has been in contemplation since long before the war. Whoever 'civil war' was mentioned by certain Unionist spokesmen in their public utterances about Ulster, the thing contemplated in their privacy was the pogrom. The form it was designed to take was a murderous drive of Catholics from the 'six counties,' so as to create what otherwise did not exist—the 'homogeneous Ulster' of British spokesmen. Definite private warnings from Unionist sources reached me during the twelve months preceding the European war, and were by me communicated at that time to various persons. These warnings were all to the effect that a combined massacre and expulsion of Catholics was intended to be carried out over a large part of Ulster, in the event of a Home Rule measure for all Ireland being enacted at Westminster. A threat to this effect was uttered at the Buckingham Palace Conference in January, 1914, on the very eve of the war.

" There being no real occasion for fanatical hatred among the Ulster people of different religions, a special propaganda was inaugurated to work up sectarian fury. Among the incidents seized upon, and kept persistently under discussion in the Ulster Unionist Press for this purpose, was a paltry scuffle that took place eight years ago at Castledawson, Co. Derry.

" It is well to recall these facts, and to couple them with the pogrom campaign in Eastern Ulster, which prepared the way for the destruction of the Irish Parliament, and to remember also that a campaign similar to the present one

preceded the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, that another such campaign, incited, encouraged and excused by leading English politicians, followed the introduction of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886, and that again another followed in 1912 the introduction of the Asquith Home Rule Bill. With so much a view, not to talk of the attacks on churches, monasteries, and convents of nuns, the pretence that the recent outbreaks at Derry and Belfast, and some towns near Belfast, have a specially anti-Sinn Fein character, will be duly appreciated.

" More audacious still is the pretence that the Ulster pogrom was undertaken as a reprisal for the death of Colonel Smyth. The attempt was first made in Derry City several weeks before that event. In Derry, as in Belfast, Bangor, Banbridge, etc., there was no attempt to single out for victims those who were known to be Republicans. Catholics were attacked indiscriminately. Those who attacked the working women's hostel in Bangor know well that they were not attacking 'Sinn Feiners.'

" Neither on this nor on any previous occasion have movements of this kind in East Ulster been spontaneous. They have always been worked up by influential persons. Sir Edward Carson, in his last Twelfth of July oration, condemned the Derry outbreak not because it was wrong, but because it was 'spontaneous.' The private consultation that led up to the recent Belfast outbreak may perhaps remain private. I am able to tell how the plot was started in public, my informant being one of those who attended the inaugural meeting. Those who were present, if they read this statement, will recognise that it comes from one of themselves, and that it is true.

" The persons chosen to start the campaign were a body of the employees at Workman and Clark's shipyards. The meeting was held at the dinner hour on Wednesday, July 21, outside the time office of Workman and Clark's South Yard. The persons authorised to set the ball rolling, and who came there specially for that purpose, were a gentleman well known in Bangor, and another, not so well known, from Derry. One of the employees of Workman and Clark acted more or less in the capacity of chairman, and made the opening speech. The main point of his remarks was that Sinn Fein and Catholics were having all the work, while their brothers who fought in France were walking the streets. Were they going to stand that?

" After the chairman the Bangor gentleman was next to speak. He reminded his hearers of the Castledawson incident, which happened seven or eight years before. He referred to the shooting of Commissioner Smyth, who, he represented, was murdered because he was a Protestant, while District Inspector Gray, who was along with Smyth, was only wounded, he being a Papist. When it came to actual proposals the Bangor gentleman, like those above him, was very discreet, and said he had nothing personally against his Catholic fellowmen, but they (his hearers) knew what to do with them.

" After this there was a call for members to join the Association in the B.P.A. Hall in Des Street, where there would be a meeting every Thursday night.

" The Derry missionary gave the next address. He said, among other things, that Protestants in Derry were being chased from their work by Catholics. When he had done the man who acted as chairman told them that they must be prepared to stand by each other if any of them got into trouble. After this he asked for a show of revolvers. One man held a revolver up in the air, and the meeting cheered. The same speaker proposed a resolution to chase 'Sinn Feiners and

Fenians' out of the East Yard of Harland and Wolff. (Those who are not accustomed to the technicalities of Belfast street politics are to understand that 'Fenians' in the parlance of a Belfast Unionist mob means Catholics.) The adoption of this proposal by acclamation finished the business of the meeting.

" Immediately afterwards, at 2 p.m. on the same day, the drive began, Catholic workers being expelled from Harland and Wolff's shipyard, and some of them being thrown into the Musgrave Channel.

" Among the lies invented to explain this fructification of a long-cherished design is the statement that it originated in Sinn Fein employees showing revolvers in Harland and Wolff's works. This fable was not so much as mentioned at the preliminary meeting here described. Perhaps the fable mongers will now explain who it was that deputed the delegates from Bangor and Derry to meet Workman and Clark's employees and hold this meeting. When they have answered that they will be some interesting questions still to answer.

(N.B.—A later meeting after the rioting ceased was held in the same locality and reported in the Press. The meeting above described was not reported.)

B.—Excerpts from the Brigade Commandant's Report.

" Brigade H.Q., Monday, July 26, 1920.

On Wednesday morning, July 21, printed notices were posted up in the shipyards calling a meeting of Unionist workers during the dinner hour. The meeting was held at 1.30 p.m. At that meeting we have definite information the following Unionists spoke: MacKay, of the Apprentice Boys of Derry; McKeeg, of Bangor; and a man called Gunning. At the meeting inflammatory speeches were made regarding what they called 'the Sinn Fein menace, and alleged 'outrages' in the South and West of Ireland.

" After the meeting large bodies of Orangemen armed with sledge hammers, iron bars, bolts and rivets proceeded to the various shops and attacked Catholic workmen, throwing several of them into the dock, and beating others unmercifully. One man stated that while he was in the water there was at least 80 others there also. It is generally believed that some of these men were drowned.

" At six o'clock in the evening the men of the Belfast Battalion were ordered to remain in their own houses and await further orders. A meeting of the Brigade Staff was hurriedly called, and the situation was fully discussed, and resulted in the decision that the men would not be brought into the conflict. Scouts were dispatched to the different areas to report at intervals any changes in the situation. The Brigade Staff sat all night.

" Thursday.—The Brigade Staff met early in the morning, and it was decided to place guards in the points that were most likely to be attacked on an organised scale. This necessitated the placing of a guard numbering 20 in the Training College.

" Friday.—It was decided on Friday morning to interview his Lordship Most Rev. Dr. McRory to use his influence, but even his influence was of no avail, drink being still indulged in by the mob. The Unionists became very aggressive, and it was considered necessary to place a guard in the area. It was considered necessary to increase the guard on the Training College to 30 men. In the Ballymacretet area rioting and looting still continued on a large scale by the Orange mob. The Cross and Passion Convent was attacked, one of the rooms was set fire to.

" In this area the Catholic people were more amenable to reason, and Volunteer pickets and patrols were able, to some extent,

lately up in court, where it was proved that the man rinsed a can with water, washing it round with his hand, and then poured the rinsings into another can of milk standing close by. Such a dairy-yard has no facilities for washing hands. It is a common trick, I am informed, in milking for the milkster to keep on rubbing his heel against the cow's side, so that his hairs and dandruff fall into the milk, in addition to what comes from the cow. So much for the farmyard conditions. The pure milk thus produced is then treated, so as to make it go farther. I have been told that a gallon of water to half-gallon of milk is a usual dilution; then there is the addition of preservatives, all more or less irritating to the delicate digestion of a child, and starch, which is utterly unsuitable for young infants.

It is well that all dairy farms are not like the above, but it is common knowledge that milk, produced under favourable conditions, may reach the consumer in a state as bad as if it had been produced in a filthy dairy, from the common habit of one milk cart borrowing from another.

It is no lie to say that milk producers and vendors will have more lives to answer for in the Day of Judgment than any nations who have made war. Bad milk naturally affects its principal consumers most, hence children suffer incomparably more than adults, and the younger and more delicate the child, the greater the danger.

In the year 1915 there were 800,000 children born in Ireland, England, and Scotland, of these 90,000 died before reaching the age of one year. Is it any wonder when one thinks of the milk these children were fed on? In Dublin the infant mortality is 164 per 1,000, and it is Dublin which was principally in my mind when writing the foregoing.

Just a year ago a hospital was opened in Dublin, Teach Ulltinn, 37, Charlemont Street, for babies under one year. This hospital has even in that time done something to save infant life, but how much more could be done if only people would help more. Money can be got in thousands for amusements of all sorts and for luxuries, but few think of the babies who die like flies from bad milk, especially at this season. If people only knew, if they only saw what we see, there would be no lack of funds for such an object, there would be no lack of public support for reforms in the milk supply. Think of it! A baby is born, its mother is too starved herself, or too ill to nurse it, or she has died after its birth, it is fed on what passes for milk, it comes to the hospital almost dead, it cannot be admitted because there are no funds to open the wards there, waiting for their little inmates. Won't people help, the only thing that is wanted is money; the premises are there, the doctors and nurses are there, but the money is not there.

K. LYNN.

Coisde Ceanntair Thiobraid Arann.

Tá Muinntir ag teastall ó Choisde Ceanntair Thiobraid Arann on 15 adh de Mheadhon Fhoghmhair, chum Teanga agus Binne na h Eireann a mhúinear. Ní mór dhó Cheith ábalta cuidiú le Dráma a leiriú.

Tuarastal £4 s' tseachtain. Cuirtar na h-iarraitaisí chum an Rúnaidhe. Conradh na Gaeilghe, Sráid Uí Bhriain, Twbrad Arann.

to control the mob, and protect the shops and houses of Protestants.

Saturday.—On Saturday morning the casualty list reported from the hospitals was 14 killed and 200 wounded. Isolated cases of rioting occurred during the day, and a systematic serving of notices on Catholics in Protestant districts was commenced, warning them to clear out of the Unionist quarters. In several cases persons were ejected from their homes without warning, whilst their furniture was piled in a heap on the streets and burned. Cases occurred where persons leaving by the rear door of their houses waded through a river to escape the mob. In most cases where notices were served the Catholics hastily left their homes and sought refuge in the Catholic quarter. On Saturday night several new guards took up duty.

Sunday.—Isolated rioting took place throughout the city, and an increase in the serving of notices to Catholics to leave their homes in the Unionist quarter, and is now developing into an exchange of houses between Catholics and Protestants in their respective areas.

Monday.—Isolated rioting took place throughout the city, and an increase in the death list is now reported as numbering 18. Catholics have through force of circumstances commenced to serve eviction notices on Unionists in Catholic quarters. We are trying to check this, as it is now quite clear that the Unionist aim is the concentration of the Catholics in Catholic areas. In finding homes for these Catholic refugees we have commandeered houses that are being reserved for storage purposes, empty houses marked 'for sale' or 'to let.' We are now trying to devise a scheme so as not to aid or abet this scheme of concentration.

The Guards ordered to their various posts have their duties clearly defined. Guards were offered in several instances where attacks seemed imminent, but the offers were refused.

(Signed) BRIGADE COMMANDANT.

C.—The Meeting with the Lord Mayor.

On July 25 five of the Sinn Fein and Labour Members of Belfast Corporation decided to request that a special meeting of that Corporation be held in order that ways and means of safeguarding the lives, homes and property of all the citizens be devised, and further to consider what steps should be taken for the reinstatement of all workers who had been thrown out of employment. An interview was arranged between two of the Sinn Fein members (Councillors Barnes and Savage), and the Lord Mayor of Belfast. The following is an excerpt from the report made of this interview by the Councillors concerned:

Councillor Barnes (S.F.): My Lord Mayor, tell me what you have done in this matter?

Lord Mayor: I have given my sanction for police patrols under the control of the authorities at their own risk.

B.: Of whom are these patrols composed?

L.M.: Of persons interested in the peace of the city.

B.: Who asked you to sanction the establishment of these patrols? Was it the Corporation, which consists of all the people?

L.M.: No, not the Corporation, but a Rev. Redmond. B.: Then the patrols consist of his particular congregation or persuasion?

L.M.: No, not exactly his congregation.

B.: As a native of Belfast, did you consider it prudent to sanction only the patrols of one section of the people?

L.M.: I accepted the offer as given.

L.M.: This is the result of murdering Commissioner Smyth by Sinn Fein.

B.: The attack on the workers was irrespective of their politics. In fact, Joe Devlin's house was burned, the Coverts attacked. Were these S.F. institutions?

The Lord Mayor asked for the words of the requisition calling the special meeting. They were given him, and he asked us to call later for his answer. When we returned we found he had instructed the Town Clerk to say the responsibility rested with five members of the Corporation to request a special meeting. In other words, he has refused to exercise the powers vested in him as Lord Mayor in calling such a meeting.

A Bill for the Better Protection of—

A Section of the "Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill."

(From Irish Bulletin.)

In the supplement to the Irish Bulletin of July 13, 1920, a statement made by one of the Divisional Commissioners of the Royal Irish Constabulary for the Southern Counties was reported. The statement was made to the British controlled police at Killarney, Co. Kerry, in the third week of June, 1920. The Divisional Commissioner in the course of his remarks said:

Hitherto it has been the practice that when a policeman had shot with effect the matter was made the subject of an inquiry, and the public were provided with all kinds of facilities, such as producing evidence, etc., to bring the matter home to the guilty party. Henceforth no such facilities will be provided, and no such policeman will be held up to public odium by being pilloried before a coroner's jury, or other such inquiry.

That such statements were made by the Divisional Commissioner concerned was denied by British propaganda.

On Monday, August 2, 1920, the English Chief Secretary for Ireland introduced a Coercion Bill for Ireland. The Bill is backed by the British Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George), the Leader of the British House of Commons (Mr. Bonar Law), the Attorney-General for England, the English Attorney for Ireland, and the English Solicitor-General for Ireland. These British Statesmen's names are signed to this "Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill," as the latest Coercion Bill is called.

That Bill carries into effect the promise of the Divisional Commissioner of the Royal Irish Constabulary, which promise British propaganda denied ever having been made. Immunity to the police from "public odium by being pilloried before a coroner's jury or other such inquiry" is one of the principal objects of this Bill.

Clause 1, section 3, sub-section (f) reads:

"8. Regulations so made also

(f) Provide for any of the duties of a coroner and coroner's jury being performed by a court of inquiry instituted under the Army Act instead of by the coroner and jury."

Stripped of its legal phraseology this sub-section (f) of the Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill means:

(1) That henceforward the only restraint capable of being placed by the Irish public upon British military and police excesses—the restraint of publicly exposing these excesses and naming the guilty parties—is to be removed.

(2) That these British military and police are by this sub-section informed by their Government that when they

shoot down innocent Irish civilians they will be officially shielded from "being held up to public odium by being pilloried before a coroner's jury or other such inquiry."

(3) That the British military and police in Ireland are officially informed that when they have murdered Irish civilians—which in the past few months they had done frequently in co-operation with their officers—their act, if it is made subject to inquiry at all will be inquired into by these very officers or their colleagues, or as the sub-section puts it, "a court of inquiry constituted under the Army Act."

(4) That, in fine, the British military and police in Ireland are promised in this "Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill" that their murders will no longer be called murders; that if any inquiry be made into them it will be made by the authority under which such murders have, up to the present been committed, and by which the following thirty-one murders committed since the beginning of 1920 have been left unpunished, although in the majority of these cases coroners' juries returned verdicts against the troops and police of "wilful murder" or unjustifiable homicide:

July 30, John O'Sullivan, Limerick City.

July 29, Patrick Duggan (aged 10), Bruce, Co. Limerick.

July 29, Thomas Harris (invalid), Bruce Co., Limerick.

July 24, Wm. McGrath, Cork City.

July 21, James Cogan, Olicastle, Co. Meath.

July 21, Daniel McGrath (aged 18), Corcanna Cross, Co. Wick.

July 21, Thomas McDonnell, Corcanna Cross, Co. Cork.

July 19, John O'Brien (aged 18), Cork City.

July 18, James Burke, Cork City.

July 18, Miss M. Counihane, Limerick City.

July 8, Thomas Feery (aged 70), Ballycoomon, King's Co.

July 4, Richard Lumley (half-witted, aged 60), Rearcross, Tipperary.

July 4, Michael Small, Upparchurch, Co. Tipperary.

June 25, Cornelius Crowley (bedridden), Bantry, Co. Cork.

June 16, Thomas Brett, Drombane, Co. Tipperary.

June 6, Michael Walsh (aged 13½ years), Cappaguin, Co. Wick.

May 18, James Saunders, Limerick City.

April 24, Patrick Dowling, Arklow, Co. Wicklow.

April 16, Thomas Mulholland, Dundalk, Co. Louth.

April 14, John O'Loughlin, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.

April 14, P. Hennessy, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.

April 14, Thos. O'Leary, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.

March 29, T. Dwyer, Boulduff, Co. Tipperary.

March 27, T. McCarthy, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.

March 22, Miss Ellen Hendrich (aged 18), Dublin.

March 22, Michael Cullen, Dublin.

March 20, Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, Lord Mayor, Cork.

February 12, James O'Brien, Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow.

February 2, Miss Helen Johnson, Limerick City.

February 2, Robert O'Dwyer, Limerick City.

January 19, Michael Darcy, Coonclare, Co. Clare.

It will be observed from the above list that in the six weeks—June 16, 1920, to July 30, 1920—since the promise is to the British armed forces in Ireland, the number of murders by civilians by these troops and police has equalled the number committed in the previous five and a half months (January 1, 1920, to June 17, 1920), and is once and a half the number committed in the entire twelve months of 1919.

In other words, there has been an increase in the last six weeks of 800 per cent. in the number of military and police murders, as compared with the previous 24 weeks of 1920, and of 1,200 per cent., as compared with the 52 weeks of 1919.

This increase is quite clearly the effect of a verbal promise of immunity given to police murderers by a Divisional Commissioner of the Royal Irish Constabulary. What the effect will be of a British Act of Parliament enacting as law this promise of immunity can be best left to the imagination. In Ireland the "Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill" is more accurately understood to be the "Instigation to Murder in Ireland Bill."

Derry and Other Places.

I am grateful for Mr. P. S. O'Flannagain's further contribution under this heading, and as he has been so courteous as to endeavour to substantiate his assertions, I shall endeavour to respect his concern by being more lengthy in this reply. We Republicans in Derry felt very proud that a difficult situation had been handled with some small success, and in this respect many who were "still constitutional" shared our feelings. Such an article as Mr. O'Flannagain's, however, brought a discouraging cloud into our, perhaps too hopeful, vision, and, coming from a "man from Derry," and one who knows Derry so well, it had, I must admit, an effect that is disheartening.

In justice to Mr. O'Flannagain I still consider that he did not do justice to the subject he has introduced.

He accused Catholic priests of having "passed votes of thanks to the Army of Occupation," and I asked him "to tell us of one case" where they had done so. This he has not done, but replies by saying, "The Derry Journal says: 'At the masses in the Catholic Churches it was stated that the people should be thankful to the police for the impartiality they displayed, etc.'"

He and I agree, I am sure, that the Derry Journal is not all that might be desired, but in this connection, I presume, if policemen refuse to arrest or detain a priest, Mr. O'Flannagain would not disapprove of his fellow-priests, either publicly or otherwise complimenting those policemen.

This, as Mr. O'Flannagain must know, is exactly what took place, and any remarks made by any priest in this direction had entirely that bearing.

The Rev. Fr. O'Neill was arrested, several policemen insisted on his release. He was released and two of his fellow-priests complimented the police on their attitude. For anyone to say that "votes of thanks to England's Army of Occupation were expressed by Catholic Priests" is not merely unfair to the clergymen themselves, but it is unfair to Derry. And now in reference to the committee which was known by the name of the Citizens' Conciliation Committee, Mr. O'Flannagain deprecates that this committee did things that it should not have done; he does the few Republicans who were on it the credit of expecting that they should have been able to direct its doings. To us, this would be a compliment if it were not asserted in the spirit of censor.

Neither we nor the people we were supposed to represent on that committee could prevent the Unionists from clamouring for British military protection, and when it is realised that the committee was principally Unionist; with a Unionist chairman, the difficulty of the two or three Republicans can be imagined. The writer, perhaps frantically, clamoured for the co-operation of the Protestants and Catholics of the city, and protested against the interference of the military, and in fairness he must relate the Rev. Fr. Hegarty left the com-

mittee, and the others declined to take further part when it was found impossible to drag the Unionists from under the wings of the Army of Occupation. For myself I have nothing but the greatest praise for the Nationalists of Derry City, and to their credit, be it said, that they had no desire for the intervention of the military, but had the most implicit confidence in the Irish-Republican Army.

Not merely were Nationalists anxious and grateful for its protection, but to many Unionists it rendered invaluable assistance.

Mr. Flannagan, in closing his reply under this heading, says: Can I, can the public generally, be blamed for connecting Sinn Fein members—when they never dissociated themselves by statement or resolution from the committee's acts." The secretary of the committee could verify our attitude, and if Mr. Flannagan will but recall the atmosphere that existed at that time, he will no doubt be able to appreciate why we considered a public or noisy dissociation inadvisable. Whether rightly or wrongly we regarded such action as likely to prejudice the efforts for peace, and if we tolerated anything that seemed like "dangerous silence," it was entirely with this desire.

And now I come to your writer's closing arguments. In it he refers to what he describes as a "Derry Catholic Relief Fund." Respectfully, I would remark, that as the attack was made on Catholics, it is quite a legitimate and wise thing for Catholics to have "a Catholic Relief Fund" if they so desire. But I see it is Mr. Flannagan's contention that Republicans should not identify themselves with "a Catholic Relief Fund." To me this is altogether a new national aspect, and is tantamount to saying that a Republican cannot be a Catholic.

If Catholics are attacked and a Relief Fund necessary, surely a Republican is not to be deprived of the privilege of assisting them. When one finds such reasoning in Mr. Flannagan's article, one is forced to discount his other arguments accordingly. I pointed out that the name of the Fund was "The Derry Relief Fund," and to this statement I still adhere, although Mr. Flannagan seems to disbelieve me. He refers to various subscription lists in papers, but this does not alter the fact that the name is exactly as I have stated. As he has apparently not accepted my word, I am prepared to give him the necessary proof. The first press reports have the name as decided, the minute book records it, and the collecting books bear it, and if it is his desire I shall be glad to send all three to the editor of this paper, or to him for inspection to prove that the official title is "The Derry Relief Fund."

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(after Keats.)

"O what can ail thee, Brigadier,
Alone and palely loitering?
The Law has vanished from the Land
And no troops sing.

"O what can ail thee, Brigadier,
So haggard and so woebegone?
The Saxon's tyranny is o'er,
And his day is done.

"I see a spear upon thy brow,
With bloodstains moist and fever dew,
And on thy cheeks a fading rose
Fast withereth thou."

"I met Sinn Feiners in the Meads,
Full terrible—I felt a child,
Their hair was long, their steel was bright,
And their eyes were wild."

"They placed a bandage round my head,
And handcuffs too, and tempen rope;
They look'd at me as they did hate;
And gave no hope.

"They set me in a speeding car,
I nothing more saw all day long,
And headlong did we swerve and sway
And sound 'hoak-hoak.'

"They took me to some lowly cot,
And there they banged and locked the door,
And there I ope'd my tired, tired eyes
From bandage sore.

"They brought me food of coarsened kind,
Newspapers wild, and 'Mountain Dew,'
And sure in language rough they said
'Twill do for you.

"And there they forced me to sleep,
And there I dream'd—'Ah! 'twas beside!
The damndest dream I ever dream'd,
On the cold hill-side.

"I saw pale men, and women too,
Pale Sassenachs; death-pale were they all;
They cried: 'The fell game of Sinn Fein
Thee hath in thrall!'

"I spied a loop-hole in the bars
For me to squeeze through, barely wide,
My goal I broke and found me here
On the cold hill's side.

"And this is why I sojourn here,
Alone and palely loitering,
Though the Law has vanished from the Land
And no troops sing."

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Revolution: Means or Object?

Catholic Policy and Evolutionary Theory.

Last week I had the pleasure of a discussion with our all-respected friend, J. R. White, one of the most clear and satisfactory reasoners ever I met. "I stand," he said, between this Gaelic constructive movement and the international revolutionary movement—and while I appreciate good motives and high ideals of the former, I feel it not replace the latter." He went on further to repeat at opinion which readers have already seen in articles under his name—that the Social Revolution will bring man to a higher destiny than he has yet known, wherein there will be a fusion of Protestant and Catholic ideals. According to this view, Protestantism contributed something to human progress that could not come from Catholicity, and each great movement was but a phase in greater. "I feel," he said, "that either the Catholic Church is right, or she is the enemy of liberty. Either she is right, and our great movement a mistake, or she is a stumbling block to-day on the march to freedom, in which the good landlords prevent the workers rising for their rights."

This is a good analysis. But something needs to be done to complete it and correct its implications. The international Socialist movement is not necessarily a thing to be hostile to because the Church stands outside it. Rather many Catholics welcome it as much as Mr. White, regarding it as the desperate remedy for desperate diseases.

White recognises Protestantism as the companion of Capitalism, and its historic ally; he sees both going down before Socialism, whose parents they are. But Capitalism is the outgrowth of the Reformation movement, Socialism the reaction against its enormities and is bringing it to destruction. Socialism rounds off or wipes out a deplorable side in history. It is a rising sea that overthrows the side of oppression. It is a secular force, like a storm or great earthquake; and as we welcome a secular force that flows up an evil thing, so we welcome Socialism. We think it may do our business for us. It may overwhelm states system, militarism, economic exploitation, that preyed on us. The oppressed of the present order may welcome it. They may well "assist the storm." We rightly look for good men and idealists, lovers of their own and of justice in those who, standing aloof or merged in the struggle, rejoice in the social change.

But because International Socialism is a secular and personal force we do not see in it the consummation of our ideals. It is not our end, but it means to our end. cannot cast ourselves into its prosecution, because it is not our movement. It is a great storm sweeping through the capitalist world and threatening the things we hate; duty is to build up the things we love. We hold that Reformation did not assist progress, but interrupt it. Capitalism and Socialism do not carry us "spirally" rather than the Order that prevailed before they burst on us; on the contrary, we only welcome Socialism by cancelling Capitalism, it frees us to get back to the Order of old. We want to take up the threads of order where they were interrupted by the Reformation. As to the argument that the Reformation introduced

a liberty of the individual that hitherto had been lacking, we hold this to be historically untrue. "Licence they mean when they cry Liberty." The utmost personal liberty that is consistent with public well-being was possible under the old order, and so far from freedom of speculation being limited, those acquainted with the thought of the 11th—18th centuries A.D. know that never was the reason of man more daring than in those ultra-orthodox ages. This, however, is an academic point. What matters is that the Catholic faith does not restrict liberty or prevent any modern nation from developing the most liberal civilisation that can be desired. Surely Mr. White is too well-informed to take the Catholic faith at England's valuation! Again, to speak of Protestantism making for universalism or internationalism appears quite paradoxical. Are not both the name and policy of the Catholic Church catholic? It is, perhaps, beside the question to point out that Protestantism in Ireland, whatever it has been elsewhere, has always been a reactionary force. For all Mr. Forbes Patterson says deprecating sectarianism, it is absurd to blink the fact that the riots in Belfast and Derry were the work of anachronistic and Protestant "religious" bigotry, in which the Catholic population—that certainly is not a "howling, hysterical mob"—was the victim. Whether or not the Church is right in matters of dogma—which is a matter for faith—the reason approves of her philosophy, which denies the materialist theory of progress. The most outstanding fact in modern philosophy is that the secularists and evolutionists have discovered the bankruptcy of progress, and a fatalistic despair is settling down on the non-Christian thinking world. Science has suddenly gaped into dizzying emptiness, and the evolutionist can see no end or object in the progress that has been his hope. The only alternative to this miserable state is a return to the authoritative Christian attitude.

Dr. George O'Brien points out that "medieval [Catholic] economic teaching was expressly designed to influence the only constant element in human society at every stage of economic development. Methods of production may improve, hand may give place to machine industry, and mechanical inventions may revolutionise all our conceptions of transport and communication; but there is one element in economic activity that remains a fixed and immutable factor throughout the ages, and that element is man. The desires and the conscience of man remain the same, whatever the mechanical environment with which he is encompassed. One reason which suggests the view that the medieval teaching is still perfectly applicable to economic life is that it was designed to operate upon the only factor of economic activity that has not changed since the Middle Ages—namely, the desires and conscience of man."

This is a very important passage, and seems to me to sum up the difference between what I may call orthodox philosophy and that evolutionary "spiral" philosophy on which Mr. White seems to rely for salvation. I put it to him, does he seriously believe that recent events in Derry and Belfast, any more than recent developments in science, go to prove any improvement in the desires and conscience of man as a result of the Reformation or the Industrial Revolution? Have unbelief (for that is what we have to-day) and material civilisation made 20th century man nobler than his 14th century ancestor?

If we are not to rely on evolution; it follows that hard

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thinking is, to be done, and practical measures handled. The evolutionist may be ready to blow up everything, and thereafter rely on spiral forces to build the New Jerusalem for him. Far more likely would be a return of the Dark Ages like those that followed when the Roman Empire was blown up. Now may I say here, in reference to Seán McLoughlin, that I made reference to the S.P.I. because I understood that he wrote his attack on me from the S.P.I. office. As he now contradicts this, I apologise to all concerned for the misunderstanding. I agree with him that most of the S.P.I. people are "quite normal"—and I remind him that I spoke of the Marxian phonographs as being not representative of the S.P.I. Seán gives me some hefty knocks, but not harder than those I gave him, so I will not hit back. However, I must point out that when he talks of the Irish workers preferring "to stick to Marx," he is unconsciously funny.

When Seán says that "we find that all through the ages the class struggle has progressed," he is saying what is not true. The class struggle can not be traced throughout history. Here is an example of how a lightly-uttered, probable-looking generalisation may corrupt a man's whole thought. The class struggle is not an essential phase in evolution. It is the product of an evil series of circumstances that began in a departure from the natural order. It will end when a return is made and the error corrected.

When Seán says I am trying to show that it is possible for Capital and Labour to go hand in hand, I answer "Certainly!" If they cannot go hand in hand, we are doomed for eternity to strife! Why, the whole aim of Socialism (as well as of Distributivism) is to make Capital and Labour go hand in hand! The founder of scientific Socialism declared that under the desired order "there would be a profusion of capital without big capitalists."

The great body of the productive labourers would be capitalists themselves."

Perhaps Seán means that I am trying to reconcile capitalist dominion with the co-operative commonwealth. But that would be an impossibility. What I said was, that Co-operation must take the place now held by Capitalism. I do not know that any more revolutionary change could be conceived. It is no use trying to deny the revolutionary character of such a proposal by telling your opponent that he "lacks class-consciousness." No one can define my consciousness except myself, and I have very good reason to be class-conscious. But to be plain, all my class-consciousness does not make me blind to the limitations and failings of the class to which I belong, and which exploits me when I find myself in its power. I think nation-consciousness would be a desirable addition to class-consciousness in all of us, and might make it easier for workers to get on with their own class.

There is nothing unscientific in expecting the co-operative commonwealth of the future to retain some elements from the present form of society. Alcohol is a very different thing from sugar, yet the new compound contains elements that were in the old. There are elements in the present order that it would be disastrous to lose. But Seán does not, and cannot, show that I advocated the preserving of undesirable elements. The chief undesirable element with which we are concerned is capitalist domination, and my first postulate was that this must be done away with. In a former article I discussed the question of class war, and showed how far it must be accepted as necessary. Seán has no right to say I shirked the class-war issue, just as he has no right whatever to say that I tried to prove Connolly recanted.

I don't think Father McKenna wished to do so, either,

and though Father McKenna, as I suggested, does not quite far enough in his appreciation of Connolly, yet in both bad manners and bad policy to insult a distinguished and sincere sympathiser who does not see quite eye to eye with us yet.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is a revolutionary ideal, and it will only be reached by hard striving. In reaching it we preserve some elements from the present that is no more than the Bolsheviks did. They did not destroy everything and make a tabula rasa. In fact, in the Manifesto of the Third International (on which Seán seems to be an expert) they actually spoke of the danger of the destruction, and of the urgent need to preserve, if might elements of the old society. No, Seán, neither Marxism nor Bolshevism is just as simple a doctrine as you suggest. Marx, as I showed, is more on my side than are his disciples and lo! the Moscow International offers me ammunition finish you with! The superficial may applaud a shout of universal destruction, and may love the idea of abolishing Co-operators, etc., but it is always easier to abolish than to build up, and to invoke, without authority, the name of Marx or Lenin, will not endow the mere wrecker with a deity. Come down to facts, Seán, and show what's wrong with the program which I offered you for discussion.

I believe that certain non-essential trades may be taken to private development on a profit-making basis. In this I go no further than the best Socialists. Even in Russia, day this is allowed!

I suggested that during the transition period, when workers are unfit to control certain industries, they should be joint control. This is admitted and practised in Bolshevist Russia!

I suggested that while we are building our foundations we should allow railways to expand on capitalist lines, and we cannot handle them ourselves. Here I am going Marxian, for Marx recognised capitalism as an evolutionary phase for the girding of the world with railways!

I said that compulsory communalisation in land must be avoided. The Bolsheviks are avoiding it!

I said we should try to avoid Class War by agreement as by purchasing out industries. Marx said exactly the same! He favoured buying out the capitalists if they were consent to sell. Read Marx, I beg you, Seán!

I said that Christianity and patriotism might assist in inducing a peaceful settlement of the class struggle. I am certain that religion is strong enough in Ireland still to express itself in action. I am certain that the patriotic movement, and the loyalty which Dail Eireann called forth, are strong enough to make history. I have seen cases of superb economic sacrifice evoked by the forces. I believe, then, that our spiritual resources can be exercised to the full in the effort to solve social problems. I do not believe that certain big moneybags will be amenable to the spiritual appeal, but I do believe that if social ideal could be achieved in certain places by spiritual force, then the bad and irreconcilable would be so obviously isolated and condemned that the Big Stick could be used with the full sanction of public opinion.

Seán goes into the realm of prophecy when he says 12 months hence the class struggle will rage in Ireland, cannot follow him here, for I am not like Saul—among prophets. But I do believe cataclysmic revolution is impossible in Ireland for two reasons: (1) our national position, and (2) the fact that there would be no driving force behind an attempt. I think those who dream of class revolution have no conception of the country's state of mind. The editor put the situation in a nutshell: "We have a blank sheet to fill in, etc."

AODON DE BLANCO

Chicago, 1920. From "The New Republic."

(Continued.)

The name of Roosevelt was uttered with Lincoln's every speech, but the determination to have none Roosevelt's was as fixed as ever it was eight years ago, and four years ago. Under cover of what they call Americanism and constitutional government the statesmen were determined to restore the party to what was before the White House became the source of all authority.

So the candidacies confronted a mass of delegates seeking no one in particular, a clique of experienced politicians in control of certain critical delegations, and a suffused distast of the great man in any form. To make an impression was not an easy thing. Lowden, Wood, Johnson, and Cover, each had his own approach, and the failure in each case was instructive.

Lowden came the nearest to success because Lowden best nearly fitted the specifications. In fact, Lowden, while the choice of the clique, was nevertheless the choice of the powerful sections of the party. He collected delegates the regular way, made no dire threats, and after Harding's terrible performance in Ohio and Indiana was regarded as very likely to win in November. He would probably have been nominated, but for the revelations in Missouri. The sudden fair was a mishap, as it happened, a most convenient mishap.

Wood appeared before the convention as the heir of Roosevelt. Now to the mind of the romantic people who named him, and affluent amateurs who endowed him, this was supposed to be an enormous asset. It was, in fact, a fatal liability. The men who had twice rejected Roosevelt were not the kind to accept a reduced replica known to have an inveterate fondness for kitchen cabinets and a social government. Wood embodied all the qualities these politicians had most hated in Roosevelt, and none of the force which they had feared.

For Wood went to the convention without any of T.R.'s old popularity. He seemed to be popular with the family but he bore a superficial resemblance to one aspect of Roosevelt. His impulse in that convention was not that of a popular hero, but of the gilded amateur trying to manipulate delegates and push his way through by main force and awkwardness. The politicians knew, even if Mrs. Wood didn't, that, as a substitute for Roosevelt, Leonard binod was paper maché.

Johnson came to Chicago with a considerable popular ball behind him. But he had to face the results of the criteria and the reaction among the well-to-do and power-

gressivism in any form, not merely stolidly proof as in 1866, but violently proof. What was Johnson to do? How was Johnson to remain true to himself and yet make himself acceptable to that crowd? The scheme which Johnson accepted was silence on domestic issues and extravagance in argument against the League was the only thing he talked out in Chicago because opposition to the League could be found equally among standpatters and progressives. Into hatred of the League he sluiced all the emotion that could be conveniently exude into a domestic program. This argument against the League he appealed in Chicago most entirely to the simplest kind of national egotism.

Mr. Lodge and his friends needed no lessons in egotism from Hiram Johnson. They forbore pledging the party to

ratification, a pledge, curiously enough, which seemed to satisfy the irreconcilables. Thus in one neat stroke Johnson was deprived of any excuse for a bolt. I do not mean to imply that Johnson could have been nominated by that convention. That was never possible. But it was possible for him to affect the result decisively. He affected it not at all. It was not necessary for Johnson to be manoeuvred into ineffective silence. The trap was devised by Johnson himself as a result of his concentration on one issue. The master of that convention handed him one all day sucker and then left him to make the most of it.

WALTER LIPPMANN.

Chicago.

(To be concluded.)

Dail Eireann in Session.

Official Summary of Last Week's Meeting.

The following is the summary of the proceedings of the Session of Dail Eireann held last week:

Dail Eireann assembled in session in Dublin last week. There was a full attendance of members.

The acting president informed the House that the rumours circulated in the English Press regarding negotiations between the British Government and the Republic were without foundation.

A delegation, consisting of the deputy speaker, Count Plunkett, T.D., and J. McDonagh, T.D., were appointed to meet the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix on behalf of the Dail.

The imposition of political or religious tests as a condition of industrial employment in Ireland was declared illegal.

Reports were submitted by the various departments of the Ministry and adopted.

A decree was passed limiting the increase in rent, which could be claimed in respect of occupancy of dwellings.

A further decree was passed prohibiting citizens of the Irish Republic from emigrating for the purpose of settling abroad without the written sanction of the Government.

The organisation of a vigorous campaign in favour of Irish industries was decided, and the formation of an Economic Council for Ireland was decreed.

Arrangements were made for the setting up of a National Land Commission for the purpose of carrying out the Dail Land Acquisition Scheme.

Proposals regarding the position and functions of Local Authorities were adopted.

Correspondence.

To the Editor, "Old Ireland."

A Chara.—If P. S. O'F. had devoted a little of the time he spent in inquiring into my identity, in trying to enlighten Republicans on their duty in the cases I asked information on, he would have been doing a useful work.

Although I have not the advantage of a secondary school education, having had to earn my bread when others, more fortunate, were acquiring knowledge, yet I am responsible for the letter which seems to have upset P. S. O'F.

I am deeply grateful for the personal tribute paid me, and hope P. S. O'F. will not take it amiss if I remind him that criticism to be useful must be constructive.

I await the perfect and concise reply.

Is mine

C. HYNDMAN.

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VOL. II. No. 30.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1920.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The struggle between Terence MacSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, and the British Cabinet may well be ended, for this issue reaches the eyes of our readers. Before any days he will be "free—alive or dead." He is reported having said once that a greater victory will be achieved by suffering than by inflicting of suffering. The Lord Mayor now fighting the enemies of Ireland with the weapon he believes in, and the victory will be his no matter what treatment is meted out to him. The letter from Edward Shortt, Irish Home Secretary, is of such importance that we note it to point out certain important conclusions which are very obvious and not likely to be forgotten.

In reply to her request for an interview with Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, Miss MacSwiney, sister of the Lord Mayor of Cork, on Saturday received the following letter from the Home Secretary:

"Madam.—I have received your letter of the 26th inst. asking for an interview with regard to your brother, Mr. Terence MacSwiney, and can only say that an interview would serve no good purpose. It is the final decision of His Majesty's Government that Mr. MacSwiney will not be released from prison because he refuses to take food, be fed forcibly. For any consequences that may ensue from his refusal to take food Mr. MacSwiney alone is responsible.—Yours faithfully,
"EDWARD SHORTT."

as Significance of this Letter.

The first thing to note in this expression of the British

Cabinet's policy is that it is the final decision of His Britannic Majesty's Government to let the Lord Mayor die. In view of this pronouncement the Government will suffer a defeat in any event. His release will signify one more direct smash in the face of British tyranny. His death will mean a blow at the whole fabric of Imperial power, which will re-echo from pole to pole. Lord Mayor MacSwiney knows that. This Shortt and pity letter is a historic document. The second point is its of immense importance is the reference to "forcible feeding." It implies that those Irish prisoners whom the British Government decides are fit enough shall be forcibly fed. The Thomas Ashe episode is apparently to be repeated. Last week we quoted the instance of three Irish prisoners at Manchester who are being forcibly fed. For all we know all the Irishmen in English jails shall be forcibly fed. This implication is contained in this famous letter, without any straining after far-fetched meanings.

Terence MacSwiney's Letter.

Although the letter of the Lord Mayor has appeared in the daily Press, it is of such great importance that we cannot but quote it in full. On receipt of a letter of similar tenor from Mr. Shortt the Lord Mayor sent a reply to the Home Secretary. Being too feeble to write it himself the Lord Mayor dictated to a prison official, who wrote it for him, but the Lord Mayor signed the letter. The text of the letter, as memorised by the Lady Mayoress and Miss MacSwiney, and noted by them immediately afterwards, is as follows:

"Sir,—The Medical Commissioner visited me to-day and put me through a thorough medical examination. He confirmed what the medical officer, Dr. Hixon, had reported, and told me my health was in a dangerous condition.

"He read to me a document from you warning me that I would not be released, and the consequences of my refusing to take food would rest with myself. Nevertheless the consequences will rest with you. My undertaking on the day of my alleged court-martial that I would be free, alive or dead, within a month will be fulfilled. It appears from your communication that my lease is to be death. In that event the British Government can boast of having killed two Lord Mayors of the same city within six months, an achievement without a parallel in the history of oppression. Knowing the revolution of opinion that will thereby be caused throughout the civilised world, and the consequent accession of support to Ireland in her hour of trial, I am reconciled to a premature grave. I am prepared to die.

"(Signed) TERENCE MACSWINEY,
Lord Mayor of Cork."

Letter of Eithne Ní Shuibhne.

Miss MacSwiney, sister of the Lord Mayor, has addressed the following letter to the Press:

"Sir,—On behalf of my brother, and I am sure I may add on behalf of all those imprisoned with him, I wish to thank most sincerely the many friends who have had, and are having, Masses offered for them. I have seen in your paper the announcement of Masses being celebrated at the request of the employeés of different firms in the city. I know how my brother would appreciate and value such help, and he is not without knowing that it is so generously offered. A novena of Masses is being offered at Mount Mellery, and the Lord Abbot has promised the prayers of the Community. Prayer is the most effective weapon at our command, and God is mightier than the British Empire, though the British Empire does not seem to think so.

"To those who urge that my brother should save his life by giving up the hunger-strike, I would say—to give up the hunger-strike would be, for him, the same thing as to run away from a rifle. What friend would ask him to do that and give the lie to his life? Men fight with different weapons, but with the same end—the establishment and recognition of the Republic. He does not fear death, and we do not fear it for him—alive or dead, he will be victorious. The Irish Republic is a living force, and so—we can pray and trust in God, for 'there is no confusion to them that trust in Him.—Mise, EITHNE NÍ SHUBHINE.

"4, Belgrave Place, Cork, 21-8-20."

The three letters quoted above stand as an interesting historical record. From them we get a complete impression of the mentality of the two conflicting forces. Grim ruthlessness with the intention of inspiring cowardice upon the one hand, gentleness, resolution, and, upon the other, a prayerful aspiration towards national freedom and the salvation of his country, so wide as the sky and its profound. Miss MacSwiney refers to the prayers that are being offered for the great cause. It reminds us of a correspondent who suggests that all the humbler followers in the ranks of the Irish struggle should join their acts of self-sacrifice, their voluntary and involuntary sufferings, with those sufferings of Irish patriots who to-day lie at death's door, awaiting their fate, the firm hope of smashing by their sufferings and death the manacles upon the limbs of the Irish nation. Terence MacSwiney, it must be remembered, can hardly recover, no matter what happens. He had an attack of pleurisy quite recently, and his lung is now again affected; tuberculosis is feared, hence the tragic conclusion, that no matter what happens he is physically broken upon the rack of British cruelty.

This is the last act in the terrible drama which began with the murderous assault on Professor Stockley, who was miraculously saved from being shot in the body by a safety pin—off which the bullet glanced. Two days after Lord Mayor MacCurran was murdered. Now it is the next Lord Mayor's turn. The fact is that the Castle authorities, since the recent local elections, made direct war on the Corporations and public bodies, and made Cork the *mise en scène* for their most violent attacks. In Dublin it sufficed them to smash the health and constitution of the Lord Mayor of Dublin. So they have made of three Lord Mayors the victims of their cruelty. We heard a great deal of the treatment of Burgomeister Max, of Brussels, at the hands of the Germans. At present we have in London a Lord Mayor whose sufferings far surpass those of the distinguished Belgians and Archbishops whose humiliations outdistance those of Cardinal Mercier. It is well that these two victims should be side by side, drawing towards them the eyes of the world, and arousing the interests and sympathies of all plain men and women of honest and sincere convictions.

Local Government and Corruption.

The work of Local Government is now in the hands of Sinn Féin, and with the acquisition of power comes the weight of responsibility. So far the greatest energy is being displayed, and the initial difficulties of coping with the foreign Government and its methods are calling forth the vigour of Republicans. Now the old Irish Party has left a certain legacy to those who come into power—a damnable *hereditas* of graft, which really amounts to the misappropriation of ratepayers' money. The amount of unnecessary and contracts created varies in various districts. In some districts there is nothing to complain of; but in several districts the Augean stables must be cleaned. The truth is that the Republican movement is pledged to the hills, speech and manifesto to clean, honest administration, and it is bound to carry out those pledges. The old Irish party would never have reached the depths of purblind opportunism if the strength of the original national movement had been sapped by graft and jobbery. That party would have been quite capable of receiving the message of national reform from Pearce and Connolly if it had not been that the process of decay had long since set in. With the growth of jobs and graft, the jobbers and grafters got the power, and the supreme interests of the people were of no account; hence men who stood for those high national interests were no more than a bait for scorn and ridicule, and objects of hatred and petty persecution. In the course of that campaign which brought Irish Republicans into power, how many times were examples of Irish Party corruption used as an argument, and rightly so—for putting the old party out! Now we must draw the only honest and logical conclusions from the speeches—and complete the work of clearing away the great

Danger of Delay.

Whilst over hasty action must be avoided in order that the most important work shall be done first, at the same time it must be remembered that every month in which we are allowed to remain adds greater difficulty in ridding our country of the pest. The golden opportunity has come with the new blood in the Councils and the new spirit of public national honour of having the necessary periodical clean-up. The pledges are there, and the cause for economy and the saving of the ratepayers' money, God knows, is the. If delay is made, hesitation, reluctance, lack of courage into venes—abuses are allowed to remain—and it is a very steep step from permitting an abuse to saying "Why should I have as much advantage from the graft as another?" If that class in the community which is always looking out for a "good thing" realises that abuses are to be permitted, the Republican movement will be taken advantage of, the old word-healers and the rotten spooners will come into the organisation, and then good-bye to your clean, strong, decisive movement—and good-bye to the national strength. Some people imagine that unpopularity may be carved by a strenuous campaign of strict economy. We believe that the exact opposite is true. The greatest strength has been added to the Republican movement by the strict and honest impartiality of the Republican Courts and of the Volunteer police work. Civilised society will support all its strength the execution of real justice in the command. So in the sphere of local administration, the more strenuous the clearing up of jobbery and corruption, the more the Republican movement as a whole will gain in morale and prestige. We have already seen miracles worked in the minds of people who were once our enemies by the realisation that we could enforce real justice in the land. That is a kind of popularity which is absolutely necessary—it is of no kind worth having. On the other hand, the number

people whose popularity will be cultivated by allowing abuses to continue is small; they belong to morally the weakest class in the community. If abuses are allowed to remain even this class loses its respect for those who are supposed to be the rulers in trust for the people, and in the end those rulers lose all moral authority. Officials are exactly like other human beings, and appreciate the discipline of rigid fairness and of giving value to the public for the money received, as they feel that they share in the public honour and esteem when the administration is strong, clean, and efficient.

Experts on Minerals—Economic Patriotism.

One of the crying needs in Ireland to-day is of experts. One of the most important branches of industrial enterprise is that involved in the tapping of the mineral resources of Ireland. There is a new company called the Irish Boring Co., Ltd., artisan well and mineral boring engineers, which undertakes to inspect and test resources in any part of Ireland for those who are enterprising enough and patriotic enough to devote their energies to the exploitation of Irish mineral wealth. At a time like this, when so much time and energy is spent on the national struggle, it is absolutely necessary for the nation to have such experts working quietly at the more pacific tasks of building up the nation. The supreme need in Ireland is industry to supply employment and prosperity for the young women and men of Ireland. The great evil is emigration, and for this there is but one remedy—industry. Ireland is full of untapped sources of industry—and here we have experts ready to give a helping hand just at the right time, exactly where it is most needed. Those who are keenly interested in this work should write to 12, North Brunswick Street, Dublin, for all particulars.

Pilgrimage—An Turas Uiltain.

Saturday, September 4, is the feast of St. Ultan of Ardbraccan.

Sunday, September 5, will see the revival of an old custom, the Rosary will be recited in Irish at St. Ultan's Well.

Ardbraccan is a little over a mile from Navan, and a procession, headed by bands, will be formed at Navan at 10 o'clock. There will be a short address at the well on the life and work of St. Ultan, and then there will be an adjournment to the Navan Show Grounds, where the energetic St. Ultan's Féte Committee are providing an Aerideacht for the entertainment of the visitors. The O'Tooles Football Club is travelling from Dublin for the match, and Gerald Crofts, Andrew Dunne, and other prominent Irish Ireland artists will be heard at the Aerideacht and the Ceilidh in the evening. The Dublin contingent will leave (Teach Ultain) 37, Charlemont Street, at 12 o'clock, char-a-banc seats 12s. 6d. return (book early), and there will be a cycling contingent leaving Cross Guns Bridge at 11 o'clock.

Notice.

The Editor, "Old Ireland," 13, Fleet Street, Dublin.

A Chair.—We have been requested to have published in "Old Ireland" a subscription to the Munitions of War Fund of £25 re-ceived on August 12 from "B.F. and G.," Glasgow. We will appreciate it, therefore, if you will kindly give space to this item.—Yours faithfully, THOS. JOHNSON.

The Hunger Strike Again.

In an article in *OLD IRELAND* on April 24 last, the week of the great hunger strike in Mountjoy, commenting on the "terms" of release, I wrote:

"Nothing is settled, nobody knows what was agreed, everybody concerned in the negotiations is excusing himself, and—we have a repetition of Mountjoy in Galway, and next week may have it in Cork and Derry. What the nation must secure once and for all, and what the gallant men hunger struck in Mountjoy to obtain, is prisoner of war treatment for Ireland's prisoners of war. That is simple. That is clear. Let there be no more talk of political treatment—this is a question of international war law, not of internal domestic politics."

Some people at the time thought that I was too severe, but the hunger strikes that followed within three weeks in Galway, Cork, Belfast, Mountjoy, and Wexford strikes I held to be my justification. These hunger strikes were necessary, simply because nothing was agreed in April, because the release on that occasion was unconditional. "Unconditional release," as I said in *OLD IRELAND* on May 15, while giving the Irish Nation the victory of the moment, left England free to force a similar fight every week of the year in every prison under her control. The release should have been conditional, and the conditions, accepted, signed, and sealed by the British Government, should have been "prisoner of war treatment for Ireland's prisoners of war." Last week the *Irish Bulletin* gave an account of the hunger strikes that have taken place during the past three years, and a reading of it suggests the question—despite all the wonderful fights and all the unconditional releases what settled advance have we made since the death of Thomas Ashe in 1917? To-day the Lord Mayor of Cork and his gallant comrades in several of England's English and Irish jails are fighting the same fight that Ashe fought in Mountjoy. Whether the British Government purposes murdering them as it murdered him, or intends pursuing the more sinister and fiendish policy of release on the point of death, it is impossible at the moment to say. Be it as it may, it should not be possible for it to adopt either course without the Irish nation having done all in its power to obviate the necessity for such heroic sacrifices on the part of its hero men.

If It Is Murder?

If the British Government murders the men who are now fighting the great fight in the loneliness of their prison cells, it will murder them with the deliberate intention of provoking an excuse for a saturnally of slaughter in Ireland, in the hope that the deaths will cause such an outburst of resentment as will give it the opportunity it has long sought of Amritsarising the people of Munster and through them the people of the country as a whole.

If It's Release.

If the British Government releases the men at the point of death, it will be in unbroken continuity of the Irish prisoner policy that it has of set purpose carried out since the Fenian Rising of 1867. What that set purpose was, and is, I endeavoured to show in a series of articles in *OLD IRELAND* some three months ago. The last of these

articles, containing the lesson drawn from all, though twice written and twice despatched, never reached the hands of the printers. The infernal shrug of the official in charge of the British Postal Authorities' lost-letter department was eloquent of its fate.

English Recruiting in Ireland.

In that article I dealt at the outset with a phase of England's extermination policy in Ireland that is deserving of notice: that is, her continued and successful efforts to get Irishmen to fight her foreign battles and carry out her conquests of other nations and peoples. In the report on how the Irish may be subdued, prepared by English Royal command in 1515 and contained in the first volume of English State Papers relating to Ireland, the writer, quoting from an older work, the *Salmus Populi* (preserved in MS. in the British Museum), emphasises the advantages which England would derive if she could get the Irish united with her in her wars on foreign countries. "Not only would she have the invaluable assistance of the physical strength and fighting abilities of Ireland's soldiers, but, by depriving Ireland of them, she would weaken Irish men's resistance to her war of extermination. Furthermore, by making these Irish soldiers bear the brunt of the foreign fighting she would get them killed off, and save her own souls. Thus, while, as far as possible, ensuring the normal natural increase of her own population, she would succeed in expanding her Empire at little more cost to herself than the extermination of the hated and dreaded Irish because she loved and trusted the Irish no more in her army than out of it. This she has demonstrated at every time of crisis in this country when her first concern was to put as much water as she could between her Irish soldiers and their native land. During the South African War, for instance, on account of the strong Irish sympathy for the Boer Republics, she went so far as to mobilise the militia and ship them to England. To-day, to give another example, she has the Munster Fusiliers shooting down Egyptian patriots in Cairo, while English soldiers are, for the same reason, shooting the friends and fellow-countrymen and countrywomen of the same Munster Fusiliers in the streets of Limerick and Miltou-Malbay. There is ingenuity, devilish ingenuity, in this policy by which she employs men of one subject race to maintain those of another subject race in subjection. There is the genius of hell in the art that uses the very act of extermination as a means of expansion, that induces Irishmen to decimate themselves (saving her the trouble) in order that her Empire may increase, her wealth of blood and treasure thereby strengthened. That England is past-master in the art is evident from the hundreds of thousands of Irish lives voluntarily thrown away in the building up of the British Empire. And not all the enlistments in England's army and navy were voluntarily. The "Press-gang" is one of the horrible memories of the eighteenth century, and another gentle persuasive was starvation. Writing of the famine policy to keep our people so low that a shilling a day would tempt them to fight for the devil, not to say the queen," English-made starvation drove Irishmen into England's army when their circumstances were so low that they had not the wherewithal to emigrate, and that the only alternative to "the shilling" was the workhouse.

What the European War Did

Thus was England's policy of extermination by death by emigration, by starvation, pursued up to the outbreak of the late European War. As the Indian patriot leader Bhagwan Singh, wrote of his country, England was plundering us in two ways. She was stealing and confiscating the physical wealth of Ireland, and she was at the same time the more deadly of the two—striking at the physical and slanting the intellects of the people. With the war came stoppage of emigration, and a consequent increase and the population of Ireland merely, but in that section of the population that is the mainstay of a country, the youth of both sexes. And the increased population of young men did not enlist in England's armies to fight England's battles because the young men of Ireland, looking at the present through the eyes of the experience of the past, saw long before the rest of the neutral world the hypocrisy of England's professions, and the greedy, grasping, selfishness of her aims. England was annoyed and angry. She had deceived or bought journalists, public men, professional men, merchants, manufacturers, labour men, bishops, and clergymen of all denominations, and she was exceedingly wroth that the youth of Ireland were too warily wise, too fooled and too unselfishly honest to be purchased. She vowed vengeance. She sought to starve them into enlisting in her army by draining Ireland of its food supplies, the while she added to the monetary attractions of her service. The young men of Ireland, at the bidding of Sinn Féin, replied by holding the harvest. Then the British Government resolved upon Conscription, not because it wanted the young Irishmen or believed it would get them, but because it knew it would not get them. It was not men but massacre was after. Conscription was merely an excuse for extermination. Conscription never got further than the British Statute Book, where it keeps the "Home Rule Act" still-born company. The British Government buried the international consequences, but it never abandoned its hope, or renounced its resolve, to find an opportunity for wholesale slaughter. Viscount French attributed all of England's woes in Ireland to the fact that the country contained twenty thousand young men who should, in the normal course, have been exported. And Viscount French and his "civil" and military colleagues have left no stone unturned to manufacture the occasion for a national Amritsar. Murders, shootings, burnings, looting, raiding, sackings, wreckings of towns and villages—everything has been tried to goad the people into organised opposition, but all has failed to break the iron discipline of the citizens, as well as the soldiers of the Republic. In the "Restoration of Order Act" the British Government hopes to succeed where every other means has proved futile, and the beginnings of her latest scheme are the gross illegalities and outrages that have forced the present hunger strike in Cork and in several English prisons.

England's Prisoner Policy.

England's prisoner policy, as applied to the soldiers and champions of liberty in the countries whose government she usurped, has always been a part of her policy of extermination, and in Ireland this has been especially the case since the Fenian Rising. Next week I propose showing, as compared with other countries, her treatment of her political prisoners in Ireland, and from that it will be easy to judge the enormity of the infamy of which she is guilty in the treatment of Irish prisoners of war.

P. S. O'FLANNAGAIN.

Systematic Wreckings of Irish Creameries.

Destruction of Irish Food Production by British Armed Forces.

The following is an excerpt from the editorial of the issue of the *Irish Homestead* for August 14, 1920. The *Irish Homestead* is the organ of the Co-operative movement in Ireland.

The angriest man will not knowingly by any act make it impossible for himself to get his dinner. It is the rarest form of insanity to destroy one's own food. The appetite of the body retains unaffected however the mind is affected, and the sanity of the body is often the method discernible through the madness of the mind. These generalisations are preliminary to discussion of a very serious matter on which, hitherto, we have refrained from comment in the pages of this paper. We have tried our utmost not to involve ourselves in political discussions except where they affected Co-operative Societies, and rather than afford any opportunity for partisan controversy we have often ignored things which were of some consequence. We regard the unity of the movement as of the highest importance, and we know how easy it is in the general exasperation of political nerves to keep discussion within the boundaries which are fixed by the non-political character of the Co-operative movement. However, so many creameries in Ireland have been wrecked within the last few weeks that it is impossible to ignore the facts. When one or two general deductions from them except that men will get in circumstances in a particular locality, and can draw no conclusions from them, we come to a point where we are forced to regard them as indicating a definite policy. However, before making any comment we will set down the facts, which are not denied, and indeed have been admitted by the representatives of the Crown in cases where the wrecking of creameries has come before the County Court Judges.

"As we write, two further instances of Co-operative premises having been wrecked have come to hand. As we have no particulars, we make no comment for we must not attribute any act to the military and constabulary when we have no evidence, however in harmony the acts may be with other destructive activities admittedly done by the forces of the Crown. We will simply state facts which, as we say, are not denied by the authorities; indeed after the first outbreaks there was a promise made that steps would be taken to prevent anything of the kind occurring in future. But after that promise things have got much worse rather than better, and that the serious nature of these happenings may be made clear we set them down. On April 14 last the Kiltoran Auxiliary to the Drumabana Dairy Society was burnt by a body of soldiers and members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The damage done was estimated to be £1,022, or thereabouts. On the tenth day of the same month a party of soldiers and police entered the Kilmommon Co-operative Creamery and partially wrecked the machinery and buildings, the staff being forced onlookers, restrained by men with bayonets from intervention with the work of destruction. The damage done on that occasion, we understand, is about £500. On April 22 the Knocknane Society's premises were partially destroyed. The damage to the premises was made good, and following upon this the creamery plant was made good, and following upon this the creamery was totally destroyed by the same agencies. The damage done is estimated to be over £4,500. Following on this the Reska Auxiliary to the Upperchurch Society was destroyed.

£800 compensation was awarded by the County Court. Under the law relating to these burnings, though they are admittedly done by servants of the Crown, the farmers in the district are called upon to contribute as ratepayers to the fund to rebuild their own premises, though twice in these cases where they have come before the County Court Judge he has given it as his opinion that the Crown should pay for any wreckage caused by its own officers getting out of hand. The next dairy society to be totally destroyed was Newport, where the creamery and cheese factory were both wrecked, together with the stocks of cheeses. We have not official figures relating to the damage done, but a dairy expert who visited the ruins estimated the damage to the creamery building at £4,000, to the cheese factory as about £3,000, to the stock about £6,000, and to the machinery a good many thousand more. The next Co-operative creamery to be burned by officers of the Crown was Newcastle West. We are informed that the damage done to premises, machinery, and stock is about £8,000. The Garryspellane Creamery was also burned and totally destroyed by the same agencies. The loss caused by the destruction is, we are told, about £10,000. The last society on our list undeniably destroyed in this fashion is Bear Cross. The damage is assessed by the society as amounting to £2,446, or thereabouts. Two of Messrs. Cleeves' Creameries have been destroyed in the same fashion. Other creamery premises have been damaged, but we have no evidence as to where the responsibility lies, and little news has come of two other Co-operative premises being destroyed last week, we cannot fix responsibility, and so do not include them in the list of Co-operative Societies whose premises, plant, and stock have been wrecked or burnt by parties of soldiers and constabulary, either out of hand or acting in accordance with some policy which has been declared by local members of the force as 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'

"We desire to speak with the greatest restraint upon these burnings and wreckings. We understand the nervous condition of men in a country where so many people are hostile to them, and where life has been taken. We understand that they have declared a policy of retaliation for the wrecking or burning of barracks—for every barracks a creamery.' Now if this is their interpretation of the Mosaic doctrine of justice, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' it does not appear to us to be in any sense a true application. By the Mosaic law, if by the malice of anybody a man lost his eye, the eye of the person who caused the loss of sight to the other was put out. But there is no evidence at all, nor could there be, to show that the creamery wrecked the barracks. It is only in the Arabian Nights Entertainment that palaces and other buildings are transported in a second from one locality to another, and even if a Co-operative creamery could be transported by magic alongside a barracks it could not set it on fire or wreck it. A Co-operative Dairy Society is by its rules non-political. No political or sectarian matters can be brought up for discussion. The members, as a rule, are elderly men, the

NEW IRISH CHOCOLATE.

A new chocolate of exquisite flavour and richness has just been put on the market by Maxwell Lemon. It is entirely manufactured in Ireland, and is equal if not superior to the best French makes. It is called Celtic chocolate, and can be obtained in 1s., 2s., and 4s. tins (postage extra), from Maxwell Lemon, 22, Nassau Street, Dublin.

heads of families, and it is impossible to charge any Co-operative Society as a body with the wrackings of barracks. We believe that no case can be made out for throwing upon the ratepayers, or to a member of a society, compensation for malicious injuries to property which are undeniably inflicted by the forces of the Crown. We are not discussing the question of whether it is not natural that men who find themselves isolated and beset in a hostile countryside should break out. Human nature has boundaries fixed by convention which are easily broken in passion. But a Government ought to be above sharing the passion excited among its agents in any locality, and we submit that it is not fair, it is not justice in any sense, to make the members of Co-operative Societies subscribe as ratepayers to make up the damage to their property caused by soldiers or constabulary who have got out of hand.

"The promise made by those in authority after the first burnings, that steps would be taken to prevent anything of the kind taking place in future, has not been fulfilled. We point out the seriousness of the situation. An official of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society who was trying to organise a Co-operative Dairy Society received a letter from a resident saying that it was hopeless now. Not a farmer would contribute a single pound to erect a creamery which in the present state of things might be destroyed as soon as it was built. The sanest movement in Ireland has brought over one hundred thousand Irishmen together to develop the industry of agriculture, and how vitally necessary that is to the people in these islands has been made obvious by the war and the food shortage in the world. Is it not monstrous that while famine threatens Europe, while the cost of food rises month by month, while the weather is so bad that there is serious possibility of a famine in Ireland this winter, the agents of the Crown should be allowed to destroy buildings where food was produced, where large stocks of cheese and butter stored for export or for use in Ireland were destroyed? We deplore the shrugging of shoulders over this, the saying, 'What else could one expect in the state of the country?' If it is allowed to continue a great industry which exports millions of pounds worth of foodstuffs every year, as well as supplying Irish requirements, will receive a blow from which it will be difficult to recover. Building, machinery, and plant are more costly by far than they were before the war. The premises and plant which could be erected for a couple of thousand pounds would cost about five thousand pounds to-day. From whatever point of view we look at it, national or imperial, it is a dreadful thing to contemplate the deliberate wrecking of an Irish industry, one of the most important of any, because it is concerned with the vitally important supply of foodstuffs. The suppression of the woollen industry in Ireland by Act of Parliament, long ago, has left bitter enough memories without adding to that the deliberate destruction by official policy of the dairy industry in Ireland. We hope those in authority will make haste to make it clear to Ireland and the world that they disapprove of these acts, and this they can do at once by frankly assuming responsibility for any damage caused directly by soldiers or constabulary who have got out of hand. Nobody will accuse the British Government in Ireland of instigating the wrecking of creameries if that Government has to pay for the wrecking. If responsibility is not at once frankly admitted, if the County Court Judges' opinion that the Government, not the ratepayers, should pay is not accepted, we know what conclusions will be drawn, not only here but elsewhere. The wrecking of the dairy industry will be quoted along with the destruction of the woollen industry by the historians of Ireland as instances of the same policy surviving from century to century."

Idealism and Local Rates.

Internationalism, as it is preached to a muddled world to-day, is a convenient refuge for those who would be highly disconcerted if they got what they are asking for. There is something spacious and high-browed, vague and non-committal about the word which makes it use as a label for an amorphous mass of uncorrelated politico-social theories attractive. Nine-tenths of the present-day, self-styled internationalists are super-imperialists. They seek to impose on all nations a uniform political and social organisation. Their ideal nation is a swollen replica of that soulless, formula-driven, but fortunately non-existent monstrosity, the "economic man." They mistake uniformity for unity. Their internationalism is calculated to eliminate nationality. Their internationalists would be a herd, not a society.

The perpetrator of this article (for whose views nobody but himself is to blame) believes that the real internationalist will fashion itself when each nation has worked out and put into operation the polity which accords best with its particular ideals, traditions, temperament, resources, and needs, and so can make its distinctive contribution to the cause of humanity.

Ireland's first service to internationalism, then, is to set her own affairs in order. There is a measure of agreement amongst our thinkers as to the form the Gaelic State should take. Its spirit and structure must be, fundamentally, those which inspired and underlay our ancient polity before the modern Goths and Vandals destroyed it, and set up in its stead a system based theoretically and actually upon brute force. It is unnecessary to consider too closely how far Gaelic Ireland was, in fact, communistic. It suffices that it was so in theory and precept and, at the worst, the reaction upon the people of laws, customs, and institutions impregnated with a spirit very remote from that of modern commercialism must have tended to make them regard themselves as interdependent parts of an organism rather than as participants in "One vast, savage, grim conspiracy of mutual murder."

The past is to be admired; the future will be admirable; but what about the present? We in Ireland pride ourselves on the possession of finer ideals than those of other races, but there is little in our practices to distinguish us from professors of the crudest, most bestial Darwinism. We proclaim "Each for all and all for each," but we strive ourselves for each for all be can grab, and all for each other's shaves. What is needed is a bridge from the past to the future, across the chaos of the present. We have plenty of historians and prophets, but not enough bridge-builders. A. B. de Blacam, and some others have erected a few arches and planned more. Now Daltha (whose "Irish Commonwealth" was briefly reviewed in *Old Ireland* a few weeks ago) has joined the architectes. He has worked out for application in Ireland a scheme which, from its results in other countries, has long seemed to the present writer to afford a method of reconciling private ownership and public right in a commonwealth. Daltha does not aim at only mean swapping landlords, but at securing for the community the "public value" of the land by the taxation of land values. "Land value is what any piece of land is worth, apart from any buildings, works, improvements, or crops on it. Taxing land values means that this value, or part of it, should be received as revenue by the community, instead of going into a parasitic landlord's pocket as rent, or being enjoyed as a monopoly profit by a rancher or a speculator in land." The value of land is derived, not

from anything done or spent by the landlord, but on its natural advantages, its position, the number and industry of the people using, or wanting to use it, and the expenditure of public money on improvements and communications in its vicinity. For example: A hundred years ago Dun Looghaire was an agricultural holding. The few occupiers paid low rents to the "Lords of the Soil" and low rates to the local authority. Then a great harbour was built at the expense of the Irish people. The "premier township" began to grow. Its needs were met, not by a levy on the landlords who stood by and saw "their" land increasing in value, but by new rates on the occupiers. Out of these rates all the cost of the improvement of the township was paid. The value of the land was increased at the expense of the population for the benefit of their lordships, who did nothing except collect rapidly increasing rents, and name the township Kingstown, in honour of the German monarch by whose laws their plundering was sanctioned. When the short leases which were (and are) "the rule of the estate" fell in, ground rents were doubled, and doubled again, the tenants remaining liable to pay for the services which created and are maintaining the value of the land.

It seems to us that it is about time to end this sort of legalised extortion. The anomalies and general unfairness of the present system of local taxation are exposed by Daltha, who analyses closely the amounts and incidence of the various rates and taxes imposed on houses and land in Ireland. He shows how the landlords, with the help of the English Parliament, have gradually shifted the burden from their own unearned increment and laid it on the fruits of industry and the earnings of the workers. The annual Poor Law valuation, upon which all local rates are assessed, is, speaking generally, equivalent to the rent at which the property, let in its present state of occupancy, would be likely to yield. Thus in towns rack-rented business premises and small houses are charged up to the last penny, while large houses and gardens, or land withheld from use, pay little. The same sort of thing happens in the country. Poverty-stricken, congested districts in the West pay very high rates, whilst rich grazing areas in Meath escape with a trifling impost.

Again, the present system prevents or penalises development. Consider an acre of land, in the suburbs of a city, used only for grazing. Its owner pays only a few shillings a year in rates. Having kept it idle as long as he considers safe, he lets it to a builder at a substantial ground rent. The builder spends thousands of pounds on making roads and drains, and erecting houses, which are assessed for rating at their letting values. The builder, if he is not to lose money, has to sublet the houses at rents sufficient to cover not only the ground rent and interest on his capital, but a large annual sum for rates. We leave his own profit out of the question. Meanwhile, let us assume that the owner of an adjoining acre is still "holding for a rise," there being still an unsatisfied demand for houses. This acre would let for the same ground rent as the first acre, so it is of the same value to its owner. If it were rated at the same amount, i.e., on its potential value, can it be doubted that we would have more and cheaper houses?

The present rates are far more burdensome in districts where the land value is low. The charge consequently falls more heavily on buildings and improvements, and so development is impeded. If a manufacturer enlarges and improves his factory so as to make working conditions more healthy, his "Poor Law valuation" is thereby increased, and he has to pay an annual fine for his humanity.

Briefly, then, the advantages claimed for the taxation of land value over the present taxation of human needs and enterprise, are, that it would secure for the public benefit what is rightfully a public fund; that it would put no additional burden on anyone, except those who are extorting a private tax from the people, or withholding land from use with a view to larger extortions in the future; that by making undeveloped sites in towns and grazing or pleasure grounds in the country pay according to their real value, it would tap fresh sources of revenue, and so lighten the dead weight of taxation which, whether as "rates" or additional taxes, falls on the producers of necessities. Furthermore, it would be a "good tax"—easily and cheaply assessed and collected, certain in its incidence and not easily evaded or passed on, and not tending to clog commerce or industry.

To us, however, the most attractive feature of the taxation of land values is that it would force land into use, and break the land monopoly. Uncultivated or under-cultivated land would be taxed on what it would be worth if suitably used. Owners would not long pay the tax without seeking recompense. They would either have to use the land properly themselves, or part with it to others who would do so. At present we, in effect, subsidise graziers and land speculators at the expense of working farmers, labourers, and town tenants. Daltha would tax a grazing ranch on its real value—what it would be worth to the owner if it were properly tilled, and occupied by men, women, and children instead of bullocks. If it were, the men, women, and children would soon appear—and there would be ample room for the bullocks as well.

Another problem would remain to be solved if, by the taxation of land values or more drastic means, the people of Ireland were restored to the use and enjoyment of their land, with its mines, water-power, fisheries, forests, and other sources of wealth. In what way should it be used?

The material disadvantages under which the small farmer labours are obvious. Absence of capital, the restricted range of natural resources at his disposal, the expensiveness of modern machinery, and bad transport and marketing facilities combine to make his lot difficult.

From the public point of view, too, the system is hopeless. The disabilities we have mentioned tend to prevent any increase of production. Farming, affected as it is by such varying and almost incalculable conditions of locality, soil, drainage, aspect, and weather, must always be the most empirical of sciences. It can only progress by experiment, and many experiments are likely to end in costly failures. We can hardly expect a small farmer, to whom one failure may mean ruin, to venture far from the system which has for generations yielded him and his forefathers a small but relatively certain subsistence. The conditions inseparable from the sub-division of agricultural land into small holdings, towards which rural Ireland is tending, are not only bad socially, as well as economically. They are calculated to produce a narrow, suspicious, selfish attitude of mind—a huckster mentality.

Again, the perpetuation of the small holdings system would make insoluble the pressing problem of the agricultural labourer—save on the statesmanlike lines laid down by Lord French—emigration.

Fortunately, there is a solution. The farmers have for years been co-operating to buy machinery, seeds, and fertilisers, and to carry and market their products. Co-operative credit is countervailing lack of capital. Co-operative creameries have done so much for Ireland that they are singled out for very pointed attention by an enemy always alert to stunt our development. Then why not

co-operative to acquire and work land on a large scale? As a rule we distrust paucity, especially when they seem simple, but we pin our faith to co-operation. So far as Ireland is concerned, which is, so far as we are concerned, it possesses the qualifications we have suggested for a national polity. It accords with our ideals and traditions, it suits our temperament and resources, and we think it meets our needs.

We are convinced that co-operative farming on a large scale will succeed. Its introduction should be easy, as so many of our people have already mastered co-operative methods and principles. The necessary experiments have already been made, and the pitfalls which must be avoided in future located.

The classic example is, of course, that of the Rahaline Society. So far as Rahaline was co-operative, it was brilliantly successful. Unfortunately, it was not co-operative in one very important element, and that one element was the sole source of failure. The Rahaline estate, which was worked and improved by the society, was not purchased, but only rented from year to year, and consequently all the buildings erected and improvements made on it by the society were, according to the feudal law of England, the property of the landlord. That gentleman was enlightened and benevolent, but he lacked the gift of prophecy in reference to horse-racing, and the houses, stock mills, and improvements of the society were seized by his creditors.

Nobody acquainted with the story of Rahaline would deny that if, by means of an advance from some institution, such as the Irish Land Bank, the society had purchased the estate, it would still be flourishing, and that similar communities would be transforming half the countryside in Ireland.

In the hope that, encouraged by all that Rahaline accomplished, many large co-operative farms will soon be added to the few now existing, we shall attempt to summarise the history of Rahaline in the next issue of OLD IRELAND.

E. W. FROUD.

Some Vital Irish interests.

This year the report of the Dublin Industrial Development Association offers its supporters extremely interesting and important matter for thought in its 15th Annual Report. One rubs one's eyes when one reads of its slight financial resources—which amount to £500 odd per annum. The Irish "Captains of Industry" owe an immense debt to this organisation and to the Sinn Féin movement in general; their market has been literally created by the spirit of Irish patriotism applied to home industries. Grass political prejudice, a visionless opportunism, and an unwillingness to think and act as citizens of public spirit—citizens of the Irish State—makes them ignore and cold-shoulder the very forces which cause their industries to prosper, and in some cases make the very existence of their industries possible. The following slightly abbreviated quotation from the D.I.D.A. Report deals only with three sections of the report. We hope to quote further from this interesting report next week.—ED. OLD IRELAND.

Never in any preceding year had we such a volume of inquiries dealing with all possible phases of industrial effort as we had during the year just closed. Every town and village in Ireland would seem to be eager and anxious to "start a new industry," as it is usually phrased. The world is clamouring for increased production of all the necessities of life, and inquiries reach us by every post, for information

as to Irish firms in a position to supply goods of all kinds from every country in Europe, from North and South America, from Australia, India, and Ceylon have come requests for names and addresses of Irish manufacturers prepared to do an export trade. Our Buyer's Guide, a Directory of Irish manufacturers, which contains the names of over eleven hundred makers of goods of every possible description, has been sent in thousands broadcast throughout the world within the past year, and must have been responsible for the placing of hundreds of orders with Irish firms. It was supplied free to all applicants, and its usefulness has been unquestioned. The Fourth Edition is now exhausted, and the present high cost of paper and printing makes the issuing of the revised edition, which is so badly needed, a matter of considerable difficulty. The difficulty of practically every Irish manufacturer at present is, to produce sufficient goods to supply the apparently insatiable demand of both the home and foreign markets. A number of tempting offers have been made through our Association for large quantities of Irish-manufactured goods, but the manufacturers to whom the offers were submitted were in many cases reluctantly obliged to refuse the orders because of being booked up with earlier orders for months ahead.

While we do not say that in all cases it is impossible to increase production, in the vast majority of instances difficulties with regard to supplies of raw materials are very great, while in other cases it has been impossible, up to the present, to obtain delivery of new machinery to enable Irish firms to extend their works to meet the increased demand for their goods. Then, despite the undeniable spirit of enterprise now manifesting itself in industrial matters in the country, and the satisfactory financial conditions which make the finding of capital for new industries an easy undertaking within the lack of widespread industrial thought and training it is difficult to be overcome. Applications for technical advice and assistance are constantly being made to us, and we make every effort to supply helpful information to all inquirers, but it is necessary to point out that we have not technical staffs at our command to give expert opinion on the numerous engineering, chemical, and manufacturing problems that are put before us for solution. For instance, the lay-out of a factory is a very important factor in efficient and economical production of goods, but it is not primarily a question for an association such as ours, nor should we be expected to advise a prospective woolen manufacturer or bacon curer as to the precise plant and equipment he requires, and to specify its cost. These functions might properly be performed by a State Department properly endowed with public funds, but for a voluntary organisation to attempt to render them on a totally inadequate income would, in existing circumstances, be impossible, yet scarcely coming before it. If the country needs such information, and it is obvious that it does, it would be necessary to provide it generously for the supplying of it. The Council is always

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51, Henry St., Dublin.



prepared to consider the extension of its work, and if funds were made available there is no reason why the particular development of it indicated should not be arranged for. In fact, the one real obstacle to our fulfilling all such functions is the inadequacy of our resources.

Direct Shipping.

Since our last report was presented there has been a most welcome inauguration of a new direct cargo service between Ireland and the United States, which has already done a great deal to promote closer commercial relations between the two countries. Goods coming from the United States are delivered in Dublin at little more than half the cost and in quarter the time as compared with consignments reaching us via Liverpool. A certain cheap produce, which it has hitherto been impossible to place on the American market owing to prohibitive freight charges has, since the opening of the Moore-McCormack line of steamers, been finding a ready sale in the United States, while other goods which had had to bear the burden of a cross-Channel freight amounting to much more than the total trans-Atlantic charges (via the new service) have since the opening up of the line been finding a large new market. The Council had the pleasure of welcoming one of the heads of the firm—Mr. Emmet J. McCormack—on his recent visit to Ireland, and were glad to learn from him that the line is intended to be a permanent feature of Irish life, and that further big developments connected with European trade are pending. The Foreign Trade Committee of the Association has been in negotiation with important French interests with regard to a Franco-Irish line, and it is hoped that the difficulties which are inevitable in the early stages will be overcome. Spanish fruit has been sent on several occasions to Belfast within the past year, and special facilities were afforded by the local Harbour Board, which is able to appreciate the advantages of such a direct service. So far, Dublin has not secured similar facilities owing, it is stated, to the inability of the Port and Docks Board to provide priority of berthing accommodation for steamers requiring special consideration for perishable cargoes. However, there is reason to think that the Port and Docks Board now find themselves able to make concessions, and the Council of this Association has asked the Dublin Corporation to assist the project by providing suitable saleroom accommodation. It is also noted with interest that the pre-war Dutch and German services are being resumed.

Housing.

The Joint Committee of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland and this Association, which has issued reports and recommendations on the necessity for encouraging the production of all classes of building materials in Ireland, with particular reference to cement, bricks, slates, and stone, was much concerned during the last year of the war with the impending shortage of building materials in view of the needs of the public for increased housing accommodation. It was obvious to every thinking person that building having been restricted during the war period, there would be at its conclusion a great rush to carry out building operations, and that if some provision was not exercised the supply of materials would not be equal to the demand. The British Ministry of Reconstruction set up special Building Materials Supply Committee for England to advise as to the steps necessary to ensure that the manufacture of materials of which supplies were likely to be adequate should be extended, and that materials generally should be made available in sufficient quantities to enable building schemes to be carried out. At the same time,

in Ireland, Reconstruction was the watchword of the hour, and the Joint Committee regarded it as a favourable opportunity for pressing its point of view as to the need for the creation in this country of industries connected with the building trade. It accordingly applied to the then Chief Secretary for Ireland for an interview, giving the following synopsis of the points which it desired to deal with:

To point out the necessity for the appointment of a separate Committee for Ireland (to consist of gentlemen connected with the building trade and others able to advise as to Irish resources).

To draw attention to the delay which has occurred in formulating a scheme for Ireland—the English Committee having been appointed over a year previously.

To point out that Ireland's need is the creation rather than the stimulation of industries.

To secure for Ireland a proportionate share of such materials as she does not produce.

To inquire how Mr. Short's own industrial scheme for Ireland stands, and what is its scope.

That gentleman having departed, his successor was approached, but declined to be interviewed by the Joint Committee's deputation on the ground that the Local Government Board had already had under consideration the steps to be taken to stimulate the development and production of building materials in Ireland. We were then informed that the British Committee was to take oral evidence in Ireland on the points raised, but nothing further was heard of this visit. Eventually we put the matter before the Local Government Board, expressing the grave fear of those competent to judge that housing operations would be rendered difficult owing to shortage of materials unless steps were taken to provide supplies locally. The Local Government Board, in March, 1919, replied that, from inquiries made, "there appears to be no serious ground for apprehension that building work in the near future will be rendered specially difficult in Ireland on account of the shortage of materials." Those who are informed as to the situation since will be competent to judge of the reliability of the Board's sources of information. Mr. John Good, J.P. (of J. & P. Good, Ltd., Builders and Contractors), in a Minority Report, as the only Irish member of the British Building Materials Supply Committee, took precisely the same point of view as the Joint Committee as to Ireland's needs, but with no greater measure of success. It may, perhaps, be suggested to some such body as the General Council of County Councils that, in combination, the production of adequate supplies of such goods as cement, bricks, tiles, glass, sanitary ware, etc., and the development of slate quarries, may be a possibility.

News that Never Appears.

You will not find this information about India and America in the daily Press.

AMEER INVITES INDIAN MUSLIM REFUGEES TO AFGHANISTAN.

The following firman has been issued by H.M. the Ameer of Afghanistan in connection with the immigration of Muslim refugees from India who find it impossible to live in their motherland without sacrificing their religious liberty:

(1) Whosoever desires to immigrate into Afghanistan should either get himself registered as an Afghan-national or obtain the permit to enter Afghanistan at Peshawar or at the Afghan Frontier Outpost. The moment he sets his

foot on Afghan soil he shall be entitled to all rights and privileges of an Afghan subject and shall be considered to have placed himself under the law of the Sheriat.

(2) Those who enter Afghanistan and offer their allegiance to the Government of Afghanistan will get six jareeb (about four acres) of arable land for their maintenance if they be unmarried and eight jareeb if they be married.

(3) Until the crops are ready for harvest every adult will be given five kabuli seers of flour per month, and every child, from the age of six, till he or she reaches puberty, will be given three kabuli seers of flour every month as an allowance for guests. Their allowance will cease in the case of adults when the harvest is gathered.

(4) Those who are granted land will also receive in the first year six seers of wheat per jareeb and also five rupees per jareeb for buying agricultural implements as taqavi (advance). The amount of the taqavi so advanced will be realised from them in suitable instalments in the fourth, fifth and sixth years.

(5) No revenue will be charged for lands granted to Indian immigrants for the first three years. The rules of the land revenue code will apply to them from the fourth year.

(6) Indian immigrants shall not carry on any political activities without consulting the interests of Afghanistan.

(7) Those among the immigrants who have received good education or are skilled in some art or handicraft will be employed in Afghan service suitable to their qualifications and will receive salaries for such service provided that the Afghan Government is in need of their services. Those who do not join Government service will be at liberty to follow any trade or profession they like.

(8) An office will be opened at Jabal Siraj for one month or more, as need be, to arrange for the housing and to render general assistance to Indian immigrants. After this the immigrants will be given lands and settle in parts of Afghanistan as suits the necessities and requirements of the Afghan Government. They will be housed in Government buildings and will be given accommodation suitable to their wants. In cases where a Government building is not available new buildings will be erected for their accommodation.

JOINT CONVENTION OF AMERICAN LABOUR PARTY AND COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT FAVOUR INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA.

Chicago.—Quite in keeping with the traditions of past American history and the spirit of 1776, the Convention of the American Labour Party and the Committee of Forty-eight unanimously passed the following resolution on behalf of India's right to be free.

"Whereas, it has been the noble tradition of the great people of the United States of America to extend aid and sympathy to the cause of freedom all over the world,

"Whereas the British Government is terrorising the people of India by wholesale arrests and indiscriminate massacre of unarmed and peaceful people as happened in Amritsar and other parts of India;

"Whereas the British Government does not protect the labour of India from merciless exploitation by British and Indian capitalists;

"Whereas the people of India are kept in ignorance by British Government's deliberate policy of discouraging education in British India, where eighty per cent. of the

children of school age do not go to school and where there is no free and compulsory education;

"Whereas, the Indian people are being devitalised and demoralised by the British Government's deliberate policy of encouragement of the cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture of opium, spread of the opium habit by license more than eighteen thousand opium dens where more than one million and seventy-five thousand pounds of opium are being consumed by the Indian people;

"Whereas, millions of people in India die annually of starvation caused by economic famines due to ruin and destruction of industries and economic drain of India by the British Government; and

"Whereas the people of India are struggling to end this intolerable condition by acquiring their absolute independence as a free nation;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the Committee of Peace and Labour Party in their convention assembled, in Chicago, July 10, 1920, not only extends its sympathy to the Indian people in their struggle for independence, but hopes that the people of India will achieve their political independence from a foreign Power and establish a real political and economic democracy."

This resolution was introduced by Taraknath Das, the Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India in a speech which has been aptly characterised by William Hard as follows: "Mr. Das' speech was virile, close packed iron toned and it was a slugging speech. Paucity of schools in India, plentitude of famines, luxury for governmental affairs, opium for licensed dens, a certain preposterously small annual income per Indian, an astonishing closeness between that income and the cost in India of two bowls of rice a day for the year—these calculations, these charges, these arguments came tattooing from him as from a strong, tight-stretched drum."

RAPID GROWTH OF NON-CO-OPERATION IN INDIA.

Allahabad, India.—Calmly but firmly holding that the Hindus and the Mohammedans now realise that their words are useless in dealing with the British Bourgeois Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, the leading figure in the passive resistance movement and the Hindu-Muslim Convention held at Allahabad on June 1 and June 2 came to the conclusion that the non-co-operation with the Government was the only remedy left to India under the present exasperating circumstances. The non-co-operation movement is to be worked in four stages: first, giving up of all honours and titles conferred by the English King; second, resignation from all Government positions, salaried and honorary; third, resignation of soldiers and police from their respective positions; fourth, absolute refusal to pay taxes to the British Government in any shape or form.

The Viceroy has already been notified of the decision of the leading Hindu and Muslim citizens of India, and on August 1 the first part of the program goes into operation.

On behalf of the Mohammedans, Mr. Shaikat assured Mr. Gandhi of the Muslim willingness to accept and work under his leadership. God, he said, taught the patience and tolerance and they would suffer, but make the movement successful. This procedure in Muslim theology known as Hayat—Azadi. Many look upon this spirit of fratricidalness between the Hindus and the Mohammedans as the birth of a new religion. Naturally, Annie Besant ardently opposing this movement of far-reaching consequences.

Chicago, 1920. From "The New Republic."

(Concluded.)

The strategists for Hoover started with another scheme. Where Johnson was irreconcilable on one issue, Hoover was pictured as irreconcilable on no issue. Judge Miller actually said the convention that the Treaty plank was identical with Hoover's about an hour after Mr. Wheeler, of California, had said it was identical Senator Johnson's. "Strange as this may seem, it is not strange to anyone who heard expounded the political philosophy of Mr. Hoover's managers. They were believers, they said, in the two party system in that system they were personally devoted to the Republican party, so devoted that they would be loyal to any candidate on any platform. They then added that Mr. Hoover was a great man, and that lots of people wanted him to be President.

A more perfect reason for ignoring Mr. Hoover entirely could not have been framed. The politicians were not looking for a great man as everybody but a political ingenué understood. What was going on at Chicago was politics for politicians' reasons to politicians' ends. The only fact about Mr. Hoover that at any time could have interested the politicians was that the Hoover vote really mattered in the election. But the strategists, all of them successful business men and intensely practical about everything but the job before them, proceeded to open as wide a chasm as they could between Hoover and the Hoover vote. They first eliminated as thoroughly as they knew how all trace of the Hoover Democrats; they then eliminated as thoroughly as possible all recognisable difference in principle between Mr. Hoover and any other candidate who was being considered. They even got to the point of eliminating the verbal differences over the plank about the League. Thus equipped with no issue, no votes and no threat, they started to "negotiate" in a fast game with nothing to negotiate, with except the undoubted excellence of Mr. Hoover. Ten and a half votes together with the querulous complaint of one of the chief negotiators that the delegates would not take Hoover seriously.

Of course they wouldn't. Why should they take any progressive seriously when the progressives were scattered far and among Johnson, Lowden, La Follette and Hoover and even Wood? When the stakes are the control of the party, what reason was there for listening to the independents who can unite on no platform, on no strategy, and on no man?

Much will be written in the next months about the imprudence of the Old Guard. It is a waste of energy. What is at least true to itself. The game played by the progressives at this convention is in my opinion not one bit superior in morals to that played by the Old Guard, and it is infinitely less effective. The Old Guard can at least sink personal ambitions in a common purpose. It does not believe in fairies. It knows what it wants. The progressives do not know what they want. They just want to be a little nobler and a little cleaner, provided they do not have to stay out in the wilderness too long. They went to Chicago to play a game which only a professional can play because only a professional will take the time and trouble to understand it. They trimmed, they evaded, they imagined they were being born from within, they tried to control a great party by making themselves as indistinguishable as possible from

those who really control. They forgot that the virtues of the chameleon are purely defensive.

They did not deceive the Old Guard, but themselves they deceived nightly—preposterously as anyone can testify who looks at the result and heard their optimism. They cannot now, and they never will be able to play poker with Penrose. Their humiliation must have taught them that. May it also have reminded them of the multitude beyond, its patience strained. Beyond conventions and parties there is a living world in the midst of a transition which human power may perhaps guide, but cannot prevent. It is not written in Heaven that the Republican party is indispensable, nor is it now more than a gambler's chance whether moving men will accept either party as its instrument. Only a short time is left in which to recognise that the whole meaning of the progressive movement, its sole function in this generation, is to supply temperate leadership to a people which is preparing to march. A few more such demonstrations of vanity, innocence, timidity and futility as this at Chicago, and the progressives will be annihilated by the clash of extremes.

Chicago.

WALTER LIPPMANN.

[NOTE.—We published this article with the view of bringing home to our readers the cynicism which dominates the spirit of the old parties in America. It proves that Eamon de Valera has lost nothing by making no alliance with either the Republicans or Democrats. His aim is to go direct to the American people every time, and never to be tied to the tail of any party, as the Irish party was once tied to the tail of the English Liberal Party.—Ed. "O.I."]

Dublin Industrial Development Association.

At the annual meeting of the D.I.D.A. the following resolutions were passed:

Resolution: "That the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Dublin Industrial Development Association be, and hereby is declared adopted, and that the Association is deserving of the support of Irish manufacturers, public bodies, and the Irish public generally."

Presentation of prizes to representatives of firms declared prizewinners in the Irish Week window display of Irish-made goods, March, 1920.

Resolution proposed by Alderman T. D. Cosgrave, seconded by Mr. Erskine Childers: "That in the opinion of this meeting closer connection and co-operation should be maintained between the Public Boards of the country and the I.D.A., with a view to collecting and collating industrial information, and maintaining, fostering and extending Irish industries, and developing our natural resources; and that all public bodies be requested to give a decided preference to Irish-made goods, and to adopt Irish-made standard samples, where this has not already been done."

Resolution: "That this meeting welcomes the establishment of a direct shipping service between Ireland and the United States, and would heartily endorse similar services between Ireland and continental countries."

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exclusively of Unionists. Everyone who wishes to retain a vestige of English dominion over Ireland is a Unionist. The Southern Unionists were there, with a few ex-Carsonites, dependant "Nationalists," the Plunkett House contingent—and Mr. John Sweetman.

Its Press organ called it a "representative gathering." So it was. Everyone present represented someone—himself to wit.

Many motives were discernible—an instinctive wish to save the Empire; a sub-conscious desire for economic independence; the repugnance of decent men and women for the type of rulers the Union imposes on Ireland; and an intelligent anticipation of the direction of fine satutory efforts.

The first resolution demanded, or rather delicately insinuated the desirability of, the release of Terence MacSwiney. So far, so good.

Soon They Will Be With Us.

The speeches on the main resolution, which vaguely called on the British Government to give the Irish nation a thing it does not want and will not have, marked a distinct advance. Many of these garrison men have astonished themselves by discovering that there is a country called Ireland, and that they live in it—or on it. They are beginning to think, and thinking is quite different from "thinking Imperially." Let them go on thinking, and soon they will be with us.

We Are Moderate.

This meeting has stimulated the normal flow of irritating clap-trap about "moderate men" (meaning thereby men with a propensity for sitting on fences). In truth and fact we Republicans are the moderate men. Our moderate claim is to be allowed to mind our own business. We are more moderate than the Poles and Serbs, and other expansive and expensive pets of the immoderate Mr. George. We are entitled to a refund of 350 millions of pounds forcibly extracted from us in over-taxation since the Union, with interest amounting to almost as much more. We should get a staggering indemnity for the sufferings of our people, the depopulation of our country, and the ruin of our industries. We have sufficient precedents in international law to support

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

As we write Terence MacSwiney's struggle has not ended. Of the result there can be no doubt. He may die, or his broken body may be released by his tormentors. In either event he will win. In one aspect the battle is between the dying man and a mighty Empire. In another it is between the unconquerable spirit of man and the incarnation of evil. The Empire may kill the body of its victim. It can never touch his spirit.

Cork.

A number of causes have united to focus attention on the Lord Mayor of Cork in his English place of torment; but the mere boys who are upholding their country's cause in Cork Jail are certainly not forgotten. The Crowleys (one of them being seven years) and their companions have quietly and as a matter of course determined to lay down their lives that Ireland may be free. To express admiration of them would be an impertinence. We can only hope to be worthy of the cause for which they are suffering.

Peace Where There is No Peace.

The meeting of the "Irish Peace Conference" in Dublin last week was intriguing (in two senses). It consisted

a claim to an Irish hegemony over Gaelic Scotland, Wales, and Man, with enclaves, on the Carsonsire principle, in Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and elsewhere, with "corridors" uniting them. But we are moderate—too moderate. We only demand our own country within boundaries fixed by an authority greater even than "The Big Four"—or is it Three, or Two now? They are like the little nigger boys. There is, however, one thing we cannot moderate, and that is the principle for which we stand. It would not be a principle if we could.

Conference With the—!

Lloyd George has, we hear, been talking about a conference between Sinn Féin and his tame government. We are not fastidious, but really the thing is impossible. If the English people mean business (which we doubt), let them appoint a government which respectable people could meet, clear their army out of Ireland, and give guarantees of good faith. Then we can talk about the routine arrangements necessary between two neighbouring nation-states. There is nothing else to discuss.

We notice that His Britannic Majesty has referred to the Irish and English as two races. His Majesty's Prime Minister will be cross, and so will King Edward of Carsonia. The Welsh gentleman (by Act of Parliament) contends that there are two races in Ireland alone, whilst the Uncrowned King of Diminishing Ulster says there is not even one—only a branch of the English race (whatever it may be).

So the English Labour leaders are going to do all sorts of wonderful things to prevent war. Their resolutions are perfervid. We might dub the politics of Adamson, Thomas and Co. revolutionary Socialism. Meanwhile their army remains a constant reminder to us in Ireland of what one of them lately and very accurately called their "blasted hypocrisy."

"Reynold's Newspaper," a London publication which, presumably because of its wallowings in the divorce court muck heap, has a large circulation, makes the following precious pronouncement:

"The house of Mr. Arthur Griffith has been raided, it is believed by Sinn Feiners (sic). The rooms were ransacked and letters and papers stolen."

This is less false than most British propaganda. The house really was raided, and thefts did occur. But—the raid took place during "curfew" hours when British troops were patrolling the district. Prints of rubber-soled shoes were found. Rubber-soled shoes were admittedly worn by troops who killed young Farrelly a few nights earlier. Similarly

(Continued on page 489.)

Ralahine.

Last week we urged the desirability of a tax on values as a means of breaking the land monopoly, and making the land and all its resources available for the use of the people of Ireland. We went on to argue that the land so available should be farmed co-operatively instead of being sub-divided into small holdings, claiming that co-operative farming on a large scale would, apart even from its economic superiority, solve the problem of the agricultural labourer and lay the foundations of the co-operative commonwealth to which Gaelic Ireland is pledged. In this connection

referred to the pioneer experiment at Ralahine, and promised to summarise its history this week. We shall do so without further circumlocution, taking our facts from "An Irish Commonwealth, the History of Ralahine, adapted from the narrative of E. T. Craig, Secretary and Trustee of the Association."* E has written an introduction to the beautifully produced book, and Diarmuid O'Connell has annotated it. We hope our readers will complete the work by reading it.

The state of County Clargh in 1831 is well known. Famine, aggravated by evictions and rack-renting, was widespread. The British Government applied its invariable specific to the disease—Coercion Acts and cold steel. The famished, landless, disorganised populace retaliated with sporadic reprisals. We need not elaborate the familiar details.

John Scott Vandaleur was sufficiently courageous and enlightened to see that the coercion beloved of his class was no remedy, and he determined to establish a co-operative farm on his estate at Ralahine, which he had been forced to abandon to the "protection" of a police picket.

There being no I.A.O.S. in those days Mr. Vandaleur sought foreign aid and advice, and had the good fortune to secure Mr. E. T. Craig, an English Co-operator, who, unselfishly, wisely, and successfully for the Irish people, if there was, or is, another Englishman like him our ignorance or his modesty must be great.

So Craig went to Ralahine. He found an estate of 618 acres, of which 268 acres were under tillage, with suitable farm buildings, and situated between two main roads from Limerick to Ennis. A bog of 68 acres supplied peat. A lake on the borders gave ample water power for threshing, scutching, and saw mills. An adjoining waterfall of 20 horse-power was available if needed. A large building 30 feet by 15 feet, suitable for a dining hall, with a room the same size above it, had been erected. There were a store room and dormitory, and six cottages close at hand, and a couple of hundred yards away was the old Castle of Ralahine, capable of being adapted for housing accommodation.

*Martin Lester, Limited, Dublin. 6s. net.

In November, 1831, Mr. Craig assembled the people who hitherto been employed on the estate, and explained to them the objects of the proposed association, and the means whereby they were to be achieved. The objects were: (1) The acquisition of a common capital, (2) the mutual insurance of members against poverty, sickness, old age, (3) the attainment of a greater share in the comforts of life, (4) the mental and moral improvement of adult members, and (5) the education of their children. The landlord, anticipated: (1) Higher rent for land, (2) higher interest for his capital, (3) to secure actual payment for these, (4) to ensure the safety of the labour of the people, (5) to ensure the safety of the machinery and capital entrusted to their management.

To effectuate these objects an association was formed the people assembled, a constitution and rules drawn up, and a letting agreement between Mr. Vandaleur and trustees of the association executed. The general scheme appears in these documents. By the letting agreement John Scott Vandaleur let the lands of Ralahine (with certain exceptions) to the society for one year from November 1, 1831, on condition that the rules made that day were served, and that certain quantities of wheat, oats, barley, sugar, and bacon were delivered to him at stipulated times and places. He was to be at liberty to take "labour" available at the society's stores, in lieu of these articles. Provisions for good husbandry, repairs, maintenance of stock and implements, etc., were included. It was provided that at the end of the year (all conditions having been observed) wages might be raised by stipulated amounts for the ensuing year; that any members wishing to leave the society should be given their shares of any profits which had been made, but that no continuing member could withdraw his profits. Subject to this clause "all profits to accumulate until the value of the stock and implements is paid off, when interest on the same will be payable to the said John Scott Vandaleur."

If at the end of the first year the rent was unpaid, the lands deteriorated, the stock diminished, or any wages unpaid, the letting was to determine. It was also agreed that certain of the rules should be alterable by the association. We cannot set out the rules in *extenso*, but some extracts will illustrate their scope and nature.

Association and Agreement.

"We agree to associate together to rent the lands, buildings, manufactures, machinery, etc., of Ralahine from Mr. John Scott Vandaleur, according to the foregoing agreement, and we bind ourselves to obey these rules."

Property, when purchased, to be held in common.

"All the stock, machinery, and other property to remain the property of Mr. Vandaleur until the society accumulate sufficient to pay for them. Thereafter they become the joint property of the society."

Production.

"We engage that whatever talents we may individually possess, mental, muscular, agricultural, manufacturing or scientific, shall be directed to the benefit of all, as well as to their immediate exercise in all necessary occupations, as by communicating our knowledge to each other, and particularly to the young."

No Steward.

"Each individual shall assist in agricultural operations, it being particularly understood that no person is to act as steward, but all are to work."

Arrangement of Work.

"The committee shall meet every evening to arrange work for the following day."

Expenditure of Wages.

"It is expected that wages will be spent at the store in provisions, or any other articles the society may produce or keep there; any other articles may be purchased elsewhere."

Particular Kind of Labour not to be Compulsory.

"That no member be expected to perform any service but such as is agreeable to him, or he is able to perform; but any member who thinks any other member is not usefully employing his time shall report the matter to the committee, who shall bring it before a general meeting, which shall have power to expel the useless member."

Freedom of Religion, etc.

"Each member shall enjoy perfect freedom of conscience in religious worship. The members bind themselves to mutual forbearance, charity, and respect."

Arbitration.

"All disputes between members to be settled by a majority of the members or an arbitrator."

Marriage of Members.

"Any members wishing to marry one another shall give notice to that effect, whereupon arrangements for filling up or erecting a house for their reception will be made."

Marriage of Member and Non-member.

"Any member intending to marry a non-member must give notice of such intention. The non-member must be balloted for and, if rejected, the member must leave the society."

Dismissal.

"If the conduct of a member be found to be injurious to the welfare of the society the committee shall explain to him the way in which his conduct is injurious, and, if he persist in the conduct complained of, a general meeting may expel him."

Government.

"The Society is to be governed, and its business transacted by a committee of nine members, elected half-yearly by ballot."

The business of the society is to be divided into the following departments: (1) Agriculture and gardening, (2) manufacture and trade, (3) commerce, (4) domestic