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Vol. 3. No. 19. (New Series.)

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Week by Week.

President Wilson on Wednesday last informed Messrs. Walsh and Dunne that the American Peace Commissioners could not take up the case of Ireland officially with the Peace Conference, but that he and others have done, and will continue to do, unofficially, what they can in the interests of Ireland. The Secretary-General of the American Peace Commission notified Messrs. Walsh and Dunne on Monday that the resolution recently passed by the Senate has been presented to the Peace Conference.

On Wednesday, the 11th June—the day on which the American delegates were received by President Wilson—Mr. John Dillon cracked a few of his old jokes. These jokes he enshrined in a letter that will be read by future generations as a sample of the stuff this generation has had to swallow in atonement for the sins of another generation. Mr. John Dillon's letter, while it makes us smile, at the same time makes us shudder at the remembrance of the ignominious position from which Ireland has escaped. The Irish people would be in a very bad way today were they looking to Mr. John Dillon and his colleagues for guidance. Happily the political contortionist and his assistants were politely, but firmly, and—oh, that grand word!—constitutionally told that the Irish people have had quite enough of their little jokes. As the jokes which Mr. John Dillon resuscitated the other day are not very dangerous, we reproduce them here: Mr. John Dillon is well satisfied with the way things are going; present developments in Paris will, he hopes, do away with the danger of another insurrection; it will, he thinks, before long—at a not far distant date!—be made manifest to all parties in Ireland that a Republic is out of the question; neither America nor the Peace Conference nor the League of Nations will, he says, give any countenance or assistance to any attempt to establish an Irish Republic by force under present circumstances: the "settlement" when it comes will, he imagines, be brought about by the return of our dejected and rejected army and navy to the floor of the House; and finally, he maintains that the sole reliance of Ireland will have to be placed on America and President Wilson! Mr. John Dillon mixes his jokes so badly that one is inclined to think that he, like Sir Horace Plunkett, requires his pulse to be examined. Perhaps the rumour that he felt Sir Horace's pulse recently is not wholly true. Possibly they felt one another's!

The Irish people will be surprised to learn that Sinn Fein has left Ireland without a friend in the world. The Rathdown Guardians had the pleasure of hearing this delightful piece of news from Mr. J. P. McCabe, J.P., last Friday. Not so surprising, perhaps, was the information which this double J.P. gave the Rathdown Guardians when he said that had "the people followed the late Mr. Redmond—and had he lived he would have been one of the four delegates to represent the British Isles at the Peace Conference—there would be no necessity to appeal to the Egyptians and the Indians for Ireland's case, and to get Mr. De Valera to the Conference." A third piece of information, for the correctness of which we can vouch, was also supplied to the Rathdown Guardians by the Blackrock newsagency: the state of the country to-day is the result of Sinn Feinism. Here we agree with Mr. McCabe. Sinn Fein has dragged the mask off the face of Britannia; Sinn Fein has exposed Britannia to the world; Sinn Fein has put an end to all the hypocritical cant uttered by Britannia about small nations; Sinn Fein has forced Britannia to come into the open so that all the world may see her as she really is—the very incarnation of militarism. Sinn Fein will keep at it till Right triumphs over Might.

Once more Ireland is upsetting the equilibrium of the London "Times." The settling of the little domestic ques-

tion is absolutely necessary if the welfare of the good old Empire is to be maintained. As this conclusion has been come to since the Senate of the United States, by sixty votes to one, declared in favour of Self-determination for Ireland, it may reasonably be supposed that the determination of the "Times" is, as usual, prompted by the fear that the Irish people, in their sublime ignorance, may be tempted to still cherish the hopes of gaining their liberty without the assistance of the English Government. The English Government, not the Irish people nor the people of America, is the only body qualified to settle the Irish question, so thinks the "Times." The fact that the Irish people have determined for themselves the form of government under which they wish to live, and that the people of America realise the justice of Ireland's cause, and have declared themselves in favour of that cause, does not in any way enter into the arguments put forward by the "Times." The "Times" argues that the question of Ireland has been allowed to drift into a thoroughly unsatisfactory position, and that unless the British Government face and deal with it "firmly and honestly," as they are in duty bound to do, without further loss of time, the position will inevitably and indeed rapidly become worse! No longer should Ireland be looked upon as a question to be debated across the floor of the House, says the "Times." Ireland is a matter which affects the entire people of England! The people of England must close their ranks and settle the business once for all. As we said before, the "Times" is anxious that the people of Ireland should not think of settling the matter without the assistance of England. Nothing is more repugnant to the "Times" than the idea that the people of Ireland should try to settle the matter themselves, or for that matter seek the assistance of America to settle it. "The determined attempts" made during the "last few months" to make the question of Ireland an international issue will be wrecked, so says the "Times," upon the firm purpose of the British people exercising for themselves the right of self-determination! An interesting, not to say unique, method of applying the principles of self-determination to all nations, large and small.

The Washington correspondent of the London "Times," in an S. O. S. message to the English Government, exposes the failure of the English army of propagandists sent to America to defame Ireland. The S.O.S. message is an indication of the sorry plight in which that army now finds itself. The reverse caused by the resolution passed by the House of Representatives has been turned into a rout by the recent action of the Senate. The English army of propagandists in the United States at present is demoralised. This demoralisation is reflected in the signals of distress sent out by the Washington correspondent of the "Times." He tells the English Government that the present state of the English army of pen-men is due to the fact that England's racial enemies on American soil are exceedingly energetic in sedulously spreading fantastic libels about the dealings which the Mistress of the Seas has had with Ireland in the past, to say nothing of the dealings she has with Ireland at present. The flurried correspondent has discovered two ways of putting a stop to the nefarious work being carried on by the aforesaid racial enemies of England. One of the ways suggested by this obliging correspondent is that the British Government gives as speedily as possible "a real earnest that it proposes effectively to tackle the Irish settlement," and the other is that the British Government "sees to it that Irish affairs are not solely mismanaged in America." The trouble is that America knows so much about the way "Irish affairs" have been mismanaged by England that the only "real earnest" that England can give for her future good behaviour is the withdrawal of her army of occupation from the soil of Ireland. That

is the only way the "Irish settlement" can be effectively tackled.

In its review of the little book of atrocities given to the world as a result of the visit of the American delegates to Ireland, the "Daily Telegraph" on Saturday last explains, in its usual delightful fashion, that "no serious man will give the report more than a moment's consideration," but that persons "who do not understand the inner workings of Sinn Fein may be influenced by it." From beginning to end, says the highly-informed writer in the "Daily Telegraph," the report is an absolutely grotesque view of the condition of Ireland to-day, but at the same time this reviewer says that, in order to put England right in the eyes of the world, "the Irish Executive must answer it, and answer it without delay." We eagerly await any answer which the "Irish Executive" may give, and in the meantime it is interesting to note that the Irish people have been precluded by the British Censors in Ireland from reading "one of the most fantastic documents ever prepared for political propaganda." There is no necessity for the Irish people to read the little book of atrocities issued by the American delegates. As far as we are concerned, we are perfectly content to have the judgment of the world on these matters. The opinions of the British Press and Censors cannot alter the facts of the case.

The fears entertained by a criminal as he stands in the dock to answer for his misdeeds are no doubt proportionate to his guilt. When a murderer is arraigned for his crime or crimes we fancy that he feels a little bit more uneasy than does a petty thief when brought to the bar of justice. The bigger the crime, the bigger the fear of exposure, and the consequences which that exposure generally brings in its trail. As he stands in the dock, the murderer, we presume, is more upset by the fact that his crime is about to be exposed and that he will have to suffer for it, than by the fact that he has committed a crime. To the murderer the proof of his guilt is more obnoxious than the sight of his victim.

These thoughts have been set going by the appearance in the British Press of the evidence which the American delegation recently collected in the case of Ireland v. John Bull.

In the case under notice John Bull is arraigned before the world as a criminal whose crimes in Ireland are unparalleled in the history of mankind. The evidence brought forward by the American delegation is only a tithe of the evidence which can be produced in the case, and yet the criminal reels under the weight of that evidence. He tries to quibble and prevaricate. The crimes of which he is accused have no foundation, in fact. The whole thing is, as they say in America, a "frame-up" for the purpose of discrediting the champion of small nations in the eyes of the world. If any of the evidence produced by the American delegation should happen to be substantiated, the accused assures the world in advance that he has always done his duty to humanity—that is to say, in the interests of "the Empire." Whether or not the world will accept as "extenuating circumstances" this plea for the crimes committed by John Bull against Ireland remains to be seen.

Meanwhile the crimes on which the American delegation arraign John Bull are still perpetrated in Ireland. In passing it is worth remembering Belgium for a moment, or rather it is worth remembering some of the nice things which John Bull said about Von Bissing and his colleagues when they were alleged to be doing in Belgium what John Bull is now, and has been for centuries, doing in Ireland. Von Bissing and his colleagues were criminals of the darkest dye; they deserved hanging. The defenceless Belgians were right in refusing to acquiesce in the occupation of their country; Von Bissing and his colleagues were wrong—criminals, in

fact,—for imprisoning, deporting, and executing Belgians who protested against the usurping power. Thus spake the sanctimonious John Bull when Germany was the offender. In the iron-heel business John Bull has now no competitor. Week by week the iron-heel business as usual goes on in Ireland. Men and women are imprisoned for daring to collect money for national and labour purposes; houses and business premises are searched and looted; whole districts are "isolated" and pillaged; national gatherings are dispersed by British bayonets and batons; Irishmen are shot. In fact everything which John Bull objected to in Belgium is used in Ireland in the interest of "the Empire," which his Von Bissing assures the Irishmen who went out to Belgium, etc., is to be their reward for fighting for small nations.

Lord French of Ypres has done much for small nations. In his book, "1914" he tells the world how he defended poor little Belgium. In his book, "1918" (which we presume he intends to write) he will no doubt tell us how he was nearly wiping out the "poisonous insects" in Ireland. At present he is busy thinking out a scheme by which those who have fought for the freedom of the Czechs and other interesting peoples can be suitably rewarded. He argues that as they have given their blood for the Empire the least the Empire can do for them—not having got rid of them in Flanders, Mesopotamia, or any of the other theatres of war—is to turn them into colonists in their own land! They fought for the freedom of small nations—Lord French of Ypres hopes to use them to hold in bondage their own land. That is to be their reward for fighting for the liberty of the Czechs. Not as freemen are the Irishmen who have fought in England's army to be planted in the land of their birth, but as slaves. That is the scheme which Lord French of Ypres expounded in the speech he delivered in London last Friday night.

The deliverer of little Belgium said nothing about the freedom of small nations. He said nothing about the freedom of Ireland. He recently told some Irishmen who had returned from the war for small nations that they had shed their blood to maintain the Empire. On Friday he went further. He told the remains of the "Royal Irish Regiment" that as their duty throughout the past four or five years had been to exhibit that magnificent daring, courage, and endurance which alone could save the British Empire from destruction, their duty now was to hold that Empire together. We know that the "Royal Irish Regiment" did duty for the British Empire in Dublin a few years ago. We do not think any Irishman in that or any other regiment needs to be reminded of the occasion, for in spite of what Lord French of Ypres says about them shedding their blood for the British Empire we believe that the vast majority of these Irishmen joined the British army in the belief that they were fighting, not for the maintenance of tyranny, but for its overthrow. Lord French's plantation scheme will fail as surely as his "German Plot" failed.

A message from Reuter to the "Morning Post" says that a national funeral was given on Sunday last to twenty Belgian patriots who were shot during the German occupation. The King of the Belgians placed the Cross of the Order of Leopold on each of the twenty coffins, and M. Margerie, the French Minister, in the name of the Government of the French Republic, laid the French Croix de Guerre with palms upon the coffins of three who were shot by the Germans for giving assistance to the French Military Intelligence Service. At the gravesides were delivered speeches "honouring the memory of these martyrs, who had died to defend the independence of their country." Since the Germans invaded Belgium sixteen Irishmen were executed in Ireland, one, Thomas Russell, was bayoneted to death, and three—Tom Ashe, Dick Coleman, and

Pierce McCann—have died in British jails. We only give the names of twenty Irish patriots who lost their lives in Ireland "during the German occupation." We could give a great many more.

Sir Edward Carson, in a letter addressed to the "Morning Post," says that the "unparalleled act of international effrontery" committed by the Senate of the United States in claiming a hearing for Ireland at the Peace Conference will create further difficulties for the English Government in Ireland, and give impetus to "the campaign of murder and assassination already ripe there." It is to put a stop to the campaign of murder and assassination that Ireland wishes to bring her case before the Peace Conference.

The Feis arranged to take place in Kilmallock being proclaimed, a meeting was held a few miles away, and was addressed by Father O'Flanagan and Dr. Hayes, T.D. As they were returning from the meeting, several people were wounded by the R.I.C., who, with a large number of Tommies, were guarding the town against the Feis.

Countess Markievicz, T.D., was arrested on Friday morning and conveyed in a military motor waggon to the Bridewell. She was brought to Cork in a special train the same evening. A large force of G-men and khaki-men accompanied her on the journey. On Tuesday she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Democracy is spreading at an alarming rate in England. The Prince of Wales visited Dartmoor Prison on Thursday last. According to the "Morning Post" his Royal Highness sampled and approved of the prison fare, and allowed a few passing convicts to inhale the fumes of his Royal cigarette.

The destruction of the Pine Forest is almost accomplished. For many weeks now great loads of round timber have been lorryed through Rathfarnham from Gleu Dhu, and we understand that little is now left of these famous woods where thousands of city folk seek a pleasant and healthful recreation on holidays throughout the summer. We notice a letter in the Press from the owner's solicitor, who writes in reply to the protest of Mr. J. Clarke of Rockbrook. It is stated to be Mr. Massy's intention as owner to replant immediately in all places where trees have been removed. It is advisable to cut down mature timber by thinning out woods at regular intervals, but we fear the felling of the Pine Forest has taken place on a destructive scale, and it is a serious sacrifice for the owner, as well as for the public, to strip this fine forest to the stump, and reduce it to a desert, thus destroying the value of the property for any purpose, public or private. We hope a vigorous effort will be made to replant it. The Dublin Mountains might be made the venue for Arbor Day celebrations.

Madame O'Rahilly and Mrs. Humphreys write:—"All Ireland, and especially the Volunteers, will remember that Sunday, 22nd, will be the Feast of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour. After God, Our Lady has been Ireland's best friend. In the troubled years of persecution and famine our people never lost confidence in her powerful intercession, and the help we ourselves have got from her in these critical times ought to show that we have greater cause than ever to place unbounded trust in her. From the first day our men were imprisoned till to-day Our Lady of Perpetual Succour has watched over them with special care, protecting them amidst many hardships, sickness, hunger, and ill-treatment, and helping them to endure when endurance seemed no longer possible. Surely they will now show their gratitude to her by honouring her Feast Day by going to Communion, and above all by asking her help for the future, that the mighty struggle which we are now going through may end in victory."

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1919.

England in the Dock.

"Ireland" is the title of the chief leading article in the London "Times" of Monday last. "England in the Dock" would have been a more suitable caption to place at the top of the thirteen hundred words, which, if they mean anything, mean that Sinn Fein has forced the English Government into the dock to defend itself against the charge of attempting to murder the Irish Nation. England, speaking through the "Times," while she does not make any effort to refute the indictment which Sinn Fein brings against her, pleads for clemency. England, with her back to the wall, appeals to the world to look lightly on her crimes against the Irish people. With tears in her eyes she appeals to her victims for forgiveness. Around the pathetic figure of the detected criminal still cling the tattered remnants of the garments with which she adorned herself as she went to war "in the interest of small nations." In her pleadings for mercy the canting hypocrite enters the plea that not she, but the Irish people are responsible for the present condition of Ireland.

England's attitude, asserts the "Times," is inspired by full and sincere good-will towards Ireland, the Irish people in Ireland, and the Irish race the world over, but it is equally inspired by a settled resolve that no foreign pressure and no anti-English intrigue or agitation shall diminish the security of the United Kingdom or the cohesion of the British Empire. The criminal squeaks in the dock—she does not say she is sorry for the crimes she has committed against Ireland. Her good-will towards her victims is the same as the good-will which a cat shows to a mouse. She wants to swallow up Ireland now as she has wanted to swallow up Ireland for the past seven hundred years. She thought at one time that by cutting us up into little bits she would be more easily able to devour us; at other times she endeavoured to swallow us whole; now she hopes to entice us to walk into the net which, even as she stands in the dock, she is preparing for us. We are asked to live in harmony with the criminal, whose only interest in us is now, and always has been, measured by the amount of blood and money she can

drag from us. A funny appeal coming from the criminal we have placed in the dock to be tried by the people of the world.

Ireland knows England, and will not be touched by her pleadings for mercy. America knows England. America knows what England has done to our country and our people. America has already given its verdict against England. We await with perfect equanimity the verdict of the world. England is in the dock—that is enough for us at the moment.

The Senate of the United States

What manner of men are the U.S. Senators? This question is answered very fully by Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., L.L.D., President of Princeton University, in the Blumenthal Foundation Lectures on "Constitutional Government in U.S.," at Columbia University, New York, 1907. The lecturer is now President of the States.

It is quite American to abuse the Senate and call them plutocrats, a rich men's club, and very much more offensive names. On the other hand, at times, it has been customary to praise them almost in the same breath, and when a great crisis comes there is a softening of feeling and a desire to look fondly at the big men in Washington. The American Senate is a quiet, reflective body, by no means given to hurried or violent action. It is a most conservative body, full of consideration for each other, quick to listen, but slow, very slow, to move or resolve.

Mr. Wilson tells us that no body has been more misunderstood and traduced than the American Senate.

A few words of explanation as to its constitution may be necessary. The Senate consists of two Senators elected by the Legislatures of each State. The Senate is therefore a League of the Forty-eight States of the American Union. Moreover, the principle of the equality of States is deliberately recognised. Its constitution differs entirely from the House of Representatives in every respect. The House is constituted of electors for constituencies, like the British Parliamentary divisions, each State having allotted to it members in proportion to its population quota.

The House only sits for two years. Then it dissolves and all its members go out. Not the Senate, which is a permanent body. The Senatorial term is six years. One-third retire every alternate year. The term of a Senator is, therefore, two years longer than a President, and he usually is elected for two or more terms.

Mr. Wilson tells us that most of the leading figures among the active public men of the country are now to be found in the Senate, not in the House. In general, the House is a legislative machine, the Senate is a debating organ. A poor lecturer tells us picturesquely, organisation swallows men, debate individualises them.

The Senate is a very select and privileged body. It numbers only some ninety, while the House roll-call is 357 at full strength. To be one of ninety chosen from one hundred millions of keen, progressive people, is a rare honour indeed.

The Senate is frequently regarded as the home of the "interests." Wilson stoutly contests this view, and holds that it has too often escaped the attention of the country as a whole that the large majority of the members of the Senate obtain their seats by perfectly legitimate means because the people whom they represent honestly prefer them as representatives; that the large majority of them are poor men who have little or nothing to live on besides their inadequate salaries; that the opinion and action of the Senate are, for the most part, determined by the influence of quiet men whom the country talks about very little, and about whom it suspects nothing in the least questionable or dishonourable; and that the few notorious members whose reputations are mostly talked of generally play but an obscure part in the business. Men go to the Senate who are in a very real sense the choice of the people, men of the rank and file who have made their way up by political, not by commercial means.

The Senate looks with a strange condescension on the President. Dominate the affairs of the country though he may, says Mr. Wilson, he seems to the Senator at most a passing shadow. Even if he has continued in his office for the two terms which are the traditional limit of the President's service, he but overlaps a single Senatorial term by two years, and a Senator who has served several terms has already seen several Presidents come and go. His experience is much mellowed than

the President's can be; he looks at policies with a steadier vision than the President's; the continuity of the Government lies in the keeping of the Senate more than in the keeping of the Executive, even in matters which are of the especial prerogative of the Presidential office. A member of long standing in the Senate feels that he is the professional, the President an amateur.

Such is the remarkable estimate of the ability of the American Senate as given by one who now fills the illustrious office of the Chief Executive. Such is his estimate of the most remarkable Assembly in the world, a body which constitutes in itself a League of States. Such is the view of the men who have held up the Peace Conference and the Great Powers, and thrown down a challenge to them on the battle-ground of Ireland's rights and claims to international recognition.

We present this view of the Senate. It dispels the rubbish of the English Press, whose gross ignorance on the subject of American institutions is only equalled by their hatred of them. It is idle for them to write of the American Senate as a body that can be controlled, regulated, bounced, or over-ridden by any authority in this world. The American Senate is supreme in its own domain, which includes the making of treaties under the Constitution, which ordains (Article II., Section 2, par. 2) that "he (the President of the United States) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." The English Press cannot alter the American Constitution.

The Paris Conference.

When the armistice was signed the world reeled under a blow nearly as staggering as the outbreak of the war. Everyone had been longing for peace, but in the popular mind peace did not generally connote anything more definite than the end of hostilities. It was only by degrees, under the guidance of the cleverest opportunists in the Press of France, Italy and England, that national consciousness evolved the concrete aims which each bewildered people hoped to realise through the peace and the Conference.

In America Wilson, in France Clemenceau, in England George tattered above the common herd of statesmen as leaders marked out to win the peace. Each had in quite an extraordinary degree the confidence of his people; each could fairly claim to have no rival; each knew what he wanted and meant to have; each was confident that he was the man to plunge into the vortex of the Conference and emerge triumphant. In Italy there was no outstanding figure to lead the nation at Paris, and Orlando was chosen as a compromise.

The clear aim of Wilson, who, in the public opinion of the world, predominated among the four, was frankly peace, a real peace, a just and a lasting peace. The other great men had, under pressure, fashioned their apparent peace aims to some semblance of the Wilson scheme, and when the Peace Conference assembled the world, still somewhat hazy as to positive terms of peace, hoped and was ready to believe that the function, and the intention, of that body was to build as nearly as possible the foundations of permanent peace, with the best intellect of America and Europe as architect in the service of the Conference.

While America sincerely wanted a clean peace, the diplomacy of France, Italy and England each had special interests to secure and ready means for popularising those interests among the receptive masses; politicians and publicists vied with one another to rouse national enthusiasm for national interests, and in those interests to formulate the national peace aims; as the months went by time and events inspired doubts of the firmness or diplomatic skill of the trusted plenipotentiaries; each nation found the jeopardised claims of its primary interests becoming more and more insistent, and those interests became accordingly more and more definitely and more and more frankly recognised as the national aims in the peace.

There is no mystery to-day about the real peace aims of the Great Powers of Europe: with France the aim is Security; with Italy, the Adriatic; with England, Grab.

France as a whole had a clearer perception than Italy or England of what the peace was to achieve for the country; that is, a clearer perception from the date of the armistice and among all classes of the people; and also a

singular unanimity. France had suffered, and was quite simply determined not to suffer again. Accordingly it became Clemenceau's mission to do all that humanly could be done and to get everything that possibly could be got to avert another invasion from Germany. Reparation and indemnity, of course, bulked large in a section of the Press. Alsace-Lorraine appealed to every French heart; but the former was admittedly a matter for adjustment, the latter was taken for granted; so that the one thing that really occupied the mind of France was the adequacy of the measures to be taken to assure France against revenge by Germany. It was a wholly selfish policy, but one which to a Frenchman required no apology, and justified itself as necessary self-defence. The force of the obsession of the next Boche attack that grips the French people from Calais to Nice and from Bordeaux to Verdun cannot be exaggerated; nothing else matters fundamentally; nothing else matters at all in comparison. The first essential for France is complete security against the German.

To-day France is bitterly distressed at the security offered by the Peace Treaty. France is angry, and in that anger has begun to look more closely into the peace compact as a whole, and the investigation is evoking sharp and outspoken criticism of the price paid to England for so small a return.

Italy's position was different. Italy had at no period been as whole-heartedly in the war as France, and had never found the same compensation in the war as England. Italy had come in at a bad moment, and was inclined, looking back, to regret a hasty participation in a costly adventure of doubtful profit. Austria, despite the pre-war alliance, was the hereditary enemy, and it was some satisfaction to see Austria down. But Italy knew that Austria had, in 1914 and 1915, offered to buy off the Italians at a higher price than the Conference of Paris was quite likely to pay for services that England had never properly appreciated; a secret treaty had made promises that looked unlikely of fulfilment; worst of all, there was a gap in the treaty, which had contemplated a post-war Austria too strong to be wholly ousted from the Adriatic, and Rome had the uncomfortable sense of having acquiesced in the foreign retention of Fiume. But if Austria was hated, much more was the Croat hated, and to see the enemy who was the "fervest and most brutal agent of the old oppressor" installed across the water with all the laurels of international recognition in the Italian town of Fiume was unthinkable. So Italy made up its mind that the thing that mattered most in the peace was Fiume, and every conceivable argument, strategic, racial and economic, was marshalled to secure the port.

Italy to-day is even angrier than France, and Italy blames England most.

In France and Italy Wilsonism quickly took a subordinate place, but the idea of a Wilson peace remained popular, provided that the essential claims of French and Italian nationalism were first recognised and secured. In England the position was typically English; Wilson had been boomed as a war necessity, and had become a popular hero; but everyone who counted disliked him intensely and feared him. England gave him an ovation at Christmas when his visit was the greatest possible embarrassment and annoyance to the English Government. A Wilson peace would have been fatal to the future of the Empire; yet England was committed in a way that France and Italy had never been to his strange transatlantic principles that England's spokesmen had made their very own. England had gone to war for "small nationalities" and (after the fall of the Czar) for "the self-determination of peoples," and George and his colleagues had been only less eloquent than President Wilson on behalf of the "new democracy" and "death to militarism." Thus for any power but England the position would have been difficult, but the ancient wisdom of England has never allowed metaphysical speculations upon consistency to misdirect a policy plainly dictated by national interest, and has always understood that the national interest lies in the national pocket, and nowhere else; besides, England had at her command the services of Arthur Balfour, the most astute of European statesmen, so that the English Government might well feel safe in embarking upon what was ostensibly a peace campaign with the real object of grabbing everything that the weakness or expectations of simpler Allies might make available for the higher diplomacy.

England's great peace aim, unlike

those of France and Italy, has never been avowed; it cannot be avowed; but it has discovered itself slowly to a curious world.

Today the Wilson peace is gone. America is angry at the peace. For America has been sadly duped. France, Italy, Belgium, and the others have their own reasons for disappointment. Even England's Colonies murmur their discontent. England alone is satisfied, though clamouring, of course, for more. Mr. Wilson announces that the peace squares with his Fourteen Points. Mr. Wilson has hardly one admirer to-day for every ten he had six months ago. The four great men have fallen from their four great pedestals. Wilson has lost his own people; Clemenceau has forfeited irrevocably the confidence of France; Orlando is much safer in Paris than at Rome; George cannot win a bye-election.

The plain truth is that a great experiment has failed; the attempt to reconcile nationalism with internationalism, Clemenceau and Orlando with Wilson, will be a memory and a warning for future peace-makers, and political philosophy will point the cynical moral in the overwhelming success of the cold gospel of Empire at the expense of national and international patriotism alike. The plain people of the world had wanted peace. With some accommodations to local conditions here and there, they had responded to Wilson's gospel. The plain people expected peace, and the disillusionment will be complete, for the plain people are discovering the plain truth that there is to be no peace—and incidentally no victory—for the world at large, that the doves of peace were eagles of Empire, that from first to last the solemn masquerade of the Conference has been guided, nursed and dominated by and for the English Empire and English Imperialism; that, while the anxiety of others has been to win out against Germany, England has used the peace to exploit the world for English aggrandisement.

The peace is discovered to be the triumph of Empire and the consecration of Imperial dominion. None of the peoples, except England and Japan, wanted Imperialism. All knew that Imperialism had caused the war, and would foment more war. France did not spend itself for that, nor Italy, nor Belgium and the other small nations, and each country, having got from the Conference very much less than it had expected, is restless now about the peace and the profits of the peace as it begins to realize that the war and the peace have been fought and won for English Imperialism, English hegemony, English expansion, English trade.

The worst disillusion will be that of the American people, who had a firm belief in their President, and whose sons fought, the great majority at least, for the cause of "freedom and right" in that behalf.

England has over-reached herself. She comes triumphant out of the Conference, but so triumphant that she provokes, she challenges, she clamours for attack.

Nothing could have been better calculated to wake the world against England, a disappointed and heart-sore world which, as it realises the deception, will not be sorry to discover in the deceiver an offender so richly worthy of universal scorn. Already the Italian Press and the Belgian openly and loudly denounce English aggression and English ambition and English intrigue as revealed at Paris; already the Press and Senate of America sound ugly notes of warning; already France, determined during the Conference to fawn upon England for guarantees of security, is relaxing the Censorship to allow responsible journals to speak out against the English peace, and in conversation the favourite topic is the revelation of English hypocrisy and English greed.

However slow may be the process of illumination the light is spreading among those who so lately fought to curb the ambition of "the Hun," innocent of all intention to replace him with a far more grasping, more powerful, and more dangerous super-Hun. The undeniable facts are:—

1. That England alone, with Japan, emerges satisfied from the Conference.
2. That England has scored heavily off all competitors at sea and on land and in the Covenant of the League of Nations.
3. That there is widespread cause for resentment at the arrogant claims of England, and at their satisfaction.
4. That the inconsistency between England's war professions and

England's peace achievements is notorious.

5. That the terms of peace are fuel fit to kindle the smouldering hatred which England has been feeding for generations throughout Europe and America.

For England, the Conference of Paris was to write another glorious page upon the record of "Deeds that won the Empire." The effort seemed likely to be a happy one, for everyone at the Conference would plead for the support of England, and suitors must needs pay the price.

In the result England, true to tradition, has used, and then failed or forgotten, friend and Ally, and some of the victims already stand aghast at the manipulation that has twisted them into confederates in the game of sealing the peace with the brand of England's Imperial glutty.

It has been a pretty game, and with the complaisance of Clemenceau and Orlando and the feeble hesitation of Wilson, an easy game for England.

But it is a dangerous game, probably the most dangerous that even England has ever played.

And the most patent result is that the great peace has failed; it cannot last.

Strange and good things must tumble out of the near future; perhaps one of the strangest and best of them may be another Peace Conference to undo the last, a Conference of the true representatives of the aching common people of the world, with Nemesis as President.

C. Gavan Duffy.

The Irish Mind.

England must either conquer Ireland or withdraw her army of occupation. She can settle the "Irish question" in no other way. Ireland cannot at the moment compel her by physical force to withdraw her troops from Ireland; she can neither conquer us, nor govern us, nor intimidate us, nor bribe us. That is the position in which Sinn Fein has placed Ireland at home, while abroad Ireland has caused England much inconvenience, and will continue to do so until England takes the steps she must inevitably take if the Irish people persist in their present attitude.

While the army of occupation remains in Ireland—while courts of British justice, upheld by one hundred thousand bayonets—dispense the laws made in a foreign Parliament—while England's bloody hands are on our throats and in our pockets, Ireland cannot hope to do very much in the way of national reconstruction.

The Irish people, however, can do more than they would appear to have done in regard to mental reconstruction. Many people I have met seem to imagine that the future of Ireland is assured as a result of the General Election of December last. That is not so. Is Ireland to-day as nationally sound, mentally, as she was in December last? Most people will say she is. I prefer not to give any opinion. But it is not enough for Ireland to be as nationally sound in mind now as she was six months ago. The Irish people could, and should, have learned a lot within the past six months. The people, if any, who were persuaded to vote for Irish Independence in December last while stating that they did not believe that Ireland would flourish apart from England—these people, have they been educated into the belief that Ireland could, and would, flourish apart from England? The people, if any, who had to be told that Ireland was one of the most ancient and renowned lands in the world, and that Ireland was as good as any other country in the world—these people, have they since studied the history of their country? The people, if any, who knew not the mineral wealth and resources of Ireland—these people, have they been instructed in the matter since? The people who were told that language is a sure indication of nationality, and that the revival of the Irish language led to the revival of the spirit of nationality—these people, have they been brought into the Gaelic League classes? In how many of the branches of Sinn Fein have reading rooms been provided; in how many branches have lectures been delivered; in how many branches have Irish language and history classes been established? While the people of Ireland are waiting for the army of occupation to take its departure they could do a lot in the way of mental reconstruction. The de-anglicisation of the Irish mind is as important as the de-anglicisation of the land of Ireland. The Irish mind will be required to reconstruct the country when the enemy has evacuated his positions therein. The best gift in the possession of a

good citizen is the possession of a good mind—a mind that knows all that can be known about Ireland is the best gift a citizen can offer to the Irish Republic.

S. S. de B.

Taxation of Ireland—XVII.

We now come to the income-tax. This heavy item of taxation amounted to seven millions, constituting more than a fourth of the admitted revenue of Ireland in 1918. We give below a table showing the revenue derived from each of the income-tax schedules "as adjusted to give True Contribution." We shall deal in detail with these schedules later on, and shall examine the basis of adjustment. The percentages given are those which represent what Ireland's proportion bears per cent. to the aggregate revenue under each schedule in Great Britain and Ireland.

INCOME-TAX (IRELAND).		
Year Ending March 31st, 1918.		
Schedule.	Irish	Irish
	£	per cent.
A. Lands and Houses (Owners)	1,320,000	3.38
B. Occupation of Land (Farmers)	250,000	8.87
C. Government Stocks, etc., and D. Public Companies, Foreign Dividends, Coupons, etc.	3,376,000	2.26
E. Trades and Professions	824,000	2.23
F. Public Offices, Official Salaries	610,000	3.21
G. Non-Official Salaries		
Super-Tax	699,000	3.00
	7,079,000	2.97

The largest amount of income-tax is levied under Schedules C and D., on Government Stocks, Public Companies, Foreign Dividends and Coupons. It is surprising to find that Trades and Professions contribute only three-tenths of the tax contributed by dividends and investments in England. In Ireland Trades and Professions contribute only one quarter of the amount paid by investors. The general impression prevails that income-tax is mainly paid by those engaged in trade, but it forms a relatively small proportion. This, no doubt, is due largely to the fact that the full tax rate, on the unearned rate, is deducted in full from dividends, while, of course, in the case of trades and professions the earned rate deducted is very much smaller. But that is a matter of detail. The income-tax as levied falls principally from investors.

A singular feature of the Irish returns is that the tax on public salaries yields nearly three-fourths of the tax on trades and professions. We do not draw any very fixed conclusions from these figures, but it is certainly a very uneconomic fact that trades and professions should not yield very much higher incomes.

Particular attention should be given to Schedule B. The tax on farmers for half a century did not affect any except holders of very large farms exceeding a valuation of £480. Now, however, the valuation subject to assessment is very much reduced, and the tax is increased very greatly. We will deal with the details when we come to the particular schedule. Meanwhile, it should be noted that the percentage contributed by Ireland under Schedule B. is 8.87, while the average contribution of income-tax is only 2.97 under all heads. Ireland pays a very much larger contribution relatively under this head than under the other schedules.

In conclusion, the income-tax falls most heavily on Schedule B. (8.87 per cent.), and on Schedule A. (5.38). Any tax involving land is bound to hit Ireland more severely than any other form of taxation.

The Royal Dublin Society hoisted a pair of Union Jacks at the entrance to the premises at Ballsbridge during the recent Agricultural Show. This Society, founded to promote husbandry and industry, parades as a non-political body. There is no apparent occasion for political colours at such gatherings. In any case, England will want a flag of her own.

Recent events in connection with a Packing Company prove how vital it is that the Irish meat trade should not be financed at the wrong side.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labour, representing 3,000,000 workers, has passed a resolution demanding the recognition by the Peace Conference of Ireland's rights.

Progress!

This week even should men rise from the American Continent, to war shores in sixteen hours. The boat is installed and the Press declaims about the Progress of Man. Is it true that the more swiftly Man learns to travel the swifter the progress of Man? Is it true that because Man can speak from Continent to Continent in minutes, and travel from Continent to Continent in hours, that Man is nobler than he was before?

These things are not true, and those who measure Man's progress by his mechanical achievements are blind reactionaries. When John Mitchell was asked to admire the Progress of Man, as exemplified by the successful laying of the first Atlantic Cable, he confounded the materialists by asking: "Will a lie telegraphed at one end come out a truth at the other?"

It is useful to invent methods of quick and comfortable travelling, but it tends nothing to man's moral or spiritual progress. On the contrary when the world becomes obsessed with the idea that quickening of speed is progress that idea tends the other way. Not that railways and motor cars and aeroplanes and cables and telephones are evils in themselves, but they are evils when man comes to regard these mechanical things as civilization. When Ruskin apostrophised railway trains as "Carriages of damned souls travelling on the ridge of destruction," England howled with laughter. But Ruskin was not denouncing railways. He was denouncing the spirit which saw in Utility the great object of worship which placed Comfort in the place of Religion, and called the error Progress. This base materialism we owe to England—we owe it, above all men, to Lord Bacon. It has infected the world, and its fruit in our own day has been the great war—a war in which all that man boasted of as progress was used for his own torture and destruction. One country at least did not yield to the spirit of materialism. Deterred and poor, it held fast to the faith that man does not live by bread alone, and by that faith it was preserved. It is only in such a faith there can be a true civilisation, a true progress of man.

Ireland was not swallowed up in the orgy of Progress—we thank God for it. It never learned to regard the gramophone as a greater achievement than the Sermon on the Mount. It remained sane in a semi-insane world, and was mocked at as mad. It has but to keep sane to reconquer the world for the soul of man.

The Castlebar Bacon Co., Ltd., was registered on May 30th at the Registry of Joint Stock Companies, Dublin. The share capital is £50,000, made up of forty thousand "A" and sixty thousand "B" shares of ten shillings each. The persons signing the memorandum are as follows (we quote from "Kemp's Mercantile Gazette," June 9th):—

1. Van Zwaneberg, Isaac, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, merchant (1 share).
2. Van Zwaneberg, Leopold, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, merchant (1 share).
3. Van Zwaneberg, Frederick Cecil Maurice, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, merchant (1 share).
4. Stamland, Ernest Laurence, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, woollen salesman (1 share).
5. Nirsch, Samuel, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, commercial clerk (1 share).
6. Van Zwaneberg, Arthur, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, merchant (1 share).
7. Brown, Harold George, 6 Duke St., London Bridge, S.E. 1, assistant factory manager (1 share).

The registered office is at Castlebar, Co. Mayo. There is nothing Western about the names of the promoters. The Van Zwanebergs are, we are informed, natives of Holland, who started some years ago as jobbers on the London meat market, where they have built a very large connection, and are reputed to have amassed considerable wealth. It is indeed a lesson in enterprise which the men of Connaught receive from the far-seeing Jews of Amsterdam.

There is a bacon factory for sale in Ireland. The advertisement appears in an English trades journal, the owners apparently intending to unload it on the London market. The advertisement states the premises are extensive, the railway "right in," first class refrigeration, suitable for dressed beef, mutton and pork trade. The premises, plant, and goodwill are to be sold. We have reason to believe that the business in question is situated in Ennisceorthy, a splendid centre for the meat industry.

If there is any industry which Irishmen can develop, and should control, it is the meat industry, with its numerous bye-trades and the innumerable and profitable industries arising from it.

Irish Waterproofs
FOR
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MANUFACTURE
WATERPROOFS
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Weatherproofs, Ordinary and Interlined
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would be a constant source of pleasure. (Children would be happier, parties jollier, spare hours more pleasantly passed. How can you not be glad to hear your music in the home you've often longed to play at? Play it to the present, and play these choice notes true. Highest money invested in one of the most reliable pianos is as safe an investment as the bank.

Let us send you details.
D. M'Cullough
8 Howard St., Belfast

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The Board of Guardians of this Union will on Friday, the 27th day of June, 1919, invite Proposals for supplying the usual necessaries articles at the Workhouse of the Union for a period of six months:—

For Three Months to 30th Sept., 1919: Bread, Butter, Eggs, Fish, Oatmeal, Onions, and

For Six Months to 27th Dec., 1919: Prime Beef, Mutton, and Pork Heads; and For 120 Tons Best House Coal.

Sealed Tenders, containing the names of two solvent sureties willing to act as a Bond for the due performance of the Contract, to be received by me not later than 12 o'clock on the above-named day.

Forms of Tender and particulars may be obtained on application at my Office (By Order).

WILLIAM HENRY SPILLER,
Chair of Union.

Dated 19th June, 1919.

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tember.

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NOTICES. CUMANN Clans-Luth, Liam Uí Mhaolruaidhe—Stop-Watch Competition Postponed until 29th inst. IRISH Republican Prisoners' Dependents' Fund—Result of Draw held at Glanworth, Sunday, June 8th: 1st Prize, Winning No. 219; 2nd, 132. RESULT of Prize Drawing in aid of Liscarrow Roll Branch, Gaelic League. Winning Numbers, 683, 145, 1,081, 674, 1,922, 119.—Hon. Sec.

MISCELLANEOUS. A DRAGO, Ladies' and Gents' Hairdressing and Artistic Hair Worker; Theatrical Wigs on Hire, 17 Dawson St., Dublin. CL ANY Name in Irish or English made with Rolled Gold Wire on Mother-of-Pearl Tricolours Brooch, 1/3; on superior Oval or Leaf Mother-of-Pearl, 1/6. Edward Husly, Brooch Manufacturer, 128 Francis Street, Dublin. ANY Length of Tweed, Serge, or Tailors' Trimmings sold by the yard at mill prices; no patterns. Fallon's, 2 Talbot St., Dublin. DN BICYCLES—Ladies' and Gents' from 25/-; Tyres and Accessories at lowest prices; also Repairs to Baby Cars and Gramophones; Baby Cars sold cheap.—Seamus Mac Gammha, Terenure Cycle Works, Dublin. CL CONSULT Miss Elvira Drago for Removal of Superfluous Hair by Electrolysis; also Complexion Treatment and Manicuring. 17 Dawson St., Dublin. CL IRISH LACE—Pioneer Irish Lace Depot, 44 Mary St., Dublin; First Prize Winners; Irish Crochet Collars from 2/6 each; enormous accumulated stock; all goods half price. DL SUPPORT Home Industry by buying Donegal Hand-Woven Tweeds, beautifully finished; best quality from McMacinn and Co., 20 Hawthorn St., Belfast. Suit and Costume Lengths, 50s. Terms, Cash with Order. Patterns sent on receipt of 6d. to defray postage.

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THANKSGIVINGS. HEARTFELT Thanks to Our Lady, SS. Winifrid, Bridget, Roche, Little Flower, etc., for brother's recovery.—Unworthy. THANKSGIVING to Sacred Heart, Blessed Virgin, and Little Flower for favours received.—A.M.

ua maolcaca agus ní riam.—Meiteam a 2, 1919, as easlaip naomh anuipar, Spéar na hIarnród Baile Átha Cliat, as an tAcair maíreán ó riam agus an tAcair Sean Mac Súla Cacán as cúis leip, to porpa, to hárpaicann an pórsa, agus boanna an pársa, Ríriapáir na maolcaca, t. ó, mac to pópáir na maolcaca, Oisín an páir, inip, agus maíre (m) ní riam, inísean to Seán ó riam, tiam eúil, tiam muna, Co. Leca Scapman.

ua broma agus ní cuillim.—as baite the caoiop, i scondeú cille manáin, tá pále caoiop, an tpeár lá to thórcáin, p. Arpeann pórsa, as an tAcair Caspaill ó néill, laoióip, C.C., ó'n sc páis tóir, agus congnam asg ó'n tAcair páirap ó Thomall, S.D. ó'n tAcair Scapán na Meárlaig, C.C. ó Baite the caoiop, ó'n tAcair páirap ó Cléirig, Spáir na hÍde agus ó'n tAcair Caimnoac na tDonaipáire ó Cill Cúinnig, Cuiopóir m. an-mac báileáir Uí Droma, nac maíreann, ó baite cille baime ip tleann cife ip an capais tóir i náde Clac, to laoiop ip, an inísean ip rimo as loican ó Cuillim, inipir, as a maíre, ó'n tAcair máir. Baite the caoiop, i scondeú cille manáin.

ATHLUNKARD BOAT CLUB, LIMERICK. STOP-WATCH COMPETITION. Result: Winner (£40), Mr. John Hickey, St. John's Temperance Society, Limerick. Seller of Largest Amount of Seconds (£25), Mr. John Clancy, Sandmall, Limerick. Seller of Winning Second (£5), Mr. John Hickey, Secretary, St. John's Temperance Society, Limerick.

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Printed by Patrick Mahon, 3 Yarnhall St., Dublin, and Published by the Proprietors at their Offices, 6 Harcourt St., Dublin.