

As to recent history Ireland was forcibly deprived of her native Parliament in 1800 and incorporated in what is called the United Kingdom. All her local affairs are transacted there since; if you want to drain a river in Derry or instal an electric light system in Dublin you have to wait your turn till the Imperial Parliament has time (in the intervals of Imperial conquests) to attend to your affairs. We have no control over the parish pump in Ireland; the Lord Mayor of Dublin has no power to call out the Dublin Metropolitan Police. The Dublin citizens are expected merely to pay a heavy police tax, but in Ireland those who pay the piper have not the proverbial privilege of calling the tune. In times of riot we pay for the baton that cracks our skull: in times of uprising we pay for the military army of occupation that "protects" us!

We not only suffer from "Prussianism" (for all conquerors are "Prussian" in their methods) but from inefficient Prussianism. It is a moot point as to whether, if one is to be oppressed, it is preferable to have an efficient tyrant who governs you sternly against your will for "your own good" and is efficient and expert about it or whether the tyranny is preferable muddle-headed, wasteful, and stupid. To give a few instances:

In 1800 we had 8,000,000 people; to-day, in 1917, we have less than four million. No civilised country has had such a drain as this. Ireland can support a population of 20,000,000 people. Then, as the population diminishes, the cost of the administration increases: our police force is now considerably larger than it was 100 years ago, considerably larger than that of England, Wales, or Scotland.

As to crime, Ireland has a much lower record than any of these, but our police force is frankly not a civil force, but a military one, and the Irish policeman usually considers it "infra dig" to be called on to regulate traffic, or theatre, and no one would ever think of calling him to promote order at public meetings. He promotes "disorder" and whenever you see a strong body of police at a meeting you instinctively look for trouble. Our police are paid better than our teachers: they are part of "England's garrison" in Ireland. As to taxes, we are more heavily taxed per head than any part of England. Ireland, before this war, was robbed (as a British Commission testified) of over three million pounds yearly—a small sum in these times but we are a poor country—and since the war the excess tax has quadrupled.

When the war is over, if Ireland continues forcibly annexed by Great Britain, our children and their children shall be paying a crushing war burden for the doubtful blessings of British democracy. There are times when one pays too much for one's whistle.

We have an immense army of useless officials. Ireland has more "Boards" governing it than any country in the world. Their function in many cases is purely

ornamental. The Lord Lieutenant has over 135,000 dollars more than your President yearly for opening bazaars and laying foundation stones. He is assisted by the Chief Secretary (salary 54,000 dollars). He has a private secretary, and he again has an under-secretary, all with good salaries. These are aided by a Privy Council and so on. In addition, since the Rising, we have a military governor and his staff—the "Intelligence Department" they call it! Our Lord Chancellor has a larger salary than that of all the judges in Belgium put together.

Under an independent Irish republic we could eliminate much of this waste and Hooverise our administration to the great benefit of our people. Ireland can pay her way. She has a larger revenue than many small self-supporting nations in Europe or of South America. If we were not, Great Britain would probably have given us up long ago.

The case of Ireland to-day is urgent and imperative. We are now governed by martial law for over a year, public meetings are prohibited, our press is gagged or suppressed. We are ruled by all the rigors of martial law, liable to military raids, deportation, and imprisonment. Not only are the men forbidden to carry arms, but recently a military edict was issued, forbidding Irishmen to carry hurley-sticks. Thousands of Irishmen and Irishwomen have been imprisoned for asserting for Ireland the rights for which America fought and for which England declares she herself is fighting on the Continent.

The Sinn Fein Party has adopted the motto "Ourselves"—Ireland for the Irish, not Ireland for the British, not Ireland for the Germans. They demand separate representation for Ireland at the Peace Conference and the right of Ireland to complete and absolute Independence at the end of the war as one of the terms of peace. We want our case to be decided not as a "domestic" one by Great Britain, but on international lines. We want Ireland as well as Europe made safe for democracy.

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