

to the British name, this foul blot on England's escutcheon. The enlightened democracy of England is Ireland's solid hope, and its day is coming. They will in their hour of triumph see justice done at last to Ireland, see her achieve her right to self-determination and national independence.

DID IRELAND LOSE HER NATIONALITY?

But did not Ireland long ago lose her nationality by conquest? No. *Might is not right—or else no God of Justice rules the world. Conquest does not necessarily involve the destruction of nationality—or what would be the nationality of Poland, Belgium, and Serbia?* One can conceive that when a conquered nation, after the conquest, has met with a wise, a just, a conciliatory government, it may become reconciled to its fate, and freely accept the nationality of the conqueror; in short, exchange its nationality, and then the *free consent of the governed*—that fundamental democratic principle of legitimate power—gives to the conqueror a rightful title to the allegiance of the conquered. But that has never been the case for Ireland. She has never had from her pretended conqueror a wise, or a just, or a conciliatory government, but only continuous tyranny, coercion, robbery, and forced union with the conqueror. A century and more of that deplorable and disgraceful alliance—miscalled the Union—one of the most detestable instances of bribery, corruption, and tyranny that ever polluted the pages of history—a century of futile attempts to govern Ireland has ignominiously failed. The fact is patent to the world. And why? Because England has had the mania of wishing to govern Ireland by Englishmen, in English ways, for English interests, and English ideals; whereas Ireland requires to be governed by Irishmen, in Irish ways, for Irish interests, and Irish ideals. And that is the meaning of Sinn Féinism. All good Australians, all good New Zealanders are, or ought to be, Sinn Féiners. Their motto is Australia for the Australians, New Zealand for the New Zealanders, just as Ireland's motto is Ireland for the Irish.

Gladstone, that great Englishman, Gladstone, in his memorable advocacy of Home Rule, uttered words to this effect—I quote from memory: "Ransack the annals of the civilised world, and I defy you to find any worthy representative author of any nation, that has ever written anything but censure, condemnation, and disgust on England's government of Ireland." *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* The civilised world's judgment carries insurmountable weight and authority—the world's judgment is absolute and irrefragable.

Yes, Ireland is a nation, and deserves to be treated as such. Her nationality is the oldest in Europe. She was a nation when the inhabitants of Britain were ignorant and gross barbarians, and she helped to christianise and civilise them. As Cardinal Mercier—a man of world-wide fame, great learning, and consummate virtue—says in his address of thanks to Ireland: "It is inconceivable that the nationality of Ireland, the oldest and purest in Europe, should not be recognised by the League of Nations."

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM OF SMALL NATIONS.

At the outbreak of the war, our ears were wearisomely dinned with the loud and emphatic assertions of the most representative speakers and exponents of public opinion in England, that we were fighting for the freedom and independence of the small nations, for the right of the small nations to self-determination. Where is the fruit of those words now? Were they then but sheer mockery and hypocrisy? We were told, again and again, that the object of the war was the utter destruction of Prussianism, and lo! to-day the small nation at England's door, the nation whose nationality is unequalled in Europe for endurance and dignity, is the goaded victim of the most barefaced and outrageous Prussianism; as the world at

large now knows, as the world was unmistakably told, throughout the United States, by the commission composed of unexceptional and distinguished citizens and officials of the great American Republic. Their report, their irrepressible report, is a standing and crushing condemnation of the present policy and action of England's misgovernment of Ireland, and, for any man of common sense and honesty, it dispenses with any further argument. Further arguments, however, abound. Take, for instance, the late action of the United States Senate, which, by a majority of sixty to one, passed a resolution claiming a hearing at the Peace Conference for the representatives of the people of Ireland. Remark that this is by far a larger majority than that which declared war on Germany, and that party lines in the Senate were completely obliterated. The majority is also vastly larger than that on the resolution to arm the American merchant marine prior to America's entry into the war.

A prominent American says: "This is easily the most important and significant action taken by America in opposition to England since our forefathers declared against the rule of George III."

Listen to the comment of the *Manchester Guardian*: "We have all been unpleasantly reminded of this fact—that unsettled questions have no respect for the peace of nations' minds—by the almost unanimous adoption in the American Senate of a resolution unmistakably sympathetic with Sinn Féin. The portent is that a House of Parliament, in a nation which is our nearest approach to a close friend in the world, should publicly express this implied condemnation of our undemocratic practices within our own borders. So the Irish sore goes on poisoning the Anglo-American friendship on which the whole world, and especially the English-speaking parts, largely depend for their happiness and perhaps for their safety, in the troublous times that are opened out by the failure of the peacemakers to do their work as well as the soldiers did theirs."

Listen, again, to the declaration of the *Daily Herald* (the Labor organ in England): "It will not do for the English people to assume that the Senate vote does not matter. The fact that it was passed by sixty votes to one is sufficiently astonishing; but we have in addition to note that the House of Representatives passed a similar resolution last year, that Congress has now a Republican majority, and that party lines were obliterated in the Senate vote."

IRELAND THE SUBJECT OF THE WORLD'S POLITICS.

The English Tory press is dumbfounded at the vote. How different from what they expected, considering the vast sums spent on anti-Irish propaganda in the States, and the rank and prestige of the men sent over to combat the growth of Irish feeling there. A few of the baser sort of journals speak of the "impertinence" of the Senate, forgetting that England as a Great Power owes its continued existence to American money and men. No nation can long continue to ignore the pressure of a powerful creditor. America now dominates the world, and the questions of maritime supremacy and world-trade are filling thoughtful British minds with disquiet. *Ireland for the first time in her history has become the subject of the world's politics.*

So let no one despair: there are better times coming. Demonstrations like this great Irish Race Convention, are eminently calculated to defeat the conspiracy of silence and lying, and bring about the reign of justice "which exalteth a nation." Ireland is a nation, whose nationality has proved itself indestructible by any weapons that the wit of man can devise, a nation in every sense of the word—geographically, politically, socially, morally, and historically, and, as such, she has an inalienable right to self-determination and complete self-government.

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