

She will have her rights as a people, and the patience, courage and order of Ireland's men and women will show to the world that she is entitled to justice and fair play. Surely, in championing such a cause, we are entitled to ask fault-rest of the world: "What's the matter? Why complain? Friend, we do thee no wrong."

But we are told "Out of all this war may come." Granted. Then we are told, "If the Irish persist, war will come." Very well, granted. "And if war should come, Ireland will be overswept by English soldiery—the Irish leaders murdered—and the whole country heavily garrisoned for another 700 years." Admitting that every word of this is true—what then? Are we to say that the Irish people are not to be allowed to select their own form of government? Are we Americans to be denied the liberty of speech by a bigoted, un-American venal press with no ideals beyond the cash box? Must we not be suffered to think for ourselves in this country, lest our thoughts may run loose among the liberties of the oppressed people of Ireland? May we not say to our friends, the English, even as they say to the rest of the world: "What's the matter? Why complain? Friend, we do thee no wrong."

No, those very persons who would deny us the right to speak a word in favor of Ireland are themselves loud in their slanders of Ireland. If Irish questions should not be ventilated in this country, why, in the name of common sense, do these people drag in their calumnies of Ireland on every possible occasion? Are we to stand by callously, without uttering the slightest protest, and witness a chivalrous nation vilely slandered?

In concluding, let us quote the words of the Father of Our Country:

"Patriots of Ireland! Champions of liberty in all lands!—be strong in hope! Your cause is identical with mine. You are calumniated in your day; I was misrepresented by the loyalists of my day. Had I failed, the scaffold would have been my doom. But now my enemies pay me honor. Had I failed, I would have deserved the same honor. I stood true to my cause, even when victory had fled. In that I merited success. You must act likewise."—George Washington (at Mount Vernon, 1788).

We "must act likewise" and continue to ask our critics: "What's the matter? Why complain?—Friend, we do thee no wrong."

IRELAND

(By SIR PHILIP GIBBS, in the *Review of Reviews*.)

If any Englishman can read the report of the Labor delegation on Ireland, studiously moderate as it is in tone and guarded in statement, without a blush, we do not envy him. It may not concern him to know that the Japanese Government, criticised for the horrible things that have been going on in Korea, uses the actions of the British Government in Ireland as a defensive parallel. But those who were horrified by the German regime in Belgium can hardly take that view. The report, based on first-hand investigation, shows statements; the actual examination of ravaged towns and villages, and official documents, absolutely destroys Sir Hamar Greenwood's pretence that the burning of Cork was not the work of the Auxiliaries: shows that the Croke Park affair was precisely analogous to the Amritsar massacre; and gives a picture of Ireland under the terror which differs only from German frightfulness in that it is less orderly. Their description of Tralee may be quoted as a specimen:—

"The whole population seemed to be sunk in the depths of morbid fear and contagious depression. There is no curfew in Tralee, but the streets became bare soon after the hour of darkness sets in. . . . We were told that the Town Council was compelled to meet in secret in some hidden ravine. Petty tyranny, beatings, intimidation, raids, threats of violence against husbands uttered to wives, brutal assaults to make boys forswear Sinn Fein, to denounce the Pope, to spit on photographs of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, to chant the battle-cry of the R.I.C. . . . had left their mark upon the inhabitants. . . . Names painted above shops in Irish characters have had to be obliterated under penalty of vengeance. . . . The "Black-and-Tans" used to drive about in lorries, trailing a Sinn Fein flag through the mud."

As to the responsibility of the Government, no reader of the report can feel a doubt. Yet the King's speech says:—

"The state of affairs in Ireland grieves me profoundly. I deplore the campaign of violence and outrage by which a small section of my subjects seek to sever Ireland from the Empire, and I sympathise with the loyal servants of the Crown who are endeavoring to restore peace and maintain order under conditions of unexampled difficulty and

danger. It is my most earnest hope that all sections of the people in Ireland will insist upon a return to constitutional methods, which alone can put an end to the terrible events which now threaten to ruin that country—and make impossible reconciliation and a lasting peace."

But how, when the people live in a state of terror-stricken apprehension, are they to "insist" upon a return to constitutional methods? And what hope is there, in this state of things, that the Government of Ireland Act, more appropriately designated the Partition Act, will "finally bring about unity"?

As it is, four Irish counties were on December 10 placed under martial law—i.e., Cork, Tipperary, Kerry, and Limerick; and four more on January 5—Clare, Waterford, Wexford, and Kilkenny. Under martial law the death penalty may be inflicted upon rebels, on persons in unauthorised possession of military uniforms or arms, and on aiders, abettors, and harborers of rebels. Acts of "reprisals," such as the burning of houses, also lie within the power of the military authorities, and have already been officially carried out. The proclamation of martial law regularises and legalises the proceedings of the military authorities. Horrible as the actions done under its cover, and shocking as the policy of which its use is the expression, most people feel that regular war, with all its evils, is less frightful than guerilla warfare. The analogy between the present state of Ireland and that of Belgium under the German military occupation is rendered more exact. Nearly all those who have seen Ireland under the Terror agree, however, in believing that the people dread the British soldier much less than they do the Auxiliaries, or the "Black-and-Tans."

Nor has the hope of a peaceful settlement expired. The arrival of de Valera in Dublin is an event of more than merely spectacular interest. He is the titular head of Dail Eireann.

At the end of 1920, Sir Hamar Greenwood stated that he hoped that the two Parliaments would be at work in Ireland within six months. Although his estimate of time was unduly optimistic, even as regards the Northern body, preparations for its election are well under way, and candidates being selected. The *Times* talks of Sir James Craig as first Premier of Northern Ireland, it being apparently understood that Sir Edward Carson will not take office. It seems, to quote the *Times*, that "he considers that his work as Ulster leader is done with the passing of a Home Rule Act acceptable to his followers." It is a pity Sir Edward did not conceive his work in that sense in 1914. He has, in fact, secured the partition of Ireland into two kingdoms: one of which is slowly being trampled to death under martial law. To carry out elections in Southern Ireland in such circumstances would be a farce.

THE BURNING OF CORK.

The Right Rev. Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University, Washington, U.S.A., in a press statement on the burning of Cork, which has attracted a good deal of attention in America, declares that it surpasses in horror and injustice the crime of Louvain. "The little academic city of the Belgians," he says, "was given over to arson and pillage in the name of the German Empire, and under direction of the German forces, whereupon England roused the entire world with her passionate denunciation of the crime of the ages. Now she has herself committed a super-crime, not in the name of any authorised Government agency, but in the name, spirit, and principle of anarchy."

GREENWOOD'S BOAST.

Sir Hamar Greenwood frequently boasted during the year that the rumors of wholesale resignations from the Royal Irish Constabulary were falsehoods. We now learn by cable that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir Hamar Greenwood, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said that there had been 2193 resignations and 226 dismissals from the Royal Irish Constabulary during the preceding 12 months. There had been also 131 resignations, and 33 dismissals from the auxiliary police. If the circumstances under which batches of these men resigned were made public, it would show what the police thought of the dirty work marked for them.

My God! I believe so firmly that Thou watchest over all who hope in Thee and that we can want for nothing when we rely upon Thee in all things, that I am resolved for the future to have no anxieties, and to cast all my cares upon Thee.—Father de la Colombiere.

W. F. SHORT,

MONUMENTAL SCULPTOR, POWDERHAM ST., NEW PLYMOUTH.
Every description of Monumental Work undertaken in latest and up-to-date style.