

the question of reprisals in Ireland. And it should demand to know what the Government intends doing if Ireland refuses to accept the latest Home Rule Act, and remains constant to its own Parliament. Will it go on shooting Irishmen until no Irishmen are left?

We call the attention of our readers to some significant admissions made by Sir Edward Carson recently in a speech at Torquay to the valetudinarian Unionists recruiting at that health resort.

He began by saying that when he read some Irish newspapers he was ashamed to stand before a civilised audience. This is interesting as fixing the character of his audience, and revealing the fact that he does read some Irish newspapers. Then he went on to pour scorn on the suggestion, made by some hypothetical Englishman, that we should "withdraw the troops and police from Ireland." Let them murder whom they like, but give them what they want! But in that case whom *would* they murder? It is well known that districts neglected by the military, police, and irregulars have been quite free from crime.

He assured his hearers that frankly he did not believe in any policy of what is called Home Rule for Ireland. But seeing that the Government in its great wisdom had given Ireland a parliament, he would do his best to make that Parliament a success. Which, apparently, is the reason why he has resigned the headship of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Finally, after having proclaimed, amidst much applause, that the Ulsterman of a Unionist persuasion, "did not want to associate with a gang of murderers" (unless they wear black-and-tan) "called Sinn Fein (ah! that makes it clear!) with their sham Parliament," he appealed eloquently for the holding out of a friendly hand. These were his words:—

"There is no one in the world who would be more pleased to see an absolute unity in Ireland than I would, and it could be purchased to-morrow, at what does not seem to me to be a very big price. If the South and West of Ireland came forward to-morrow to Ulster and said: 'Look here, we have to run our old island, and we have to run her together, and we will give up all of this everlasting hatred of England, and we will shake hands with you, and you and we together within the Empire doing our best for ourselves and the United Kingdom and for all his Majesty's Dominions will join together.' I will undertake that Ulster would accept the handshake for the sake of this country and our own, and the whole Empire."

Does this mean that Ulster is prepared to co-operate with Ireland generally to make a reality of the sham Home Rule Parliament? Or is she merely ready to shake hands with the few Irishmen outside Ulster who are not Sinn Feiners?

It seems to us that the fire and fury is no more than fire and fury; and that Unionist Ulster is anxious to have some say in the affairs of Ireland. Possibly even Unionist Irishmen from Ulster do not relish the prospect of the massacre of their fellow-countrymen going on indefinitely. Possibly they may wonder what will happen to Ireland when the last Sinn Feiner is dead. Certainly they doubt the ability of Unionist Ulster, even under the absurd measure which is now law, to boss the Irish show—especially if, as is bound to be the case—Sinn Fein stands aloof, and going on governing. However loth Sir Edward and his gang of Unionists may be to meet Sinn Feiners, there is no doubt that they are eager to find a formula which will bring Sinn Feiners and Unionist Ulstermen in line together. Somebody suggests complete fiscal autonomy. But it will need a wider formula than that. Sinn Feiner and Unionist will not shake hands in the presence of an English garrison.

There is reason to believe that the life of the present Parliament may now be a short one, for on the Government side, preparations are being made for a general election, and a cave of young Unionists is being formed to provide a "safe" alternative to the unpopular Coalition. But, since the leader with the cave is Lord Robert Cecil, Ireland has little to hope, and therefore England has little to hope from the alternative. Lord Robert's enthusiasm for self-determination becomes strangely cold when it approaches the shores of Ireland.

The Labor Party need not be considered. If it came into power it might be compelled to grant freedom to Ireland. But it will not come into power at the next General Election, and in opposition it will probably do no more to force the hand of the Government than it has done, which is nothing. The leaders of Labor have no real sympathy with Ireland. They hate her religion, and they hate the cause of Nationalism. They use the Irish problem merely as a stick to beat the Government with. And they use that stick with great discretion.

Nothing, then, is to be hoped from Parliament. Only a miracle could put life into those dry bones.

But indeed a miracle is needed if England is to be saved at all. The ear of the public is glued to the mega-

phone of a servile press; how shall we let the public know the truth? We cannot believe that if the English people knew the truth they would tolerate the doings of the creatures who misgovern them. We blame them for submitting so tamely to the imposition. Such cowardice, such wilful blindness amounts almost to criminal folly. Unless they are stirred from their stupor they will be lost for ever. But we are convinced that even yet they might be stirred from it, and that once aroused they would give short shrift to the Lloyd George gang. How can it be done? We seem helpless. We cry aloud, but in a wilderness, where our voice is lost. And yet, God helping us, the miracle may happen.

OUR ROMAN LETTER

BY SCOTTUS ALTER.

Among recent distinguished visitors to Rome have been the Most Rev. Dr. Clune, Archbishop of Perth, and the Most Rev. Dr. Amigo, Bishop of Southwark. The visit of Dr. Clune was most opportune, bringing with him as he did, the latest news from Ireland, and being able to tell the story of his attempt to bring about a truce and the circumstances under which such a truce was not realised. Dr. Amigo, too, is already well known as a friend to Ireland; but it will not be, perhaps, till the history of the present crisis comes to be written that Irishmen will fully realise the debt of gratitude she owes these two prelates for the good service they have done her, in face of the very serious injury which was being done the Irish cause by the incessant circulation of calumnies. One would think it but reasonable to expect that Ireland should not only have the right of presenting her own case, but should likewise have an opportunity of refuting any charges made against her. Yet it was ascertained during the visit referred to that such a ludicrous story as that of the priest advocating from the altar the killing of British policemen had been accepted, and many similar stories likewise accepted without any attempt to inquire into their truth. Two of the Cardinals in Curia are of British birth, and a British ambassador is resident in Rome whose business it is to see every week the Holy Father or Secretariate of State. Those who guard supposed British interests here have thus every opportunity of making and re-iterating untested anti-Irish statements founded simply on information supplied by the English Government or by English journals. It is difficult to get official people here to understand that pronouncements of theirs would be merely laughed at by Mr. Lloyd George and his backers—as happened in the case of the Pope's efforts for peace—but might cause considerable mischief to the Irish movement. There is undoubtedly much sympathy for Ireland among Italian ecclesiastics.

Austria has, practically since the close of the war, expressed her wish to settle her own destiny, and protested in various ways against the pretensions of other nations or their governments to limit her rights or regulate their exercise. These pretensions have not been, so far as is known here, enforced by the occupation of her entire territory by hordes of foreign soldiery, nor by the direct destruction of her property, killing of her citizens and imprisonment of her leaders and elected representatives. Yet recently the expression of the national will, according to the accounts of the *Osservatore Romano* and *Cerriere d'Italia*, has found vent in violence of a somewhat irregular kind. We note in passing that the *Osservatore*, January 26, merely mentions in general the fact of such violence, proceeding immediately to detail in the greater part of the column the miseries of every description which Austria suffers from the political conditions forced upon her; these latter it evidently considers to be in the case of Austria the more important news. The generous intervention of the Holy See to secure for Austria tolerable conditions of national life could not, under such circumstances, be unexpected, and the form it has taken will be of especial interest to such as are interested in other national struggles for existence. "The singular and sad conditions," writes the Holy Father to the Cardinal Secretary of State, "in which Austria finds herself after the events of the war and of the Treaty of Peace, have now become so grave that we can no longer remain in silence." The letter then proceeds to emphasise the sufferings of "this noble and illustrious Nation, which in the course of ages has merited so much by the defence of the Faith and of Christian civilisation," with "her commerce stopped, her industries paralysed." "In setting forth," he adds, "such a mournful situation, it is not our intention to search out responsibilities and faults. We do but lament, and public opinion is at one with us in affirming it, that the present condition of Austria is absolutely intolerable, being one which deprives an entire nation

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