

16 in which the finding was against the accused. In the Auxiliary Division there have been 131 resignations, 33 dismissals, 15 court-martial cases, 8 cases in which the finding has been against the accused. To appreciate these figures let us take a parallel. The London Metropolitan Force contains sixteen times as many men as the Auxiliary Division, which Sir Hamar Greenwood regards as the cream of his forces. Out of this Auxiliary Division 41 men have been dismissed or convicted by court-martial. If we multiply 41 by 16 we get 656. Supposing it was announced that it had been found necessary to dismiss or punish 656 London constables in twelve months, what would be thought of the force? The largest number dismissed in any one year between 1810 and 1918 was 35.

But the situation is much worse than these figures suggest. For we know from the Chief Secretary that acts which would be treated as grave crimes if they occurred in London, in Ireland lead neither to punishment or dismissal. Sir Hamar Greenwood told the House of Commons that he had been unable to find out who was responsible for the burnings and murders at Balbriggan, and that the thirteen Cadets who watched one of their number murder two men had done nothing worthy of punishment. This, then, is the character of the force that is let loose on the Irish people. The resignations demand a little further investigation. It is well known that several of these resignations were resignations in protest against the nature of the work that is being done in Ireland; in one case at least it is known to certain Ministers that an officer resigned because he was convinced that prisoners were tortured. A force of this character has absolute power over the lives and homes of the civilian population. We have illustration after illustration of the way in which this power is exercised. Let us cite merely two judicial declarations. Judge Bodkin has declared that in 139 cases in County Clare that came before him "it was proved that the criminal injuries were committed by the armed forces of the Government." The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, referring last week to a case in which an Irishwoman accused the police of burning down her house, declared that she had acted with great public spirit in coming forward to make this charge at great danger to herself. In other words, he informs the world that a witness who gives evidence displeasing to the armed forces of the Crown runs the risk of murder at their hands. It is not surprising that threatening letters were sent to the local newspapers by the police warning them that they would publish a report of these proceedings at their peril.

The Government which has put a nation at the mercy of these forces has abolished inquests—inquests have been held in this country for six centuries—and withdrawn from Irishmen every kind of legal protection. It has substituted for the courts of the land military courts whose business it is to screen the truth. If a military court arrives at a conclusion or discloses facts unpalatable, the Government suppresses the report. This has happened in the case of the burning of Cork and the murders at Balbriggan. In Ireland the Government constitutes a Court of Justice by the simple process of promoting the accused from the dock to the bench. Let any Englishman consider the Limerick murders. Three men were murdered in one night in Limerick; one of them the Mayor; one an ex-Mayor. Both these officials were leaders of Sinn Fein. Both had been harried by the Government's irregulars; they had received threatening letters from them; they had repeatedly been raided; one of them was for months "on the run;" that is, for months he did not think it safe to sleep at home, and his house was guarded by Republican Volunteers. These three men were murdered during curfew hours. The widows of these gentlemen, as Mrs. O'Callaghan declares in the damning letter we publish elsewhere, have no doubt as to their murders. Mr. Asquith and Sir John Simon, neither of them reckless in his language, declared outright that there is every reason to think that these men were slain by the police. Mr. Garvin, Mr. George's great admirer, in the Press, says that all Ireland outside Ulster believes them to be guilty. The *Manchester Guardian* puts these atrocities in its weekly list of Government crimes. Then what conceivable reason can be given for conducting this inquiry by a military court? One only. That it would

have been too dangerous to the Government to allow any independent person like the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland to hold it. So this accused force spend two days in an investigation from which the most critical evidence is indignantly withheld and submit a report with which the Government can do what it likes. The other day a Member of Parliament brought up a case of alleged embezzlement in the Ministry of Munitions. A court was set up to inquire into it with a judge as president. That is how the Government treats a case which involves the loss of English property. When the lives of Irishmen are involved, all that is offered is a scamper through part of the evidence conducted by the soldiers of an army of occupation.

The Government which treats the lives of Irishmen in this temper stoops to any device to accomplish its own ends. After Peterloo it was remarked as an example of the terrorism of the Lancashire magistrates that some wounded men and women did not dare to go to a doctor for fear that it might thus be discovered that they had been at St. Peter's Fields on that fatal morning. The tradition of the doctors in this respect is sacred, and in the worst days of the Luddite disturbances no man was ever tracked down by means of a doctor. This great tradition has been outraged by the Government in Ireland, which requires of the hospital surgeon that he shall act as a Government spy. The attack on the doctors has now been followed by an attack on the lawyers. The Government have actually taken to ransacking the offices of solicitors who are defending men prosecuted by the Government. Has this infamy ever been rivalled in the annals of Russian tyranny? In the worst days of the White Terror a century ago things never reached such a pass as this; lawyers and doctors were never assailed in their professional duties.

When is this going to end? The Government still cling to the belief that they can crush the Irish spirit, destroy some of the bravest and most promising of Ireland's young men, and win by these means an outward victory. They are wrong. Evil things have been done in the name of freedom in Ireland as elsewhere. But to the mass of the Irish people the suffering of this struggle is accepted as a sacrament. Men of noble spirit and unflinching courage are dying, but their race does not perish. The Irish are one of the imaginative peoples of the world, and these blows that we inflict have about as much power over the mind and will of Ireland as the blows of Radetsky and Metternich had over the mind and the will of Italy. We can spread ruin; that we are doing. A week ago a deputation from the American Relief Committee waited upon General Macready and Sir John Anderson to explain that America proposed to raise thirty-million dollars for repairing the havoc caused by the armed forces of the British Empire in Ireland; there have been prouder moments in our history. We can spread death; that we are doing. We can do to Ireland just as much as Austria did to Italy or Germany to Belgium. But the end is as certain in this case as in those, for the Irish people, supported as they are by their own spiritual vitality and by all the sympathy of the world, can keep this struggle alive till it ceases to be merely a struggle between a Government and a nation. The Government which refuses to give peace to Ireland may find, sooner or later, that it has broken the peace of the world. But before that happens, unless the English people is either altogether craven or altogether brutalised, we may well hope that this Government will have passed into the shadows, remembered, not in Ireland only, for its base and terrible crimes.

"DU BIST WIE EINE BLUME."

(From Heine.)

There's no flower in the garden
More fair, more pure, more dear,
But gazing on your beauty
My heart is cold with fear.

I will lay my hand in blessing
Upon your youthful brow,
And pray that God may keep you
As fair and pure as now.

—J. K.