

ance. Now take these three factors. Take our industries; there never has been a single industry of any consequence in Ireland if it competed with anything in England, but was killed by Parliament or by the hidden hand of finance. Take our coal; we have coal in Ireland, but if you want to develop it and form a company a number of Britishers will buy the controlling interest and appoint a manager of their own who is instructed to send things to smash and then the man putting his money into it, is told that the seam is unworkable. Do you know that we cannot make a single yard of railway without the permission of the British House of Lords."

He tells of a friend of his that has a coal mine who asked the liberty to build 4 miles of railway to develop and add coal supplies necessary during the war. He was refused the liberty to build and the coal has to be carried from the pit for 4 miles with horses and carts. He illustrates how the railways are in the hands of British finance; that it was a standing joke if you wanted to send a bag of potatoes from Londonderry to Cork "we could send it cheaper through New York and back."

"The people in Dublin could get their goods cheaper from the West of Ireland through Liverpool, even during the war when every bit of tonnage was absolutely necessary, and when it was so dangerous to send anything by sea, thousands and thousands of tons were shipped from Dublin to Liverpool and back to Belfast."

Irwin gives an example of this trade handicap: "before the war the cost of taking a ton of goods from the West coast of Ireland to London was 19 dollars and the cost of bringing a ton of goods from France to the same market was 2 dollars."

Even although it is true that legally Irish and English manufacturers are on an equal footing it may be pointed out that Henry Ford had to obtain a license in England before he could erect his Cork motor factory in 1917.

While we do not ignore the religious question it is used mostly as a cloak to hide the dominant economic factor.

The workers of Ireland will not be freed with Home Rule. When their leaders have attained their goal they will repudiate the rank and file like the leaders of the Protestant Volunteers of the American Revolution period. Even some of those leaders of the Irish question, who are landed by the movement today, were traitors.

Connelly tells us of the parish priest of Mallow, County Cork, receiving £100 a year pension for spying. He tells us that the great Daniel O'Connell, who turned pale when shown the receipt for this blood money signed by Father Barry, was himself as a member of the lawyer's Yeomanry turned out on duty to search the houses of rebels. Another, Leonard McNally, barrister-at-law and legal defender of the United Irishman, who acted for all the chiefs of that body at their trials, was one of the Catholic Committee and elected as Catholic delegate to England in 1811, looked up to and revered as a fearless advocate of Catholic rights, and the champion of persecuted Nationalists, was discovered to have been all the time in the pay of the Government, acting as a loathsome informer and informing the government of the inmost secrets of the men he was pretending to champion in the Court Room.

The great O'Connell, called Ireland's Liberator, showed his true colors so far as the workers were concerned when he threw all his force on the side of capitalist privilege against social reform. So great was the distress, so brutal the laws in 1830 that hundreds of workers were imprisoned, with numbers executed, because an endeavor was made to better their conditions through trade unions.

A Parliamentary Commission of 1833 reported that, "the condition of the agricultural workers was brutal and wretched, their children through the day were struggling with the pigs for food and at night were huddled down on the damp straw under the roof of rotten thatch."

When the Glasgow spinners in 1838 were sentenced to seven years' transportation for trade union activities to better their miserable conditions, Mr. Wakley, M.P. for Finsbury, brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for a Select Com-

mittee to enquire into the constitution, practices and effects of the Association of Cotton Operators of Glasgow, as the punishment of the spinners was felt universally to be excessive even in the brutal spirit of the times. O'Connell opposed the motion, and used the opportunity to attack the Irish trade unions. Through O'Connell's attack, his Whig friends appointed a committee, not to investigate the Glasgow case but to investigate the acts of the trade unionists of Ireland, especially of Dublin.

O'Connell produced a number of witnesses to give evidence against the trade unionists of Dublin.

When Lord Ashby moved an amendment to more effectively regulate Factory Works, O'Connell again was the capitalist champion in opposing it. "Let them not," he said, "be guilty of the childish folly of regulating the labor of adults; and go about parading before the world their ridiculous humanity which would end by converting their manufacturers into beggars."

The Irish worker has nothing to gain on accomplishing Home Rule, and the labor and Socialist movement of England may be giving the Irish question its support on the grounds of the passage of E. Belfort Bax's "Problems of Men, Mind and Morals," page 246, printed in 1912, when he says: "Modern finance indispensably needs the Anglo-Saxon power for its international operation. International Socialism, as I contend, imperatively calls for the breakup of the British Imperial system, and hence it should be the policy of the British Socialist Party to favour all disruptive tendencies within the Empire. In furthering the aim of local or national independence unhampered by the suzerainty of a large capitalist power under their respective flags, the Socialist Party would be taking the first steps towards realizing the final ideal of the international union in a world federation under the Red Flag of Social Democracy. Meanwhile, 'he that letteth will let,' and the very strong letting power in this case is—British Imperialism."

Next: Summary and Conclusion of Articles.

The Chartist Movement---In Brief

THE People's Charter as we study it now, does not seem like a manifesto which threatened to convulse the State. It was in no wise a revolutionary movement, but the sweeping reforms which it advocated, and for which the Chartists fought with great tenacity of purpose, lent to the movement at least in the minds of their opponents, so radical an aspect that the writers on the subject invariably put a revolutionary construction upon it.

From its inception it was a radical reform movement in England which reached its culmination between 1838 and 1848, and originated in the National People's Charter, from which it derives the name Chartist, and which embodied six specific titles:

- (1) The right of voting to every male and every naturalized foreigner resident in the kingdom for more than two years, who should be 21 years of age, of sound mind and unconvicted of crime;
- (2) Equal electoral districts;
- (3) Vote by ballot;
- (4) Annual parliaments;
- (5) No property qualifications for members of parliament;
- (6) Payment of members of parliament for their services.

The Reform Bill of 1832 had failed to satisfy the working class and, after a period of terrible commercial depression and want an unsuccessful attempt was made to institute a more thorough going reform. Upon the failure of this movement six members of parliament and six workmen drew up the charter which was hailed by large numbers with enthusiasm. Immense meetings were held throughout the country. Many were attended by 200,000 or 300,000 people we are told. Fiery orators fanned the excitement and physical force was spoken of as the only way of obtaining justice. The more moderate were overruled by the radicals, and the people,

aroused by suffering, sided with the latter. The Chartist propaganda was vigorously carried on by Feargus O'Connor in the "Northern Star," an organ which attained a circulation of over 50,000.

A body calling itself the National Convention, elected by the Chartists throughout the kingdom, commenced sitting in Birmingham in May, 1839. It proposed various means of coercing the legislature into submission, recommending a run on the savings banks for gold, abstinence from exciseable articles, exclusive dealings and as a last resort, universal cessation from labor. During its sittings a collision took place with the military in Birmingham. Public meetings were forbidden and other repressive measures were resorted to which only irritated the workers, with the result that many excesses were committed.

In June, 1839, a petition in favor of the charter was presented to the House of Commons signed by 1,280,000 persons. The House refused to name a day for its consideration, and the National Convention retaliated by advising the people to abstain from work. This advice was not followed, but the disturbance increased, and in November an outbreak took place in Newport which resulted in the death of at least 10 persons and wounding of great numbers. In 1842 great riots took place in the northland and midland districts, not caused directly by the Chartists, but used by them to favor their propaganda after the disturbances began. In the same year an attempt was made by Joseph Sturge to unite all friends of popular enfranchisement in a complete suffrage union, which was not successful.

In 1848 the revolution in France reacted in England to such an extent that fear for the existing institutions of the country resulted in the enrollment in London alone of two hundred thousand special constables, among which numbers was the subsequent Emperor Napoleon III.

Adopting the language of Charles I., the opponents of Chartism denied that men as such had a right to vote; their right was to be well governed, and universal suffrage was more likely to destroy society than to confer happiness or insure justice." From 1848, Chartism as an organized movement disappeared.

The Chartist leaders include, besides Feargus O'Connor, Attwood, Lovett, Stephens, Vincent Ernest Jones and Thomas Cooper, some of whom paid with their lives for their devotion to the cause.

KATHERINE SMITH.

AFTER THE WAR

Although the war ended nearly three years ago, armies of soldiers are still scattered over Europe and Western Asia. Armies are in Silesia, in the Ruhr Valley, in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and most of the places around Soviet Russia.

To some of the conscript troops it would look as if they would have to spend most of their lives in after-the-war fighting.

The following verses are reported to be popular among the troops:

Darling, I am coming back
Silver threads among the black;
Now that peace in Europe nears,
I'll be home in seven years.

I'll drop in on you some night,
With my whiskers, long and white,
Yes, the war is over, dear,
And we're going home, I hear.

Home again with you once more—
Say, by nineteen thirty-four,
Once I thought by now I'd be
Sailing back across the sea.

Back to where you sit and pine—
But I'm stuck here on the Rhine.
You can hear the gang all curse!
"War is hell, but peace is worse."

When the next war comes around
In the front line I'll be found.
I'll rush in again pell-mell;
Yes, I will—like hell—like hell.

—"Common Cause."