IRELAND SINCE THE LARNE GUN-RUNNING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

MacNeill's policy was to give a promise of soldiers for a promise of Home Rule, and actual soldiers for actual He and his Volunteers were opposed to partition.

BAD FAITH

John Redmond's offer that Ireland be entrusted with her own home defence, an offer with which the most advanced Sinn Feiners agreed, was refused by England. It was some six weeks after the War had been on, before the King signed the Home Rule Act, but it was immediately held up by a suspending Bill. Red. mond considered that this scrap of paper with the royal signature was a sufficient guarantee of England's good faith and he and the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, came to Dublin on September 25th, and asked Ireland to fight in the British Army. Asquith, in a magnificent appeal for the rights of democracy and small nations, asked of Ireland, "The free will offering of a free people" and promised an Irish Army Corps. The promise was never implemented promise was never implemented though Ireland raised three divisions.

AN EXCRUCIATING DILEMMA Consider now the position of the Irish nation in September 1914. Her position before the War was tragic She had been on the eve of obtaining legislative autonomy and was thwarted of her right by the armed defiance of a section of her own people; for Orangemen are Irishmen. But with the outbreak of War, she was placed in an excruciat-Her national enemy ing dilemma. England was, by a merciful dispense tion of Providence, on the just side in the World-War. In this international conflict England's selfish interest and England's unselfish duty coincided. The substantial justice of the Allied Cause even increased as the War went on, for Turkey joined Germany, and the greatest den in the world replaced Czaristic Russia as our ally. Yet England remained as unjust as ever towards Ireland. The English Government not merely refused to free the one small nation in Europe it controlled, but actually refused to accept this semi-free nation as a national ally in the War. For it England accepted Ireland as a national ally in the War, she would number of soldiers than the number necessarily have to accord her after of native born Canadians who enlistthe War, if not sooner, the rights of a nation. The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquitb, was merely oratorical when he asked Ireland for the "free gift of number of men in the Army and a free people"; later in the War his Navy from Ireland was 167,000 of successor, with less rhetoric and more bluntness, proposed instead the conscription of an unfree people. From the beginning everything was done in recruiting appeals to flout and deny the ideal of Ireland a Nation. England wanted Irish soldiers to fight as "finative levies," to use the cynically cruel phrase of a later Minister of War, Churchill: she did not want the Irish nation as an ally. Hence that section of the Irish people who were opposed to the national ideal were given every encouragement to feel that they fighting for England and against Ireland. An Ulster Division, the 36th, was formed for Irish Protestant Unionists, and for the first time in the twentieth century, a Division based on sectarian and political lines took the field. With the full approbation of Bonar Law, Carson proclaimed, at the formation of this division September 24, 1914: "When the War is over we will eal! I know of no other instance in the our Provisional Government together history of Europe, where our 100,000 and we will repeal the Home Rule men of the subject race volunteered Bill as far as it concerns us in ten to fight for their own conqueror, beminutes. All our Ulster Volunteers are going to kick out everybody who It is a great thing to lay down your tries to put it in force in Ulster." life for your friends, but an incom-Speaking of the Illegal Ulster Volun. parably greater thing to lay down teers which he intended maintaining throughout the War, he added: "I will never consent to a single gun sacrifice. The leading official of the leaving Ireland." Similar senticonqueror in Ireland today, insteads ments were expressed by the Gen-Division. While the Ulster Division was allowed to talk treason, Kitchener refused to accept Redmond's offer that Irishmen should defend ready to commit murder. I say this Ireland, and likewise vetoed the further offer that the Irish Volunteers be taken over as an Irish Territorial Force. Even when the Irish Tenth Division and the Irish Six-Division were eventually formed, the mere Irish were neither trusted nor respected by the War this unselfish martyrdom for five Office. The Sixteenth Division was refused permission to have an Irish flag. While the rank and file of this Division were about 95% Catholic. out of the four hundred odd original officers only three were Catholics and they were subalterns. The preternaturally patient John Redmond. silence for fifteen months, eventually published them to a surprised world like Patrick Pearse, feared that Irish in the British Commons on Nov. 2, Nationalism would disappear altomust be officered by the representa-tives of Empire. When they fought active opposition was made to the and with reckless bravery lost their | Empire. lives, as the Tenth Division did at eventually proclaimed, a rebellion, Gallipoli, the incompetent British which would, as he foresaw, fail General in command of the opera militarily but succeed morally, tions refused even to mention them in his despatches. What was Ireland to do? She had fought for England under Wellington, so well that he said that "It is mainly to the Irish Catholics that we owe all our proud predominance in our military career, and yet the same Wellington flouted the unarmed Irish nation at Clontarf | years I read his inspiring editorials and saw the veterans of the Pen in Irish and English in the Claid that the Convention consist of none

IRISH AND ULSTER VOLUNTEERS

The Sinn Feiners said : "No. We are under no obligation to England, till England fulfils her obligations Redmond and the Nation. alists judged differently. The Allied cause was just. Therefore Ireland must fight for it. Ireland thus began to fight for her own enemy, against the enemy of Europe. Though treated as an inferior race not fit to be trusted or to officer its own men, the Irieh joined the British army. Up to October 1915, 27,954 National Volunteers had joined the colors. They had done as well as the Ulster Volunteers, for though 215,000 people signed the Ulster Covenant, and though they were permitted to make the Ulster Division as Orange as an Orange Lodge, only 27,412 Ulster Volunteers had joined the colors by 9th October, 1915. It was only that week, 14 months after the War began, that the Ulster Division left England and it was only on July 1, 1916, twenty three months after the War began that it entered a real battle. Long before that date the Irish Sixteenth Division had faced German gas from Loos to Hulluch and the Irish Tenth Division had in the previous year, fought under fear-ful odds in Gallipoli in the heat of summer end in Servia in the snows of winter. Armed Orangemen may have talked much about "No Surrender" before there was a war, but significantly enough the first Irish regiment to practice this doctrine, as was so bravely done at Etreux, on August 29, 1914, were the Munsters.

IN SPITE OE "MALIGNITY" IRELAND

LED CANADA Official figures have never been given showing Ireland's total military contribution to the War. The official number of recruits accepted for the Army was 135,069. This does not include those who joined the navy, nor does it include the reservists who joined up when War was declared, nor the Irish regular soldiers who were already in the army at the outbreak of War. These vari ous classes bring up the number of native born Irishmen from Ireland who were in the British forces during the War to at least 185,000. In addi tion over 50,000 volunteered but were rejected as medically unfit. This is proportionately a higher ed during the War. In the British House of Commons on October 19, 1916, John Redmond stated that the whom 100,000 were Catholics. These men had enlisted in spite of the British bureaucracy, which not merely refused to acknowledge the Irish nation, but in many instances actually discouraged the enlisting of Irish Nationalists lest Ireland get credit therefrom. These Unionists were willing to be "traitors to Eng land that they might be tyrants to Ireland." It was to this Lloyd George referred when he stated in the House of Commons that same day: "Some of the stupidities which sometimes almost look like malignity which were perpetrated at the beginning of recruiting in Ireland are beyond belief.

> IRELAND'S WAR EFFORT UNPARALLELED

There are some who belittle Ireland's war effort. To my mind, it is not merely wonderful, it is un-paralleled in the history of the world. cause he was engaged in a just war. your life for your enemies. The reward was in proportion to the of proclaiming to the world that eral Officer Commanding the 36th nigh 200,000 Irishmen fought for democracy, would justify his own denial of democracy by the lie that there are in Ireland 200,000 men is a great reward : for the highest reward a Christian can receive is to be insulted for doing good.

SOME HUMAN NATURE IN IRISHMEN It would be superhuman for the whole Irish race to have maintained years. To begin with, a considerable section of the Irish nation, the Unionists, were never call d upon to play the role, as they fought for their friend, and for a continuation of their own ascendancy. Another section of the Irish race, the Sinn Feiners, considered the role of s all these insults in martyrdom to te national suicide, and refused to enlist. Some few The Irish like the Sepoys gether and would be succeeded by an anti-national Imperialism, unless Hence he proposed, and through the revival of strong nation-What was Ireland alism which it provoked.

KNEW PATRICK PEARSE

I knew Patrick Pearse and am proud to have known him. It is six- it wish, that the English Government teen years since I first met him at

possible reward, merely provincial charm can best be seen in Iosagan, a volume of Irish tales, which are proof that Irish literature can be written even by some who learn Irish when they are already adults. Carson's adoption of physical force changed the patriotic teacher into the revolutionist. I just missed seeing Pearse in Dublin in August 1914. He wrote me that he had left for the West. A fortnight later I learned that in the very first month of the War he favored seizing Dublin Castle as an act of national selfassertion. He was so engrossed with Ireland's national wrongs that he failed to read the international situation aright. When finally in Easter learned that Dublin Castle 1916, he intended to disarm the Irish Volun-teers and gaol their leaders he led a thousand Irish Volunteers against the three million soldiers of the British Army.

> MORAL EFFECT OF IDEALIST'S BEBELLION

Pearse made the streets of Dublin red with blood, first because he considered that constitutional agitation would at most obtain for Ireland a provincial status; secondly, because he saw it cheated even of this fruit by the armed resistance of Carson's volunteers; and thirdly, because he believed that the only way to convince his own country (and the world) that Ireland must have all the rights of a sovereign nation, was to proclaim and establish an Irish Republic. As his volunteers were practically unarmed, and as his only hope of getting arms was from a German source, he formed an alliance with Germany, despite the fact that four hundred thousand men of Irish blood were then fighting Prussian militarism. The German ship with its cargo of arms was intercepted, and the rebellion easily put down, but by his very failure Pearse succeeded in one of his main objects. He made the majority of the people of Ireland almost within a month Sinn Feiners. The reason of this fundamental change was the belief that, while 170,000 Irishmen of Ireland had fought for the liberties of the Continents of Europe and Asia, their unselfish heroiem had not moved England to grant to Irishmen at home the liberties for which they were fighting abroad. On the other hand, Pearse and Connolly, the poet and the Labourite, who had been executed by British soldiers because they tried to set Ireland free, were by popular consent numbered among Ireland's national martyrs.

The British Cabinet thoroughly established it, at first offered a temporary partition, and then, when it the terms. Ireland drew breath more freely when she saw that politicians had failed to dismember her. Redmond, in accepting temporary partition, did so in spite of the people.

NATIONALISM OUT OF TOUCH WITH IRELAND

The Nationalist Party, which before Easter week, had been willing to postpone a settlement of the Irish question till after the War, believing that the Government of Ireland Act of 1914 and Ireland's 100,000 Catholic soldiers were a sufficient guarantee that she would get national autonomy, now realized that the nation did not approve of this one-sided bargain. but rather demanded a delivery of So the party asked for immediate Home Rule. Lloyd George, now Premier, offered in immediate Home Lloyd March 1917, nothing but partition. Redmond, in protest, asked whether the Ulster minority were to have power over the majority for ever. The Nationalists then appealed to the United States and to the Dominions to apply Wilson's principles to The United States was on Ireland. the point of entering the War, so the Government saw fit to announce on March 22, that it had decided to make another attempt at a settlement. Meanwhile, on April 19, Sinn Fein held a convention in Dublin, declared Ireland's right to complete independence, and demanded representation at the Peace Congress. The Irish Catholic bishons now learned that the Government's new plan was merely partition, and in a joint man festo signed also by three Protestant bishops, called upon Irishmen of every creed, class, and party, to prevent their country being made a new Poland. As a result of this protest, the Sinn Feiners won South Longford, and the Government's partition policy published a week later (May 1917), was rejected by the Nationalist Party. The Bishops had saved Ireland from partition.

THE IRISH CONVENTION

The Government put forward as an alternative proposition a Convention of Irishmen to draft a scheme of Irish self - government. chapter in contemporary Irish history now began. By granting this Irish Convention, England thereby admitted Ireland's right to self-deter mination. Sinn Fein immediately demanded that the instrument of self-determination be adequate,

SINN FEIN AS A POLITICAL FACTOR To provide an atmosphere of good will the Government released June 17, (1917) all the Rebellion prisoners. The leader of these, a young Irishspeaking sohoolmaster, Eamonn de Valera, presented himself as the Republican candidate in Clare, to fill the vacancy caused by the death in action of Major Willie Redmond. By a majority of 3,000 Clare voted for de Valera and an Irish Republic. Kilkenny City followed Clare's example. In October the Government raided and seized the arms of the National (i. e. Constitutional or Redmondite) Volunteers, though the Ulster Volunteers were left in undis turbed possession of 50,000 German rifles. Questioned in the House, on October 28, (1917) the Chief Secretary (Mr. Duke) said that The young men of Ireland-200,000 of them-are being enrolled for the Fein held a convention in Dublin, with 1,700 delegates, representing over 1,000 clubs and a membership of a quarter of a million. The convention passed a constitution, the essential clause of which is the following: "Sinn Fein aims at secur-

ing the international recognition of

Ireland as an independent Irish Republic, and shall make use of any

and every means available to render

hold Ireland in subjection by mili-tary force or otherwise." It was de-

impotent the power of England to

cided to appeal to the Peace Congress. CONVENTION IN SESSION Meanwhile the Government's Irish Convention had been sitting. Practically all interests in Ireland, except Sinn Fein, were therein represented It opened in Trinity College on July 25, 1917, and began by electing Sir Horace Plunkett Chairman. Southern Unionists agreed to a modified form of Home Rule for the whole of Ireland, but the Ulster Unionists refused all overtures from their fellow-Irishmen, even scorning to accept the proposal of the leading Protestant in Ireland, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, who advo-cated the Canadian plan of both federal and provincial parliaments, that is a national Parliament for the whole of Ireland and provincial parliaments for Ulster and the other provinces. Thereupon, Mr. Lysaght, a Dominion Home Ruler, in a letter of resignation warned the Government: "Every country to which the principle of self determination is to be applied has within its borders a minority opposed to its national excited by the rebellion, first described by the rebellion, first destroyed Castle Rule, and then redominated by that minority, which, it must be remembered, has been offered in Ireland, concessions and was accepted by Redmond and safeguards unprecedented in any democratic country in the world? democratic country in the world? The time has surely come for the Government to prove to the Irish people that fullest self-government is not only possible, but certain, for Nationalists within the bounds of the opposition of the Ulster bishops, and British Empire; otherwise, they without the consent of the Irish need not be surprised if an increasing number of Irishmen refuse to accept anything short of complete

separation. John Redmond did not live to see the end of the Irish Convention; he died on March 6, 1918. I had the sad privilege of saying Mass in the presence of his dead body in Westminster Cathedral.

REPORT OF CONVENTION WASTE

PAPER TO LLOYD GEORGE The report of the Irish Convention, a very valuable document, was finally that the fundamental proposition establishing an Irish Parliament, consisting of King, Irish Senate, and Irish House of Commons, was agreed to by all except the Ulster Unionists. Lloyd George, without reading the not such as to justify the Government in saying that it represents substantial agreement. Therefore, the Government would take the responsibility of submitting to Parliament such proposals for the establishment of self government in Ireland as they thought 'just'." By these words, in effect, the Premier threw the report of the Irish Convention, and the principle of national self determination upon which it was based, into the waste paper basket. Many suspect that the Premier's motive in creating an Irish Convention, which he foredoomed to failure by making it a mere debating society and by demanding practical unanimwas to deceive the Americans. lest the Irish Question dampen their

STATEMENTS WORTH RECALLING One written statement of Lloyd as it condemns in advance his pres-

which provides for the unity of Ireland under a single Legislature with

adequate safeguards." Premier introduced a Bill to con-scribe the whole manbood of Ireland (in its first draft priests also were selves Alone" in Uister. included) from eighteen to fifty. to choose complete independence if proposal of universal and im have as little power over Irelan insular War die of starvation during the Great Famine. Was Ireland to give her life's blood to England during this War, and have as the highest in the English in the Claid that the Convention consist of none but persons freely elected by adult suffrage in Ireland. All their demands were refused, so Sinn Fein this century has produced. His refused to recognize the Convention.

RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION SPIRITED AND DETERMINED His promise of some vague form

of Home Rule at some future date

in that country which a similar proposal on the part of the British Parliament would have met in Canada, Australia or South Africa. The Military Service Act, nevertheless, was passed on April 16, and the Nationalist Party left Westminster. The menace of Conscription drew together all Irish parties, except the Unionists. A convention of leaders was called for April 18 at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of Dublin. After consulting with the Irish Bichops, who were holding a meeting the same day at Maynooth, the Mansion House Conference issued the follow-ing declaration: "Taking our stand purpose of creating a new Rebellion ing declaration: "Taking our stand in Ireland." Two days later Sinn on Ireland's separate and distinct nationhood, and affirming the principle of liberty, that the Governments of nations derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, we deny the right of the British Government or of any external authority to impose compulsory military service in Ireland against the clearly expressed will of the Irish people. The passing of the Conscription Bill by the Britains. ish House of Commons must be regarded as a declaration of war on the Irish nation. The alternative to accepting it as such is to surrender our liberties and acknowledge ourselves slaves. It is in direct violation of the rights of small nationalities to self-determination, which even the Prime Minister of England—now preparing to employ naked militarism and force his Act upon Ireland — himself officially announced as an essential condition for peace at the Peace Conference. The attempt to enforce it will be an unwarranted aggression, which we call apon all Irishmen to resist by the most effective means at their The bishops simultana. disposal. ously published the following state-"In view especially of the historic relation between the two the three strongest Empires on the countries from the very beginning Continent of Europe, as three Imto this moment, we consider that Conscription forced in this way Ireland is an oppressive upon and inhuman law, which the Irish people have a right to resist by every means consonant with the law of God." The Orange Solemn League and Covenant of 1912 had its counterpart in the anti-conscription pledge administered at the Catholic Church of England, the Labor party, repudidoors in Ireland, April 21, 1918. A Protestant protest against Conscription was organized unofficially. The Protestant Archbishops evaded the question by appealing for recruits. Meanwhile, the voice of Labour made itself felt at an All-Ireland Labour Conference, held also on April 21, which unanimously opposed Conscription, demanded for Ireland the independent status as a nation, and recommended their cause to their brothers in the Labour movement throughout the world. Two days throughout the world. Two days later, Labour successfully organized a general strike throughout the whole of Iraland expent North East whole of Iraland expent North East whole of Ireland except North East Ulster and the Belfast Dublin rail-

way line. RESISTANCE JUSTIFIED

Looking at the Conscription question at this distance of time and of the nineteenth century bear witspace it is hard not to justify Ireland's resistance. I was in the Brit- nation. ish House of Commons when it was administrative unit, she is also one introduced, and I felt that a greater judicial unit, with her own national laid on the Table of the House of blow had been struck at the British Commons on April 7. It was found Empire by this action of Lloyd George and his Tories than by the appointed by the conquerors. The German defeat of the Fifth Army which was its alleged excuse. There are only two ways of governing a National University, is again nation: by consent of the governed, or by Prussianism. To have enoriginally intended to denationalise. report, announced to the House of Conscription in Ireland would have been the same as Prussianism. originally intended to denationalise The Churches of Ireland, both Cath have been the same as Prussianism. England refrained from creating an all Ireland is one nation. The Episinterminable civil war which would weaken her both militarily and morally. So a recruiting appeal was launched under the threat of Conscription, and martial law was bitterly enforced. I visited Ireland at this time and it was the oddest recruiting campaign I ever saw. People under Martial Law don't usually volunteer. Even the Orangemen, who had everything to gain by a victory of England, refused to enlist. Indeed during the last years of the War Uleter did not give enough recruits to replace the wastage of her Division To keep it up to strength, Irish Catholic battalions were added to it from the Irish Sixteenth Division. Fifty thousand Ulster Protestants enlisted during the whole War, though 215,-000 pledged themselves to fight against the Empire if Home Rule tion of Empires. For nations sur passed. Carson's Orange Free State George to the chairman of the did well during the War, but it has Irish Convention is worth recording, no right to depreciate the equally good record of the rest of Ireland. The Orangemen, like the Sinn Feinent partition bill: "The only hope of agreement," he wrote on 25th February, 1918, "lies in a solution not trust England. They kept their tural mission to perform, and neither own illegal Volunteers armed and intact throughout the whole War It is the latent pressure of this armed The same day that he rejected the report of the Irish Convention, the today the determining factor in the Irish situation. An interesting chapter could be written on "Ourthese Orange Sinn Feiners join the have as little power over Ireland as it wish, that the English Government mediate Conscription, a promise of she has over Canada. To prevent some form of self-government, for, such a consummation, the Ascendthe Connoche Fels in Galway. For the Powers to ratify the decision of years I read his inspiring editorials the majority of the Convention, and Ireland had been brought in large tion Ireland. All talk of two races in Ireland is humbug. The so-called was homogeneous "Ulster" of the Unionists does not exist. The introduction in nineteen twentieths of Ireland the of proportional representation, de-

into the recent Irish Municipal elections gave Derry, the second Orange capital, a Sinn Fein mayor. Ulster. apart from the city of Belfast, is in majority Catholic and anti-Unionist. was received with derisive appredul-In the so called six county area, four ity. His attempt to conscribe Ire-land met with the same opposition of those counties with Derry City have combined a Nationalist or anti-Unionist majority. To maintain an Ascendancy there "No Catholic need apply," the old wicked maxim-

Divide and Rule—is to be applied to Ireland. LLOYD GEORGE'S MOTIVE This is the motive behind Lloyd George's partition bill. This carves out of Ireland a country which may be called "Carsonshire," gives to this Carsonshire and to the truncated body of Ireland patty provincial parliaments and demands that this divided Ireland pay as an annual tribute to the Imperial master eighty-seven million dollars. That Britain may be sure of getting this toll, she herself holds control of Irish Customs, Excise and Income Taxes. Needless to say, the vivisected Ireland will not be allowed to have a Militia. If she had soldiers of her own, as had every other nation under the sun, she might be unreasonable enough to insist on enjoying all the rights of a free nation. Ireland is not even to have the privilege of saying where the surgeon's knife will enter her body. Two counties, Tyrone and Ferman agh, and the borough of Derry, which have a Nationalist or Sinn Fein majority, are against the will of both the nation and of the local majority, to be added to Carson's pound of Armagh, the See Patrick, will no longer be in Ireland. The vivisection will cut the heart from the body of the nation. A purely illusory means of reunion is proposed. These English Solomons want actually to divide the living Irish child into two and wish the world to admire them for their wise partition.

PARTITION OF NATIONS AND DISRUPTION OF EMPIRES The world remembers the partition

of Poland; the world remembers that

tury and a half; and the world re-

members that less than two years ago these three Empires were broken to pieces and the once partitioned the basis of the Empire, this Empire Poland resurrected into a sovereign nation. It is some satisfaction to note, however, that the future rulers ate this proposed crime of the Coali-tion Tories. This proposed partition tion Tories. which Bonar Law complacently calls Home Rule, is a much greater denial of Irish nationality than is the present Union. For the Union while it puts the Irish Nation under the control of England, nevertheless recognizes the existence of the nation it in Ireland with the unlawful subjects. The King is sovereign of reprisals it provokes should forth-Great Britain and Ireland, that is of two nations. The Irish nation he rules through a Viceroy, through and departments, whether under popular or under government control—are national. Dublin Castle itself is a proof of Irish nationality, for only a nation can be a subject nation. Even the 87 coercion acts ness that the island of Ireland is one indiciary, un Lord Chan-This judiciary is of course cellor. educational system, from the Irish olic and Protestant, also witness that copalians call themselves the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterians, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, and the Irish Catholic bishops unite in National Synods. I make no appeal to the geographical or the historical arguments which are conclusive in favor of Ireland a nation. Only contemporary history concerns me tonight. I maintain that the very machinery of the Union recognizes in a hundred ways that Ireland is one national unit. To prevent that nation from ever enjoying the politi-cal rights of a nation, England is new engaged in partitioning Ireland. She forgets that she cannot hurt Ireland without hurting herself. She forgets that the history of Europe since 1918 shows that the partition of nations usually ends in the disrupvive empires. Empires were made by men, but nations by God. There is room both for England and for Ireland in the world. Each has her cul-

can perform hers fully unless both be friends. BOHEMIA-A PARALLEL I will conclude this sketch of Ireland's political history since the armed Orangemen successfully defied the British Parliament six years ago at Larne, with a comparison with Bohemia. Austria united the crown of Bohemia to hers in 1526. Henry VIII. assumed the title of King of Ireland in 1541. Just as there were English colonists in Ireland before Henry VIII's time, so there were German colonists in Bohemia before the battle of Mohacz. There was this difference, however In the early sixteenth century however Norman, Welsh, Saxon and English spite the protests of Carson's party, colonists had been absorbed into the

Irish nation, while in a large part of Bohemia German language and ture had already been paramount for centuries. Prague, the capital Bohemia, was the seat of the first German University in the Middle Ages. In the nineteenth century Ireland demanded Home Rule of England, and Bohemia demanded Home Rule of Austria. The British and Austrian Empires refused. In the World-War, Austria conscribed Bohemia to fight for her, and England first cajoled and then tried to conscribe Ireland to fight for her. At the eleventh hour, Austria offered Bohemia Home Rule. It was too late; the Czecks declared a Czecho Slovak Republic. At the present hour England offers Ireland a mockery of Home Rule, containing deadly partition. It is scorned by the majority of the elected representatives of the Irish nation who claim that they constitute the Dail Eireann, or Parliament of the Irish Republic There are three million and a half Germans in the Czecho-Slovak State. Large parts of that State have a German majority and are contiguous to Germany or Austria. Was Bohemia partitioned because the minority did not want to leave the German union? By no means. Lloyd George agreed with Wilson and Clemenceau that the historic unity of the Bohemian State must be recognized, despite the large section colonized by the German conquerer. The Germans of Bohemia are three times more numerous than the Unionists of Ireland, and like the latter they have held for centuries a political, commercial, social and re ligious ascendancy. Yet this ascendancy party in Bohemia must now bow to the forces of democracy and nationality.

GENERAL SMUTS' PROPHECY

I will conclude this comparison with the words of the greatest Dominion statesman in British Empire, one of the really constructive forces at the Peace Conference, Lt. General Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa :

"Our statesmen in Paris dealt with racial problems resembling that of Ireland, and in every way as difficult as the Irish problems, and perial eagles or vultures, fed on the prostrate body of Poland for a centreland the same medicine they applied to Bohemia and many other parts of Europe. Unless it is settled on the great principles which form must cease to exist.'

SUPPORT IRELAND'S JUST DEMAND

I appeal to all who care for the British Empire, to all who support democracy and hate ascendarcy, to all who cherish patriotism and love liberty, to support the just, national demand of undivided Ireland for a government of her own choice.

For Mr. Chairman, it is imperative that the present cruel martial law with cease. It is imperative, not merely for the sake of Ireland, not merely for the sake of England, not merely for the sake of the British Empire, but also for the sake of the whole League of civilized Nations. For

No flags are fair, if Freedom's flag be furled.'

The whole of the human brotherhood suffers from a wrong done to any member. Christianity practised when brother hates or Ireland is not merely one harms brother. May the saint who was chosen by God to be the greatest benefactor of the Irish race, our own ostle St. Patrick, obtain of God, by his powerful intercession, peace and justice for the land he converted to Christ.

> FRANCISCAN FATHER PILOTED BATTLESHIP

> > Catholic News Service

Birmingham, Jan. 31.—How an English Franciscan Father piloted a battleship was told a few days ago at a reunion of the Birmingham Catenians, when Father Alexius Calderbank returned to his parish, after serving as a naval chaplain during the War.

Father Alexius was asked to undertake the duties of liason officer with the French ships in an Allied squadron of British and French war sels. During the fulfilment of this duty the squadron with which Father Alexius was serving ordered to return to its base at Scape

When the squadron was off the north coast of Scotland foul weather set in, and the ships were separated The French flag-ship on which Father Alexius was serving got into difficul ties, and the ship's navigators, not being familiar with the coast, which is very dangerous especially in rough weather, got out of their course, so that the ship was heading for a dangerous reef of rocks.

Father Alexius had some knowl edge of the coast, and he told the French commander of the imminent danger, and volunteered to pilot the ship into port. His offer was accepted, and acting under his orders and guidance the steersman got the vessel into harbor with perfect safety.

For this remarkably capable and gallant achievment Father Alexius received the Cross of the Legion of Honor from the French Government, and was also mentioned in dispatches. Father Alexius is Guardian of the Franciscan Monastery at Olton, near Birmingham.

Better be an hour too early than s minute too late.