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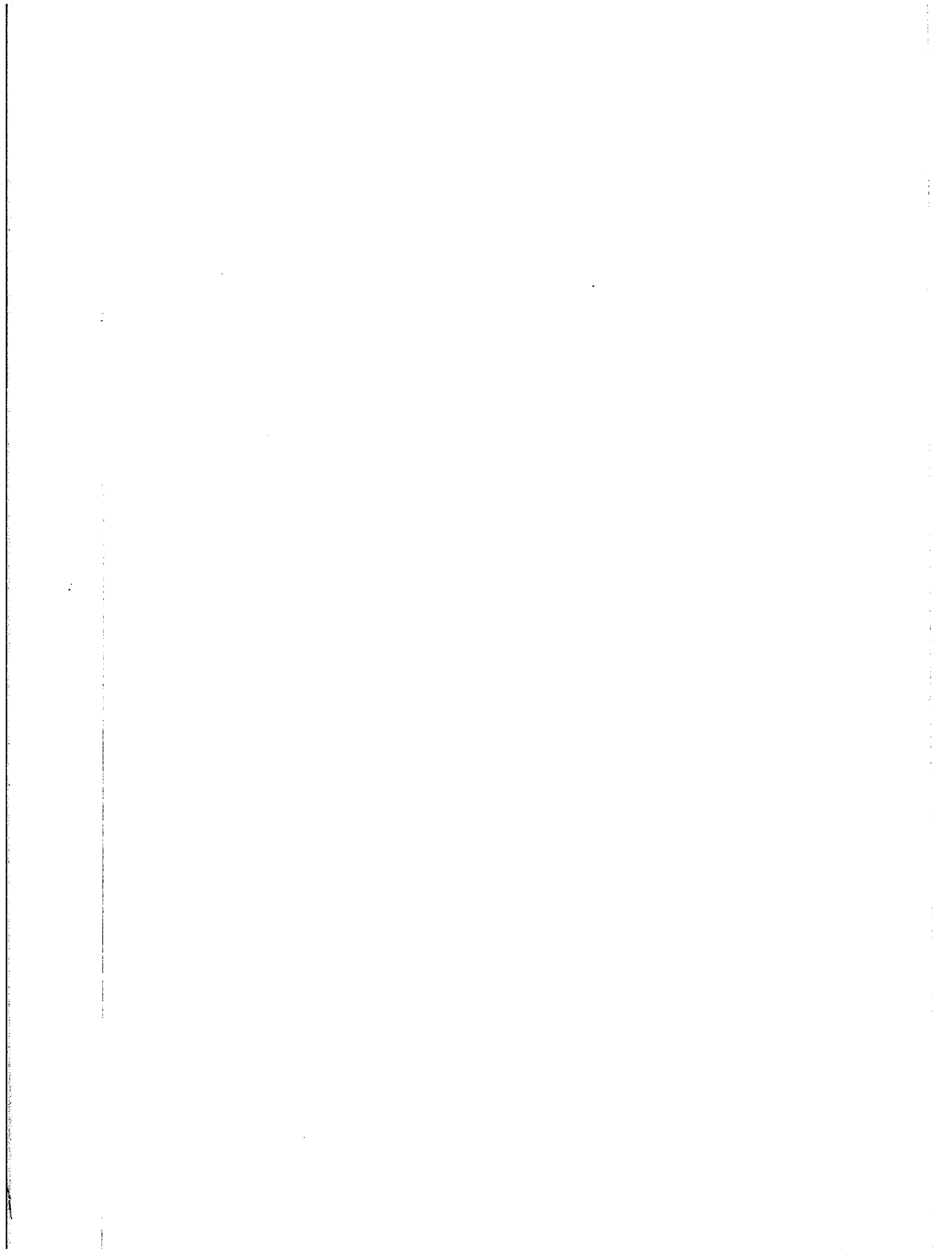
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IRELAND, A NATION

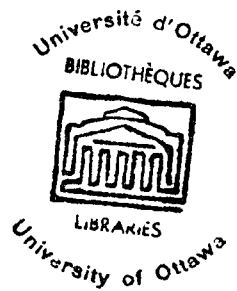
HISTORICAL THESIS

(M.A., U. of O., June 1921)

WILLIAM M. UNGER, B.A. L.P.H.

OTTAWA,

ONTARIO.



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IRELAND, A NATION, WHY NOT?

I am well aware that to try to write the story of Ireland's sorrows and persecution is a stroke of temerity. The ashes of controversy in which dear old Erin is much concerned are still hot. Not all particulars, more especially of the earlier marches in this brave campaign for freedom can be disclosed. Yet to relegate to oblivion the story of English treachery, perfidy and brutality would not be characteristic of an Irishman nor in fact of any self-respecting, honourable man with red blood in his veins. The aphorism "Good nature and good sense must ever join, to err is human, to forgive divine" is not applicable. It is a pious and virtuous thought but when the error becomes a chronic ailment then it is time to nurse a grievance. To forgive a wanton murderer would be a beautiful tribute to those bereaved and it would be well for the sake of Him who died for mankind to forgive and forget. But to forget the diabolical ingenuity of the English whose regime of rapine, murder and butchery would make the German atrocities pale into insignificance would be treachery to those brave souls who have died in an attempt to show the world the extent of England's hypocrisy. It is therefore necessary for me to resume shortly the early struggles of Ireland gradually leading up to events of to-day when we find the English fiends trying to exterminate the bravest little Nation that ever toiled in this mundane existence. Secondly, I shall attempt to explain the qualities which make a Nation and finally I shall prove why Ireland is entitled to Independence.

Time was when Ireland was free. But it was a barbarian freedom. The Island had more Kings than it had counties. Each petty king bore the royal title while the battles were as frequent as those of any Indian Tribe of a past age. After the English barbarians stole the country, the battles were discontinued among the tribes and civilization received some attention despite the English. But the civilization which was received into the island was made bitter by an injustice and oppression which which has filled the Irish heart with an undying hatred of the English nation and a ceaseless desire to break loose from its cruel bonds.

For centuries indeed, the English rule or rather misrule, was largely a nominal one the English control being confined to a few coast districts in the East. In the interior the native tribes continued under the rule of their chiefs and were governed by their own laws and remained practically independent. It was not until the reign of James I, that the foreigners became masters of all Ireland. In the last days of the reign of the "Pious Elizabeth" a great rising against the English had taken place in Ulster under a chief named O'Neill. The Earl of Essex failed to, put it down and was disgraced by the Government in consequence. The armies of James finally quelled the revolt and the unruly island now for the first time came under the control of an English King and experienced some real British fair-play. James determined to weaken the power of the island for mischief. To do so he took

possession of six counties of Ulster and filled them with Scotch and English settlers. The poor Irish were simply crowded out; there was no place left for them but the marshes. This act of ruthless violence filled the Irish with an implacable hatred of the foreigners which feeling has never left their hearts. They treasured up their wrongs, God bless them, for thirty years and in 1641 when England was distracted by Civil wars they arose in their wrath and fell upon the Anglo vermin and drove them out. For eight years while the English had their hands full at home the Irish held their reconquered lands in triumph but in 1649 the English murderer Cromwell fell upon them with his Invincible Irionsides and took such cruel vengeance that he himself confessed that he had stained his hands with blood like a common murderer. In truth the Puritans looked upon the Papists as outside the pale of humanity and no more to be considered than a herd of wild beasts and dealt with them as a hunter might with noxious animals. The severity of Cromwell was threefold greater than that of James for he drove the Irish out of three Provinces, Ulster, Leinster and Munster telling them to go and find bread or graves in the wilderness of Connaught or as he more emphatically put it, "To hell or Connaught". Again the Irish rose when James II came to demand their aid and again they were overthrown by the cowardice of their leader. This was the memorable battle of the Boyne. William III now completed the work of confiscation. The greater part of the remaining Province of Connaught was taken from its holders and given to the English bandits. The natives of the Island became a landless people in their own land. To complete their misery and degradation, William and the succeeding monarchs robbed them of all their commerce and manufactures by forbidding them to trade with other countries. Their activity in this direction interfered with the profits of the English plunderers. By these merciless and cruel measures the Irish were reduced to a nation of tenants laborers and beggars and remained such for many years, even to some extent to-day, downtrodden and oppressed, their most lively sentiment being their hatred of England to whom they justly impute their sad plight and degradation.

The time came when England acknowledged with shame and sorrow the misery to which she had reduced a sister people but it was then too late to undo the wrong. English landlords owned the land Manufacturing industry had been irretrievably crowded out; the evil done was past mending. And now with these preliminary statements I come to the verge of the 19th century. America had rebelled against English tyranny and had gained independence. This fact stirred up a new desire for liberty in the hearts of the Irish. The island had always possessed a Legislature of its own but it was of no value to the natives. It represented only the great Protestant landowners and could pass no act without the consent of the Privy Council in England the same Council that should be abolished to-day as far as Canada is concerned if Canadians had any pride. A demand for a National Parliament was made and the English tyrants having the experience of America before their eyes granted it an act being passed in 1782 which made Ireland independent of England in legislation a system known as Home Rule. It was not enough as it is not enough to-day. It did not pacify the island. The religious animosity between the Catholics and Protestants continued and in 1798 disturbances broke out with massacres on both sides.

The Irish Parliament was a Protestant body and at first was elected solely by Protestants. Grattan, an eminent Irish Statesman through whose efforts this body had been made independent, carried an act to permit Catholics to vote for its members. He then strove for a measure to permit Catholics to sit as members in the Irish Parliament. This was too much for George III. He recalled Lord Fitzwilliam, the Vice-roy of Ireland, who had encouraged and assisted Grattan and thus blighted the hopes of Irish Catholics.

The revolt that followed was the work of a society called the United Irishmen, organized by Protestants but devoted to the interests of Ireland. Wolf Tone one of its leading members went to France and induced Napoleon to send an expedition to Ireland. A fleet was dispatched but this like the Spanish Armada was dispersed by a storm and the few generous Frenchmen who landed were soon captured. The rebellion was quickly crushed and was followed by deeds of remorseless cruelty so shameless that they were denounced by the Commander-in-Chief himself; acts which the aboriginal tribes of Africa and America would have shrunk from but in which the cultured English took fiendish delight. And yet the hypocritical Englishmen raise their hands in puritanical and pharisaical horror at the German atrocities. Mirabile dictu! With this revolt the independence of Ireland ended. An infamous act of Union was offered and through political intrigue, English lucre and questionable honor and with the assistance of the arch-traitor Lord Castleagh, the bill was carried through the Irish Parliament. The Irish Legislature was incorporated with the British one. This was in 1801 and since that date all laws for Ireland have been made in London. After this act of treachery it would be expected that the Irish would become discouraged. But imbued with that indomitable spirit which never admits defeat, Ireland betrayed and sold into bondage raised her head proudly through the person of Robert Emmett. Emmett had been expelled from Trinity College in 1798 as a member of the United Irishmen. He went to the continent and interviewed Napoleon on behalf of the Irish cause. He returned in 1802 with the idea of freeing Ireland from the despotic yoke of the hated foreigner. But his revolt had a dismal failure and he was arrested and hanged. But the death of Emmett and the dispersal of the United Irishmen by no means ended the troubles in Ireland but rather added to their force. Ireland and England, unlike in the character and religion of their people and in their institutions continued in a state of hostility, masked and active the feud being kept alive by the landlords on the one side and the tenacious Irishmen on the other whose hearts seared by the sword of sorrow still struggled on with dogged determination. The country was divided into a large number of small farms many of them less than five acres in size. The bloated English landlords extorted exorbitant rents for these farms. The Catholic Clergy had to be supported by the voluntary contributions of the poverty stricken Irish while tithes were exacted by law for the support of the Clergymen of the English Church. One would imagine that the barbarians would be satisfied now. But the English were of the extreme type of barbarian, insatiable. The PROTECTOR of SMALL NATIONALITIES was adamant to the tears and cries of Irish sufferers. Were the Irish Catholics not as so many beasts? So the Catholics were disfranchised. After the abolishment of the Irish Parliament the Irish

were without representation in the government under which they lived. No Catholic could be a member of Parliament. The Irish protested vigorously and decided to fight the devil with fire. But the nemesis of misfortune hung closely to the Irish and all the revolts and rebellions were put down with the usual English consideration.

But the disfranchisement of the Catholics aroused opposition. Grattan brought up a Bill for Catholic emancipation, that is, the admission of Catholics to Parliament and the repeal of certain ancient and oppressive edicts, in 1813. The Bill was defeated but a new and greater advocate of Irish justice now arose, Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator and the greatest of Irish orators and patriots who for many years championed the cause of down-trodden Ireland. The Irish were still very bellicose even though their only weapons were pikes and rusty guns. For after all was it not a noble cause in which they died and was it not a great feat to rid the earth of the English reptiles? But O'Connell was shrewd enough to eschew revolt and while awakening in the Irish, the spirit of Nationality, he taught them to keep political agitation within constitutional limits and seek the amelioration of their condition through legislative means. O'Connell was suffering from a mental aberration when he thought he could obtain justice for Ireland through legislative endeavors. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. It was similar to holding a court in the Infernal Regions with His Satanic Majesty for the Judge showing the world conclusively the hypocrisy of the term "British Fair-play". But O'Connell was too big for the puny minds of the English. In 1823 he founded the "Irish Association" a gigantic system of organization which Ireland had never had before. The Clergy were at first disinclined to take part in the movement but O'Connell with his forcible eloquence brought them in before the end of the year and under their influence it became National, spreading with irresistible enthusiasm throughout the land. In alarm at the growth of the association the Government brought in a Bill for its suppression but O'Connell too shrewd to come into conflict with the authorities forestalled them by dissolving the association in 1825. The Irish were aroused; the Irish tenants gained courage to oppose the landlords in the elections. In 1826 they carried Waterford and in 1828 O'Connell was elected for Clare. This triumph set the whole country in a flame. The English looked for an insurrection. But O'Connell knowing that an outbreak would be ruinous to the Catholic cause used his marvellous powers to still the agitation and to induce the people to wait for parliamentary relief. This relief came the following year. A Bill was passed which admitted Catholics to Parliament and under it O'Connell made his appearance in the House of Commons May, 15, 1829. He declined to take the old oaths which had been repealed by the Bill. The House refused to admit him on these conditions and he went before the electors of Clare again and Clare sent him back like a conqueror. At the beginning of 1830 he took his seat unopposed. O'Connell's seat in Parliament was always the cynosure of all eyes. His career in the House was one of persistent labor for the repeal of the iniquitous "Act of Union" with Great Britain and Home Rule for Ireland in the advocacy of which he kept the country stirred for many years. The agitation on the Catholic question had quickened the sense of justice in many of the people who realized that Ireland was laboring under a yoke of insupportable weight and fiendish cruelty. The Catholics were soon engaged in a crusade against tithes and the Established Church which formed the most offensive

symbols of their inferior position in the state. In 1830 the potato crop in Ireland was very poor and wide spread misery and desolation prevailed. For months crime was rampant. The farmers refused to pay tithes or rent. Armed bands marched through the Island and murder and incendiarism visited the homes of the rich. A stringent Coercion Bill was enacted and the disturbances were put down by the cruel hand of the law or English version of law which is void of all morality. Subsequently the Whig Party practically abolished tithes thus cutting down the revenue of the Established Church and the agitation subsided. When the Tory Ministry came into power in 1841 began a vigorous agitation in favor of a repeal of the Act of Union and of Home Rule for Ireland. He travelled 5000 miles in 1843 speaking to immense crowds. He deprecated rebellion and blood-shed. Through a whole generation with wonderful skill he kept the public mind at the highest pitch of political excitement. But with all his ability the old Chief began to lose his control of the Young Ireland Party. Fearful of an outbreak of violence the Government sent a force of 35000 men to Ireland. O'Connell was arrested on October 5, 1843 and sentenced to one year with a fine of £2000. He remained three months in prison and contracted a disease from which he died three years later. The Young Ireland Party weary of O'Connell's passive methods which were not getting the desired results, quickly enough, began to advocate resistance to the government. In 1846 came the potato famine. In 1847 the ardent Young Irish Party carried the country into rebellion. The outbreak was put down and the popular leader Smith O'Brien was banished to Australia. The wrongs of Ireland remained unredeemed and as long as this was the case quiet was impossible in Ireland. In 1858 a Phoenix Conspiracy was discovered and suppressed. Then came the Fenian Movement in 1867 but this was of short duration. All these movements while ineffective as attempts at insurrection had their influence in arousing the more humane and thoughtful statesmen of England to consider the causes of the discontent in Ireland. I will not go into details with reference to the attempts made to pass a Home Rule Bill. Suffice it is to say that all attempts failed. Gladstone and Bright took the matter in hand. In 1868 a series of measures were passed to improve the Irish tenant farmer. If ejected he was to be compensated for improvements he had made and a Land Commission was formed to fix rents. But these measures did not put an end to the agitation. Ejections from farms continued at a frightful rate. A fierce struggle raged between the peasants and land agents. The English passed their iniquitous Coercion Act. The peasants were supported by the Land League. Home Rule was revived again under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. The succeeding legislation for Ireland fathered by Mr. Gladstone and his attempts to pass his Home Rule Bills I shall not attempt to describe. Mr. Gladstone failed to obtain justice for Ireland and England's despicable conduct has left a blot on her escutcheon which nothing in this world will ever efface. Succeeding attempts were made to obtain Home Rule for Ireland by Redmond and others. A Home Rule Bill was actually passed in 1914 but its operation was suspended until after the war. The Sein Fein movement sprang up as the only logical movement which would force the hand of a tyrannical government. The English led by that Welsh upstart and murderer, Lloyd George continue to kill and plunder, evict the people and burn their homes. It is the intention of the English to terrorize the people and force them to

to submit to ignominy and tyranny by force of arms and wanton murder. The Irish are suffering intensely; their homes are being destroyed with reckless abandon; the sons of Erin are gradually being killed off. But Sein Feinism has come to stay; English infamy cannot triumph. The day is fast approaching when the nations of the world will see through England's sham and hypocrisy. England with her blatant egotism and duplicity roared with a lusty voice that she was fighting for democracy and the rights of small nationalities, as if England could be concerned with morality or the rights of any nation but itself. Each small people should have the right to decide as to the form of government under which they desired to live. What a travesty! What a burlesque! Surely the nations of the world are weary of such vacuous platitudes which spell nothing but knavery and treachery. But with the help of the Almighty God Ireland will soon be free. For chastened and strengthened by the fire of persecution she will rise triumphant upon the ruins of English tyranny.

I now come to the second phase of my remarks, namely Ireland's right to Nationhood and the natural qualities which fit her to take her place among the foremost nations of the world.

A Nation is crowned when it exists in the world by virtue of a continuing national life sustained by history and limited by natural frontiers. This is quite true but it must also exist by reason of a state in which its intuitions and desires are expressed in a form as flexible as its containing life. The most stubborn natural sense-and nowhere in the world has that sense proved more stubborn than in Ireland-can only be said to exist as a protest rather than as a power until it can take to itself that eventful crown. No other nation or combination of nations or empires or dominions can give it that crown, It must beat it out of its own sense of wisdom and equity and beauty. It can only be responsible to its own soul and intellectual life for the manner of that crown not only because in no other sense can the word responsibility be said to apply but also because of a certain inevitable result. For when a Nation does so crown itself the whole body of the nation takes on a new dignity and grace. It is inevitable. The wearing of the crown compels a new comportment. But if a crown wrought in some other workshop and made according to some other nation's desires, be pressed upon its brow the whole result must necessarily be ungainly and disfiguring. If there is no responsibility in the making then there can be no responsibility in the wearing and there is no morality at the beginning or in the end. Yet if a nation can clothe itself in its own responsibility and wear a crown of its own devising that nation is not only a nation; it is a Sovereign State. Ireland is a Nation. Once as we have seen she was a Sovereign State and the result was so comely and so full of responsibility that when her sister states were ravaged by barbarian intoads from the North and East then she went out among them and rebuilt their faith and culture. Nearly all modern European culture and learning rest on what Ireland wrought during the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries not on the earlier Roman and Greek cultures for the link with those things was only maintained thru Ireland. It was so maintained because Ireland was a Sovereign State secure in its sovereignty. That Sovereignty was suppressed; that statehood was broken because of the lust of Imperial conquest fashioned out of military strength and resting always on that strength. Piece by piece that state was taken and hammered into dust with a malignancy and hatred born of the Devil until the people driven forth into the mountains and waste places had no longer any part of their own state in which to house themselves, and had to rely on a continual national sense fed partly by faith, enriched by old memories and burned by a

by a suffering hardly to be paralleled in history but in itself something quite peculiar and indefinable. The result was inevitable. Housed on their own historic land in a state which was no state at all because it was not of their own devising, the Irish people have repudiated all responsibility for it; have used and misused it and have risen in a continual series of revolts against it. They were morally bound to do so or become no more a nation but a slave race. Continuing a nation they were bound to assert their protest and they have habitually done so very remarkably by the assertion of the laws, meanings and implications of a system of government which was their own and which had been destroyed centuries ago as against the forms, meanings and implications of a system of government utterly alien to them. There are few things in history more remarkable or arresting than this challenge of an alien government with the laws and procedures of a state that centuries before had been hewn asunder and had been trampled under foot but had continued in the instincts and intuitions of the nation, the instincts and intuitions that in the first instance, at the dawn of history had built that state.

Such a state of affairs continued was bound to claim the attention of the world. It has succeeded in doing so and the immediate result has been that all has become hustle and hurry to mend the calamitous condition in Ireland. Men with anxious brows and care-worn faces have begun to suggest constitutions for Ireland at the rate of about one a week with a facility hardly to be rivalled by the Abbe Sieyes of old in his most fecund hour. Dusty tomes are turned down from the top shelf and every form of constitution and government is studied that it may ~~ixxxx~~ contribute some new beauty to the destined scheme and give to the North of Ireland protections from the fiendish Papists of the South. The words "Home Rule", "Colonial Home Rule" and "Dominion Home Rule" buzz about the air like flies on a summer's day. Yet nobody seems to be clear as to what these terms exactly mean except that there is a deep seated suspicion that they are not being used honestly. The air is rocked with precedents from China to Peru and amid it all, with a patience and determination born of centuries, stands the nation for whom all the pother is supposed to be raised. The strange thing about it is that all this bustle and stir should so persistently neglect what is just the cause of the whole trouble. The cause is not economic; it is not in the modern abuse of the word, Political; IT IS HISTORIC. The Economic and Political troubles are incidental to the historical. The constitutions of the English Colonies such as Canada, Australia and South Africa may be good, bad or indifferent, wise or unwise, discreet or indiscreet but they are as little applicable to the case of Ireland and would eventually cause as much irritation as Dublin Castle. They were created by Englishmen who went abroad as Colonists singing sweet hymns about the White Man's Burden and the Lord's Anointed, Henry the Eighth's renegades. Earlier Colonists in these lands, however, such as the French Canadians and the Dutch in South Africa give these constitutions no fealty because they do not answer their instincts. For the same reason Irishmen in these places though less solid and unified from the nature of their case, generally become subversive and revolutionary units introducing and desiring changes such as the constitutions never contemplated. When these changes are examined they are usually found to hark back to the laws and meanings of the old state of Ireland. In Ireland itself, reduced though it be in population and by murder and oppression made unsure of itself, is entire and compact. Racially more compact than any nation in Europe with little of the colonial element remaining in it and it draws almost wholly on its historic past and from that past the answer must be found for its future. For the past has stored up instincts intuitions and old memories of the blood and desires of the national

mind that are waiting to burst into the future. The answer therefore is not to be found in a study in the constitutions of other peoples but in a wise study of Irish History.

There is, outside of books no such thing as Utopia. There is no such thing as a state abstractly good or bad in itself. A state is only good or bad in the degree in which it answers or fails to answer the needs of the nation for which it is devised. All the rest is words. Similarly, there is no such thing as Ancient History except in the case of nations such as Assyria that have ceased to exist. All history is new and living because in it are to be discovered the urge and impulse of national minds. Particularly is this so with Ireland where the right national development was suppressed by an alien military conquest. The 19th century for instance was full of unrest, of demands, of swift instinctive actions that can only be understood by turning back three hundred pages of history. It is true that these national intuitions have been frustrated so long that they are no longer sure of themselves. It is true that the development having been hindered for so long it is difficult to gauge what these intuitions would mean in the light of wholly changed conditions. Yet in spite of all this the principle remains sound that it is only by searching into a nation's mind that its desires and impulses can be discovered and it is only by watching those desires and impulses when they were free to exercise themselves creatively that a state can be guessed at that shall be that nation's crown.

And now the ancient sovereign state of Ireland, one of the Primary Sovereign States of Christendom, claims resumption of her sovereign independence. And why? Because she never forfeited or lost her sovereign status or consciously recognized sovereignty over her by any other country. Ireland always resented and resisted the usurpation of foreign military force. The continual presence of an army of occupation, rather of scurrilous snakes, has always been and still is essential to the maintainance of that foreign rule. Everything that has been introduced into Ireland by England is destined to rejection. Not as a matter of prejudice but as an inevitable fact in Statesmanship. Suits cut for other people or demanded by other peoples' necessities are the proper wear for clowns. At best these things were wrung as concessions and given with poor grace after long and bitter war. At first they were anticipations of further war and the spontaneous creation of an alien thought. The first was better than the second because it did spring from the initiative ~~of~~ of the people and partially and ineffectively answered that demand while the second sprang from the same alien intuition that has created three centuries of almost unremitting warfare. And whether that intention stalk as an undisguised foe or prank about with the antics of a philanthropist the result in statesmanship is the same. Instead of effecting an organization it creates a configuration; instead of producing human contentment, comfort and ease it produces exasperation an enmity; instead as being as flexible as the life it contains it is as rigid as the thought that made it; instead of being capable of development it is only capable of being broken or abused; instead of being a national state it is a national despair and futility. Therefore statesmanship must neglect its achievements and must make a direct approach to the national life and its needs and necessities, human and economic, in order to build again, however slowly, from the foundations the structure that those foundations decree and suggest.

Yes Ireland is historically entitled to independence. Generation after generation the truest patriots and purest and best of Ireland's sons, treated as criminals by England have offered their lives in open insurrection for her freedom. Still adhering to her

right of sovereignty with matchless fidelity and tenacity she has fought the cruel despot with immeasurable sacrifice of life and property. Of all this the presence of England's army of occupation and low criminals, the product of jails and asylums, the Black and Tans, is practically England's admission. All Irish national characteristics especially love of freedom are acknowledged by English legislation and English statesmen. Nor can England have acquired any right over Ireland by prescription because (1) prescription is a domestic principle not applicable between nations and (2) there can be no prescription of what is unjust. A further historical basis, sufficient in itself, is, that at present a vast majority of the Irish population of every race of which it is composed regard foreign rule as slavery and are animated by a reasoned determination never to yield a willing allegiance to foreign rule to destroy it at the earliest possible moment and to continue resistance to it until Ireland's sovereign independence is re-established and secured.

Ireland's constitutional right is supported by her meritorious record when independent. The public profession of anxiety for civilization as a justification of the Great War gives special force to this claim. Ireland's unique services to civilization from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, when history shows that the services were the most opportune and important, strengthen her constitutional right and constitute an additional special claim upon Europe to enable her to resume her independence. The distinctions won by Irishmen in strange lands in those early times were triumphs for herself and benefits to mankind as noble as ever nation achieved. And not to the Continent alone but to England also as acknowledged by the Venerable Bede in marked contrast to England's subsequent treatment of Irishmen in England and English laws against religion and civilization in Ireland. And throughout her agony of subjection and persecution Ireland has shown the permanence of that spirit and attitude by never practising persecution and by always maintaining intimacy with the pure and noble. She has to-day no feeling for the peoples of other lands but reciprocal friendship, respect and a desire to co-operate with them towards increasing and securing happiness and peace amongst nations, by, as in the time of her independence, commercial and industrial as well as intellectual intercourse. All this constitutes an additional title to independence, an additional claim upon European nations and an additional reason against leaving Ireland in subjection to the usurped power of a state guilty of the abuses of power stolen from a brave little nation.

I can find no better argument in proving Ireland's right to independence than to go back to Scholastic Philosophy and draw therefrom the irrefutable proofs that Ireland is entitled to the right, common to nations and persons of self-preservation against England's policy of extermination. From the middle of the 16th century when the bold policy of exterminating the whole Irish Nation by the sword or by famine was commended to and graciously accepted by that voluptuous monarch, Henry VIII, down to the present day, two fundamental questions for the Irish nation have been, (1) whether it is entitled to self-preservation and (2) whether the Country belongs to the Irish or to England. No honest person could have any doubt as to the true answers to those elementary questions and to settle them has been the cause of the continual strife. Throughout all that time England has adhered in practice to the policy of extermination normally alternating between the sword and the State created famine occasionally plying both concurrently. From the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 State produced famine has been the continuous normal policy reaching its highest development in Queen Victoria's reign

and is still in operation in the milder form of emigration forced by economic pressure. I shrink from stating more of the harrowing particulars of famine and restrictions. Suffice it is to say that of a race now numbering thirty millions only a remnant of about four millions remain in Ireland. Now national as well as individual character is tested by suffering and proved by surmounting difficulties. What nation has been tested as Ireland has been? That there is an Irish nation in existence to-day, in spite of England, is a marvel of the age. Irishmen feel that the character also exists. That is the foundation of their hope. History tells of other victim countries. It also tells that a victim country which survives oppression and retains sufficient vitality and vigor to demand independence will make either an excellent member of the family of nations or a dangerous country to exclude from that family and the attempt to keep to keep it in the position of victim. Unprovoked tyranny stuns and terrifies. Sometimes it escapes immediate punishment. Retribution may be postponed. "Judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed some day or two; some century or two but it is as sure as life it is as sure as death". Ireland does not wish to be the instrument of the just punishment which will come to England for that judgment will be terrible. But apart from this, Ireland has the right to preserve itself. Her definite objects are SINN FEIN-COURSELVES. The continuance of foreign despotism becomes unsafe when the victim nation's heart is wrung with the record of the destruction of all that is dearest to her. When she sees with her own eyes and knows with her own reason that she can escape the utter destruction to which her foreign oppressor has doomed her only by a supreme effort, the moment her opportunity arises, to make that effort becomes her duty and the imperative duty of all who bear her name, making the gentle fierce and even the timid brave. All foreign rule is unjust. The right to resist injustice is indestructible. Philosophy is with us here. All foreign rule is slavery. The duty of resisting foreign rule is incumbent on all who ought not to be enslaved. This is the test of character self-applied by each individual. English rule of Ireland being foreign, unjust and slavery is destructive as well, has destroyed, is destroying and has doomed the Irish nation to utter destruction. That is the distinguishing note. The case is urgent in the last degree. But why need this be said when the facts force the conviction upon whoever thinks at all?

According to International law the right of self-preservation is the first law of nations as of persons. It is prior and paramount to even that of territorial inviolability, and where they conflict international law justifies the maintenance of the former at the expense of the latter right. As a consequential part of this right of self-preservation, a nation's sovereign independence and her purpose to achieve or maintain it, as the case may be, should be constantly and publicly announced and firmly maintained before the world on account of possible designs against it by any neighboring nation. No nation can ever have or acquire a right to destroy another nation either directly or indirectly by the sword or by famine or any other process or to prescribe the means a nation so menaced shall or shall not employ or when or how it shall employ them for its self-preservation or to require any account whatever of the nation's conduct or proposed conduct in this respect. And a nation so menacing another and attempting any such restraint or inquisition is already guilty of the destruction of that nation and of the supreme transgression of international law. All means that do not affect the independence of other nations are lawful for a nation to employ for its self-preservation. In the case of a nation in bondage and menaced with destruction as Ireland permanently is, where the bondage and the destruction proceed from the same source, the struggle for self-preservation and for independence is the same. Independence and nothing less would be self-preservation. The inher-

ent right of a nation to rebel against a destructive outside power is the natural expression of the right of self-preservation and becomes a duty when the conditions afford a possibility of success. The enforcement of a policy of destruction is ample justification in morality as well as in international law, for the adoption of any means necessary for self-defence and self-preservation necessarily including rebellion as the most obvious means. The conditions of success may easily lurk incalculable in a combination of circumstances on both sides such as the opportuness of attack, the weakness or other occupation or temporary blunder of the foe or the inscrutable decrees of Providence. Rebellion is always just when it has for its object the rescue of a nation from a destroying power; the reparation of a national wrong which by its nature continues and festers while that power lasts; the restoration of friendly relations with other states estranged by that power; the release of the faculties and resources of the nation from that power for its own people and the establishment of security against future aggression by that power. All these conditions exist together in the case of Ireland. A nation whose country has been repeatedly ravaged by an outside power and is in the interest of that power kept perpetually in a ravaged condition and is in the interests of that power restrained from assuming any other condition; denied the exercise of her elements of progress in any direction whether on the national or on the local scale; stripped of her resources mostly for foreign purposes antagonistic to her; denied control of the forty-three administrative Boards planted in her midst by England for England's purposes and of her money spent on their maintenance. Manifestly such a nation is being deliberately robbed and destroyed and owes to herself the urgent duty of self-preservation. Ireland is so situated. Unvarying experience convinces us that continual misery and subsequent decay and revolt are inseparable from foreign rule; and that rule itself, as a condition of its own maintenance, making national resuscitation impossible. And that the destruction of the nation and the destruction of the foreign rule over it are the only alternative remedies. Between forces so diametrically opposed, not temporarily but permanently, where every pretence of adjustment and reconciliation has been used by England as it is now being used, as a new trap for ~~her~~ the increase of aggression and deception, reconciliation is quite impossible and sovereign independence the only remedy. Either the power that is destroying Ireland must triumph and the Irish nation cease to exist or that power must be eliminated from Ireland. The Irish nation is immortal and cannot cease to exist. A nation animated with that spirit is at once indestructible and irreconcilable with slavery. As the continuous policy of destruction has in the past made the duty of a rebellion continuous so the Irish people are determined it shall be until the destructive power is wholly expelled. To such an unequal and deadly contest civilized nations should be opposed. But the bigger nations are hand in hand with the cruel and devilish English. To allow this unequal contest to drift indefinitely with its chronic toll of human misery and periodical toll of human life would be to allow continuous turmoil and in effect to adopt the side of the strong party contrary to the merits of the dispute. To put Ireland's rights at the very lowest, surely civilized states owe the common duty of justice and humanity to save an historic nation from an otherwise interminable policy of extermination. If I remember my Scholastic Philosophy and I think I do, every operative law connotes a corresponding right. A nation's obligations and duties whether con-

tracted or necessarily arising from its conduct or the requirements of international law or of humanity, are held to continue irrespective of any change of government voluntarily made by the nation and cannot be repudiated by it. A necessary corollary of this is that a nation's rights also continue irrespective of any change of government and, a fortiori irrespective of a change of government forced upon the nation from outside. Therefore Ireland's right to sovereign independence continues unimpaired. Of all reasons Ireland's ancient status as a sovereign state in unimpaired and ripe for independence and international recognition.

There are many sceptical people in this world who seem to think that Ireland is fighting a losing fight; that she can never hope to break the fetters which bind her to hated England. Many people imagine that England is invincible and that she is almighty. To those people I would say that the mightiest empire of all fell when the Roman Empire crumpled and that England's day is coming. My own people, those in the Capital particularly who are becoming rapidly Anglicized, throw up their hands deprecatingly and say that it is useless to fight against England; that the armed rebellion in 1916 was a failure and all our rebellions are doomed to the same end. People not sufficiently interested to give due consideration to the matter may suppose that a military failure cannot corroborate a right to the the object for which the military effort had been made; and all worshippers of wealth and success and despisers of failure, irrespective of merit, eagerly concur with them. The approval of this latter class the Irish do not desire because it would be prima facie evidence of some flaw. To the first mentioned class I would observe that the matter is not quite so simple; that the greatest failure in history has been the greatest moral success; that there have been instances of a similar phenomenon in mundane affairs; that faith in a cause intrinsically good, proved by the courage to fight against overwhelming odds even to the supreme sacrifice of life commands universal admiration; may be admirable in the degree of probability of failure and therefore strengthens the claim to the object of the effort. This sufficient reason has also the support of international precedent. Greece sustained a military defeat in her last rebellion against Turkey, and yet was in consequence of that effort recognized by England and other European States and in virtue of that recognition obtained her independence. On the other hand those who dispute the proposition do so in the name of some law. They are forgetful of the fact that must always be remembered that it is not by law, or justice or reason but only by force and fraud that Ireland has been subdued and kept in subjection. Since force nor fraud can neither confer a right nor legislate a usurpation those who employ them have no appeal to law or to anything but more force and more fraud. And that is precisely the situation in Ireland. As Burke said "The use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for the moment but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered". Any government which is not responsible to the people governed and in some way under their control is unconstitutional and inevitably becomes a tyranny. At best it must lead those conducting it into ignorance of the people's grievances with the natural consequence of failure to remedy them. As Franklin wrote of American Colonial Governors "Their office makes them intolerant, their indolence makes them odious and being conscious that they are hated they become malicious. Their malice urges them to continual abuse of the inhabitants in their letters to administration representing them as disaffected and rebellious and as weak divided, timid and cowardly".

I have mentioned some instances of English recognition of Irish national distinctions. Perhaps the most significant of all is the negative recognition involved in the entire absence from the English mind, official

and unofficial of any recognition of responsibility in Ireland. To any free man such an attitude on the part of a Nation boasting freedom and intelligence is scarcely conceivable. To the English, straight from reading in any one of their standard text-books that a government which is not responsible to the people governed is not constitutional, fully concurring in that doctrine, nay, enforcing it at the edge of the sword, the idea of English responsibility to Ireland never seems to enter their minds. How they manage to keep logic and practice in direct antagonism and expect that for their convenience free and intelligent people will do the same, I do not undertake to explain. I merely state the fact which may be verified any day. Illustrations of this hypocrisy are too numerous and too humiliating even to expose. One of the latest examples will suffice. Take the proclamation issued by the representatives of England at Bagdad on the 19th March, 1917: "O People of Bagdad! Remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavored to set one Arab House against another in order that they might profit by their dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her Allies for their can be neither peace nor prosperity where is enmity and misgovernment. Since the days of Halaka your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men and squandered in distant places". So much alike tyranny seems to be at Bagdad and in Ireland that the tyrants of Bagdad would appear to have imitated the tyrants of Ireland. The British authors were peculiarly qualified for writing this proclamation. Or take the official utterance of Lord Robert Cecil representing the British foreign Office on May 22nd, 1918, "We must look for any future settlement to a settlement not of Courts or Cabinets but of nations and populations. Government must be carried on by consent of the governed no greatness, no culture, no national existence can be built upon the oppression and subjugation of nations rightly struggling to be free!" These quotations show that the English government understands liberty as well as bondage and therefore that their tyranny in Ireland is a sin against the Holy Ghost. Contrast their profession abroad with their practice in Ireland. Contrast them with the actual situation in Ireland when those inspiring words were uttered. Such base hypocrisy and duplicity is disgusting.

At present the English King and the English Ministers whose power in Ireland is in no way derived from or through the Irish people, whether in England or Ireland or anywhere else, never acknowledged any responsibility to the Irish people. They repudiate any suggestion that they are or ought to be responsible. The Irish people have always adjusted their minds and conduct to this fact on the basis that government not being theirs in any but the military sense as the people of a conquered country, it is not responsible and therefore not to be recognized. This English government is recognized by itself by those it governs, and by all who study the matter as not being the choice of the people or under their control; therefore irresponsible, illegitimate and unconstitutional. Notwithstanding its representation of itself to the outer world, it fully recognizes itself and has to be obeyed in Ireland as an unmitigated despotism. Ireland is permanently in a state of seige. While that state is maintained by England it would be absurd to deny that a state of war exists between that Government and Ireland. The union that existed between England and Ireland at any time and the only union that exists now is a union of

force. During the whole seven centuries and one-half since the Anglo-Norman invasion there has never been a moment of unforced union between these two countries. While the ancient Irish polity lasted it was a union of assailant and assailed. Since England's power became dominant in Ireland it has been and now is a union of bondage, of master and slave, of tyrant and victim. As Burke says "A government against which a claim for liberty is tantamount to high treason is a government to which subjection is slavery. Nobody will be argued into slavery". Supreme power and its exercise in Ireland has been since the days of Elizabeth entirely in the hands of the English military. It is now exercised by the permanent presence in Ireland of an immense army of occupation backed by a further force of 12,000 called police but equipped, disciplined and employed as an army to say nothing of the ~~military~~ motley crew of jail recruits known as the Black and Tans. The supreme power, civil and military is vested in the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army of Occupation that person being wholly irresponsible to any Irish person or body. The Irish post-offices, their letters, their communications, their railways, their waterways, their lands, their mines, rivers, harbors, labors industries, their products and property of all kinds, their raw materials, manufactured articles, their markets, their food, their clothing, their schools, colleges and amusements, their coming and going, their domestic and foreign relations all are controlled and hampered aggressively and effectually by the "competent military authority", the irresponsible Commander-in-Chief of the English Army with all the power of that army and of the military police, spies, agents provocateurs and murderers under his control. Let who can reconcile this situation with freedom or with England's profession to the the outer world; and let who can find a more accurate description of the professions than colossal hypocrisy. There being no pretense possible that this universal and perpetual militarism is derived from God through the people, I do not here speculate as to its source but observe that being foreign military despotism not lacking in any of the characteristics of usurpation and tyranny and diabolical cruelty, devoid of popular sanction on one side and of acknowledgment of responsibility on the other, it is an execrable and infamous tyranny wholly devoid of moral sanction and of binding force beyond what brute force imposes. True to its nature it punishes as a crime, with only a mock military trial, or a civil trial subject to military control or no trial of any kind, according to the unfettered discretion of the military authority, such manifestations of patriotism as the same English hypocrites encourage in Belgium, Serbia, Bohemia Esthonia and Bagdad. What is know in civilized countries as ordinary and civil law is normally suspended in Ireland and in addition to the general military rule England keeps constantly in force in Ireland-the freest of all European countries from crime of moral turpitude-exceptional coercive laws formally enacted for short periods and requiring frequent renewal to deal with popular movements now being simplified by being made permanent.

Who is so ignorant, so obdurate, so inflexible and unreasonable as to say that Ireland is not entitled to independence? In the name of all that is good and holy can not the people see ~~through~~ through the infamy of England and the duplicity of that little Welsh Hound? Bear with me a moment until I bring before you the sinister evity with which England entered into the Great War. She disregarded the warning of her own great poet:

".....Take heed how you impawn my person,
How you awake the sleeping sword of war,
I charge you in the name of God take heed"

The first action of her government was that of all tyrants-to stifle public opinion by capturing the whole newspaper press and forcibly silencing such as refused to be captured. Then the captured press was used to create a bloodthirst with such cries as "Business as Usual"; "Capture German Trade", "Save Civilization"; "Avenge German Atrocities"; "Free Small Oppressed Nations"; "Put an end to Militarism". All fair-minded people who have followed the course of history are in a position to judge of England's qualifications for proclaiming these things through the press and on dead walls. The first two cries were for the English people for whom material gain was the object of the war. The other cries were baits for getting recruits from subject nations who were expected to be too stupid to see that they ought to be amongst those whom the war was to set free and would fight England's battles and get buried in heaps in unmarked graves or return maimed to their slavery while the English stayed at home reaping the profits. It was a complete plan for making wealthy England wealthier at the costs of the lives of her duped subjects. Not all the enslaved people were as stupid as England wished. Far too many thoughtless Irish youths were carried away to the war by the manufactured enthusiasm which the Press told them was real but which the Secret Treaties have since exposed. To the thoughtful the whole scheme coming from the military despotism which was throttling the country was the most impudent effrontery in history. It stung the Irish into thinking and acting for the most oppressed nation now extant, the only oppressed nation to which they owed a duty. No form of tyranny could be more monstrous and odious than that which would by moral, economic or any other form of pressure force men in bondage to fight for the freedom of other peoples and the perpetuation of their own slavery. To fight for ~~the~~ the oppressor who enslaved them and despised them would be evidence to the world that they were unworthy of freedom. If England says that Ireland is now free and that her condition is to be imposed on small nations as the result of the war then the war has been a great misfortune to small nations.

In refuting Ireland's claim to Independence England tries to confuse the issue by talking of "Ireland's duty in the War". This is the final piece of English supernal nerve and unheard of impudence that I shall attempt to touch. But my blood is seething against this most absurd and preposterous statement which you hear quite frequently from supposedly educated people. Free and powerful states have great duties which they do not always discharge. Small and independent states have a duty to maintain their integrity and independence by neutrality if possible. A nation in bondage has few duties except to herself and she is the sole judge of them and of when and how they should be discharged. Ireland has no responsibility for nor hope of gain from, nor duty in respect of the war though unlike independent states she is compelled to pay heavily for it. She had no more duty towards the war than Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland most of which countries were nearer to and in business relations more affected by the war than Ireland which is not allowed to have any business relations. Being independent they do not waste their manhood and money on other peoples' wars. They are not expected to do so and no one regards their neutrality as cowardly or selfish. The fact that the aforementioned countries are in the actual enjoyment of that supreme political good is the difference between them and Ireland as regards the war. Ireland wants that as a right stolen from her and wanting that wants everything essential for the external equipment of a state. To supply that want and recover her independence is her first and most urgent duty. Until that has been successfully discharged she can possibly owe no duty to any other country least of all her oppressor. England despot that she is wants the world to assume that the fact of Ireland being subject to her imposes a duty upon Ireland to defend her. Mirabile dictu. If that were international

law why did not England and the other countries impose a duty upon Greece to defend Turkey? Greece rebelled against Turkey and though she failed England was one of the States that insisted that Greece should be made independent; and Greece was made independent. International law has not changed since then. As well might a band of robbers claim to impose a duty on a victim in their den to defend them against the police. The defence the victim would need is against the robbers. The defence Ireland needs is against her only enemy, the Robbers commonly called English. Foreign rule as I have pointed out whether good or bad in detail, maintained by force imposes no obligation beyond the prudence of obedience in respect of that force. Neither duration nor number of repetitions can amend or validate a title originally vicious. This is law as I was taught in the English Law School at Toronto, the Good. The obligation to which the situation gives birth is to destroy that force as soon as possible. The desire of the people to release their country from that tyranny is still as it always has been, the very definition of patriotism the very virtue to which England appealed to and encouraged the Belgians, Serbians and Arabs, to fight against Nations who submerged them yet the same virtue is a crime in any nation submerged by herself. Surely the Allies cannot be supposed to have intended their good and lofty principles and purposes, as England does, for one section of mankind only and that section not to be determined by themselves but by England. If the professions be of universal application they command respect. Otherwise they are indefensible and contemptible. Ireland would be glad to achieve her independence as Norway did without loss of human life. Neither the failure of peaceful methods nor the guilt of violent methods shall rest with Ireland. But can the lamb of its own motions safely become reconciled with the wolf? The problem is a grave one for the lamb. Too often the Irish have attempted to reason with England as nation with nation and she cheated and insulted the Irish every time. Her perfidy and treachery is well known; her nefarious deeds will one day make her stench in the nostrils of the world.

Notwithstanding the prolonged torture Ireland has endured and which she has borne with wonderful patience and restraint Ireland does not entertain any feelings of revenge, if only the intruder will get out. That feeling would be immoral and a waste of energy because a vast and urgent work which it is Ireland's duty to do awaits her when sovereign independence comes. And while waiting Ireland is preparing herself as far as circumstances will permit. The entire popular voluntary activities of Ireland to-day, intellectual and material, have for common object national self-preservation and revival. Irishmen challenge investigation because they know they know that an investigation will find Ireland amply endowed with virtue, ability and purpose to maintain her national individuality, moral, intellectual, economic and political; a more wide-spread effort to revive the Gaelic Language, literature, music, drama, civilization and congenial industries than has ever been witnessed in a submerged nation for like purposes. All the more creditable because these activities have to encounter and overcome the constant organized hostility open and secret of the English Intruder and its agents in Ireland. All the time talent and enthusiasm directed to those specific aims are directed through these aims to the common goal, Sovereign Independence. The objects of Ireland are as Tone thus stated himself "To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England the unfailing source of all our political ills and to assert the independence of my native country these are my objects". This preliminary work done Ireland would rise glorious and beautiful from her bed of pain. If I could preach with a thousand tongues I would exclaim: "O Children of a land wilfully ruined and degraded we Irish long to discharge our

duty to an outraged parent and restore her to her native dignity and grace. We seek only exclusive sovereign control of Ireland and of all our interests, affairs and relations, internal and external without involving wrong to any other people. We as a nation have the same right which an inoffensive individual has to liberty subject only to the common condition that liberty is not to be exercised to the detriment of others. We seek only the simple, logical, elementary justice of self-determination. We have no designs against any other people and no intention of trying to dominate or conspire against any other people in the world. We expect all lovers of peaceful progress to be our friends and we theirs. Should we still have enemies they will be enemies of peaceful progress. We are at the dawn of a new epoch of grand achievement in a land all our own, hallowed by the lives of our forefathers and of those illustrious men who have died for that wonderful land whose ashes have sanctified Ireland. Our hearts vibrate with the spirit and purpose of renewed youth, buoyant, electric, adaptable, intolerant of external restraint; indelibly impressed with that unmitigated evil; resolved and conscious of ability to cast it out and keep it out. The things we shall do are both countless and great in the material and spiritual sense. We spring again as a State into international life full of new ideas, new hopes and unrestrainable rejuvenescence. May God grant that our aspirations may be realized".

My plea for Ireland imperfect as it is, is stated. I will not fulminate against England nor her policy of murder which is quickly and effectively exterminating the Irish people. Some day the civilized world will interfere; surely God in his Mercy will hurl forth his wrath against the English fiends. The treatment of Ireland by England at the present time baffles description and would make the German atrocities in Belgium read like a Sunday School story. It exhibits a degrading and brutalizing antipathy; it stamps the English as the lowest form of humanity. Under the flimsy pretense of law and order she sends her scum of the earth into Ireland and tries to inspire terror and force submission by shooting innocent women and children, murdering and subjecting our Priests to all forms of indignity. They shoot one of their own policemen in order that they may have an opportunity to raze a town. Some ignorant persons will say "The Irish are murdering policemen and members of the Crown Forces". To that I would reply that the crown forces have no business in Ireland; they have been there for hundreds of years as intruders and meddlers. Let them get out and the strife will cease. England, the greatest hypocrite in the world to-day is an octopus of savagery. Not content with sordid gain nor even with security she tortures wantonly. She has exhausted human ingenuity and device against Ireland and left no device untried even when no gain could be achieved as a possible result. She gives way permanently to the savage impulse of seeing through a criminal course once entered upon. The sleepless vigilance, the untiring ingenuity, the unremitting persistency with which Ireland is pursued, suffers no diminution from time or circumstance and proceeds only from sheer malevolence with no reason, however base, to justify it. In short the treatment of Ireland is the classic example of the treatment of a victim country. What Dr. Lynch wrote three centuries ago still holds true: "That time could not slacken or cool down the fiery ardor of this hatred, that English obstinacy should be eternal, is truly astonishing. Never since the creation of the world were hostile feelings so systematically kept alive for such a length of time in any country". Nor can I do better than quote the words found in Cambrensis Eversus I; 219, an apt epitome of England's policy in Ireland written three centuries ago also holds true still: "Down they go, (the Irish) and down they shall go in every

corner, God willing". Blinded by wicked purposes the English have never been able to appreciate the blasphemy of representing God as sanctioning their ungodly conduct. In relation to Ireland, England adds to her abnormal greed an active principle of malignancy and wanton hatred which men according to their tastes, ascribe to racial, religious climatic or other causes but which remain historical facts. England is a monster of iniquity and no name in the English language could adequately describe her sordidness and duplicity.

"There is a tide in the affairs of man when taken at Full flood leads on to greatness".

This time has now arrived. It may seem a dismal prospect; the hope of success may appear very remote but Ireland is ripe for Independence and with God's help Ireland is going to be free and shatter the fetters which bind her to the most inhuman monster the world has ever seen or will likely see. Ireland is merely claiming what President Wilson proclaimed in his famous fourteen points. What the blatant egotist, England with her loud mouth and glib tissue of falsehoods belched forth at every opportunity, namely the right of every people to determine their own destiny. There is a League of Nations but what a farce it is. Do you think they would hearken to the prayers and appeals of Ireland. No, not so long as England can bully and dominate the various members of that League. After all her conjured up excuses have been exploded, England the personification of all that is perfidious, claims that the geographical position in which the Creator has placed Ireland renders it impossible to grant her request for independence. In the 18th century before this audacious claim to Irish harbors was thought of and before it was considered an obstacle in the way of independence Edmund Burke gravely asked "Is Ireland united to the Crown of Great Britain for no other purpose than that we should counteract the bounty of Providence in her behalf?" When England arrogates to herself exclusively and expects a League of Nations or Peace Conference to sanction by acquiescence, a claim infinitely more audacious than has ever before been made by any country over another involving the commercial isolation of Ireland from the rest of the world all nations are entitled to be told under what law, national or international, this monstrous claim is made; if it be necessary to keep Ireland thus isolated and in bondage, what law gives England the exclusive right of doing that? Under what law does England claim this unlimited and manifestly unjust license while all other nations submit themselves to a code of international justice? For what offence is the historical Irish nation to be kept in commercial isolation and bondage? Where is this arrogant and unjust appropriation and domination to stop? Are the Irish people to be deprived of the light of day and of the air they breathe if scientific development should enable a stronger and wealthier state to appropriate those elements? When will Heaven intervene, when will this injustice cease, when will England be hurled into the abyssal depths of Erebus? When most nations are demanding freedom of the seas for commerce and inland nations are claiming free access to the sea, Ireland is so fortunate in being surrounded by sea that her whole claim is one of elementary simplicity-sovereign independence-the right to be let alone. I deny that any other state but Ireland has the exclusive right to Ireland's harbors. I say that such claim by a State guilty of the outrages which I have enumerated in this Thesis is an outrage upon public justice and international law. It amounts to asking the League of Nations to reverse the laws of nature and of nations and to make Ireland's simple case, very complicated and complex. To decree that Ireland shall not be permitted to make use of her own harbors and geographical position of facing the Atlantic and the great trade routes; that Ireland shall not be allowed to enjoy her natural

advantages is simply ask that Might should be allowed to triumph against right. Grotius in his Mare Liberum, has many wise remarks apposite to this phase of the question. At one place he says "But though God reserves to himself the final punishment slow and unseen but none the less inevitable yet he appoints to intervene in human affairs two judges whom the luckiest of sinners does not escape, namely, Conscience or the innate estimate of oneself and Public Opinion or the estimate of others. These two tribunals are open to those who are debarred from others; to these the powerless appeal; in them are defeated those who are wont to win by might, those who put no bounds to their presumption, those who consider cheap anything bought at the price of human blood, those who defend injustice by injustice, men whose wickedness is so manifest that they must needs be condemned by the unanimous judgment of the good and cannot be cleared before the bar of their own souls". Finally he says, addressing Holland a smaller country than Ireland "Therefore if it be necessary arise, O Nation, unconquered on the sea, and fight boldly not only for your own liberty but for that of the human race. Nor let it fright thee that their fleet is winged each ship with a hundred oars. The sea whereon it sails will have none of it. And though the prows bear figures threatening to cast rocks such as Centaurs throw thou shalt find them but hollow planks and painted terrors. 'Tis his cause that makes or mars a soldier's strength. If the cause be not just, shame strikes the weapon from his hands".

The lust for wealth and power is all that forces England to abandon her claims to culture and the right to rank as a civilized nation. Poor little lacerated Ireland, bleeding and torn is a pitiable sight before the world. She has done no wrong to England; she contemplates no revenge; she wants to be free. England's implacable hatred is attributed to the malignant nature of a disease. The real motive of the hatred is this: The English commercial mind is incapable of conceiving power as other than a product and accompaniment of wealth. She knows well the natural wealth, actual and latent of Ireland. It was not the poverty but the wealth of Ireland that excited English adventurers and aroused their cupidity and jealousy. The more favored a country is by nature the more attractive to the covetous, the greater the crime for destroying it. As a murderer dislikes being confronted by a person who has escaped his knife, England in her guilt, dislikes the Nation towards which she stands in the position of murderer and especially dislikes being confronted by that action before the tribunal of the world. Having partially failed to exterminate the Irish Nation, the English statesmen and Press constantly disseminate the slander in foreign countries that Ireland could not support herself as a Separate State, knowing full well from their own experience that this is a miserable slander. Yet the plundering thieves long since found Ireland to be a natural mine of wealth. They have abstracted and appropriated to themselves more from it for years than is expended in maintaining some proud States in Europe. That is why England is so wealthy and Ireland so apparently poor because impoverished by England's extortion. England knows that Independent Ireland would rapidly become wealthy and ~~near~~ powerful in modern Europe.

Therefore in conclusion let me say that the only cure for England's malignancy is the destruction in Ireland, of her power. It is knowledge of this and not counter-hate which has forced Ireland to fight and fight even unto death. With sovereign independence alone is a nation limited only by her ability and virtue and enabled to put forth her best efforts and reap the reward.

Surely in a civilized age no Peace Congress, No League of Nations, no other body of men, whose purpose is to establish a durable peace among men can fail to take account of the chief dispositions and forces hostile to peace and to take precautions against future misconduct of any State addicted to indulge in such misconduct. There is special necessity for this in the case of England, A State which has and is indulging in grave misconduct against a subject nation by continuous policy as distinguished from severity arising out of specific cause. International law does not recognize and civilized states cannot afford to allow any state to acquire a right to torture and destroy a subject nation. Not even in war still less in a settled form of Government can such treatment be allowed. France, England, Russia and the United States have in several instances with universal approval treated such abuse of power as a tyranny, a breach of international law, a public danger and a forfeiture by the offending state of any right to rule such subject nation; released the nations from subjection and established and maintained their independence. In none of these cases has abuse of power been so bad as in the treatment of Ireland by England.

Therefore Irishmen have the right to add to Ireland's numerous irresistible titles to Sovereign Independence the right of release from a tyranny which international law and all civilized states condemn which no right of sovereignty and no duty of allegiance could survive. England having made herself the personification of iniquity must be relieved of power and position so selfishly abused. The day of Ireland's independence has arrived. Arise O all loyal Irishmen and smite the tyrant. What matter if there are a million deaths; what matter if the country run red with blood; the cause is just; God is with us. Better death than bondage for ever. Prove to the world that though the odds are terrific, Irish determination can win. Banish from Ireland as St. Patrick did the snakes, the English reptiles whose slimy hands are stained with innocent blood and whose hearts are foul with murder and corruption. Right will triumph for the English cannot "Buckle a distempered cause within the belt of rule".

"FINIS".