

pledge once given to the Irish people, that they should be governed only by their own laws, be kept.

That is Sinn Féin; that is the sedition, the rebellion, the murder denounced by every pressman in New Zealand whom Harmsworth's gold could buy. That is the cause which has been calumniated and misrepresented in our daily papers from Auckland to the Bluff. That is the cause which has won now, and which England can no more defeat than she can kill the nation which she has tried in vain to kill for seven centuries. And that is no new cause: it is the old cause, though too many of the old warriors became degenerate and turned their backs on the flag. Hear the words of those who represented Ireland a few decades ago and judge if they, too, were not then Sinn Féiners:—

"Ireland, marked out as she is from the very first by the finger of Omnipotence as a separate and distinct nation, had all the attributes of a nation long before the Norman invasion; and from the date of the Norman invasion to this moment there has been age after age one long and continuous struggle between this national sentiment and overwhelming odds. Why, it may be asked, are we on occasions such as this asked to toast 'Ireland a Nation'? Well, it seems to my mind there is one very cogent reason. It is well for us at this time of the day to reassert before the world what it is that this national movement means. What is the truth underlying this movement? I beg leave to say that this movement to-day is the same in all its essentials as every movement which in the past history of Ireland has sought by one weapon or another to achieve the national rights of this land. The truth underlying this movement to-day is precisely the same principle as that for which other generations have fought and died. It is the principle that the sons of Ireland, and they alone, have the right to rule the destinies of Ireland."—John Redmond in the Mansion House, Dublin, April 23, 1889.

"The principle embodied in the Irish movement is just the same principle which Owen Roe O'Neill vindicated at Benburb; which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and for which Emmet sacrificed his life. The Irish leader who would propose to compromise the national claims of Ireland, who would even incline to accept as a settlement of our demand any concession short of the unquestioned recognition of that nationality which has come down to us sanctified by the blood and tears of centuries, would be false to Ireland's history, and would forfeit all claim to your confidence and support. Such a contingency can never arise, for the man who would be traitor enough to propose such a course would find himself no longer a leader. No man can barter away the honor of a nation."—John Redmond at Chicago, 1886.

"I say to you, men of Tipperary, that we would be untrue to our country and untrue to those who begot us, if we rested content until every vestige of English rule was swept from the fair face of Ireland."—John Dillon, 1888.

And if you think the Sinn Féin policy of remaining away from Westminster is anything new consider the following opinions of those who ought to know:—

Gladstone: "Whenever the people of England think one way in the proportion of two to one they can outvote in Parliament the united forces of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland."

Parnell: "The air of Westminster would demoralise anyone, no matter how imperceptibly. As the air of London would eat away the stone walls of the House of Commons, so would the atmosphere of the House eat away the honor and honesty of the Irish members."—(Dublin, 1878). "I feel convinced that, sooner or later, the influence which every English Government has at its command will sap the best party you can return to the House of Commons."—(Limerick, 1880.)

Davitt: "I have for four years tried to appeal to the sense of justice in this House of Commons on behalf of Ireland. I leave convinced that no just cause, no cause of right, will ever find support in this House of Commons unless it is backed up by force."—(1899.)

Dillon: "Our position in this House is made futile. We are never listened to."—(Commons, December 3, 1917.)

Devlin: "I do not often come to this House, because I do not believe it worth coming to."—(Commons, December 4, 1917.) "I know perfectly that anything we say is unheeded here, at any rate in the ultimate adjustment and determination. . . . It takes a rebellion and things of that sort to bring home the grim realities of the Irish situation to these gentlemen."—(Commons, April 15, 1918.)

IRISH PETITION IN U.S. SENATE

Last week (says the *Brooklyn Tablet* of January 4) Senator Phelan, of California, introduced a joint resolution in the Senate, requesting the commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the International Peace Conference to present to the said conference the right of Ireland to freedom, independence, and self-determination, predicated upon the principle laid down by the President in his plea for an international league that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Senator Phelan also had inserted in the Congressional Record, a petition for self-determination for Ireland signed by numerous American citizens, and an address to the President of the United States from the people of Ireland, which read in part as follows:

"It was John Mitchel who said that England won her greatest victory over Ireland when she got control of the ear of the world. She has control of the ear of the world still, and, now as always, pours into it whatever poison she can against the Irish people, whom she evidently proposes to destroy. She is constantly ringing the changes upon the atrocities committed against other small nations while very careful to cover up the worse atrocities committed by herself against the small nation that lies at her door. Whatever happens to Ireland will, if England can possibly help it, remain a sealed book, and unless the Irish people everywhere do their duty, the real facts relating to Ireland will not be made known.

"When it was sought to have a delegation representative of every phase of Irish life come to Washington to present the address adopted by the Mansion House conference to President Wilson, England stepped in and prevented the delegation from coming. The address then had to be presented through the American Ambassador at London. The Associated Press and the United Press were careful not to publish this vitally important document, though they printed in full the appeal sent to President Wilson by Sir Edward Carson and his Orange confreres.

"Referring to this address from the people of Ireland the *London Nation* said: 'No such bitter indictment of British policy has been framed for over a hundred years, and no British Minister since Castlereagh has come nearer than Mr. George to deserving it.'

The country which stands for an independent Bohemia governs Ireland by military law.'

"The address, which is printed in full in the *Record*, covers every phase of the Irish question, and closes as follows:—

Hope in President Wilson.

"In every generation the Irish nation is challenged to plead to a new indictment, and to the present summons answer is made before no narrow forum, but to the tribunal of the world. So answering, we commit our cause, as did America, to 'the virtuous and humane,' and also more humbly to the Providence of God.

"Well assured are we that you, Mr. President, whose exhortations have inspired the small nations of the world with fortitude to defend to the last their liberties against oppressors, will not be found among those who would condemn Ireland for a determination which is irrevocable, to continue steadfastly in the course mapped out for her, no matter what the odds, by an unexampled unity of national judgment and national right."

J. LEWIS

(Late Lewis & Hoggan).

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