

THE ULSTER MYTH

(By J. F. CASSIDY, in America.)

In their recent election addresses some English statesmen resurrected the Ulster problem, which had almost disappeared from sight during the past four years. Mr. David Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill have very definitely told the world that they stand as rigidly for the maintenance of Orange Ulster's will as for British naval supremacy. They feign friendship for democracy and self-determination in thus championing the cause of the northern province and seek to convince the world that they do so from the spirit of liberalism and sheer philanthropy. As in their navalist programme, so in this, they have sought to mask their imperialistic designs beneath a fallacious plea for justice for the Orangemen, that can find no justification in any despotism menacing the rights of the men of the North. But the arguments of these two gentlemen are in no sense novel; they have come constantly in the same guise from the representatives of imperialism in England for the past hundred years.

Now the world should know, in the interests of true justice and self-determination, that the claims of imperialist England on behalf of Ulster are radically false and misleading. The Ulster question has been manufactured in England for England and by England and not for the sake of the much-tortured Irish province. Ulster has indeed been highly favored by England politically and economically, and basking in the sun of her privileges is, Leinster excepted, the most prosperous section of the island. She has been allowed a free hand in the moulding of her industrial future, whilst crushing statutes have destroyed the commercial enterprise of the rest of the country. But it must be remembered that the object of England's benevolence is not primarily the prosperity of Ulster. Wealth and affluence have been given to her that she might learn to love the giver of those good things and consign to a very secondary position the interests of the rest of her homeland. And England's bait has wrought wonders of perversity in the heart of Orange Ulster. It has made Ulster a veritable thorn in the side of Irish national aspiration and development. Orangemen blinded by prosperity have forgotten their gallant forefathers who used the convincing argument of gun and sabre in the days of Grattan and Flood to wring from the Saxon commercial emancipation for Irishmen of every creed and class. They have wandered from the ways of their noble ancestors who drank the health of the Irish and French Republics in the last wild years of the eighteenth century. They have become wrapt up in self, commercialised, provincial, too narrow in their views to be even imperialists for imperialism's sake and too material to feel the finer emotions of

patriotism. They have fallen down and adored the god of commercial prosperity and bartered their soul for a mess of pottage.

Another fallacy bolstering up the Ulster myth is the teaching that the Irish Presbyterian must expect persecution from the Catholics under an Irish Parliament. How, in the face of the Irish reputation for tolerance in matters of religion, such a doctrine can win any credence seems difficult to understand. Any one possessing a true knowledge of Irish character knows that nature did not give it the iron that makes the persecutor. A tyro's knowledge of Irish history should convince any unprejudiced person that the Catholic Gael who has been so grievously persecuted has been supremely tolerant towards his non-Catholic fellow-countrymen. Even to-day, when Catholics possess more power than ever they possessed, in every part of the country where they predominate a man's religion is no bar to office, if in other respects he be qualified for such. There are at the present moment hundreds of small towns that have Protestants in public offices with the full approval of populations that are overwhelmingly Catholic. Orange trade with the Nationalist population is very considerable, and Belfast, despite its annual celebrations on the Twelfth of July, carries on a thriving business with the South. In the political world the same liberal attitude on the part of Catholics has existed in the past and still endures. There was never a Protestant who manifested sincerity in the national cause whom Ireland did not receive with open arms. Amongst the truest, most revered, and most beloved of her patriotic sons are the heroic Emmet, great-souled Mitchel, and princely Parnell.

In the face of these facts Ulster has no right whatsoever to protest against the uniform application of the principle of self-determination to all Ireland. Her non-conforming population could have no just grounds for demanding separation from the rest of the country except those of tyranny in the past or a menacing despotism in the future. Her people are only a very small section of the nation. Ulster, not being a people in the national sense of the word, but an integral and natural part of a people, has no right to determine in her own way her future existence apart from the common body of the nation in which she is incorporated. Since that people of which she is a section has offered and is willing at any future date to offer sufficient guarantees under an Irish constitution for the safety of her religious and civil liberty, her protests must be regarded as unreasonable. It is more irrational on her part to seek separation from the rest of Ireland than it would be for Virginia to demand a political future outside the group of commonwealths that constitute the United States.

Besides, to isolate Ulster from Ireland would be doing a grave injustice to the majority of the nation.

Men: Send to Beath's

Our Stocks of Men's Wear are "Right," so are the Values.

Because a man is judged by his clothes, be particular. Beath's furnish particular men with clothes that are "right"—right in style, right in quality, right in price. And we pay postage.

Men's Shirts, tunic styles, stiff neck bands, soft cuffs, in white and cream, with smart stripes; well-finished shirts—
9/6 10/6 to 12/6

Men's Shirts, in Ceylon Flannels, neat stripes, splendid in wear, soft cuffs and collars 8/6 to 12/6

Men's Heavy Union Flannel Shirts, winter weights— 10/6 to 17/6

Men's Silk Shirts, in tussore and white silk and Fuji silk, bands and collars—
19/6 to 27/6

Men's Soft Felt Hats, new shapes and shades, drabs, slates, browns, and fawns 16/6 to 27/6

Men's Soft Felt Hats in cheaper makes—
8/6 9/6 10/6

"Stetson" Fur Felts 42/-
"Stetson" Velours 77/6



Beath and Co., Ltd., Christchurch

F. A. LAWS, The SPORTS HOUSE, 29 Courtenay Place, Wellington. Also at Riddiford Street, Newtown. THE BEST CRICKET MATERIAL can always be obtained at our Premises in COURTNEY PLACE, or at our Branch House in RIDDIFORD ST., NEWTOWN. Sporting Goods of every description stocked by us, together with a varied and choice range of Ladies' Handbags and Travelling Requisites.—PHONE 4425.