

he saw in Ireland of the methods of the Orangemen and their murder-gang. But a "diplomatic denial" came to tell us that he only stayed away because they were whitewashing the walls of his little cabin in Phoenix Park. And, sure, we all know what diplomatic denials mean. The Orangemen celebrated the Viceroy's flight by undertaking to kill, beat, maim, rob, and otherwise ill-use their Catholic neighbors. Once more they let themselves go in order to prove to the world what sort of men the British Government and our Colonial day-liars delight to honor. Thus the curtain was rung down on a page of British history that will lead future generations to wonder what sort of savages Englishmen must have been in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Many English papers have denounced the British Government for subjecting the King to the indignity of being present at the Carsonia farce. We suspect he will never forgive Lloyd George for it. It is a pity he could not cut off the Welshman's head. On the King's part in the proceedings *America* comments: "The King of England begs the Irish people to forgive. Wearing the unaccustomed garb of a penitent, a Wettin comes to Ulster, strange confessional, to be absolved. The garment does not hang well; it seems too hastily assumed; perhaps for a purpose. But God grant that sorrow, deeds of reparation and speedy amendment go with this confession of English outrages in Ireland, and that sincerity, a confession's prime requisite, be not lacking. But Ireland forgives. Too long has she stood in the shadow of the Cross to forget how her Master's first words pleaded with His Father that those who had pursued Him even to a felon's death might be forgiven. She knows what suffering is, she who has been scourged and buffeted and spat upon by lustful Herods and time-serving Pilates, she upon whose dark head has been pressed a crown of thorns. One last torture she has been mercifully spared. She has never been rejected by her own. To-day even as the nails are sunk, martyred Ireland forgives. That is her noblest victory, as it was the sublimity of the Cross. The Irish people, whose heart has long been sorrow's home, can forgive because they, too, have been crucified. . . . The glow on the hills beyond Jerusalem was as blood, but it quickly paled to the gold of an Easter dawn. So, too, the hills of Ireland are red with blood of her sons; blood that cries aloud for justice, and will be heard in God's good time."

IRISH REPRISALS

Following is the indictment of Sir John Simon which appeared in the correspondence columns of the *London Times* for April 23, and was subsequently, by permission of that journal, published in pamphlet form by the Peace with Ireland Council:—

AUXILIARY DIVISION'S RECORD.

Sir,—The Prime Minister's reply, published in your columns on the 20th inst., to the protest of Anglican and Free Church leaders against the policy of reprisals in Ireland, raises in the most precise form a moral issue which lies at the root of British conceptions of civilised administration.

That issue is nothing less than the question whether it is permissible for the agents of a Christian and civilised community to attempt to repress and discourage outrage committed by unidentified individuals who are "on the run," by visiting the whole countryside where such an outrage occurs with counter-outrage by way of vengeance or collective punishment, so that the innocent suffer without redress and a condition of official terrorism is set up which it is vainly hoped will promote peace with Ireland. The Prime Minister's attempt to defend the proceedings of his agents during the last nine months also lifts a corner of the veil which has been so elaborately thrown over what those agents have really been doing. Some of the admissions which he is constrained to make as to their behaviour are of the gravest character, and are in start-

ling contradiction with previous Ministerial assurances.

Mr. Lloyd George tells us that in July, 1920, he decided to create a new force in Ireland called the Auxiliary Division, and he complains that the authors of the protest should describe this force as "irregular." One of the marks of Regular troops is that they wear uniform when discharging their duties, and Mr. Lloyd George describes the Auxiliaries as doing so. But two days before the Prime Minister wrote his letter, there was a lamentable and fatal affray at Castleconnell* between two bodies of Crown forces, neither of which was in uniform, and each of which mistook the other for members of the Republican Army. And on the very day on which Mr. Lloyd George's letter was circulated the Attorney-General for Ireland stated in the House of Commons that one of these bodies consisted of Auxiliaries on active duty "in plain clothes."

The facts about the creation of the Auxiliary Division, whether its members deserve to be called "Irregulars" or not, are plain enough. It was recruited in London for temporary service in Ireland by public advertisement and by the offer of a high rate of pay; the recruits for the most part were not Irishmen, and their actions show that they regard Ireland as a country which is inhabited by an inferior race, which it is their business to overawe and their privilege to bully. These men have received the minimum of training for their special duties, and the evidence is overwhelming that their discipline is so lax that many of them are often under the influence of liquor. I have before me first-hand evidence that within the last few weeks some of them are making it their boast that they are not under the effective control either of the military or of the police authorities, and that, whatever may have been the original composition of the force, some of its members assert that their comrades now include men who are not ex-officers at all. The record and behaviour of members of the Regular army in Ireland are very different, and we owe it to them to insist that there is the widest distinction between their relations with the civil population and those which the "deplorable excesses" (I use Mr. Lloyd George's own words) of the Auxiliary Division have succeeded in creating.

The Prime Minister now tells us that he "will not attempt to deny that deplorable excesses have been committed" by the Auxiliary Division. He, however, contends that the worst period was in the early days of the force. He confesses that "a certain number of undesirables have got into the corps," and that some of the Auxiliaries "have undoubtedly been guilty of unjustifiable acts." And in order to prove how much better things are, he produces statistics for the last three months. During this period of improved conduct, he states that 334 members either of the Auxiliary Division or of the Royal Irish Constabulary have been deprived of their posts, either as the result of prosecution or of sentence by court-martial or as being unsuitable to be members of the force.

Of this total, dismissed men belonging to the Auxiliary Division actually amount to five per cent. of the total strength of that force, so that at a time when the Auxiliary Division was on its best behaviour it is found necessary to get rid of them at the rate of twenty per cent. per annum! Such is the highwater mark which the Prime Minister's agents have attained, and he leaves us to imagine how much worse their conduct must have been when their "deplorable excesses" were unchecked.

Are we to understand that the rank and file of the "Black-and-Tans" behaved better than this *Corps d'elite*? If so, no stronger condemnation of the ex-officers who are said to compose the Auxiliary Division can be conceived.

*Details of this incident have since been made public by the reading, in both Houses of Parliament, of a letter from Mr. W. Harrison Cripps, a distinguished surgeon, and brother to Lord Parmoor. Mr. Cripps was staying with his wife at the hotel where the affray took place. In the course of his description he says, "Some dozen or so men rushed along the passage and up the staircase yelling like Red Indians and firing as rapidly as possible. There was no kind of order, each man firing right and left. . . . I could see out of the window a large number of men in the street, firing up and down, and the inhabitants standing with their arms over their heads."