

in Irish life, including Cardinal Logue, Sir Horace Plunkett, George Russell, Mrs. Alice Stopford Greene, Lieutenant Commander Erskine Childers, Mr. Arthur Griffith, and officers of the Irish Labor Movement. Its inquiry has been greeted with similar cordiality by many English leading citizens, including Sir Francis Vane, Bart., of Hutton, who was the chief British recruiting officer in Ireland during the war; Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Sir John Simon, Mr. Annan Bryce, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. William P. Adamson, Mr. C. T. Cramp, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, and others. American Senators, Governors, Mayors, and other distinguished citizens warmly approved our project although precluded from participation in it.

**Defects of this Inquiry.**—It must be pointed out that while the reports and documents gathered by the Commission present the case of Ireland from diverse points of view, the direct testimony available gives the case almost wholly from the Irish Republican viewpoint or from sources not unsympathetic to the application of the principle of self-determination to Ireland. In other words, the Ulster Unionist viewpoint and that of British officialdom in Ireland, in spite of every earnest effort of the Commission, were not represented among the witnesses. Diligent efforts were made to remedy this unfortunate defect.

**Commission Refused Visas.**—The Commission planned, among other things, to send a sub-committee to England and Ireland, and it was arranged that in England this committee should consult every available source of British opinion on Ireland. Major Newman, Mr. Maurer, and Dr. William MacDonald, the Secretary of the Commission, were selected for this mission, but after passports had been secured from our State Department the British Government through the Embassy refused visas. The Commission regretted this action, not only because of its prejudicial effect against the British Government on a large section of American opinion, but particularly because the first suggestion that the Commission extend its inquiry to England and Ireland had come from British sources, from a group of the principal leaders in the Labor Party.

We wish to commend the frank and dispassionate spirit in which the Irish witnesses presented their testimony. They came to us in many cases under conditions of great personal inconvenience, or even danger. In so far as they represented the Irish people before the Commission, that people has cause for pride in them.

## CHAPTER II.—REVIEW OF THE SITUATION AND STATEMENT OF FINDINGS.

Our inquiry has been concerned with only those aspects of conditions in Ireland that appeal to the sympathy, conscience, and sense of justice of mankind, and that cannot be ignored if the traditions of civilisation are to be the basis of human comity. Repeated refusal of the Imperial British Government to permit a parliamentary or judicial investigation that would reveal the facts made inevitable both this inquiry and subsequent inquiries by various groups of British citizens. This departure from traditional British frankness in dealing with the activities of Imperial officials and troops culminated in the suppression of the report of General Strickland on the burning of Cork. The Imperial British claim to Ireland would seem to us to incur more injury from such concealment than any revelation could possibly inflict.

### Events Leading to the Present Crisis.

The terms of our reference did not allow us to extend our inquiry to the historical relation of Ireland to the British Empire and the economic and social effects of that relation as shown by the loss of population and the condition of the people. The revival of Irish nationhood and the part played in it by the Gaelic League, the co-operative movement, the Irish Labor Movement, and the Sinn Féin organisation were also beyond our scope. Certain facts, however, must be understood as a basis for a correct appraisal of present events. These facts do not seem to be questioned and may be set forth without offering proof.

The central fact in the Irish situation is the presence of the British in Ireland. The British can point to 700 years of possession of Ireland, and to 700 years spent in

trying to pacify Ireland; and the British naturally desire to continue to possess Ireland, for they are proud of their Empire, jealous of its integrity, and anxious about its security.

The Irish people from age to age, almost from generation to generation, have contested the right of the British in Ireland. Since the United States was liberated from the British Empire, the Irish people had asserted their natural right by arms on the following occasions: 1783, 1798, 1803, 1848, and 1867. These and "constitutional" efforts won from the British Parliament the abolition of Penal Laws against Roman Catholics, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, liberal land laws, and, finally, the Irish Home Rule Act, which was passed by Lords and Commons and signed by the King in 1914. At the behest of the British Tories, under the titular leadership of Sir Edward Carson, that Act was forthwith suspended for the duration of the war to which the Irish Nationalist leader John Redmond and his party gave their support. Later the Act was rendered void by a superseding Act which partitioned Ireland.

To fight the Home Rule Act, Sir Edward Carson's Tory lords had started the Ulster rebellion of 1914, armed the Unionists there, and set up a Provisional Government in Belfast. This insurrection was abetted by Lord French, and by Sir Henry Wilson, now of the Imperial British High Command. Thereafter Sir Edward Carson and the other leaders in the Ulster insurrection were promoted to high office in the Imperial British Government.

After this, in 1916, Irish poets, teachers, and leaders, with less than 1,000 followers, rose in rebellion, and declared Ireland's independence. Confronted with the Irish Declaration of Independence, the Imperial British Government poured additional troops into Ireland. The rebellion was crushed in April, 1916.

The Imperial British Government then continued to pour troops into Ireland. The Irish to an increasing degree were deprived of civil and social liberty. Such British rule lasted until December 14, 1918, when, at the conclusion of the war avowedly fought for the rights of small nations, the Irish people in the general election, held under British auspices, gave the endorsement of their suffrage to the Irish Republic which was the election issue in Ireland.\* In fulfilment of their pledge the elected representatives of the Irish Republic met in Congress (Dail Eireann) at Dublin, organised as a Government, nominated officers, and proceeded to function (January 21, 1919). And an army known as the Irish Republican Army was created, equipped with distinctive uniforms, and drilled openly.

\*In England the election issue was, "Make Germany pay for the war and hang the Kaiser"; in Ireland, "Separate completely from England." In effect, the English did not vote on this Irish issue and the Irish did not vote on the English "khaki" issue.

(To be continued.)

## AN APPEAL TO IRISH FAITH AND LOVE OF ST. PATRICK RAETIHI

In the raging bush fire that swept this district in 1918 our little church (St. Patrick's) at Raetihi was burnt to the ground. We are now making an attempt to raise funds to replace that little church in a permanent material which will withstand the brunt of future fires as the Irish Faith has withstood the brunt of the fires of persecution. To us, who have the Faith from Ireland, the name of Patrick is sweet music to our ears. Here is a practical way to show our gratitude for our Irish Faith and our love for St. Patrick, by helping to raise a church worthy of our Faith and of our glorious Saint at Raetihi.

Send a brick (5/-) to-day for St. Patrick's Church, Raetihi. All donations acknowledged in the Tablet.  
Address for donations—

FATHER GUINAN.

Onakune.