

will, I fear, be ancient history. At one time things looked promising and I thought the British Cabinet were in earnest. But our delegates returned yesterday to Dublin without finding them willing to furnish a legitimate basis on which to hold a Peace Conference. The pretence, of course, is the stale one—that the N.E. Orangemen would not forgo their determination to resist an United Parliament. "Do you hold out and we will back you" is the motto. Whether negotiations will now break off hopelessly I cannot say. It looks like it, and that our little country is to be plunged again into the horrors familiar to you. There is consolation in the beatitude, "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice sake." Thank you very much for your kind sentiments, which I heartily appreciate.

With my blessing and fond wishes, yours faithfully,

✱ M. FOGARTY,
Bishop of Killaloe.

Mr. John Meagher, Bathurst.

We take it that Bishop Fogarty is better qualified to express an opinion on the spirit of the Irish people than any day-lie man, and our readers will see how he corroborates our own view, so often published in the pages of the *Tablet*. DO YOU HOLD OUT AND WE WILL BACK YOU, is the motto given by the people for the guidance of their representatives. Now that they have held out and have been true to their trust, true to Erin and to her immortal dead, the people will back them, even to following them once more into the wilderness until they make an end of the oppression of their land and lift her up to her rightful place among the nations. And, with God's blessing, we and every true Celt in the Greater Ireland beyond the seas will also back them. Only let us hope that the days of tribulation that may come shall find little chaff among the wheat.

Ireland and the Empire

The following letter from Miss Jessie Mackay, appeared in the *Manawatu Daily Times*, for September 20:—

To the Editor.

Sir.—May I offer a few words of comment on your editorial pronouncement on de Valera's reply to Mr. Lloyd George? I recognise that it expresses the general British sentiment at present. But, reading carefully this Irish ultimatum with Mr. de Valera's previous repudiation of any settlement that leaves Ireland less than an independent nation, I, for one, am firmly convinced that Britain will one day express a very different opinion. To-day Britain is pleased to make statues of George Washington and present them to America. One hundred and twenty-five years ago she would gladly have hanged him. If Britain confesses the justice of American claims of independence, despite their plunging two peoples into bloody war, how much more will she confess the justice of the same claim from Ireland, which has had ten thousand times the wrong: the American colonists ever had from England? At present we can only stand aghast at the temerity of a little country, which, partially for seven centuries, and absolutely for over three and a-quarter centuries, we have held down by espionage and the sword, and which now tells us with perfect truth we must either let her go or tear up our constitution of the League of Nations as so much waste paper. We Britons offer no valid reason why Alsace should be free of Germany, and Bohemia free of Austria, and Smyrna free of Turkey, while we alone should contravene the new law of self-determination. We do offer two very extraordinary invalid reasons, one that we have already succeeded in holding her a vassal for seven centuries; the other, that as Providence planted her within a few miles of Britain, it has been divinely decreed that she can never be an independent nation. Those who best understand the slow-moving mind of England best know that these reasons will be as thistle down when the time comes for sending over a statue of de Valera to Dublin. The plain end of the matter is that Ireland has the case: we have nothing but the bluff. It is deeply to be deplored that Greenwoodism, superimposed on Elizabethism, Cromwellianism, and coercion, has left no other word than separation humanly

possible, but since it is inevitable, we must make the best of it, and preferably before the Empire goes to pieces than after.

But reading President de Valera's two manifestoes still more carefully, there is more behind, and it is the studious moderation and courtesy of these historic utterances that will impress the future historian. All Britain, Great and Greater, is making the huge mistake of isolating Ireland's case from the unique world situation of which it forms a cardinal factor. We not only demand that Britain shall over-ride the postulates of the League of Nations; we ask that a nation at once free-born and new-born shall be bound to our chariot wheels on whatever reactionary track it may take. The crux of the whole matter is military. I am bringing no railing accusation against the British Cabinet and Premier. They have offered complete control of domestic affairs to Ireland, I believe honestly. But Mr. Lloyd George's six points plainly turned upon the use of Irish harbors and the use of Irish revenue for military contingencies. And Ireland, knowing that the world peace depends on Britain's handling of the Pacific problem, that no possible war can now be waged upon Britain by any European power, and that no possible drive can come at her from the west, but one humanity dare not name, has replied with that clarity which always distinguishes statesmanship from parish politics. She belongs to a new world-era, that of the world peace. She will make war on no nation, nor waste her substance on defence for which her policy will give no reason to anticipate. She will not be entangled in any wars that any other nation may wage. In a word, Ireland has signalled the occasion of that self-determination which Britain blesses in all other cases by dedicating her new nationhood to that as yet invisible League of Nations, on which the most forward peoples of the earth are at one. The Scandinavian countries and America are essentially at one on this new world policy, which means non-aggression abroad and the fullest development of their peoples' interests at home. Ireland stands on the same basis, and can accept no settlement which will drag her back into the chaos of an order painfully dying.

But why should subordination to Britain drag Ireland back? I answer as a loyal citizen of the British Empire, or, as some prefer it, of the Pan-Britannic Confederation. I answer as a loyal citizen, but a sad one. The world-situation now hinges on the control of the Pacific. Four Powers hold all worth holding of that sea-board—Britain, America, Japan, China. Of these, China is at present helpless, crippled, exploited, partly by old European concessions wrung from her in years gone by, very particularly by the open arrogance and subtle self-seeking of her hated neighbor, Japan. China appeals to the world for a nation's rights; America has shown herself averse from the strangle-policy adopted towards China. The coming League of Nations, if civilisation is to come through at all, will put China and Japan in those respective places which alone can secure the peace of the Pacific and the world. Japan is banking on the renewal of the military alliance once wisely accorded her by England under the shadow of a European peril which will never exist again. Russia and Germany are both down and out. Britain has the choice next November of dissolving that alliance which now stands for the combined spoliation of China, the continued torture of Korea, and the continued exploitation of Japan's own miserable industrial population, or of throwing her glove fair in the face of America, who will never accept the Anglo-Japanese Alliance under any circumstances. If Britain chooses the first alternative, she belongs to the new world order. If she chooses the second she belongs to the old. Her present Government declares for the renewal, seemingly uncaring that she has plainly been warned the Alliance will cost her Canada. I ask your readers whether the statesmen of Ireland—for Ireland has statesmen at the helm—in this hour of fate could honorably or safely answer other than they have done? If England decrees Ireland shall perish by the sword, is it not better she should perish nobly fighting for the new world order, in which she had hoped to take her part than ignobly to perish in that final cataclysm of East and West which is the logical outcome of the renewed Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Pray heaven the Pan-Britannic Confederation may recognise these plain facts before it is too late, and make safe and honorable agreements with the young Republic at its gates.