

the English Friends in their report read by Mr. Furnas. Taking these figures at their lowest, and even discounting them then to allow for enthusiasm and imperfect investigation, the evidence would seem to be almost conclusive that the Irish Republican Government is the one government which is desired by the majority of people of Ireland to-day.

Composition of the Republican Government.—Since April, 1919, according to Consul-General Fawsitt, there has been in operation an Irish Republic with a President and with Ministers of State for home affairs, foreign affairs, national defence, finance, local government, industries, labor, agriculture, education, trade and commerce, fisheries, forestry, and information. The Government of the Irish Republic has consuls in the United States, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and Denmark who are striving to secure recognition for the Republic and to consolidate its trade relations. Since 1918 the elected national representatives of Ireland have gathered in Dublin, constituting the Congress or Dail Eireann. This comprises seventy-five constituencies, all but thirty-seven of whose representatives have spent terms in jail for their membership. This Congress met openly for twelve months, but now meets secretly, under difficulties imposed by the Imperial British Government in Ireland. Its members and its leaders, according to Mr. Fawsitt, Miss McSweeney, Miss Russell, and other witnesses who know them, are among the most brilliant of the younger men of Ireland, and they are bent upon keeping all young men of Ireland in Ireland by rigidly restricting emigration and by diverting those with political talent from the English civil service into the Irish. The Commission was impressed by the several reports of the composition and functioning of the Irish Republican Congress.

Economic Programme.—Its economic programme would appear to be extensive, and to have had effect already upon the industrial organisation of the country. Consul-General Fawsitt was confident that Ireland under Irish management could support 12,000,000 people, or three times its present number. An Economic Commission is studying national conditions, according to Mr. Hackett, and from it recommendations looking toward an intensification of industry are expected. It is apparent that much has been accomplished in establishing healthy co-operative enterprises, including cheese factories, creameries, egg societies, banks, and stores. An important Republican institution already well under way and described by Mr. Fawsitt is the Land Bank, with six branches, which aims, through assisting poor farmers to buy land, at an eventual disintegration and distribution of large rural estates, particularly in the West. Miss Bennett testified to the efficiency of the Land Courts which have arisen from the necessity to reconcile differences between cattle-drivers and the owners of grazing lands. International trade also is being studied with a view to the control of harbors and steamship lines. One line to New York has already been promoted, and the important harbor of Cork is expected by Mr. Fawsitt soon to come under the direct influence of the Republican Government.

Ideal Government.—Since 1918, according to Lord Mayor O'Callaghan, local governing bodies in twenty-eight out of the thirty-two Irish counties have become Republican, transferring their allegiance from the English Local Government Board to the Local Government Department of Dail Eireann. These bodies included County Councils, Rural District Councils, Urban Councils. "Then Commissions and Boards of Guardians were moved to make the change," says the writer of a paper read by Miss Townshend, largely because the Local Government Board, taking advantage of the "Malicious Injuries Act," was assessing against the counties the costs of town halls, creameries, private houses, and other property destroyed by the Imperial British forces themselves. Whatever the motive, the transfer seems certainly to have been made, and the new bodies seem certainly to be functioning, though under the handicaps in some localities of persistent British persecution. They have collected £5,000,000 in taxes, testified Mr. Fawsitt, and are taking over and amending the British system of control of roads, lighting, water, sanitation, health, education, and public libraries. Lord Mayor O'Callaghan attested the representative character of the men composing these bodies: in the County Councils there sit holders of large farms, and in the Town Commissions

are to be found university professors and prominent merchants, while there is a liberal proportion of Labor leaders in each. In view of the importance of local government in the administration of any country, the Commission finds significant the testimony of various witnesses to the effect that local governing bodies in Ireland almost universally have Republican majorities.

Republican Courts.—One recommendation of the new Republican courts seems to be that they are free from British red tape. They are bent upon performing their duties with despatch and common sense. Despite the fact that they are forced to lead an underground existence, Miss McSweeney testified that ninety-one per cent. of Ireland was making use of these courts, being attracted by their fairness as well as by their expedition. Mr. Broderick in Abbeyfeale, Mr. Morgan in Thurles, the Friends and Lord Mayor O'Callaghan in Cork, and Mrs. Mohan in Queens-town claimed personal contact with them, and reported concerning their success. Mr. Broderick testified that the two cases he investigated in Abbeyfeale had been settled satisfactorily in one week, although they had been hanging fire in the British courts for two years. No lawyers were employed either there or in Queenstown in the court visited by Mrs. Mohan. The English Friends, in the report read by Mr. Furnas, found proceedings in Cork to be "conducted in a quiet and business-like manner." Perhaps the most convincing testimony to the efficiency of the Republican courts presented before the Commission, however, was that of Miss Bennett, which showed Unionists to be resorting to them for justice. It also seems significant that a conservative British firm, the Prudential Insurance Company, of England, "had a case in the Cork District Court not so long ago."

Republican Police.—Preservation of order in Ireland would seem more complete on the part of Republican than on the part of Imperial forces. "It is generally admitted by moderate people, including many Unionists," reads the report of the English Friends, "that the only protection they enjoy is from the Sinn Fein police. Their meetings are protected from interruption, stolen goods are found and returned, writers of threatening letters are dealt with and stopped, laws controlling the sale of intoxicating drinks are vigorously enforced. All this when it is a penal offence for a Sinn Fein volunteer policeman to act as such." One reason for the superior effectiveness of the Irish Republican police, said Lord Mayor O'Callaghan, was that they were answerable to the local governing bodies, whereas the British police had never been so answerable, but in a definite sense had had the character of foreign, occupying troops. Such, the Lord Mayor was also of opinion, was the difference between the Irish Republican army and the Imperial British army. One, being domestic in its origin, had only order to preserve; the other, being foreign and imperial in its origin, had only respect to command, terror to strike, or revenge to take.

In thus summarising the evidence concerning the Irish Republican Government presented to it with surprising unanimity by Irish, English, and American witnesses the Commission has no wish to extend the bounds set for it by the terms of the understanding on which it was created. In passing we would only note that British bodies which have investigated the situation, such as the Friends Committee, the English Women's International League, and the Imperial British Labor Party, make the end of the "terror" and the withdrawal of British forces the cornerstone of their constructive proposals. On the other hand Irish Republican leaders have repeatedly expressed willingness to come to an understanding with Britain as to foreign affairs which would conserve every reasonable British interest. However, while refraining from recommendations on the political situation, the Commission is constrained as a result of its inquiry to state its solemn conviction that behind the tragedy in Ireland lies the determination of the Imperial British Government to hold Ireland in its grip even at the cost of substituting for the orderly government of the people's choice, fairly established in the face of opposition, a system which can only be called organised anarchy. The answer to this attempt, as events make increasingly plain, is violence and yet more violence. The continuance of such a situation menaces not only the happiness and well-being of Ireland and England, but also of our own land, which is united to both. In the establishment and maintenance of friendship between the