

bare outline of the charges, and furthermore making the diabolical suggestion that these charges should be made as black as possible against the unfortunate prisoner. To its eternal shame, the *Press*, the so-called Nationalist papers agreed to the request of the Under Secretary. When a hint of this reached the Court the Attorney-General stood up in Court and uttered the deliberate lie that no attempt was made to interfere with the liberty of the press. Fortunately, a full note in shorthand of the whole proceedings was secretly taken in Court and will appear at as early a date as possible in the American press.

14. In addition to bribery, suppression of the press, trials for treason and court-martials and petty forms of tyranny are practised. A policeman in Dublin was posting up a lurid recruiting poster depicting a German soldier killing a woman, when a man whom he knew personally as a friend met him and remarked that he disapproved of such deceptive methods, more especially as England had treated Ireland worse than the Irish were told to-day that the Germans treated Belgium. The conversation was a friendly one and there was no question of interfering with recruiting. Nevertheless the man was arrested and sentenced to two months imprisonment by a brutal Dublin city magistrate, one of a number who had previously imposed equally savage sentences on little barefooted boys for tearing down recruiting placards.

15. No petty form of tyranny has been neglected, not even trade boycotts. A contractor in Dublin employing a number of artisans and laboring men took no part in the war, expressed no opinion but refused to dismiss his men, many of them married, so that they might be forced to join the army. An order went forth and he was boycotted.

16. In County Carlow a middle-aged man, employed as a chauffeur by a landlord who played a sinister part as an evictor in the agrarian days, was told that his place was at the front and not driving motor cars. He was dismissed, and being unable to obtain employment, was forced to emigrate to America. Other men treated similarly in the locality were not, unfortunately, able to imitate his example, and had either to join the army or starve themselves and their families. Methods of this kind are common all over the country. Young men have been set drunk and then forcibly enlisted.

17. Furthermore, it is an undisputed fact that recruits from the south and west of Ireland, ignorant and untrained as they are, have been hastily sent to the firing line, while men of the Ulster Volunteer force, or in other words, the followers of Sir Edward Carson, have been kept back.

18. Every lie that the most depraved mind could conceive is being invented to entice the ignorant in the country districts in Ireland to join the English army. They have been told that if the Germans come to Ireland they will kill the children, murder the men and violate the women; that they will burn the churches, rob the farms and starve the population. Every public building in the country has been made hideous with recruiting placards, all of a lurid type and some of a most humiliating kind.

19. A favorite taunt of the debased and drunken so-called Nationalists who speak at the recruiting meetings in Ireland is to say that the pro-Germans are silent and are unable to justify their position. Never was a more unworthy taunt uttered. Press and platform are alike closed to them, but this rigid suppression and persecution has had precisely an opposite effect to that intended. To-day more than ever in Ireland, amongst hundreds of thousands of men, to be pro-German means to be pro-Irish, and despite the slavish attitude of the so-called Nationalist press, the betrayal of Ireland by its leaders and the relentless system of persecution adopted by Dublin Castle, the eyes of millions of Irish people at home are turned with hope and pride towards Germany.

20. Perhaps it was the too roscate picture drawn of England going to war on behalf of small nationalities that first roused suspicion of England's motives in the minds of thousands of thinking Irishmen at home. An Irishman likes frankness, and if England had said to Ireland at the start of the war, "We are out to try and smash Germany because she is a dangerous commercial rival of England," the appeal might have met with some response, but the picture of England going to war on behalf of small nationalities and because Belgium's neutrality was violated caused a ripple of sardonic laughter wherever thinking Irishmen meet in Ireland. England that for seven hundred years has held the small nation of Ireland down; England, the country that won India by crime, and holds Egypt by force; England that holds Spanish territory at Gibraltar against the will of the Spanish nation and that has violated the neutrality of every country in Europe, big or little; England that destroyed two tiny Boer States in South Africa a decade ago—the spectacle of this country going to war on the pretence that she was safeguarding the rights of small nationalities might have deceived other peoples but it did not deceive the vast majority of the Irish in Ireland.

21. It is right that the Irish in America should know that the Irish clergy have in this crisis acted with moderation. In view of the unparalleled campaign of lying in the press and on the platform many would have liked to have seen the clergy in the pulpits setting the people right about the war, but their position has been a difficult one and they have left the people to form their own conclusions. What those conclusions are it is now possible after nearly nine months of the war to summarize.

22. Briefly they are as follows: The vast majority of the Irish people are now, as they always have been, anxious to see English rule removed bag and baggage out of Ireland. They would like to see a great German victory over England, not because they have had at any time any very close historical relations with Germany, but because they believe that it would be to their interest by a victorious Germany to have an absolute independent Ireland by the side of a beaten England. They also distrust England, and the Home Rule Bill, plus the amending bill to follow, arouses no enthusiasm. It is a lie, therefore, to say that Ireland is in this war with England. It is a lie to say that Ireland is recruiting for England in this war.

Dublin, May 28, 1915.

ENGLAND OR GERMANY? MR. HARRIS

THE greatest critic of Shakespeare that has ever lived is fitted to criticize the degenerate countrymen of the noblest of poets. The cosmopolitan journalist and essayist is able to judge without bias. The most brilliant talker of his time is the man of all men to amuse us, and he does so in these very essays.

At first, I will admit, I was scandalized by his remarks on English justice and English aristocracy; for I happen to be a member of the class which he indicts. On reflection, I perceive his accuracy, and my testimony has more value, for where he complains, I exult. But the accident of my being a hammer does not blind me to the feeling of the anvil. At the same time, I think that Mr. Harris is quite wrong if he supposes that it is different in any other country. He is on surer ground when he attacks the slipshod, haphazard methods of the English, and contrasts them with the scientific precision, the forethought (with the imagination implied in that virtue), and the organized common sense of the Germans. And in his exposure of the snobbery-jobbery of English governments his ruthlessness is hardly equal to the facts. The European War will have been lost on the back stairs of Fleet Street.

Honest and capable men may yet emerge and save England; but that possibility lies on the other side of the bloodiest of revolutions. When dotards like Balfour, mediocrities like Bonar Law, mountebanks like Carson, nonentities like Henderson (the king log of the labor men), are invited to strengthen a government, what must be that government?

Kitchener is getting past his work—especially since that work has been chiefly to baffle the intrigues of his own subordinates: French has no soldierly qualities but his bedside manner; Smith-Dorrien shines brightest on parade; the other generals should never have been dragged from their bath chairs. England is now experiencing the result of basing promotion on tactful adultery.

All this rotteness is exposed by Frank Harris in these brilliant essays. Truth will out, in times like these, despite a bought press and censored cables. Brains are not to be bounced, in the long run. America is coming to her senses. This book will hasten the process. This book may be purchased through *THE FATHERLAND* for One Dollar, postpaid.