

What About Ireland?

By George Creel in Dublin
The mere presence in Dublin of American citizens has been denounced in certain English circles as nothing less than an unwarranted interference in the Irish problem. The "Morning Post," that faithful echo of the policies and positions of British Toryism, was exercised to the point of insisting that the "American Ambassador ought to be told that the United Kingdom does not tolerate interference in its domestic affairs. They are our business and the business of nobody else."

This sort of Bourbonism was one of the moving causes of the Great War, and it is the persistence of such national attitudes that will make world peace less than permanent. The assumption that Ireland is forbidden ground to all save Britons and Scots, that the Irish are to be held incommunicado, and that the simple unofficial visit of private citizens of the United States may be branded as "interference," is the last word in irritation. There has been entirely too little plain speech at the Peace Conference. A theory was developed at the first, and seems to have grown, that the gathering was one of loving friends, and that only pleasant truths might be uttered lest a harsh word hurt or alienate.

In its essence the Peace Conference is a business meeting. Friendship has nothing to do with it. Certain nations, drawn together by common interests, associated in a common purpose, have gathered to agree upon a plan that will free the future of international quarrels, as far as may be possible, by the provision of machinery for the promotion of international contacts, conferences and co-operations. It is an experiment in common sense, not an adventure in friendship. Each nation owes it to the other to point out the things that threaten, or may come to threaten, the understanding that is being worked for. A firm foundation is the only hope. Fostering injustice is a rotten stone to build on. France's claim to perpetual ownership of the Saar basin compelled a certain frankness, as did Italy's amazing pretense to the whole Dalmatian coast. This was not dictation or quarreling but merely an insistence that conquest should not be confused with indemnification, and that world peace should not be endangered by the creation of new irreducibles. It might be well at the present time to deal with England in the same spirit of frank honesty, for only plain speech can remedy a situation that may yet reach a point where it will impair, if not destroy, the co-operative relations between the United States and the United Kingdom.

It is well enough for the Tory group of England to talk about Ireland as a "domestic affair," but the peoples of the earth find it difficult to see anything "domestic" in a matter that stands in the way of international agreement, pouring a steady stream of poison into the wells of international amity. This is what Ireland has done, is doing and will continue to do. One of the solemn war pledges of Great Britain, indorsed by the Allies and America, had to do with "the rights of small nations" and justice to weak peoples, and when Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Ukraine, and other subjugated nationalities are rising to the light, the case of Ireland cannot be ignored.

America's Interest
America has a peculiar interest in the Irish question, for in the United States there are about ten million people of Irish blood or descent, figuring prominently in every activity of the national life, and with a record of patriotism unsmirched by a single blot. Men of Irish blood have strength and courage to Washington; Meagher and his famous Irish Brigade were only a small part of the great Gaelic force that was Lincoln's pride and dependence, and when America took the field in defense of the free institutions that were attacked by German imperialism, fully 15 per cent of our fighting force hailed Ireland as their motherland. This record—these men—present a demand that America may not put aside.

That Ireland has wrongs—terrible, intolerable—has been admitted by every great English statesman from Pitt to Lloyd George, by every great English historian from Clarendon down. Madison scolded his countrymen for their barbarous treatment

of the unhappy island, and retired to private life when the House of Lord vetoed his Home Rule bill. Macaulay invariably alluded to Ireland as a 'captive province won and held by the sword, and many of his finest passages deal with the savageries and corruptions of English rule. The pages of Green and Lecky are thick with condemnations of English policy, and no Irishman has ever painted Irish conditions more mercilessly than Lloyd George who rose to power on a Home Rule platform.

For seven long centuries the Irish people have fought to expel the English invader. Defeats have crushed them, famines have weakened them, repressive laws have destroyed their industries, extortionate taxes have robbed them, despair and starvation have exiled them, but never have they surrendered, never have they pledged loyalty and allegiance to England in token of submission. In 1841 the population of Ireland was over 8,000,000; today it is little more than 4,000,000. Despite natural increase, a nation drained of half its people in seventy-three years! And there is the testimony of economists like John Stuart Mill that Ireland, under proper government, could support a population of 25,000,000.

The Agony of Centuries
A brief survey of Irish history, gleaned entirely from English sources, may serve to give Americans a better understanding of the profound bitterness that fills the heart of every Gael. The first invasion of Ireland was in 1169 when Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, came at the head of a force of Anglo-Norman adventurers. It was no savage land they entered, for as far back as the Roman conquest of Britain, Irish culture was famous throughout Europe.

Henry the Second followed Strongbow, heading an army of 10,000, but while he gained success in Munster and Leinster, he was beaten back in Ulster and Connaught. King John failed equally, and when Edward the Second came with a greater army, the Irish made alliance with the Scotch, accepting Edward Bruce as an elected sovereign. Edward won decisive victories, but by 1394 the English occupation of Ireland was again confined to a few fortified towns. Richard the Second, resolving upon complete conquest, came with 34,000 trained soldiers, but the Irish crushed him, and when he tried a second time in 1399, his defeat was even more overwhelming.

Came then the Henrys—Fourth, Fifth and Sixth—and Edward, third of his name, and each knew his disasters in connection with the Irish invasion. Henry the Eighth introduced artillery into Irish warfare, and beat down the pikes of the Irish, but Elizabeth had the misfortune to see a military genius rise to power in Ireland. Shane the Proud, Earl of Tyrone, called his people to arms in 1551, and for sixteen years he defeated the greatest generals that England could send against him.

In 1579, the Geraldines—once Normans but now more Irish than the Irish—begged aid from Spain and Italy, and struck their blow for Irish freedom, but the might of England crushed them, and the land was laid waste until the wretched inhabitants, hiding in glens and bogs, ate nettles in the futile endeavor to sustain life. No barbarity was spared to exterminate the Irish, but again in 1594, under Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, the indomitable people rose in a new revolt. For ten years they beat back the armies of England, yielding in the end through starvation.

James the First introduced the policy of wholesale confiscation as well as one of religious bigotry. Irish Catholics were excluded from every right of citizenship, and the province of Ulster was taken away from the native owners and given to English and Scotch Protestants who might not even have Irish tenants. The tyrannies of Charles the First were even more cruel, and in 1641 the Irish rose again under the brilliant leadership of Owen Roe O'Neill, who led them to victory for eight years. His death left the Gaels without a leader great enough to withstand the invasion of Cromwell. Not as long as Ireland is Ireland will the memories of Cromwell perish. As well ask Belgium to forget the Germans. Massacre piled on massacre, soldiers and civilians being butchered without distinction, and even children being

killed under Cromwell's grim order that "nits make lice." Women, boys and girls were sold into slavery, whole shiploads being sent to the Barbadoes, and in 1652 the English Parliament declared the whole of Ireland forfeit. As Green exclaims: "No such doom had ever fallen on a nation in modern times."

In 1690, however, the nation was again strong enough to back the fortunes of the exiled Stuart, but the Battle of the Boyne crushed their hopes. William of Orange, at the head of veteran mercenaries from Prussia, Holland, Sweden and Denmark, scattered the Irish before him. The Treaty of Limerick, that marked the end of fighting, was a fair one, but the English Parliament refused to abide by it in a single particular, and again there were bloody reprisals, wholesale confiscations and famines that sent a half million Irish into foreign service.

In the century that followed rebellion was constant but unorganized, and it was not until the American Revolution engaged England's attention that the Irish were able to threaten. In 1782, facing revolution or concession, the legislative independence of Ireland was granted. It was soon, however, that England controlled the Parliament, and the people continued to groan under cruel laws and outrageous taxes. In 1798, The United Irishmen, a Protestant body, launched the revolution that cost 70,000 lives, and in 1803, Robert Emmet rose to carry on the Irish tradition. England's answer was the torture house and the gallows, followed quickly by the Act of Union that wiped out the Irish Parliament. To use the words of Gladstone, "I know no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between England and Ireland."

There came then the Tithes War in 1830; the revolution of 1848 followed the terrible famine of 1845 that cost a million and a half lives, and in 1867 the Fenians tried to overthrow English rule. The rebellion of 1916, when studied, is seen to be no more than the logical carrying on of a seven-century struggle for freedom. The Irish want to be free. Freedom is the answer and the end of the so-called "Irish question."

Her Political Struggles
The constitutional struggle is no less disheartening than the military record. Gladstone first proposed Home Rule for Ireland in 1886. In 1892 he drove it through the House of Commons only to have it vetoed by the Lords. The Liberal party, accepting Home Rule as a principle, passed it through the

Versailles Peace Treaty

WHAT SIMILAR TERMS WOULD MEAN IF APPLIED TO U. S.

We are a victorious nation. Our victory and its possible consequences are topics for discussion. Some of us think the peace terms imposed upon the Central Powers by the twenty-seven allied and associated powers just; others hold they are too severe.

One way of understanding the position of the German people is to imagine ourselves in their predicament.

Working on that assumption, let us imagine that Mr. Wilson, as the Dictator or President of an enemy nation, let us say Japan, had imposed with his allies the Versailles peace terms on the U. S.

To imagine this borders on the fantastic. It is also difficult to make comparisons of the effect of the peace terms, because many conditions on our continent are different from those on the other side. But we can realize what some of the terms would mean to a defeated, helpless and starving U. S.

The cession of territory to our enemies, in proportion to our area with that of Germany before the war, would imply the surrender of the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands, Central America, including the Panama Canal, Cuba, Haiti and Porto Rico. Also, Alaska, Lower California, an 80-mile strip along the Mexican border, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, Pennsylvania, an 80-mile strip along the entire Canadian border, and some additional territory.

House in 1912, 1913 and 1914, when all that it needed to become a law was the King's signature. War broke, and Redmond straightway pledged his country and his countrymen to the cause of the Allies. Six weeks later the bill was sent to the King, but with it, for signature with the same pen, went a suspensory measure postponing Home Rule's operation indefinitely. The Irish were not allowed to have a brigade of their own, Irish flags were forbidden, Irish Catholic regiments were given English and Ulster Presbyterian officers, and free speech and free press were buried under a weight of repressive laws that filled every prison for the most trivial offenses. The leaders of the Ulster rebellion—Carson, Bonar Law, Smith, Gordon, Long and others—were lifted to high places in the government, but even with it all, the war records show that a quarter million Irish fought under the banner of England.

One searches in vain for a single just reason against Irish independence. The Ulster problem is buncombe, for at every point facts dispute the claim that Ulster is solidly Protestant, solidly against Home Rule. Three Ulster counties—Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan—are so overwhelmingly Catholic and Home Rule that the Unionists do not even contest elections. In December last the Sinn Fein also carried Fermanagh and Tyrone, and even captured the "Protestant stronghold" of Derry City. Only in four counties did the Unionists win.

This government, by the way, is the most expensive in the world, being almost three times as costly as that of Norway, Switzerland or Denmark. On top of this the Irish are paying into the English treasury almost \$100,000,000 in taxes. This is not a new practice. In 1894 a Gladstone commission reported that Ireland was paying \$13,750,000 more than her share, and that since the Act of Union in 1800, the Irish had been overcharged to the amount of \$2,000,000,000. And this Act of Union shot up the Irish national debt from \$15,000,000 to \$605,000,000.

Pages could be filled with details as to the destruction of industries, the denial of education, the servitude thrust upon the people, but to what point? It is not for America to decide the Irish question. All that we can do is to let England know that we feel strongly that there is an Irish question that calls for settlement in the interest of Anglo-American amity, and that must be settled if solemn assertions about the "rights of small nations" are not to stand before the world as war buncombe.

All U. S. cables are to be the property of our enemies. The enemies are to decide whatever reparation the U. S. will have to make in material, be it in coal, iron, steel, dyestuffs, chemicals, food, clothing, machinery etc. or in money payments. The enemies, at their discretion, can, for instance, decide how many milch cows must be delivered to them (irrespective of our own need). Our financial obligations are at the discretion of our enemies, and will be such that three coming generations in the U. S. will not be able to enjoy any rest or comforts in life.

The enemies may destroy U. S. competition in any branch of industry.

Japan and allied enemies are to determine when the American laborer is to work or loaf, whether he can eat or go hungry, and what wages he is to receive.

All U. S. merchant vessels are to be surrendered to our enemies, and the U. S. may only keep coasting vessels of 1,500 tons or below.

All ships lost by our enemies during the war are to be replaced by the U. S. Half of the new ships built in the U. S. have to be given up to the enemies until that tonnage has been replaced.

All fortifications on the Pacific and Atlantic Coast are to be destroyed. They may not be reconstructed. The U. S. army or navy may not own seaplanes or dirigibles. The strength of the U. S. army may not exceed 100,000 men, including 4,000 officers. Amount of armaments and munitions allowed to the U. S. will be decided by its enemies. The U. S. navy will be allowed 36 small men-of-war and no submarines

either for military or commercial purposes, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers. No member of the U. S. merchant marine will be permitted any naval training.

The return of many American soldiers and civilians in Europe is not to be allowed. Our enemies may retain any number of American citizens until the U. S. has surrendered to Japan persons considered guilty by our enemies against their laws and customs of war. Our enemies may deal at their discretion with these U. S. citizens. Our enemies immediately ask for the surrender of our President, Messrs. McAdoo, Lansing, Gerard, Burleson, General Pershing, Admiral Sims, etc., etc. to be impartially and justly tried before a Japanese military tribunal.

The U. S. concedes in advance the validity of treaties to be made by Japan with Canada and Mexico.

In case of the non-fulfillment of any of the above terms by the U. S. our enemies may take to economic and financial prohibitory measures and any other reprisals that they see fit. The U. S. is not to regard any reprisals seen fit by our enemies as an act of war.

Enemy commissions of control will see to the execution of all their provisions. They may establish headquarters in the U. S. and go to any part there that they desire. The U. S. must pay the expenses of these commissions.

Any American who need think only of himself would prefer

death to signing the treaty and living in his own country if the above stated and unthinkable peace terms were applied to the U. S. Americans would sign such a peace treaty only to prevent their women and children from starving. The thoughts of all Americans would immediately be concentrated on means of preparation by which to regain their rights and liberty at the first possible opportunity.

Every American to whom such a treaty was dictated would vehemently complain of having surrendered arms and munitions on the basis of the fourteen lofty points of the League of Nations.

Every American would say: "What did your President mean in stating on January 2, 1917, 'No peace will be forced on the loser?'" "What did your President mean in stating on April 2, 1917, 'We have no quarrel with the American (German) people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship?'"

Every American would say: "We have been tricked. We received against the surrender of arms and munitions nothing but a scrap of paper. We distrust a league of nations or any proposal suggested by your President!"

This would be our position if we imagined ourselves in the predicament of the German people. Happily, we are not in their place.

Otto P. Schwarzschild. (Viereck's The American Monthly.)

British Opinion of America.

(From The New York Sun.)

We refuse to accept as typical of intelligent English opinion of the people of this country and their contribution to victory over Germany such utterances as those contained in the London World, and republished by its namesake in this city yesterday, in which President Wilson is called "this Old Man of the Sea from across the sea" and the prediction is made that Mr. Wilson will "ride off on some other hobby horse in his peculiar endeavor to make Americans stink in the nostrils of Europe for a hundred years."

It is obviously the intention of the London World to create ill feeling among Englishmen toward Americans. It regrets the call for assistance that was made by the Allies, and laments that two years ago Great Britain, France and Italy and their allies did not "clench our teeth and go on standing alone," and it asserts:

"By now there is not one of the European countries that they have overrun—and they are to be found established in the remotest corners—where the Americans as a whole have not become intensely unpopular. France and Italy are more than 'fed up' with them. And the chief reason, I imagine, or one of the chief reasons, is that they are an inferior nation posing as a superior one. "The arrogance of the aristocrat is detestable. But the arrogance of the mere plutocrat is unbearable. And, after all, it is on wealth as fond that America depends for her influence."

The most astounding part of the attack on Americans from which the characteristic passages above are taken is in a paragraph which accuses our people of being pro-German. This paragraph is as follows:

"As a matter of fact a great proportion of so-called Americans are really Germans. No wonder President Wilson feels such a stirring pity and kindness to the Boche. I have talked to Americans—wearing khaki too, though only of the Red Cross—who are nothing but pro-Germans."

That any English newspaper could so unjustly assail the good faith or so flatly impugn the honor of the American people is astounding. Among responsible Englishmen such sentiments cannot, we are sure, be held. We prefer to believe this outburst of ignorance and passion reflects the irritation of some cynical and disappointed individual, and not the feeling of any considerable number of the subjects of King George. We do not expect all Englishmen to love all Americans, but we are confident that most Englishmen will be just to Americans and to America.

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CANADA'S PROBLEM.

From The New York Times.

In form it is a strike that is on in Canada. In intent it is revolution. The Government is inactive and seems powerless. Let us not be too quick to condemn the Government for inaction. Under the laws, Governments are not empowered to act unless there is violence. Without violence or disorder beyond such harmless things as hissing and booing, or tearing an emblem off somebody's lapel, the so-called strikers, directed by the Bolshevik or I. W. W. element, have paralyzed a large part of the West, and their assumption of the powers of government is spreading daily. There are no riots worthy of the name; the "strikers" simply assume the government of a town, the police and firemen join them, and there is no overt act of which to take cognizance.

Yet nothing is done in any of these cities except by permission of the local Strike Committee. In Winnipeg the milk and bread wagons run by such a permit. The Post Office employees join the strikers in one city after another, and the mails are delivered only as the Strike Committee permits. The police of Winnipeg joined the strikers at first, but when the Winnipeg authorities proposed to raise a new police force the regular one returned to work. This sounds encouraging until you hear the reason. They returned to work so that there

should be nobody to interfere with the strikers, who as yet had committed no overt acts of disorder. In Calgary the mails are being distributed by volunteers, the regular postal force having quit. Volunteer fire departments are springing up through the West to take the places of the striking firemen. And all these strikes, even those of the Government employes, are sympathetic strikes.

The banks of Winnipeg have closed their doors because they cannot do business with the mail and telegraph services disrupted. "At the Fort Garry Hotel," says a correspondent, "meals are served only to women and children," perhaps by gracious permission of the Strike Committee. In consequence of the desire of some strikers to get something to eat, the Strike Committee granted a permit to several restaurants in Winnipeg to keep open. It also permitted some bakeries to reopen, on condition that they placed themselves under its jurisdiction.

Our own laws may be different from those of Canada. Certainly the sanctity of the mails would not be interfered with without civil war. But as things stand, the Dominion is faced with a problem which its laws seem powerless to avert. Surely some way must be found by which a menaced Government may find a weapon with which to strike back and save itself.

William Sternberg Deutscher Advokat

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