



Roger Casement's Selected Writings

Volume 2

Sequel to *The Crime Against Europe*

England's Care for the Truth

—by one who knows both

Roger Casement

**Edited by
Jack Lane**

Introduction:

Brendan Clifford

Athol Books

Also from Athol Books:

Roger Casement: The Crime Against Europe. With *The Crime Against Ireland*

Roger Casement on the Great War: a commentary on Casement's "Sir Edward Grey" and "A pacific blockade" by **Pat Walsh**

Roger Casement: A Reassessment Of The Diaries Controversies
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The Christian Brothers' History Of The Great War, first published in monthly instalments in 1914-18, edited by **Brendan Clifford**

England's Care For The Truth

Roger Casement

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Front Cover:

Casement In Munich With American Friends

Preface

This publication is a collection of Casement's writings that, for the most part, have not been reprinted since they were first published over 100 years ago. The majority are from *The Continental Times* during his time in Germany from October 1914—April 1916.

The Continental Times was a newspaper for Americans in Germany published three days a week.

Casement was a regular contributor to the paper from November 1914 to April 1916 but it is almost impossible to establish how much he actually wrote for it because he used a number of pseudonyms and many of his items were anonymous. He may have written much more than what is reprinted here. He may have written and/or contributed to editorials. He may also have contributed to a running commentary on the War called "War Diary" and there is a sample extract at Item 11 that may be his. There appears to be no complete run of the paper extant which also hinders an assessment of how much he wrote for it. This collection is drawn from several incomplete holdings of the *Continental times*. He also wrote for other German and American publications in this period.

Of course, there is a dire need to have all his writings collected and published and this is long overdue. As he was so prolific, and his writings are so scattered, it is a task that only the State could undertake effectively. It would be a most valuable and appropriate contribution to the 'decade of commemorations' that we hear so much about from the Government. No other collection of contemporary writings could put that decade in a better perspective from an Irish point of view.

Casement's particular contribution of opposition to World War I and support for Germany was based on his long and intimate knowledge

of the personnel and methodology of the British ruling class and this is what makes his analyses so persuasive. He was aware of Britain's long prepared plans for a war on Germany, based on its Balance of Power policy of keeping Europe divided and at war; understood how it utilised the military situation that arose in August 1914 to launch that war against Germany; and how it then escalated it into a war to destroy the Ottoman Empire and thereby create a World War to extend its Empire.

His writings provide a clear view of why and how Britain did this and the disaster it meant for European civilisation. Those British actions laid the basis for many world problems—problems which have proved intractable of solution, right down to the present day.

Why Britain declared war on Germany on the 4th of August 1914, how it conducted and concluded that war, remains the crucial, seminal event of modern history.

Casement internationalised the case for Irish Independence and thereby provided the basis for an independent foreign policy and he provided essential elements of the narrative on which such a policy could be established. It remains the most relevant standpoint for an Irish foreign policy today.

Connolly reached a complementary position as regards Germany and World War I from a different, i.e. socialist, perspective and it seems they developed their positions independently of each other. Between them they provide a most thorough analysis of World War I.

Casement's analysis, together with his moral standing as an international humanitarian, made him a serious threat to the British war effort and he was targeted as soon as he declared his position on the outbreak of the War.

The reason he was hanged was for publishing and acting on the views expressed in these articles and letters.

Jack Lane
April 2018

A number of people helped in the preparation of this collection and in particular we wish to thank Angus Mitchell for his assistance and we hope it will complement his own extensive work on Casement. Also, Dr. Pat Walsh, Philip O'Connor, Cathy Winch, Eamon Dyas, Meda Ryan and Angela Clifford.

Special thanks to Conleth Burns who researched *The Continental Times* in the Library of Congress in Washington, which holds an extensive run the paper.

We also acknowledge the assistance of the staff at the National Library of Ireland who provide a great service in preserving so much of Casement's writings which enable people to assess his real work.

In addition, we wish to thank the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Berlin State Library—Prussian Heritage Collection], and the Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde [Federal German Archives].

We also appreciate the help of University of Wisconsin-Madison Digital Collections which has an extensive run of *The Continental Times* at: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.ContinentalTimes>

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**Dedicated to the Staff
at the
National Library of Ireland**

Note Regarding Volume One

Roger Casement:

The Crime Against Europe.

With The Crime Against Ireland

The articles in this book complement those published by Athol Books in "Roger Casement: the Crime against Europe—with the Crime against Ireland" (2003), which form a prelude to the analyses in this collection. They include:

The Causes Of The War And The Foundation Of The Peace

The Keeper Of The Seas

The Balance Of Power

The Enemy Of Peace

The Problem Of The Near West

The Duty Of Christendom

The Freedom Of The Sea

Ireland, Germany And The Next War

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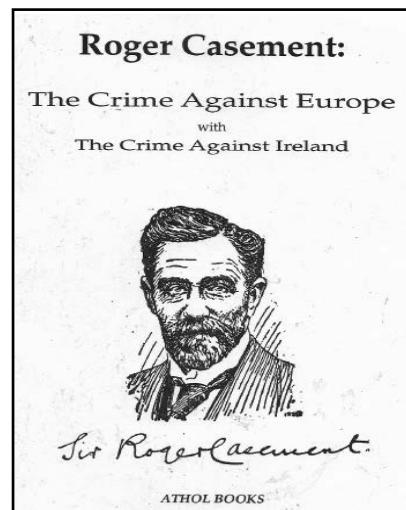
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1815-1915. A Parallel And

A Contrast

Why I Went To Germany

Speech From The Dock



Introduction

Roger Casement was a famous diplomat in the service of the British Foreign Office. He was knighted for his service to the cause of Liberal Britain by exposing the genocidal plunder of "little Belgium" in the Congo Free State which it owned, and the similar activities of international capital in Latin America. He was commended for these humanitarian activities by his friend, the Liberal Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey—who a few years later saw to it that he was hanged.

He was hanged because, when Sir Edward decided on 4th August 1914 to intervene militarily in the European War that had just come about, by declaring war on Germany, he declared his support for Germany and tried to assist it.

He declared support for Germany, and described the British declaration of war against it as a "crime against Europe", because he thought that Britain was comprehensively in the wrong. He applied Liberal morality to the situation and acted on the moral judgment that the facts of the matter forced him to.

It was astonishing. It was bizarre. "One doesn't do that kind of thing", as Judge Brack says in *Hedda Gabler*, the play by Ibsen, who knew his bourgeoisie and put them on display.

Well Casement did it. And he did it as a member of the most moral state in the world—the state that moralises most. He made a moral decision against England, and he acted on it! It was outrageous! The man must have been mad!

How could he have failed to understand that England, which moralises unceasingly and never admits to acting out of material interest, could not be wrong? Morality was an attribute of its very existence as a State—an existence which began effectively as a merger of Church and State in 1531 with the State in command. What was right was what the Church department of the State said was right.

What strange, alien, strain was there in Casement's existence that compelled him to make a moral judgment against the State which he had served so diligently, and act on that judgment by going into the service of the enemy?

The Puzzle Of Sir Edward Grey

In the first of his *Continental Times* articles (reprinted here in full for the first time), he asks the same question in reverse about Sir Edward Grey: how could Grey, as a Liberal, have continued to serve the State after it had gone wrong and had launched a war of destruction against European civilisation?

He suggests, tentatively, that Grey possibly did not know what he was doing because he was the front man for a very purposeful party within the Foreign Office that knew very well what it was doing but that presented Grey at every turn with plausible reasons which caused him, or enabled him, to think that he was doing something else. But, at the same time, Casement doubts that the Grey he knew could have been so obtuse that he could not see what he was doing, even if he had not planned it. And, if he had been duped, could he possibly have done it so well? And yet he did appear utterly honest all the time. It was puzzling.

Tam Dalyell, a Labour MP of the 1970s-80s, who had a family connection with Grey, suggested that Grey had “*sleepwalked*” England into the Great War. That is certainly the appearance that he gave at the time and also in his memoirs. It was a necessary appearance, both for the ‘moral’ record and for actually getting England into the War. If it had appeared that the British Government had well-laid plans for war on Germany and intended putting them into effect, that would possibly have prevented the European War from starting, and would probably have prevented the Liberal Government from entering it if it did start.

The Government did not have a party majority in Parliament. The Liberal Party depended on the support of the Irish Party to be in Government. The Irish Party was historically sceptical of the moralising which always accompanied British war-making. It had developed a close alliance with, and influence on, the ranks of the Liberal Party during the Parliamentary battles since 1911, over the People’s Budget, the Parliament Act restricting the power of the House of Lords, and the Home Rule Bill. And the Liberal ranks had inherited, from the mid-19th century Liberalism of Cobden, Bright and Gladstone, a strong prejudice against British participation in European wars on balance-of-power grounds.

If it had appeared that the Government had made careful preparations for a European War, and for British participation in it, the Government would probably have been unable to put those plans into effect when the moment came. An attempt to do so would very probably have led to the fall of the

Government because of the loss of Irish support—and of a considerable body of support on its own back-benches under the influence of the Irish Party.

The Liberal Government could only declare war on Germany and remain in Office if it could make it appear that its reason for going to war had nothing whatever to do with balance-of-power calculations. It needed the appearance of a disinterested, altruistically moral, case for making war on Germany.

John Dillon

The foreign policy of the Irish Party before 1914 had been expressed by John Dillon. Dillon suspected strongly that the Government, in collusion with the Unionist Opposition, had made a secret agreement with France for war against Germany, and was secretly making detailed military preparations for such a war. He questioned the Government in Parliament about military collaboration. The Government gave an absolute assurance that there was no such agreement or understanding with France.

To the best of my knowledge nobody in the leadership of the Irish Party criticised Dillon for expressing these suspicions. There was a general understanding in the Party that Britain was a war-mongering state. It had been making war unceasingly and advantageously throughout the life of the existing regime—the regime that was established following the coup d’etat of 1688.

It was the greatest Empire the world had ever seen, and boasted of it.
Great Empires, with far-flung possessions, are made by war.

The most recent major war fought by Britain at that point was the war of conquest of the Boer Republics only a dozen years before 1914.

The Irish Party had opposed the war against the Boers. It had not, since the end of the Boer War (1903) revised its view of the British Empire. Its influential spokesman on foreign affairs had around 1908 accused the Government of preparation for another European War—another balance-of-power war. But, when clear proof of Dillon’s suspicions emerged in the early days of August 1914, the Party Leader—Redmond—rushed to declare his support for war against Germany.

The Foreign Secretary, Grey, admitted to having misled Parliament. Britain, he said, had contracted a debt of honour with France in the matter of war against Germany—without having let Parliament know. And a debt of honour to launch a World War must, like a gambling debt, be honoured. Suddenly the most calculating war-making State in the world put the matter on the basis of mediaeval chivalry.

Redmond's Official Status On August 3rd

It has been widely asserted in recent decades that in early August 1914 Ireland was an integral part of the British state, and therefore had no choice but to engage in the war on Germany as part of that state, with no authority of its own.

But the Irish Party was not just hustled into the War against Germany by the British Government. It did not just follow the Government into the War. The Home Rule leader, without consulting the country, without even consulting his Parliamentary colleagues, made the Irish Party an active collaborator with the Government in the launching of the war.

If the Home Rule Bill had been enacted and implemented, and Redmond was the Prime Minister of a Home Rule Ireland under Crown sovereignty and Westminster direction, then it might have been that Redmond had no choice in the matter.

But the Home Rule Bill, though cleared for enactment by being passed by three sessions of the House of Commons, was not enacted. The Government had deferred its enactment so that it would not be faced with the problem of implementing it. It could not implement it because 'Ulster' had armed to resist it and the Officer corps of the Army had told the Government it would resign rather than act against 'Ulster' resistance to the implementation of a Home Rule Act.

The only way the Government could implement a Home Rule Act was by excluding Ulster from it. But, if it proposed the exclusion of Ulster, it would have lost the support of the Irish Party and would have fallen.

The Home Rule Bill had gone through its Parliamentary process but the Government had decided not to give it to the King to sign, because it appeared certain that an attempt to implement it would lead to Civil War—and not just a war amongst the Irish, because the Unionist Opposition in Britain (which was equal to the Liberal Government in its Parliamentary representation), was treating the issue as a British Constitutional matter.

Home Rule was deadlocked, and seemed likely to remain so, when the opportunity to make war on Germany in alliance with France and Russia came up. Redmond was still the leader of an independent Parliamentary faction, free of all Constitutional entanglements under the Crown. He held the balance of power in Parliament, and he had considerable influence with the Liberal back-benches. The Liberal Imperialist faction in the Government could not have carried the Government smoothly into the World War without his approval.

He gave it his unquestioning approval, in an apparent spur of the moment response to Grey's revelation of the obligation of honour speech. He hustled his Party into support for an Imperial War which it had never contemplated.

The leading group in the Government thought it was at serious risk of splitting its own party by declaring war, but, having become thoroughly Imperialist in spirit, it felt under moral obligation to take that risk. The instant, unquestioning, enthusiastic support of the Irish Party did away with the risk—both by maintaining the Government's majority, and by soothing the qualms of the Liberal back-benches.

If the Irish Party had not given its immediate and unquestioning support, but had questioned the Government about the misleading of Parliament, the qualms of the Liberal back-benches would have increased.

If the Irish Party had declared itself against the War, the Liberal Party would have lost its secure majority. It was the active support of the Irish Party that enabled it to launch a Liberal War and maintain that it was for that reason different in kind from all other wars.

The Irish Party must be considered to have been an active party to the launching of the 1914 War of the British Empire.

Irish Party opposition to the War would not have prevented the Liberal Imperialist Cabinet from launching the War, but it would probably have made it a different kind of war, and it would almost certainly have led to a fundamentally different course of events in Ireland.

Irish Party opposition to the War could not have prevented it. The Liberal Government and the Unionist Opposition, which seemed to be on the brink of civil war at home over the issue of Irish Home Rule, were in close collaboration on the matter of war against Germany. The last Unionist Party Government had set up the Committee of Imperial Defence, through which the secret preparations for the War were made, and the Liberal Party had carried through those secret preparations after it won the 1906 Election outright.

The secure Liberal Government of 1906-10 did nothing about Irish Home Rule when its independence of the Irish Party would have maximised the chance of carrying Home Rule. It only took up Home Rule after the Liberal Party failed to gain a Parliamentary majority in 1910 and depended on the Irish Party to keep it in Office.

After it failed to win the first 1910 Election, the Liberal Party made a deal with the Irish Party, under which the Irish Party maintained it in Office and joined it in its party conflict with the Unionists over the Budget and the

House of Lords, in return for the promise of a Home Rule Bill.

The Irish Party, while refusing to undertake Government responsibility in the UK, gave up its independence of British politics by becoming partisan on a domestic British issue. It became, in effect, a component of the Liberal Party in the great British party dispute of 1910-12.

In 1912 the Liberal Party delivered the promised Home Rule Bill. The Unionist Party declared that it would not recognise a Home Rule Act, carried in this way, as being constitutionally legitimate, and would not confine its opposition to Parliamentary debate but would resist the implementation of an Act by physical force if necessary. Its reasoning was that the Irish Party was not a Constitutional Party, in the sense of a Party that would participate in governing the state under the Constitution. The Liberal Party, having twice failed to win an Election in 1910, made a corrupt deal with the Irish Party to break the Constitution. The Unionist Party would therefore, in defence of the Constitution, carry its opposition to a Home Rule Act even to the point of military resistance.

The only Constitutional Court in the British state is the electorate. The Unionist Party said that, if the enactment of Home Rule was put to the electorate, it would accept the decision of the electorate. But it was clear that Unionist reasoning made sense to the electorate. The Government knew that it would lose an Election on the issue. But, if it backed away from its Home Rule Bill, the Irish Party would no longer keep it in Office.

A new Irish nationalist Party had been formed in 1910, the All-For-Ireland League. Its leader, William O'Brien, who had extensive experience of British politics as a Land Leaguer and a Parnellite, warned Redmond that his strategy of currying favour with the Liberals and taking part with them in internal British party-politics in return for Home Rule would not work; and that his aggressive attitude towards the Ulster Unionists would result in Partition. (O'Brien had collaborated with Orangemen in the tenant-right movement and knew they were made of stern stuff.)

Redmond, a "*House of Commons man*" to the core, saturated with the superficialities of the British system but knowing nothing of its substance, paid no heed. O'Brien's Party stood against the Redmondites in Cork in 1910 and took eight of their nine seats from them. But still Redmond pressed on with his flawed strategy, even though O'Brien's analysis was borne out by events in 1913-14.

By July 1914 both the Liberal Government and its Irish Party prop had boxed themselves into a corner from which there seemed to be no exit. Civil War or humiliating climb-down seemed to be the only possibilities.

And then the miracle happened—the opportunity to launch a World War.

The Liberal Cabinet managed the circumstances well. It nursed the European situation, resulting from the Serbian assassination to the Heir to the Austrian throne, very astutely towards the War for which it had planned. And Redmond, who apparently had given no thought at all to the matter beforehand, rushed blindly for war the moment the opportunity was presented.

The World War And The Easter Rising

Revisionist academics have in recent years discovered the obvious fact that the 1916 Insurrection happened in wartime. They conclude from this that, if there had been no war, there would have been no Insurrection. And some of them (Martin Mansergh, for instance) conclude further that it was the War, rather than the Insurrection that brought about Irish Independence—and that Redmond, the enthusiastic Imperialist warmonger, was the true Fenian.

A moment's reflection would have shown them that it was not the War as such that led to the Insurrection—it was the action of the Home Rule Party in the War.

If Redmond had not supported the War and engaged in active recruiting for it, there would have been no Easter Rising.

Redmond need not have opposed the British war effort, in the active way that Casement did, in order to keep Ireland out of it. He might have just stood back from it. He had not yet become a Minister of the Crown, as he had hoped to be by then, and therefore he remained free of any Constitutional obligations.

He was Home Rule Prime Minister-in-waiting, but so far he had no Ministerial authority, or obligations. And, when the Home Rule Bill was formally enacted in September 1914, with Unionist consent, it was on the condition that it would not be implemented until the end of the War, and that it would be subject to Unionist amendment before implementation. Redmond was free to point out that Ireland was as far from Home Rule as ever and that he would decide what his obligations were in the matter of war and peace when he became a Minister under the Crown.

What choice would the Government have had but to accept the fact of Home Rule neutrality?

Redmond had comprehensive political authority in nationalist Ireland on a *de facto* basis that had nothing to do with the Crown, and he had a large Volunteer Army that had received a consignment of weapons at the end

of July. By standing back from the British war frenzy, at the head of his Volunteer Army, he might have done what Daniel O'Connell had hoped to do at Clontarf—presented Britain with a *de facto* Irish Government.

Instead of doing that, he rushed to the assistance of the minority Liberal Government and enabled it to launch the War, and then told his constituents that they were under moral obligation to enlist for the War.

If he had not supported the Cabinet, it would have been obliged to make a formal deal with the Unionists; unease on the Liberal back-benches would have intensified; and the Labour MPs who declared against war would have been given cover.

Because of Redmond's decision the War was conducted for eight months by a Liberal Government—that is, a Liberal minority Government, maintained in Office by the Irish Party.

The Unionist Party was much better fitted to fight a cool-headed calculating war for material advantage than the Liberal Party with its broad stratum of Nonconformist moralists. The Liberal Cabinet, whatever its private views, could only carry a united Party to war by reverting to the absolute moralistic style of its Puritan antecedents and making it a moral Crusade to crush a force of pure evil that had arisen in the world, so that there could then be Perpetual Peace.

The Liberal-Irish War for Universal Freedom was a war that offered escape from a hopeless domestic political situation by making total war on a demonised opponent, in pursuit of a mirage.

When that Liberal Government fell in March 1915 and a Liberal/Unionist Coalition was formed, it became a certainty that the “*Home Rule Act in the Statute Book*” would never be implemented, and that the Liberal Party had used itself up and become a spent force. But Redmond continued with his unconditional support for the War, which had become clearly Imperialist.

Redmond And The England's Difficulty Principle

Martin Mansergh has quoted the old Fenian maxim, *England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity*”, in a way that suggests he considers it an unworthy sentiment which somehow devalues the ideals of the 1916 Insurrectionaries. (See *Irish Political Review*, February and March 2017/) But was that really the maxim of 1916?

If Redmond had taken advantage of his strong position in August 1914 to assert an Irish interest that was independent of British Imperial ambitions,

and had put himself at the head of a moderately nationalist Ireland that was independent of British politics *de facto*, that would have been an application of the “*England's difficulty*” maxim.

But the situation in 1916 was not that of an Ireland availing of heavy British engagement elsewhere to assert its own interest—as Henry Grattan did for the colony in 1782 and as Redmond failed to do for the nation in 1914. It was that of an Ireland that had been blended into the British war effort and was being consumed by it.

The 1916 Insurrection was suppressed by the Army that the Home Rule Party had recruited scores of thousands of Irishmen into, and some of these Irish recruits took part in the re-conquest of central Dublin from the Insurrection.

That is the basis for the revisionist assertion that the 1916 conflict in Dublin was not a struggle between an Irish national force seeking independence and an Imperialist force committed to keeping Ireland in subjection, but was in fact an Irish civil war.

It is not disputable that there were many times as many Irishmen in the British Army in 1916 as there were in the Irish Army, and that Irishmen in the British Army took part in the British assault on the Irish Insurrection. The characterisation of the conflict as an Irish civil war is therefore not entirely absurd. But, if it was a kind of Irish civil war, the “*England's difficulty*” maxim clearly does not apply. Ireland was not standing by as England got itself into serious difficulties elsewhere, and then asserting its own national interest at a favourable moment.

Redmond And Grattan

The national event of 1916 was nothing like the colonial event of 1782, to which the Home Rule leaders frequently referred. Grattan had a Volunteer Army, just as Redmond had. But he kept it at home, committing it to the defence of Ireland against the French, who were in alliance with the Americans. He did not send it off to fight against the Americans.

Redmond adopted a position formally similar to Grattan's for about six weeks. He said his Volunteers would defend the Irish coasts against the Germans. But he committed his party to the demonisation of the Germans right from the start. (The Home Rule activists, T.M. Kettle and Robert Lynd actually led the demonisation propaganda in the London press.) It was only a matter of time until Redmond began recruiting for the British Army instead of his own. He waited until he got the dead letter of a suspended Home Rule Act before he became the chief British recruiter in Ireland.

There had, of course, been large numbers of Irishmen in the British Army

before 1914. But they had been drawn from the fragments of the broken Irish society—the Irish society broken by Britain.

The recruiting campaign launched in September 1914 was different in kind. It consigned the national movement, that had been developed painfully and laboriously since the ‘Famine’, to the British Imperial interest, in a war of destruction against Germany, and, a few months later, a war of conquest against Turkey.

The Home Rule Party integrated itself into the Imperial apparatus of war-making. It did not even bargain away the national interest for something tangible. It just gave it away for a dead Home Rule Act.

The Insurrection asserted the national interest against the Empire. Redmond denounced it as an act of treason. If nationalist Ireland is regarded as having given its allegiance to the Empire through Redmond’s actions, then it certainly was treason. The Imperial allegiance of Ireland began with Redmond—and it ended with him.

But when did Redmond receive the authority of the nation to pledge its allegiance to the Empire? When was he made the national Plenipotentiary?

There was no hint of such a thing in the 1910 Election Manifesto of the Party. The next Election, that of 1915, was cancelled by the Liberal/Unionist Coalition with Redmond’s support. He agreed that the governing of Ireland should be conducted by a British Government based on an unelected Parliament—a Parliament living beyond its electoral mandate—until the end of the War. And the end of the War would come when the German, Austrian and Turkish states were destroyed, and Central Europe and the Middle East were in chaos.

Chaos happens when states are destroyed by external forces and placed at the mercy of the conqueror. In earlier times wars were ended by negotiation between the belligerent states, on terms that were appropriate to what had emerged during a temporary trial of strength. It was made clear from the very start, in August 1914, by the moralistic Crusading spirit of the Liberal war propaganda that justified the War to “*the Nonconformist conscience*”, that a negotiated settlement was out of the question. It was to be Total War until the enemy, the personification of Evil in the world, was crushed. And the Irish Party participated in it in that spirit.

The National Leader

Redmond gave away the Irish national interest to what was perhaps the worst of England’s many bad wars. And he did it, without warning of any kind, apparently on the spur of the moment in the House of Commons, in response to Grey’s notorious speech of August 3rd.

John Redmond: National Leader—that is the title of Volume 2 of a

massive biography of Redmond published in 2014. It was on 3rd August 1914 that he made himself National Leader. Until that moment he had been one of three.

When the Party factions of the Parnell split were forced back together under pressure of William O’Brien’s land agitation in 1900, Redmond was made nominal leader out of sentimental regard for Parnell. (He had stood by Parnell in 1891 when Parnell was wrecking the Party, rather than negotiate a compromise that would enable Gladstone to handle “*the Nonconformist conscience*”.) But it was understood that the leadership was to be collective, representing the factions that had united. In 1914 there was an effective triumvirate, consisting of John Dillon, Joseph Devlin and Redmond.

Redmond acted alone in Parliament in Parliament on 3rd August, committing nationalist Ireland to support for Imperial war. From that moment on the game was his to play, and he relished that position.

Dillon And Casement

John Dillon, who dealt with foreign affairs, was not in Parliament on 3rd August. On the day after the declaration of war he wrote to his Party colleague, T.P. O’Connor:

“The world is now reaping the bitter harvest of Grey’s foreign policy which for years I have denounced to deaf ears.”

Two days later he wrote to C.P. Scott, Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*:

“It is the greatest crime against humanity perpetrated in modern times and I cannot help feeling that England must bear a considerable share of the responsibility for it...”

On 12th August he wrote to Scott that the heaviest share of the guilt lay with “*the new English foreign policy identified with Rosebery and Grey*”:

“I take for granted that Germany will be beaten. But after a titanic struggle and great Heaven—what a prospect for Europe. If Germany is beaten, Germany and Austria will be dissolved, and good-bye to peace in Europe for some generations.

“I must say that my experience in the House of Commons during the last five years in trying to interest Liberals in what seemed to me the manifest and irresistible trend of Grey’s policy has been the most disheartening in my long public life...”

Dillon was in substantial agreement with Casement. Casement, holding Britain effectively responsible for the War, opposed

Irish nationalist participation in it, aligned himself with Germany, and tried to raise an Irish Brigade from prisoners-of-war in Germany.

Dillon wrote private letters of protest, and let Redmond determine Party policy.

(John Redmond's biographer, Dermot Meleady, makes no reference to Dillon's efforts before 1914 to make Parliament aware of the tendency of British foreign policy. He does not discuss whether the Party leader agreed with his foreign policy spokesman. And he finds it sufficient to say, about Dillon's views in early August 1914: *"Dillon was... less moved by the crusading emotions that caused Redmond to fly the Union Jack alongside the Irish flag"* (p320).)

I have quoted Dillon's letters from the 1968 biography by F.S.L. Lyons, a Professor at Canterbury University, published by Routledge. If the publishing of a Dillon biography had been left to a post-1970 academic in an Irish University and an Irish publisher, I doubt that Dillon's foreign policy views would have been allowed much expression. Revisionism does not tolerate prurient curiosity about historical facts of life.

Lyons, of course, does not discuss the merit of Dillon's views on Foreign Office policy. He only quotes a few sentences from Dillon's letters at the time, before commenting: *"This was a highly individual, idiosyncratic, view"* (p355).

It was in fact the view of the major Government newspapers, the *Daily News* and *Manchester Guardian* up to the moment war was declared.

The British Liberal Press And The War

Both papers changed their opinion in response to the declaration of war. But it was not a reasoned change of opinion. It was not that they came to see that there was a flaw in their reasoning before August 4th. It was a change of view brought about by a mental faculty that was more powerful than the reasoning faculty. That faculty (which lies beyond reason and is highly developed in English political culture) caused them to adapt wholeheartedly to the accomplished fact of the declaration of war and to forget that only a day or two earlier they had reasoned acutely that a declaration of war would be a crime against Europe.

After August the 4th they blotted out what they had argued forcibly before August the 3rd. They did not remember. But, before August the third, they had foreseen what they would do if the Government committed the crime against which they were warning.

Dillon's correspondent, C.P. Scott, Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, said before the event that reasoning would have to stop if war was declared.

But he could not bring himself to write the hysterical Germanophobic editorials required for the kind of war declared by the Government. He handed over editorial writing for a while to his Assistant Editor, who was also his son-in-law: Irish Home Ruler, C.E. Montagu. (Montagu editorialised himself into insisting on enlisting, even though he was middle-aged. He found that he just loved war, especially being under bombardment in the front lines.)

The overnight change from reasoning against the war to warmongering could only be irrational, hysterical. And the whole process of the War, on the political side, and of the destructive peace that was implemented at the end of it (bearing out Dillon's prediction) was hysterical.

The great Liberal turnabout was the clearest case of *"My country, right or wrong!"*: that I have ever come across. Liberalism was not prepared for it. And the Liberal Party did not survive it.

To show how far from individualist idiosyncrasy Dillon's, and therefore Casement's, opinions were, here is a sample of what the most powerful organs of the Liberal press were saying up to August 4th. Here is the *Manchester Guardian*:

July 30th

"England's Danger."

"We are friends with every Power in Europe. Why give preference to one friend over another? Because, says the *Times*, it is our settled interest and traditional policy to uphold the balance of power in Europe. Away with that foul idol, as *Bright* called it... But if we must worship the idol, how should we serve it better by throwing our influence on the side of Russia than on the side of Germany? Why strengthen the hand that is already beating us in Persia, and which, if it triumphed over Germany, would presently be felt in Afghanistan and on our frontiers in India?..."

July 31st

"The Nation's Danger."

"So long as we remain neutral we are safer against attack now than at any time, for no nation wishes to provoke our enmity..."

"The House of Commons, which should be the guardian of the national interests at such a time as this, is discussing the Milk and Dairies Bill. (Mr. Asquith calls that 'presenting a united front to the nations of Europe'), and there are rumours that it will in a few days be adjourned as a useless encumbrance on the full freedom of the Executive, only to be called together again in case money should be required for a war already determined upon. Everywhere there is evidence of organisation for war; nowhere a sign that the forces of peace are being mobilised..."

August 1st

“England’s Duty.”

“Russia has ordered a general mobilisation. Germany has proclaimed martial law... and may begin at any moment now to mobilise... We advise Englishmen that they have no sympathy to spare for Europe. Let them keep it for themselves, and think first of all for England, for English honour and English interests. For there is in our midst an organised conspiracy to drag us into the war... ‘Conspiracy’ we say because it is disloyal to Parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of national interests in times of crisis. The conspirators prefer the confidence of selected newspaper editors to that of the representatives of the people...”

“If Russia wins there will be the greatest disturbance of the balance of power that the world has ever seen. The whole conditions of our existence as an Asiatic Power will have to be revised, and all over the world, wherever we come into contest with Russia, we shall have a repetition of the self-effacement which we have witnessed in Persia. The victory of Germany, on the other hand, would in effect be a victory for the principle of the balance of power. If we believed in this principle, which we do not, then we might be for intervention on the side of Germany. Because we do not believe in it we are able without the least misgiving, to counsel neutrality as the right policy for this country...”

August 3rd (Monday)

“On The Brink.”

“Saturday and Sunday were the fateful days of a century. On Saturday Germany declared war on Russia... Germany was not free to choose; whether war was to come depended not so much on what she did as on what Russia meant to do. Having convinced herself, and not without cause, that Russia meant war, she conceived that her policy was one for her soldiers to determine on purely military grounds... Germany’s position is graver than it has been since the days of the great *Frederic*. With the genius and the brilliancy of France on the one flank and the overwhelming numbers of Russia on the other she felt herself fighting against the odds for her very existence. The only chance, she probably reflected, lay in taking her enemies in detail and in flinging herself on the one before the other was fully prepared. It was a desperate calculation, but so was her case. From Italy she will get no help, and Austria will be hard put to it to deal with Servia... Sooner or later she will bear the whole brunt of the war with France and Russia at once. And she was uncertain of the neutrality of England. Therefore she decided to strike the first blow. We deeply regret it, but we understand. Nor shall we apply a harsh judgment to what man or nation does for very life’s sake...”

“England alone of the Great Powers stood quite outside the entanglements of the European system which is now breaking up. Italy was involved... but she has managed by a great effort to extricate herself...”

(Italy was in a Treaty with Germany and Austria, but left it at this point. A few months later it was brought into the war against Austria by a British offer to it of Austrian territory.)

August 4th

“Peace Or War.”

“If and when England joins in the war it will be too late to discuss its policy. Meanwhile we hold it to be a patriotic duty for all good citizens to oppose to the utmost the participation of this country in the greatest crime of our time. Sir Edward Grey’s speech last night, for all its appearance of candour, was not fair either to the House of Commons or to the country. It showed that for years he had been keeping back the whole truth and telling just enough to lull into a false sense of security, not enough to enable the country to form a reasoned judgment on the current of our policy... It is a mockery to throw on the House of Commons the responsibility of deciding at a moment’s notice and in circumstances of great excitement on a policy that has been maturing for years. Had the House of Commons as whole risen to the full height of its duty it would have shown itself wiser than its rulers. But a minority did protest...”

But the moment war was declared (August 4th), the line changed.

August 5th: Declaration Of War

“The Declaration Of War.”

“England declared war upon Germany at eleven o’clock last night. The controversy therefore is now at an end. Our front is united...”

August 14th

“The Empire’s Devotion.”

“There must be few people in England so cold that their hearts have not glowed as they read the wonderful succession of telegrams from every part of the Empire during the last ten days. No sooner was England’s danger known than the most splendid offers of spontaneous help began to flow in on her from every continent in the world...”

August 24th

“The Two Germanies.”

“The war does not change what we think of *Schubert* and *Schumann*, of *Lessing* and *Hegel*... What we must feel is that the greater and nobler Germany... has suffered a horrible entanglement in the coarse materialism of Prussian ambitions. The greater Germany cannot be disentangled now; that is the horrible part of it; her own loyalty to her betrayers makes it impossible to hope, as yet, for any appreciable division of feeling in Germany. Europe must either smash Prussian Junkerdom or be smashed by it...”

This editorial, is the voice of Liberal England that has submitted to the other England and become part of it—the other England which, after two years of intensifying Home Rule conflict, it had come to the brink of civil war with in late July.

*

The *Daily News* followed the same course of transition as the *Manchester Guardian*, but it set out more clearly than the *Guardian* that Britain could set stiff terms on Germany for its Neutrality, and that Germany had requested Britain to set its terms. For a start, the German Navy would have been immobilised. The scope of the war could have been limited in other respects as well. And Britain could, with advantage to itself, have exerted pressure for a negotiated settlement, and acted as arbiter at the peace negotiation:

August 4th

“It would seem... that if we are not yet at war with Germany, war is a matter of hours, and the Government has taken measures in anticipation of conflict. The fleet has been mobilised, and the Army is mobilising... Sir Edward Grey suggested that so far as the economic consequences to this country are concerned, there is no appreciable difference between the loss we should suffer if we remained neutral and the loss we shall suffer by entering the war. Sir Edward is not well versed in economics and we fear he has greatly misapprehended the matter. If we remained neutral we should be, from the commercial point of view, in precisely the same position as the United States. We should be able to trade with all the belligerents (so far as the war allows a trade with them); we should be able to capture the bulk of their trade in neutral markets; we should keep our expenditure down; we should keep out of debt; we should have healthy finances. There can be no reasonable doubt that the economic effects of the policy of war will be of the gravest character. That quite apart from the political consequences...”

August 5th

“There are some who think it [the War] will be brief because Germany will soon exhaust her resources. Much as we should like to think so we cannot believe it. Seldom, if ever, has a great State been stopped in war from lack of funds, and a nation of the temper of the Germans engaged in what they believe to be a life and death struggle will assuredly fight so long as fighting is possible.

“For us, too, this war is now a question of life and death. Being in we must win, but we must endeavour at no moment in the struggle to lose our command of the situation or our power to determine that the reorganised Europe which will follow on our victory shall be one which fortifies British security and does not ruin European civilisation...”

But the war, of course, accelerated out of control.

The Irish Home Rule War Propaganda

On August 10th the *Daily News* published a sensationalist article by Mr. Redmond's rottweiler, T.M. Kettle, which expressed the Crusading frenzy that was the only mode in which the Liberal mind could free itself from the

Liberalism of Cobden and Bright in order to fight a war: *Europe Against The Barbarians*.

A short while later H.G. Wells fed the great delusion with a pamphlet entitled *The War That Will End War*. But it was the Home rule intellectual cum political activist, T.M. Kettle, who pioneered the debasement of the English Liberal mind:

“...what is the stake for which we are playing? It is as simple as it is colossal. It is Europe against the barbarians... The ‘big blonde brute’ has stepped from the pages of Nietzsche out on to the plains about Liege...”

The cry was taken up on all sides. The *Manchester Guardian* resisted that ultimate degradation of Liberal thought for a couple of weeks, but resistance was hopeless. Kettle prevailed. Historical Liberalism—the product of the Great Reform and the repeal of the Corn Laws—was doomed.

The intellect and spirit of historical Liberalism found expression after August 4th 1914 in Casement’s articles in the *Continental Times*.

The Volunteers

Casement was a mainstream Liberal of the final phase of the Liberal era. He was also a mainstream Home Ruler of the period when Liberalism and Home Rule were blended ideologically and had become like Siamese twins organisationally.

He ran guns for the Irish Volunteers. That was the action of a well-connected Liberal Home Ruler.

An Ulster Volunteer Force, backed by the British Unionist Party, the Parliamentary Opposition, was formed to prevent the implementation of a Home Rule Act. The Irish Volunteers were formed, in response to the UVF, to support the Home Rule Act. The initiative in the forming of the Irish Volunteers was taken by Eoin MacNeill, a professor of ancient Irish History who was active in politics without ever quite knowing what he was doing. MacNeill’s initiative was given organisational reality by a remnant of the Republican conspiracy of the 1860s, the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Redmond did not support the project at the start (in November 1913), but neither did he oppose it. William O’Brien of the All for Ireland League did oppose it. He asked who were the Volunteers to fight. The Northern Protestants? A part of the Nation?

The UVF was armed in March 1914. The British Army officers at the Curragh let the Government know that they would not act to impose a Home Rule Act on Ulster. The British Unionist Party supported that “Curragh

Mutiny". The Mutiny was warded off by the Secretary for War who, supposedly without Government authority, gave the Curragh officers a guarantee that there would be no coercion of Ulster—no enforcement of the impending Act of Parliament on it. Because of the pretence that he acted without the knowledge of the Government, the War Secretary resigned. The Prime Minister did not replace him. The post of War Secretary was a delicate one because of the secret military preparations being made with France for war with Germany. And so, as the Home Rule conflict reached the point of climax in late July with the shootings at Bachelor's Walk and the opportunity to put into effect the preparations that had been made for war with Germany occurred simultaneously, the State was without a War Secretary—a fact which possibly influenced how the War was fought.

Volunteering had become serious business after the arming of the Ulster Volunteers. Redmond, facing a provincial rival with an Army which was backed by the Opposition in Parliament, demanded that he, as leader of the Irish Party, and close ally of the Liberal Government, should have control of the Irish Volunteers.

Casement supported his demand, and used his influence with MacNeill's Provisional Committee to ensure that control of the Volunteers was ceded to the Party.

The Irish Party now had its own army. Under Redmond's leadership the Volunteers increased by leaps and bounds. And Casement saw to the arming of them. A shipment of guns was landed at Howth on July 25th, and a point was made by marching them openly into central Dublin the following day. (The UVF arms importation had been done furtively under cover of night.)

The march was fired on by the Army in Bachelors Walk and three were killed with 45 wounded. The crisis headlines the following morning were not about the dangerous situation in Europe. They were about the dangerous domestic situation. The possibility of civil war had been evident since March—and it would have been a British civil war and not something that could be passed off as an Irish faction fight. The Bachelors Walk shooting might have been the incident that carried things over the brink.

Is it credible that this domestic situation had no bearing on the decision of the Government to shape the European conflict towards war, and then to mislead the German Government about British attitudes to Belgium and exert some pressure on the Belgians to resist a German march-through, in order to have a 'moral' case for British participation?

Was Redmond entirely unaware of all of this? And had he never noticed what Dillon had been trying to tell Parliament about the Government's foreign policy?

The Meleady biography presents him as a mindless innocent carried away by Grey's rhetoric on August 3rd, and praises him for being so:

"The Foreign Secretary made it clear that Britain must intervene either if the German fleet came up the Channel to attack France, or if Belgium was invaded. As Redmond listened he turned to John Hayden, MP for Roscommon South... and said 'I'm thinking of saying something. I'm going to tell them they can take all their troops out of Ireland and we will defend the country ourselves. With Hayden's assent, but against the advice of O'Connor, he rose to speak of past estrangements of nationalist Ireland in crises similar to that now facing the Empire... The 18th century Volunteers had sprung into existence in 1778 when the shores of Ireland were threatened by foreign invasion, enrolling both Catholics and Protestants: 'May history repeat itself. Today there are in Ireland two large bodies of volunteers... I say that the coast of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons...'

Stephen Gwynn described the reaction of the electrified House...: 'I can see it now, the crowded benches and the erect, solid figure with the massive hawk-visaged head thrown back... the cheering broke out, first intermittently and scattered over the House, then grew gradually universal. Sitting about me were Tory members whom I did not know; I heard their ejaculations of bewilderment, approval and delight. But in the main body of the Unionists... papers were being waved, and when Redmond sat down, many of those men stood up to cheer him...'

"He [Redmond] later told an American correspondent that he realised the risk of acting alone at a moment's notice, but 'had not a moment's hesitation in making up my mind what I should do;..." (*The National Leader* p297).

The offer to defend Ireland with a joint Nationalist/Ulster Unionist Army was an absurdity, unless it is taken to be a propagandist debating point. The small German Navy was bottled up by the world-dominating Royal Navy. And joint action by Ulster Unionists and Nationalists for an Irish national purpose was cloud-cuckoo land. But the statement could have served as a holding operation, a debating point serving some other purpose.

But Redmond was understood by the House to have declared full support for the War. And, although that was not in his words, there is no reason to suppose that the House misunderstood him.

For about six weeks Redmond kept up the posture of defending the Irish coasts against German invaders. He affected to be doing so in alliance with the Ulster Volunteers. But the Ulster Volunteers were not waiting for a German invasion. They were carrying war to the Germans. And the *Irish Times* was ridiculing Redmond's defensive military stance against a German invasion that could never happen.

The Irish Times

The *Irish Times* was the voice of Unionism outside Ulster. It was the voice of the British colony that failed in Ireland—the colony that was given an Irish Parliament to run for a hundred years, with the task of making Ireland an Anglo-Irish nation, and had failed. It was in July 1914 the English newspaper in Ireland, dreading the catastrophe of Home Rule—even Home Rule within the United Kingdom and Empire—and glad to seize any means of deferring it:

“We are glad that the formal declaration [of war] has come from our own Government, and not from the enemies who forced the quarrel upon us. This is the fitting answer to a direct and insolent challenge. The whole nation will welcome the ending of suspense” (5th August 1914).

Until 2006 the idea of the *Irish Times* speaking for the Irish nation would have seemed as absurd as that of the Tailors of Tooley St. speaking as ‘the people of England’. But the *Irish Times* was made the official Irish newspaper of record by a Fianna Fail Government at that point. We must therefore take more heed of it now than would have been sensible only a short while ago.

The *Irish Times* had reason to be glad that Britain had declared war instead of waiting for Germany to do it. It knew very well that Germany had no intention whatever of making war on England.

The German Government in late July tried to discover from the British Government what its intentions were, in order to avoid falling foul of them. It was caught between two powerful Empires, the French and the Russian, both of which were clearly intent on making war on it, and it did not want to add Britain, with its Naval dominance of the world, to its enemies.

It was well known that its contingency war planning included the march of a German army through Belgium (which was not a sovereign state) to outflank the prepared French defences while the immense Russian Army, the “Steamroller”, was working up its momentum. It was openly discussed in the London press in late July/early August.

If the British Government had told the Germans that it would treat a German march through Belgium as a reason for making war on Germany—thereby making the Belgian frontier effectively the British frontier—Belgium would have been let be.

But what the German Government got from the British was an evasive answer which it understood as meaning that Britain would not regard a march through Belgium as a cause of war.

Britain, however, had made detailed plans with France for war with Germany, and it needed a German ‘*invasion of Belgium*’ to put them into

effect when the opportunity for implementing them came about, because it was the Liberal Party that was in Office and its back-benches, living in Gladstonian ideology, would not have supported a balance-of-power war for advantage. The Imperialist Government, hampered by the Irish Party votes that kept it in Office and by the idealism of its back-benches, could only make war in the form of a moral Crusade dictated by that very curious element of British *realpolitik* that is called ‘conscience’.

It had to be a British war of aggression, because Germany was not going to start it. But the Nonconformist Conscience, that loomed large in the Liberal Party, was necessary to it, and therefore the War had to be presented as transcendental and placed beyond the scope of reasonable calculation.

The *Irish Times*, as Unionist, had the realism of militaristic Imperialism ingrained in it and made a merely token genuflection to Liberal Nonconformist transcendentalism.

What Redmond actually thought about it all in secret moments when he set aside the calculation of expedient opportunism about it, I cannot guess. He probably did not allow himself any secret moments like that.

For six weeks he maintained the stance of defending the Irish coast against German invasion, supposedly doing so in alliance with the Ulster Unionist Volunteers who were away making war on the Germans. And the *Irish Times* jeered at him for the futility of defending Ireland, behind the impassable barrier of the Royal Navy, against invasion launched by the German Navy that was tightly bottled up in the Baltic, not daring to peep out.

How different the course of events in Ireland would have been if Redmond had held to that stance, instead of wasting fifty thousand Irishmen in the war on Germany, and then on Turkey!

But the *Irish Times* was intent on bleeding Nationalist Ireland as the newest nation of the Empire, never suspecting what it might lead to:

Irish Times, 10th September 1914:

“In curious, and rather humiliating, contrast to India’s enthusiasm, is the failure of the recruiting campaign in Nationalist Ireland. The Tenth Division of the new Army, which Lord Kitchener had hoped to fill from our southern and midland districts, is still a skeleton. If the call remains unanswered at the end of another fortnight, the new ‘Irish’ Division will be brought up to its full strength by means of recruits from England. We all know the reason for this most unsatisfactory and disappointing state of things. It is not that Nationalist Irishmen are lacking in the military spirit... It is not that Nationalist Ireland is out of sympathy with England’s cause in this war... The reason is one of domestic politics. Mr. Redmond will not unlock the door of Lord Kitchener’s

Army to the majority of his fellow-countrymen until the Home Rule Bill has become law. We deplore this ungenerous reading of the old maxim that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity'. It is neither sound history nor sound politics... Without exacting any promise from the Government, Unionist Ulster is pouring her best sons into the new Army; she will soon have two divisions in the field. She is going to help England to win this war. Nationalist Ireland—it would appear—so far as she is represented by her political leaders—is going to watch the epoch-making struggle with folded arms. When the political question is revived after the war—for the passing of the Home Rule Bill, if it is passed now, can only be a formality—on which side will England's sympathies be found...? ...Let us all, Unionist and Nationalist, combine to give Lord Kitchener's Tenth Irish Division a place in history beside Caesar's Tenth Legion and Napoleon's National Guard."

"Ireland And German Trade"

"Yesterday a meeting of Dublin manufacturers was held to consider the steps which should be taken to capture German trade. We are glad that Irish business men are showing signs that they are awake to the opportunity which is open to them. Immediately after the war broke out English manufacturers grasped the possibilities of the situation... We trust that Irishmen are not lagging behind. There is no reason why the export of manufactured goods from this country should not be increased both immediately and permanently. But our chief concern should be the home markets. Up to the present Ireland has imported from Germany and Austria large quantities of goods which she might perfectly well provide for herself. Now that the foreign supply has been cut off, an opportunity... is offered to our manufacturers. The public can give them some help by insisting upon obtaining Irish goods whenever it is possible. And it lies principally with our business men to see that the fruits of the war which we are waging are not gathered by Americans..."

The Fig Leaf

Redmond needed the fig-leaf of a dead-letter Home Rule Act in order to begin recruiting for the British Army. While this was being negotiated, the Unionists accused him of going back on his declaration of unconditional loyalty of August 3rd. His biographer, Dermot Meleady, writes that—

"Redmond rejected the charge of conditional loyalty as 'ungenerous and unjust'..." (p305).

On September 15th the Unionists gave him what he was waiting for. They agreed that the Home Rule Bill passed by Parliament should be signed into the Statute Book by the King and become an Act. But it was an Act from which no action would follow, except the recruiting action of the Redmondites. The Home Rule which the Act provided for was not going

to be implemented until the end of the War. And it was agreed that, when the War ended, it would still not be implemented until it was amended in the Unionist interest.

The *Irish Times* commented on September 16th:

"We may say at once that we do not regard the passing of the Home Rule Bill as a fatal blow to Irish Unionist interests. In all probability it will never become operative..."

"Mr. Redmond has restrained the arm of Irish Nationalism in the supposed interest of his political campaign. He now promises to release it. He declares that the manhood of Ireland will now spring to help the nation's and the Empire's need. Irish Unionists should give Mr. Redmond every opportunity to keep his promise. The young men of Southern Ireland have too long been kept out of the firing line..."

The House of Commons sang *God Save Ireland* when its Home Rule Bill was conjured into an illusory Act. And why not? The hard-line Home Rulers of the Liberal Party were now crusading war-mongers committed to the infinitely greater business of destroying Evil in the world and shaping it into a regime of perpetual peace based on the universal triumph of Good. And the fiction of an Irish Home Rule Act got them 200,000 Irishmen as cannonfodder.

It was made clear from the start that the Nationalist Irish would only be cannon-fodder. Lord Kitchener, an Englishman from Kerry, was appointed to the post of War Secretary when War was declared. (The post was vacant because of the Curragh Mutiny.) And Kitchener would have no truck with any arrangement that might evolve into an Irish Command.

There was an Ulster Division. But the Ulstermen in that Division were colonial kith-and-kin. In their very act of rebellion in 1913-14 they demonstrated that they were British. The core of Britishness in the British Empire was not abstract citizenship, such as had been established in the Roman Empire. (There was in fact no such thing as British citizenship.) It was the familiar relationship of the colonies with their source. The Britishness of the Ulster Unionists, like that of the Canadians and the Australians, was that of pieces of England, colonies in the original sense of the word, which had gone overseas for the purpose of spreading Britain across the world, and developing the world into Greater Britain.

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The term *Greater Britain* was in common use as the name for the British presence in the world during the generation before 1914. It was the title of a famous book by a senior Liberal politician, Sir Charles Dilke, published in 1868. A realistic understanding of the World War launched by Britain

in 1914 is that its purpose was to secure the indisputable world dominance of the British peoples, of *Greater Britain*, by crushing Germany. Germany had not only become a serious commercial rival, but had adopted a foreign policy designed to preserve and strengthen a major state and culture which Britain had marked down for destruction—the Ottoman Empire, which gave orderly expression to the Muslim culture as a necessary component of a world order. (A well-informed and well-reasoned book published in the USA during the years of American neutrality took it that German assistance to the Ottoman State to modernise its administration and defences in the Middle East was the essential cause of the World War: *The War And The Baghdad Railway* by Morris Jastrow.

Sir Charles Dilke divided the peoples of the world into *dear* peoples and *cheap* peoples. The *dearest* people were, of course, the British, with the Anglo-Saxons at their core. And he praised the Anglo-Saxons as “*the greatest extirpating race*” the world had ever seen.

This was no more than a statement of fact. And I state it merely as a fact that English opinion was very much at ease with in 1914.

“The countries ruled by a race whose very scum and outcasts have founded empires in every purlieu of the globe, even now consist of nine and a half millions of square miles and contain population of three hundred millions of people. Their surface is five times as great as that of Darius, and four and a half times as large as that of the Roman Empire at its greatest extent. It is no exaggeration to say that in power the English countries would be more than a match for the remaining nations of the world, whom in the intelligence of their people and the extent and wealth of their dominions they already considerably surpass Russia. Russia gains ground steadily, we are told, but so do we” (*Greater Britain*, 1869 edition, p572).

“Judging from the English experience... it would seem as though the white man and the red cannot exist on the same soil...

“After all, if the Indian is mentally, morally and physically inferior to the white man, it is in every way for the advantage of the world that the next generation in Colorado should consist of whites instead of reds... The gradual extinction of the inferior races is not only a law of nature, but a blessing to mankind” (p88).

“The Anglo-Saxon is the only exterminating race on earth. Up to the commencement of the now inevitable destruction of the Red Indians of Central North America, of the Maories, and of the Australians by the English colonists, no numerous race has ever been blotted out by an invader...; the Spaniards not only never annihilated a people, but have themselves been all but expelled by the Indians in Mexico and South America... Hitherto it has been nature’s rule, that the race that peopled a country in the earliest historic days should people it to the end of time” (p223).

All of this was reasserted by Dilke twenty years later (1890) in his *Problems Of Greater Britain*. In 1869 the Irish nationalist movement scarcely existed, the military conspiracy of the Fenians having been broken, but in 1890 it had, in its Home Rule form, become a major force in British political life.

Sir Charles Dilke was no maverick genocidal racist with megalomaniac ambitions. He was in all these respects a mainstream Liberal politician. He was a representative man of England in its most Progressive generation. A biography of him published in the 1990s has the title, *The Lost Prime Minister*. He seemed destined to succeed Gladstone as Leader of the Liberal Party until he fell foul of the Nonconformist conscience that was then rampant in the Party. Like Parnell a short while later, he was cited in a divorce action and was obliged to step down.

He had been on negotiating terms with Parnell in the mid-1880s, and continued to be regarded favourably by the pseudo-Parnellism of the Redmondite Party. A biography of Dilke by the eminent Redmondite propagandist, Stephen Gwynne, was published in 1917.

The extermination of inferior peoples was taken to be a requirement of Progress by Liberal England in the late 19th century and the early 20th. It was not even thought of as a regrettable necessity. It was more a matter of hygiene. The human race was being cleaned up. And, as John Wesley put it: *Cleanliness is next to Godliness*.

But, while Anglo-Saxondom had exterminated peoples across the globe, it had been negligent closer to home. The Irish had somehow survived its attentions. Their extinction had been anticipated but never achieved. They were reduced to such a condition under the Colonial Parliament in the 18th century that it was reasonable to expect them to sense that they were a futile people and wither. But they carried on, not only surviving but increasing. In the 1840s they died by the million when the single crop that they kept going on failed and the Empire did not exert itself on their behalf but mercifully let Providence do its work on them. But the millions that they lost—and that have never really been counted—did not discourage the Irish. They were not even traumatised by the experience—and they did not even suppress the memory of it in order not to be traumatised by it.

My attitude towards many things was got from my grandmother (a Culloty), whose attitude towards the Famine was got from her mother. The way the English had ruled Ireland brought about the conditions in which the Famine happened, and then they let it happen. That’s the kind of people they are and it was no good tearing yourself apart over it.

The London *Times* expected the Irish to disappear within a generation of the Famine. But a little over two generations later they brought Britain to the brink of a civil war, from which it escaped with relief by launching a World War. Three-quarters of a century after the Famine, Irish statehood had to be conceded. And the famous Dean Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's, who was one of the superior English intellectuals of his time, observed that the loss of Ireland would be seen as the most disgraceful act in English history. He just could not understand how it had happened:

“The loss of Ireland will perhaps be considered, in the future, to have been the most shameful event in English history... The indigenous population, mainly neolithic or Mediterranean stock, possesses, speaking generally, the engaging qualities, and the deep-rooted moral defects, of the race from which they sprang. It should not have been very difficult to govern them firmly... All that was necessary was to make it quite clear to them that they had nothing to gain by sedition... But Ireland, and the Irish loyalists, have been the victim of our system of party politics” (W.R. Inge. England. 1926. Quoted from 1928 popular edition, p147).

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John Redmond’s active support—support by military recruiting—for the British Empire’s War on Germany did not only require the Unionist Party to agree to the passing of a dead-letter Home Rule Act—a Bill that was signed into the Statute Book on the condition that it would not be implemented during the War and would be subject to amendment after the War. It also required that this war of the British Empire should be presented as a war of an entirely new kind in the world—a war in which the Empire sought nothing for itself. It had to be an altruistic war, in which the Empire was willing to sacrifice itself for the purpose of establishing an international order based on enforceable principles. The principle which had greatest appeal in Irish Home Rule circles was “*the right of small nations to self-determination*”.

After the Irish availed of this right in 1918-19 and elected their own Government, the Prime Minister explained that it had never been intended to apply to them. It was intended only to apply to various peoples in the Hapsburg Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, when Britain broke it up. It was not explained in August-September 1914 that the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a British war-aim, or that the right of self-determination was intended to apply only to enemy states. At the same time it should be said, in defence of Lloyd George’s belated revelation, that a well-informed and realistic understanding of world affairs such as must be presumed to exist amongst British politicians, should have guided the Redmond leadership towards a less Utopian vision of the War than they presented to their followers. Certainly Casement did understand what was happening and did his best to enlighten the public.

The war on the Turkish Empire, declared in November 1914, was rather obviously a war of destruction and conquest. Redmondism seems to have taken it in its stride, without further thought.

The point is that Redmondism was not active in the British war effort as a loyal component of the British Empire. It was active in the British war effort because of the utterly exceptional character attributed to this British War. Britain had been born again. It had launched a War such as had never before been fought on earth by any great state. It was fighting a war in support of a general principle which lay beyond all calculation of Imperial interest.

In the Redmondite view the war declared by Britain on Germany in August 1914 was exceptional in character, to the point of being unique in the history of the world. It was a selfless war, untainted by Imperial ambitions. It was a war fought out of a sense of disinterested moral obligation—therefore it was a Just War.

In the Ulster Unionist view it was just another war of the British Empire, asserting the rightness of Britain’s Imperial destiny, and therefore it was a Just War.

If you had been in Kitchener’s place as Imperial War Leader in 1914, which would you have relied on?

In Southern Unionist circles in 1914—in Trinity College and amongst the readership of the *Irish Times*—a properly British spirit guided the understanding of the War. The fact that the British State had declared war was its justification.

Neutral Italy was lured into the war as a British ally by a secret offer to it by Britain of a large tract of Austrian territory. An Italian Prime Minister, Nitti, commented that, when one goes to war, of course one puts a moral gloss on it for the sake of decency, and paints the enemy as devilish. But he was astonished, at Versailles, to see that the English, whom he had admired for their *sang froid*, were carrying on as if they actually believed that what they had said in their war propaganda was the sober truth. He saw that unexpected phenomenon as being a serious danger to the post-war peace of Europe. His account of it is given in *Peaceless Europe*, where he says—

“When our countries were engaged in the struggle, and we were at grips with a dangerous enemy, it was our duty to keep up the *morale* of our people and to paint our adversaries in the darkest colours, laying on their shoulders all the blame and responsibility of the War. But after the great world conflict, now that imperial Germany has fallen, it would be absurd to maintain that the responsibility of the War is solely and wholly attributable to Germany...” (*Peaceless Europe*, English translation 1922, p33).

The English Government, indulged in punishing its defeated enemies, instead of peacemaking, for more than a year, and maimed both the new European order and the new Middle Eastern order by the way it imposed its wishes on its allies and its defeated enemies.

England then began to realise in the early 1920s that its reckless punishing of Germany on spurious moralistic grounds was disadvantageous to it. Germany was plundered and shackled and therefore France was being restored to the status of dominant state in Europe, and therefore of Britain's enemy according to the balance-of-power principle. The curbing of France then became the object of British foreign policy. The era of what is euphemistically called *appeasement* began. Britain began to help Germany to free itself from the disabling restrictions imposed on it by the Versailles 'Treaty' and the League of Nations.

Germany signed the Versailles Treaty in June 1919, under pressure of the Hunger Blockade enforced by the Royal Navy and intensified after the fighting ended on 11th November 1918, and under threat of immediate and terrible war if the new German Government did not, on behalf of the German people, sign a confession of exclusive "*war guilt*". Britain insisted on this no less than France. But, within a couple of years, it began to collaborate with Germany to subvert the Versailles system, doing so covertly at first, but openly after Hitler came to power in 1933. In the first instance, Hitler brought German troops back to the Rhineland, in defiance of Versailles restrictions. When this brought no Allied sanctions, he proceeded with further steps. The first act of naked British collaboration was the *Naval Agreement* of 1934, an Anglo-German Naval Agreement, by-passing the League of Nations, authorising Germany to build warships. The culminating act of collaboration was the Munich Agreement of 1938, awarding Germany a section of the Versailles-concocted state of Czechoslovakia and restoring Germany to the status of a major European Power.

Czechoslovakia was made up of a number of peoples which had lived more or less contentedly together in the Hapsburg Empire—the peoples for whom the 1914 "*right of nations to self-determination*" was intended, according to the British Prime Minister when explaining to the Irish in 1920 why that right was not available to them. The Irish had expressed their discontent with British rule by periodic rebellion but were denied national statehood. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks had rebelled against Hapsburg rule but Versailles constituted them into a nation state, while locking out the Irish delegation. But the Czechs/Slovaks did not in fact constitute a nation, and when Britain awarded the Sudetenland region to Germany in 1938 the Slovaks declared independence. Czechoslovakia disappeared. And the advanced arms industry within its territory became German.

"By their fruits ye shall know them!" These are some of the fruits of Britain's Great War.

If Britain had won the War and had made a functional settlement of the world—or at least of the European part of it—at the end of it, the means by which it brought about the War would be no more than a subject of antiquarian curiosity.

But it did not win. It wrangled with Germany for four years, refusing negotiated settlement. It did not need to settle because the Royal Navy continued to dominate the world. And the Americans were supplying it with war credits and armaments. Germany sustained a desperate defensive war for most of those four years, ingeniously devising '*ersatz*' substitutes for materials that the Royal Navy prevented it from importing, and warding off financial collapse by an organisation of national economy which Lenin saw as only one move away from comprehensive socialism. In 1918 Germany came close to winning. But the United States military appeared on the scene and won. But the US unfortunately left the matter of making the peace to Britain.

Redmond's Master Stroke

The official engagement of nationalist Ireland, as a war-making force, in the war on Germany that led to so much disorder in Europe after Germany was defeated and broken, was launched by Redmond on September 20th, two days after the Home Rule Bill was given the Royal Assent.

The final Parliamentary measure was passed without the consent of the Unionists and in their absence.

It was agreed by Parliament when War was declared that all contentious matters should be set aside while the War was being fought and taken up again at the end of it. The Unionist Party took this to mean that the Home Rule Bill should be frozen as it stood in early August, and taken up again at the end of the War.

The Prime Minister, no doubt out of a concern to maintain the support of the Redmondite MPs on whom his Government depended, disagreed. He held that the Bill, which was on the verge of enactment when the War started, should go through its final stage and become an Act. If it was simply deferred in its uncompleted condition, all the work that had been done on it "would be put at the mercy of a chapter of accidents".

It was in response to the Prime Minister's speech that the Unionist leader, Bonar Law, made the remark that rankled with Redmond about *conditional loyalty*.

Bonar Law expressed his anger against the Government, but said:

"I have not at all the same feeling of indignation against the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway—not at all. The hon. member for Waterford is not the head of a Government. He is not responsible for the welfare of this country. He is only doing what he has done always, putting pressure on the Government to get his own way, that is all. But I do say this in all sincerity..., that the hon. Member for Waterford has never in his life, from his own point of view, made so great a mistake as the one he is making now. If he had allowed the Government to act decently in this great crisis he would have done more to help his cause than he will do by a hundred victories such as he is going to gain in the House of Commons to-day. The speech which he made the other day... undermined, I believe, the strength of the unionism of a great number of Unionist Members... I was moved by it myself because I accepted it literally. I did not understand then that it was only a promise of conditional loyalty" (Hansard, 15 Sept. 1914, col. 902. The reference is obviously to Redmond's speech of August 3rd).

But Redmond was in no position to make a gesture of unconditional loyalty. He needed to have at least the semblance of a victory over the Unionists in order to be able to launch an active Nationalist recruiting campaign for the War.

The Unionist MPs left the Commons after Bonar Law's protest and let it continue with carrying through the final stage of the Home Rule Bill—and also a Suspensory Bill, suspending its operation, which seems to have actually preceded it into the Statute Book.

The ceremonial announcement of the Home Rule Act was made at a brief meeting of Parliament on September 18th:

"Royal Assent"

Message received to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went, and having returned,

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have to inform the House that the House has been to the place of Peers, where Commissions under the Great Seal were read giving the Royal assent to—

...

10. Suspensory Act 1914

...

And to the following Acts passed under the provisions of the Parliament Act—

1. Government of Ireland Act 1914

...

Prorogation

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have further to acquaint the House that the Lord High Chancellor being one of the High Commissioners delivered His Majesty's most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament in pursuance of His Majesty's Command as followeth:—

My Lords and Gentlemen

I address you in circumstances that call for action rather than for speech.

"After every endeavour had been made by My Government to preserve the peace of the world, I was compelled, in the assertion of treaty obligations deliberately set at nought, and for the protection of the public law of Europe and the vital interests of My Empire, to go to war..."

From every part of My Empire there has been spontaneous and enthusiastic rally to our common flag."

...

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After Which the Lord Chancellor said:

My Lords and Gentlemen,—By virtue of His Majesty's Commission... we do, in His Majesty's Name and in obedience to his Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the Twenty-seventh day of October, One Thousand nine hundred and fourteen, to be then holden, and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the Twenty-seventh day of October, One thousand nine hundred and fourteen .

Mr. W. Crooks: Would it be in order to sing 'God Save the King'?

In response, all Members present joined in singing the National Anthem, the occupants of the Press and other galleries standing.

Mr. Crooks: 'God save Ireland'.

Mr. John Redmond: 'And God save England too' " (Hansard, 18 Sept., Cols. 1017-1020).

And those were the last words spoken in the session of Parliament that passed a suspended Irish Home Rule Act and authorised a World War.

There was a Home Rule Act but there was no Home Rule. John Redmond was still not the head of a Government, and was still not a Minister of the Crown. Constitutionally he was a kind of wraith awaiting the arrival of a Higgs-Boson particle to give him material substance.

He had made his loyalty to the Crown conditional in order to gain the illusion of a Home Rule Act, thus reinforcing the unionism of the Unionists. But, having got his illusory Home Rule Act, he became an unconditional loyalist.

After his appearance in Parliament on September 18th he returned to Ireland, revoked his “*defending the Irish coasts*” stance of August 3rd and committed the Home Rule Party to the War on Germany, and to any other war that the Crown decided to launch.

As his biographer describes it:

“At Woodenbridge in the Vale of Avoca he came upon a meeting of the East Wicklow Volunteers. His short impromptu address to them did not go further than his manifesto, but has become far better known... Their duty was twofold: to go on drilling, and then to ‘account yourselves as men, not only in Ireland but wherever the firing-line extends, in defence of right, of freedom and of religion in this war’. It would be ‘a disgrace forever to Ireland, and a reproach to her manhood’ if young Irishmen were to stay at home to defend the island’s shores from an unlikely invasion” (Meleady p307).

Meleady is right, in an abstract way, when he says that there was nothing new in the Woodenbridge speech. Redmond had said in Parliament on September 15th:

“I will say from the public platform when I go back to Ireland, that it is their duty, and should be their honour to take their place in the firing line in this contest” (Col. 911).

But saying in Parliament, under the Unionist taunt of “*conditional loyalty*”, what he would do in Ireland, and actually doing it in an address to his army, are not the same thing. In Parliament he was a waffler, without authority. In Wicklow he was the head of an army that had no authority under Westminster but had existence. and, in the presence of a detachment of this army, he told it that it must go and fight in Britain’s war—and go wherever it was sent.

In Parliament he had ridiculed criticism in Ireland about the way he was shaping policy made by—

“men who are publishing little wretched rags once a week or once a month—which none of us ever see—who are sending them by some mysterious agency through the post in this country... If you take up these wretched rags you will find praises of the Emperor of Germany in the same sentence as are denunciations of my colleagues and myself” (Col. 910).

The Woodenbridge speech split the Volunteers. The original committee of the Volunteers, which had conceded its authority to Redmond in mid-June, when he threatened that he would take over the organisation anyway by flooding it with his followers, re-asserted its authority. It repudiated

Redmond’s commitment of the force to the Imperial war effort, taking about 12,000 Volunteers with it and leaving over 140,000 with Redmond.

Meleady comments:

“Redmond... did not equivocate regarding the dissidents, telling Irish Party supporter Alice Stopford Green: ‘...if they are honest men, it means that they are radically opposed in policy to the constitutional party and to the principle of Home Rule, and are, therefore, to be fought vigorously and remorselessly by us, who believe in the constitutional movement and in Home Rule as a settlement of the Irish question;...’” (Meleady, p308).

What Redmond did by building up the Volunteer force for about three months without repudiating the purpose for which it had been formed, and then committing it to an entirely different purpose, which had never been discussed, was to split it and give rise to an army of 12,000 that was definitely not committed to the British Empire.

Size was not of the essence of the matter. The majority, insofar as they obeyed Redmond, went off to be wasted in the great *blood sacrifice* on the Continent—and the spirit of ‘blood sacrifice’ was strongly in evidence in the War propaganda. The dissenting 12,000 were a coherent military force at home which the Government did not try to suppress lest that should cause the recruiting of Redmond’s Volunteers to dry up.

The little groups with their wretched rags were suddenly in serious business. Redmond’s conduct maximised their influence, and enabled them to launch their own war and change the course of events utterly.

Reviewing Meleady’s biography in the *Irish Times* (25.1.2014), Roy Foster comments:

“There is an argument, indeed, that his Woodenbridge speech, where he committed the movement to fighting for the allies, was part of a deliberate ploy to drive out the extremists. Here and elsewhere, he was a formidable political operator.”

The “*extremists*” in late September 1914 were people who had joined the Volunteers to support the enactment of the Home Rule Bill and who did not see their way to shepherding Irishmen by the thousand to the slaughterhouse in France after Home Rule had been set aside indefinitely, and after the Unionists had been given a guarantee that the Bill introduced in 1912, and passed three times by the Commons, would never be implemented.

Redmond’s letter to A.S. Green says that he will tolerate nothing but unconditional British loyalty in his Volunteers. All who hold to the very

conditional loyalty of the original movement, in which there was no hint of an obligation to fight Britain's wars, are to be driven out. What Foster sees as a master-stroke was a policy of driving consistent Home Rulers of the pre-August 3rd kind into the arms of the IRB.

This is the sense in which the Insurrection a year and a half later can be seen as a product of the World War.

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In July 1914 Casement was a mainstream Liberal and a mainstream Home Ruler within an apparently evolving British Liberal civilisation. He did nothing to disrupt that evolution, any more than Pearse or Connolly did. But he was an integral and active part of that civilisation, as Pearse and Connolly were not. That is possibly why he felt under obligation to act so quickly and decisively when he saw it being wrecked by Redmond's collusion with Grey.

He had noticed an element in the Foreign Office that seemed to be engaged in systematic diplomatic preparation for a war that would throttle Germany, but it still came as a shock to him when that element was given its head by a Liberal Government to put its policy into effect.

He shared the pre-War views of the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian* but, while they dropped their principles on the declaration of war, he maintained his: even at the cost of setting himself at odds with Redmond's Irish Party and the British mainstream.

Casement supported Germany as the victim. He went to Germany. His German Diary, published in 2017 by Angus Mitchell, shows him becoming disillusioned by Germany. An element in that disillusionment was the persisting Anglophilic which he saw in German political circles, and the absence of the balance-of-power understanding that was ingrained in English political culture.

Germany could not make war as England did. It had not prepared for war with England and found difficulty in coming to terms with the fact that England had made war on it.

When the fighting stopped in November 1918 England indulged in reckless punishing of its defeated enemies, on spurious moralistic grounds, instead of engaging in realistic peacemaking.

A functional peace might have been arranged on terms very advantageous to England. There were still plenty of politicians of the 1914 ruling class vintage that knew it. But the character of the war propaganda prevented England from making the kind of advantageous peace settlement that it had

made after its previous World Wars: the War Of The Spanish Succession, the Seven Years' War, and the War on the French Revolution.

The War of 1914-19 had quickly presented itself in August 1914 as the first Middle Class war. The middle class, in the form of the Liberal Party, demonstrated its fitness to take over the guiding of England's destiny—and the associated destiny of the world—by declaring war on Germany and spreading it into world war. Hitherto the Tories had been the English war Party, and therefore the natural Party of power. But now the Party of the middle class, acting for the People, launched the state into a major war, thereby ending the class rule of the Tory gentry. Liberalism was no longer to be the protest Party in times of war, imprudently yearning for Peace. It was now to be the Party that would launch wars, and, regardless of cost, would see them through to a fitting end.

This profound change in the political culture of England had been prepared for ideologically during the preceding five years, in the political battles over Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' and the Lords' Veto. And the Liberals had won the Parliamentary game on Home Rule and were getting ready for a showdown in the country on the issue when the opportunity came to put into effect the arrangements that had been made for war on Germany in alliance with the French and Russian Empires.

Lloyd George had raised the banner of Class War against 'Feudalism' in the fierce dispute over the Budget. He was a superb demagogue. The making of mountains out of mole-hills in particular circumstances, and mole-hills out of mountains in other circumstances, came to him instinctively. What he really thought about anything is unknown. He had an aptitude for exciting sloganising and at each moment he lived in the ecstasy of the slogan of the moment. Somebody who was close to him was later asked what he was like when he was alone, and replied that, when he was alone in a room, the room was empty.

He was a lower-middle-class Welsh demagogue in an English setting in troubled times, and there was nobody, English or Welsh, before or since, who can be compared with him for oratorical effect on the mass—certainly not Churchill, and certainly not Aneurin Bevan—both of whom made their striking speeches in positions in which they were placed by others. Lloyd George rose to the top by gravitation. It was where he belonged. His talent was indispensable in unsettled times. The War was launched by Asquith and the patrician group that had gained control of the Liberal Party, but it was Lloyd George, the plebeian, who saw it through to the bitter end—wrecking the Liberal Party in the course of doing so.

It was not intended by those who declared war in August 1914 that it should have radical internal effects on British society. It was only to be a War in which the middle class Party demonstrated its fitness to conduct the Empire in great affairs. Democratisation was not on its agenda—at least not for England. England, with about a third of the adult population on the electoral franchise, was thought to be sufficiently democratic: as democratic as it was good for any state to be. Middle-class hegemony over the mass of the working class was securely established, and so it should remain. But the German resistance to the pressure of the three Empires making war on it, and mobilising the resources of the world against it, proved to be shockingly stubborn and resourceful. *Entente* preponderance of power could not be brought to bear in a decisive battle against it.

The prepared British Army, the Expeditionary force, was used up in the blink of an eye. The first Kitchener Army was used up, and then another one. A series of books published during the War had the titles, *The First Hundred Thousand*, *The Second Hundred Thousand*, *The First Million*. These were the quantities of Volunteers raised and consumed by the War.

The Volunteer system of war-making, on which England prided itself, wore paper thin in 1915. It became a form of hustling, blackmail and intimidation—and similarly with Redmond's recruiting operation in Ireland. It was decided in 1916 that State compulsion to military service would be preferable. And, when Conscription was introduced, it became necessary to step over the cliff into the whirlpool of Democracy.

The Middle Class war of August 1914, with the masses hegemonised, became a People's War in earnest. And a democratic Reform Act, which tripled the electorate, was enacted without opposition in 1918.

Democracy tends towards Millenarianism of outlook when it is suddenly established. And I suppose that Millenarianism also tends towards democratisation. Anyhow the Millenarian ideology that was fostered by the Liberal Imperialist governing group in August 1914 in order to bring the Liberal back-benches onside for the War, and by the Redmondites in Ireland in order to arouse active participation in Britain's War, met with political democratisation in the course of the War.

The effect of this whole development on English politics was that, when England won the war—or when the United States won it for it—it made a mess of post-War Europe.

Winston Churchill wrote before the War: “*Democracy is more vindictive than cabinets. The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings...*”

This was not Churchill's particular insight. It was the common wisdom of the rulers of England ever since the Puritan/Cromwellian fiasco of 1641-1660. And, if the Redmondites were fit to be what they aspired to be—partners with Britain in ruling the world as a significant component of the Empire—it should have been part of their wisdom too.

An effect of democratisation was the rise of an unstoppable Independence movement in Ireland. The Rising and the 1918 Election disowned the War and the Empire on behalf of Republican Ireland. But a strong Redmondite stratum remained active in the Republican Ireland which they disowned. They were relieved of the burden of administration and political manipulation by the 1918 Election. They had time to contemplate the consequences of the War which they had enabled the Liberal Party to declare in August 1914, and the consequences of the Millenarian spirit which they had helped to inject into the War propaganda.

Did they ever settle their accounts? Did they ever look at post-War Europe and relate it to their decision in August 1914 to enable the Liberal Party to launch the War?

Did they never regret the mad spirit which their marvellous ideologist, T.M. Kettle, injected into the London Liberal war propaganda in early 1914?

Did they never, when looking at the shambles of Europe, remember Casement, and think that their “*War for Civilisation*”, their “*War That Will End War*”, should, perhaps, never have been fought, because it had proved just what he said it was: *A Crime Against Europe*?

Brendan Clifford

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A JOURNAL FOR AMERICANS IN EUROPE

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1914
STOCKHOLM
Grand Hotel
Grand Hotel Royal
Grand Hotel Europa

PRICES: 5 cents, 25 francs, 20 pi.

SUBSCRIPTION:

12 months

10 francs

10 pi

58 Central Park West
New York City
15 August 1914

My dear Bigelow,

We don't agree. I don't accept as anything but an English lie the statement that Germany tried to ruin (the) U.S.A. in 1898. There is not nor ever has been proof of it—but there is proof in hills and mountains of English efforts in the past to smash this country. However, bygones are bygones—& if English hostility to America is forgotten & forgiven, why nurse anger against Germany when the very cause of the anger is doubtful?

England *has* ruined Ireland—morally, financially and physically. She has degraded and demoralised the people—destroyed their language, their culture, their music—every thing in fine that stands for the soul of a nation; she has robbed them thro' the centuries & most of all in the last century (as Lord MacDonnell put it “at least £320,000,000 sterling, an Empire's Ransom”); and she has driven them to flight across the oceans.

Her present campaign against Germany is hypocritical and mendacious—she aims at one thing only—to destroy German competition; to destroy German *peaceful rivalry*; to sweep from her path the only great commercial people in Europe whose integrity and capacity and efficiency she dreads.

In order to achieve this she entered, (7 years ago it began) into an unholy alliance with two armed assassins. Unable *herself*, alone, to strike the blow at her great and tranquil adversary she bribes two braves, two military mercenaries to do the need. To France she gave Morocco (which was not hers to give & violates her own Treaty—the Act of Algeciras) as hiring price in the anti-German prize ring.

To Russia she hands over Northern and Middle Persia which were not hers to give: She now mediates the crime of the centuries—to destroy the civilisation & industry of Central Europe & replace Germanic culture with Russian ignorance and tyranny.

Herself a non-European Power, only anxious for money & the trade of the world on her terms, she enters into a conspiracy to hand Europe over to Russian & French militarism in order that *she* may have all the trade dealings of the Sea outside of Europe.

It is a vile deal.

I am not lingering in New York to meet politicians—but to see my decent, good fellow- Irishmen & get their help to arm the Irish Volunteers I helped to found.

Ireland has no sins on her conscience against weaker peoples—and when Ireland is Armed and drilled, please God we shall be masters in our own house and fight only one battle—that of self defense.

Too long we have helped to plunder & pillage other peoples on behalf

of the power that has held us in its grip and for its sole profit.

I repeat I earnestly pray for Germany's triumph over British greed, French revenge, Russian dominance, Servian assassination and Japanese “chivalry.” England is in bed with fine bedfellows for the Land that claims its policy rests upon the Bible!

Cromwell's murders were also leaves out of that book—and I fancy it is the chief wadding for the British guns in every epoch—whether aimed at American Independence, Irish land, Hindu, Turk or Tartar—& now the Teuton.

German Protestantism is no shield when John Bull sees a market.

I hope he will get it in the neck & learn what it is to inflict war on others. He who not ever *suffered* war has been the one power to carry war abroad (as now) & to inflict its horrors on others.

When England has experience in her own sacked & ravaged & bombarded cities, ruined industries & starving millions what it is to *suffer* war, we shall have peace in the world. All who desire peace should hope to see the one power always at war, at length brought to realise the meaning & horror of war.

If the Almighty has a drop of Protestant blood in his veins he will be on the side of Germany in this war of the most peace-loving people of Europe fighting for the their national life, their industry, their commerce—their existence as a great race.

So now, my dear Bigelow, you know where I stand.

Yours ever
Roger Casement

30 Sept. 1914

This address finds me until I go north to Canada, thence to embark for
North of Ireland—
5421 Springfield Avenue
Philadelphia
Pa.

My dear Bigelow,

Your kind card of 16 Sept. asking me again to go & see you reached me too late.

I've been away—& always am busy—altho' *not* with politicians as you so persistently maintain! Your insistence that because I am a *Nationalist* I must be a politician amuses me. I loathe politics & its devotees. I would not go into a Parliament, or Senate, or Congress for £10,000 a year. I have just denounced politics in the inclosed (sic) statement of my *principles* of nationality which went to Ireland 10 days ago, & please God, will be now scattered broadcast all over that land.

The only place I shall end in will be in jail!—a British jail for Irish “felony.” Of course, if I went out with murder in my heart against the Germans who have never wronged Ireland I’d be a splendid “patriot” but because I want my poor, brave, credulous countrymen to stay at home & *if they fight at all*, to fight then for Ireland, I am a traitor. Such is the irony of British “democracy”! God deliver me from a democracy that feeds in peace itself & stirs up war and desolation wherever its greed, its lust, its appetite call for conflict. It fights always with other men’s lives—in other men’s lands—with ravaged & sacked cities of other countries. The day England herself suffers the horrors of invasion & *feels* war at home—we shall have peace abroad—but not till then. The task of civilization must be, surely will be—to destroy British immunity from invasion, so that the responsibility for her intrigues abroad & alliances with others to foment war elsewhere shall fall on the shoulders of the principal as well as of his “allies.”

If London suffered what London has caused Brussels, Louvain, Liège to suffer,—there would be no war in Europe.

It is because London & all it shelters of Imperial greed and cupidity is immune and feels it can never suffer, that England has begotten this war of horror against Germany.

I have heard it plotted and planned for years. I saw it designed steadily in the F.O. & I have again & again warned them there of where they were driving. They meant to drive there. They knew it was a crime but—*Delenda est Carthago!* Germany’s crime was German higher efficiency in the walks of international commerce & in sea affairs. The day she decided that she, too, had a future on the seas, that day her doom was decreed.

England fights for one thing only—her interest as the world Emporium. She has two ends in view—1st to destroy Germany as a rival. 2nd to rope the U.S.A. into an alliance of world partnership in the Emporium line.

She will fail in No. 1 ultimately even if she wins to-day. Germany is too great and has too good blood in her veins. Even if England gets her down, with the aid of Russia, France, Japan & the “Silver Bullet”—Germany will rise again.

But England may succeed in No. 2. I see the signs of surrender here on all sides. The virus of British Imperialism is being inculcated steadily—already the press is thoroughly poisoned & most of the politicians & so-called “public men” (you have at the outside perhaps 2 men in America who could be called statesmen).

The attractions of a World Empire, to be called a “democracy” whereby wealth can be acquired by systematic pillage called “trade” of “finance” without the need of fighting—appeals greatly to the class of people who direct things here. German methods appal them. They wouldn’t fight any more than the English. They want to dine in peace & have the fine things

of life through exploitation—not through embattled strength. The English way getting what you want appeals to them—it is discreet, “respectable,” and sanctimonious. I prefer the German—the “brutality” of men not afraid to die for their country or to pour out their blood in rivers for their faith in their fatherland.

All that I ever did was unselfish or chivalrous in public life—and I have striven to be both in all my public service—has been done with the image of Ireland before me. I worked for Ireland always—for Ireland & the ideals of my own people when I went to find Leopold on the Congo and Julio Arana on the Putumayo.

And please God before I die I’ll do something still for Ireland!

And so my dear old far-off friend of other days—of Laurencio Marques! ah! so far-off now—all this means that I can’t go and bathe up the Hudson or meander thro’ its woods with you & drink your good coffee. I am, please God, going back to Ireland very soon now—to stand behind the Volunteers in keeping my country’s conscience clean if that can be, in this orgie (sic) of greed and plunder masquerading under the garb of a “holy war.” If I, and those who stand with me in Ireland, can ensure it John Bull shall do his own fighting to “dismantle the German Navy” and “sweep German commerce from the Seas.” Let Lord Curzon, instead of killing the Kaiser with his mouth (the contemptible cad!) go to the front & face the Kaiser’s sons. Let Lord Crewe instead of “venturing the opinion that now that Home Rule is on the Statute Book, Irishmen will rush to enlist,” go & enlist himself, as every German prince & peer has done. Let Lloyd George; instead of forging Silver Bullets & lies of base metal go out as Volunteer to guard the fields of Belgium & the vineyards of France.

No—these *preux chevaliers*, instead of bearing the brunt of that war they have plotted & planned for years are calling for “more expensive food & drink” in the smart London restaurants “to celebrate the German defeats”—by the French! (See New York Times London cable of Sept. 15.)

I knew Lord Curzon—once—& I’ve met Lloyd George & all the rest of them. I’d walk out of any room they were in today & prefer the company of the waiters.

Unless this country makes up its mind to fight, if need be, for its neutrality, Great Britain will destroy its neutrality & compel it to take sides against the “enemy of civilisation.” I see the game being steadily played here—by the Kiplings, Conan Doyles, H. G. Wells, Winston Churchills & all the rest of the Westminster troupe of artists. They are only beginning to-day. Just breaking ground—but the trenches are being dug for an assault on American neutrality all along the line—to open fire with a universal howl whenever John Bull gets a serious reverse at sea. Let the German score, by chance, any decided naval victory and we shall find a concerted yell for help sent up

throughout all the “American press.” “Common ideals,” “our Anglo-Saxon heritage of culture,” “the cause of human freedom” &c &c—all these will be at stake—and a deliberate effort will be made to stampede this people into the camp of the Allies.

I am as certain of it as I was three years ago that this war against Germany would be brought off. The plans are already drawn up & everything prepared & laid.

Two elements alone in this population—perhaps three—will prevent it being carried out—or will try to prevent it. They may succeed.

In any case the thing will be much harder to accomplish than the British Government hoped—and if it succeeds it will end this republic. It will turn this country into a vassal State to that one holding the Empire of the Seas.

Until there is freedom at sea: equality of sea rights for all; equal opportunity; & *Navalism* recognised as a greater foe to Humanity than Militarism there can be no peace to mankind; no security against war—but an eternal pledge that War to break that unjust monopoly must surely come, and come again, until the mastery of the Seas is dissolved in the neutrality of the Ocean.

Yours ever
Roger Casement

PS

You might send me back the “Manifesto”. I have only a few copies left here. I sent a lot to Ireland for publication there—but the Censor (or “Smeller-Out” to use the Zulu phrase) who opens all letters may think this too immoral to be contributed to the Irish people. So I shall continue to send it by devious ways. I wrote it, in a heat of passion, jumping from bed with rage, when I read Lord Curzon’s appeal to Irish men to enlist & John Redmond’s cowardly & blackguard endorsement of it. *He*—Redmond—is unmasked at last—& never again will any Irishmen who believe in the cause of Ireland do anything but spit upon his name.

[*New York Times*, 21 May 1916]

[Editorial note:

Poultney Bigelow is an interesting character. A New Yorker, schooled in Germany, he was a playmate of the Kaiser. His books up to 1898 are praising of the Kaiser, but Germany’s attempted infringement of the Monroe Doctrine in the Spanish War of that year seems to have taken him in an anti-German direction. After World War 1, he still made a point of visiting the Kaiser (after he had escaped the British hangman) annually up to the 1930s. Bigelow later became an admirer of Hitler and Mussolini. He was the author of a number of books on German history including *The Borderland* (1894), *History of*

the German Struggle for Liberty (1896), *The German Emperor* (1889), and *Prussian Memories* (1915). He wrote in praise of British colonialism in *White Man’s Africa* (1897) and in other publications.

At the time Bigelow penned his article for *The New York Times*, Casement was awaiting trial for High Treason in Brixton Prison. Bigelow had known Casement for 20 years, meeting him first in Lourenco Marques, East Africa in 1896 and wrote:

“Casement was then British Consul in Delagoa Bay, enthusiastically labouring to thwart the efforts of England’s enemies who were secretly using this part of East Africa in order to supply the rebellious Boers with munitions of war” (*New York Times*, 21.5.1916).

In 1881 the British, looking to fulfil the Cape to Cairo Imperial dream of Cecil Rhodes, had been unexpectedly defeated by the Boers at Majuba Hill. A Truce had then ensued but it was clear that the matter was not over for England. In December 1895 Dr. Jameson made his ill-fated raid/attempted coup in the Transvaal. After this humiliation it was only a matter of time for a final reckoning with the Boers to take place. The reckoning came at the turn of the century with an invasion, blockhouses, crop-burning and concentration camps.

Casement’s appointment to Delagoa Bay showed how trusted he was by the Foreign Office. With war on the Boers inevitable, Lourenco Marques became a place of great significance, one of the few ports outside of British territory through which arms and ammunition could be supplied for the Boer defence. Casement’s job was to keep an eye on what was moving from whom to whom and where to where for Britain. Casement remained there until July 1898 before being transferred to West Africa, and then the Congo, where he exposed abuses in a campaign that was to make him famous.

Bigelow met Casement when he delivered a letter from Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain to him. In his *New York Times* article the American wrote of Casement, after he was arrested and prosecuted:

“his devotion to British interests was so strong that an official report was to him not complete until he had personally verified all possible details...”

Bigelow also said Casement had a “hatred of injustice” and exhibited “fearlessness in seeking redress”, adding that Casement was not merely an Imperial functionary but put his heart and soul into his work:

“For seventeen years Casement enjoyed the confidence of his country and served British interests, not merely to the extent of his salary, but with an energy and enthusiasm that would have killed an ordinary man.”

Bigelow does not mention that, when the Boer War began, Lord Salisbury ordered Casement back to Africa to take up Intelligence work for the British war effort. This was a secret mission of two months, in which Casement was told to pretend he was in Lorenzo Marques on private business. While there, Casement suggested military action against the Boer supply routes to Lord Milner in Cape Town. The plan was vetoed by the British commander in South Africa, General Buller. However, Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, mentioning Casement by name, ordered Milner to go ahead with it. Forces of cavalry were assembled but the operation was called off when the Boers seemingly discovered the plan and reinforced their positions, much to Casement's annoyance. (This information is contained in Angus Mitchell's *16 Lives; Roger Casement*, pp. 69-73.)

Bigelow, being a strong Anglophile, could not see that Casement was being consistent and principled when he felt obliged to take Germany's side in Britain's Great War. The American argued that the British made the mistake of not keeping his spirit occupied by Imperial work. Instead, by retiring him, the Foreign Office encouraged him into "pacifism or Pro-Germanism". Bigelow says that "Casement commenced his career of madness through a too strenuous study of Irish mythology masquerading under the name of history".

The extent of Bigelow's Anglocentrism can be gauged in the following passage:

"Casement's latter-day dream was to... Hibernize the Emerald Isle as Prussia sought to Germanize her Polish provinces. Only a madman could go to Berlin for help in starting a republic and the fact that Casement trusted any Prussian promises in this matter is sufficient for an English court desirous of committing him to a Sanatorium rather than the scaffold."

But no British Court could simply have exonerated Casement on the basis of madness. Casement had gone too far and his published writings, which had appeared across Europe and America, were obviously not those of a madman. His position was clearly reasoned and logical. Thus for the British authorities the scaffold was appropriate for him—with the fouling of his name for good measure.

Irish supporters of the Imperial War could ponder his madness to their heart's content. For them then, as now, opposition to the British view of the world is insanity.

The letters Casement sent to Bigelow, which are reproduced below, demonstrate the Irishman's honesty and openness about what he was doing. They make it very clear why he was going to do what he was about to do. This was a man of the highest principle who concluded that it was *for him* not a case

of "*my country right or wrong*" but *who* was right and *who* was wrong.

Bigelow's letters to Casement have not survived. After being criticised for publishing private letters without the author's permission, he justified doing so as follows in a letter to the *New York Times*:

"Roger Casement has himself claimed distinction as a traitor to his country in her hour of need. He has helped the Hun to enter our gates; for every sane American knows that Prussian rule in Ireland would be followed by a Prussian raid across the Atlantic.

Only a madman could have conceived what Roger Casement attempted to carry out under German auspices. His letters to me prove him a paranoiac who should be confined to a safe place. When I kill a man I expect to be punished according to the law. Why should murderers be exempt whenever they claim to be murdering in the name of Ireland? Casement asks no favors, which shows that in this matter he is not a normal Irishman. And I have permitted these letters to be published because by this means the world may be convinced that his is the act of a deranged mind, and that the best thing for him and for the British Government would be to exile him to Berlin or Potsdam until pronounced cured of his Prussianism. It would not be a long exile" (Poultny Bigelow, Malden-on-Hudson, 24 May 1916, *New York Times*, 25.5.1916).]

2.

"Manifesto" on the War

[This document is likely to be the "Manifesto" sent to Bigelow that Casement refers to above. The internal editorial notes are as in the original:]

New York City, 18 September 1914

As an Irishman and one who has been identified with the Irish Volunteer movement since it began, I feel it my duty to protest against the claim now being put forward by the British Government, that, because that Government has agreed with its political opponents "to place the Home Rule Bill on the Statute book", and to defer its operation until after the war and until an "Amending Bill" to profoundly modify its provisions has been and passed, Irishmen in turn should enlist in the British Army and aid the allied Asiatic and European powers in a war against a people who have never wronged Ireland. The British Liberal Party has been pledged for twenty-eight years to give self-government to Ireland. It has not yet fulfilled that pledge. Instead, it now offers to sell, at a very high price, a wholly hypothetical and indefinite form of partial internal control of certain specified services if, in return for this promissory note (payable after death) the Irish people will contribute

their blood, their honour and their manhood in a war that in no wise concerns them. Ireland has no quarrel with the German people or just cause of offence against them.

I will not pronounce an opinion upon the British standpoint in this war, beyond saying that the public profession under which it was begun, namely, to defend the violated neutrality of Belgium, is being daily controverted by the official spokesmen of Great Britain. The London "Times" in its issue of the 14th instant, declared that Great Britain would not consent on any terms that did not involve "the dismantling of the German Navy" and the permanent impairment of Germany's place in the commerce of the world as a great sea-faring nation. That may or may not be a worthy end for British Statesmanship to set before it and the warrant for the use of British arms against Germany, but it is no warrant for Irish honour or common sense to be involved in this conflict. There is no gain, moral or material, Irishmen can draw from assailing Germany. The destruction of the German Navy or the sweeping of German commerce from the seas will bring no profit to a people whose own commerce was long since swept from land and sea.

Ireland has no blood to give to any land, to any cause but that of Ireland. Our duty as a Christian people is to abstain from bloodshed; and our duty as Irishmen is to give our lives for Ireland. Ireland needs all her sons. In the space of sixty-eight years her population has fallen by far over four million souls, and in every particular of national life she shows a steady decline of vitality. Were the Home Rule Bill all that is claimed for it and were it freely given today, to come into operation tomorrow, instead of being offered for sale in terms of exchange that only a fool would accept, it would be the duty of Irishmen to save their strength and manhood for the trying tasks before them, to build up from depleted population the fabric of a ruined national life.

Ireland has suffered at the hands of British administrators a more prolonged series of evils, deliberately inflicted than any other community of civilised men. To-day, when no margin of vital strength remains for vital tasks at home, when its fertile fields are reduced by set design to producing animals, not men, and the remnant of our people, after being urged to lay down their lives on foreign fields, in order that great and inordinately wealthy communities may grow greater and richer by the destruction of a rival's trade and industry. Had this war the highest moral aim in view, as its originators claim for it, it would still be the duty of Irishman to stay out of it.

If Irish blood is to be "the seal that will bring all Ireland together on one nation and in liberties equal and common to all", then let that blood be shed in Ireland where alone it can be righteously shed to secure those liberties. It was not Germany destroyed the national liberties of the Irish people, and we cannot recover the national life struck down in our own land by carrying fire and sword into another land.

The cause of Ireland is greater than the cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than all the riches of Empire. If we sell it now we are unworthy of the name of Irishman. If today we bargain that cause in a sordid bargain, we shall prove ourselves a people unworthy of freedom—a dwindling race of cravens from whose veins the blood of manhood has been drained. If to now fight is our duty, then let us fight on that soil where so many generations of slain Irishmen lie in honour and fame. Let our graves be in that patriot grass whence alone the corpse of Irish nationality can spring to life. Ireland will be "false to her history, to very consideration of honour, good faith and self-interest" if she now willingly responds to the call of the British Government to send her brave sons and faithful hearts to fight in a cause that has no glint of chivalry or gleam of generosity in all its line of battle. If this be a war for the "small nationalities," as it planners term it, and then let it begin, for one small nationality, at home.

Speaking as one of those who helped found the Irish Volunteers, I say, in their name, that no Irishman fit to bear arms in the cause of his country's freedom can join the allied millions now attacking in a war that, at the best, concerns Ireland not at all and can only add fresh burdens and establish a new drain, in the interest of another community, upon a people that has already been bled to the verge of Death.

Roger Casement
[National Library of Ireland, MS 17,590/1/5]

3.

No. 1051, Vol. XX. No. 59 The Continental Times November 20, 1914

Ireland and the German Invasion

Statement by German Foreign Office

Ireland and the War

The well known Irish nationalist, who has arrived in Berlin from the United States, has been received at the Foreign Office.

Sir Roger Casement pointed out that statements which have been published in Ireland, apparently with the authority of the British Government behind them, that German victory would inflict great loss upon the Irish people, whose homes, Churches, priests and lands would be at the mercy of invading army actuated only by motives of pillage and conquest.

Recent utterances of Redmond on his recruiting tour of Ireland and many pronouncements of the British Press in Ireland to the above effect have been widely circulated, Sir Roger pointed out, and have caused natural apprehension among Irishmen as to the German attitude towards Ireland in the event of a German victory in the present war.

Sir Roger sought a convincing statement of German intentions towards Ireland that might reassure his countrymen all over the world, and particularly in Ireland and America, in view of these disquieting statements emanating from responsible British quarters.

In reply to this inquiry, the Acting Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, by order of the Imperial Chancellor, has made the following official Declaration:

"The German Government repudiates the evil intentions attributed to it in the statements referred to by Sir Roger Casement, and takes this opportunity to give a categoric assurance that the German Government desires only the welfare of the Irish people, their country, and their institutions.

The Imperial Government formally declares that under no circumstance would Germany invade Ireland with a view to its conquest or the overthrow of any native institutions in that country.

Should the fortune of this great war, that was not of Germany's seeking, ever bring in its course German troops to the shores of Ireland, they would land there, not as an army of invaders to pillage and destroy, but as the forces of a Government that is inspired by goodwill towards a country and a people for whom Germany desires only national prosperity and national freedom."

(Drafted by Casement)

4.

No. 1062 Vol. XX. No. 70 The Continental Times December 16, 1914

Special War Edition

Ireland in the War.

When England declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that "**Ireland was the one bright spot**" in the otherwise gloomy picture.

By this announcement, cabled all over the world, the British Government sought to impress foreign opinion by representing Ireland as absolutely loyal to English rule, and burning with a desire to fight for England in the wanton attack on Germany engineered by British commercial jealousy.

But what has been the action of the British Government in Ireland itself

since this public profession of faith in Irish loyalty to England was made?

Failing to entrap the young men of Ireland into the British Army to do the dirty work of England against a people who had never wronged Ireland, the British authorities took steps to force Irishmen into the army by reviving the disused Militia Ballot Act which can be applied only to Ireland and not to Great Britain.

Thousands of young men from the West of Ireland, rather than be compelled against their sense of patriotism and against their conscience to fight for England in a war solely of English manufacture, sold their holdings and emigrated to America. The "*Mayo News*" of 24th October, in denouncing the action of the Government and deplored the drain of Ireland's manhood wrote thus:

"Just for the moment the cause of Ireland has been pushed back, but it is not dead. On the contrary we believe the future is full of hope. Irish hypocrites and traitors, who have now thrown off the mantle of Ireland to enwrap themselves in the scarlet of the Empire, will in the end be a happy riddance. The cause of Irish nationality will be much better without them."

In consequence of Mr. Redmond's action in becoming a recruiting sergeant for the British Army, he and his 25 nominees were expelled from the Provisional Committee of the Irish National Volunteers and the Government of the Volunteers restored to the sole control of their original founders, Professor Eoin MacNeill, Sir Roger Casement, Mr. O'Rahilly and the men who organised the movement for an armed and independent Ireland.

In America, Mr. Redmond has been denounced as a traitor to his country, the United Irish League of America dissolved and the official organ of the Parliamentary Party, the *Irish World*, has repudiated Mr. Redmond and publicly affirmed its faith in the Irish-German Alliance designed to secure the complete freedom of Ireland.

Mr. Redmond has had to abandon his announced visit to America, and is now employed in Ireland as the Chief recruiting agent for the British army, endeavouring to get the remnant of the Irish race that famine, eviction, and emigration has spared, to lay down their lives in the trenches of France and Flanders, in order that Britain may destroy German commercial and industrial rivalry.

Meanwhile the British Government, aware that its "treaty" with Mr. Redmond is a fraud and that the spirit of Irish nationality has not been killed by the promise to sell Ireland "*after the war*" a small debating society on the banks of the Liffey to discuss the parish affairs of a limited part of Ireland, while Ulster shall be irrevocably cut away from Ireland altogether, has not been idle. British confidence in Irish loyalty is so deep that the British Government now deals with this "one bright spot" as if it were inhabited

not by white men but by negro slaves. Martial law rules Ireland—not an Irish parliament. The coast of Ireland has been ringed round with mines. Every port is closed. No export or import trade of any kind exists save what England permits in her own interest and for her own purposes.

No foreigner is allowed to land in Ireland—and even Irish men from America are held up and refused admittance to their birth place unless they have a certificate of “good character” from an English official. Every Irish newspaper that presumes to tell its readers truth is rigorously suppressed—its machinery seized, its issues confiscated, its editor threatened with court martial.

No arms or ammunition of any kind is allowed to be imported into, or sold in Ireland. While Irishmen are to be forced to bear arms for England in a foreign war, they are to be sent to jail or tried by court martial if they try to bear arms in Ireland for their own country. Factories and workshops are being shut down so that with no work to do and starvation staring them in the face, these poor men shall be compelled to enlist.

Every letter going into or coming out of Ireland is opened by the Post Office so that the Government may know just what Irishmen think in their hearts and so learn who is “dangerous” and who must be watched and arrested for daring to love his country.

While England poses as fighting for “freedom” and the “small nationalities” she has locked Ireland up in jail and tells Irishmen that they shall get out on one condition—viz. that they shoulder an English rifle and go to get shot at or to shoot young Germans who have never injured Ireland by thought, word or deed.

So much for “the one bright spot”.

But that is not all.

With an unholy inquisition established in Ireland, England, Protestant England, now turns to the Holy See, to Catholic Rome to aid her in her assault on Irish liberties. The plot against Ireland today is a deeper and a darker one than even in the days of Parnell.

Him, whom they could not overthrow in open fight they also brought to assail in secret and by appeals to Rome. The Coercion Ministry of 1880 appointed secretly Sir George Errington as temporary envoy to the Vatican. The object was to induce the Holy Father to denounce the Irish leader and the Irish land agitation as “contrary to faith and morals.”

In this base attempt the English Government of thirty years ago failed. The Pope did not intervene as they hoped against the Irish people or their fearless champion.

So Parnell had to be got rid of by other means and when the forged letters of Pigott and *The Times* failed to secure his downfall, the Government that had appealed to religion and failed and had then sought forgery and

failed next employed the Divorce Court—and won. Parnell was “thrown to the English wolves”—because he loved Ireland—not because he loved a woman. His sin with the woman was a personal sin, between himself and God—but his love for Ireland lay between him and the British Government, and so this brave and chivalrous Government, having failed with the Holy Father and with the *Times* conspiracy won with the suborned and dastardly O’Shea—and struck down in his prime and sent to his grave the one great Irishman of the nineteenth century who made England tremble to her cowardly heart.

And now the same attempt is to be again repeated. Since Ireland remains at heart Ireland still, and will not be bullied or cajoled into the British army but remains true to her part and places her hopes in the young manhood of Ireland getting arms to fight for Ireland in Ireland—the British Government, the chief enemy of the Papacy and the most anti-Catholic Government in the world goes again on its knees to Rome. This time an envoy is openly accredited to the Vatican. They first tried to get the Holy See to accept “a temporary envoy” (like Sir George Errington to assassinate Parnell) during the period of the war; but on this offer being rejected, the British Government has swallowed the bitter pill and has announced the establishment of a permanent legation at the Vatican. The first envoy is the aged Sir Henry Howard—an antique specimen of British diplomacy well known in Vienna in bye-gone ages, who has been taken out of the cupboard, dusted, carefully repaired and is now being despatched “with care” to Rome via Dublin and Armagh.

The object of the attempt is transparent. It is what is known in conjuring circles as “the Box Trick”. You lock a man in a box. Everyone sees him go in; but when the box is opened the man is nowhere to be found. England in her difficulties with the “one bright spot” sends Sir Henry Howard, in a special case, to Rome, but when the war is over, the difficulties gone, and the one bright spot quite dark, the nonconformist conscience will insist on the box being opened. England, with Germany done for and Ireland settled once and for all, England will quickly settle the question of a permanent representative at Rome. When the box is opened “after the war” (like Home Rule) there will be found no British envoy inside but only a little bundle of ‘property’, clothes and a parcel of make-up paint.

The box trick will fail this time as it did in Parnell’s time.

Sir H. Howard’s mission to Rome will not last—but Irish nationality will live for ever. There is nothing England would not stick at in her effort to destroy Irish nationality and German rivalry. For the moment the gravest concern of England is to kill two birds with one stone—to settle the “Irish Question” once and for all, by killing off the youth of Ireland in a successful assault on Germany. The throats of two enemies are to be cut with one stroke of the same knife.

The “German menace” will be destroyed and chiefly by the strong hand of the “Irish danger”.

German competition will be ended. German trade, shipping, colonies and navy will have become English property while the arm that strikes the blow will be that of the dreaded Irishman.

The German enemy will have been got down chiefly through the blood and valour of Irishmen, who when they have died by the thousand in the shambles of France and Flanders will have left their own country bled white and powerless at the mercy of England.

A corpse on the dissecting table will be handed over to Mr. Redmond to pronounce the funeral oration, before British statesmen finally cut it up in any fashion they choose, before burying the carcase for ever.

Such is the amiable intention British diplomacy nourishes in the latest efforts to “ameliorate the unhappy condition of Ireland” by the establishment of diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican.

But just as the trick failed in the case of Sir George Errington and Parnell, so it will fail in the case of Sir Henry Howard and the Ireland of today. Rome has many Persicos (Cardinal Persico did not agree with the Papal Rescript, condemning the Plan of Campaign, Editor)—and the truth about Ireland will overcome the latest effort of British diplomacy.

5.

The Treaty With The German Government

(28 December 1914)

Article 1: With a view to securing the national freedom of Ireland, with the moral and material assistance of the Imperial German Government, an Irish Brigade shall be formed from among the Irish soldiers, or other natives of Ireland, now prisoners of war in Germany.

Article 2: The object of the Irish Brigade shall be to fight solely in the cause of Ireland, and under no circumstances shall it be employed or directed to any German end.

Article 3: The Irish Brigade shall be formed and shall fight under the Irish flag alone.

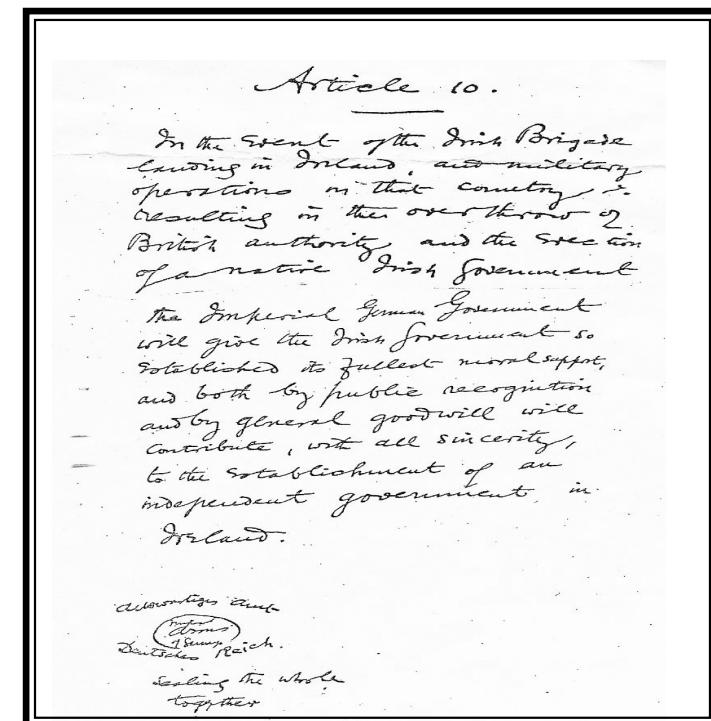
The men shall wear a special distinctively Irish uniform.

As soon as Irishmen can be got for the purpose, either from Ireland or the United States, the Brigade shall have only Irish officers. Until such time as Irish offices can be secured, German officers will be appointed with the approval of Sir Roger Casement, to have disciplinary control of the men.

But no military operation shall be ordered or conducted by the German officers of the Brigade, during such time as the men are under their control not approved of by Sir Roger Casement or not in strict conformity with Article 2.

Article 4: The Irish Brigade will be clothed, fed and efficiently equipped with arms and munitions by the Imperial German Government on the clear understanding that these are furnished it as free gifts to aid the cause of Irish Independence.

Article 5: It is distinctly understood and is hereby formally declared by the Parties to this Agreement that the Irish Brigade shall consist only of Volunteers in the cause of Irish national freedom, and as such no member of the Irish Brigade shall receive pay or monetary reward of any kind from the Imperial German Government during the period he shall bear arms in the Brigade.



Article 6: The Imperial German Government undertakes, in certain circumstances, to send the Irish Brigade to Ireland with efficient military support and with an ample supply of arms and ammunition to equip the Irish National Volunteers in Ireland who may be willing to join them in the attempt to recover Irish National freedom by force of arms.

The certain circumstances hereby understood are the following:

In the event of a German naval victory affording the means of reaching the coast of Ireland, the Imperial German Government pledges itself to dispatch the Irish Brigade and a supporting body of German officers and men, in German transports, to attempt a landing on the Irish Coast.

Article 7: The opportunity to land in Ireland can only arise if the fortune of war should grant the German Navy a victory that would open, with reasonable prospect of success, the sea route to Ireland. Should the German Navy not succeed in this effort the Irish Brigade shall be employed in Germany, or elsewhere, solely in such ways as Sir Roger Casement may approve as being in strict conformity with Article 2.

In this event it might be possible to employ the Irish Brigade to assist the Egyptian People to recover their freedom by driving the British out of Egypt. Short of directly fighting to free Ireland from British rule, a blow struck at the British invaders of Egypt, to aid Egyptian national freedom, is a blow struck for a kindred cause to that of Ireland.

Article 8: In the event of the Irish Brigade volunteering for this service the Imperial German Government undertakes to make arrangements with the Austro-Hungarian Government for its transport through that Empire to Constantinople, and to provide with the Turkish Government for the recognition and acceptance of the Irish Brigade as a Volunteer Corps attached to the Turkish Army in an effort to expel the British from Egypt.

Article 9: In the event of the war coming to an end without the object of the Irish Brigade having been effected, namely its landing in Ireland, the Imperial German Government undertakes to send each member of the Brigade who may so desire it, to the United States of America, with the necessary means to land in that country in conformity with the United States Immigration Laws.

Article 10: In the event of the Irish Brigade landing in Ireland, and military operations in the country resulting in the overthrow of British authority and the erection of a native Irish Government, the Imperial German Government will give the Irish Government so established its fullest moral support, and both by public recognition and by general goodwill will contribute, with all sincerity, to the establishment of an independent government in Ireland.

[National Library of Ireland]

6.

No. 1088. Vol. XXI. No. 21 The Continental Times February 19, 1915

Sir Roger Casement's Letter To Sir Edward Grey

Berlin, 1 February 1915.

The Right Honorable
Sir E. Grey, Bart. K.G., M.P.,
London.

Sir,

I observe that some discussion has taken place in the House of Lords on the subject of the pension I voluntarily ceased to draw when I set out to learn what might be the intentions of the German Government in regard to Ireland.

In the course of that discussion I understand Lord Crewe observed that "Sir Roger Casement's action merited a sensible punishment".

The question raised thus as to my action and your publicly suggested punishment of it I propose discussing here and now, since the final proof of the actual punishment you sought in secret to inflict upon me is, at length, in my possession.

It is true I was aware of your intentions from the first day I set foot in Norway three months ago; but it has taken time to compel your agent there to furnish the written proof of the conspiracy then set on foot against me by His Majesty's Government.

Let me first briefly define my action before proceeding to contrast it with your own.

The question between the British Government and myself has never been, as you are fully aware, a matter of a pension, of a reward, a decoration.

I served the British Government faithfully and loyally as long as it was possible for me to do so, and when it became impossible, I resigned. When later, it became impossible for me to use the pension assigned me by law I voluntarily abandoned that income as I had previously resigned the post from which it was derived, and as I now proceed to divest myself of the honours and distinctions that at various times have been conferred upon me by His Majesty's Government.

I came to Europe from the United States last October in order to make sure that whatever might be the course of this war, my own country, Ireland, should suffer from it the minimum of harm.

The view I held was made sufficiently clear in an open letter I wrote on the 17th of September last in New York, and sent to Ireland for public distribution among my countrymen. I append a printed copy of that letter. It defines my personal standpoint clearly enough and expresses the views I held, and hold, on an Irishman's duty to his country in this crisis of world affairs. Soon after writing that letter I set out for Europe.

To save Ireland from some of the calamities of war was worth the loss to myself of pension and honours and was even worth the commission of an act of technical 'treason'.

I decided to take all the risks and to accept all the penalties the Law might attach to my action. I did not, however, bargain for risks and penalties that lay outside the law as far as my own action lay outside the field of moral turpitude.

In other words, while I reckoned with British law and legal penalties and accepted the sacrifice of income, position and reputation as prices I must pay, I did not reckon with the British Government.

I was prepared to face charges in a Court of Law; I was not prepared to meet waylaying, kidnapping, suborning of dependents or 'knocking on the head', in fine, all the expedients your representative in a neutral country invoked when he became aware of my presence there.

For the criminal conspiracy that Mr. M. de C. Findlay, H.B.M. Minister to the Court of Norway entered into on the 30th October last, in the British Legation in Christiania, with the Norwegian subject, my dependent, Eivind Adler Christensen, involved all these things and more. It involved not merely a lawless attack upon myself for which the British Minister promised my follower the sum of £5,000, but it involved a breach of international law as well as of common law, for which the British Minister in Norway promised this Norwegian subject full immunity.

On the 29th October last year I landed at Christiania, coming from America. Within a few hours of my landing the man I had engaged and in whom I reposed trust was accosted by one of the Secret Service agents of the British Minister and carried off, in a private motor car, to the British Legation, where the first attempt was made on his honour to induce him to be false to me.

Your agent in the Legation that afternoon professed ignorance of who I was and sought, as he put it, merely to find out my identity and movements.

Failing in this the first attempt to obtain satisfaction, Adler Christensen was assailed the next day, the 30th October, by a fresh agent and received an invitation to again visit the British Legation "where he would hear something good".

This, the second interview, held in the early forenoon, was with the Minister himself.

Mr. Findlay came quickly to the point. The ignorance, assumed or actual, of the previous day, as to my identity, was now discarded. He confessed that he knew me, but that he did not know where I was going to, what I intended doing, or what might be the specific end I had in view.

It was enough for him that I was an Irish Nationalist.

He admitted that the British Government had no evidence of anything wrong done or contemplated by me that empowered them either morally or lawfully to interfere with my movements. But he was bent on doing so. Therefore he boldly invoked lawless methods, and suggested to my dependent that were I to "disappear" it would be "a very good thing for whoever brought it about".

He was careful to point out that nothing could happen to the perpetrator of the crime, since my presence in Christiania was known only to the British Government and that Government would screen and provide for those responsible for my "disappearance".

He indicated, quite plainly, the methods to be employed, by assuring Adler Christensen that who ever "knocked him on the head need not do any work for the rest of his life", and proceeded to apply the moral by asking Christensen, "I suppose you would not mind having an easy time of it for the rest of your days?"

My faithful follower concealed the anger he felt at this suggestion and continued the conversation in order to become more fully aware of the plot that might be devised against my safety. He pointed out that I had not only been very kind to him but that I "trusted him implicitly".

It was on this "implicit trust" Mr. Findlay then proceeded to build the whole framework of his conspiracy against my life, my liberty, the public law of Norway and the happiness of the young man he sought to tempt by monstrous bribes to the commission of a dastardly crime against his admitted benefactor.

If I could be intercepted, cut off, "disappear", no one would know and no question could be asked, since there was no Government save the British Government knew of my presence in Norway and there was no authority I could appeal to for help, while that Government would shield the individual implicated and provide handsomely for his future. Such, in Mr. Findlay's words (recorded by me) was the proposition put by His Majesty's Minister before the young man who had been enticed for this purpose into the British Legation.

That this man was faithful to me and the law of his country was a triumph of Norwegian integrity over the ignoble inducement proffered him by the richest and most powerful Government in the world to be false to both.

Having thus outlined his project, Mr. Findlay invited Christensen to "think the matter over and return at 3 o'clock if you are disposed to go on with it".

He handed him in Norwegian paper money twenty-five *Kroner* "just to pay your taxi-cab fares", and dismissed him.

Feeling a not unnatural interest in these proposals as to how I should be disposed of, I instructed the man it was thus sought to bribe to return to the British Legation at 3 o'clock and to seemingly fall in with the wishes of your Envoy extraordinary.

I advised him, however, for the sake of appearances to "sell me dear" and to secure the promise of a very respectable sum for so very disreputable an act.

Christensen, who has been a sailor and naturally has seen some strange company, assured me he was perfectly at home with His Majesty's Representative.

He returned to the Legation at 3 o'clock and remained closeted with Mr. Findlay until nearly 5 p.m. The full record of their conversation will be laid before you, and others, in due course.

My follower pretended to fall in with the British Minister's projects, only stipulating for a good sum to be paid in return for his treachery. Mr. Findlay promised on his "word of honour" (such was the quaint phraseology employed to guarantee this transaction), that Christensen should receive £5,000 sterling whenever he could deliver me into the hands of the British authorities.

If in the course of this kidnapping process I should come to harm or personal injury be done me, then no question would be asked and full immunity guaranteed the kidnapper.

My follower pointed out that as I was leaving that evening for Copenhagen, having already booked my compartment in the mail train, he would not have any immediate chance of executing the commission.

Mr. Findlay agreed that it would be necessary to defer the attempt until some favorable opportunity offered of decoying me down to the coast "anywhere on the Skagerrak or North Sea" where British warships might be in waiting to seize me.

He entrusted my dependent with the further commission of purloining my correspondence with my supposed associates in America and Ireland, particularly in Ireland, so that they, too, might participate in the 'sensible punishment' being devised for me.

He ordained a system of secret correspondence with himself Christensen should employ, and wrote out the confidential address in Christiania to which he was to communicate the results of his efforts to purloin my papers and to report on my plans.

This address in Christiania was written down by Mr. Findlay on a half sheet of Legation note paper in printed characters. This precaution was adopted he said "so as to prevent the handwriting being traced".

This document, along with one hundred crowns in Norwegian paper money given by Mr. Findlay as an earnest of more to follow was at once brought to me with an account of the proceedings.

As I was clearly in a position of some danger, I changed my plans and instead of proceeding to Copenhagen as I had intended doing, I decided to alter my procedure and route.

It was, then, with this secret knowledge of the full extent of the crime plotted by your Representative in Norway against me that I left Christiania on the 30th October. The rest of the story need not take so long in the telling.

You are fully aware of most of the details, as you were in constant touch with your agent both by cable and despatch.

You are also aware of the declaration of the Imperial German Government, issued on 20th November last in reply to the enquiry I addressed to them.

The British Government, both by press reports and by direct agents had charged Germany, throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, with the commission of atrocious crimes in Belgium and had warned the Irish people that their fate would be the same, did Germany win this war.

Your Government sought to frighten Irishmen into a predatory raid upon a people who had never injured them and to persuade them by false charges that this was their duty.

I sought not only a guarantee of German goodwill to Ireland, but to relieve my countrymen from the apprehensions this campaign of calumny was designed to provoke and so far as was possible to dissuade them from embarking in an immoral conflict against a people who had never wronged Ireland. That Declaration of the German Government, issued as I know in all sincerity, is the justification for my "treason". The justification of the conspiracy of the British Government and its Minister at Christiania begun before I had set foot on German soil in a country where I had a perfect right to be and conducted by means of the lowest forms of attempted bribery and corruption I leave you, sir, to discover.

You will not discover it in the many interviews Mr. Findlay had, during the months of November and December last, at his own seeking, with my faithful follower. The correspondence between them in the cypher the Minister had arranged tells its own story.

These interviews furnished matter that in due course I shall make public. What passed between your agent and mine on these occasions you are fully aware of, for you were the directing power throughout the whole proceeding.

Your object, as Mr. Findlay frankly avowed to the man he thought he had bought, was to take my life with public indignity—mine was to expose your design and to do so through the very agent you had yourselves singled out

for the purpose and had sought to corrupt to an act of singular infamy.

On one occasion in response to my follower's pretended dissatisfaction with the amount offered for betraying me you authorized your agent to increase the sum to £10,000. I have a full record of the conversations held and of the pledges proffered in your name.

On two occasions, during these prolonged bargainings your Minister gave Adler Christensen gifts of 'earnest money'. Once it was five hundred crowns in Norwegian currency; the next time a similar sum, partly in Norwegian money and partly in English gold. On one of these occasions, to be precise on the 7th December last, Mr. Findlay handed Adler Christensen the key of the back entrance of the British Legation, so that he might go and come unobserved and at all hours.

I propose returning this key in person to the donor and along with it various sums so anxiously bestowed upon my follower.

The stories told Mr. Findlay at these interviews should not have deceived a school boy. All the pretended evidence of my plans and intentions Adler Christensen produced, the bogus letters, fictitious maps and charts and other incitements to Mr. Findlay's appetite for the incredible were a part of my necessary plan of self defence to lay bare the conspiracy you were engaged in and to secure that convincing proof of it I now hold.

It was not until the 3rd ultimo that Mr. Findlay committed himself to give my protector the duly signed and formal pledge of reward and immunity, in the name of the British Government, for the crime he was being instigated to commit, that is now in my possession.

I transmit you herewith a photograph of this document.

At a date compatible with my own security against the clandestine guarantees and immunities of the British Minister in Norway I shall proceed to lay before the legitimate authorities in that country the original document and the evidence in my possession that throws light on the proceedings of His Majesty's Government.

To that Government, through you, Sir, I now beg to return the insignia of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, the Coronation Medal of His Majesty King George V, and any other medal, honour or distinction conferred upon me by His Majesty's Government of which it is possible for me to divest myself.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
[signed]
Roger Casement

Facsimile of British Minister's Contract for the Capture or Murder of Sir Roger Casement.

British Legation.
Christiania.
Norway.

On behalf of the British Government I promise that if through information given by Adler Christensen, Sir Roger Casement be captured either with or without his companions, the said Adler Christensen is to receive from the British Government the sum of £5000 to be paid as he may desire.

Adler Christensen is also to enjoy personal immunity & to be given a passage to the United States should he desire it

M. de C. Findlay
H. B. Minister

Letter Of British Consul To Norway, M. de C. Findlay

7.

Number 1088. Vol.XXI. No. 21. The Continental Times February 19, 1915

The Editor

Tuesday, 16 February, 1915

Sir,

Permit me to correct a mistranslation of my letter to Sir E. Grey that has appeared in the German rendering of that letter, as it is published in the Vienna and Berlin press.

My companion on my journey to Norway, Mr Adler Christensen, is referred to in the German renderings I have seen as my "Diener." This is incorrect, and has no foundation in any term used by me to describe his services in my letter to Sir E. Grey. So far as I knew, until he entered my service, Mr. Christensen had been a sailor; and it was precisely because he knew the sea and was at home in Norway, I wished him to accompany me to that country. I shall be grateful if correction can be made of an inaccuracy that has no justification in fact or in any statement in my letter to Sir E. Grey.

I am &c.
Roger Casement

[An editorial note on the same page of *The Continental Times* says:

"It is to be regretted that more care was not exercised by those responsible for translating documents that deserve not only the widest publicity but the most exact rendering. For Sir Edward Grey to be a Knight of the Garter and Adler Christensen a knave of the shoe ('Diener') is indeed a misapplication of polish!"]

8.

Number 1094. Vol.XXI. No. 27. The Continental Times March 5, 1915

Letter to the Editor,

Lord Charles

Lord Charles Beresford, who used to have a considerable reputation in the drawing rooms of London, has come out with the statement that the Germans attacking from airships or submarine boats should be treated as pirates. Poor old Charles. You are very much behind the times.

Americans should remember that the first time they ever heard of the name

of Charles Beresford was in connexion with the following "heroic" deed.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, a British gunboat landed a number of marines in the Harbor of Honolulu. There were three young cadets with the men one of whom was Charles Beresford. Under his leadership, an attack was made on the American Consulate, the Consul insulted and the coat of arms of the United-States was torn down and thrown into the harbor.

Now at that time the United States was at peace with England and there was no reason or excuse for such a black hand action.

In the Court martial which followed it was proved that Beresford was the ring leader and had himself torn down the United States Shield from over the door of the Consulate.

Berlin, 4 March, 1915
By one who knows

9.

No. 1108, Vol. XXI. No. 41 The Continental Times: Special War Edition April 9, 1915

England dropping her mask

The editorial of the "Times" of March 8th has made such a profound sensation all over the world that we wish to draw the attention of our readers to its main arguments:-

"Why we have gone to war

There still appear to be English men and women ignorant of the causes which compelled great Britain to draw her sword: You are aware that Germany's flagrant breach of the Belgian neutrality has filled the cup of our wrath to overflowing, but you do not consider, that our honor and interest would have obliged us to come to the assistance of France and Russia, even if Germany would have conscientiously respected the rights of her smaller neighbour, and forced her way into France through the Eastern chain of French fortresses. The German Chancellor has drawn attention to this fact more than once in the belief thereby to make a strong point against us, while doing so he has but shown his utter ignorance of our position and our character. Quite true, the crime of the Belgian invasion has stirred us deeply and we were in honor bound to redeem our pledged word, but in so doing sober self-interest went hand in hand with honor, justice and pity. Why had we guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium? For the obvious reason of guarding our East coast against danger, for the same reason that prompted us to defend the Netherlands against Spain and against France. We have kept our pledged word, but we had not pledged our word without solid and practical reasons and we do not propose to play the part of an international Don Quixote.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg is quite right, even if Germany had respected the Belgian neutrality, our interest and our honor would have brought us to the side of France. It is true we had up to the last moment declined to give her or Russia binding written agreements, but had given them to understand, that they could count upon our help if attacked. This understanding had been a powerful factor in the preservation of the European peace and England's shield of honor would have been besmirched by her withdrawal in the hour of need. This was the proposition made us by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg. He knew that if we stood aside under the pretext, that we had not given our friends a definitely binding promise, we would never have another friend in the world. To see us in such an infamous position has long been the dream of Germany and the annihilation or even the humiliation of England would have furthered her ambitious plans greatly. But here again, as in the case of Belgium, her plans miscarried and we joined the triple entente, because we found out, even though late in the day, that our days of "splendid isolation" were over. We fell back upon our historical policy of "balance of power," the soundness of which had been tested by our ancestors, who were never swayed by sentiment, but by practical, selfish, and even egotistical reasons. Certainly their principal reason was the preservation of the European peace, but insofar only as it was the only way of keeping our own peace. In case of war we have seen England's line of soldiers on the side of her continental allies. When we supported practically all of Europe in "the great war" we did not squander our gold for the love of Germany or the freedom of Austria or for pure humanity's sake. No, we spent it for our own safety and our own advantage and all told our investments have yielded fair returns.

England is fighting now for the same reasons she fought Philip II, Louis XIV and Napoleon. It is true, she is fighting for the small states, Belgium and Servia and is glad to do so. She is helping her powerful allies defending their house and home against the invader and proud to shed her blood in such a holy cause.

But in the first place England is not fighting for Belgium or Servia, for France or Russia. These countries all fill a space in her heart, but they come in second place. First place belongs by rights to herself. For England and her power her sons have fought and bled in the trenches and on the fields of Picardy and Artois, for England her fleet is keeping restless watch in the North sea and the booming of her guns has been heard from the Pacific ocean to the Dardanelles.

Our troops and our sailors are defending their home on French soil or in Turkish waters just the same as it they were fighting the Germans in Norfolk or Harwich.

Our enemies are not quite so near, but if they beat our allies, as they hope to, our fate would not long be in doubt. Germany claims the mission of conquering the world in order to force her own ideals on humanity, and our Empire and our ideals are the main obstacles in her path. This knowledge is

the key of her policy, for which she has commenced the war. To this end she has intrigued for years in Egypt, in India and South Africa, has tried to sow discord between us and our allies and thereby undermine the foundations of the triple entente. Her ulterior aim is to destroy the freedom of Great Britain in order to erect out of the ruins a German world empire of militarism and bureaucracy. Germany pronounces her intense hatred of Great Britain, because she is envious of us and because our loyalty and uprightness have torn the net of her perfidious diplomacy. To save ourselves from the consequences if her hatred we are in arms to-day and to protect our homes against murder and pillage, organised plundering and arson—that is the aim for which we have sent our armies to the battlefields of France and for which England is determined to risk her last shilling and her last man."

So far the *Times*—in view of the almost cynical candor, with which the paper is taking the mask off its face, the hypocritical pose of the virtuous defender of Belgian neutrality will not deceive any thinking person hereafter.

[Editorial note: The text above was a paraphrased version of the editorial, so we reprint the actual *Times*' editorial below:

"Why we are at war

There are still, it seems, some Englishmen and Englishwomen who greatly err as to the reasons that have forced England to draw the sword. They know that it was Germany's flagrant violation of Belgian neutrality which filled the cup of her indignation and made her people insist upon war. They do reflect that our honour and our interest must have compelled us to join France and Russia, even if Germany had scrupulously respected the rights of her small neighbours, and had sought to hack her way into France through the Eastern fortresses. The German Chancellor has insisted more than once upon this truth. He has fancied, apparently, that he was making an argumentative point against us by establishing it. That, like so much more, only shows his complete misunderstanding of our attitude and our character. The invasion of Belgium, and the still more the abominable system of crime which followed it, have indeed very deeply moved us. Like Germany, we had given our word to uphold Belgian neutrality. Unlike Germany, we felt bound in honour to keep the word we had given. But we know very well that, in keeping it, self-interest had gone hand-in-hand with honour, with justice and with pity. Why did we guarantee the neutrality of Belgium? For an imperious reason of self-interest, for the reason which has always made us resist the establishment of any Great Power over against our East Coast, for the reason which made us defend the Netherlands against Spain and against the France of the Bourbons and of Napoleon. We keep our word when we have given it, but we do not give it without solid practical reasons, and we do not set up to be international Don Quixotes, ready at all times to redress wrongs which do us no hurt.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg is quite right. Even if Germany had not invaded Belgium, honour and interest would have united us with France. We had refused, it is true, to give her or Russia any binding pledge up to the last moment. We had, however, for many years past, led both to understand that, if they were unjustly attacked, they might rely upon our aid. This understanding had been the pivot of European policy followed by the three Powers. It had been, as Germany herself acknowledged, a powerful factor in the preservation of European peace. England had drawn advantage from it as well as her partners. She would have stained her honour forever if, after she had acted with them in fair weather, and had countenanced the confident belief which they both held that she would support them in a just quarrel she had slunk away from them in the hour of danger. This is what Herr von Bethmann Hollweg pressed us to do. He saw that if we yielded to his seductions and committed this act of baseness, on the pretext that we had not given a technical promise of help to our friends, we should never have friends again. To pillory us in such a position of infamous isolation has long been a darling dream of the Wilhelmstrasse. It would materially advance Germany's schemes of world-empire, to which, as she clearly sees, the destruction, or the humiliation, of England is an indispensable preliminary. But here again, as in the case of Belgium, "honour is the best policy." We joined the Triple Entente because we realised, however late in the day, that the time of "splendid isolation" was no more. We reverted to our historical policy of the balance of power, and we reverted to it for the reasons for which our forefathers adopted it. They were not, either for them or us, reasons of sentiment. They were self-regarding, and even selfish, reasons. Chief amongst them, certainly, was a desire to preserve the peace of Europe, but it was the chief only because to preserve that peace was the one certain way to preserve our own. In the event of war we saw, as our fathers had seen, England's first line of attack and defence in her Continental Alliances. When we subsidised every State in Germany, and practically all Europe, in the Great War, (Napoleonic War, Editor) we did not lavish our gold from love of German or Austrian liberty, or out of sheer altruism. No; we invested it for our own safety and our own advantage, and, on the whole, our commitments were rewarded by an adequate return.

In this war, as we have again and again insisted in *The Times*, England is fighting for exactly the same kind of reasons for which she fought Philip II, Louis XIV, and Napoleon. She is fighting the battles of the oppressed, it is true, in Belgium and in Serbia, and she rejoices that she is standing with them against their tyrants. She is helping her great Allies to fight in defence of their soil and their homes against the aggressor, and she is proud to pour out her blood and her treasure in so sacred a cause. But she is not fighting primarily for Belgium or for Serbia, for France or for Russia. They fill a great place in her mind and heart. But they come second. The first place belongs, and rightly belongs, to herself. It is for her and for her Empire that her sons have been struggling and dying in the trenches

of and on the fields of Picardy and Artois, that her Fleet holds its ceaseless vigil in the North Sea, and that its guns have been heard from the Pacific to the Dardanelles. Our soldiers and our sailors are defending their homes and the homes of their countrymen on French soil and in Turkish waters, just as truly as though they were facing German troops in Norfolk or German ships off Harwich. Our enemies are more remote, but did they crush our Allies, as they presumptuously expected to do, an attack on us would not be long deferred. Germany boasts that it is her appointed mission to conquer a great world-empire, through which she may impose her ideals upon mankind. Our Empire and our ideals is the chief obstacle in her path. That consideration is the key to all her world-policy. That is why she has grasped at the trident. That is why she has been intriguing for years in Egypt, in India, and in South Africa. That is why she has watched our domestic controversies and the supposed symptom of our decadence with malignant vigilance. That is why she has sought, again and again, to sow mistrust between us and our partners and why at the last she tried to bribe us into treachery. Her object in this war is to shatter the Triple Entente, but to shatter the Entente in order to destroy the free Empire of England, and to rear upon its ruins a German world-empire of militarism and bureaucracy. She hates us, she proclaims, with hatred more vindictive than she bears towards the Belgians or the French. She hates us because she envies us, and because our honour and our plain sense have broken through the flimsy toils of her diplomacy. It is to save ourselves from the deadly consequences of her considered malignancy that we stand in arms. To shield our homes from the murder and the rape; from the organised loot and the systematic arson we have seen across the seas; to protect the Empire our race has reared at so dear a cost; to secure for our children and mankind the spiritual heritage of which it is the embodiment and the guardian; —these are the ends for which we are launching upon the battle-fields of France the greatest and the most powerful armies our history has ever known; the ends for which England has pledged her last shilling and her last man."

*

[As Casement was a regular reader of, and commentator on, *The Times*, it is probable that he was responsible for this summarised version of the Editorial for the *Continental Times*.

The *Times* editorial itself was written by John Woulfe Flanagan (1852–1929), who was chief writer of *Times*' leaders during WWI. He came from an Anglo-Irish Catholic landlord family in Roscommon. He 'cut his teeth' in journalism as a very active protagonist in the newspaper's campaign against Charles Stewart Parnell. He produced a 36 volume account of the Parnell Commission, called "*Parnellism and Crime*". The Commission was an all-out attempt by the *Times* and the Government, acting together, to destroy Parnell and the Irish Party by trying to associate him and them with the

Phoenix Park killings through the Piggott forgeries published by the *Times*.

The *Times* later reported on the "profound sensation" caused by this editorial in Germany:-

"The following news, officially circulated through German wireless stations, has been received by the Marconi Company:- The *Times* declares that England does not fight for Belgium and the Allies, but primarily for English interests. England would have begun the war even if Germany had respected Belgium's neutrality." (1.3.1915).

The report went on to reiterate the main points of the editorial. Apparently this was newsworthy—even sensational—for Germans, as such a plain statement of fact about England's reason for going to war against them came as a revelation. Right up to the outbreak of war Germany lived in illusion about Britain—and even the peace that was made indicated that all illusion had not been shattered.]

10.

Objects of an Irish Brigade in the Present War.

Report of an Address by Sir Roger Casement

Delivered on 15th May 1915

to B Company of the

Irish Soldiers at Limburg.

Sir Roger Casement speaking to the men said, roughly as follows:

"You have been told, I dare say, I am trying to form an Irish Brigade to fight for Germany; that I am a German agent; and that an attempt is being made to suborn you, or tempt you to do something dishonest and insincere for the sake of the German Government and not for the welfare of Ireland. Well you may believe me, or disbelieve me, and nothing I could say would convince you as to my own motives but I can convince you, and I owe to yourselves as well as to myself to convince you that the effort to form an Irish Brigade is based on Irish interests only, and is a sincere and honest one, so far as my action with the German Government is concerned and so far as their action in the matter goes.

An Irish Brigade, if it be formed today, will rest on a clear and definite agreement wherein the German Government is pledged to aid the cause of Irish independence by force of arms, and above all, to aid Irishmen to themselves fight for their own freedom. The agreement that is the basis on which an Irish Brigade can be formed is one now in my hands, and which

I will read to you. It was signed on 28th December last by the duly authorized representative of the German Government and is an honest and sincere offer on the part of the great European Government to help Irishmen to fight their own battle for the freedom of their country. It is the first time in history that such an offer has been made and embodied in clear straightforward terms."

Hitherto, in the past, Irish Brigades have existed on the Continent but they were, in every case, formed to fight the battles not of Ireland, but of France, or Spain, or of Austria. The foreign Governments who took Irishmen, and formed them into a fighting force, did so in all those cases not for the sake of Ireland but for the cause of those foreign Governments. When Patrick Sarsfield died at Landen, in Flanders, in 1691 he said on the field of his death "would that this blood was shed for Ireland". He was giving his life for France in the battle of France, not for Ireland. Well, today, the case is different and if any Irishman in the Irish Brigade today loses his life he can at least say that he is giving his blood for Ireland—the Agreement leaves no doubt that he is pledged to one cause only and that the cause not of Germany but of Ireland.

The agreement on which an Irish Brigade might be formed was read by Sir Roger Casement to those present, from the original document signed by the under Secretary of State and sealed with the State Seal of the German foreign office, and this original was shown to the men. Commenting on it Sir Roger proceeded to show that whatever else it might be it was not a trick or a deception designed in the interests of Germany, but was an honest offer to help Ireland to fight for her own independence if Irishmen were ready to risk their lives in that cause.

With regard to the oath that soldiers take on enlisting Sir Roger said this:

"Your oath binds you to serve your king and country. Now a man has only one country, and he cannot have a divided allegiance. The only country that can claim an Irishman's allegiance is Ireland. The King you agreed to serve is, in law, King of Great Britain and Ireland. There is no such person as the King of England in law. — How have these Sovereigns discharged their duties to their Irish Subjects? — For remember these obligations are mutual. Our Kings, whose sole title to our allegiance is that they are Kings of Ireland, as well as Kings of Great Britain, have not once in all these centuries performed their duties to their Irish people or fulfilled any of the sacred obligation laid upon them by the title and the allegiance they claim from their Subjects. I could cite many instances: I will give only two here. King George III was as much King of Ireland as he was King of Great Britain. He drew every year from the pockets of the Irish people the sum of £145,000 for his own purse. He never performed one public act for the welfare of the Irish people; he never set foot in Ireland, but he hired foreign soldiers, and Germans even, to come to Ireland to cut the throats of his Irish people and to burn their houses and devastate their country.

"That was in 1798, when the grandfathers of some of us were alive and were fighting for Irish rights. King George III of Ireland, as much as of Great Britain, paid £2,400,000 to hire foreign mercenaries to murder his Irish and his American subjects and the public accounts are on record showing who received this money— some of which was money from Ireland. That was one view of a "King of England's" duty to his people in Ireland. In 1848, the granddaughter of George III, Queen Victoria, who was also Queen of Ireland as much as of Great Britain, regretted very much, in a letter to her uncle the King of the Belgians that the starving and disarmed Irish people did not openly rebel, so that her ample army in Ireland might have a good chance of shedding Irish blood and teaching "the Irish a lesson". That was her sovereign view of her duties to the people she called her subjects—she only regretted that they did not come up to the scratch to give her well armed troops a chance of shooting down unarmed and starving men. I do not know what moral claim such sovereigns have to the loyalty of the people they thus treat as enemies and have never regarded as having any claim upon their consciences. I am not the only Irishman who holds this view. Others before us today, when it came to the question of fighting for Ireland, have not hesitated to break the "Oath of Allegiance" that bound them to such false Kings as these. Lord Edward FitzGerald in 1798 was an officer in the British Army and had taken that form of the oath of allegiance. But he did not hesitate to break it and to lose his life fighting for Ireland.

So with Smith O'Brien in 1848. He had taken two oaths of Allegiance to the Crown — First in Parliament as member for Clare, and also as a magistrate for that county. Those men were not afraid to risk their lives for Ireland: they were brave enough to know where their duty to their country lay, and to try at all costs to discharge it."

Sir Roger also pointed out how the British Government had tried to secure his own kidnapping, or "Knocking on the head" in Norway, when he had never set foot in Germany, and had tempted an honest servant to betray his master by offering him a huge bribe of £5,000 to betray him into their hands. He showed the original guarantee given by the British Minister in Christiania, promising the money and assuring the man the English Minister wanted to turn into a criminal "personal immunity" from the consequences of his crime, and a free passage to the United States. Sir Roger further pointed out how the British Government was trying to tempt the Italian Government to break their pledged word and to join in a wanton attack upon Austria and Germany, the two countries Italy was bound by a solemn treaty, to fight with, not against. There was also the case of Portugal. This country in 1910, through the Portuguese army who were bound by oaths of allegiance to their king, drove the king into exile and set up a Republic. The English Government did not denounce this treason and treachery on the part of the Portuguese army. They recognized it. They recognized the Republic and to-day were doing all in their power to get the Portuguese army of "traitors"

also against Germany. England was not a bit concerned about the treason that might help her. She would turn scores of armies into traitors if thereby she could get a fresh sword against Germany.

The Czar of Russia had promised publicly to take all the Austrian prisoners of war who were of Italian origin and to treat them differently from the other Austrian soldiers, and send them as a force to Italy so that they might be used against their own lawful sovereign the Emperor of Austria. It was only when it came to Irishmen, that the English Government discovered the Sanctity of an oath and then only when the oath was supposed to bind Irishmen to help England. So far as the oath of allegiance went, it was an obligation to serve one's Country first of all and to Irishmen there should only be one country. If an Irishman serves another country then he is not loyally doing his duty to his own.

It is idle to talk about Irish liberty if we are not man enough to fight for it ourselves. We are told sometimes that Ireland will be made free by the acts of others: that if Germany were to win the war there would be a free Ireland. If Irishmen themselves are not prepared to fight for Ireland and to risk their lives in that cause then it is idle to talk of Irish liberty, and cowardly too. To expect Germany or others to free our Country when we are not prepared ourselves to risk anything for it is cowardly and contemptible in the extreme.

Germany has already publicly declared her good-will and good intentions towards Ireland and has given every proof in her power of her wish to see an independent Ireland. She declares formally, and in binding terms, that she would assist Irishmen with arms, and military help to secure Irish independence, and that she will recognize that independence if gained and do all that she can to secure it.

Other points touched on by Sir Roger Casement were the following. If the German Government made peace without the political situation of Ireland having been changed, and with matters practically as they are today, then the German government would try to obtain an amnesty for the members of the Irish Brigade so that they might be allowed to return to Ireland. This Amnesty would be asked for and might, or might not, be granted. It would certainly be asked for by the German Government in the peace negotiations. Further, that Ireland itself should not be penalized in any way by the action of the Irish Brigade. This condition also the German Government would put forward in the terms of settlement. Finally that, while no man was, could or would be paid by Germany to fight for Ireland, there would possibly be a loss to many who might volunteer for the Brigade. If the men who were disposed to joining the Brigade on the clear terms stated in the agreement that they were to be Soldiers of Ireland, first, last and all the time, would show just what sums were due to them, from the British service and which they

would forfeit by their actions in joining the Brigade, Sir Roger undertook to go into the matter, and to see what could be done from a fund at his disposal to compensate them.

He pointed out that he was very loath to seem in any way to suggest monetary reward for doing an Irishman's duty but that he understood quite well that poor men could not afford to lose money that was theirs by right for services rendered and that if the statement were made, in each case he would see what could be done to meet each individual case. Speaking today he said he believed his fund would allow of a compensation alone up to £10 per man being paid to each volunteer who could show that that sum, at least, was due to him. This money could be paid over to the men's credit in a bank or remitted at the close of the war to their friends or families in Ireland. He finished by assuring his hearers that whether they agreed with or differed from him they must admit that the proposal embodied in the Agreement he read to them was an honest one in so far as Ireland was concerned. They might join or not join; but it was at any rate an open, sincere offer to help Ireland and to help Irishmen to do something for themselves, and they need not refuse the hand thus held out to them on any ground of suspicion or mistrust.

[National Library of Ireland MS. LO 1530 (7)]

11.

No. 1133. Vol. XXI. No. 66

The Continental Times

June 9, 1915

War Diary

June 1st 1915

A number of German papers begin to discuss the question of whether England and America have already formed an alliance or, at least, whether they have long ago arrived at a secret understanding in case of war between England and Germany which would explain the one-sided attitude of the American government. Indeed, the policy pursued by the American government since the beginning of the war has been "so unduly severe towards Germany and so unduly weak towards England", as an American friend of mine expressed it, that such a conclusion is inevitable. I for one do not believe that any formal or informal understanding between the two governments exists. No American administration could afford to bind the American government and people internationally in any way except by a formal treaty or convention ratified by the senate or by both houses of congress as the constitution might require.

Even secret understandings of such kind which could under no circumstance bind another administration if entered into by its predecessor, would

have to be confided to the members of the committees on foreign affairs of both houses of congress and would gradually leak out. But it is quite probable that the leading spirit of one administration leaves, in the shape of memoranda or promemoria, as a guide for future presidents and secretaries of state, certain directions for specified cases which assure a sort of consistency in the international politics of the United States, regardless of party affiliation or changing administrations.

I know, for instance, that Theodore Roosevelt, while posing as Germany's best friend, at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, dictated a memorandum destined to be confidentially used as a guide for government representatives, members of the committees on foreign affairs of both houses and editorial writers of the public press, in which he laid down the course to be pursued by America in the conflict. President Roosevelt surely expected at that time that the war would spread and involve France and Germany on the Russian (side) and England on the Japanese side, which would be the signal for America to join England and Japan. The very existence of this memorandum explains to a certain degree the impudent attitude of England and Japan towards America and the weakness displayed by President Wilson's administration in the face of British and Japanese aggressiveness, coupled with unseemly "firmness" towards Germany.

12.

Vol. XXII, No. 1155, No. 13 The Continental Times. Wednesday, July 30, 1915.

England's Care for the truth.

By One Who Knows Both.

England has always taken care of the truth.

Her solicitude for it has ever been great and never so remarkable as in the present war.

That Truth was a woman and could be taken care of was first perceived by England many centuries ago, and John Bull chivalrously took steps to house and secure the unprotected female long before less adventurous and far-seeing minds were aware of the necessities of the case.

And now England has her reward.

Truth, no longer at the bottom of a well, to be drawn up painfully and with much spilling in inadequate bucketsful by a rotting cord or rope, is distributed by a magnificent system of high pressure pumps in vast and fructiferous floods over the surface of the whole earth.

No country but receives the stream and no people but must bathe in the waters whether they will or no.

Just as when the Angel of old descended and troubled the waters, the sick men of Jerusalem jumped into the pool, so today their descendants, the halt, the maim and the blind of the world's press, plunge headlong into the troubled waters that the Angel of Fleet Street, with full hands and a brimming heart pours over the long-suffering Neutral Earth.

The Fleet was a proverbially dirty and even "stinking" stream in mediaeval days and since it came to be covered over with the modern temples and halls of exact intelligence it has not run sweeter—although underground.

The manner in which the Angel has descended into the puddle to-day and troubled the waters of fame, as an exploit exceeds in far-reaching effect and even in picturesque stage-management any action of celestial origin we have record of.

Let us inspect the process.

When England declared war on Germany on 4 August, 1914, the reason assigned was the German violation of Belgium neutrality. The Angel flew all over the Earth with this announcement and the small peoples and their smaller journals were everywhere called on to lift up their hearts and rejoice.

The German transatlantic cable was cut within a week of the outbreak of war, so that no heresies might trouble the orthodox view as preached from a thousand pulpits in the New World. Having thus provided for the truth to prevail across the ocean the Angel set to work to pile up ammunition on this side. The violation of Belgian neutrality was an excellent heavenly missile for some four weeks. Then the corners got knocked off. With the occupation of Brussels and the unfortunate arrest of Mr. Grant Watson, the British diplomatic agent left behind to burn the records, the secret war-compact between England and Belgium fell into the wrong hands, and the Angel had to drop "Belgian neutrality" like a hot potato and pick up a liver weapon. He picked up "German atrocities". This proved indeed a live shell; one of those high explosives Mr. Lloyd George has been deplored the want of in another field of the war.

If England's ammunition factories had only been as well run as her "news" factories the war would have been long since over, with the Barbarian lashed, chained and impotent. The Angel would have won the war. But while "Belgian neutrality" and "German atrocities" have proved to be weapons of enormous force they have still been unable to overcome the remorseless fire of the 42 centimetre cannons aimed by blind barbarism at angelic fortitude. Still the wide range of the celestial weapons has been scarcely appreciated up to this. We had thought that it was on Fleet Street agencies alone that the higher organization relied: but a recent return of the output of his Majesty's Stationery office for the past year shows that those who have charge of the

Truth do not leave everything even to the ablest editorial minds. We are told in this official record of the year's proceedings that the London Stationery Office cost the Crown in 1914 "over £700,000" for printed matter and that for the current financial year this outlay would "exceed £1,000,000".

Two items for 1914, as given in the official statement, stand out as quite the most remarkable illustrations of altruistic energy in spreading the truth that there is anywhere public record of.

As a rule a Blue Book, or White Paper, every Foreign Office knows, is printed in limited quantities and almost solely for purposes of press distribution. The number of copies asked for by the public is in all cases very small, and probably rarely if ever exceeds two thousand copies.

To take a notable instance. The most "popular" Blue Book of recent years was unquestionably that dealing with Sir Roger Casement's exposure in 1912 of the Putumayo atrocities committed under the aegis of a London Company.

Perhaps 5000 (five thousand) copies of that Blue Book were bought by private individuals apart from the 1500 or 2000 sent out officially by the Foreign Office for press comment.

That was a *bona fide* public demand for a record of close and attentive investigation on the spot of a long series of appalling crimes, supported by overwhelming evidence and accompanied by the most convincing testimony.

The atrocities were unquestioned and the press comments on them lurid; and the public appetite for atrocity, *when the British Government had no direct interest in spreading it*, was satisfied with 5000 (five thousand) copies of the record.

Not so when British interests are at stake; then the task of the Angel becomes indeed a superhuman one. The "atrocities" in Belgium arranged by Lord Bryce and a Special Committee (not *investigated* in Belgium but *worked up* in England into official form with the name of no witness anywhere given) supplied one of the Blue Books issued in 1914 by H. M. Stationery Office.

We are told officially that over 1,000,000 (one million) copies of this Blue Book were printed and issued by the Stationery Office for the current year. That they were distributed we know: that they were bought or paid for by the public we are equally sure was not the case. At least half a million copies were sent gratis to America and distributed post free throughout that country by British truth agencies.

We are also told that over 1 million (one million) copies of "Sir Edward Grey's famous White Paper" were also "printed and distributed by H.M. Stationery Office".

Thus over two million copies of two British official warrants for the apprehension of Truth were issued, and paid for by the British Exchequer in

the space of eight months—surely the most admirable evidence of England's care for and regard for the Truth that we can find, even in her long records, in this respect. It becomes all the more admirable when we contrast it with the poor attempts spreading the truth made by those interested in securing the Lady's release from her present guardian. These puerile efforts met with the fate that they deserved. We learned recently that 200 (two hundred) copies of the German official report on Russian atrocities in East Prussia had been sent to the German Ambassador in Washington on board a neutral (Italian) steamship.

Think of it. Two hundred copies of a German White Paper against two million copies of a British!

And see what befell them!

It was known that the German report on Russian infamies, unlike the Bryce report on German "atrocities" supplied all the details and was an *authentic report of evidence taken on the spot, on the very ground violated, in the very houses burned and pillaged, from the mouths of those who had suffered, and the whole given with names, dates and localities* so that anyone might verify and confirm or contradict and deny. Clearly such a publication was an infringement of British copyright and this modest parcel of 200 copies could not be allowed with safety to the truth to reach the legal destination across the Atlantic.

So the Angel of Truth took wings to Gibraltar, and acting through the Commandant of that gateway to Sea Freedom, held up the Italian steamship "*Dante Alighieri*" and made search for the tiny parcel. It was found to be at the bottom of the hold—in fact in the well of the ship where Truth used to reside—and could not be got out without discharging the entire cargo. So the Captain was required to give a promise to the Angelic representative that he would not deliver the parcel where he was legally bound to deliver it, but would illegally retain it at New York and hand it over on return to Gibraltar to the British custodian of truth and public morals. That the Angel should impose this order on the Italian Captain and that the Italian should obey it is not surprising; but that the United States Customs Officers in the port of New York should have permitted this gross violation of the Customs Laws of their Country and should not have compelled the delivery to the consignee of the goods manifested to him is surprising indeed—if one is not closely acquainted with the ways of American officials when asked to oblige an Angel.

A less striking instance of angelic vigour occurred in the case of the American vessel "*Ogeechee*" chartered by Congressman Herman Metz of Brooklyn to bring a cargo of dye stuffs from Germany to New York.

Among the cargo of this vessel were 26 cases containing copies of Nos. 10 and 11 of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, War Special, giving the full report of

the Grey-Findlay case with facsimiles of the British Minister's "Guarantee" to the Norwegian Christensen for the kidnapping of Sir Roger Casement. This, too, was clearly a case for angelic censorship. So the 26 cases were taken off the "*Ogeechee*" and confiscated, not by process of international law, but by what may be called an act of spiritual sleight of hand.

In neither case, it will be seen, has the opposition effort to lay hands on the truth been successful. The sacrilege has been prevented.

It is true at some cost.

What with the £2,000,000 or so spent by his Majesty's Stationery Office; the Commandant of Gibraltar; the Captain of the "*Dante Alighieri*"; the Customs officials of the Port of New York; the Press agencies and other distributing truth channels in America; and the forcible detention of the "*Ogeechee*" and seizure of her cargo, the bill of costs to meet the exigencies of safeguarding the truth must indeed be a high one.

When we consider all the other multiform methods whereby truth is distributed, held in check, fed, housed, clothed, and lodged over the neutral regions of the globe and the innumerable efforts called for to see that she is firmly taken care of at home and not allowed to wander or fall into the hands of strangers, we begin to perceive some of the reasons why Great Britain is spending nearly £3,000,000 (three million pounds) per day on the conduct of this gigantic campaign. A war against Germany is one thing; but a war in defence of truth and "the very cause of humanity itself" (*vide* Mr. Asquith's last pronouncement at the Guildhall) is another, and it is very hard for the mere outsider to say which is the more costly effort.

13.

No. 1133. Vol. XXI. No. 66

The Continental Times

June 9, 1915

Mr. Wilson's Note. How To End The War. By Bunker Hill.

The principle enunciated in the President's latest note to Germany has a closer bearing on the course of the war than at first sight appears.

It has only to be carried to its logical conclusion for the war to be ended in a very short time and with the least possible loss of life.

The American Note declares that if any more vessels are sunk by German submarines and American lives thereby lost, the government of the United States will regard it as "an unfriendly act".

The principle involved and for which the President asserts he is contending, is that Americans, having a legal right to travel on such vessels, their lawful right must be maintained by America and must not be impaired by Germany. Germany must modify her methods of attacking England and her allies in conformity with this claim. If the principle be admitted by Germany, let us see how it must inevitably affect the further conduct of the war.

If Americans have a right to travel where they may please at sea and by any means of transport they may choose, and to incur no risk from German attack, they have an equal right to travel by land.

An American citizen has a perfect legal right, if the French military authorities allow him, to visit, say Calais, Arras, Soissons or Rheims, or if in Russia, to go to Warsaw, Ivangorod or some other city threatened with possible German attack. If in the course of the German bombardment of these places he should lose his life from a German shell, are we to understand that Germany has committed an "unfriendly act"? It is not clear, but it is quite on a par to say that she has as to assert that a crime against America was committed when Americans lost their lives on an armed British transport engaged in conveying munitions of war from America for the use of the British armed forces against Germany.

But a much wider application must be given the scope of the President's claim if Germany is to avoid the risk of committing "unfriendly acts" against American citizens.

For many months the British Government, through its official representatives in America and in the United Kingdom, has been engaged in recruiting Americans for service in the British forces to fight against Germany.

They are equipped as English soldiers, take the usual oath of allegiance, and are sent to the front armed with American-made rifles and firing American-made cartridges at German soldiers.

If these American citizens indulging in this "right" are killed by German shot or shell, has Germany committed an unfriendly act?

We can only answer the question by inspecting the actions of the American Government in those cases where its attention has been drawn to the recruiting of American citizens by the agents of Great Britain.

That recruiting went on openly for many months in the United States, quite unchecked or interfered with by the American authorities. Their attention was repeatedly called to the violation of the law of the United States committed by the agents of Great Britain, but no action against the guilty parties or Government was taken. The enlistments continued until now, it is asserted in the American press, many thousands of born American citizens are bearing arms in the firing line in France wearing British (sometimes French) uniforms, *made in America, and doing their best to kill German soldiers with arms and munitions equally made in America*. Many of these

men have already been killed. We know of several; their names are published in American papers.

That they had a "right" to go to France as English soldiers and take part in active hostilities against Germany is clear from the fact that the United States Government, perfectly apprised of what was taking place, took no steps to prevent the enlistment or conveyance of these men from America to Great Britain, and make no protest to the British Government against the violation of Americans law by the British recruiting agents. It is clear that if the men had no right to go, their Government was bound to take action to prevent them going, and was equally bound to draw the attention of the offending Government to the offence being committed by its paid recruiting agents against American law. Since no action to compel its citizens to keep the law was taken by the American Administration and no representations were made to Great Britain, it is clear that the American Government held that these citizens had a right to enlist in the British armed forces. We cannot admit that the American Government permitted its law to be violated, or connived at illegal recruiting of American citizens by one friendly Power to be employed in a belligerent capacity against another friendly Power. Germany, if she accepts the principle enunciated by the President in the Lusitania affair, will have to admit its bearing elsewhere as well. American citizens can easily be distributed by the British War Office at the front in France and Flanders, at every point of German attack and it will then only be necessary to put up a notice in front of each threatened trench

*"Commit No Unfriendly Act,
American Citizens here!"*

for the German fire to be stopped under pain of a fresh Note from the President of the United States. It will be quite easy to win the war thus.

In fact American neutrality, combined with American rights on land and sea, if wisely and logically enforced by an impartial and strictly discriminating Administration, must prove a far more potent weapon against Germany than all the native might of Russia, France and England united—to say nothing of Italy, Japan and the minor belligerents.

The President is to be greatly congratulated on the humanitarian stand he has taken and it only remains now for the private secretary of Ambassador Page, who went to the front recently as an English officer, to be killed by a German bullet, for the United States to present a final ultimatum against "unfriendly acts" that should force the German armies to lay down their arms.

It was a British writer who said: "Beneath the rule of men entirely great the pen is often mightier than the sword" and it has been reserved for twentieth century America, *"English ruled and English led"*, as Ambassador Page truly announced last year, to prove the truth of Bulwer Lytton's famous phrase.

14.

Vol. XXII, No. 1157, No. 15 The Continental Times. August 4, 1915.

British Losses - True Figures - Terrible Speculation.

It is officially announced in London under date of July 28, that the total British army losses amount to 331,798 officers and men. The date to which the casualty lists refer is not given; but it is clear that if the announcement is made on July 28, the lists then issued must deal with casualties that actually occurred at least some weeks earlier. This is particularly the case with regard to losses at the Dardanelles, where the lists are compiled with some difficulty, at the best, owing to the character of the fighting. Then, too, they can be received in London only many days after they have been made out on the spot.

We may, therefore, take it for established that the lists issued in London on July 28th do not deal with any period later than June 30th and in many cases probably refer to casualties that took place in the beginning of June or possibly even the end of May—as in East Africa.

It must be borne in mind that the lists as now issued deal only with British losses, and do not cover the very heavy losses of the native Indian, Egyptian and African troops, save in the case of the higher Indian officers, whose names do figure on the official casualty lists published in London.

If these losses of rank and file of native Indian, Egyptian and other coloured British troops be added, the total as now published would be increased by possibly 100,000 men. If the naval losses were included the total then would be not less than 450,000 officers and men up to, say, the middle or end of June.

Inspecting the partial lists now offered as the "total" British losses on July 28th, we are struck by the very high proportion of killed to wounded. Even as given in the English lists the "killed" represent rather more than one third of the "wounded", and when we investigate the losses we find that the total number of killed exceeds one-third of the total losses of all kinds. As the figures are issued in London they stand as follows:

	Officers	Men	Total
Killed	4,000	67,384	71,384
Wounded	8,330	188,199	196,529
Prisoners and missing	1,383	62,502	63,885
 Total	13,713	318,085	331,798

From the above the ordinary reader would assume that the total number of "killed" was but 71,384. As a matter of fact it is nearer double that figure. To arrive at the total we must compare the lists "Prisoners and Missing" with the official lists of British prisoners of war issued by the German War Office. This was on the last date of issue, some 27,000 officers and men. Of these, however, a considerable number (possibly 2000 men) belonged to the Indian native army and there were also some naval prisoners included in the number of "British Prisoners of War in Germany".

As the English Casualty List we are inspecting deals only with British army losses, these external prisoners must be deducted. We may, therefore, say that the total of *British army* prisoners of war in Germany on June 30th was under 25,000 officers and men.

The English casualty list gives 63,885 "prisoners and missing." Deduct 25,000 more or less known to be in Germany, leaves a balance of 38,885 officers and men wholly unaccounted for as "missing".

Now it is absolutely certain, in the very nature of the conflict now being waged, both on the French and Turkish fronts, that almost all the missing not accounted for as "prisoners" acknowledged in the enemy lists, must be reckoned as dead men. The Turks we know have taken very few prisoners.

To the 71,384 admitted "killed" on the official English lists must be added then some 37,000 or 38,000 "missing" officers and men nowhere accounted for as prisoners. That will bring the total dead officers and men up to 108,000 or 109,000.

But this is by no means all the really killed. Men who "die from wounds" after an engagement are not reckoned among the "killed" in British casualty lists. Yet a very large proportion of grievously wounded men die from their wounds and later on appear in subsequent lists as "Died of Wounds."

The total of "Wounded" given we see is 196,529. If we allow an immediate death rate of say 7% it will swell the total of "Dead" by some 14,000 more officers and men and bring the total fatalities to well over 120,000.

Thus, of the 331,798 acknowledged casualties up to say June 30th, more than one-third must be reckoned as dead. This figure of over one-third of fatalities is borne out by an inspection of the daily casualty lists as issued in the *Times*.

The proportion of killed and "Missing" (known to be dead) and of "died of wounds" in each of these lists for some time back has been considerably over one-third of the total casualties announced.

If the naval fatalities and those in the Indian, Egyptian and African troops be added, it is certain that the British imperial losses by death in the first ten

or eleven months of the war cannot be less than 200,000 officers and men. This has been accomplished at a total expenditure of some £1,000,000,000 sterling, with added losses of warships, merchant ships, property and goods at sea amounting probably to £50,000,000 more, to which should be added the loss by falling off of Export trade of some £150,000,000. Thus in round figures to get 200,000 killed has cost Great Britain £1,200,000,000 sterling or an expenditure of £6000 per man.

As the results so far obtained are practically nil, seeing that the German navy is still intact, German commerce at least as prosperous as British, and Belgium still "enslaved", it must be granted that the British Empire is incurring a very heavy expenditure to bury itself, and that these funeral charges will go down in history as the most costly in the long story of human folly and human crime.

15.

Vol. XXIL, No. 1157, No. 15. The Continental Times. August 4, 1915.

Every Dollar Dripped In Blood.

The Infamy of T. P. Brophy.

Poisoned Steel And Human Depravity.

The writer of our "War Bulletin" has already alluded to the unbelievable advertisement of the Cleveland Automobile Machine Company in *The American Machinist* of May 6th, 1915. The publication of this cold-blooded, fiendish notice, the mere conception of which reveals a state of such profound and hopeless savagery as to make men's senses reel, caused a wave of abhorrence and disgust to run across the world, horror-sated as it is. The document seemed to be the emanation of a mind stricken with a sadistic lust for cruelty coupled with a keen business sense. This accursed creature Brophy was offering a new invention to Great Britain or her allies; he was attempting to convince them of its horrible efficiency. In crude words that creep like serpents, this mass of moral atrocity offers his damnable machine to those heartless traffickers in murder whose efforts tend to blacken every star and every stripe in our national flag. You may read his precise words below,— like many other papers we are content to give him and his device a free advertisement in our columns.

Buying — AMERICAN MACHINIST — Section 37
May 6, 1915

Worth Knowing

On the opposite page we show two sizes of high explosive shells which can be produced from the bar on our 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "PEDESTAL BASE MACHINE" (see cut on opposite page [Not reproduced here.]).

On this machine we can finish a 13-lb. shell all over as it appears from very tough material from which shells are made, in 24 minutes, and from ordinary machine steel in 17 minutes.

The 18-lb. shell in 30 minutes, or from regular machine steel in 22 minutes.

When you figure about \$1.00 per day for operating this machine, you can then arrive at the actual labor cost for producing the piece.

We are going to say a little more—something which might be interesting. The following is a description of the 13- and 18-lb. high explosive shells which are now being used so extensively in the war to replace common shrapnel.

The material is high in tensile strength and VERY SPECIAL and has a tendency to fracture into small pieces upon the explosion of the shell. The timing of the fuse for this shell is similar to the shrapnel shell, but it differs in that two explosive acids are used to explode the shell in the large cavity. The combination of these two acids causes terrific explosion, having more power than anything of its kind yet used. Fragments become coated with these acids in exploding and wounds caused by them mean death in terrible agony within four hours if not attended to immediately.

From what we are able to learn of conditions in the trenches, it is not possible to get medical assistance to anyone in time to prevent fatal results. It is necessary to immediately cauterize the wound if in the body or head, or to amputate if in the limbs, as there seems to be no antidote that will counteract the poison.

It can be seen from this that this shell is more effective than the regular shrapnel, since wounds caused by shrapnel balls and fragments in the muscles are not as dangerous as they have no poisonous element making prompt attention necessary.

CLEVELAND AUTOMATIC MACHINE COMPANY
Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

Even England—quick to appreciate new inventions and patents—as proved by her surrender of all German patents to exploitation,—sought to disclaim any interest in this latest volunteer to her cause. The English papers repudiated the monster and his cruel device. Even they were shocked

though one may recall the satisfaction with which they hailed the new and supposedly devastating effects of Turpinit, "the explosive that wiped out a whole regiment at one blow". It may also be remembered that this was by means of a particularly poisonous gas. The methods of this new Ally were too crude. He might have studied the system of Sir Edward Grey or Minister Findlay to advantage. But the usual opportunity for aspersing the Germans was not to be overlooked. The advertisement must surely be the work of German agents—like the recent Welsh coal strikes! That is what the English implied and what their employee, the *N. Y. Times* obediently insinuated. Let the rest of the story be told in the following extract from that brave little paper, the *Vital Issue* of New York (July 17):

"In last week's issue we published Mr. Francis J. L. Dorl's letter to the *New York Times* which unanswerably proved that the infamous advertisement of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company had been printed in the *American Machinist* with full knowledge of both concerns and that there was no 'mistake' nor 'misunderstanding' nor 'diabolical hoax of a German propagandist' about it.

The *New York Times* printed Mr. Dorl's letter, together with a communication from Mr. Frank Koester, on July 3rd., and added a wholly irrelevant quotation from its own mendaciously insinuating editorial to it. A cleverly misleading headline was the sole comment of the paper and it is scarcely necessary to say that the *New York Times* had neither the decency nor the good sense to revoke its scandalous insinuations."

The incident is not closed yet and the few outstanding facts in this amoral episode of commercial depravity should be kept clearly in mind. Neither the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company nor the *American Machinist* deny the authenticity of that advertisement. This was clearly shown in the correspondence between Mr. Dorl and the managers of the two concerns (published in the *Vital Issue*, Vol. II, No. 26). It was again reiterated by Mr. Mason Britton, manager of the *American Machinist* in the *New York Times* of July 4th. He declares:

"The advertisement of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company ... was not published as a result of an oversight, as has been reported, but it was written by J. P. Brophy, President and General Manager of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company himself, and ordered published by Mr. Brophy after due deliberation, and after the advisability of changing its language before publication had been called to his attention." To prove his contentions he quotes from a letter received at the office of the *American Machinist* from Mr. Brophy under date of June 30: "... they (the *American Machinist*) printed it (the advertisement) as we sent it forward, and we insisted on their doing so even after Mr. Britton wrote me that some comments were being made about it."

It has remained for our country to furnish the grimmest, darkest, most unforgivable atrocity in the entire history of the war. Yet some of us have striven to pillory the execrable wretch whose soul out-Neroes Nero.

16.

THE GAELIC AMERICAN, 7th AUGUST 1915

Roger Casement exposes Redmond's Childish Lie.

June 10, 1915

To the Editor of The Gaelic American

Sir—I observe in *The Gaelic American* of May 21 some accounts of an interview Mr. Redmond is said to have given a correspondent of the *New York American*, in which I am referred to.

Mr. Redmond is reported to have said that I had "been sent by the German Government" to address the Irish prisoners of war; that they at first listened to me, ignorant of my identity and then when they "knew it was Sir Roger Casement" that they mobbed me and I had to appeal to the "Prussian Guard" to be extricated from the peril.

I have read many silly and many stupid lies about myself during the last month or two, but Mr. Redmond's lie is the most childish of all.

The whole story he related, with "the grin," to the credulous *New York American* is a lie from beginning to end like, let me say, his own Home Rule Bill.

And like that Bill, when as an "Act of Parliament" it has faded from the Statute Book even as the Cheshire Cat faded from the tree in "Alice in Wonderland," we shall be left only with the lie and Mr. Redmond's grin—"that remained long after the rest of the cat had disappeared."

I was not sent by the German Government to visit the Irish prisoners: I asked to be allowed to visit them and after delay and difficulty I was permitted to do so. I introduced myself by name to the first group I met and talked to them for a few minutes, giving them some Irish, English and American newspapers. I told them all about myself and why I came to Germany and the men listened and asked many questions.

That was on December 3, 1914, at Limburg. The next day I again visited the camp and talked with others, and at the request of all I addressed them quite alone, on Sunday morning (when they were free), and at their request promised to visit them again. On each occasion when speaking to the men I was alone with them and, at my request, no German soldier, guard, or officer,

whether of the Line, Landsturm or any other corps, was ever near me.

I again visited the camp on January 6, 1915, going there quite alone in the afternoon, so that I might see the men after work. I walked all through the camp in the growing twilight, visited many of the barracks, conversed with many men and left again at 5.40 to walk back, always alone, into Limburg.

On this occasion, in the dusk that was almost dark, some few of the men, or boys rather, gathered round to listen to me answering those who were closer to me and who were asking questions about Ireland and the war.

Some of these youths made silly remarks, calling out over the heads of those nearer and declaring that they were "*Englishmen and had no use for an Irish traitor.*" I paid no attention to these valiant supporters of Mr. Redmond, and I was in as much danger from them as, say, the German navy is from the street cries of Mr. Churchill.

I was surrounded by scores of men; it was almost dark; I was entirely alone and no German guard even within sight, and had these friends of Mr. Redmond been as brave in body as they were in words I might have had to use my cane.

As it was, I was told by some of the men that a sergeant of the Munster Fusiliers "*wanted to see Sir Roger Casement*" with some undeclared intent. I sought him out there and then, asking my way from barrack to barrack hut.

When I finally reached the quarters of this particular section and asked for the sergeant who wanted to see me his mates said, in the entry to the room, with a grin (like Mr. Redmond's) "*Oh! He's gone to bed.*" I learned afterwards from an under officer that this warrior had said he would "*lay out Sir Roger if he ever visited the camp.*"

This figure of speech, as well as the physical prostration that followed it, was clearly due to reading the debates of the "*tremendous conflicts on the floor of the House*" — a manual of which must doubtless be handed by Mr. Redmond to every recruit who joins his "*Irish Brigade.*"

So much for Mr. Redmond's silly story, which like the jeers of his followers in Limburg is beneath my contempt.

I know Mr. Redmond and his chief supporters quite well enough. His avowed followers from among the Irish prisoners in Limburg camp are worthy of their leader and the cause he represents.

They have learned their lesson well and are now, as they assured me "*English soldiers*" and no longer Irishmen.

All the Irish prisoners of war at Limburg are not renegades and corner-boys; but then all of them are not followers of Mr. Redmond or fighting for British ideals of civilisation, progress and humanity.

Your obedient servant,
Roger Casement

17.

No. 1159, Vol. XXII, No. 17 The Continental Times August 9, 1915

The Code of British Diplomats

Letter to the Editor, from "An American Woman", Munich, 27 July 1915

To the Editor.

Some time ago we read of the astounding conduct of the British Minister in Christiania, named Findlay, in offering a reward of so many thousands of pounds sterling for the making away, in other words the assassination of Sir Roger Casement, the well-known Irish patriot. That was an act so discreditable to the reputation of British diplomacy, that everyone expected that the diplomat in question would be disowned by his government. But nothing of the kind has taken place and the British Government thereby stamps that act upon the part of its representative, with its approval.

But quite lately I have read in the *Continental Times* of Sir Bax Ironside, the British representative at Sofia, having to leave his post in the Bulgarian capital, because it was found that he had been compromised in the plot to kill King Ferdinand. So here we have a case of two British diplomats engaged in the unholy work of stimulating assassination! Surely a revolution as regards English diplomatic methods.

But in the case of Mr. Bax Ironside, he is not only convicted of being engaged in a plot to kill, but he is likewise a man of a dishonest past. In the summer of 1909 I spent the two hot months in Santiago at Vina del Mar, never Valparaiso. The hot months there are January and February.

The following story was told me there, by the victim himself. It seems that a Mr. Campbell, one of the big men in the English Colony, a partner in one of the many large English Commission houses with which Chile abounds—played cards at the Santiago club with the then Mr. Bax Ironside, and the latter lost to him a sum of \$300. That sum Mr. Bax Ironside did not pay at once, saying that he did not have so much money about him, but would send a cheque. Days passed and still no cheque arrived. Mr. Campbell said he did not like to dun the Minister, supposing, of course, it was only a lapse of memory and expecting each day to get his cheque. Finally, to his astonishment, he heard that Mr. Bax Ironside had left Santiago to take ship for England from Valparaiso. On this Mr. Campbell took the next train to Valparaiso, where he found Mr. Bax Ironside already aboard the steamer standing on the deck, surrounded by the members of his colony assembled

to wish him "Bon Voyage". He approached the Minister, who displayed great embarrassment, and said, "Pardon me, Mr. Bax Ironside, but I fear you have forgotten your little debt to me." "Oh yes! To be sure I have forgotten, but come here to the library", and the Minister sat down and wrote him a cheque, which Mr. Campbell thanked him for and wished him "Bon Voyage", and took the train home to Santiago.

Imagine the surprise of the recipient of the cheque, when the Bank upon which it had been drawn told him, that not only did Mr. Bax Ironside have no money there, but that he never had any.

Mr. Campbell talked the matter over with some of the other principal members of the British colony and they decided that it was a disgrace for such a man to represent England and that it would be well to write a letter to the Foreign Office enclosing the dishonored cheque and relating the whole circumstances. That letter was sent registered to Downing Street. It was naturally expected that the retirement of Mr. Bax Ironside would soon be heard of. The result? The next thing they heard was that he had been appointed Minister to Switzerland and had been created a K.C.M.G.!

Can you imagine England, the England one was taught to admire and reverence, having such a man as this, and Findlay, to represent her?

The affair made an awful stir in Santiago and Valparaiso, and was the talk of the English Club and Colony while I was there, and there are many who could substantiate the story. As I said, I got it from the victim himself who found no words strong enough to express his opinion of Mr. Bax Ironside.

I remember my friend, Madame Desprez, the wife of the then French Minister to Chile, - she is a daughter of General MacClellan—telling me that Mrs. Bax Ironside told her that her husband often struck her and at a house party where they were, she had to borrow money from my friend to pay her tips, as he never gave her a cent although the money was hers.

I seem to remember some one having told me since I left South America, that the poor woman had died of a broken heart over his outrageous treatment of her. I thought this story might interest you. Undoubtedly the acts are very interesting primarily of themselves, secondly as still further showing the type of men who are allowed to wear the British Diplomatic uniform.

An American Woman
Munich, July 27.

18.

No. 1162. Vol. XXII, No. 20 The Continental Times August 16, 1915

The Open Tribune
To Our Readers
The Farce of Neutrality

To the Editor:

Passing through Germany I still find copies of American newspapers that give strange reading to Americans who take their news not from English inspired cablegrams, but from the facts of the daily life they witness.

A copy of the *Boston Herald* of 25th June lies before me and in reading it I feel ashamed to be an American.

Full of misrepresentation of German action, of puerile yet contemptible attacks on the German Ambassador in Washington, it yet has no word of reprobation for the pusillanimity of the administration that will go down to history as the one that with the greatest American interests entrusted to it, accomplished the least part of its duty and achieved the greatest failure of national trust.

In his first "Lusitania" Note to the German Government Mr. Wilson devoted an entire paragraph to the circumstance that the German Embassy at Washington had presumed to issue "a formal warning" in the press to American citizens against travelling in [the] enemy's vessels in the war zone around Great Britain.

This unusual but humane diplomatic act was characterised by the President as "*a surprising irregularity*", and the American people were invited to believe from their President's attitude that the German Ambassador had been guilty of a species of *lèse Majesté* against the sovereign rights of their country.

In this *Boston Herald* of 25th June I observe a statement, dated Washington June 24th, which, in view of the President's reprobation of a kindly "irregularity" on the part of one Ambassador, calls for some explanation to those American citizens who have not yet placed their nationality at the war-service of another.

The Washington statement of 24th June asserts that Great Britain had been good enough to extend the time limit wherein non-contraband cargoes from Germany might be imported to America without lawless seizure of ship and confiscation of cargo by Great Britain.

The British Order in Council of 1st March last, we are told, had fixed the 15th June as the last day on which such cargoes could be permitted unmolested transit across the ocean.

However, we are now informed that as *an act of grace* the British Embassy "has informed the State Department that additional time will be granted where it is shown that the previous time limit was inadequate."

The statement continued:

"The State Department has had no official connection with these negotiations *which have been carried on between importers and the British Embassy*, although the trade advisers have helped the importers in an official way."

For a government that takes formal exception to the Ambassador of a friendly state putting an announcement in the public press designed solely in the best interests of American travellers, to permit the Embassy of another state to control the lawful trade of the country, to permit or prohibit American citizens the performance of their lawful pursuits, to interdict or give safe conduct to American goods and American vessels on the high seas and to enter into direct control of the business relations of American citizens with their clients is surely the most humiliating confession of impotence a great state has ever exhibited.

An act of gross betrayal of the rights of American citizens, whereby their lawful commerce is left to the direct and personal control of a foreign Embassy is committed by an administration that asserts its chief interest to be the "safeguarding of the rights of American citizens."

After this exhibition of "neutrality" is there a self-respecting American citizen left who does not feel that he is humiliated and degraded by the government of his country and that their much-noised neutrality is a foetid carcase that fouls the four winds of heaven?

Yours respectfully,
"Justinian"

[Copy of issue in Casement Papers, NLI 13084/11. Reader's letter on page 2, marked around borders with pencil indicating it is by Casement.]

19.

No. 1162. Vol. XXII, No. 20 The Continental Times August 16, 1915

A Tale Of Tails.

(From "War Humor and other Atrocities".)

By

Will E. Wagtail.

I met a man in Belfast
That met a man in Larne,
That knew a man that saw a man
That heard an awful yarn
Of how the German soldiers,
One day in holy France,
Cut off the tails of twenty cats
And fried them on a lance,
Then with the gravy stuck them on
The poor wee things again.
Now shouldn't tales like that recruit
All Ireland's able men?

20.

No. 1163. Vol. XXII No. 21 The Continental Times August 18, 1915

The Step-Mother

An interesting letter from an American naval officer on board the US Cruiser, *North Carolina*, which has been in the Mediterranean for some months, recently appeared in the American press.

Speaking of the situation at Gallipoli, the American officer said that there seemed no likelihood of the Turkish positions being forced.

But what chiefly struck the American observer was that the "British" offensive was conspicuous by the absence of the English themselves.

"Thousands and tens of thousands of *wounded French, Australians and Irish* arrive in Egypt" he wrote; of one Australian regiment of 1,000 men "only 67 came back".

In summing up his impressions this frank but acute observer remarks: "The English have sent the Australians and the Irish to the front. The beloved Motherland is prodigal of the blood of her step-children."

The history of Great Britain's world Empire is written in the blood of her step-children; they fill the coffins, she fills the coffers.

21.

Number 1164. Vol. XXII. No. 22. The Continental Times August 20, 1915

The Great Offensive

In the London *Times* (we use the geographical prefix to differentiate our insular contemporary from its Trans-Atlantic ally *The New York Times* and our own little champion of truth in English) of July 22nd last, a leading article entitled "Our Whole Duty" calls on the nation to bend their entire strength to the great work "in hand".

The *Times* went on to point out that it was writing with a sense of shame at the contrast between the French effort and that of Britain—"a country that has not been invaded, but has not yet placed in the field one third of the forces raised by France".

Turning to the Parliamentary columns of the same issue of the *Times* we read that Lord Devonport announced in the House of Lords that "3,000,000 men were with the colours".

Knowing the natural tendency to push their wares of those who have been in the retail trade, we thought that possibly the noble Lord had overstated the wholesale stock in trade of the British recruiting machine, but on rising to reply, Lord Newton, the Under Secretary for War, merely pointed out that Lord Devonport had overestimated the married men with the colours.

As the force raised by Great Britain thus stands officially admitted at 3,000,000 men and as the *Times* asserts that this is less than one-third of the force raised by France, it is clear that France must have over 9,000,000 men in the field—according to the *Times*.

The available population of France, man, woman and child, is probably not more than 38,000,000 human beings, and there must, therefore, be a very large percentage of women and children in the French trenches.

Well may the *Times* feel a sense of shame! And why does its editorial staff still lag behind the firing line? Or is it that the manufacture of highly explosive lies with the pen is of more importance to victory than to take a hand at facing the Teuton with the bayonet?

22.

No. 1162. Vol. XXII. No. 59 The Continental Times August 20, 1914

A Weakness For Souvenirs.

A True British Habit.

The Compleat Angler.

Among the more conspicuous but none the less charming frailties of the English character is that weakness which leads this practical people to pick

up and carry off all sorts of unconsidered trifles that others have overlooked or forgotten.

Wherever the English 'Tommy' goes he returns laden with these spoils of an innocent mind and childlike intent—like the curl upon his forehead.

Sometimes it is a bomb—alas! not infrequently an unexploded bomb that later goes off in the loved one's parlor—sometimes a Mummy ("a bloomin' Hidol" as the smiling image-bringer swears); a strange coin (or two) and sometimes an island.

Your compleat Briton has always had a weakness for islands. Just as the English poet Yeats sings: "I am haunted by numberless islands", so is the path of British statesmanship strewn with these souvenirs of innumerable sea quests in search of the unforgetta

Islands indeed, make the most pleasing souvenirs in the world. They can be reached only by water to begin with, and once there no one can get out except by water—your true island is never quite an island until the British flag has been hoisted over it. It may figure on the map as an island, and the inhabitants may call themselves islanders, but until the British "Tommy" with his "quiff" and his smile that won't come off, has visited its shores, it has not attained to the full stature of islandhood and fails of its real function in the scheme of creation. It must be collected. It must be put into the British Museum, labelled and catalogued before it can take its proper place in the long succession of authentic islands and be quoted in the market lists that regulate insular values.

At the moment of writing there are still some vagabond islands left that have not yet been overtaken; but the British Tommy is on the track of the fugitives. He is determined that these defaulting members of the family shall be brought home; and British statesmanship is resolute that Tommy shall have his smiling way.

The people of "these islands" (as it is now the style to term the United Kingdom) are resolved that no island shall be left uncared for.

The war for small nationalities has already developed into a war for small islands—and large. No island is too large to be attempted—none too small to be overlooked. The visiting list has grown so lengthy that it would take a volume to record the names only of all the islands that have been collected on the way. We shall restrict our survey to a very brief one, of those islands that have, without effort as it were, lapsed into the British Empire in the course of the present war. The list is of course incomplete as the war for small nationalities is not yet over; but we can begin to see daylight and calculating minds can even fix the approximate date of peace from the number of islands still belonging to enemy countries, or to "Allies" that are not yet in the fold.

Germany has happily lost all her island possessions, except Heligoland

and a few scattered sand-banks in the Baltic or North Sea. The time for these is coming; but it is not their exclusion from the list that now constitutes the barrier to peace.

France, Italy and Russia still claim several islands and it is daily becoming clearer that until these scattered members of the family revert to their rightful place in the domestic circle there is little prospect of the world war terminating.

Turkey had already lost her island realms in the Italian and Balkan wars. It is true, Greece and Italy laid hands on them—but only for a time. Greece already has had the good fortune to have her islands of Mytilene, Tenedos, Lemnos, etc. placed on the right road by means of a “temporary occupation”, without loss of Greek life.

In that she has been far luckier than Germany up to date, and the Italian ally will surely witness, ere the war is much older, a similar happy exit of his Dodekanos group.

There remain then, as the only barriers to peace, approximately the following islands that are still at large:-

France: Madagascar, Mohé, Corsica, Oléron and the Brittany coast islands, St. Pierre, Miquelon, etc.

Russia: The Northern half of Saghalien, which would naturally carry with it the Southern, or Japanese portion.

The islands in the White Sea;

The islands in the Baltic Sea;

The Crimea. (The Crimea is not quite an island, but so almost an island, that for family reasons it is felt it must be held to belong to the category)

Italy: Sardinia, Sicily, Lipari Group, Elba, etc.

and Rhodes and the lately annexed Turkish islands.

With the failure of the British “May offensive” on the West front and the probable early abandonment of the mistaken operation against Gallipoli (how absurd to attack a *peninsula!*) we may hope to see the full resources of the British Empire concentrated on the proper task in hand.

The world is sighing for peace. Why should it be delayed when so small a thing as the restoration of an island or two to rightful ownership and useful occupation can give it to mankind?

Let all those who are sincerely desirous of the welfare of humanity point out to the Russian, French and Italian governments their duty in the matter. President Wilson might well accelerate by a process of peaceful persuasion the inevitable period of peaceful penetration whereby the appeased digestion of Great Britain shall restore quiet to the Earth and every island to its native flag.

23.

No. 1165, Vol. XXII, No. 23 The Continental Times 23 August 1915

Secrets Of British Diplomacy

An Open Letter to the Open-Minded

By John Quincy Emerson, L. L. D. (Amsterdam)

The anti-American activities of the English press as now displayed recall to me, an old man, the very different methods of the enemies of America when I was young. Then there was no concealment of the passion of hatred, contempt and ill-will that inspired all classes of the English community against the people of the United States and every phase of American life—a passion that naturally found expression in the columns of the London press.

Sneers, gibes and even threats at the despised “Yankee” were then the order of the day.

How things have changed in the last thirty or forty years—*Eheu fugaces!* Today the same spirit of ill-will against our country charges the British mind, but today it cannot openly be discharged against us. It is only in secret, over the walnuts and the wine, that the true Britisher reveals himself towards all things American. In his morning paper he will read with a polished smile the daily references to “our common ideals”, “ties of kinship”, and the unfailing tag about the Motherland’s admiring “regard for her lusty offspring”, etc.

He knows quite well that these things are not true and that the writer of the article knows them to be untrue; but they are things that have to be said, and said repeatedly, since to-day America has 90,000,000 of people and represents the wealthiest and in natural resources the most powerful community in the world.

Such a country, such wealth, such resources must, at all costs, be “kept in the family”; and since by himself the Briton is quite incapable of facing the German on any field of fair fight, it becomes for him, yearly, a matter of greater moment to hoodwink a very gullible people into the belief that an American is only a transplanted Britisher, having at bottom a common origin of language, history and religion, and inspired by the same high love of liberty that characterizes the Englishman—on paper.

This attitude, forced on England by fear of the German, has for many years been actively developed by secret direction from the inner circles which govern all things English and control with an absolute hand the policy and press of the supposedly “freest democracy on Earth”, in a manner that Germany can only gaze at afar off in boyish and perplexed wonder as to how the thing is done.

The latest pose of this secular anti-American attitude is to assume a warm regard for, a sort of fatherly protectorate over "American neutrality".

Since there are still, happily, a good many Americans who are not fools and are not deceived by English published expressions of affection and esteem for their country it is necessary that this class of American should be attacked and, as far as may be, muzzled, intimidated or suppressed. The way to do it is to represent him as "anti-American", as a "hyphenated American", as something, in fine, that diverges from the true, native born Anglo-Saxon variety—the sole custodian of American faith and morals. Accordingly some individual of this fearless, outspoken class of American society that still survives, who is not afraid to speak his mind and utter the truth is singled out for press attack.

Inspired assaults will be made in the columns of some leading paper, and the impression sedulously spread abroad that this particular type, or personage, is actuated by anti-patriotic or personal motives and that all "thoughtful" Americans are pained at the necessity England is under of drawing attention to something that detracts from the otherwise irreproachable standards of honour that characterize the American attitude towards foreign affairs in general and the present war for the freedom of mankind and the future of humanity in particular.

Quite recently I have read in one of these English journals which derive their inspiration from the British Government a series of attacks on an American Consular officer who is represented as having made some "unneutral" remarks reflecting on the English press, and whose attitude is held up to public reprobation as a departure from the accepted standards of incapacity that should regulate the conduct of our public service.

The *Morning Post*, the particular journal referred to, has no call to say what an American officer shall or shall not say; but since American liberty and freedom of speech are things hateful to the English mind, the way to assail these objectionable survivals of republican simplicity is to represent them as "anti-American" and as something that calls for explanation on the part of our Government.

Now, as an American citizen I cannot see what business it is of the *Morning Post* or any other English journal to draw attention to what we Americans or our public officers may say or do; but since these English journals find it their duty to lecture our officials on their public conduct I shall presume, for once, on our "common origin" to make some pertinent remarks, quite "within the family" on the conduct of a few British officials with whom I am acquainted.

Like the *Morning Post* I shall deal with the diplomatic service and will address myself, as it does, to the Department that controls that service. Before the Foreign Office in London draws attention through its inspired

channels to the way American Ministers or Consuls discharge their public duties, may I ask that Department what steps they have taken to investigate the conduct at their respective Legations, of Messrs. M. de C. Findlay and H. Bax Ironside, among a few others? I know something about both gentlemen and their public activities.

I have been in Christiania within the last few months and I was there the night the Norwegian press published the extraordinary charge contained in the open letter Sir Roger Casement addressed to Sir Edward Grey on February 18th last, recounting the successive steps of intrigue, subornment and criminal conspiracy whereby the British Minister in Norway sought to tempt the Norwegian follower of Sir Roger to commit an indescribably atrocious act against his employer. At first, like most people I met, I would not believe the story—it seemed incredible. But at least, I said, it will be investigated and answered. The British government cannot lie down under such a charge, so publicly made and communicated to the Norwegian government as well as to the governments of many other countries.

As days went by and no attempt at denial appeared I began to reconsider my first impression. In this I found I was not alone. A Norwegian official of high rank told me he had seen the papers and the proofs Sir Roger Casement was prepared to submit to the Norwegian government and that they left no doubt in his mind that "a crime that calls to heaven"—such where his words—had been committed by the representative of His Britannic Majesty at the Norwegian Court.

And from that day to this no effort has been made by the Government of His Britannic Majesty to clear the character of the Minister of England so scandalously assailed. Sir Roger Casement challenged the most open investigation of the charge he brought. He offered to go to Norway and submit himself and the proofs of the crime to the jurisdiction of the Norwegian Courts; but both King George V, his Minister of Foreign Affairs and his representative, so directly accused, feared to meet the charge in open court. They took refuge in press attacks on the man they recoiled from facing before the tribunals of the country whose public law and whose neutrality they had so gravely assailed. Stay—they did one thing more. They removed the lock of the back door of the British Legation at Christiania.

The key of this door, it seems Mr. Findlay had given to Sir Roger's servant so that the Minister and the supposedly bribed man might meet in secret and plot together how the latter's employer could be waylaid, entrapped or kidnapped. This great government put pressure on the weak Norwegian government to compel that defenceless country to submit to the outrage in silence; and they took further steps to silence the Norwegian press, so that fitting comment should not appear. What "explanation" they offered to the American government, whose neutrality was also to some extent involved,

since part of the British Minister's programme was to dump the criminal he was trying to make on to American soil by "a free passage to the United States" I have not yet heard. But I shall hear.

And this is only the outline of the story; there are other details more shameful still that came to my knowledge while I investigated the matter in Christiania.

If Sir Roger Casement should survive the attacks still planned against him by the Downing Street authorities, I am convinced he will give the British Minister at Christiania and his employers a very cheerful quarter of an hour when this war is over and he is again free to travel without fear of the gangs of spies and bravos who today so fittingly represent the government of England in most of our neutral countries. Meantime I commend this case of Mr. M. de C. Findlay to the *Morning Post*, the *Times* and the other London journals which profess to be perturbed at the "unneutral" attitude of some American diplomats.

Before they venture again into print on the shortcomings of our foreign service, would it not be as well to put their own house in order and to find out why England is still represented abroad by a Minister against whom the most disgraceful official charge ever preferred in the annals of diplomacy has been brought and has not been met?

The case of Bax Ironside differs from that of Findlay. Findlay appears (so far, at least) to be charged only with *laches* in his public capacity as a Minister, whereas Bax Ironside is accused of both public and private acts of dishonour. I know nothing of the charges recently appearing in the press as to his alleged complicity in the attempt said to have been planned against the life of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria—an attempt by the way, inspired by the fact that the Bulgarian sovereign desired his country to remain neutral.

Neutrality when strict and faithfully maintained becomes an offence to England. The only "neutrality" she will recognise is that which can be converted into a weapon of assault upon her adversaries. Those like the Greeks, Bulgarians or honest Americans who cannot be suborned, cajoled or bullied into active support of England, are found to be wanting in the "spirit of neutrality" and become liable to secret assault—whether by hired bravo or hired pen depends on the needs of the case.

But while I am ignorant of how far the British minister, Bax Ironside, went with the would-be assassins of a neutral sovereign in Sofia, I am not ignorant of the way in which the Englishman, Bax Ironside, tried in Santiago de Chile to defraud a friend.

This story as related in a recent issue of the *Continental Times* by "an American woman" of how this particular British minister gave a worthless cheque to a man with whom he had been playing cards and to whom he had lost £300 is well-known in Chile.

There is, I think, only one point wherein the version as I know it in the Chilean capital differed from that now related by your fair correspondent. It was the governing body of the English Club in Santiago that drew the attention of the Foreign Office to the manner in which Mr. Bax Ironside had escaped from his obligations of honour by an act that would be held to disqualify a shoe shiner from membership of a "Black Hand" club in the Bowery. And the reply of Sir E. Grey's Department was to promote the absconding card defaulter to a higher post in the British diplomatic service!

The explanation later given in Chilean society was—I know not how truly—that Mr Bax Ironside was "a grandson of George IV" and, as such, enjoyed special favour at the English Court and equally inherited special failings that could not be too closely or severely inspected while the grand-nephew of that monarch sat on the English throne.

The late King Edward VII, as is well known, himself enjoyed a game of cards and was not particular at what club he played it or with whom, provided his opponent had a well-filled purse.

That Mr. Bax Ironside enjoyed some favour at Court is not improbable, whatever his collateral relationship may have been; but no reason of this kind can be assigned for the attitude of the Foreign Office towards Mr. Findlay.

Mr. Findlay is of undoubtedly Scotch ancestry, as his name implies, and the prolonged bargainings he maintained with Sir Roger Casement's follower clearly show. An Englishman *pur sang* would have paid the man his money down and not haggled over the price. Mr. Findlay with true Scotch thrift, preferred to venture "a scrap of paper" to risking the *baw-bees*. It remains, assuredly, one of the cases in history where discretion was not the better part of valour. The British Government today would gladly give the £10,000 Mr. Findlay once promised Sir Roger's man to get back the very disconcerting "guarantee" their minister handed him instead of the non-incriminating gold.

These are but a few of the episodes of modern British diplomacy with which I have some passing acquaintance, due less to my virtues, I fear, than to my feelings.

In the course of a lengthy life I have travelled much and had occasion to mix in every varied society. I have visited courts—and at times dwelt in courts. Looking back on the acquaintances made in both localities, I incline to give the verdict to the courts. For Messrs. Findlay and Bax Ironside are not the only British courtiers I have met.

Should the *Morning Post* be tempted to further excursions into fields of American diplomacy and feel it incumbent on the best traditions of British journalism to expose the "indiscretions" of our foreign representatives I shall feel myself impelled to record much more fully some reminiscences of the time when I, too, mixed with sovereigns and knew how a diplomat should behave—and so often observed how he did not behave.

May I, before closing this long letter thank you for giving us that excellent letter on *British Militarism* by C. H. Norman.

In reading therein the passage from Wilfred Blunt's "Atrocities of British Rule in Egypt" dealing with the Denohawi infamies (directly authorized by Sir E. Grey who justified these proceedings on the ground that he was compelled to "strike terror"). I am reminded that Mr. Findlay, at that time attached to the British Consulate General in Cairo, took part in these floggings and hangings of the terrorized Egyptian villagers, and was promoted shortly afterwards to be Minister Resident in Dresden. Mr. Winston Churchill, in the extract from "The River War" quoted by Mr. Norman, does not do full justice to the incident he records of the desecration of the Mahdi's tomb and the digging up and dismembering of the body of the Mussulman Saint.

Not only was the head severed from the body, and the limbs and trunk thrown into the Nile as he states, but the British officers who directed the sacrilege under Lord Kitchener's orders, carried away with them as "souvenirs" the finger nails of the corpse and hung these mementoes of one of the most brilliant achievements of British military history on to their watch chains.

For once I agree with the Right Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill, altho' his criticism of this action has been expunged from the "popular" editions of his work — "Such was the chivalry of the conquerors!"

With your permission, Mr. Editor, I shall return to the theme of English chivalry in a subsequent letter.

Today I am sure you must feel I have written enough—and probably the *Morning Post* will share your view.

24.

No. 1171. Vol. XXII. No. 29 The Continental Times September 6, 1915

The Sick Man. A Fable that Cost Dear. By X. of X.

Once upon a time there was a Sickman.

And his friends gathered round and said: "Be kind enough to give us the Key of your House so that we may come in and help you."

But the Sickman replied:— "It is true I have been ill and ye have all prescribed for me, and I see verily that in the multitude of doctors is much illness and heavy charges. Now, be it known to you, dear Friends, that I have

chosen a Doctor, whose medicine is strength, and that the Key of my House I keep in mine own hands.

"God be with you, dear Friends, and requite you as you deserve."

And with one accord the friends of the Sickman fell to cursing together and the Chief among them said: "He hath dug his Grave with his own hands."

And they spoke bitterly to each other and said, "Come, let us take the Key of the House from this Son of Belial and cast him out utterly, so that we may enter in and take possession, for it is not right that a Sickman should choose his own Doctor."

And it was agreed that two of the friends should attack the house by the front door, and another friend, whom they could see but afar off, by reason that the Sickman's house and garden stood between them, should assail it by the back door.

And at the Noise of their attack the Sickman rose from his bed and first he locked the front door and the back door, and then with the medicine of strength his Doctor had given him he proceeded to defend his house and garden.

And he took the Shovel, wherewith the Friends desired that he should dig his grave, whereon were many strange names engraved, and he dug with it many trenches and *Schiitzengraben*, like unto graves and said:

"But who filleth them, Dear Friends, let him that liveth tell."

And after the Friends had attacked the Front Door by Night and by Day and with much Noise, for the space of six months, and by Reason of their attacks and the violence thereof their heads and their hands were much bloodied and their strength greatly diminished, whereby their resentment against the Sickman was augmented beyond all endurance, they cried aloud, and said: "Since we do this thing for the sake of others, nay, for the very cause of humanity itself and so that the Small Nations may live, it is but right that others should Help us."

So they cried together with a loud Voice: "Come over and Help us O! Ye Small Nations, lest this Son of Satan get the better of Us, who do but seek the welfare of Mankind, and so ye and your Cause be lost for evermore."

Now the Small Nations walked delicately, each in his appointed path, and when they heard the Cry of the Friends they replied not by reason that the tongue was in the Other cheek, and each, passing over on to the other side gathered his robe discreetly, so that the Dust and the Blood and the Dirt of the Conflict should not soil his garment.

And when the Friends saw this they were exceeding wroth and laid hands on all that was within reach and said: "verily, since ye will not attack the Sickman who, in truth hath dug his grave with his own hands, now shall ye lose *This* and *This* and *that*", and they seized hold of many things the Small Nations treasured greatly.

And when the Small Nations saw that their own goods were like to all disappear and that the two friends were heavy-laden, they took Counsel together and said:

"Verily such friendship costeth dear, and we have not means to support it. Now the Sickman we know of old but who are these that we should bear these things in peace?"

"Go to", they said, "see ye not that they are heavy-laden", and with that, with one accord, they took up Stones and Things and threw them at the friends from behind, while the Sickman, opening the Door, came out and smote them in front, so that there was neither going forward nor going backward nor yet staying. And the two Friends, lying down in the Trenches and the Schützengraben that the Sickman had dug with his own hands, fell asleep.

And when the Sickman saw what had befallen the two friends he gazed sadly on the shovel whereon the many strange names were engraven and said:

"Lo! They have Dug their Grave with their own Hands!"

"Let it be called Achibaba."

[Achibaba was the main position of the Ottoman Turkish defences in 1915.]

25.

No. 1173, Vol. XXII, No. 31 The Continental Times September 10, 1915

The Three Friends.

Or a Fable that Cost Dear.

By *X. of X.*

Once upon a Time there were Two Friends. And they said: "It is a great Pity we are not Three, for Three's Company, Two's none."

"Humph!" said an Old Woman who was passing with a Basket of Stale Proverbs on her back, "I heard that put differently when I was young."

"When you were young, Ma'am", they said with a smile, "people were foolish enough to speak the truth", and they folded their Hands and looked about them.

"Humph!" said the Old Woman, as she went on her way.

Presently they espied a Stout Man leading an indifferent life.

And as he drew near they said: "What tact!"

"Clearly the People I've wanted to meet this long time", he said. "How d'ye do?"

And they embraced and the Stout Man said: "Let's make an Entente Cordiale of it."

So they went to a place where men went to Reval and had an Entente Cordiale. "Now that we are a Company", they said, "we ought to be Registered." So they drew up an Agreement and put their Names to it, "not for publication, but as a Guarantee of Good Faith", said the Fat Man. And they said, "What tact!"

And then they had another Entente Cordiale. "I think", said the New Found Friend, "this is jolly and I'd like to see Nephew's face when he knows what Uncle has done."

And as they walked along they saw a Gentleman who was pretending to be an Organ Grinder.

"What a Pity!" they said. "We must do something for that poor Gentleman." So they went up to him and put a Penny in the Slot and he said: "Corpo di Bacco! But the weather is Cold."

"It is that", they remarked with one accord; "you should wear a Kummerbund—like Us."

"Yes, yes, indeed", said the Gentleman, "but, alas, I am too poor."

"Oh! Pray don't let that trouble you", said the Fat Man—"I have several at home", and he wound his Kummerbund round the Poor Gentleman's waist, and the purse was in it, and then they were Four.

"Now", they said, "it is Time to see what William is doing." So they walked along until they heard a loud Explosion. "Probably", said the Fat Man's Son, "that's the Archduke. Let us run."

So they ran until they met little Peter and little Albert who said, "Oh! Dear Friends, come and Help us, for there are two Robbers in that Wood looking for the Archduke, and we haven't the least idea where he is."

"What a Shame", remarked the Fat Man's Son, "to frighten the Children so. Really, we must do Something. Let us look into this." So they looked into it and when they saw the two Robbers, they said, "Oh! What a d—d disinheriting countenance! Of Course they've robbed the poor children."

So they cried out to all the Passersby and said:

"Oh! Such bad men hiding in that Wood over there, and see how they've treated these poor Children!"

And the Gentleman who was pretending to be an Organ Grinder said, "Who goes slowly goes far—I'm coming in later." And the Three Friends said:

"Certainly, dear Friend, we'll go in and see, and when we Call, you Come." And so they took the Children by the Hand and went into the Wood.

As they went on it got very Dark, and they kept calling out to let each know where the other was, but the more they called the further they got away from each other.

And presently one of the Two Friends, who was very Tall and had long Legs, began to Run, and the more he Ran the longer his Legs grew.

"Where are you going to?" they called out, for although they could not see Him, they could hear by the Noise that he was running away through the Wood. "I am going to look for the two Robbers", he called back, "and when I find them I will come back."

So they said: "It is about time the Poor Gentleman with the Organ came here, and they called out –

"Oh! Do Come in here; it is just Beautiful. Such a lovely place! And such Lots of nice things, Shells and All Sorts of Curiosities. We Never saw Anything like it."

And the Poor Gentleman who was trying to look like an Organ Grinder called back:

"Alas! Dear Friends, I have no Money to pay for the journey. What will you give Me if I Come in?"

So they took out their Purses and they counted and said, "We will give you all your Expenses and more and here is something to go on with, and please bring the Organ with you, because we are getting hoarse."

So the Poor Gentleman took his Organ and came in, but he had not gone far before they heard the Organ stop.

"Where are you?" they called, "We can't hear you now and it's getting darker." And the poor Gentleman called back very faintly:

"Alas! Dear Friends, I have fallen into a Gorz bush and can't get out and the spikes are very full and many." And they said, "Where is Peter? He had the Bulgarian Milk and we are so thirsty", and they began Calling for him. "And Albert", they cried. "Surely he too can't be lost. We haven't heard from him for a long time." So they started calling "Peter!" and "Albert!" And their voices sounded very strange, and the strangest thing of all was that the Echo replied in an entirely different language. For as they called "Peter" the Echo said "Nick!" and as they called "Albert" it answered "Olai!"

"This is getting stranger and stranger", said the Fat Man's Son, "I was never in such an embarrassing Situation in my Life. I wonder where Uncle Sam is?" And then far away he heard a voice say: "I guess Blood may be thicker than Water, but there's such a darned lot of Water between us and so Many darned things in it I reckon I'll not be over this Fall."

And all this time nobody had seen the Two Robbers!

"There's that Sickman we used to know; surely he lives somewhere near and might know a way out of the Wood. Hadn't we better call upon Him?"

So the two Friends tied themselves together with the Fat Man's last remaining Kummerbund and they set out to find the Sickman's House.

And they knocked at the Door and said: "We know you will excuse us, but we've lost a Friend with Long Legs who must have passed this way. Did

you, by any chance, see him?"

"No", said the Sickman, "but I heard him. He's gone that way, but I'm afraid you can't overtake him, for he was travelling fast."

"That is true", they said. "We move very slowly—it's so much safer!"

"It looks like it", said the Sickman, "you've been a long time coming here."

"Yes", they said, "and Now that we are Here we should be so very glad if you could show us the way out."

"Inshallah!" said the Sickman, "it's like This. No matter how many you may Come in, you can only get out one by one."

"Oh!" they said, "that's why he Ran away! How mean of him!"

"No", said the Sickman, "he went to find the Two Robbers, and if you want to get out of the Wood you'll have to do the same. They've got the Key, and while Anyone can Come in, no one can Get Out without their Leave."

"Oh!" said the Two Friends, "it's like that, is it? How strange that the Grey Man never told us. He said it was as Easy to Come in as to Stay out."

And just then the Two Robbers came up Arm in Arm.

"Who are they?" they asked.

"Two Gentlemen looking for you", said the Sickman kindly.

And the Fat Man's Son who had been looking at the Two Robbers very attentively said:

"Oh! William, I knew it was You all the Time! Thank God we have found you at last."

And the Old Woman was walking in the Wood that afternoon with her Basket of Stale Proverbs, looking for One she had lost.

"It was here I last saw it", she said, as she came up to a Big Tree. And she saw Two men sitting under the Tree and as she came near she saw it was the Two Robbers.

"Why, there has been a great deal of Noise in the Wood this afternoon", she said, "I never remember to have heard it so noisy. And it was full of people too. There were Three Gentlemen here?" she asked.

"There were", said the Two Robbers.

"And little Albert and Peter?" she asked.

"They were", replied the Two Robbers.

"And a Gentleman pretending to be an Organ Grinder?" She asked.

"He was", replied the Two Robbers.

"And the Sickman?" she asked.

"He is", answered the Two Robbers. And she saw the Sickman smoking at the other side of the Tree.

"Deary, dear", said the Old Woman, "I wonder where all the Strange gentlemen and little Albert and Peter have gone."

But the Two Robbers said Nothing and the Sickman had his Pipe in his Mouth.

And the Old Woman walked round looking for her lost Proverb and she stumbled over a grave and saw written over it:

“What tact!”

“No, that wasn’t it”, she said, “it went differently, and oh! deary me, I can’t abear to lose one of my Proverbs.”

And just then she looked up and saw the Two Robbers smiling at her good-naturedly and there it was in *their* hands all the time.

“Well, well”, she said, as she put the Stale proverb back in her Basket, “if those poor, dear Gentlemen I met this morning had only Abided by it, how much better it Would have been for them.”

26.

The Grey Man. A Fable that cost Dear.

By X of X.

Once upon a time, long, long ago man there was a Grey Man and he lived on an Island all by himself. In the Summer he fished and when the Berries came he ate under the Roseberry and dreamed.

Now one day Roseberry caught Cold Feet and could not sleep. So the Roseberry faded Away and the Grey Man went out into the Wilderness and waited. And presently the Bannerman came along and the Grey Man said: “Not under that Flag if I can help it;” for he knew what the Roseberry whispered when It caught Cold Feet.

But the Bannerman held his Flag high and the People marched under it, and when the Grey Man saw there was no other Way he went under the Flag of the Bannerman. And so he Came into the Strange Place, where they talked in a Language he did not understand, but when they saw the Fishing Rod they understood him.

And so he sat down in the Strange Place, where the Language and everything was Foreign, and they said “You are the Right man in the Right place.”

And when the Grey Man tried to learn the Language of the Strange Place they said:

“Better not: you are much more Useful as you are, and we can give you a New Rod with which you will catch Ever so much bigger Fish.”

So they gave him a nice new Fishing Rod and the Fat Man was looking on and smiling. And when He saw the way the Grey Man took the Rod he said “He’ll land the Fish after all!”

So they went on talking together in the Language the Grey Man did not

understand and they said many Funny Things to each other.

And then they came to the Grey Man and said:

“You see it’s like this. There is a great big Fish out there, a cross between a Hunny Fish and a Barbaril, and we’re after it, but we don’t want Anyone to Know. Now you go on fishing and take this bottle of Cordial to keep you Warm, and when Anyone asks you what you are at just to say that you have no Engagements, that you are Keeping in Touch and that your Hands are quite free.”

So the Grey Man thanked them Warmly for the Rod and the Cordial and his Nose went on talking after the rest of the Face had relapsed into silence.

And just then he got a Bite and he called out “I’ve got it!” But when they saw what he had got, they said “Oh! no; that’s the Algeciras Fish; we want it for Bait. Put it back Please.” So the Grey Man went on Fishing and presently he got another Bite and he cried “Here he is!”

But when they saw what it was they said:

“No, no, that’s the Agadir Fish and he won’t come for That. Please put it back.”

So he went on fishing, and all the time the Nose was talking to itself, and although he got many Strange Fish to bite, from the Black Sea and the Middle Sea and the Yellow Sea and the White Sea, the Hunny Fish never Came Up. And just then a Sturgeon from the Don came up and said,

“You’ll never catch Him that way. Try Dynamite.”

So they took a lump of Dynamite and threw it in, and sure enough Up came the Hunny Fish, showing all His Teeth—but he wasn’t dead.

“Quick” they cried, “Now we’ve got him, before He recovers. Where’s the Landing Net?”

So the Grey Man Took the Landing Net and they all Helped and pulled and pulled for they Knew the Hunny Fish must be inside. And when they got the Net to shore, there was a big Hole in it and no Hunny Fish, but a whole lot of Dead Fish worth nothing.

“Why”, they said, “there’s the Belgian Mackerel, and the French Sardine, and Oh! dear, dear, there’s the Sturgeon of the Don and such a Hole in the Net!”

“What shall I do now?” asked the Grey Man, “the Rod’s broken and the Net’s torn and these Fish are not much good Now.”

“There’s only one way to catch Him now” they said, “you must try a Pitchfork”.

“But I’m a Fisherman” said the Grey Man.

“Well, call it a Trident” they said, “But it’s really a Pitchfork. You’ve got to get Somebody Else into the Water after Him, and that’s where the Pitchfork comes in. Now if you can get Uncle Sam and Konstantine and Ferdinand and Young Ferdinand, all together into the Water, they’ll be able to Land Him,

because he must have been Hurt although he did get through the Net."

So the Grey Man sent his Boy, Billy, to Uncle Sam and Konstantine and all the Others to tell them to get into the Water after the Hunny Fish.

And Uncle Sam said:

"I can't swim, but I'll lend you my Bathing Drawers".

And Konstantine said:

"You have my best Wishes for Your Safety but I never bathe in Autumn".

And Ferdinand said:

"Thanks for the Pitchfork, but I prefer a Life Belt."

And Young Ferdinand said:

"Gute Besserung, but I prefer Bessarabia."

So the Grey Man said "What shall I do Now?"

And they All said with one accord—

"Get Out!"

And when the Roseberry heard what had happened to the Grey Man It said—"He would have done far less Harm if he had stayed with me in the Wilderness. I caught my Cold Feet in good Time!"

[Unpublished and Undated. The National Library of Ireland MSS. 13084/10 has a red pencil marking on this item: "Censor does not allow publication CW." This is most likely a note by Clotilde White, the owner and a "responsible editor" of the *Continental Times* and the censor may well have been the German Foreign Ministry. These fables may have been regarded as in-house humour of the British Foreign Office.]

27.

No. 1174. Vol. XXII. No. 32 The Continental Times September 13, 1915

The Thugs of Diplomacy.

Revelations by an American Scholar.

Another Open Letter to the Open-minded.

Copenhagen, September 1st, 1915

To the Editor of *The Continental Times*.

Sir;

Since I last wrote you I have made much further inquiry into the *affaire Findlay*. Following Sir Roger Casement's letter to Sir. E. Grey of February last, in which he charged the British Government with a most disreputable

intrigue with his servant man conducted through the British Minister in Christiania, it appears he communicated copies of the correspondence to the Foreign Ministers of many Neutral States—among others to our own Secretary of State at Washington. Not content with this he then telegraphed to the Norwegian Government from Hamburg, and to Mr. Findlay himself, repeating his already expressed wish to submit the matter to impartial investigation in Norway. The telegram to Mr. Findlay, a copy of which I have seen in Norway, left nothing to be desired on the score of frankness. Sir Roger charged the British Minister with attempting

"to procure my death or capture by treachery, and that you thus conspired with the Norwegian subject, my dependent, Adler Christensen, whom you sought to bribe and corrupt to commit an act of utmost baseness and to violate the laws of his country."

Sir Roger ended his telegram to the British Minister with this straightforward challenge: "I desire to submit all proofs and myself personally to the jurisdiction of the Norwegian courts if you will do the same".

This was the last thing that Mr. Findlay could do. Neither he nor the Norwegian Government accepted Sir Roger's offer. *Cela va sans dire*.

That the Norwegian Government should have wished to "keep out of it" was natural enough when we view the very delicate situation in which Norway finds herself—between the Devil and the Deep sea. The British Government has it in its power to ruin the foreign trade of Norway and to reduce the whole population to a practical state of starvation.

This sea-power they are prepared to exercise and do exercise ruthlessly against any State that may dare to assert its neutral rights to the detriment of the British claim to "work her will upon her adversary".

As Mr. Asquith put it "we are not going to be bound by any judicial niceties" in the criminal plan to overcome German manhood by a scheme of general starvation of the German people—just as the Boers England could not beat in the field were forced in the end to surrender to save their women and children.

Thus the powerless Norwegian Government was compelled by *force majeure* to accept the insult to their integrity offered by the British Government and to shut their eyes to the scandalous action of the British Minister and their ears to the appeal of Sir Roger Casement.

But what are we to think of the sense of "honor", of the regard for "pluck" of the Great Government of England, when it shirked so open a challenge, brought in the most direct manner by one lonely man who offered to place himself in a position of great danger if only assured he would receive a fair hearing?

Unwilling to face Sir Roger Casement in the courts of Norway, the British

Government ran away, and, Parthian-like discharged their arrows as they fled. They invoked the aid of the suborned and servile New York press to assail the man they dared not meet in open fight. Immediately on receipt by Sir Edward Grey of Sir Roger Casement's letter of February 1st, the London correspondents of the reptile press of New England were directed to circulate defamatory libels against the man the British government dared not face in a Court of justice. The cable was kept busy with bogus "advices" and faked despatches "received from Berlin" by these special liars in attendance on Sir Edward Grey, and duly transmitted to the American public as "news received from Germany". Sir Roger was represented as having received sums of money from the German government to "stir up a revolt in Ireland"; as having "sold himself to Germany" and being unable to deliver the goods, as being now "in hiding" in Germany. No one knew better than Sir E. Grey how false these statements were; but the lie was as necessary to meet Sir Roger's open attack as to meet the charge of the German infantry.

Hitherto the British Government was held to be, even by its opponents, an honorable government served by gentlemen. This claim can no longer be admitted. To-day the British Government takes moral and social rank with its allies, Servia and Russia.

Even Italy would not retain a Findlay in its service.

To those not intimately acquainted, as I have made myself, with the *affaire Findlay*, it is incredible that a Great Government, even if its chiefs were men of little truth or honor, should lie down in official silence, under such a charge so openly brought against it. People still say there *must* be an answer and that it will be given. Let me say here and now there is no answer that the British government dare give openly, and none will be attempted. They know the facts only too well. They know the guilt of their agent at Christiania; they know the instructions they transmitted to him and the action they authorized him to take—and they are afraid that they are not alone in this secret knowledge!

They say to themselves—and with reason—that if they had means to tamper with correspondence in neutral post offices, others possibly enjoyed similar access—and even a secret code is not always inviolable.

If they could purchase neutral citizens to violate the laws of their country, or do things that are best kept out of sight, might not others exercise a similar "diplomacy"?

There is the man Erichsen for instance: not to speak of "Sigvald" and a score more, all Norwegians and all involved in the plot against Sir Roger Casement—to say nothing of the little Danish vessel the 'Mjolnir' they "captured" and took into Lerwick.

Alas, Mr. Hammond was not on board! And then there is that very stupid letter Sir Arthur Nicholson addressed from the Foreign Office on October

26th last, to Sir Roger Casement by direction of Sir Edward Grey. *Quelle bêtise!*

To write in such terms to the man whom, three days later, on October 29th, Sir Edward Grey's agent at Christiania was trying to have "knocked on the head" by a servant man, with the assurance that no one would ever know anything about the "disappearance of the gentleman down at the Grand Hotel" because he was there "under an assumed name!"

How much they must wish now they had not written that last letter to Sir Roger! (I am driven to these continuous notes of exclamation, Mr. Editor, by the humor of the thing)

People who have read thus far will begin to agree with me that the British government will never attempt any voluntary reply to Sir Roger Casement's charge. Like the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, they will "take it lying down."

To be a good diplomat you must look before you leap, and neither Sir Edward Grey, his Permanent Under-Secretary of State nor the egregious Mr. Findlay looked at all before they leaped. That is the explanation.

Just as a Zulu warrior, rushing in to fight "sees red", they "saw Green." That an Irish nationalist should dare to defy the might of Britain was too much for their judgement and self-restraint.

They landed themselves and their country in one of the most unsavoury episodes that, I suppose, ever damned the erring footsteps of a diplomacy that having embarked on national conspiracy on a big scale against a neighbor nation found itself compelled to descend to petty conspiracy and crime against individuals in order to carry the business through.

For the *Entente Cordiale* is only another name for Criminal Conspiracy.

Having put their hands to that Plough, the Conspirators found the furrow getting deeper and deeper and the Plough dirtier and dirtier until it has ended in the Dismal Swamp of today.

What a policy—what principals—what an end!

The *affaire Findlay* is an instance of that "English chivalry" I promised to deal with in my former letter. I touch on it here today (I have much more to say in good season) as an up-to-date example of the secret code of ethics that regulates the public conduct of those having charge of English State affairs. The motto is: not what ye shall *not* do, but that ye shall not be found out.

In the Norwegian case the British Government has been found out and largely through the stupidity and bungling of their agent on the spot—beaten at his own game by a Norwegian sailor boy.

For every one who has met Mr. Findlay knows him to be a stupid man in mind and a base man at heart.

Of course he is "a charming man"—they all are. English diplomats are "charming men"—like the late Sir Constantine Phipps, or the present Sir

William Tyrrell, say—who, by the way—plays a singular role in the inner history of the Findlay affair.

But the charm of these gentlemen never affects their determination to push British interests at all costs, whether the means involve the “disappearance” of some obnoxious personage or the mere flogging and killing of an Egyptian peasant.

We need only go to the Denshawi case to discover the true Mr. Findlay and the true British Government—with the “charm” off.

And there, too, in that brutal crime we shall find the explanation of the stupid brutality at Christiania.

The same man presided over both incidents, moved by the same instructions.

The crime against the Egyptian *fellaheen*, directed by Mr. Findlay and authorized by Sir Edward Grey, (or shall we say Sir William Tyrrell) becomes at once explicable when we view it in the light of the later attempt at Christiania, and itself is the explanation of how the same principals did not hesitate to employ against the Irish Nationalist the same methods they had employed against the humble Egyptian peasants.

Mr. Bernard Shaw has dealt with that disgraceful episode in his preface to “John Bull’s other Island”. He little knew that the same individual he then lashed with the scorn of his pen would be employed eight years later in attempting to waylay and make off with a distinguished compatriot of Mr. Shaw’s and one whose only crime was that he preferred the “other Island” to John Bull’s pay, pension and honors. The details of the attack on the British officers by the villagers of Denshawi are well-known. I need not go into them. The attack was wholly unpremeditated, wantonly provoked and richly deserved by these “officers and gentlemen”.

But Sir Edward Grey and Lord Cromer determined to “strike terror”. And they did. Four of the villagers were hanged, two were sentenced to penal servitude for life, one to 15 years’ penal servitude, six to seven years’ penal servitude, three to prison for a year with hard labor and fifty lashes, and five to fifty lashes.

But this is only an outline of the shambles. *The hanged men were first flogged*; and the relations of all the executed and flogged men and lads were forced in from the surrounding countryside and compelled to witness, with a ring of British bayonets round them, the laceration, mutilation and death agonies of their fathers, brothers and husbands.

“Such was the chivalry of the conquerors!” And the presiding hangman, Mr. M. de C. Findlay, wrote officially to the Foreign Office of this day’s work—*“The Egyptian, being a fatalist, does not greatly fear death and there is, therefore, much to be said for flogging as a judicial punishment in Egypt.”*

There is, also, much to be said for flogging as an extra-judicial punishment in Norway!

Some few years ago English officers used to flog each other—across the dinner-table after mess. It was held as a necessary part of the discipline required to produce “an officer and a gentleman”, and a considerable outcry was raised when public discussion turned on this time-honored custom and it had to be given up.

But flogging could be introduced in British diplomacy with great benefit to the peace of the world.

I trust that the first witness to the civilizing influence of the lash may be the gentleman who applied it with vicarious vigour to the bared backs of the Egyptian peasantry, and that the strong hands to administer the tonic may be those of Sir Roger Casement and his Irish friends.

What a case of poetic justice that would be, could a “special court” of Irish Nationalists try the sedentary occupants of the Foreign Office and the sitting members of the “Home Rule” government and apply to their persons, with a special eye to the right quarter on which to lay it, the merciless logic of the lash!

I hope when the Huns get to London they will bear this hint in mind and give the Irish the chance of their lives.

My next letter will be from Norway, by special messenger.

Respectfully

(Signed) **John Quincy Emerson**, L.L.D.

28.

No. 1179. Vol. XXII, No. 37 The Continental Times September 24, 1915

Tracking A Petty Borgia.

Some Contrasts In Our Neutrality.

Dr. J. Quincy Emerson On Dr. Dumba and Mr. Findlay.

Another Open Letter to the Open-minded.

Gotenburg, 14 September 1915.

Sir, I see that the *Times* is greatly excited over the letter Dr. Dumba wrote to Baron Burian which the British Government stole from the baggage of Mr. Archibald at Falmouth. The *Times* holds it a breach of our neutrality that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador should seek to dissuade his nationals from engaging in a murder plot directed against the Austro-Hungarian

armies, financed and controlled from London and carried out by renegade Americans.

Of course the reptile press of New England hisses its support. This war shows us how prolific is our breed of rattle-snakes. Most Americans will heartily approve Dr. Dumba's attitude.

In his dispatch to Baron Burian he has set an example of public morality that, naturally, the service that retains such a remarkable letter writer as Mr. M. de C. Findlay must find rather embarrassing. Had Dr. Dumba conspired with an American citizen to procure the "capture" on American soil of some Slav or Czech nationalist who had offended the powers that be in Vienna and had he promised this American citizen in the name of his Government, in addition to a bribe of \$25,000 of Austrian gold for the crime he was instigating him to commit, "*personal immunity*" from its consequences and a free passage to England say, I wonder what the *Times* and its next of kin in New York would have hissed?

The only offence committed against American neutrality in this matter of Dr. Dumba is that offered by the letter-stealers at Falmouth to the person of the American citizen, whose baggage they lawlessly ransacked.

Of course our Administration will take it lying down, as they have done so many previous assaults on our rights—national or international—committed by the Cabinet of London. For in the memorable words of Ambassador Page, uttered last year in the English capital: "Are we not English-led and English-ruled"?

Of course we are; and that is why I have been in Norway recently and am now in Gotenburg. I have been studying the methods of the British Legation at Christiania, so that on my forthcoming return to America I may be able to give our State Department some valuable hints on diplomatic deportment.

For it must be confessed that beside the British ours is a very inadequate diplomacy. We have only to point to Dr. Page to indicate how much we have to acquire before our Representatives abroad can attain to the standard of culture and dignity of bearing they aim at.

I enjoyed my stay in Christiania immensely and elsewhere in the neighbourhood. With the information already in my possession I found little difficulty in finding the persons I have been advised to see. The whole story of the *affaire Findlay*, when it sees the light, will constitute one of the most interesting chapters in contemporary European affairs. It covers quite a remarkable field.

There was, to begin with, a system of espionage, carried out by Norwegian subjects in the pay of the British Minister, that had its ramifications in the Post, Telegraph and Telephone departments, the steamship companies, the railroads and the hotels.

Even *chauffeurs* of the street automobile cars were not exempt from the

blandishments proffered by Mr. Findlay and his assistant "Dick".

The *Times* correspondent in Christiania naturally plays his minor part of "adviser" when, at times, Mr. Findlay struck a snag. It is only natural, that the *Times* should advise a British Minister in doubt seeing how much the *Times* directs British foreign policy. Our own Mr. Armour of Chicago, too, comes into the picture. He was one of the persons Mr. Findlay had his eye on! It appears Mr. Armour recently had a new steam yacht built and Mr. Findlay was greatly concerned as to its movements and whereabouts.

Mr. Armour no more than Mr. Archibald will be safe if he puts to sea—especially if he ventures "anywhere within the Skaggerack or on the shores of the North Sea". Then, too, there is that instrument of modern detective science, known to our police departments, and called, I believe, the *dictograph*. Mr. Findlay had not a specimen of the dictograph in the British Legation, but it seems one got there nevertheless and some thrilling "records" of intimate and heart to heart conversations between Mr. Findlay and Mr. Christensen are the result.

The suggestions Mr. Findlay made to Mr. Christensen as to the disposal of Sir Roger, including the "Turkish Bath" *intermezzo*, quite stamp him as an authority on every phase of human blackguardism.

He is now convinced that when the war is over he will be elevated to the post of British Ambassador in Berlin. German diplomacy being so "tortuous" and immoral according to the *Times* and its Foreign Office and the character of German diplomats so clumsily unscrupulous, Mr. Findlay counts on the warmest reception when he is transferred to the Embassy palace in the Wilhelmstrasse.

He has taken to joking on the subject, and now goes about with a small handbag, and when he is asked by his friends what he has in it, he replies, oracularly: "*Five thousand pounds!*"

The best of all the "records" between Messrs. Findlay and Christensen is that dealing with the prolonged conversation, or altercation rather, that took place between them on Saturday night the 2nd of January last.

This, as I have heard it, will certainly pass into history and some of the remarks made by Mr. Christensen, both to Mr. Findlay and his man servant entitle him to a front rank as a wielder of winged words.

Today I confine myself to this imperfect outline, since it would spoil a good story to tell too much of it before the right moment comes. I reserve the details till my arrival in Washington. As I have the object lesson of Mr. Archibald before me I propose leaving by a route that will take me neither past Stornoway, Kirkwall nor Falmouth. I have such respect for Great Britain's regard for the freedom of the seas that I do not propose to strain it by carrying any precious documents in a port-manteau, even "with a false bottom"—to adopt one of Mr. Findlay's suggestions to Mr. Christensen

when he was charging him to steal his employer's letters and "charts", and promising a special reward for each purloined document.

That suggestion, indeed, cost Mr. Findlay a large sum; for in order that Christensen should carry it out he handed him "an advance" (through the help of "Dick") of quite an assortment of monies—£19 in English gold, 20 *Kroner* in Norwegian gold and 150 *Kroner* in Scandinavian paper currency.

It's rather more than 500 *Kroner*", he remarked generously, "but you are welcome to it". It was in this access of generosity that he handed Christensen the key of the back door of the Legation, begging him to look in again and again and introduced him to the butler as "a gentleman in my confidence who is to be admitted to my study at all hours". No wonder poor Mrs. Findlay nearly collapsed and Mr. Findlay took to hard drinking and voluble speech the night Sir Roger's bombshell to Sir Edward Grey burst in that charming dining-room in Christiania last February!

Mr. Findlay's chief claim to distinction in the past was that he had married a very pretty and charming lady. In the future it must be that—he did not deserve her.

Enough, for the present, of this excellent British representative, worthy of the cause and the government he represents so admirably.

When we meet, Mr. Findlay and I, as I feel sure we shall meet, he will admit that I have handled him very gently in these letters.

Like my late friend, the Grand Duke Nicolas, now on his way to the Caucasus to look for Noah's Ark, his legs are longer than his vision. What Mr. Findlay lacked in foresight he made up for in leg, and when we meet I am sure he will need both legs.

Before I close I should like to add some further remarks upon Dr. Dumba and Mr. Archibald. I see by the papers here that Mr. Archibald is to be prosecuted for daring to carry "unneutral despatches" on an American passport.

How deeply concerned our English-led and English-ruled administrators are for the sanctity of American passports! One of the fantasies that infected the overstocked brain of poor Mr. Findlay was that Sir Roger Casement had abused the passport laws of the United States, and it was this hallucination that led to the change, last November, in our then form of passport, and induced one of our Ambassadors to—well, to put it succinctly, "fool around".

Sir Roger certainly used no American passport, as his fellow passengers knew on the steamer he travelled by, and that was one of the reasons why he took the Norwegian sailor Christensen with him, and why it was that he had to be personally conducted into Germany when he became aware of Mr. Findlay's plot against his security at Christiania, and determined to make for a country where Great Britain was represented not by native-born Englishmen but by our hyphenated variety of the breed.

Mr. Archibald's offense is rank, however. He undoubtedly had an American passport, and he dared to carry on his person a letter from a foreign Ambassador to his government—and so he is to be prosecuted!

I wonder what form of prosecution is reserved for the very large number of American citizens who had enlisted in the British army with American passports? It is a gross "breach of neutrality", clearly, to carry a letter—but not a rifle!

An ambassador's secretary, even, fitted out with a brand-new passport by his chief, may go to France and join the British "Expeditionary force" against Germany, and nobody is hurt. (It is quite true, nobody is hurt.)

Large numbers of our young men have sailed from the United States, all of them with American passports, and have entered the British army, and we gather that they have committed no breach of our neutrality, nor has the British Consul General, who recruited them, been asked any inconvenient questions, while Sir Cecil Spring-Rice still remains at his post.

Can it be that our Administration does not regard the English "Expeditionary force" on the Continent as an army? There is much to be said for that point of view, and if this indeed be the contention of Mr. Lansing, then we can understand why those joining it are held to be engaged in a harmless pastime that does not call for the intervention of our authorities.

I am supported in this guess by the role attributed to the British Fleet in Sir Edward Grey's despatches and by the superb way in which that fleet has borne out his assurances.

In his despatch to Sir George Buchanan of 27th July last he directed the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg to assure the Russian government that the British fleet which was already mobilized, would not be dispersed but would remain at Portland. He hastened to add, however, that the function of the fleet was to furnish "diplomatic support only".

Admiral Jellicoe has most conscientiously fulfilled Sir Edward's assurance.

The "Grand Fleet" has never fired a gun. I presume a plea of strict neutrality could be set up for any American citizen who joined it. The only unneutral act he would probably commit during the whole of his service "for the period of the war" in, say, Scapa Flow or beyond the Outer Hebrides, would be the substitution of Scotch Whisky for Grape Juice. The injury there would be to himself and not to our Passport Laws or the friendly German nation.

For the national motto "*Nemo me impune lacescit*" applies to nothing so sternly as to Scotch Whisky—as Mr. Asquith, I am sure, will bear out.

The British declaration of war against Germany itself came from a bottle of Scotch Whisky, incautiously left open at 10 Downing Street, many people believe; and it is clear, England has been far more seriously wounded by

that unlucky resort to "Black and White" in a moment of passion, than Germany has been.

Mr. Archibald has only to say that he was bound for Europe with the intention of enlisting in Lord Kitchener's army, in the "American Division", and I am sure the Court will discharge him "for the period of the war"; or perhaps, to assert our strict neutrality, sentence him to 6 months' hard labor in the Shell Division at Mr. Schwab's new Jerusalem—the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Respectfully,
John Quincy Emerson.

29.

No. 1181. Vol. XXII. No. 39 The Continental Times September 29, 1915

"German Gold"

To the Editor:

I have read the letters to the open-minded of Dr. J. Quincy Emerson, dealing with the methods of British diplomacy, with great interest. Some may think Dr. Emerson is too hard on that charming type of British diplomat, Mr. M. de Cardonnal Findlay. I don't. I know him. And the Egyptian people know him. The Denshawi murders in 1906 will never be forgotten in Egypt. Mr. Findlay was the fit tool of English imperialism in that crime.

It was entirely English. First, the British officers wantonly fire into the Egyptian village in their pursuit of "sport". They kill the tame pigeons of the villagers and they wound, with their scattered aim, the villagers. The men gather to protect their women and children from this lawless assault of a band of foreigners, and, quite naturally, they meet an attack of shot guns with a defence of sticks and cudgels.

The English officers run away, and one of them, in his haste to get off, dies of sunstroke. Mr. Findlay is in charge, temporarily, of the British Consulate General in Cairo. Acting on orders from Sir Edward Grey, he directs a "Special Court" to try the unarmed Egyptians charged with the outrageous offence of defending their wives and children against a wanton attack by armed British officers. The result we know: a regular shambles of horror follows in Denshawi—and Mr. Findlay not only directs the massacre but in his reports to the Foreign Office he lies with true British unscrupulousness. Some people tell lies because they do not know the truth.

As Mr. Gladstone put it, it is a case of "untruth by defect". Mr. Findlay's dispatches were "untruth by defect".

He writes to Sir E. Grey that these murdered Egyptian villagers were "*convicted of a brutal and premeditated murder*"—and complains that the Egyptian press "*disregarded the fact!*"

He even went on to say that the native press "*is being conducted with an absolute disregard for truth, so as to make it evident that large sums of money have been expended*".

This was, clearly, a forerunner of "German gold" that is now corrupting the press of every land not in league with England.

How widespread are the ramifications of German gold!

It was German gold that induced Baron Greindl, Count de Lalaing and the Belgian Minister in Paris to write those damning impeachments of English policy from 1905-1914 that we have all been reading lately from the Belgian archives.

And it was German gold that induced Mr. Bryan to resign; just as it was German gold induced Mr. Archibald to carry a letter. That letter, by the way, I see the English Under Secretary of State for Foreign affairs describes as having "been found" on Mr. Archibald!

If I knock you down and take your watch and purse may I say I have "found" them?

An even more delightful euphemism for theft and pocket-picking I find in the *Times* report on the same debate—it represents Lord R. Cecil as speaking of the documents stolen from Mr. Archibald as the papers that "*have come into our possession*"!

I see the *New York World*, copying its Masters and Employers in London, has "copyrighted" the papers stolen from Dr. Albert's portfolio!

"Untruth by defect" and "copyrighted" thefts are the mainstays of British diplomacy.

We know it was German gold induced the Turks to refuse to surrender their independence to England, Russia and France; and I presume it is German gold that has now led to the retirement of the Grand Duke Nicholas, and the substitution of the Tzar as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian retreat. How widespread are the ramifications of German gold!

When "the Allies" are driven off the Gallipoli peninsula it will be German gold has done it; when the English are driven out of Calais, again it will be German gold has debauched the right, and when England is ejected from Egypt it will be "*evident that large sums of foreign money have been expended*".

I suppose the next Presidential Election in America will be run entirely on German gold and that poor Mr. Wilson's retirement to private life and the enjoyment of a Carnegie pension will be the apotheosis of German gold.

What a very rich country Germany must be! And what a very poor country England, spending only £5,000,000 per day—"much of it", as Mr.

said last week “*to meet our obligations to our Allies*”.

I see the British “Secret Service Fund” which before the war amounted to some £35,000 per annum is now officially put at £350,000.

I wonder how much of it is spent in America, and what are the exact figures of the cable transactions between this Fund and the New York press?

It would be a very interesting study in international economics to know just how much “an ally” costs Great Britain. I suppose we never shall know; but I should much like to know the differential tariff that applies to the procuring of “an ally”. So many factors have to be taken into account. There is the colour scheme of the ally for instance. What is the scale for a pure White ally, a Half-Caste ally, a Yellow ally, a Black ally, a Black and White ally, a Piebald ally, and a Neutral ally? Will Mr. Asquith not tell us?

Speaking for myself I believe the dearest of these is the Neutral ally. He knows his value, and charges accordingly.

Yours obediently,
Henry Prescott, Geneva

[The manuscript of this letter in the NLI, Ms.29,064, is signed by ‘Henry Bower’ with an Augsburg address.]

30.

Number 1183 Vol. XXII No 41 The Continental Times October 4, 2015

America As Britain’s Cat’s Paw.

The Ancient, Immemorial Policy of the Great Parasite.
An Editorial in the “New York American” by G.W. Reilly.

The following splendid appeal to the American People, written by an Irish-American citizen, appears in the “San Francisco Examiner” of 25 August 1915.

Mr. O'Reilly's letter appeared simultaneously in every organ of the Hearst press throughout the United States on that day—that is to say, 2,500,000 newspapers gave it a prominent place in their daily issue and it could not have been read by less than 10,000,000 American citizens. Following this letter, there was held on the 6 September in Chicago the greatest public meeting probably ever organized in America. The Vice-Chairman was Mr. Robert E. Ford, Proprietor of “The Irish World” of New York, one of the leading editors of Irish American circles. Mr. Robert E. Ford is the son of the late Patrick Ford, whose “Criminal History of the British Empire” gave

chapter and verse for the general impeachment of Great Britain's tyranny now formulated by Mr. O'Reilly in the letter we print today.

The Union of German and Irish-American citizens will prove the strongest barrier to the criminal attempts being daily made by British agencies to drop America into this unrighteous war on behalf of British greed.

The Anglomaniac press of New York may rage in vain—the Administration will not be permitted by all that is healthiest and best in American citizenship to drop the great free Republic of the New World lashed to the bloodstained wheels of the British car of Imperial plunder and destruction.

All the latest advices from America show that the British campaign against the integrity of the United States will fail, has failed already, and that our country owes a debt of gratitude to the Hearst press for its loyal stand for free principles, no less than to the fearless championship of the course of true neutrality of which Mr. Bryan is the spokesman in the name of the great majority of American citizens, and of which those of Irish and German blood are the foremost exponents. The English intrigue is already defeated and the watchword of American liberty to-day is—“Our first duty is to maintain peace.”

[Casement]

England has made cotton contraband of war, and has illegally interfered with its free shipment by the United States. Cotton is one of our main articles of commerce.

Our right under international law to export cotton unhampered by England's interference is undeniable, unquestionable, even undenied and unquestioned. England does not prohibit our exportation of cotton to neutral nations as a measure of right, but as a measure of might.

She sweeps the important articles of the commerce of this country from the seas without ruth and without right, because she cares to do so and because she can do so. She inflicts this severe blow with the might of her marine power upon a great staple product of this country because she is fearful of Germany, and, second, because she is jealous of United States.

England guards her commerce, as she guards her life, because she has intelligence enough to realize that her commerce is her life. She has never allowed any nation to build up a commerce to compete with hers. She would not permit Germany to build up a rival commerce. She plotted war with Germany and leagued the nations against Germany to undermine, hamper and eventually destroy her chief commercial rival.

England will not allow the United States in this era of our opportunity to build up a rival commerce. Twice before, in the short history of the country, England has set out to destroy our commerce and both times she succeeded in destroying it.

In the early years of the nineteenth century our commerce was supreme

upon the seas. Our new-born American flag flaunted in the furthest harbors. Our goods were distributed wherever the waves rolled and the winds blew, and we carried as commerce not only the products of our own country but a large share of the products of other countries as well.

Then England began, as she is beginning now, to interfere with our commerce in every possible way, illegally, illegitimately, vigorously, vindictively. She closed the ports of herself and her allies upon us. She black-listed our goods with orders in council. She robbed us of our neutral rights then as she is doing now. She held up our ships in high sea piracy and robbed them of their seamen. She finally forced us into war to defend our lately won liberties; then, with the same arrogance and insolence of naval power that she is using and abusing to-day, she pillaged what remained of our commerce afloat, and as a final act of contempt and defiance burned and gutted the Capitol of our nation and the White House of our President. Again, in the times preceding our Civil War, our commerce had regained its supremacy.

Our clipper ships were the admiration of the world, our Yankee skippers sailed undaunted the most distant seas. But during our Civil War England took advantage of our danger and difficulties. Illegally and illegitimately again, in violence and in violation of trade and treaty rights, she allowed the building of hostile vessels in her yards and the fitting out of pirate privateers in her ports to prey upon our commerce and destroy it.

Yet we are not the unusual objects of England's antagonism. We are not the specially selected subjects of England's envy and enmity. President Wilson, professor of English history and also English professor of history, could tell you—if only he loved his mother country less and his adopted country more—that it has been the persistent policy of England throughout the centuries to destroy every nation which sought to rival her commerce, to challenge her empire of the oceans.

In the sixteenth century Spain, with a courage and an enterprise which other nations did not possess, set out to find new roads across uncharted seas, new lands and riches for itself, and for the world. America was discovered, the Fathers of Waters was found, the shore of the Pacific was first beheld, the earth was circumnavigated, unknown land explored, undreamed of wealth revealed—all by expeditions under the flag of Spain.

England trailed enviously and hungrily behind.

What Spain found England stole. The world Spain wrested from the earth England robbed from her at sea.

The Raleighs, the Drakes and all the lusty pirates whom we have been taught by English text-books to reverence as heroes were commissioned to prey upon Spanish commerce and rob the Spanish galleons of their gold.

Queen Elizabeth, as able as she was unscrupulous, welcomed those sea rovers upon their successful return, shared in the plunder of their piracy

and rewarded them with knighthoods in accordance with the royal custom of her race.

At last Spain, pillaged of the profits of her energy and enterprise, went to war with England and was beaten, her Armada and her commerce were destroyed.

England once more by force and fear held hegemony of the seas.

In the seventeenth century Holland, by patience and persistence, by courage and constancy, created a splendid commerce with the Far East. The venturesome ships of this brave little country soaked from the north to the south seas around the Cape of Good Hope and up into the Indian Ocean. They carried the goods of Europe and brought back the wealth of the Orient. Their trade was vast and valuable—and England coveted it.

England found excuse for war, as usual, and the wealth which little Holland had so hardy won was taken from her with that smug mixture of prayer and piracy that is so characteristically English.

What was best in Holland's commerce and colonies England acquired in the interest of those "free institutions" and of that "higher civilisation" which England takes so much pride—and profit—in representing.

In the eighteenth century it was France which forged to the front as a commercial and colonizing country, and which was fought and defeated, her commerce destroyed and her colonies appropriated by England.

In the nineteenth century it was the United States, as we have seen, whose commerce and prosperity were the objects of England's greed and jealousy.

In the twentieth century it was Germany.

Therefore, England will not make peace "until Germany's militarism is destroyed", and England's navy-ism is left supreme to dominate the seas and render all other nations subject on the waters which constitute three-fourths of the earth's surface and as much of the world's opportunity.

The surprising thing in all this series of historical events is that no nation has learned the lessons of them.

England has always found and always finds some nation to help her pull her chestnuts out of the fire, some cat's-paw to help her appropriate some other nation's commerce and colonies.

In England's war against France in 1815 it was Germany which was allied with England and which gave the decisive blow which eliminated France as England's rival. In 1915 it is France which is allied with England and which is doing much more than England herself to eliminate Germany from England's path to world power. One would think that the nations of Europe would see the folly of continually fighting one another to further England's vaulting ambitions toward the control of the world in her own interest.

But before we criticize others, let us make sure that we are awake to our own folly.

Is not England using us as a catspaw also? Is not England employing us to destroy her rival, Germany, and to establish Herself more firmly in the hegemony of the seas—her seas and our seas?

Are we not being *Hired* to injure Germany just as German Hessians were once *Hired* to fight against us?

Are we not being bribed to sacrifice our own best interests as well as our moral scruples and to send arms to England so that she can exterminate the Germans and obliterate Germany and possess herself of Germany's commerce and colonies?

Are we not strengthening England and her ally, Japan, in their control of the ocean highways which lead to our very doors? Are we not as foolish as the most foolish of the European nations which drag England's chestnuts out of the fire to their own injury?

Have we not had sufficient experience of how England employs her command of the seas? If we have not had sufficient experience in the past, are we not having now?

Do we not see how our neutral commerce is being destroyed, how a chief staple of our production is being vitally injured? Worse than all, if we are patriotic and liberty-loving citizens, do we not see how our rights are being invaded and violated?

We can send our arms to England because England needs them to murder Germans and to establish herself more firmly as empress of all the sea and mistress of most of the land, but we cannot send our peaceful products to neutral nations. We cannot exercise *our rights* because they interfere with England's *ambitions and aggressions*.

Are we an independent nation, or an English colony? Have we a President who is a British subject or an American citizen? Have we any moral and any political virtue or are we subject to bribery in our moral sentiments and submissive to bullying in our political attitudes?

Are we quite sure that this is after all “the home of the brave and the land of the free”? If so, now is the time demonstrate our bravery and assert our *freedom*.

England has stopped our shipment of cotton. Let us stop our shipment of arms. Let us proclaim our moral courage, our political independence. Let us clearly define and courageously defend our rights.

Let us be worthy of our ancestors, who fought for freedom and won it, who contended for “principle” and established it.

Let us reaffirm the inspiring words of Pinckney, “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute”.

Let us be righteous and also just, independent and also impartial.

Let us say to Germany and England *alike*, “There are our rights, defy them if you dare.”

31.

No. 1184. Vol. XXII, No. 42 The Continental Times October 6, 1915

The Calibre of Roosevelt.

By One Who Knows Him.

I am constantly asked to explain Theodore Roosevelt. Before the war he expressed nothing but goodwill for the German people and appreciation of German methods. Immediately the war broke out he joined the English-led chorus of denunciation.

Roosevelt's light went out in Africa. He has never been the same man since he came back from association with the British in the “Dark Continent”.

An Irish patriot who knew him before and after said that he knew from Roosevelt's first utterance about the behaviour of the English in Egypt that his mind had been poisoned. Roosevelt said of the following incident that the English were not half hard enough!

Some English sportsmen entered an Egyptian village and shot the sacred pigeons. Whereupon the outraged natives fell upon the intruders and beat them off, and one Englishman was killed. The English returned with armed force, flogged almost to death and finally hanged four of the villagers, two were sent to penal servitude for life, one for 15 years, six to seven years' with hard labour, three to prison with hard labour for a year, and fifty given 50 lashes.

And Mr. Roosevelt gives as his excuse for a change of heart against the Germans, Belgian atrocities!

Mr. Roosevelt believed the stories and reports which the English gave out in the American Press. What kind of a man is Mr. Roosevelt if one is to believe what these same newspapers have said about him? Is he willing that readers of American newspapers during the last twenty-five years shall judge of him and his deeds as they have been recorded in the newspapers?

My assertion that Mr. Roosevelt's light went out in Africa is proved by the fact that he has been unable to accomplish his heart's desire since he came from Africa. His best friends have fallen away from him, he has lost everything he has tried to get in politics, he has lost in the estimation of his countrymen, lost his control of the American people.

If he knew that old friends felt ashamed that they had ever respected him and his “policies” he would pause, fast and pray and perhaps the English blindfold might fall from his eyes.

32.

No. 1184. Vol. XXII, No. 42 The Continental Times October 6, 1915

In Memoriam.

Charles Stewart Parnell.

Died 6th October, 1891.

Hush! Let no whisper of the cruel strife
Wherein he fell so bravely fighting, fall
Nigh these dead ears, fain would our hearts recall
Nought but proud Memories of a noble life;
Of unmatched skill to lead by pathways rife
With Treason and dark doubt, where Slander's knife
Gleamed ever bare to wound, yet over all
He pressed triumphant on—lo, thus to fall!
Through and beyond the breach he living made
Shall Erin pass to freedom, and to will
And shape her Fate: there where his limbs are laid
No harsh reproach dare penetrate the Shade;
Death's Angel guards the door, and o'er the Sill
A mightier Voice than Death's speaks: Peace, be still!

Roger Casement.

33.

No. 1185. Vol. XXII, No. 43 The Continental Times October 8, 1915

British versus German Imperialism.

By an American Scholar.

I. Russia has violated the neutrality of Persia—Persia has protested. She is a “small nationality”, and the Allies, we are told, are fighting the battle of the small nationalities. Also for the sanctity of Treaty obligations. England is the pledged defender of Persian neutrality. She has acquiesced in Russia's action. Egypt is a “small nationality”—her Khedive is fighting England because England has violated her pledge to evacuate his country.

It was the great Napoleon who declared that the falsification of official documents is more frequent among the English than among any other people.

Our readers will remember how the official White Paper on the Curragh Mutiny a few months ago was falsified. But even from the British official correspondence on the war we have shown how the plea of England that she engaged in war with Germany because of the violation of Belgian neutrality was untrue—we have shown her story that she is fighting against militarism is untrue. We shall now show why she is fighting.

The Origin of the British Empire Idea.

When France, led by Joan of Arc, defeated definitively the design of the Norman conquerors of England to seize the throne of France and create an empire governed from Paris, of which England would be a province, the idea of an island-empire was first conceived by the rulers of England. It did not take definite shape until the reign of Elizabeth when the lucky accident to Britain of the storm that scattered the Spanish Armada made England a strong Power, and filled her with the dream of the empire of the sea. From that time main British policy was directed to that end. There were three essential factors. Ireland must be reduced to impotence, the Low Countries must cease to be in the possession of a Great Power or to themselves become a Great Power, and no one Power on the Continent must be allowed to grow to such strength that it could endanger England's supremacy.

British and German Empire.

Some years ago in these columns—in our articles on Pitt's Policy—we pointed all this out. When John Mitchel, in his “Apology for the British Government in Ireland”, wrote that assuming it was essential to the world for what is termed the British Empire to exist, then the policy the English followed in Ireland was the only policy they could follow, his fierce irony enshrined an absolute truth. There is not, and never has been, a British Empire in the sense that there is a German Empire. There is a supreme and absolute England to which Ireland, India and Scotland are subject, and which has dependencies throughout the world, none of whom are permitted a voice in Imperial policy. This is the direct antithesis of the German Empire, which is founded on racial unity, State self-government, and common control of Imperial policy by the constituent States.

It is repugnant to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which is based on the joint control by the two chief States of Imperial affairs, and the local freedom and self-government of the other States. It has points of resemblance to the French and Russian Empires, though it differs materially from them. It has also resemblances to Rome and much more to Carthage, but in itself it is unique. There has been no parallel to it in the history of civilization.

If the German Empire were to assimilate itself to the British model, all

the kingdoms, principalities, grand-dukedoms, and republics of Germany would be abolished, their Parliaments taken away, and a Parliament set up in Berlin in which Prussia would control both Houses by enormous majorities. The German colonies beyond the seas would be allowed local Parliaments, but denied any voice in Imperial policy, which would be dictated by Prussia, and the revenues of the Empire would go to swell the pride and power of Prussia. Here would be a revolution such as no German has ever dreamed of and such as all Germans would fight to the death against.

But if the British Empire were to be modelled on Germany, it would be a revolution that no man within the Empire, except possibly the majority of the English themselves, would fight against. It would involve England taking the same place within the British Empire that Prussia occupies in the German Empire—it would involve the reappearance of Ireland and Scotland as separate kingdoms within the Empire, exactly as Bavaria and Saxony are kingdoms within the German Empire. It would involve the erection of Wales, in fact into what it is in name—a principality, the grant of self-government to India, and the assembly of representatives of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, India, and perhaps the colonies in an Imperial Council (Bundesrat), with the power of peace and war in its hands.

Obviously in such a new-modelled Empire, England would be the strongest single State, as Prussia is the strongest single state in Germany. Obviously her vote would be the largest single vote in Imperial affairs, and her influence the strongest single influence, but as in the German Empire the combined vote and influence of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemburg, and the smaller States can always outweigh Prussia, so in this new-modelled Empire the vote and influence of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the other States would always outweigh England if the necessity arose. As there can be no Prussia over all in Germany, there could be no England over all in such an Empire.

Imperial Unity.

There are obstacles to the creation of such an Empire which did not exist in Germany's case—obstacles other than the resistance of England herself. Germany is a geographical unity, and almost a racial entity. Except for a fair proportion of Slavs (Poles) in the east and a small number of Latins (French) in the west, Germany is racially one. There is no racial as there is no national unity and no true political unity in what is with conscious or unconscious irony officially entitled the United Kingdom; there is no geographical unity of what is termed the British Empire.

To an extent, a similar obstacle existed in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Geographically united, the Empire was diverse in its nationalities, languages, and peoples. Austria solved its riddle of Empire by halving the supreme control of policy with Hungary, and by granting local self-

government to the smaller States. From this it will be seen that "Empire" as understood in London on the one hand, and in Berlin and Vienna on the other is fundamentally different. In the British Empire, Imperialism means, and has never meant anything else, but the Absolutism of England. When a Bavarian stands for the Empire he stands for Bavaria. When a Hungarian stands for the Empire he stands for Hungary. When an Irishman stands for the Empire he stands for England.

The German Empire is built on patriotism—the British Empire is built on trade. "Fatherland", which dissolves the little jealousies of Prussian and Bavarian and Wurtemberger has no answering echo in the Englishman's heart. The national life of England is dead—choked by commercialism, and where the German marches to battle singing—

"German troth and German women,
German wine and German song,
Shall inspire us in the battle,
Shall preserve us pure and strong.
"German brotherhood and freedom
E'er shall flourish, though we fall,
In its beauty—in its duty,
Deutschland! Deutschland! Over all!"

—the soldiers of England are sought to be inspired by leering jingles from the music-hall and exhortations to them to smite the "Huns" that German trade may be captured for England.

The Father of the British Empire.

To rise upon the decay of Spain to world-Empire, Elizabeth planned, James pursued, Charles failed to follow, and Cromwell, striking down the monarch's sceptre, took up the game and played with the boldest hand.

To establish one of two adjoining islands as world-master involved the crushing of the other. England alone could not rise to Empire with Ireland hostile. She must either take Ireland as an equal partner or destroy Ireland. She made up her mind to bear no sister near her throne, and therefore to destroy Ireland. Elizabeth's and James' wars, confiscations and plantations in Ireland had behind them as the prime motive the reduction of Ireland to a position of such weakness that she must lose her individuality, and feel herself and become a helot-State to her neighbour. It was Cromwell who carried out this policy towards Ireland with thoroughness. Spain had ceased to be the real enemy to England's rise to world-power when he came upon the scene. Holland and France were the powers to be overcome. Ireland was the nation to be destroyed. With a ruthlessness greater than that of his predecessors he

reduced Ireland, and then turned to set Holland and France at each other's throats. No other man so unscrupulously bold has appeared in English history. Without him the British Empire of today would be impossible. He did not order the Irish Catholics to Hell or Connaught because he hated the Irish or detested Catholicism—he did not slaughter Irish men, Irish women and Irish children for mere lust of cruelty—nor did he order the capture and sale to barbarian slavery of Irish youths and maidens because he loathed children. He did these things because to create a new world with England absolute was impossible unless they were done. The editor of the organ of the British Non-conformist conscience—Sir William Robertson Nicholl—who adjures men “by the memory of Cromwell” to fight against Germany, is a lucid and learned Englishman. The British Empire as it exists today was created by Oliver Cromwell. If it is not a monstrosity, he was no monster. If it has been a blessing to the world, the deeds which Cromwell committed in Ireland were excusable, because without them the British Empire as we know it could never have been born.

Whether he was a blessing or a curse to England, it is for Englishmen to say—whether an England, with a national life as distinct from that Imperial vision which sees in money-making the aim and object of human existence, would be a better and nobler England, it is for Englishmen to consider. To Ireland Cromwell was a curse, not because he ravaged and slew more ruthlessly than his predecessors, but because he stretched Ireland on the rack of British Empire.

England's Unwavering Policy.

Except for the brief interregnum of the Stuarts, who with all their vices and feebleness, had Celtic instinct enough to dislike and fear that vision of universal Empire in which the soul and body of Carthage and Rome had been destroyed and the soul and body of Spain had fallen sick—except for the brief Stuart period, from Cromwell's death to the fall of Limerick—England's policy has been unwaveringly Cromwell's policy—applied with different degrees of courage and insight according to the character of English statesmen at different periods. Walpole, Chatham, North, Rockingham, Pitt, Canning, Melbourne, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, Balfour, and Asquith, all have lived and live in the acceptance of Cromwell's concept of Empire, all accepted or accept in principle his methods.

1782 and Pitt.

Ireland, though to outward appearances, dead, survived Cromwell to fall again at Aughrim—this time it would appear finally. Yet though alien laws were nominally aimed at the religion and property of the ancient race in the

country, these were so truly directed against the revival of any economic or political power in Ireland that within a generation they began to weigh with the oppressor's hand upon the resident minority whom England had placed as her jailors over the fallen nation. The re-birth of resistance to English dominion in Ireland began among the descendants of England's settlers, and culminated in the Volunteer movement in 1782, when they led the whole people to a bloodless victory over England, which had it endured would have reared what is now called the British Empire on a basis akin to that of Austro-Hungary. In 1782, the arms of Volunteers compelled the recognition of Ireland as a sovereign State, the express admission by England that her claim to rule Ireland was and had been a usurped claim and that henceforth and forever she abjured it, recognizing in Ireland a kingdom with equal sovereign powers to her own. Thenceforward Ireland could fly her own flag, raise and maintain her own army and navy, appoint her own representatives abroad, make war and peace on her own account, and share or refuse to share in England's wars as she deemed best. The Crown of Ireland and the Crown of England were worn by the same personage, as the Crown of Hanover and the Crown of England were at the time worn by the same personage. This was the constitutional limit of any connection between the two countries. Unfortunately Ireland did not do what she might have done. She did not proceed to raise a regular army and build a fleet and send her representatives to other Powers. She believed England's written and attested pledge, and where she should have armed she disarmed. England then tore the Treaty of 1783 to shreds, and in blood and rapine struck down the Irish nation to the earth.

(To be continued).

34.

No. 1186. Vol. XXII, No. 44 The Continental Times October 11, 1915

British versus German Imperialism. Astonishing Contrasts in the Nature of the Two Empires.

II. “It was Pitt did it”, said Mr. Gladstone, when he became an advocate of Home Rule. It was the English policy of Elizabeth and of Cromwell—administered by Pitt—that did this thing. In 1782 England stood at the most critical point in her history from the day the Armada menaced her shores until

today. She had lost her American colonies, and Ireland had sprung up again, an armed nation beyond her power to overcome. England had two choices: she could accept the position and re-make an Empire in which she would be what Prussia is in Germany today or what Austria is in Austria-Hungary. She pretended to do so, but while she pretended she plotted to recover her old place—to make the Empire a name—herself the Empire. She plotted to destroy Ireland utterly and to regain the American colonies. Her plot appeared to succeed with the Act of Union in Ireland's case. Her policy has never since ceased to work to the end of drawing back the United States into her grasp. There can be no two suns in one firmament, and if the world is to be dominated by the English, there can be no two English-speaking Empires. London must control Washington or Washington will control London. There can be no strong or prosperous Ireland consistent with English Absolutism in the so-called Empire. Therefore, Irish Nationalism is de facto a crime, Irish education is distorted to maim the minds and spirit of the people, Irish individuality is repressed, Irish trade and commerce have been undermined and ruined, the Irish population has been reduced by half, and the Irish name has been defamed throughout the world.

Methods of England.

All this it was essential to England to do if she were to suck the marrow of the world for herself. She no more hated Catholicity than she hated Mohammedanism, and as to the people of Ireland she was equally indifferent when it was needful to her to repress them as to whether they were of Saxon or of Celtic blood. She used the Protestant to keep the Catholic in check when the Catholic endangered her—she used the Catholic to aid her against the Protestant when the Protestant began to feel himself an Irishman, not an English colonist. Whenever one creed or section in Ireland attempts to thwart her policy, then she will seek to influence and cunningly bribe another creed or another section to cut its throat for her. She has done it, she must do it, and she will do it so long as Cromwell and Pitt's policy persists—the policy that has decreed the Empire exists for the sole benefit of England.

A thousand subtle weapons England has to maintain this policy in Ireland. In the ear of the Protestant she whispers that his Catholic countryman seeks his property, if not his life. In the ear of the Catholic she whispers that she is the shield between him and the revival of that "Protestant Ascendancy" which she herself created. Her Liberal papers grow indignant over Orange outrages on Nationalists, her Tory papers declaim of Nationalist outrages on Orangemen. Her Liberal Government gives Catholics J. P.-ships and small Government situations—her Tory Governments confers these favours on Protestants—and both actions have the one aim—to keep Ireland perpetually divided against itself. When the English Tory rules, the Irish Unionist will

be his Sepoy. When the English Liberal rules, the Irish Home Ruler will be his Janissary; both too ignorant of their country's history and position to realize what they are—nay, often believing themselves to be wise and patriotic men.

What Ireland Is.

That Ireland is a very small country with very small resources and that this two-fold littleness would effectually prevent her standing by herself, even were it not that her geographical proximity to England must always render her dependent, is a teaching explicitly and implicitly drilled into the heads of the people of Ireland from the primary school-room to the university. "Education" in this country has been subtly but ably directed to destroy national self-reliance and efface national tradition. From Ireland and from the English press the same idea has been spread abroad in the world. For fifty years there has been practically no direct communication between Ireland and the Continent. England, as a brilliant Irish priest has phrased it, has built around Ireland a wall of paper, on the inner side of which she has written what she wishes the Irish to believe of the peoples of the world outside the British flag, and on the outside of which she has inscribed what she wishes these people to believe of the Irish. So far as they think of Ireland at all, foreigners of the European Continent think of it, in three cases out of four, as an insignificant country, very poor, and very turbulent.

The geographical proximity of Ireland to England, adduced as a reason why England was intended by Providence to rule this island, is a figment. Ireland is four times more distant from England than England herself is from France. The "smallness" of Ireland is a fallacy. Ireland has a territory as large as Portugal, as large as Greece with her recent acquisitions, as large as Servia with her newly acquired province, twice as large as the Kingdom of Denmark, twice and a half as large as Holland, twice as large as Belgium, four times as large as Wurtemburg, five times as large as Saxony, and larger by many thousand square miles than the splendid Kingdom of Bavaria, and in none of those countries, all independent and with a potent voice in Europe, is the natural productiveness of the soil equal to that of Ireland. The name and fame of Belgium and Holland are spread throughout the world, yet these two kingdoms combined do not in their area equal 70 per cent of the area of Ireland.

Yet in population Ireland falls far below most of these countries. Bavaria with 3,300 square miles of territory less than Ireland has three millions more people. Belgium, scarcely a third the size of Ireland, has nearly double its population. Holland, on a third of Ireland's area, sustains a 40 per cent greater population. The explanation is simple. Sixty years ago the population of Ireland was double what it is at the present and rapidly increasing. At that

time it was to England's population as 5 to 9. England for her interest forced Ireland out of tillage into cattle-raising and by tens of thousands the Irish farmsteads, each of which supported a family, were "amalgamated" into grazing ranches, employing, where a hundred men had found occupation before, half a dozen men and boys to herd the cattle. The exodus from rural Ireland which began in 1845 under the operation of England's agricultural laws is still not ended. In actual numbers Ireland has lost 4,200,000 people since 1845. But allowing for the natural increase of population which should have accrued between 1845 and the present time, Ireland's loss of population may be calculated at 10,000,000. If the same proportion between the populations of England and Ireland had been maintained, Ireland would have today 16,000,000 of people instead of four. In 1846 the Irish were 5 to 9 English. Today they are about 5 to 40 English. The English made the laws which massacred a people.

And, even still, Ireland, in population, equals or exceeds some of the most thriving States of Europe. She has a much larger population than the Republic of Switzerland, the Kingdom of Norway, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Kingdom of Greece, the Kingdom of Servia, or the Grand Duchy of Finland. As to her supposed poverty, her annual revenue is greater than the revenue of a dozen European countries, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, Roumania, Switzerland and Portugal. All those countries support armies (some in addition navies), diplomatic and consular services out of their revenues. Ireland has neither army, navy, diplomatic nor consular service. Her revenues are received by England, and used by that country in supporting an armed and unarmed garrison of officialdom in this country to keep it down that England may be kept up.

The fashion in which the Irish revenues are spent by England maybe thus illustrated: in Ireland all the "police"—an armed and drilled force—and all the judiciary are under the direct control of England. England appoints the judges, England appoints the police. They have no responsibility to the people of Ireland; even in the capital of Ireland, where the corporation is compelled to tax the people for the support of the police force, the corporation is not permitted even one representative on the Board of Control, every member of which is appointed by the English Government. The population of England is roughly eight times that of Ireland and the criminal population of England is eleven times greater than the criminal population of Ireland, yet 2,000,000 pounds of Irish revenues are allocated to pay judges and police in Ireland, while in England, with eleven times the number of criminals to deal with, the Imperial taxation is but 1,850,000 pounds. The judicial bench in Ireland is the greatest scandal in Europe. Elevation to it is not determined by character and ability, but by the assured readiness of the men appointed to convict whomsoever the English Government desires to be convicted and to acquit

whomsoever the English Government desires should be acquitted. A County Court Judge works 66 days per year and receives a salary of 1,500 pounds. A High Court Judge works 600 hours per annum and receives as salary and expenses from 3,500 to 5000 pounds per annum. As to education, the English Government allows less of the Irish revenues to be spent on educating the 800,000 children of Ireland than she expends on her armed police garrison. The salary of every British policeman in the country is the equivalent of the amount of money permitted to be spent out of Irish revenues on the education of 40 Irish children.

"Ireland is not 'little', Ireland is not poor." She is a country of extensive area and of considerable wealth, held and plundered by another country, who to shield her robbery, persistently belittles and defames Ireland and the Irish to the rest of the world.

(Conclusion follows.)

35.

No. 1187. Vol. XXII, No. 45 The Continental Times October 13, 1915

British versus German Imperialism.

Astonishing Contrasts in the Nature of the Two Empires.

III. Commerce before the War.

Before this war broke out the commerce of England represented annually in round figures 1,400 millions sterling, against 1,050 millions for Germany, 860 millions for the United States, 600 millions for France, 520 millions for Holland and 350 millions for Belgium. Germany has surpassed the United States as a trade competitor of England, and was steadily approaching a position of equality. English trade, therefore, called in mute eloquence for her suppression. Germany's mercantile marine, far inferior to England's in tonnage, was still the next in strength to her own. English commerce saw it would be prudent to stop its development. Germany's navy laid down last year only 480,000 tons against England's 2,000,000 tons, but still Germany's navy was nearest to her own in strength. Therefore, it must be destroyed. And so England ringed Germany around and when Russia, reluctant France, and duped Belgium had been committed to arms against England's rival, England stepped in as the fourth ally, cut the cables, swept the rival commerce from

the sea, and adjured the world to behold her fighting for Belgium—whom she left to bear the shock of battle unaided—for the “cause of the small nationalities”, for the sanctity of treaties, for Civilization, Civilization, for religion, against militarism, and against war!

England, said Bismarck a generation ago, has made all Europe an armed camp. England compelled every Great Power with a considerable commerce to build a large navy to defend it when she refused to regard private property at sea equally as free from confiscation as private property on land. England, which spends more annually on militarism than any other country in the world, save France, in the insolence of what her journals would call “junkerdom”, challenged the world when she decreed that none should dare to build a navy more than 50 per cent as strong as her own. Germany was the William Tell who refused to salute the English Gessler’s hat, and so Germany was doomed to die. Her fleet—have not the journals of unctuous and pacific England declared it—was to be sunk in the waves, her ordnance factories reduced to smoking ruins, her trade taken from her, her mercantile marine seized for the British merchant, her Empire torn asunder, and her people forbidden ever again to compete against England—taught the convincing lesson that England taught the weavers of the Deccan.

That was the programme. It is what Irishmen have died for and are being asked to die for under pretence that this base war to capture German trade and restore England that mastery of the sea she once wielded unfettered and unchallenged, is a war of defence, and not of aggression.

Her war-ships range the seas to protect and extend the commerce of the “United Kingdom”—and Ireland pays for “the protection of her trade” by that fleet, while her trade is non-existent. England takes 91 per cent of the trade, Scotland 8, Ireland 1 per cent. Of such is the “Empire”.

The Place for Irishmen.

Were Germany to disappear tomorrow, England would become absolute ruler of the seas, as she was a hundred years ago. There would be no two naval or three naval Powers equal to her victorious fleet. Enriched with the spoils of German trade, a new lease of life as dictator of Europe would be open to her. Is it in such an hour this pseudo-champion of small nationalities would release her grip on Ireland, and help to raise it up to rival her in strength and prosperity—in such an hour that the Parliament which has publicly proclaimed that it “will not coerce Ulster” would enact Home Rule for Ireland? Probably this War will end neither in a crushing victory for England nor for Germany, merely in a partial victory for one or the other. The amount of strength and influence Ireland can exert will be determined in the last analysis by the number of robust men she has in the country. An Ireland denuded of men will be ignored in the final reckoning. Therefore the

men of Ireland must be kept in Ireland. There are in Ireland a considerable percentage—from 20 per cent of the people—who have been taught that they were not born of a nation, but of an “Empire”. They speak in the one breath of “Empire” and “loyalty to *England*”. We observe that despite all the parade of “Empire” in which these people indulge, 85 per cent of the young and strong amongst them remain in Ireland, while their fathers, uncles, and aunts write letters to the “*Irish Times*” about “seditious newspapers” which oppose recruiting. This humbug we have had always with us. The humbug that brazenly tells the traditional Nationalists of this country that it is their duty to immolate themselves for England’s sake is new in the public eye. Posterity will pass a judgment more terrible upon the men who in this crisis attempted to drain away the life-blood of Ireland for the strengthening of the Power that trampled her into the dust, than any judgment men may pass today. In that respect they may be left to posterity. The place for Irishmen today is in Ireland—the cause for Irishmen is Ireland, and the one concern of every honest and intelligent Irishman in regard to the war is that Ireland at the end of it shall be strong to regain what England, perjured to the lips, wrested from her in 1801—her place amongst the nations of the world.

Home Rule.

Home rule will not solve the Irish question. Whether it be good or bad, England could permit no serious development of Ireland under what is called Home Rule unless she abandoned the policy of English Absolutism in the Empire. Between the utter destruction of Ireland and the permanent separation of the two countries, there is only one *via media*—the reconstruction of the British Empire on the model of Germany or Austria Hungary, a reconstruction which would mean the end of England as the world has known it for the past 200 years, and the appearance of a new England whose relationship to Ireland would be the relationship of Austria to Hungary or Prussia to Bavaria. That *via media* England will always voluntarily refuse to tread. We have in Ireland men who talk about the Empire, while they call themselves Nationalists. Let them not deceive anybody. The Empire today is England—only England—and if Germany went down completely in this war, England would be freer and stronger to choke the Irish nation to death than she is today.

What Has England Lost?

No man who lives will see France, whatever the event [outcome, Ed.] of this war, recover her strength. Her dwindling manhood has been slaughtered by the hundred thousand, and her industry and commerce ruined by the hundred million. Thirty years will pass before Belgium again may become what she was twelve months ago. But what has England lost—a hundred

thousand Irish, Scots, Indians, Canadians, mixed with her own, who are drawn from a population of eight million men, and a few hundred million pounds that in the event of decisive victory she will recover from Germany. Her soil is free, her trade and industry and commerce, however diminished, run along the appointed channels. France and Belgium are devastated and decimated. England is still intact. Her newspapers make it appear that her—in this stupendous war—negligible army of 150,000 men is doing the real fighting in a war in which two and a half million French and Belgians are in the fighting line. Her fleet has cleared the seas of German commerce, and affords protection to her own and to her coasts. Her manhood remains at home to “capture German trade”, and her statesmen see in triumph for her a greater triumph than when she destroyed the maritime power of Holland and France to the end that she might dominate the seas and the world’s commerce. For whatever power grows strong in ships that power England will essay to destroy by leaguing Europe against it, as she has leagued Europe against Germany.

36.

No. 1189, Vol. XXII, No.47 The Continental Times October 18, 1915

Sir Roger Casement On Sir Edward Grey

The report that Sir Edward Grey may cease to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain in consequence of British policy in the Balkans comes to us to-day from the Tory and Imperialist organs of the English press.

Over four years ago it was the Radical newspapers demanded Sir Edward Grey’s resignation on the ground of his antagonism to Germany which a small band of far-seeing Englishmen then perceived must lead their country into war if Sir Edward Grey’s policy was not restrained.

The reply in 1911 of the permanent imperialist powers (individuals within the British State, Editor) that direct British policy to the attack then made public by a section of the Liberal press on a Liberal Foreign Minister was to make him a Knight of the Garter, an honour only once before conferred on a Commoner.

Now it is these unseen but omnipotent forces that rule King, Cabinet and Commons that apparently through their press, desire the retirement of the Foreign Minister who for ten years has served as their docile and obedient tool.

Tool is perhaps, an ungenerous word to apply to Sir Edward Grey, but it is the Minister, not the man; I would indicate it might be truer to say that for ten years, under the guise of a Liberal statesman, he has been used as a shield between the Foreign Office and all Liberal criticisms of its policy; the shield behind which, with a nominally democratic government in power the permanent plotters against German unity and expansion might develop their attack unseen, unchecked and uncontrolled by the forces that were supposedly the masters of English public action. The ten years of ‘Liberalism’ at the Foreign Office since 1905, under the nominal direction of a Liberal Minister, will go down in history as the most criminal, the most audacious and, I believe, in the end the most disastrous in all English history.

It would be unjust to blame Sir Edward Grey for the failure of the Foreign Office policy in the Balkans any more than to blame him personally for its triumph in bringing about the war as a result of those long years of plotting.

The war against Germany was decreed years ago by those powers that own the Foreign Office and drive, not guide, the English people, and the personality of the Foreign Minister had as little to do with the result achieved as the personal character of an Archbishop of Canterbury has to do with the policy of the Church of England.

Sir Edward Grey was by constitution, temperament and lack of training, no less than the absence of the special qualities needed, unfit for the post the exigencies of political party life placed him in charge of, on the return of the Liberals to office, after ten years of exclusion from power in December 1905.

He knew little of foreign countries, or the life of other peoples. He was not a student of history, a profound thinker, a well-read man or one even who moved much among his own countrymen. His tastes were those of a stay at home country gentleman, a Whig rather than a Liberal in political outlook, and one who preferred to be left alone with a fishing-rod on the banks of a quiet stream to fishing with a rod he did not know how to handle in the troubled waters of European diplomacy.

The family traditions of a political house forced him into Parliament; the necessities of Party planning and the trickeries of Cabinet making forced him into the Ministry.

As he had filled the subordinate office of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the last Liberal Ministry when Lord Rosebery was Prime Minister it was felt that on the return of the Liberals to office in 1906, Sir Edward Grey was designed to occupy the post of which he had once been Lord Rosebery’s understudy.

For an explanation of Sir Edward Grey’s failure as a Liberal Foreign Minister of England it is necessary to return to the period when Lord Rosebery succeeded Mr. Gladstone in 1893 and the seven or eight preceding years.

The explanation of very much of later English political life and particularly of the withdrawal of foreign affairs from the domain of party or public discussion in Parliament lies in Mr. Gladstone's downfall over the Irish Question.

The triumph of English Toryism, reaction and Imperialism, following the vain attempt of the greatest of English Liberals to do political justice to Ireland, was not a passing event. The failure of Liberalism in Ireland brought with it the permanent eclipse of Liberalism as a power in foreign affairs and left those to be controlled without question by the influences that had opposed Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy as treachery to the majesty of England and which had hurled the Liberals from office on the grounds that justice to Ireland was treachery to the Empire and the disruption of the Kingdom.

Up to Mr. Gladstone's surrender to the Home Rule demand, Parliament delighted in discussing, in inspecting, in prescribing and to a great extent even in controlling the foreign affairs of the country. Debates on foreign policy were the order of the day. Next to the Budget and the control of taxation the House of Commons regarded its influence over the conduct of foreign affairs as one of the prescriptive rights of the People, to be constantly affirmed. The claim was hateful to the Crown and the growing forces of imperialism that had no open place in party life,—still an affair of 'Whig' and 'Tory', of 'Ins and Outs'.

General Elections were lost and won on the issue of foreign affairs—as, for instance, when Mr. Gladstone turned Beaconsfield out of office in 1880 very largely on the question of the 'Bulgarian atrocities' and England's relations with Turkey.

At that date both front benches were equally patriotic in the eyes of the country. Neither asserted or could claim a larger share in upholding British interests abroad. No question of the "surrender of British interests" to "traitors" had ever arisen to taint the fair fame of the Liberal (or Whig) party until Mr. Gladstone discovered Ireland. But in the years 1880 to 1886 Mr. Gladstone committed a double surrender, in the name of Liberalism, that gave his opponents, the Conservatives, the chance of a century. In a night the Liberal party was rent in twain, the Conservatives became the Tories of a hundred years before. They laid hold of the Empire; they grasped the sceptre of Imperialism and bore it scornfully out of the House of Commons. The Englishman's birthright must not be so rendered to "rebels" and "traitors".

Mr. Gladstone's surrender, first to the Boers after Majuba in 1881 and next to Mr. Parnell and the Irish people in 1885/86, gave the Conservatives an opening they seized and held, and one they forced the Liberals to pass through as the only way of return to public life. The opening was the door that took the custody of 'imperial affairs'—i.e. foreign policy—out of the open assembly of the people into the closed air of the Cabinet Council and the closed doors of the Foreign Office.

The new Gospel of a Liberalism that sought to give political freedom to Ireland, that restored the Transvaal to the Boers, that was charged with intent to break up the British Empire, in fine, a gospel of Liberalism abroad as well as at home, was startling to the masses of Englishmen and hateful to the classes. The former did not understand and heard only the shameful words "surrender", "traitors", "treason mongers"; the latter understood it only too well. They saw too that by associating Mr. Gladstone's most unpopular effort, that to be just to Ireland, and by linking up the hated name of Irish nationality with a policy of "Surrender of British Rights" they might exclude the Liberal Party from office for a score of years and in that period erect on solid foundations the framework of a great Imperial structure secure from popular interference or the prying eyes of popular representatives.

The idea of "Empire" was preached in place of patriotism and those who dared think first of England and the home necessities of Englishmen, were scornfully termed 'Little Englanders'.

Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1893, refusing to forego his Irish convictions, to be followed by a weak-kneed "Liberal" who had been his Foreign Minister. Lord Rosebery, never at heart a Liberal, was always an Imperialist. Sir Edward Grey, his admirer, and pupil in the Foreign Office, was there in 1895 when the crash came and the Liberals were driven into the wilderness at the General Election, charged with the crime of surrendering the Briton's birthright—Ireland, India, South Africa etc. etc.—to a band of traitors and blackmailers.

The heritage of John Bull's centuries of toil must not be left in the hands of such a party to dispose of. The cause of patriotism became that of Imperialism and was definitely committed to those who had opposed the great surrender to Ireland and got this surrender as their reward.

The Empire, imperilled by Liberalism was safe in the hands of those who had detected the crime and of these no question need be asked. The Liberals, in the wilderness, dare not air their voices on any foreign question without the cry of "traitor" being raised. For them it was too dangerous, for the Tories it was not fit that the representatives of "the people" should have any voice in matters best left to their Lords and Masters to deal with in silence.

It thus came about that the two Front Benches—the Tory Government in office and the would-be Liberal Government out of office—agreed to exclude the topic of foreign affairs from Parliamentary discussion.

Thenceforward a policy of parliamentary silence on all grave aspects of foreign affairs became the accepted role of both great parties of state.

The Tories had won. The Empire was saved, but at the cost that the people to whom it was supposed to belong should have nothing to say about its management. Parliament was excluded from the greatest issues; a debate in

the House of Commons on any matter of foreign concern became rarer and rarer; the two front benches willed silence.

With the return of Lord Salisbury to office in 1895, with a clear mandate to do as he pleased, the question of parliamentary discussion of foreign affairs may be said to have been settled.

The Foreign Secretary was in the House of Lords—a permanent institution of reactionary powers. He was represented in the House of Commons by a nobody or a fool, and as the Liberals dared not discuss the forbidden topic and the Tories were sure that all was being done as they wished it, the control of foreign policy passed absolutely into the hands of the permanent officials, men responsible to neither parliament or people, to whom their very names were unknown, but to the Crown alone.

Thus came King Edward. How he used his unchecked powers in the domain of foreign affairs is known only too well to-day.

When, in December 1905, the Liberals returned to office, with Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, they did not return to power in matters of foreign policy. The system was already well established. The Liberals by their cowardice and treachery to the cause of Irish independence had really forfeited their own. No Minister, however strong, could have broken the power of the ring of irresponsibles around the King who drove the coach of state surely and relentlessly to a well-planned war with Germany. A strong and far-seeing man, a statesman, might have resisted, fought and resigned. Sir Edward Grey was none of these things.

At heart a peace-loving, a domestic, a quiet man, he had been raised to an office he was wholly unfitted for and chiefly just for that reason. The powers that drove the car of state did not want a wiser man.

They preferred a man with the taint of “Liberal Imperialism” in his blood, since a Liberal Government had to be accepted at the hands of the English electors.

They demanded that they should get a type of Liberal sent to the Foreign Office whom they should be able to adapt without trouble to the purposes of that ‘continuity of foreign policy’ they already had well in view.

That Sir Edward Grey was just the man they wanted is shown through every sentence of that momentous speech of his, delivered on August 3rd, 1914, to the House of Commons on the eve of the declaration of war.

Then, for the first time in his ten years of office, he tells the tale of how he had failed. In that fateful pronouncement the Minister stated the case against himself.

He shows how, in the Morocco crisis of 1906, at the time of the Algeciras Conference he allowed himself to be exploited by the Foreign Office and the French Government acting together, into giving that government a pledge of united military and naval support against Germany ‘should a sudden crisis arise’.

Of course, like all the undertakings of the Foreign Office on behalf of the Entente these “conversations between military and naval experts” (already in 1906!) were purely diplomatic overtures and were in no ways to ‘bind or restrict’ the freedom of the Government “to make a decision as to whether or not they would give that support when the time arose”.

How could a Government that knew nothing about these “conversations” and “agreements” decide anything wisely “when the time arose”? For Sir Edward Grey assured the House of Commons that if Parliament had been kept in the dark so, too, had the Cabinet. Speaking of these first “conversations between naval and military experts” in January 1906— “when a General Election was in progress and Ministers scattered all over the country and I spending three days a week in my constituency and three days a week at the Foreign Office” Sir Edward Grey explained in August 1914 to Parliament “the fact that conversations between military and naval experts took place was later on—I think much later on, because that crisis passed and the thing ceased to be of importance—but later on it was brought to the knowledge of the Cabinet”.

We hear exactly the same phraseology of futility eight years later.

In July 1914 when war was certainly decided on and when, as Sir Edward Grey’s speech of August 3rd shows, it had been prepared for and made certain by a series of naval and military agreements, he comes forward with a final assurance that a Fleet in line of battle at sea to support an Army in line of battle on land is only a measure of “diplomatic support”.

This time it is the Assurance of July 27th, 1914 to the Russian Government feverishly mobilising all its forces for war that in order to ensure peace Sir Edward Grey pledges them the full strength of the British Fleet that will not disperse but will remain mobilised—to be used “for diplomatic support only”.

The military agreement with France in November 1912, the precedent “conversations” in 1906 between “naval and military experts”, the attempt to compromise Belgian neutrality under the pretext of defending it by a military convention, the Russian understanding in Persia and elsewhere, and finally mobilisation of the British fleet in June-July 1914 under the guise of a review by King George—all these well-planned and carefully devised steps to ensure war are dismissed as kindly efforts to furnish “diplomatic support” to Powers with which Great Britain had no agreement of any kind, her hands being always “entirely free”.

If Sir Edward Grey believed the things he said in his despatches to British representatives abroad, and later in his explanation to the House of Commons, we must believe him to be a very incompetent man.

If he did not believe the things he said we must believe him to be a rogue. Now I know Sir Edward Grey well enough to believe that he is at heart a kindly and well-disposed man, with very good intentions; and so I am convinced he believed the things he said.

I prefer to regard him, not as the villain of the piece, but as he himself once put it, "the fly on the wheel" of State—the victim rather than the vindicator of British Imperial aims.

Those aims were already fixed, and the driver at his post when, to vary the metaphor, Sir Edward Grey entered the car.

Instead of guiding the engine, he was received as a passenger, and became a helpless spectator as he was being whirled to destruction, along with his country, by a route he knew nothing of and the time-table in other hands. He heard only the voices of the resolute and determined band of imperial criminals who assured him that a war chariot being driven straight into battle was only an international wagon lit (sleeping car, Editor) and that he might sleep in peace until the conductor announced the destination.

To-day, when they have brought the chariot to a standstill on the blood-soaked plains of Flanders and broken its axles in the gullies of Gallipoli, the criminals turn upon the hired man and charge him with bad driving.

Sir Edward Grey did just what he was told to do from the first and now when the "peace, peace" that was cried when the guilty hands were at the engine is turned into the horrid shouts of a war of destruction and annihilation instead of a paean of victory, they raise a cry of incompetence. Incompetent he is indeed, and always has been to control such a vehicle, driven by such men. But the end is not yet.

Sir Edward Grey will not retire. The English do not readily change horses when crossing a stream—and the river into which they have driven grows deeper.

Changes of plan, of direction, there will be—but no change of "driver". The battle will take on a new front, that is all. The Great War that was devised for the destruction of Germany is now fast developing into one for the downfall of the British Empire. Turkey instead of "digging her own grave with her own hands," as Asquith assured the world last November, has wielded a shovel in the Gallipoli peninsular that conceivably may dig the grave of the British Empire in the East and in the Mediterranean.

To openly abandon the operations in Gallipoli and admit a crushing defeat at the hands of the despised Turks might at once sound the death-knell of British supremacy in Egypt, to be followed by disaster in India. The way out of the Gallipoli cemetery lies clearly through the harbour of Salonica.

To involve Greece in the World War and get another 'small nationality' into the fire on behalf of Great Britain's world empire is a simple effort for those who took up arms on behalf of Belgium's "violated neutrality". Greece with 400,000 armed men may yet save the situation. At any rate the fight there, on her soil, with her ports, her coast line, her railways and resources at the disposal of the invaders of her neutrality, will be a much easier one than in the shambles of Gallipoli.

It carries the scene of conflict too, a little further from Egypt and the East. Anything to achieve that. Stir up anew the fire and flame of Balkan animosities. If possible bring Cross against Crescent; put Macedonian against Greek and who knows but that the Empire of the East shall yet escape the shock of battle?

The complete failure of British Foreign policy is indeed in view—but the author of the failure is not Sir Edward Grey.

The war that began in the hope of destroying Germany is drawing to its close in the desperate fear that the British Empire cannot be saved.

To save it now lies far beyond the power of England alone. She must at all costs get fresh allies—involve new neutrals. Indeed if it is to be saved at all she sees that Neutrality itself is a threat. To be neutral to-day is to be the enemy of Great Britain, the foe of British Imperialism.

Greece, no more than Belgium, can be permitted to keep out of the conflict.

Since the Gallipoli adventure, if persisted in, must spell the destruction of British power and prestige in the East, England is determined to transfer the conflict to an easier battlefield and to compel Greece by invasion and conflict on her own soil, to enter the field. A man cannot remain neutral if his home becomes the scene of a furious conflict between a housebreaker, bent on using his house and the neighbour he assails from that vantage point.

Once a conflict can be forced on the soil of Greece between the allied invaders and the Macedonian neighbour it will be impossible for the Greek army not to shoot someone.

The task of the invaders is to see that it shoots only in one direction. That accomplished, England has secured a fresh ally and an army of 400,000 men to help her desperate effort to keep the war from Egypt, the Suez Canal and India.

A fresh "Armenian Massacre" having been deftly provoked by a conspiracy engineered from the British Embassy at Constantinople, whereby English arms, money and uniforms, were to be furnished to the Armenians on condition that they rose against the Turkish Government, England now turns to the humanitarian impulse of the American people to secure a fresh sword against Turkey. America is being stirred with tales of horror against the Turks—with appeals to American manhood on behalf of a tortured and outraged people. The plan was born in the (British) Foreign Office; and the agency for carrying through the conspiracy against Turkish sovereignty in Armenia was Sir Louis Mallet, the late British Ambassador at Constantinople.

Just as the war began with England declaring she was fighting for the cause of Belgian neutrality so will it end with England's violation of Greek neutrality. The initial lie brings always the final lie—and this time the doom of the liar. The initial lie indeed lies much further back than the falsehood

about Belgium. It lies in the falsity of the Liberal party to its pledges to Ireland. In order to undo with the British Electorate, so far as possible, while preserving the Irish vote, the impression that because they were "Home Rulers" in word they were not good Imperialists in fact, the Liberal party consented to the whole domain of foreign affairs being removed from the control of Parliament and handed over to a clique behind the throne. Sir Edward Grey's part was only that of a weak and ineffective Liberal chosen to represent a Liberalism that had already abdicated, in a Foreign Office it had already agreed to hand over to the enemies of Liberalism. The result was certain and we see its fruits to-day.

King Edward and his secret counsellors had as much concern in a Liberal Foreign Minister's advent to office as they had in the advent of the Duma or the coming of the Persian "Constitution". They knew their man and they knew that the Foreign Office was theirs whoever might be nominally placed at its head.

To-day Sir Edward Grey may look back on ten years of "deceit, falsehood and treachery" without a blush. They were not of his planning, and only of his doing in so far as a puppet may be said to do anything.

He even believed, I am sure, throughout the whole period and up to the very declaration of war itself, that he was the Peace Keeper of Europe. He was told so by his advisers—and masters.

The men who for their own ends and the better to conceal their aims dubbed King Edward the plotter "Edward the Peacemaker", assured the other Edward that he was the greatest Foreign Minister in Europe and that in his strong hands reposed the peace of the world.

And the man who subscribed in my hearing, in November 1901 to Lord Rosebery's adjuring of his home Rule pledge to Ireland at Chesterfield—and who, in my hearing, got up before that great assembly of Liberals and declared in those perjured words the Liberal Party had a lead of statesmanship to follow—that man could easily believe that it was possible to enter into secret armed "conversations" of naval and military experts, all of them plainly directed to one end alone, the sure and certain attack on one people and one country, and that in so doing he was but pledging the "diplomatic support" of Great Britain to the cause of peace and not to the certainty of war. The price that English Liberalism has paid for its treachery to the cause of Ireland has been to hand the world policy of England over to King Edward VII and Sir Edward Grey.

Now that the end of that policy and of the plotters is well in sight, I hope that Ireland, the Nemesis of the British Empire, will be in at the death.

(October 11th, 1915)

37.

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"Ireland, Germany And The Freedom Of The Seas."

The Pamphlet Lives On in Ireland.

The English press of the 20th and 21st inst. [September, Editor] states that Sir Roger Casement's series of essays on the joint rôle of Germany and Ireland in the effort to free the seas from the domination of Great Britain, are being widely circulated in pamphlet form in Ireland. *The Times* says the pamphlet is clearly of "German-American origin!" As if *The Times* had not seen it before. *The Daily Telegraph*, in reporting the widespread distribution of the pamphlet "through the post" states that it had been sent out under covers "bearing the names of well known Irish or English trading firms". Of course. Why not? The freedom of the seas being the basis of all British prosperity, it is only fitting that those who benefit so regally from that freedom should wish to circulate a thesis that embodies its larger aspects and points the moral that what is so necessary to one is essential to all.

The Times ventures the hardy annual, in this late autumn weather, that Sir Roger's well-known pamphlet is clearly "the work of German-Americans", and obviously the product of German Gold. There is no branch of human activity today, in contradiction to the sacred cause of "the Allies" that is not the product of "German Gold". Sven Hedin is the offspring of German Gold. The Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, Mr. Bryan, some American diplomats, some American newspapers—*The Continental Times* are all products of "German Gold".

We know that the Pope is already a bought Prince of Peace; and we confidently wait the moment when our own President and Mr. Lansing, on the day when public opinion compels them to take action against the "Dictator of the Maritime law of nations" shall also pass under the yoke of German gold.

Meantime it is indeed a source of regret that highly respectable and well-known Irish and English trading firms should circulate Sir Roger Casement's pamphlet on the freedom of the seas broadcast through Ireland, for the sake of a handful of "German Gold".

STILL FURTHER NORTH.

*Dr. John Quincy Emerson
Grows Warmer in his Revelations.*

Another Open letter to the Open-minded.

Trondjheim, 6th October, 1915

To the Editor

I see Sir Edward Grey has been accusing the German Government again of bad faith—this time in the Balkans.

England planned that “the principle of nationality” should be respected in the New Balkans and Near East that was to come under her aegis—Germany desires only domination. Germany will respect nothing—England would have built up a Federation of “Nationalities” each founded on racial unity. To emphasize her respect for this principle she promptly annexed Cyprus (to say nothing of her “protectorate” over Egypt) the population of which is wholly Greek. She will not return Cyprus to Greece at any call of racial unity—but I will return shortly to Cyprus, for it exemplifies in a double way the falsity of England’s professions—that she respects either racial unity or the sanctity of treaties. She outrages both by her presence in Cyprus.

I want for the moment to deal with my friend Sir Edward Grey. It was Napoleon, I think, who said that the falsification of official documents was more common with the English than with any other nation. Sir Edward Grey is claimed by his friends to be thoroughly English, and no one who has read his famous White Paper, giving his version of the origin of the war, or his speeches in Parliament explaining what the White Paper omitted to make clear, can doubt for a moment his nationality. The White Paper has already been revised twice, I think, certain *lacunae* having been discovered, even after a triple editing, that gave the mockers occasion to revive Napoleon’s calumny. There were dates that had gone astray and curious discrepancies that showed a later hand at work than that ostensibly penning the despatch. At the second revision it was hoped that the present edition (the 3rd edition let us call it, second million, cheap or popular issue at 1d.) was above detection even by an expert. The most careful revising eye in the Foreign Office could find no opening for attack. Alas, for the reputation of the experts!—one still remains, and perhaps a worse break than any of those that have brought the

previous editions back to the printer’s hands. And this time it is Sir Edward Grey himself who is caught out by his revising staff—but certainly not before he had run up a good score. I wonder which of the junior clerks is responsible this time for the last, and let up hope final, revise of the English account of how they did not begin the war.

The British White Book (Revised Version) opens on July 20th, with a despatch dated that day from Sir E. Grey to the British Ambassador in Berlin in which Sir Edward Grey states that he had told the German Ambassador that day that “*he had not heard anything recently*” from Vienna on the Servian situation, “*except that Count Berchtold in speaking to the Italian Ambassador in Vienna had deprecated the suggestion that the situation was grave*”.

To more fully confirm the statement that he had no information from Vienna, on July 20th, Sir E. Grey begins his first despatch of the White Book with an enquiry addressed to Prince Lichnowsky: “I asked the German Ambassador to-day (July 20th) if he had any news of what was going on in Vienna with regard to Servia”, and then went on to confess his own ignorance in the words quoted. I fear Sir Edward Grey’s reputation as a simple English country gentleman will be hard to sustain in face of the 1d White Book now issued for popular consumption throughout the English speaking world. In this cheaper form of the British case we find a despatch, No. 161, from Sir Maurice de Bunsen, to Sir Edward Grey, dated the 1st September, that convicts the British Secretary of something more than the *suppرسio veri* in his statement to the German Ambassador on July 20th. In this dispatch the British Ambassador at Vienna says:

“As for myself, no indication was given me by Count Berchtold of the impending storm, and it was from a private source that *I received on July 15th the forecast of what was about to happen which I telegraphed you on the following day*.”

Thus on July 16th Sir Edward Grey was in receipt of a telegraphic despatch from His Majesty’s Ambassador at Vienna informing him of the impending ultimatum to Servia, *information on which His Majesty’s Government took instant action, as I shall proceed to show*.

When, therefore, on July 20th, Sir Edward Grey said to the German Ambassador: “I had not heard anything recently”, there was not only a deliberate falsehood—we must call the thing by its right name—but there was the clear intention to mislead the German Government into believing that the English Government did not feel the situation to be grave, whereas they had just taken an unprecedented step to meet the “impending storm”, transcending in constitutional importance anything done by a British Cabinet since the days of James II.

On receipt of the British ambassador’s despatch of July 16th, announcing

the forthcoming Austrian ultimatum to Servia, the cabinet had immediately gathered (July 16th) and at once decided that war was, if not inevitable, so exceedingly probable, that at all costs the home-field of English politics must be put straight. The Irish question, complicated by the threatened Ulster "rebellion", had to be got out of the way if the decks were to be cleared for action. And the decks *were* cleared for action: for the whole Fleet was already mobilized, awaiting the visit of King George V, arranged for that very day. Instead of going to Portsmouth the King remained at Buckingham Palace, where on July 17th, an Emergency Council of Ministers was summoned *and held under the Presidency of the Sovereign*—a step that had not been taken since the Hanoverians came to the throne in 1715.

Not only was the Constitution, as observed for two centuries, violated in this extraordinary proceeding but a still more extraordinary step was taken.

Not content with holding a Council in the presence of the King, the Ministers invited the leaders of the Ulster "rebellion" and the leaders of the Irish Nationalist Party into counsel with the Sovereign. Sir E. Carson and his principal lieutenant from Ulster and Messrs. Redmond and Dillon, were summoned to Buckingham Palace to learn from the lips of the Monarch the exceeding gravity of the situation, and were urged, in the name of the national safety, to put aside the Home Rule question for the time so that the United Kingdom might face the tremendous issue before it with no internal dissension to weaken its forces.

This accomplished, the King proceeded to "review" the Grand Fleet mobilized to its strongest war strength—an array of battleships such as the world had never seen—and Sir Edward Grey proceeded to wait for three days to "ring up" the German Ambassador and then nonchalantly ask if his Excellency had "any news of what is going on in Vienna" since he, poor Sir Edward, "*had not heard anything recently*".

It is clear that if the English Foreign Office does not require a new Foreign Secretary, it certainly needs a new Blue Book department for the stricter editing and revision of the official utterances of its chief. I would suggest that the Archbishop of Canterbury be taken into the Cabinet for this purpose. The clear eye of the Church, fortified by a profound study of Holy Writ, might strengthen English diplomacy just in that very particular where Napoleon pointed out its weakness.

And now to return to Cyprus.

This island, inhabited by a Greek population, was occupied by England as the pledge of the "Peace with honor" negotiations concluded between the late Lord Salisbury and the Sultan in 1878. England pledged her national word and honour "to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan" from Russian attack, and in return for this guarantee, the island of Cyprus was to be "occupied" by her, Turkish sovereignty remaining legally intact, so

that a *point d'appui* for the defence of Asia Minor might be in the hands of the defending power.

In 1914 Russia declared war upon Turkey and the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan are invaded. England, although she was under no treaty obligation to Russia or bound by any agreement to that Power, her hands being "perfectly free", as Sir Edward Grey assures Parliament repeatedly, and although she was bound to defend Turkey from this very attack, proceeds to violate her treaty with Turkey and commits a double act of national dishonor.

She not only does not fulfil her promise to defend the invaded region she has taken under her protection, but she seizes the very gage entrusted to her keeping to assure the fulfilment of that promise and she co-operates with the invader by herself assaulting the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan. She annexes Cyprus and joins Russia in the assault on Asia Minor.

So much for the sanctity of treaties when British interests call for their violation.

She next proceeds to stir up the Balkan states against Turkey, assuring them, though the mouth of Sir William Tyrrell, Sir Edward Grey's special envoy and *fidus achates*, that if they will enter the field she will see that the Turkish corpse is cut up handsomely. She goes further. If they will side with England respect for their "racial integrity" will be the guiding factor in the forming of a New East. Servia will be "induced" to restore to Bulgaria the Macedonian districts she had seized in the second Balkan War, whose inhabitants were overwhelmingly Bulgar.

Greece would be "prevailed on" to rectify the frontier towards Drama and Kavalla, regions that Bulgaria had been robbed of in the same conflict.

Italy was promised the whole of Northern Dalmatia, despite the fact that this territory belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Crown for centuries, and that it contained only three per cent of an Italian population, 97% of its people being Croatian Slavs.

To Greece I know not what Sir William Tyrrell offered; but I do know that he did *not* offer to give Cyprus. Large tracts of the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan England was pledged to defend were assuredly offered to Mr. Venizelos, always as part of the scheme of "racial unity and integrity" on which England desired to found a Moral Balkan Federation in opposition to the immoral aims of German diplomacy.

From Athens, Nish and Sofia Sir William Tyrrell journeyed to Bucharest. Just beyond Bucharest lies Bessarabia, a Romanian territory inhabited by Romanians, that Holy Russia seized in 1878 when England was accomplishing her Peace with Honour occupation of Cyprus.

That Russia agreed to give back Bessarabia to Romania or that Sir William Tyrrell "offered" it in return for Romanian help is nowhere indicated.

The principle of "racial unity" becomes something else when it has to

be gratified at the expense of Russia—or of England.

Islands, Capes, Peninsulas, Kingdoms, Principalities and Powers—all these are freely offered by England to secure an ally—when they belong to somebody else.

It is on such conceptions as these of legality, morality, and national right that Sir Edward Grey, a few days ago, founded a charge against Germany of disregard for the principles of nationality and of an unscrupulous policy in the Balkans.

I am really getting tired of Sir Edward Grey and his high moral aims. They are directed everywhere, and they miss no mark however small.

A man who shoots off a revolver in the street is arrested; but a statesman who fires off high moral aims in every direction, regardless of who they hit, sits in judgment on the whole of mankind.

Dr. Dumba's case is the worst, in all truth, I have ever heard of. His letter to Mr. Lansing showing how shamefully he had been treated will not be forgotten in America.

Nor, I hope, will the case of Mr. Gaffney be forgotten. Our Bullmooses may roar and bellow; but the American people will listen, I am convinced, to the still small voice of reason, justice and truth when the time comes at the next election to say who shall interpret our national ideals to the world.

Before I close a somewhat discursive letter and move still further northward in search of a safe route home, I cannot refrain from interpolating an amusing story in this somewhat irate communication. For I really am incensed at Sir Edward Grey and his continued appearances in the part of the English Country Gentleman.

It appears that in the recent grand offensive of the English forces at Loos, an English Brigadier-General and his staff, believing that the day was won and the enemy entirely driven off the field entered a farmhouse and began a game of bridge. So engrossed were they in the game they forgot to look out the window.

The first intimation they had of the retreat of the English forces and the return of the routed enemy was when a young German officer *Freiwilliger* appeared at the doorway with a grenade in each hand and shouted: "Hands up!"

And so the Brigadier-General became a "Bridge-adier"-General and is now finishing his game at Crefeld! It is by such little ironies as these that the tragedy of the trench becomes a comedy where "spades are trumps".

Our Brigadier-General will be much less dangerous to his own army in a German fortress than at the head of the storming columns he led with such a hand as this.

By the way, the position of the Count de Lalaing, the Belgian Minister in London, cannot be a very agreeable one since the publication by the

German Government of the despatches they have selected from the Belgian archives in Brussels.

Among these very compromising documents there are some thirty of Count de Lalaing to his government. It is true Count de Lalaing does not go quite so far as his colleagues at Paris and Berlin in fixing the blame for the World War on England, but he none the less speaks very frankly and for one who was *persona gratissima* at the English Court his guarded words have great significance. Here is how Count de Lalaing wrote of the *Daily Mail* and its famous proprietor ten years ago.

Writing to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs on May 24th, 1907, (my birthday by the way) he thus deals with that portion of the press controlled by Lord Northcliffe.

"A certain category of the press, known here under the title of the 'Yellow Press', is largely responsible for the bad feeling that is seen to exist between the two peoples. What indeed can one expect from a journalist like Mr. Harmsworth, to-day become Lord Northcliffe, Editor of the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Express*, *Evening News*, and *Weekly Dispatch*, and who in an interview he has just given to the *Matin*, exclaims:-

"Yes, we cordially detest the Germans. They have become hateful to all Europe. I will not allow that the least thing is printed in my paper that could wound France, but I would not have anything inserted there, no matter what it might be, that could give the least pleasure to Germany."

And in 1899 this same editor attacked France with the same violence, wished to boycott the Paris Exhibition, and wrote thus:

"The French have succeeded in convincing John Bull that they are his determined enemies. England has for a long time hesitated between France and Germany; but it has always respected the German character, while it has come to have only contempt for France.

A cordial understanding (*une entente cordiale*) cannot exist between England and her nearest neighbor. We have had enough of France. She has neither courage or any political understanding."

(The Belgian Minister in London to his Foreign Minister,
No. 30 of the despatches from the Belgian Archives.)

And to-day it is the German character, Lord Northcliffe and the English "always respected", has become that of "human beasts", of "Huns", of "manwolves".

When I was in London the Belgian Minister used to go much into society. One of his brothers, the artist, I frequently met. I wonder how Count de Lalaing and Lord Northcliffe now greet each other—or for that matter how Count de Lalaing and Sir Edward Grey now meet? It must be rather hard for them, I should think, to keep their faces.

But "diplomacy" is a weird and wonderful thing; as these successive issues of English White Papers abundantly show. Probably Sir Edward greets the Belgian Minister to-day just as formerly and *vice versa*.

I suppose the great question before the world to-day is how we should be governed. It is clear there is no people fit to govern themselves and somebody must do it for them. How is the task to be assumed and discharged? That is the question.

Just at present the conflict rages between those who stand for government by the *Daily Mail* and *New York World*, and those who maintain that "Prussian bureaucracy" provides the higher result. In neither case are the People consulted, but if we judge by results, the verdict, I think, must be given not to the press rule, but to its opponent.

There can be no question that law, order, method and manhood prevail in "Prussia", things we shall certainly not find in the great communities subject to the London and New York yellow press.

Summing it up, I prefer as an instrument of human culture the bayonet of the Pomeranian grenadier to the pen of the Fleet Street editor. The one embroils two worlds with ink—the other fights to save his own country with his blood.

I hope shortly, like great Orion, to go, "slowly sloping to the West".

Whether I shall land at New York or San Francisco is not yet certain. It depends on the route taken; and just as the stars in their courses are sometimes assailed by human perversity, so I, too may be forced to travel East in order to get West.

It is possible I shall proceed by way of Spitzbergen or Franz Josef Land, as in winter, I am assured, not even British cruisers can violate the neutrality of the Arctic Circle.

In that case I shall travel via Behring's Straits, with the bells of my dog sleigh making happy music amid those vast solitudes of ice, my path illumined faintly by the Zodiacial Lights, so much more cheering to one like me than the keen searchlights of the British Admiralty.

In any case I am determined that my little *dossier* shall not share the fate of Dr. Dumba's letter, and become a "copyright" theft for the *New York World*, after Sir Edward Grey, (with high moral aims and a false key) has abstracted the papers bearing on Mr. Findlay's strict observance of Norwegian neutrality.

I know my worth; and it will be cheaper to invest \$20,000 in an Arctic expedition of my own to putting the English treasury to double that expense in a fruitless effort to prevent me enjoying the "personal immunity" of my own homeland.

Very respectfully, *John Quincy Emerson*, L.L.D.

39.

No. 1201. Vol. XXII, No. 59 The Continental Times November 15, 1915

Ireland and the World War.

(I) The Emerald Isle and its Giant Parasite.

—its Ruthless and Systematic Ruin.

The relation of Ireland to England is little understood in Germany.

In France there is some lingering memory of the days, more than one hundred years ago, when Ireland expected freedom to come from the shores of Gaul; in Spain a still older memory of a common aim that united the Ireland of the sixteenth Century with the Empire of Phillip II, against the common enemy, Elizabeth.

But in Germany, to find a tie with Ireland, one must go back to the earliest Middle Ages, when Irish monks and Irish culture brought to the Rhineland, to Bavaria and Franconia something of what Irishmen themselves most revered—the teaching of the Church. So far off a memory is not readily recalled. And in the interval a rigid system of political, economic and social exclusion has been established against Ireland to shut it off from contact with Europe. At the same time Europe was "warned off" Ireland.

The aggrandizement of England required the absorption of Ireland; and to effect this it was necessary not only to feed upon the victim but to defame him as you dined. Lest any one should inspect the process or interpret the meal, England established the legend that Ireland was a poor and worthless country and the people idle, dissolute and disorderly. The legend has had a long innings, began centuries ago. When England herself was Catholic she went to Ireland to "reform" the Irish who were then "bad Catholics". When England became Protestant—in a night—she attacked the Irish because they were too good Catholics.

So with everything else that distinguished the land—she plundered in the interest of morality and the Irish resisted because they were evil-doers.

Having accomplished and left little to take save the character of the people she took that too—as today she strives to take away the character of the German people.

Instead of being poor and worthless Ireland is, acre for acre, probably the richest country in Europe. The soil is extraordinarily fertile and produces crops that exceed in yield those of any neighboring state.

So with the cattle, horses and sheep, by nature the island was made prosperous, by man made destitute. Not that man did not work here. He

worked well and produced so much. But another man, with an organized system of robbery under arms, took from him, day by day, and year by year, the product of his toil, and when the robber had grown fat he denounced the victim as a vagabond.

The policy of England was two-fold: to weaken and get rid of the Irish people and plant the land with Englishmen instead; next to corrupt the inhabitants, of whatever blood they might be, so that they should cease to regard Ireland as their motherland, but should substitute England and so consent to the wealth of Ireland being appropriated for English uses.

To accomplish the first a succession of wars and massacres was maintained for centuries. To achieve the last the most dishonest system of government that man has anywhere established was set up.

Its outcome was the Act of Union of 1801 whereby the sovereign Parliament of Ireland was annulled and the so-called Imperial Parliament at Westminster erected with a majority of five English to one Irish representative.

Henceforth the policy of plunder, misappropriation of funds, defamation of character and destruction of the industrial life became "legalized". Nay, it could even be represented as having the sanction of Ireland itself, since the Parliament was styled in law that of Great Britain and Ireland. The union of the shark with its prey.

At the period of the Act of Union, 1800-01, Ireland was, in relation not only to England but to many countries, a great State.

Her population was close on 6,000,000; that of England itself not more than 9,000,000.

Dublin, the capital, was the second city in the British Empire and perhaps the third or fourth city in Europe. Today it is unknown. It was then a greater city than Berlin, St. Petersburg or possibly even Vienna.

Munich, at that date, had probably 50,000 people; Dublin had a population of over 200,000 and was adorned with some of the most splendid public buildings and possessed the finest streets in Europe. It was rapidly developing a literary, musical and artistic life, that attracted men from afar. Handel's "Messiah" was first performed in Dublin.

The social life of the Irish capital excelled in courtesy, in gaiety and even in display that of London and Paris.

With the Act of Union all this came to an end. The aristocracy of Ireland were transferred to London and in a few years were converted into Englishmen. Their interests became English interests. Government and Parliament acted for them alone and always against the interest of the land they had deserted.

Legislation was directed to strengthening the hold of these absentee proprietors of the soil, since their rentals went to England, and at the same time to weakening the industrial life of the country in the interest of English

manufacturers. Trade after trade disappeared; industry after industry was absorbed by the "sister country". Woollens, cottons, clothing, cutlery, glass, leatherware, furniture-making, books, ships and shipping—all that a growing community requires was suppressed in Ireland, and supplied from England.

The one grew poorer, the other richer. And as trade and industry followed the aristocracy to England, the people increased and multiplied in their own land and were driven back relentlessly on the soil for the bare necessities of life.

In 1846 despite an emigration to America greater than from any other country the population had increased to nearly 9,000,000.

The island, considerably larger than Bavaria, was able to sustain in comfort and prosperity, had it a government to care for and develop its resources, an even larger population.

But in 1846 the government of Ireland was wholly concerned to see that the resources of the country went to England and that the people went somewhere else.

In Cromwell's time it was "to Hell or Connacht". In Queen Victoria's young days there was no Connacht left. The other destination was covered by a euphemism. A "Famine" arose in the land. The people died by the hundred thousand from hunger, while the soil they tilled, but did not own, produced in one year an export of £20,000,000 worth of food, taken away by England. The producer died of starvation, while the idle and worthless in another land fed upon his toil.

In the six years 1846-51 Ireland lost over 2,000,000 people, either from starvation, famine fever or flight to America.

In the same period this island had exported not less than £100,000,000 of food stuffs—corn, cattle and provisions to England.

The thing was a latter day miracle. A peasantry "too poor to even bury their dead", were feeding from the grave, Dukes, Earls and Barons of the land that thus defamed them.

When the census of 1851 showed that the Irish race was flowing across the Atlantic the *Times* proclaimed with joy that the aim of centuries was at length in sight.

"The Irish are gone with a vengeance", it announced; *"an Irish Catholic will soon be as rare on the banks of the Shannon as a Red Indian on the shores of Manhattan."*

The island with its rich soil, commodious ports and many rivers and lakes would at last fall into the hands of those who deserve it. Irish "barbarism" had perished of hunger on the most fertile plains of Europe. As a piece of "real estate" in the English market Ireland was of priceless value—as a home for its native inhabitants it was an eyesore and plague spot.

Since the “*Famine*” of 1846-49 the policy of the *Times* with varying degree of success, has been consistently applied. The people were steadily pushed into the sea. In 1881, by the United States Census it was shown that for every 10,000 foreign born inhabitants of the United States some 4,700 were born in Ireland.

Nearly the half of the entire emigration to the “*New World*” derived from one small European island! Surely a phenomenon bordering on the miraculous. But the Irish were always a devout people. While faith was cold elsewhere, the *Times* and its supporters could point to one land where Miracles could still be perpetrated—at some cost to those who underwent them, at very handsome profits to perpetrators.

During the last century it is not too much to say that England drew over 1,000,000,000 from the “*poverty of Ireland*” and that during the same period she forced or starved some 3,000,000 of Irishmen to toil as serfs in her mines, quarries, iron pits and ports, or by “*voluntary enlistment*” to fight her battles abroad.

The starved Irishman was deported to lay low other peoples and to bring fresh plunder back for investment in the great warehousing company at Westminster. The right name to give the British Empire is the British Emporium.

At the close of the Nineteenth Century the Irish policy of England seemed to be accomplished. The Irish were gone with a vengeance. The population had been reduced to little over 4,000,000 and the fertile soil was given over chiefly to the rearing of cattle for English eating. Ireland had become John Bull’s kitchen garden. The remnant of the people, carefully disarmed, might now safely be entrusted with the control of their own “*internal affairs*”.

Home Rule to English statesmen meant giving the Irish authority over their roads, water supply, gas and such like, on condition that they should have no armed forces to protect these paltry rights.

Home Rule gives no powers to encourage industries, trade, shipping, or any form of external intercourse with other countries.

In the very year that was to see the passage of the Home Rule Bill into law an incident occurred that reveals the abiding jealousy England entertains for Ireland.

In August, 1913, the Cunard Company broke its public contract and ordered its large mail steamers to cease calling at Queenstown. The English Government professed itself as powerless to compel the Cunard Company to keep the contract.

Accordingly, some far-seeing Irishmen invited a German Steamship Company to visit the Irish port, and the Hamburg-Amerika Line accepted the invitation. A service from Hamburg to Boston via Queenstown was decided on and announced.

The first vessel of the new service was timed to call at Queenstown in January, 1914. She did not call. Neither did the next vessel on the list, and after a brief interval it was publicly announced that the Hamburg-Amerika Line would call not at Queenstown but at Southampton on its way to Boston.

The British Government had effectually intervened to keep Ireland shut off from the Continent and to keep a friendly foreign land away from the shores of the Forbidden Land. A few months later came war. From being a land of lazy, good for nothing people Ireland found herself promoted by Sir Edward Grey to be “*the one bright spot*” of the British Empire.

She jumped in a night into the front row of those small nationalities for whom Great Britain had drawn the sword, and who, it was hoped, would surely in return draw the sword for Great Britain.

Once war upon Germany was begun the Irish, who were criminals when they tried to arm in their own interest, became “*heroes*” if they would only go to Flanders to fight for John Bull’s interest.

“*I hope*”, said Lord Crewe on the passage of the Home Rule Bill through the House of Lords, “*that now Irishmen will flock to the colors.*”

They did not. The “*one bright spot*” remained obstinately obscure. Instead of the 300,000 men the English press demanded as the price of “*Home Rule*”, Ireland sent the “*vagabonds*” alone of whom in previous years her entire population was said to consist.

Mr. Redmond, Cardinal Mercier, “*Belgian atrocities*”, all the rest of the machinery for getting Ireland into the war failed to start the engine. Factories were closed so that the workers might be driven by hunger into the army. But still the great mass of Irishmen stubbornly refused to be moved. Mr. Redmond claimed recently that 120,000 Irishmen were at the front. The statement was untrue. Of the recruits Mr. Redmond reckoned in his total, very many of them were not Irish at all, and thousands of them came from England and Scotland.

Large numbers of the reservists, men who had already been in the army, were forced to rejoin the colors. Even with these, and with all the efforts of cajolery and threats, Ireland had furnished in the first year of the war only some 85,000 men. The *Times* on July 23, 1915, remarked indignantly that there were still “*660,000 men of military age in Ireland who remained to be tapped*”. It opined that the Government would take steps to ensure the supply of this human raw material for the greatest of English industries—the laying low of Germany.

Conscription became the favorite theme of a large section of the British press. If Irishmen would not join in the attack on Germany they would “*be fetched*.”

Congscription still hangs in the balance. We are told that if the present effort to secure voluntary recruits fails then conscription must come. Let it come.

Canada, we are told, may send by the new year 250,000 men to the front. Ireland, I am proud to think, will do nothing of that kind. If conscription be passed it will either not be applied to Ireland, or, if applied, I am confident of the result.

England will not get the "*660,000 men of military age in Ireland who remain to be tapped.*" I and many friends in Ireland and America have turned off the tap. The Spigot is not in Mr. Redmond's hands or those of the English Government. The task of the Irish Volunteers is to defend their own land, not to attack another. If conscription be applied to Ireland it will be met and instead of recruits for the British army in Flanders, England will have to greatly increase her garrison in Ireland. Already we have kept 200,000 Irishmen out of the ranks of the British army in this war.

Those men are at home in their own country, resolved to stay there and no Act of Parliament will convert them into English soldiers to assail a friendly land and a friendly people who have never wronged Ireland. This act of mine is termed treason in England. In Ireland men call it by another name. To save my own countrymen from taking part in a great crime I should not shrink from a hundred acts of "*High Treason,*" or ever shirk the consequences. When the smoke and dust of this great combat are swept aside by the breath of kinder men, vowed no longer to hate and slay, it may be seen that Ireland, disarmed and weak, played a nobler part in the greatest issue mankind has ever faced than the mighty role of her Imperial partner.

The one went forth with peace upon her lips and envy in her heart to rob and rend the neighbor land—the other abstained. The one went forth with hired bands, with borrowed gold and borrowed men, to assail a people who had never done her wrong—the other abstained. History may record the deeds of one and be silent on the abstention of the other. Speech is silver—silence here is indeed golden. The battles by sea and land, the mighty crimes that men do to men and misname glory—let others have them all.

Ireland's claim I hope and believe shall be that she kept her sons in peace at home—and whoever helped in any measure to do that has done a nobler thing than help to fill a million graves.

Roger Casement.

Munich, 30 October, 1915.

(To Be Continued.)

[Also in: *Münchener Zeitung* 5.11.15, *Gaelic American* 16.1.1916.]

40.

No. 1203. Vol. XXII, No. 61 The Continental Times November 22, 1915

Ireland and the World War (II).

1815/1915—A parallel and a Contrast.

(*Napoleon and Ireland*).

History, we are told, repeats itself. One hundred years ago England was engaged, as today, in fighting for "*the freedom of Europe*". The "*very cause of Humanity itself*" was at stake, then as now. Then as now, mankind had to be sacrificed to save it from itself. One hundred years ago it was French democracy threatened the world; today it is Prussian barbarism. It is only the names of the actors that change; the scene is ever the same; the play the old one. The only power that menaced English supremacy at sea had to be put down and England then, as now, cloaked her designs against the freedom of the world by a call to arms to defend the sanctity of treaties. It is true the "*small nationalities*" had not then been invented. Neither had the "*one bright spot*". Ireland was the object of fear and stern repression—and in this, too, the scene has not really shifted. England's hatred of Napoleon was a two-fold one. It was not based on any injuries he or France had done to her, but on the fact that France was then the only Power that threatened English supremacy at sea and Napoleon was the only Sovereign of his time who perceived the chief source of European evils and who designed a remedy for them.

Moreover, he might go to Ireland.

This fear, never openly expressed, lay cold at the heart of England. At all costs the war must be kept on the Continent and Napoleon kept busy at home. Some very interesting correspondence dealing with this aspect of the war of 1815 and with these English fears was published a few years ago by a distinguished Irish lady.

At the date of Napoleon's return from Elba, the Viceroy of Ireland was Earl Whitworth, an English nobleman, who had been Ambassador in Paris and whom Napoleon almost struck with his cane when he reproached England with the retention of Malta and the continued occupation of Egypt. Lord Whitworth was absent in England when Napoleon actually landed at San Juan (March, 1815) and the government of Ireland was in the hands of the Under Secretary, the Right Honorable William Gregory, whose grandson's wife lately published the private correspondence referred to. (Lady Gregory—RC).

The letters that passed between Mr. Gregory at Dublin, and the absent Viceroy in England reveal a chapter of history that no historian up to this has touched on, and show what was one of the chief anxieties of England during the eventful "*Hundred Days*". The news of Napoleon's return from Elba fell upon England like a bombshell; in Ireland it was greeted with an outburst of joy that swept the whole country with a wave of utterance. With Napoleon's return the expectation of French aid filled Irishmen with mighty hope.

Whatever Napoleon might have been to the Kings and peoples of the Continent, to the Irish people he was the expected hero, the Man of Destiny. He, the Sword of the French Revolution, the jailer of the Pope, was to them, the most Catholic people in Europe, the Emancipator who should bring not only freedom to a nation, but liberty to a cruelly oppressed religion. In 1815, the Catholics of Ireland, the overwhelming bulk of the nation, were denied many of the commonest civil rights and were openly regarded by England's rulers as "*aliens*" in their own land.

Napoleon had once designed an address to the Irish Parliament he proposed to deliver when, on the defeat of England, he should visit Ireland not as a conqueror but as the Deliverer. The document drawn up, it is said, by Talleyrand at Napoleon's instance, has lain for a century unnoticed. The letters that passed between the Under Secretary at Dublin and the absent Viceroy in England will bear recall today when a like hope again stirs the Irish people and a like fear again fills the English heart.

I take the following extracts from the correspondence between the absent Viceroy and the Under Secretary in Dublin to illustrate my theme, for these extracts from the correspondence between the heads of the Irish Government of that day have an interest today for others beside Irishmen. On arrival at Holyhead in March, 1815, Lord Whitworth was greeted with the "*tremendous*" news of Napoleon's escape from Elba and his landing in France. On reaching London Lord Whitworth wrote:

"The news from France was the first to salute me on getting on shore at Holyhead, and the formidable account of the Ruffian's progress has met us at every stage. What a catastrophe! ... by this time I doubt not, he is reseated on his throne, where he will remain unless he is torn down by the hand of an assassin, which is supposed not unlikely to happen".—Lord Whitworth to Mr. Gregory, March 18, 1815.

(It will be observed that one hundred years ago English hopes of victory over the opponent of that day did not overlook the possibility of his being quietly disposed of.)

"I expect our friends on your side will be all alive. However, ...he will not be able to assist them effectually, though it may be his policy to excite

them... We must be prepared for and indeed make allowance for a little exultation on the return of their friend Bonaparte to power, but I trust their triumph will be of short duration.

"Should he arrive at Paris and reseat himself on that devoted throne, it is decided that the whole strength of Europe, that is of Russia, Austria and Prussia, with the assistance of what we have in Belgium, shall be exerted to pluck him down". —Lord Whitworth, March 22, 1815.

"We have no further news today from France, neither indeed is it to be wished. I am sure we can have none good. I hope the police will keep a good look out after the Emissaries who may be sent to Ireland".—Lord Whitworth to Mr. Gregory, March 27, 1815.

"I quite agree with you that there can be no present danger of disturbance, neither do I think that a bare promise from France will be sufficient to excite any great signs of commotion. I hope we may always depend on a good military force, and that is the best Constitution for Ireland under its present circumstance".—April 1, 1815.

"As long, however as we can find employment for their friend Bonaparte at home, and I trust he will soon have much more than he will be able to meet. I do not apprehend anything serious" (in Ireland), April 13, 1815.

"My private opinion leads me to think that even the most disaffected will not venture to stir until they see a little clearer how matters are likely to go in France.

"I agree also in my opinion with you that although much individual mischief might accrue, yet with the force we have, and the inadequate means which the disaffected can command, nothing very serious could be the consequences of a sudden rising".—April 23, 1815.

"I do not think the business can last long, and when it is settled we may have as many troops as we please in Ireland".—May 4, 1815.

So wrote the Viceroy of Ireland absent in England to his Representative at Dublin Castle. Mr. Gregory's letters in return during the crisis give us a glimpse at the true Ireland of 1815, which is one strikingly at variance with the published confidence in Irish "*loyalty*" that English historians for Imperial ends have given out to the world.

The situation in Ireland was different then from now, in one vital particular, the number of the people. Ireland then possessed a population of 7,000,000 in a Europe that held no nation of more than 20,000,000 save France alone. The weakness of the situation was the want of leaders. The aristocracy who should have led their people to freedom had gone over bag and baggage to England with the Union of the two Parliaments in 1801, and the people were powerless to organize their great strength for victory without the support of some external force.

They were united and expectant, but with no organized powers of successful resistance to the English army in the country unless Napoleon should regain the throne of France—and lift his eyes again to the sea.

The problem of the freedom of the seas, then as now, was the great issue Europe had to face and the one England was determined at all costs to Europe, then as now, to exclude from settlement. The Under Secretary at Dublin Castle was alive to the situation and like his chief, absent in England, he believed that the best Constitution for Ireland was a great army of occupation, and in the first letter quoted he strikes this continuous note of British Statesmanship in its dealings with the Sister Isle. In this respect 1915 finds the relation of the two countries unchanged; for the first step of the Government in London on the outbreak of the present war was to increase the Garrison of Ireland from some 25,000 men to close upon 90,000 men.

"It will be necessary to keep up a strong force whether Bonaparte succeeds or not: and although their hopes and expectations will, I trust, soon be extinguished so far as Bonaparte is concerned yet the country will require a strong force and vigilance to prevent disturbance".—Mr. Gregory to Lord Whitworth, March 20, 1815.

"Everyone from the country states the general joy of the lower orders on Bonaparte's reappearance in France, and their readiness to manifest that disposition on the first favorable opportunity".—March 21, 1815.

"Bonaparte is the Barometer by which we must judge and act in this country, should he (which God avert) be successful. Disturbance would break out unless kept down by the strong hand of power".—March 22, 1815.

"Do not, however agree to any reduction of our military forces, our country is full of mines which may explode in spite of the most vigilant care, and although I do not as yet apprehend any attack from without, still if Bonaparte is seated in power he will not again overlook Ireland".—March 29, 1815.

"I cannot approve of informing our enemies that this whole Kingdom (Ireland) is in that state of prepared treason that it requires only a spark to make it break out into open Rebellion, this too at a time when the alarmists are ready to believe that the whole population is not only armed and disciplined, and that Bonaparte has fleets and armies ready to send to their assistance".—April 21, 1815.

"M.G. (a secret service agent of the Government at Dublin) entertains very little doubt that a negotiation has been opened between some of the Leaders in Dublin and Bonaparte; this he thinks is confined to a very few, nor is it necessary, he says, to divulge it to many, as the Mass of the people require no organization, being perfectly ready to join any foreign force which may land".—June 9, 1815.

Such was the true state of Ireland in 1815, revealed a century later in the private correspondence of those responsible for the government of the country. At the time Ireland was represented publicly as "*loyal*", and half the army with which Wellington fought certainly came from Ireland. But it was the loyalty of starvation—not an aspiration of the heart but a craving of the stomach. The heart of Ireland was with Napoleon; the hope of Ireland lay in his victory. Napoleon, too late, in St Helena said:

*"Had I gone to Ireland instead of to Egypt
the Empire of England was at an end".*

Had Napoleon got to Ireland, instead of to Egypt the history of the world must have been a wholly different one. In Ireland he would have found a strong and hardy race, a rich country and all the internal resources needed to build up a powerful State in the western seas.

That once accomplished, the rule of the sea would have passed from English hands, and all European States must have become equally interested in seeing that no one of their number again claimed a monopoly of sea power. It was to prevent this civilized right from prevailing that England made war upon every country in turn whose power or influence she feared as a possible competitor at sea.

And against each in turn she has applied the same methods, the same vocabulary of abuse, and, alas! found always willing tools to her hand among those who, were it not for the disunion she has been able to provoke among them, would have learned to dwell in peace at home since they would be profitably occupied abroad. This is the meaning of the "Balance of Power"—a Europe divided against itself so that England, untroubled by competition, unchecked by challenge, might appropriate the market of mankind. The "Balance of Power" means a Europe turned into a vast "Concentration Camp"—the barriers not of barbed wire, but a ring of forbidding Dreadnoughts.

At any sign that the prisoners might combine and break through, a desperate fight among themselves could always be got up by the jailer. It was because he saw these things Napoleon became the "*Enemy of Mankind*"; the "*Ruffian*"—doomed to destruction. His downfall meant much more to Europe that the restoration of the Bourbons. For in Napoleon's days the seas were still, in some slight measure open. Today they are closed.

The whole ocean has become a *mare clausum*, and the key remains always in the same hands.

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Gaelic American 22.1.1916.]

IRELAND AND THE WAR.

"Home Rule on the Statute Book."*The Charter of Irish Rights by "A Diplomat."*

The following letter, written by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, has been published in the *Munster News* and widely reproduced in the Irish newspapers:

Sir,— The treatment which the poor Irish emigrant lads have received at Liverpool is enough to make any Irishman's blood boil with anger and indignation. What wrong have they done to deserve insults and outrage at the hands of a brutal English mob? They do not want to be forced into the English Army and sent to fight battles in some part of the world. Is not that within their right? They are supposed to be freemen, but they are made to feel that they are prisoners, who may be compelled to lay down their lives for a cause that is not worth "three rows of pins" to them. It is very probable that these poor Connaught peasants know little or nothing of the meaning of the war. Their blood is not stirred by the memories of Kossovo, and they have no burning desire to fight for Servia. They would much prefer to be allowed to till their own potato gardens in peace in Connemara. Small nationalities, and the wrongs of Belgium and Rheims Cathedral, and all the other cosmopolitan considerations that rouse the enthusiasm of the Irish Party, but do not get enough of recruits in England, are far too high-flying for uneducated peasants, and it seems a cruel wrong to attack them because they cannot rise to the level of the disinterested Imperialism of Mr. T. P. O'Connor and the rest of the New Brigade.

But in all the shame and humiliation of this disgraceful episode, what angers one most is that there is no one, not even one of their own countrymen, to stand up and defend them. Their crime is that they are not ready to die for England. Why should they? What have they or their forebears ever got from England that they should die for her? Mr. Redmond will say a Home Rule Act on the Statute Book. But any intelligent Irishman will say a simulacrum of Home Rule, with an express notice that it is never to come into operation. This war may be just or unjust, but any fair-minded man will admit that it is England's war, not Ireland's. When it is over, if England wins she will hold a dominant power in this world, and her manufactures and her commerce will increase by leaps and bounds. Win or lose, Ireland will go on in her old round of misgovernment, intensified by a grinding poverty which will make life intolerable. Yet the poor fellows who do not see the advantage of dying for such a cause are to be insulted as "shirkers" and "cowards", and the men whom they have raised to power and influence have not one

word to say on their behalf. If there is to be conscription, let it be enforced all round; but it seems to be the very intensity of injustice to leave English shirkers by the millions to go free, and coerce the small remnant of the Irish race into a war which they do not understand, and which, whether it is right or wrong, has but a secondary and interest for them.—I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

Edward Thomas
Bishop of Limerick
November 10, 1915.

This is the clearest pronouncement against the policy and morality of the English war on Germany yet delivered within the limits of British rule. It is fitting and right it should come from a Catholic Bishop and an Irishman.

The *Morning Post* comments on it as an "Extraordinary Letter". No honest Irishman but will heartily thank the brave Bishop of Limerick for thus saying openly what humbler Irishmen dare not say in public without going to jail for it, or possibly being shot.

Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond will hesitate to apply the Defence of the Realm Act to Dr. O'Dwyer, or order his Lordship to "leave Ireland within twenty four hours" as they recently ordered several Volunteer leaders to do, for daring to act on the advice given by this brave Catholic Bishop.

Dr. O'Dwyer says in his letter to his countrymen what Sir Roger Casement said in his open Letter to the Irish Volunteers of 17th September last year, a letter that we published in the *Continental Times* in December last. [See advert on page 57. Ed.] It was in large measure for writing that letter that the British Government offered so large a sum to Sir Roger's man for his "capture" when they became aware of his presence in Norway.

Will the same Government now offer privately a "reward" for the "removal" of the Bishop of Limerick from his See?

How many of the 650 young Irishmen lawlessly stranded at Liverpool owing to the refusal of the Cunard Company to fulfil its contract, the English recruiting sergeants ultimately got, we do not know.

The *Daily Mail* of 8th November said none were obtained, despite desperate exertions of recruiting agents who were let loose on the young Irishmen, jeered, taunted and gibed at by a typical English crowd of shirkers, loafers and other corner stones of the British Empire. This crowd was described as in "an angry mood" at the sight of six hundred "well-dressed, big and lusty" Irish lads "just fit for the army" who thought it was an Englishman's duty to fight his battle himself. Instead of going to the front in Flanders to face the armed Germans, the English patriots prefer to jeer the unarmed Irishmen from the safe precincts of the Liverpool Landing Stage.

This flagrant violation of their public contract by the Cunard Company with the Irish passengers it had booked and whose money it had taken is not the first act of bad faith of that great English company to the same people.

The Cunard Company has been made by Irish money. During the 65 years since 1850 it is safe to say the Cunard Company has got *one hundred million pound sterling* (£100,000,000) at the very lowest computation, out of Ireland, in the matter of passenger fares and freight. For many years of the last half-century the Irish branch of its trade was far the most lucrative part of its entire business.

In return, the Cunard Company, two years ago, deliberately broke faith with the Irish people, broke its public contract with that country and abandoned Queenstown as the port of call for America. The British Government connived openly at the breach of public faith.

The reason for the abandonment of Queenstown is well known. It was on account of the swifter vessels being built in Germany that threatened Liverpool's claim to transatlantic leadership.

The loss of four or five hours at Queenstown meant that the blue ribbon of the American trade would be won by the Hamburg or Bremen ships and not by the Liverpool "Greyhound of the Atlantic". So the greyhound turned and bit the hand that fed it; and Queenstown was declared to be "a dangerous port" into which no large ship could safely enter, and all Irishmen were ordered to come to Liverpool to embark for America.

This was in August 1913.

Now, in October 1915, Irishmen are refused embarkation at Liverpool, because in the meantime, England thought the best way of destroying the Bremen and Hamburg competition was not by open trade but by secret treaties and the hired swords of French and Russian aggressors.

Hence the war declared on Germany on 4th August 1914.

And, irony of ironies, Queenstown, that was a "dangerous port" in August 1913, when the Cunard Company was afraid of the Hamburg Amerika and the Norddeutsche Lloyd lines, becomes again a "splendid natural harbour" when the Cunard Company is afraid in May 1915 of the German submarines! The port that "could not be entered in safety" in peace times by the large English liners becomes their chief haven of refuge, when German patrols stalk the seas.

It is to be hoped the Irish people will not forget the debt of gratitude they owe to the Cunard Company, when the war is over—or to Messrs. Asquith, Redmond & Co. who have betrayed Ireland with a scrap of paper.

Home Rule that was to have been a kiss of peace, has been the signal for the infamous attempt to betray Ireland into the war.

A colleague of Mr. Redmond's, the despicable Maurice Healy, Member of Parliament for a Cork Constituency, is engaged at present in trying to recruit a thousand young Irishmen for the slaughter pits in Flanders and Gallipoli at so much per head. He admits that he is doing it for a wager made in London and that, if he wins his thousand dead men, he wins money on the job. And

this creature calls himself an Irishman! A patriot!

Another of the same brand, but not nearly so base, Pierce O'Mahoney, some time called The O'Mahoney, recently tried to do the same thing in another way.

He offered himself on 1st October in Mr. Redmond's name, to the Electors of the Harbour Division of Dublin City. He stood for the war, for Ireland's part in the war; for Ireland's duty in the war; and declared he wanted no votes except of those who agreed with Mr. Redmond. He got 913 votes, and the successful candidate, Alderman Byrne, who opposed the war in all its aspects got 2,298 votes while Alderman Farrell, also an opponent of the war and an "anti-Enlister" got 677 votes.

Thus one of the Dublin seats has pronounced an emphatic repudiation, by over 3 to 1, of Mr. Redmond's policy of betraying Ireland.

This is the severest blow yet delivered to the gang of recreants who have tried to sell Ireland to the butcher.

Ireland stands not for war and murder—Ireland stands for peace.

The duty of Irishmen is to their own land—not to invade another land.

The Bishop of Limerick says it today—Sir Roger Casement said it, thus, last year:

"It was not Germany which destroyed the national liberties of the Irish people, and we cannot recover the national life struck down in our own land by carrying fire and sword into another land.

"The cause of Ireland is greater than the Cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than all the riches of Empire. If we sell it now, we are unworthy of the name of Irishmen. If to-day we barter that cause in a sordid bargain, we shall prove ourselves a people unworthy of freedom—a dwindling race of cravens from whose veins the blood of manhood has been drained. If to now fight is our duty, then let us fight on that soil where so many generations of slain Irishmen lie in honour and fame. Let our graves be in that patriot grass whence alone the corpse of Irish nationality can spring to life... Speaking in the name of those who helped to found the Irish volunteers, I say in their name that no Irishman fit to bear arms in the cause of his country's freedom can join the allied millions now attacking Germany in a war that, at the best, concerns Ireland not at all and that can only add fresh burdens and establish a new drain, in the interest of another community, upon a people that has already been bled to the verge of Death".

Here speak true Irishmen.

When the war is over, Ireland will have to repay not only the Cunard Company and the British Government.

She will have to deal with those false and coward[ly] Irishmen who have abandoned every ideal of nationality, who have sought to lead her

soul astray, to plunge her sons in blood and leave their ancient motherland to abiding desolation.

The Bishop of Limerick deserves the thanks of the Irish race throughout the world. If other Irish Bishops will but follow his brave and Christian lead, Ireland may have the joy and the honour of being the first of the Combatants to open the door to peace.

42.

No. 1206. Vol. XXII. No. 64. The Continental Times November 29, 1915

Lord Kitchener's Mission.

By *Sir Roger Casement*.

In July 1911 Mr. Noel Buxton M.P. invited me to accompany him to the Balkans on a private mission of investigation into the alleged "Turkish atrocities" that were then the subject of some political interest in England.

I refused the invitation for I was, at the time, engaged in the investigation of the ethical atrocities of the London Putumayo Rubber Co. on the Indians of the Upper Amazon and a few days later I set out on a second visit to that far off region.

Moreover I had some doubt as to the authenticity of Turkish atrocities in general and of English sympathy for the victims in particular. Not that I do not believe that the Balkans have been the theatre of great tragedies in the past, but I did not accept the English attitude. It was not based, to my mind, so much on sympathy for the sufferers as on a hope to derive political results from the suffering.

Political considerations I saw clearly were at the bottom of the humanitarian Crusade of England against the Turk in 1911 and 1912.

With these considerations I could not sympathise, for the object really aimed at was not the betterment of the Balkan peoples but the attainment of British ends against Germany.

It was the last link in the chain of encirclement that was to be riveted by a triumph exposure of the Turk and the handing over of his heritage of centuries to those who might then be welded into a solid south-eastern barrier against the Teuton.

Such was my judgement at the time and the events of the four intervening years have abundantly justified it.

In September last year, while I was still in America I wrote these words:

"Day by day as the war proceeds, although it is now only six weeks old, the pretences under which it was begun are being discarded. England fights not to defend the neutrality of Belgium, not to destroy German militarism, but to retain, *if need be by involving the whole world in war*, her supreme and undisputed ownership of the seas". (Philadelphia, 15. September 1914.)

Fourteen months have passed and the truth of that statement must now be clear to all men.

The first victim was Belgium, the latest is Servia and tomorrow will come another.

Three or four months ago we had the visit to Athens, Sofia and Bukarest of Sir William Tyrrell, the special envoy of Sir Edward Grey, to secure the adhesion of the Balkan States to the policy of Encirclement.

Sir William Tyrrell's mission failed and now we have Lord Kitchener's. I do not know if Lord Kitchener goes to the Near East as a general or as an envoy; what is clear why he goes.

Where "Turkish atrocities" failed and Sir William Tyrrell failed, the victor over the Mahdi and the Boers may have a better chance.

The British government is repeating the error that led them into the war.

War for England in the past has been always an adventure abroad, not a great national duty at home.

There has never been for three hundred years and more a war undertaken by England for the defence of England, but only a series of expeditions abroad to lay hands on other people's territory and swell the foreign dominions of the Empire.

So true is this that whenever England fights the force sent into the field is not called the "British army", but the "Expeditionary Force in Flanders", China, Gallipoli or wherever the adventure lies. Instead of the fact we have a euphemism, just as when it is thought to bribe some still neutral power into the fray the process is termed "an advance to our allies".

The mistake this time is a vital one and one I warned Sir William Tyrrell against three years ago. An English war against Germany could not be of the old character—a great adventure to be conducted by raids, by expeditions, by subsidies to "allies" and picnic trips in quest of new "friends", Sir Edward Grey thought that England would have an easy task, that indeed she would suffer no more by going to war with Germany than if she stayed out.

The error was based on profound misapprehension. England thought that war with Germany meant only to attack a Government—she has discovered a People. Too late she realizes the error. And organized Nation fighting for all it holds dear, with all its strength cannot be faced, much less overcome by the old methods. And yet England has no other methods. Hence, instead of sending her own armies against the foe, she sends a general to find the

armies of others. The truth is beginning to dawn on the minds of enlightened Englishmen; but then none of these are in the Government.

Sir Edward Carson resigned because he saw the truth and detested the deception; but then Sir Edward Carson is at bottom an Irishman and has some of the ruthless sincerity that makes an Irishman always his own worst enemy.

A debate in the House of Commons on the 2nd November may be regarded as the turning point in the war. Here for the first time it is frankly recognized that the time has gone by when large offers of other people's territory can affect the issue. Arms and men alone can win the war, and unless England can furnish these herself, from within, her diplomacy to get them from elsewhere is doomed to failure.

This and more was said in the debate on the 2nd instant but the Government did not remain to listen to the truth.

The Prime Minister, Sir E. Grey and other members of the Cabinet having delivered their traditional commonplaces, left the House to the critics and then only did the truth emerge—the first time since the declaration of War on August 4, 1914. The return of truth to the House of Common is the first victory England has won, and I sincerely hope it will soon be followed by others.

The ablest critic was not Sir E. Carson, who followed Mr. Asquith, but Mr. Amery, once a war correspondent in the South African War, compiler of the *Times* "History of the Boer War", and now member for South Birmingham.

Mr. Amery I met more than once during the Boer War. He has as much regard for the "small nationalities" as for the land system of the Zulus or Bechuanas, and probably still be less for the diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey. In a speech in the House of Commons is the first frank confession of complete failure that any Englishman has emitted, and it comes from the ranks of the jingle imperialists.

Here are some points from the speech:

"The Government had hardly ever led, but had continually yielded. They had hardly ever foreseen, but had always been surprised. They had been surprised that there was a shortage of munitions, that there was a shortage of men, that cotton was of use to the German artillery, that the Turks fought well in trenches, that Bulgaria was hostile to Servia and that Greece hesitated... Our policy was that of meeting unpleasant solid facts with empty promises—a policy of self-deception, timidity and indolence... then we began to make extravagant offers of territory to Greece. It was not a bribe of more territory that Greece wanted... it was men; it was the certainty of success... It was impossible to buy nations by acres; they were bought by men. What were we doing now?

Having no plan and no policy we were sending General Munro to try and save the situation... They have to face the actual situation. *It was too late*

to prevent the forcing of the gateway between Germany and the East. It was too late to save Servia from devastation".

For his frankness Mr. Amery deserves the gratitude of his countrymen.

It is the first time that the House of Commons has been told that the war is not a great adventure, but a great disaster. The next admission may well be that it is not only a disaster but a crime—the thing I have always called it, "the Crime against Europe".

Lord Kitchener in the Near East will be as futile as Lord Kitchener at the West End. The English Government went into the war with only idea—the hope of destroying Germany as a great power. They saw only a government, and they struck a Nation.

They had not counted the cost—they did not weigh the means—they did not understand their opponent.

They reckoned by heads—and overlooked the human heart.

England, today, is coming to realize the truth, but its statesmanship is still bankrupt. It resorts to methods of panic, and grasps at every straw that shows on the surface of the hurrying tide. But on the river sweeps always to destruction, ad straws cannot stay the swimmer.

What England wants today is not a general to prosecute the crime, to lead to fresh disaster, But a statesman to give the land peace.

And here again I will quote Mr. Amery: although I apply his words in another sense "What we wanted was courage, decision, leadership. Any man who would lead this country as it ought to be led, who would not look over his shoulder afraid of his own shadow would find an invincible host to follow him to victory".

Yes: but the victory must be won not over Germany, but over England.

If, even now at the eleventh hour, England could produce a Statesman, she would do something better than subsidise her allies—she would save them, as well as her own honour.

The prolongation of the war in the vain hope of getting Germany down is not only the greatest crime in human affairs, but the greatest folly in English history.

A year hence the hope will be as vain, or vainer, than it is to day, and a year hence millions more of mankind will have suffered. The man that is wanted is not Lord Kitchener in the East, in Greece, in Gallipoli, in Egypt—but an Englishman at home who will realise, again to quote Mr. Amery, that "it is not too late to save our honour".

Roger Casement
November 11th 1915.

[10-sheet hand written MS in
Casement Papers, NLI MSS. 13084/12]

A PACIFIC BLOCKADE.

A new disease appears to have been discovered in London. It was announced at a recent sitting of the Clerkenwell County Court when a medical certificate was handed to the presiding Judge to excuse a subject from his legal obligation on the ground that he was suffering from "War Depression".

We should say that War Depression is a widely extended malady to-day and probably has its acutest places exhibited in localities very remote from Clerkenwell.

We have known of cases of war depression in America, for instance, and a notable example is to be found in the depression of the English sovereign on the American exchange. If gold be the "veins of war", then the English public shows a marked decline of vitality with the golden sovereign down from 4, 90 to 4, 57.

A new type of international malady is chronicled in the London press of the last few days to take its place beside "war depression" first discovered in the same quarter.

This latest form of the complex ailments, from which our civilization is suffering, is termed "a pacific blockade".

In some "Last Words to Greece", uttered on the 22nd November, the Liberal "Daily News" defines in the following words the scope and aim of the new disease which has so providentially been discovered just when needed to aid the cause of the allies in the Balkans.

The specific object in view of those controlling the new international malady is to "assist" the King of Greece to arrive at a "decision" in conformity with their interests.

To achieve this end the friends of Greece have devised a new weapon- we are told they have "ready to their hand a form of pacific pressure to which Greece is peculiarly susceptible".

This latest development of a war, begun on behalf of the violated neutrality of Belgium, takes the form of a scheme of "pacific pressure" to be exercised on Greek neutrality, which we are told should "be interpreted in a broad rather than a technical sense". In a technical sense it might be hard to defend, much less to define, but taken in a "broad" sense, its philanthropic aim is at once apparent. Greece is to adopt an attitude of neutrality based on a friendly blockade of her external trade calculated to "paralyse" the entire national life.

Her "extensive carrying trade" is to be brought to a standstill and her means of existence cut off by laying her "under a constricting grip at a moment when imports by land are unattainable".

The Euphemisms of the liberal "Daily News" are exchanged for the rattling of the bared sabre when the conservative "Daily Telegraph" takes up the case for "friendly neutrality" on the part of Greece.

The "pacific pressure" of the organ of the nonconformist Conscience becomes a very antithesis of a "peaceful blockade" in the mouth of the City money leaders. They have no hesitations of speech any more than of conscience. What the Greeks understand we are assured, and what must be applied to their case "is strength, not too refined in character, and a downright masterfulness which is first cousin to brutality".

Greece must be "under no illusions as to her position, if she chooses to oppose our projects and must be fully aware that a blockade would be ruinous to her trade, to her shipping and above all to her corn supplies".

The Allies mean to have their "way", we are told, "and will use all legitimate means to secure the objects at which they aim". We are left in no doubt as to what "legitimate means" involve for this unhappy neutral State, but we should welcome a definition by the "Daily Telegraph", what illegitimate methods could be employed against a people whose sole desire is to maintain at once their neutrality and peace with their neighbours.

The "Daily Telegraph" assures its London readers that the French are popular with the Greeks "and so are the countrymen of Byron". Byron came to aid Greece in a war of independence; "the countrymen of Byron" to-day are doing their utmost to plunge Greece in a war of unexampled peril and disaster to all her future.

If Byron could say in his day "'tis Greece but living Greece no more", his fellow countrymen to-day are assuredly determined, that the strict fulfilment of the poet's words shall come to pass a century later.

Not content with occupying Greek territory and marching large forces through it in defiance of the protest of the Greek Government, these friends of Greece and of the small nationalities proceed to assail the very existence of the country they have lawlessly invaded and threaten it with everything short of open acts of war, if it will not "aid their projects".

"Diplomaticus"

Free Trade And Neutrality.

England As The Old Trading House.

Tenement Full Of Cracks And Seams.

The Christmas Dolls.

They Must Be Of Unblemished Character.

Fresh Conception Of Morality. German Trade Pest.

(By Diplomaticus.)

A recent leading article in the *Morning Post* (30 Nov.) points out that England, a very old trading house, is said to have been long infected with Bugs.

England, we are assured, is like "an old and neglected tenement full of cracks and seams", and into these the insects have crawled and now "infest" the house to a degree intolerable to the legitimate tenants.

The insects, the *Morning Post* insists, must be got rid of by one or other of the two methods—"the one destructive, the other constructive".

The difficulty is, apparently, that the English housekeeper, discarding the proverbial cleanliness of her kind and race, "seems to be so partial to these parasites that she will take no really effective measures against them".

Insects of Two Kinds.

The article proceeds to point out that these insects are of two kinds—and foremost the obvious German pest who has to so long monopolised many departments of English trade and honeycombed the country with his depredations, and the less obvious but entirely noxious home product, the English "Free Trader".

Both forms of the noisome pest must be got rid of—the German bugs by the destructive process the household bugs by the adoption of a higher plane of political thought.

One of the proud boasts of Britain in the past was that where France, Germany and all other less enlightened lands had sought to hinder competition by restrictive or protective legislation and England alone in the world stood for the "open door" and complete equality of opportunity. Since English methods were unsurpassable, English commerce had nothing to fear from the most widespread emulation and wherever the British flag waved,

there the foreigner was welcome to bring himself and his goods secure of just and friendly reception.

To Be Rooted Out.

As the war proceeds, we live and learn. To-day the chief organs of English opinion declare that at all costs all Germans trade must be rooted out of the British Empire wherever it may have extended, and that under no circumstances can Germany be permitted after the war to retain any colonial possessions of her own much less to trade in those of Great Britain.

This claim indeed is not limited to German possessions. Quite recently the Dutch have learned the lessons of "Free Trade" in a manner that must bring home to them the benefit or neutral countries derive from the British claim to "Police the Seas".

It appears that from Holland to her Colonies a Christmas trade exists in the shape of toys sent by those at home to the families of the many Dutch Colonies in Java, Sumatra etc. In view of the possible despatch of German toys to the Dutch overseas children the British government took prudent steps some weeks ago to see that no German war-babies in this guise should proceed from Holland to her Colonies. It has been announced that no shipment of Christmas dolls can be made this year until the character and nationality of the dolls have been established to the satisfaction of a British Consular Officer in Holland.

Must be Free of Taint.

Dolls of unblemished character and great personal charm, before they can be received by parcel post for despatch to the Dutch East Indies must be pronounced as free from the taint of possible German origin. It is not clear whether the doll requires a certificate of morality issued by her parish priest, but a declaration of nationality is essential and a passport issued by the British Consulate General in Rotterdam must be obtained before any Christmas doll can embark on her long voyage to the East all be entrusted to the hands of a Dutch colonial baby.

We are convinced this kindly intervention to safeguard the morality of Dutch children abroad will be appreciated by Dutch family circles at home.

As a manifestation of the spirit in which the Home land of "war babies" combines the highest moral aims with a strict regard for the sanctity of "Free Trade" and freedom of the seas the case of these Christmas dolls is nothing to be desired.

At the same time as we learn these things from Holland News comes from another source of a fresh conception of neutrality, devised in London

commercial circles, that must win many admirers in America and of the neutral countries to the British standpoint.

Boycotting American Auto's.

The London Fruit Carriers Association has issued a circular letter to all those corporations which, like itself, use motor vehicles in their trade, calling on them to boycott your automobiles of the Ford Manufacturing Company.

The Ford cars, as is well known, are made not in England but in the United States. The Ford car factory is one of the greatest establishments in the world and turns out the cars that are known in every country. The business is one of the most legitimate in existence and stands very high among American industries. The principal of the firm, Mr. H. Ford, is alleged to have recently declined to subscribe to the war loan floated in America on behalf of the Allies. As a neutral citizen of a neutral country, employing in his labor representatives of all the warring countries of Europe, Mr. Ford was personally within his rights in not taking part in a war loan devised solely in the interest of one of the combatants. To have done so might not only have compromised his neutrality, but might legitimately have caused pain and grief to many of those with whom he was industrially associated. He therefore, it is alleged, abstained from subscribing to the Loan and for this act of citizenship he is now being vigorously penalized in England and his goods boycotted [where]ever English influence can carry weight.

When the Chinese people attempted on national grounds a boycott of Japanese commodities it was at once asserted by the Japanese Government to be unfriendly act and representations were made to the Chinese Government to impose administrative measures upon the boycotters.

But the Chinese are Heathens and it is clearly a Heathenish act for a Heathen to boycott Heathen goods, while it is but an expression of the highest culture when an English Trade Association demands a boycott of American goods because they are made by a neutral.

This application of an English boycott to the Ford motor cars and on the grounds stated is perhaps the most singular revelation yet shown of the underlying motives like induced the British Government to declare war on Germany.

German trade had become a "pest" to be got rid of by "destructive means"—and all those who will not aid England in cleansing her house from the insects must incur the same penalty and find their own trade threatened by similar methods—destructive and constructive.

45.

No. 1220. Vol. XXII. No. 78 The Continental Times December 31, 1915.

Letter to Roosevelt.

To the Editor:

In an interview with a Correspondent of a French paper you expressed yourself about the criminal violations of the law of nations, also about what you call useless atrocities of the Germans. No doubt you would have acted, if you had still been President.

Sir, have you ever looked at the other side also, have you ever as a neutral judge, investigated the case of your elected defendant? If you would have done so, and there is still time, you would have come to quite a different conclusion.

I wonder what you would have to say to a representative of a German or Austrian paper? Would you consider the English blockade justified? Is there no criminal violations of the law of nations in trying to starve 130 millions of civilians, women and children of Germany and Austria, or do you think it is a just course in war time? Some London papers suggested even that all the crops in Germany should be destroyed by a fleet of aeroplanes. Lately the American Post Office parcels are excluded by the English blockade. The parcel post service between America and Germany is suspended. The English call it an ingenious scheme of sending heavy exports of food to Germany under the guise of Christmas parcels. Not even the Red Cross Committee can forward any most needed articles for invalids. There is a good chance to act even for an Ex-President and there is still another serious matter to act and protest against useless atrocities.

Nearly 40,000 civilians are interned in England! I state without exaggeration that no more horrible crime has been committed in history of the world. No element of torture is absent, the Inquisition of the dark ages could not have been worse. With few exceptions the victim is arrested either late in the evening or as early as 5 o'clock in the morning. No time is given to arrange anything, hardly any time to say good bye to his family and it was very often good bye for ever. It depends on the Police Inspector if the prisoner has to stop two hours or a week, or in a few cases even months in a prison cell just like the worst criminal before he gets to the camp. After a day's journey under heavy escort without getting any food whatever the doors of the camp are opened. The reception differs, the officer calls out the names and if one of the prisoners forget to add to every answer "Sir" or he does not stand like a soldier the sergeant strikes him with his closed fist.

At last the victims are put in the cage. All round them barbed wire (made in the U.S.A.) and any amount of armed sentries watching them. Have they suddenly become wild animals? That position is worse in many ways than that of a criminal. These so called prisoners of war never know when they will be free again. The life in the camp is worse than anybody can imagine, yet some do not feel the hardships as the majority do. In camp nobody knows what will happen next, it is always necessary to be prepared to be punished for something you had no control of. Once a sentry let his gun off with the intention of killing one of those—Germans, he had just heard that his son had died for his country. If one of the prisoners breathes in the wrong direction the whole camp is punished. No papers, no parcels, no letters. The wives or friends may get permission once a month to visit the prisoners for a quarter of an hour, how degrading it is, they have to speak through the wire or in another camp between two tables without even room enough to shake hands. The sanitary and sleeping arrangements are the most horrible. The food is insufficient, the canteen charges very high prices, there is corruption everywhere. Personal punishments are horrid. One old man once asked kindly to be allowed to carry rubbish of smaller weight preferring to go oftener. It was refused and the poor man had to go for seven days in a dark solitary cell! And there are a good many similar cases. There are boys of 14 years and men of 70 years old in the camp, many fishermen since the 5th August 1914, taken before their boats were sunk or captured, also any amount of cripples, cases which are very sad, families wives largely English, starving at home, the bread winner interned. Nearly all had work before the war in the interest of England now they are driven mad, and why, what have they done? They were not born in England, that is all!

It would be easy to write pages about this crime of internment, but what is the use, will you Sir or anybody else act, will anybody protest? In Austria-Hungary hardly any English or Frenchman is interned, yet in England nearly all of the Austrians-Hungarians are interned. One Englishman who had lately come back from Austria or Hungary to England, gave £100 out of gratitude for his good treatment during his stay there, to be distributed amongst interned Austrians and Hungarians in England. England began this devilish crime of interning civilians.

Someone who knows.

46.

ODDITIES OF EMPIRE.

The "benefits" of the National Insurance Act in Ireland.

A question was put by an Irish member in the House of Commons as to the grants made to Ireland under the Insurance Act and the amounts contributed by Irish employers and employees under the Act during the last twelve months.

The answer given by the Treasury was that the total amounts granted to Irish contributors under the Act came in the financial year to £337,700. Against this the amount received by the Treasury from the contributions by employers and employees in Ireland was "approximately £699,000".

The surplus of £361,300 contributed by Ireland was "absorbed" by the British Treasury and devoted to "Imperial purposes", i.e. was spent in England on purely English needs.

At the same date we learn in the *Times* that the Grand Canal, the chief waterway between Dublin and Limerick, has burst its banks and that houses, crops and cattle have been swept away, and the inhabitants of the inundated district are "cut off from communicating with the towns, and boats are carrying passengers to and fro. The rivers Shannon and Barrow have overflowed their banks and the districts through which they flow are a vast expanse of water (*Times*, 17 January 1915).

The yearly inundations caused by the overflow of these and other Irish rivers has been the subject of Parliamentary appeal by Irish members for over half a century. No serious attempt has ever been made to deal with this evil. Each year damage to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds has been caused and the executive has deplored its inability to attempt a remedy owing to the "lack of funds". One year's surplus of Irish payments under the Insurance Act, now misappropriated by England for purely English purposes, would put at least one of these uncontrolled rivers into a safe channel. Such are the benefits of English "care" for Ireland.

Ireland has the honour, along with England and Scotland, [that] she is assured of "Serving the Empire". Such are the benefits derived by this important member of the — from the scheme of imperial control of half the world devised and directed from London!

*

"Amongst 1,186 inquests which Mr. Wynne Baxter, the East London coroner, held in 1915 were 17 inquests for the Liberty (District) of the

Tower of London. Six of them related to deaths from natural causes, two to accidents, and nine to executions of spies in the Tower. (*Times*, 'News in Brief', 17 January 1915.)

*

Ireland has no share or part in your Empire's crimes— your Empire's yours

A land with no government. The thing taking its place consisting of officials of a foreign government whose duties are to see that the land is skilfully and silently robbed, its courage depressed, its education prevented and every outlet for ambition, pride or betterment carefully closed save if the eviction taken leads to the advantage of the other land. No walk in life at home is left for those who love their country and only those who despair of it and enter the service of the other land find places of public profit in Ireland.

*

Sweden

In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Swedish Riksdag on 17 January the King of Sweden is reported by Reuters as having said in the Speech from the Throne:

"The Government had more than once been obliged to intervene against attempts to put Sweden's industrial and commercial life under the usurped control of another power. The work for the increase of the nation's defences ought to be continued. In spite of great economy in the drafting of the Budget, new taxes would be necessary. The speech adds that the Government has the intention of asking the Riksdag to appoint special delegates to discuss questions of a secret nature with the Government, as was done in the autumn of 1914.

The Berliner Tageblatt states that the Swedish postal authorities have kept back 42,000 postal packages bound for England as retaliation for England holding up Swedish packets from America" (*Times*, 18 January, 1916).

This attempt at usurped control of the industrial and commercial life of neutral countries by one of the belligerents is not confined to the British efforts to strangle the legitimate trade of Sweden.

It has certainly been clearly and actively demonstrated in the British interferences with the industrial and commercial life of the United States and has not been confined to those aspects alone of their national life. It has in several departments of state sought to interfere in the political life of the country, to control the executive functions of the state and even the exercise of military and naval acts of a supposedly sovereign state.

But while Sweden pointedly draws attention to the outrage in the Royal utterance, the Chief Executive of the Great Republic (USA—Editor) has remained silent.

Two striking instances of how far England has carried her unlawful control over American life have recently been published in America newspapers. They reveal an extraordinary contempt not only for the claims of humanity at large but for the sovereign rights of America.

*

Oddities of Empire

That a people at war is a people gone mad has never been more clearly shown than in the course of the present conflict. A perusal of the London *Times* any day of the week reveals not the reasoning of a sane understanding but the shifts of a disordered intellect to conceal its malady.

From any recent issue a medical indictment of the patient could be drawn, warranting his seclusion as a dangerous lunatic if an individual. But as Burke said "you cannot indict a nation",—you can only curb it. . .—by depriving it of its power to do evil.

The *Times* of 8 January contained several letters from the leading Cocoa firms in England (J. A. Fry and Sons, Limited, Rowntree and Co., Limited, Mazawattee Tea Company, Limited.—Editor) protesting against the export of cocoa to neutral countries, particularly to Scandinavia and Holland.

The government is called on to check "the export of cocoa" (*Times* 17 January) or so rigorously to control it that no neutral country shall be permitted to have a pound of the commodity in excess of its barest internal needs, lest the odd pound go over the border into Germany. The same issue of the *Times* (17 January) presents in big type on p. 5 the following memorable advertisement from the Plasmon Cocoa Company: [See advert on page 231 Ed.]

We presume these British war prisoners in Germany will continue to receive their nourishing diet of cocoa at the hands of the German military authorities, while German mothers, children, sick and wounded will not be permitted to import one pound of the commodity from any neighbouring state, however willing that country may be to dispose thus lawfully of its product.

The difficulty of dealing with a lunatic at large who controls enormous resources and lives on an island unapproachable by any appeal to sanity or reason is the big problem facing the world just as it was in the times of Imperial Rome when a succession of furious madmen ruined the whole resources of antiquity to the unparalleled aggrandisement of a handful of mankind in the name of "civilisation and culture".

*

That a people at war may be a people gone mad has never been more clearly shown than in the course of the present conflict.

A perusal of the national organ, the *Times*, any day of the week, would furnish ample evidence to warrant the seclusion of one of the combatants to the nearest lunatic asylum, if any such could be found strong [enough] to restrain so dangerous a patient. Each issue of that paper, to take it as a type of belligerent journalism, reveals less the reasoning of a sane understanding than the shifts of a disordered intellect to conceal its malady.

The average lunatic is sane on many points, only mad upon one or two. But the *Times* is mad upon most points and only sane upon one. Were it not that this insanity is shared by its readers and that there is a method in its madness, which constitutes perhaps the greatest danger, one might read the laboured invective and pass by the conscious falsehoods with a shrug of the shoulders or a smile of pity.

We don't agree. We are convinced that the thing needed is something else. One week of truth in the *Times* would probably end this war.

*

To end this War:

An American paper says that what England needs is not compulsory service but compulsory courage. What is more urgently needed still, and one week of which is the columns of the *Times*, would do for to end the war is compulsory truth.

As the need for truth increases, the channels for its dissemination are one by one obstructed. Thus far its dissimulation remains open— are scientific institutions. Museums throughout England are being closed to the public. Education is being starved—the vote for the current year grant is only £3,500,000 to public education out of an annual expenditure of £1,500,000! (sic) (This appears to omit a zero, Editor).

Children required by law to attend school are being withdrawn, with the open connivance of the authorities, from that compulsory service to truth for agricultural attendance in the fields, while a demand has been seriously put forward that the Factory Laws should be ignored and child workers below the legal age should be employed in the factories—perhaps even in [the] output of those high explosives Mr. Lloyd George regards as essential to the triumph of British ideals of liberty, truth and the enlightenment of the world.

There are three forms of falsity that find expression in the columns we refer to—falsity of thought, falsity of intent, and falsity of word. We might add a fourth—falsity in action.

[Handwritten MS in Casement Papers,
24 January 1916, NLI 13084/12]

47.

No. 1237. Vol. XXII, No. 95 The Continental Times February 9, 1916.

Ireland as a Peace Factor.

by *Diplomaticus*.

An interesting light is thrown on Ireland's attitude to the war by the recent discussion in the House of Commons on the Compulsory Service Bill, and the enforced confession of the British Government that they dare not include Ireland in the scope of the measure.

The far-reaching significance of this omission of an integral part of the United Kingdom from obligatory service to the state cannot fail to impair and eventually, perhaps, to undermine the hoped for utility of the measure as a potent aid to the joint cause of the Allies.

For the end sought to be gained by the imposition of military service on the United Kingdom was as much a moral as a material end. Men were wanted, it is true, but not men alone. It was necessary to assure the world, and above all the Allies of England, that no sacrifice incurred by the other parties to the Entente would be omitted by Great Britain, and that where they gave their youth and manhood to the struggle, she, too, would give hers.

And now the chief end sought has to be abandoned at the outset, and a shameful confession made to the world that the United Kingdom is but a name, and one of its component parts must be exempted from an obligation to the state whose principal value lay in the fact that it was to be a national obligation, imposed on all the King's subjects alike, and fulfilled by all men in the British Isles.

One of those islands, covering much more than a fourth part of the entire kingdom and inhabited by fully a tenth part of the total population, has to be omitted altogether from the Bill and treated as if Sovereign and Parliament had no jurisdiction there, as if, indeed, it were a foreign country and this on the openly confessed ground that it would be too dangerous for the Government to enforce the law of the land over that great area of the Kingdom.

* * *

Perhaps no more portentous failure of British policy has been anywhere apparent since the war began. Students of history cannot fail to be impressed by this attitude of Ireland and the position of powerlessness into which it has forced an elsewhere all powerful Government.

Viewing the magnitude of the issues involved for the British Empire

and the enormous contributions in men, money and material made by Great Britain and her great self-governing Dominions, the abstention of Irishmen from the conflict is a phenomenon that admits of no explanation compatible with the claim of England that Ireland and Great Britain constitute one realm united by a common loyalty to a common crown.

In the opening days of the conflict the world was assured by Sir Edward Grey, in the speech that announced the forthcoming declaration of war against Germany, that Ireland was "*the one bright spot*". Irish loyalty to England, we were told, had been cemented by the "gift" of Home Rule and Irishmen now would stand shoulder to shoulder with their British comrades in resisting the German assault on "the freedom of the small nations" and "the liberties of the world".

When we inspect the figures officially supplied in Parliament, setting forth the available strength in men of military age in Ireland and those who have enlisted in the British armed forces since the war began the attitude of Ireland to the conflict becomes one of interest to all countries and particularly to those where men hope and work for peace.

For in her widespread abstention from voluntary military service and her openly expressed determination to resist any effort to now compel her young men to serve, Ireland has set an example of national morality and high purpose that should have an ever growing effect on the mind of all peace loving men.

She is achieving, unarmed and defenceless, a victory greater, perhaps, than any won in the field—a victory for peace, for sanity, for reason, and is overthrowing by a resolute "No" the machinations of those whose chief aim is to extend the area of conflict and involve ever fresh victims in their widespread scheme of destruction.

* * *

In answer to a question in Parliament the Chief Secretary for Ireland recently stated (January 10) that there were believed to be 562,115 men of military age in Ireland—i.e. between 19 and 41—on the 15th August 1915. The number of those who had "voluntarily" joined the British forces, both Army and Navy, up to 15 December last, he gave as 94,997.

These figures, it should be observed, do not agree with the Census returns compiled in 1911 which showed a very much larger number of men of military age in Ireland.

But confining ourselves for the moment to the return now presented to Parliament and contrasting the result of sixteen months of unceasing effort to get Irishmen into the Army, it will be admitted that the Bishop of Limerick and the Extreme School of Irish nationalists in their appeal to Irishmen to treat this war as "England's war", have far more truly represented Irish

convictions than either Messrs. Redmond and Dillon, or the inspired organs of the Government press who have sought to represent Ireland as cheerfully participating with England in the holiest of wars.

The following are the figures furnished to Parliament:

<i>Men of military age in Ireland, according to Province, on 15 August 1915</i>	<i>Numbers who had enlisted in either Army or Navy up to 15th December</i>
Leinster	174,597
Ulster	169,489
Munster	136,637
Connaught	81,392
— — —	— — —
	562,115
	94,997

* * *

Inspecting these figures from within, it will be found that the abstention of Irishmen from the British armed forces rests on moral and religious grounds no less than on national grounds, as the Bishop of Limerick was the first to point out in public.

Ulster, mainly protestant and pro-English, with an available military population of 169,489 gave 46,760 men to the British Army and Navy.

The three nationalist provinces Leinster, Munster and Connaught, overwhelmingly catholic, with close on 400,000 men of military age (392,626) gave only 45,237 (many of whom were protestants) and the greater part of these came from the four cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, where extreme poverty, homelessness and lack of employment furnish, even in normal times, the chief recruiting grounds in Ireland for the British Army.

If we deduct, as we safely may, 25,000 recruits for these four cities there remains but a small contingent of some 20,000 men given by the great mass of 2,500,000 catholic farmers and agriculturalists who make up the rural population of the three provinces.

At the passing of the Home Rule Bill in September 1914, it was confidently hoped by the British Government that Irishmen would "flock to the colours", and the leading organs of British policy claimed that "at least 300,000 Irishmen will respond to this generous act by enlisting in the Army".

Where England has given 3,000,000 of men, we are told, and Scotland, according to the Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, has sent "*at least 460,000 men*" (vide Mr. Hogg's speech in the House of Commons on 17th January), Ireland has sent under 100,000 and nearly half of these (some

41,000) are claimed as Ulster Protestants, passionate haters of Ireland and proudly calling themselves England's "loyal garrison".

Of the residue of some 50,000 Irish Catholics who have been bribed, cajoled, starved or bullied into the war in sixteen months of ceaseless effort, it may safely be said not more than 20,000 had any real desire to help England and the rest had only the cause of their stomachs to serve.

Assuming that the return presented to Parliament on January 11th was accurate, it shows that the effort to get Irishmen to fight England's battle has been a dismal failure. It was out of all proportion to those available, and bore no relation to the response made in England or Scotland, or even in the far distant and quite unaffected Dominions of Australia, Canada, etc. Canada, for instance, we are told today by her Prime Minister, is raising 500,000 men "without compulsion".

If compulsion were anywhere needed within the British Empire, it was clearly in Ireland.

* * *

If we turn to the Census of 1911 it will be found that however unfavourable the situation was revealed to be by the figures given in parliament it becomes infinitely worse if the Census returns are to be accepted as more reliable.

According to the Census there were about 760,000 males between the ages of 18 and 41 in Ireland in 1911. The actual figures on the report were (Table 63, page 99) 735,707 males between the ages of 18 and 40. If we add the approximate number between 40 and 41, namely 25,497, we get a total of 761,204 as the number of males in Ireland of military age from 18 to 41.

As only some 100,000 at the outside have been induced to enlist it is clear that Ireland has a reserve of well over 600,000 men who should be compelled by law "to fight for their King and Country".

Every effort to induce them to do so by voluntary means has failed.

Lord Derby in two months, we are told, enlisted in the neighbouring island of Great Britain 2,184,000 men. While the Derby scheme was being applied in Great Britain, the Viceroy of Ireland at the head of a Committee including Mr. Redmond "the national leader of the Irish race at home and abroad", undertook to recruit in Ireland. Against Lord Derby's 2,184,000 Britons, Lord Wimbourne and Mr. Redmond secured in the same time 10,000 Irishmen.

The population of Great Britain is nine times that of Ireland.

Had Great Britain responded as Ireland did, Lord Derby would have got only 90,000 men. Had Ireland obeyed the call as England and Scotland did, Lord Wimbourne would have got 242,000 Irishmen.

Here if anywhere where the flag of British freedom and equality floats

should compulsion be applied. And how does the British Government deal with this one black spot in the otherwise bright prospect of an all consenting British Empire?

* * *

In the House of Commons on the 17th January Mr. Bonar Law, the minister for the Colonies, in opposing an amendment to apply the Bill to Ireland, declared as follows:

"I noticed that my hon. friend who moved the amendment went further and said that in his belief the idea that there will be any serious opposition in Ireland is unfounded. *If the Government shared that view we should not have been justified in excluding Ireland.* But I do not share that view. I believe as strongly as I believe anything that, looking at Ireland as it is, *and there is no use in any of us hiding our eyes of what we all know*, I do not believe that it would be possible to put this Bill into operation in Ireland *without the exercise of force and of a considerable amount of force*". (Hansard Vol. LXXVIII)

On this ground and on this ground alone the House of Commons rejected the Amendment and Irishmen are excluded from a vital obligation enforced on all other subjects of the Realm, because the British Government has to confess that it would be too dangerous to apply the law to Ireland since it would involve the "exercise of force and of a considerable amount of force".

That is, in fact, a declaration of Irish independence wrung from her foreign rulers.

The fact that, faced with a movement of resistance of this magnitude, aimed at the very heart of the State in a struggle of unprecedented gravity, the British Government has refused to compel the recalcitrant population to fulfil the obligation it enforces on all other parts of the Kingdom is the clearest proof that there yet survives in Ireland a spirit of national self-reliance that even England at war with Germany dare not assail.

That spirit of Irish nationality we see exists more strongly where the Catholic Church claims the spiritual allegiance of the people. The Protestant parts of Ulster with a total Protestant population of some 800,000 have sent fully 40,000 men to the field. Catholic Leinster, Connaught and Munster, with a total population, urban and rural of some 3,000,000 have sent only 45,000, and of these fully 10,000 are also Protestants.

* * *

So far as Catholic, as national Ireland is concerned, the war does not exist. It does not exist as a moral, religious or national obligation, and, again to appeal to the Bishop of Limerick's Letter, Ireland says to England:-

"This is your war, but not mine; fight your battle with your own sons".

This attitude of Catholic Ireland towards the calamity of Christendom we have come to regard as a part of our daily lives to rise with the sun to surely rise again to-morrow—the world war—is one of the few hopeful signs that make us not altogether despair of the morrow.

This war that desolates the whole earth springs not from the soil of peasant minds but was hurled from the battlements over the ruined and the ruled by a handful of men, of no fear of God before their eyes, whom the irony of the political systems of our time designates "the representatives of democracy".

If love and not hate is ever again to rule men's minds its coming must "be looked for from the people—from the ruled and not from the rulers—from the Manger rather than from the Palace; from the Crib and not from the Castle".

And it is just here that the attitude of the Irish peasantry gives hope to the warring world.

And it is just here that in very truth Ireland is the one bright spot in all the vast black picture the British Empire today presents to the world of misspent energy and misdirected pride.

48.

No. 1239. Vol. XXII, No. 97 The Continental Times February 14, 191

No Ships! No Money! No Men!

To the Editor.

In view of the forthcoming newly organised submarine blockade by Germany upon the British coasts, I think the enclosed taken from an English newspaper, telling of the chaos in British shipping circles is in the highest degree instructive.

"At present all is confusion. The industry is unorganised. War has upset all the normal conditions. The Admiralty needs ships, so does the War Office, so does the Board of Trade, so does the Sugar Commission, so does the Board of Agriculture. It is not suggested, of course, that there is no inter-communication, but the arrangements for co-ordination, as every shipping man knows, are defective. Every demand, from whatever Governmental quarter it has come, has tended to drive freights up throughout the world. It has been calculated by a leading shipping journal, that the tonnage available, through capture or loss, has already shrunk by nearly 1,900,000 tons since hostilities began. Consider what that means if the law of supply and demand is not to be interfered with! The wastage is still continuing; the delays in discharging and loading are not becoming less; there is no falling off in the

naval and military requirements of the Allies; there are huge demands for munitions, fuel, and food from overseas. The crisis is acute, and it is steadily becoming more so. Unless a remedy, complete and drastic, is applied, the victory on which we and our Allies count with confidence to-day must be postponed, if not relinquished".

You see that the English are in a hard plight not only for money but ships. No longer do they sing, "We've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the money too!"

"**Spectator**"

49.

No. 1256. Vol. XXII, No. 114 The Continental Times March 22, 1916

How the War may affect American Culture.

Interesting study by a distinguished neutral anthropologist.

One of the effects of the war upon the United States that has so far attracted little attention is revealed in the returns of passenger traffic between Europe and the Republic for 1915. Probably for the first time in its history the numbers of persons who left the United States for Europe exceeded the number of Europeans who entered the country.

The figures for the last three years are as follows:

Number of passengers:	1913	1914	1916
from Europe to USA	1,811,686	963,000	203,000
" USA to Europe	698,136	673,000	294,000
	+1,113,550	+280,000	- 91,000

A surplus of 1,113,550 immigrants over departures in 1913 becomes a loss of 91,000 inhabitants in the year just ended. This loss will probably be greatly increased in 1916. The population of the U.S.—save for the tiny fraction of disappearing Redmen—is derived from an entirely imported stock. The greater part as we know, is of European origin, with a very large proportion however—something between a seventh and an eighth of the total citizenship—based on an African negroid origin.

For many years the latter class of citizens has ceased to derive its increase from immigration and has had to depend on its own powers of natural increase. The white population, on the other hand, has been reinforced for the best part of a century by constant stream of European immigration that has been called the chief factor not only in building up the great mass of American citizens but in ensuring that the European type should greatly predominate in the character of the population.

The actual condition revealed by the immigration return of 1915, furnishes food for reflections that cannot fail to bring home to all white American citizens the menace to their racial stock that underlies the continuance of the present war. In addition to the direct loss of 91,000 persons of European blood caused by the excess of overseas departures, there is a further drain of this element of the population in the silent but none the less increasing recruitment of white American citizens in the ranks of the Canadian Army.

How many white men of American nationality have already joined this branch of the British forces we have no exact means of finding out, but that the number is not entirely negligible is beyond doubt. Recruiting agencies for the British Army have been located throughout many parts of the Union, and not an inconsiderable number of men and lads have certainly crossed the border into Canada to enlist in the ranks of the so-called Canadian regiments being raised for service in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Already, according to the Canadian Prime Minister, Canada has raised up to the end of December 1915 some 195,000 men for overseas services, and has sent 119,000 of these men into the firing line. In the first half of January 1916, he now adds, a further 65,532 had joined the colours, and during the course of this year Canada will put 500,000 men into the field.

It is clear that this half million of men will not be entirely composed of Canadian subjects of King George, whose total does not exceed 7,000,000, but that many thousands of them will be drawn from across the nominal Southern frontier. We say nominal advisedly, for apart from the monetary inducements held out by the British recruiting bureaus, a pronouncement has been recently delivered by the Washington authorities that cannot fail to encourage the enlistment of American citizens in the British Army.

In a letter issued by the Department of Labor at Washington to its officials throughout the Union (Bureau Letter No. 54,003,431 of October 9th, 1915) the Secretary of the Department thus definitely decides a question that has been frequently raised since the war began:

"Instructions should be issued by you to the end that hereafter the boards will not question the American citizenship of an applicant because of the fact that he took the oath of allegiance and enlisted in the Canadian forces".

American citizenship is, according to this edict, wholly compatible with

an oath of allegiance to a foreign Sovereign binding the swearer to the strictest military obedience to that Monarch and his successors and committing, if ordered, to attack and slay citizens of the country whose allegiance he has just forsaken but of which, nevertheless, he claims all the rights of citizenship. As an instance of benevolent neutrality in war time we can cite nothing more remarkable than the publication of this ruling of a government department according a dual nationality—belligerent and pacific—to all who choose to claim it by entering the armed services of a foreign State.

The outstanding fact, however, we are called on to consider is not the question of dual nationality raised by the enlistment of Americans in a foreign army, but the continued racial predominance of the white or European stock as the basis of American life and citizenship.

Since the increase of the European stock depends so largely on the continued influx of European immigrants rather than on the birth rate of those already established in the country, a birth rate which shows a tendency to decline, it may be asserted that, for the first time for over a century, the birth rate of African and Mulatto citizens in 1911 relatively exceeded that of the white-blooded element of citizenship. Should the war be prolonged, as so many claim, until "Germany is crushed" (a matter of certainly many years to come), it is evident the repercussions in America of this long laboured death stroke in the white races of Central Europe must enormously affect the relative position of the white and coloured elements of the population of the United States.

The whites, reduced to rely for all increase upon a yearly diminishing birth rate and with a constant increasing drain upon their youth and manhood for the continuance of the war in Europe may quickly reach the point where deaths, combined with emigration to the war field will equal or even exceed the natural increase due to excess of births.

Against this stagnant condition of the European element will have to be placed the natural increase of the black and coloured elements of the population. These between them already number some 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 out of the total of 100,000,000 of American citizens. Their normal natural increase is probably not less than 250,000 per annum. As the war proceeds, and the entire stoppage of European immigrants goes hand in hand with the falling white birth rate and the increased emigration to Europe, the disparity in numbers between the white and coloured zones of the population must tend to disappear.

It is true that something may be effected by an increased development of lynchings to counteract this unforeseen outcome of a war undertaken in the highest interests of the white man's civilisation, but even the most painstaking cultural extension in this direction can hardly hope to keep pace with a declining birth rate on the one hand and the increasing call of the warfield on the other.

There are, obviously, many millions of American citizens to-day, chiefly reside in the Southern States, who will hail these impending consequences of the war with a growing, if discreetly silent, satisfaction.

To-day they may be politically weak, however strong and healthy as husbands, fathers and feeders of the population. Up to the outbreak of this war they had little to hope for from a conflict on the far-off fields of Central Europe.

A war, undertaken, as they were told, in the interest of the highest phases of European civilisation, seemed to offer little to the humbler ideals of transplanted African culture that had with such difficulty wrestled a patch in the sunlight in the less favoured regions of the Great Republic.

But today, thanks to the very intensity of that conflict for the loftiest ideals of the white man, the prospect brightens and broadens for this dusky and hitherto oppressed, or at least retarded, element of the national growth. The tightening of the blockade against Germany and the resultant extinction of almost all trade between the U.S. and neutral countries must bring a further reduction in the means of subsistence for the class of population engaged in industrial pursuits.

The entire disappearance of Trans-Atlantic immigration to the Union during 1916, 1917 and all following years of the war, and doubtless for many years after the war is ended, will mean the direst loss not only of some 1,300,000 of white immigrants annually, but the equally great contingent loss to the white birth rate of the country as a whole.

As the negroid class of citizens are simpler in their habits, more frugal in expenditure, needing less and spending less, they are bound to fell the strain of the hard times ahead in a much less acute degree than the preponderant class of citizens of white extraction. They are also far more prolific.

An enforced approximation to each other or equalisation in numbers of the two types of citizenship, the white and the coloured, may thus be confidently looked for as the war proceeds.

The closer union of the two Americas—or should we not say—the three Americas—the Latin, African, Anglo-Saxon now being advocated by so many men of scientific attainment in North and South, cannot fail to accentuate a healthy appreciation of the fact that in neither continent is the white race so predominant that it can afford to look on unmoved at the death struggle in Europe which threatens to extinguish the sources of its own existence and to drive it for perhaps half a century, of all further influx of European blood and culture.

On the other hand, many thoughtful Americans believe that Hamitic strain, drawn into a closer political union and a deeper and more intensive contact with the predominant European or Shemitic elements in the so-called

Anglo-Saxon Republic, cannot fail to ameliorate some of the asperities of the harsher Northern strain. What is lost in colour, they claim, may be gained in character, or to be strictly accurate, one should say, too, what is gained in colour for white is the negation of colour.

In a sense, indeed, little perceived by the warring parties, their colossal struggle for the "very cause of humanity and the future of Civilisation itself", as Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall speech so splendidly phrased it, as bringing with it on a far-off field of human endeavour an ethical "revanche" that far transcends in importance that sought by France and her Old World allies in the Rhineland and one that while it shall leave geographical and political boundaries in the New World intact must profoundly modify the racial character no less than the racial complexion of those who dwell by the Mississippi.

[Initialled and corrected by Casement in the NLI Ms 13,084-10.]

50.

No. 1260. Vol. XXII, No. 118 The Continental Times April 3, 1916

THE TRUTH FROM IRELAND —AT LAST!

Truth being proverbially resident at the bottom of a well takes time to emerge from her hiding place. But she climbs the dripping walls at last.

After some eighteen months of a very slimy hold and toilsome effort since this war began, she has now reached the surface and her clear brows show above the level of the Pit in which the British press and the hired gang of "Irish" parliamentarians had hoped to keep her buried until Germany, too, was safely in the receptacle.

As Mr. Redmond points out on the *Morning Post* of February 19, 1916, the task of the "Irish" Parliamentary Party was to range Ireland in line with "every other portion of the Empire" on the side of England so that henceforth "Ireland would be a strength instead of a weakness".

Mr. Redmond did his best, even descending to the boots of the Prince of Wales—but alas! for Mr. Redmond's admiration for the Prince's putted legs, those slender extremities of the imperial corpse he calls Irishmen to fall down and worship, there is a Divinity doth shape our ends rough hose them as we will.

Redmond's Opinions

Mr. Redmond in the *Morning Post* of February 19, says:

"I further pointed out" (when the war began) "that this was a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany; that it was a war in defence of the rights and liberties of small nationalities; and that Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honour, good faith and self-interest if she did not respond to my appeal".

And the answer of Ireland has been—that the British Government confesses in parliament that the "National Services Bill" cannot be applied to Ireland since; to attempt to enforce it would mean the exercise of a "very considerable amount of force" and the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland.

The Irish regiments that were constituted in the first days of the war have had to be largely filled, the *Times* confesses, with Englishmen.

Sir Morgan O'Connell, Baronet, and Deputy Lieutenant for the Great County of Kerry, writes to the same paper on March 7, to protest that in that entire County "recruiting is dead" and that every village is "rotten" with an active pro-German propaganda.

Role of Sinn Fein

The Sinn Feiners,* "the poisonous" handful who claim that Ireland is not England and that Irishmen must work out their salvation, by blood and iron and by the self-same methods that gave national life to Greece, to Servia, to Holland and to the United States, are now admitted to be in control of the popular mind throughout a large part of the South and West of Ireland. Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Wexford, to name but four of the counties, are filled with a spirit that calls for "active measures on the part of the authorities". The *Morning Post* of March 16th asserts:

"Throughout the South and West a vigorous and organised campaign against recruiting is being supported by the dissemination of seditious and pro-German pamphlets and literature of various kinds... within the last few months several persons have been indicted and tried in Dublin for offences under the Defence of the Realm Act but in every case they have been acquitted by the verdict of the jury and the result received with tumultuous applause within the Court itself".

"A still more sinister event has just occurred in Cork. A Committee was recently appointed in the City composed of delegates from the different religions and political parties, with the view of organising a demonstration upon St. Patrick's Day".

* "Sinn Fein", the two words signifying "Ourselves Alone". The name assumed by the historic Irish Nationalists who repudiate Redmond as much as England.

"The military authorities offered to send in furtherance of the demonstration a large contingent of troops from the Irish regiments, but the Committee, largely composed of delegates from the Sinn Fein Volunteers and other disloyal associations, rejected this offer by an overwhelming majority, upon the ground, as one of the delegates expressed it:

'that the British Army was in hostile occupation of Ireland and that it would be not as absurd for the Belgians to invite a contingent from the German Army to take part in a Belgian national demonstration as for Irishmen to accept the presence of British soldiers'

"These Delegates further announced the intention of the Sinn Fein Volunteers to contribute to the demonstration an armed force of 200 men, carrying loaded rifles; but it seems hardly credible that the Executive will permit at such a time so fragrant a challenge on the part of open and avowed enemies of our country".

Morning Post, March 16th,

1916.

The Irish Convention

And now, on top of these manifestations of an active national movement in Ireland itself, we have the news of the Great Irish Race Convention held in New York City on the 4th and 5th of March. The reports of this convention's deliberations has taken some time to reach Europe.

The *Times* of March 7th announced in a tiny paragraph, buried in an obscure part of the paper, that the Irish Convention had been a failure and that neither "from the pro-German standpoint" nor from that of Irish Nationalists could it be regarded as successful.

Today, March 20th, we get news from New York, that it was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of the Irish American population ever held in the New World.

Both in character, in quality and in the tenor of the resolutions passed, it stands out as a complete assertion of the enduring claim of Ireland to a place among those "small nationalities" for whom we are so strangely told England and her Allies began this war.

Irish Hopes

These Irishmen born in America, headed by distinguished clergymen, judges and other representative citizens of the United States, representative of all that is deepest and most widespread in American culture, declared in a great public assembly that Ireland claimed her place in the world of free peoples, and that she looked to this war and to the efforts of her patriotic sons to achieve independence and national freedom.

More than one speaker identified this battle of Irishmen with the cause of Germany resistance to the claim of England to rule the seas of all the world.

They declared that the key of ocean freedom, of equality of maritime rights lay in the freedom of Ireland from British control and its restoration to Europe.

They claimed that if mankind desired, in truth, a free sea way and open ocean, they could best gain it by restoring Ireland—"a European and not a British island" as the Convention declared—to the community of European life and interests from which England had so relentlessly withdrawn it.

The question of Ireland's place in this war of the worlds has just been as definitely answered from the New World as from the Old.

In Ireland itself British rule is paralysed. The claim that Ireland is one with Great Britain, or that Mr. Redmond and his party of subsidised talkers at Westminster, speak the mind of Ireland has been answered at Westminster itself by the British Government when that Government declined to apply the conscription law to Ireland on the ground of fear, although Mr. Redmond claimed that all Ireland was behind him. In Ireland it has been met by the resolute refusal of public bodies, of County Councils, of bishops of the Irish Church, of the whole people to recognise that English rule in Ireland does not differ materially from that established, say, by German arms in Belgium.

A foreign army, in each case, holds the land, and Irishmen decline to enter the ranks of the army of occupation in Ireland just as in Belgium. Belgians do not enter the German army that equally garrisons their country. The war for small nationalities takes on a broader scope each month it endures.

Ireland seeks to take her place beside Belgium, Greece, Servia—to name but a few of those for whom England and her Allies have taken up arms and involved the world in bloodshed.

And with this difference—the freedom of Greece, of Belgium, of Servia, etc. is a matter solely of limited continental concern, a matter of rearranging frontiers and re-colouring a map where changing frontiers and changing colours have prevailed throughout the centuries without affecting any vital interest of the peoples affected; whereas the freedom of Ireland concerns the whole future of mankind and on it hangs the freedom of the world. For on it hangs the issue of whether Europe and the world are to remain the bond slaves of one people, bound impotent and writhing to the Earth, or whether they are to be free to walk the waters and use man's great heritage, the Sea, for the advancement for an equal civilisation and the common culture of mankind.

Annex 1

Liebknecht on Casement, the "Traitor"

Official *Reichstag* record

[Translator's Note:

Items in brackets in italic—apart from interjections during the debate—are my insertions (PO'C). I have translated the "Vice President" of the *Reichstag* as "Deputy Speaker" and have rendered "*Abgeordneter*" as "MdR" [= *Mitglied des Reichstages*] rather than "MP", which is the specifically British equivalent—Philip O'Connor.]

Liebknecht takes the floor. "General laughter".

Dr. Liebknecht MdR: "Gentlemen. The laugh is on yourselves!"
(Laughter and shouts)

"To allow just two hours for the Military Budget and in the manner indicated by the very honourable previous speaker is almost without precedent in parliamentary history."

(Speaker's Bell)

"...I have the right to declare here that it is quite inadmissible and a castration of Parliament to end the debate immediately after the Minister has spoken."

(Speaker's Bell)

[Liebknecht is called to order and not allowed proceed. Debate then resumes on Budget Items 14 to 43, "War Department, sundry expenditures"]

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "I refer to Section 5, Item 1. I hereby open the debate and give the floor to the Honourable Member Dr. Liebknecht."

(General commotion)

—"Silence, gentlemen, please!"

Dr. Liebknecht MdR: "Gentlemen, in this Section, and indeed under this and other items, funding is sought for Military Training Grounds and facilities that are also used to house and provision prisoners of war. This requires that we address the situation of prisoners of war."

(Laughter—Speaker's Bell)

[On being called to order to address himself to the actual budget item under discussion, Liebknecht proposes that all items of the section be taken and debated together. This is put to the house and lost, with only the independent socialists supporting him. Votes on individual budget items then proceed. Under the item "Extension of Accommodation and Equipping of Military Training Grounds", Liebknecht again takes the floor:]

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "... I refer to Item 84, 'Extension of Accommodation and Equipping on Military Training Grounds', 4th vote, 58,300 Marks."

"I hereby open the debate and give the floor to the Honourable Member, Dr. Liebknecht."

Dr. Liebknecht, MdR: "These are precisely those military training grounds where prisoners of war are also housed. In these German prison camps, and on the basis of a carefully constructed plan authorised at the highest level, prisoners of war—Frenchmen, Russians and Englishmen—are systematically being press ganged into treasonable military service against their own country."

(Vehement objections)

— "I have the documents to prove this in my hand! This type of activity was recently described in the press as a gross violation by Russia of international law— —"

(Speaker's Bell)

Dr. Liebknecht, MdR: "The point is that at these military training grounds propaganda is in fact being conducted— —"

(Speaker's Bell)

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Forgive me, sir, but what is at issue here for us is discussion of the budget. Item 84 proposes a sum of 58,300 Marks for extending accommodation and equipping on military training grounds. I ask you to keep to this item and not raise wider issues of international law."

Dr. Liebknecht, MdR: "I won't be raising wider issues, but recounting only facts. At these training grounds, among other things, an Irish Brigade has been formed under a treaty signed by Undersecretary Zimmermann with Sir Roger Casement, the English 'traitor', at the end of December 1914. I have the text of it here. Under this treaty, English prisoners of war

[Shouts: "speak to the item!"]

are to be recruited and trained in German prison camps for military service against England."

(Speaker's Bell)

"Furthermore, Gentlemen, — —"

(Speaker's Bell)

(Dr. Liebknecht attempts to continue)

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Honourable Member, allow me speak! I believe the house will concur that what you are arguing is not related to accommodation and equipping on military training grounds."

"Precisely!"

"You are not addressing the item!"

Dr. Liebknecht, MdR: "Mr. Speaker, I would point out that this accommodation also serves to house the type of prisoner of whom I have just spoken."

("They're for German troops!")

— "No, not true, there are also prisoners accommodated on these military training grounds!"

(Commotion; interjection: "it hasn't even been built yet!")

— "The Item reads: *extension of accommodation and facilities.*"

"Gentlemen, Mohammedan prisoners of war from the French, English, and Russian armies, Georgians, Ukrainians, etc., are being systematically press ganged and forced in these prisoner-of-war camps into military service against the state to which they belong."

(Speaker's Bell—great commotion)

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Deputy Liebknecht, I must again call on you to address the item under discussion. You have ignored my admonition and continued to raise issues that have nothing whatever to do with extending the 'accommodation and equipping on military training grounds'. I draw your attention to the Rules of Procedure under which when the Speaker has called on you twice to keep to the issue under discussion and you continue to address other issues, he may request the House to decide whether you should continue to be given the floor."

("Very good!")

Dr. Liebknecht, MdR: "Gentlemen, these matters truly deserve serious attention; I protest at you silencing me when I bring up these issues, which are a stain on Germany, on German culture."

[Stormy interjections—Speaker's bell.]

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Deputy Liebknecht, you do not have the floor anymore!"

"As you've again strayed from the issue under discussion, I shall now ask the House whether I should continue to give you the floor."

"I now ask all those gentlemen who wish Deputy Liebknecht to continue to have the floor, to rise from their seats."

(*This happens*)

"That is a minority. I can no longer allow you have the floor."

(*Interjections by Deputy Liebknecht; outrage and general commotion; continuous ringing of the bell*)

— "I would ask for silence, gentlemen. The Honourable Member Dr. Liebknecht no longer has the floor."

(*Hilarity*)

[*Proceedings of the German Parliament.*
41st sitting. Friday 7th April 1916.

Debate on the Military Budget, pp. 919-22)

Reichstagsprotokolle. 41. Sitzung. Freitag den 7. April 1916.
Militäretat. S. 919-922. Source: <http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de>]

Berliner Tageblatt [Debate on Military Budget] 8 April 1916

Construction of a Magazine Building in Ludwigslust.

Dr. Liebknecht MdR (Soc.): "The prisoner accommodation for which funding is sought under this item also serves as housing for English prisoners who are being systematically [trained] for treasonable service against their own country..." (*Stormy interjections*).

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Honourable Member. You are mistaken. You may only address the issue of the building planned in Ludwigslust." (*Hilarity*).

[Liebknecht proposes that all items of the budget section be taken together and debated as one. This is put to the house and lost, with only the Left Socialists supporting him. Votes on individual budget items then proceed. Under the item "*Extension of Accommodation and Equipping of Military Training Grounds*", Liebknecht again takes the floor:]

Dr. Liebknecht MdR (Soc.): "I repeat, I have documents to hand verifying that a treaty was concluded between Undersecretary Zimmermann and the

English traitor, Sir Roger Casement, according to which at such training grounds English prisoners of war would be trained for military service against England." (*Stormy interruptions and calls to stop*.)

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "You may not make speeches on wider issues here. What's under discussion is solely the funding sought for buildings, and you may address only those construction plans." ("Hear, hear!")

Dr. Liebknecht MdR: "The issue is that on orders from above, systematic, treasonable propaganda is being conducted at these military training grounds."

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "I call you to order: what you are saying has nothing to do with the construction proposal."

Dr. Liebknecht MdR: "Mohammedan prisoners of war are also being systematically press ganged in these prison camps into service against their own country."

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "I must again call on you to address the issue under discussion."

Dr. Liebknecht MdR: "You are systematically muzzling me! (*Shouts of "traitor!" "You belong in the madhouse!" Calls to stop*).

Deputy Speaker Paasche: "Since you refuse to comply with my ruling, I will consult the House."

Against the votes of a minority of Social Democrats, leave to speak was withdrawn from Liebknecht.

The remainder of the military budget was passed without further debate.

Annex 2

THE ROMANCE OF IRISH HISTORY.

The history of Ireland remains to be written, for the purpose of Irishmen remains yet to be achieved. The struggle for national realization, begun so many centuries ago, is not ended; and if the long story offers a so frequent record of failure, it offers a continuous appeal to the highest motives and a constant exhibition of a most pathetic patriotism linked with the sternest courage. Irish wars, throughout all time, have been only against one enemy, the invader, and, ending so often in material disaster, they have conferred always a moral gain. Their memory uplifts the Irish heart; for no nation, no people, can reproach Ireland with having wronged them. When, at the

dawn of the Christian era, we first hear of Ireland from external sources, we learn of it as an island harboring free men, whose indomitable love of freedom was hateful to the spirit of imperial exploitation. Agricola's advice to the empire-builders of his day was that Rome should "*war down and take possession of Ireland, so that freedom might be put out of sight*". It was to meet this challenge of despotism that the Scotic clans of Alba turned to their motherland for help, and the sea was "*white with the hurrying oars*" of the men of Erin speeding to the call of their Highland kinsmen, threatened with imperial servitude. The first external record we possess thus makes it clear that when the early Irish went forth to carry war abroad, it was not to impose their yoke on other peoples, or to found an empire, but to battle against the Empire of the World in the threatened cause they held so dear at home. In this early Roman reference to Ireland we get the keynote to all later Irish history--a warring down on the one hand, so that freedom might be put out of sight; an eternal resistance, on the other, so that it might be upheld. It was this struggle that Ireland sought to maintain against every form of attack, down through Danish, Norman, Tudor, Stuart, and Cromwellian assault, to the larger imperialism of the nineteenth century, when, as Thierry, the historian of the Norman Conquest, tells us, it still remained the one "lost cause" of history that refused to admit defeat. "*This indomitable persistency, this faculty of preserving through centuries of misery the remembrance of lost liberty and of never despairing of a cause always defeated, always fatal to those who dared to defend it, is perhaps the strangest and noblest example ever given by any nation.*" The resources Ireland opposed to her invaders have been unequal to the founding of a great state, but have preserved a great tradition. The weakness of Ireland lay in the absence of a central organization, a state machine that could mobilize the national resources to defend the national life. That life had to depend for its existence, under the stress of prolonged invasion, on the spontaneous patriotism and courage of individuals. At times one clan alone, or two clans, maintained the struggle. Arrayed against them were all the resources of a mighty realm—shipping, arms, munitions of war, gold, statecraft, a widespread and calculating diplomacy, the prestige of a great Sovereign and a famous Court--and the Irish clan and its chieftain, by the sheer courage of its members, by their bodily strength and hardihood and feats of daring, for years kept the issue in doubt.

When Hugh O'Neill, leagued with Red Hugh O'Donnell, challenged the might of Elizabeth, he had nothing to rely upon but the stout hearts and arms of the men of Tir-owen and Tir-Conail. Arms and armaments were far from Ulster. They could be procured only in Spain or elsewhere on the continent. English shipping held the sea; the English mint the coinage. The

purse of England, compared to that of the Ulster princes, was inexhaustible. Yet for nine years the courage, the chivalry, the daring and skill of these northern clansmen, perhaps 20,000 men in all, held all the might of England at bay. Had the Spanish king at any time during the contest made good his promise to lend effective aid to the Irish princes, O'Neill would have driven Elizabeth from Ireland, and a sovereign State would today be the guardian of the freedom of the western seas for Europe and the world. It took "*the best army in Europe*" and a vast treasure, as Sir John Davies asserted, to conquer two Ulster clans three hundred years ago. The naked valor of the Irishman excelled the armed might of Tudor England; and the struggle that gave the empire of the seas to Britain was won not in the essay of battle, but in the assay of the mint. It is this aspect of the Irish fight for freedom that dignifies an otherwise lost cause. Ever defeated, yet undefeated, a long-remembering race believes that these native qualities must in the end prevail. The battle has been from the first one of manhood against might. The State Papers, the official record of English rule in Ireland, leave us rarely in doubt. We read in that record that, where the appeal was to the strength or courage of the opposing men, the Irish had nothing to fear from English arms. Thus the Earl of Essex, in a despatch to Elizabeth, explained the failure of his great expedition in 1599 against O'Neill and O'Donnell. "*These rebels... have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better bodies and perfecter use of their arms than those men whom your Majesty sends over.*" The flight of the Earls in 1607 left Ireland leaderless, with nothing but the bodies and hearts of the people to depend on. In 1613 we read, in the same records, a candid admission that, although the clan system had been destroyed and the great chiefs expropriated, converted, or driven to flight, the people still trusted to their own stout arms and fearless hearts:

"The next rebellion, whenever it shall happen, doth threaten more danger to the State than any heretofore, when the cities and walled towns were always faithful; (1) because they have the same bodies they ever had and therein they had and have advantage of us; (2) from infancy they have been and are exercised in the use of arms; (3) the realm by reason of the long peace was never so full of youths; (4) that they are better soldiers than heretofore their continental employment in wars abroad assures us, and they do conceive that their men are better than ours."

And when that "*next rebellion*" came, the great uprising of the outraged race in 1641, what do we find? Back from the continent sails the nephew of the great O'Neill, who had left Ireland a little boy in the flight of the Earls, and the dispossessed clansmen, robbed of all but their strength of body and heart, gathered to the summons of Owen Roe. Again it was the same issue: the courage and hardihood of the Irishman to set against the superior arms, equipment, and wealth of a united Britain. Irish valor won the battle; a great

state organization won the campaign. England and Scotland combined to lay low a resurgent Ireland; and again the victory was not to the brave and skilled, but to the longer purse and the implacable mind. Perhaps the most vivid testimony to these innate qualities of the Irishman is to be found in a typically Irish challenge issued in the course of this ten years' war from 1641 to 1651. The document has a lasting interest, for it displays not only the "*better body*" of the Irishman, but something of his better heart and chivalry of soul. One Parsons, an English settler in Ireland, had written to a friend to say, among other things, that the head of a colonel of an Irish regiment then in the field against the English would not be allowed to stick long on its shoulders.

The letter was intercepted by the very regiment itself, and a captain in it, Felim O'Molloy, wrote back to Parsons:

"I will doe this, if you please. I will pick out 60 men and fight against 100 of your choise men, if you do but pitch your campe one mile out of your towne, and then, if you have the victory, you may threaten my colonel; otherwise do not reckon your chickens before they be hatched."

It was this same spirit of daring, this innate belief in his own manhood, that for three hundred years made every Irishman the custodian of his country's honor. An Irish state had not been born; that battle had still to be fought; but the romantic effort to achieve it reveals ever an unstained record of personal courage. Freedom has not come to Ireland; it has been "*warred down and kept out of sight*"; but it has been kept in the Irish heart, from Brian Boru to Robert Emmet, by a long tale of blood shed always in the same cause. Freedom is kept alive in man's blood only by the shedding of that blood. It was this they were seeking, those splendid "scorners of death", the lads and young men of Mayo, who awaited with a fearless joy the advance of the English army fresh from the defeat of Humbert in 1798. Then, if ever, Irishmen might have run from a victorious and pitiless enemy, who having captured the French general and murdered, in cold blood, the hundreds of Killala peasants who were with his colors, were now come to Killala itself to wreak vengeance on the last stronghold of Irish rebellion.

The ill-led and half-armed peasants, the last Irishmen in Ireland to stand in open, pitched fight for their country's freedom, went to meet the army of General Lake, as the Protestant bishop who saw them says, "*running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show*". The influences that begot this reverence for freedom lie in the island itself no less than in the remote ancestry of the people. Whoever looks upon Ireland cannot conceive it as the parent of any but freemen. Climate and soil here unite to tell man that brotherhood, and not

domination, constitutes the only nobility for those who call this fair shore their motherland. The Irish struggle for liberty owes as much, perhaps, to the continuing influence of the same lakes and rivers and the same mountains as to the survival of any political fragments of the past. Irish history is inseparably the history of the land, rather than of a race; and in this it offers us a spectacle of a continuing national unity that long-continuing disaster has not been able wholly to efface or wholly to disrupt. To discover the Europe that existed before Rome we must turn to the East, Greece, and to the West, Ireland. Ireland alone among western lands preserves the recorded tradition, the native history, the continuity of mind, and, until yesterday, of speech and song, that connect the half of Europe with its ancestral past. For early Europe was very largely Celtic Europe, and nowhere can we trace the continuous influence of Celtic culture and idealism, coming down to us from a remote past, save in Ireland only.

To understand the intellect of pre-Roman Gaul, of Spain, of Portugal, and largely of Germany, and even of Italy, we must go to Ireland. Whoever visits Spain or Portugal, to investigate the past of those countries, will find that the record stops where Rome began. Take England in further illustration. The first record the inhabitants of England have of the past of their island comes from Roman invasion. They know of Boadicea, of Cassivelaunus, the earliest figures in their history, from what a foreign destroyer tells them in an alien tongue. All the early life of Celts and Lusitanians has passed away from the record of human endeavor, save only where we find it recorded by the Italian invaders in their own speech, and in such terms as imperial exploitation ever prescribes for its own advancement and the belittlement of those it assails. Ireland alone among all western nations knows her own past, from the very dawn of history and before the romance of Romulus began, down to the present day, in the tongue of her own island people and in the light of her own native mind. Early Irish history is not the record of the clan-strivings of a petty and remote population, far from the centre of civilization.

It is the authentic story of all western civilization before the warm solvent of Mediterranean blood and iron melted and moulded it into another and rigid shape. The Irishman called O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Donnell, steps out of a past well-nigh co-eval with the heroisms and tragedies that uplifted Greece and laid Troy in ashes, and swept the Mediterranean with an *Odyssey* of romance that still gives its name to each chief island, cape, and promontory of the mother sea of Europe. Ireland, too, steps out of a story just as old. Well nigh every hill or mountain, every lake or river, bears the name today it bore a thousand, two thousand, years ago, and one recording some dramatic human or semi-divine event.

The songs of the Munster and Connacht poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave to every cottage in the land the ownership as well as the tale of an heroic ancestry. They linked the Ireland of yesterday with the Ireland of Finn and Oscar, of Diarmid and Grainne, of Deirdre and the Sons of Usnech, of Cuchulainn the Hound of Ulster. A people bred on such soul-stirring tales as these, linked by a language "*the most expressive of any spoken on earth*" in thought and verse and song with the very dawn of their history, wherein there moved, as familiar figures, men with the attributes of gods--great in battle, grand in danger, strong in loving, vehement in death--such a people could never be vulgar, could never be mean, but must repeat, in their own time and in their own manhood, actions and efforts thus ascribed as a vital part of their very origin. Hence the inspiration that gave the name of Fenian, in the late nineteenth century, to a band of men who sought to achieve by arms the freedom of Ireland.

The law of the Fenian of the days of Marcus Aurelius was the law of the Fenian in the reign of Victoria--to give all--mind, body, and strength of purpose--to the defense of his country, "*to speak truth and harbor no greed in his heart*". Some there are who may deny to Finn and his Fenians of the second and third centuries corporeal existence; yet nothing is surer than that Ireland claims these ancestral embodiments of an heroic tradition by a far surer title of native record than gives to the Germans Arminius, to the Gauls, Ariovistus, to the British, Caractacus. This conception of a national life, one with the land itself, was very clear to the ancient Irish, just as it has been and is the foundation of all later national effort.

"If ever the idea of nationality becomes the subject of a thorough and honest study, it will be seen that among all the peoples of antiquity, not excluding the Hellenes and the Hebrews, the Irish held the clearest and most conscious and constant grasp of that idea; and that their political divisions, instead of disproving the existence of the idea, in their case intensely strengthen the proof of its existence and emphasize its power. In the same way the remarkable absence of insular exclusiveness, notwithstanding their geographical position, serves to bring their sense of nationality into higher relief.

Though pride of race is evident in the dominant Gaelic stock, their national sentiment centres not in the race, but altogether in the country, which is constantly personified and made the object of a sort of cult. It is worth noting that just as the Brehon Laws are the laws of Ireland without distinction of province or district; as the language of Irish literature is the language of Ireland without distinction of dialects; as the Dindshenchus contains the topographical legends of all parts of Ireland, and the Festilogies commemorate the saints of all Ireland; so the Irish chronicles from first to last are histories of the Irish nation. The true view of the Book of Invasions is that it is the epic of Irish Nationality" (Professor Eoin MacNeill, in a letter to Mrs. A.S. Green, January, 1914.)

The "*Book of Invasions*", which Professor MacNeill here speaks of, was compiled a thousand years ago. To write the history of later Ireland is merely to prolong the "*Book of Invasions*", and thus bring the epic of Irish resistance down to our own day. All Irish valor and chivalry, whether of soul or of body, have been directed for a thousand years to this same end. It was for this that Sarsfield died at Landen no less than Brian at Clontarf. The monarch of Ireland at the head of a great Irish army driving back the leagued invaders from the shores of Dublin Bay in 1014, and the exiled leader in 1693, heading the charge that routed King William's cause in the Netherlands, fell on one and the same battlefield. They fought against the invader of Ireland.

We are proudly told that the sun never sets on the British Empire. Wherever an Irishman has fought in the name of Ireland it has not been to acquire fortune, land, or fame, but to give all, even life itself, not to found an empire, but to strike a blow for an ancient land and assert the cause of a swordless people. Wherever Irishmen have gone, in exile or in fight, they have carried this image of Ireland with them. The cause of Ireland has found a hundred fields of foreign fame, where the dying Irishman might murmur with Sarsfield, "*Would that this blood were shed for Ireland*", and history records the sacrifice as made in no other cause. Ireland, too, owns an empire on which the sun never sets.

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Roger Casement

[From "*The Glories of Ireland*" (1914) and published in "*Irland, Deutschland und der Freiheit der Meere und andere Aufsaetze: Casements Redden nach seiner Gefangennahme*" (Diessen von München: Huber, 1917)]

Annex 3

American true neutrality

Special to the *Continental Times*

From the Irish leader (Fr.) Michael O'Flanagan [sic]

Earnest words were those addressed by President Wilson to Americans, at the outbreak of the war, on the fundamental duty of remaining neutral. At that time the over-stepping of the limits of neutrality was, so to speak, merely theoretical; it manifested itself in the biased attitude of a powerful section of the Press, in the one-sided publication of the war news supplied by Reuter and Havas, in the suppression of reports furnished from German and Austrian sources, in the recounting of all sorts of wild stories of alleged German "atrocities"; in the systematic partial setting-forth of the political case for Great Britain and the concurrent ignoring of the political case for Germany, in the anti-German feeling of the public that reads this Press and is influenced by it. The hostility of a considerable portion of Press and public towards one of the belligerent parties was felt by President Wilson to be incompatible with true neutrality. But if this be the case—as it undoubtedly is—what shall be said of the overt breaches of neutrality which have been committed by Americans since the President's solemn words of warning were uttered? The overstepping of the limits of neutrality is to day by no means merely theoretical; it has, on the contrary, assumed very practical and highly dangerous forms. Not only does that Press of which we have spoken continue to violently and unjustifiably attack German policy, to distort and misrepresent German aims, to spread abroad all the calumnies on German soldiers manufactured in London; but immense industrial concerns in the States have enlisted openly in the service of the Triple Entente, have supplied vast quantities of arms and ammunition to England, France and Russia, are among the most active and enterprising workers for the cause of these countries. These supplies are being continued, despite the efforts of the farsighted Americans who founded the Neutrality League. The President, it is maintained, is helpless in the matter, since Congress has not given him the necessary powers for stopping a trade so profitable to the interests of certain big industrial corporations, but so detrimental to the interests of the American nation at large.

We do not for a minute doubt that President Wilson condemns, as much as the Neutrality League, the cynical breach of neutrality which consists in supplying the nations of the Triple Entente with arms and ammunition. But we may well ask why Congress does not immediately authorise him

to prohibit such supplies. The day on which America stops furnishing England and her allies with munitions, the end of this terrible war, which is a catastrophe for civilisation, will be in sight. Without such American supplies, the nations of the Triple Entente cannot continue the war. We know the insuperable difficulties encountered by France and England in the task of renewing constantly their war stock—and these difficulties are greater still in Russia, where industrial organisation and efficiency are on an incomparably lower level. We have heard the appeals of Lord Kitchener to the patriotism of British gun and cartridge manufacturers, we know how intensely anxious he is as to whether it will, after all, be possible to arm that wonderful British Army which he has promised repeatedly to create by means of some magic arts known to him alone. And we have been witnesses of the labor unrest in Great Britain, and we have noted that the British workingman is more interested in the prospect of an immediate increase of salary, than in the prospect of dislodging the German troops from their entrenchments in Flanders. We fully understand Lord Kitchener's anxiety; he knows only too well that the output of arms and ammunition, in England and in France, and in England more than in France, cannot keep pace with the requirements of the armies; he knows also that on the day when cargoes of arms and ammunition cease arriving from the other side of the Atlantic, a just peace will become certain.

It is because the no longer theoretical, but very practical breach of neutrality of which big industrial corporations in the States are guilty is of such incalculable importance, that immediate measures for putting a stop to it are indispensable. We are convinced that President Wilson would welcome such measures. In the interest of humanity first of all; for anything that can be done with a view to curtailing the war must be gladly welcomed by all those whom the spectacle of bloodshed and devastation, of physical and moral suffering, disgusts. And then in the interests of America. Her economic interests demand a cessation of the hostilities; if the big industrial corporations of which we have spoken are enriching themselves by the war, the American nation at large is losing—and losing enormously. The rich German market is closed in to American exporters, trade with Russia is rendered extremely difficult, and trade with Great Britain herself has become difficult since the German submarines entered into activity all around the British coast on February 18th. One has only to read the statistics published, in order to see the extent to which American trade suffers as a consequence of the war. American industrial trusts are working for England, American banking houses are financing the British Government, but British warships are dictating to American exporters what they may or may not do; and because the British Government thinks fit to employ starvation of the

civil population of Germany and Austria-Hungary as a method of warfare, therefore does it simply and surely forbid—with the arrogance begotten of its consciousness of its maritime strength—American business-men to sell any foodstuffs whatever to those countries. Contrary to all the rules of international law Great Britain declares that the coasts of Germany are "blockaded", just because the British Admiralty is pleased to decree, on paper, that they are thus "blockaded"; whereas every schoolboy knows that a blockade has no legal existence unless it be effective.

Contrary to all the rules of international law, Great Britain has erected the systematic misuse of the neutral flag into principle. Against such flagrant violations of international law President Wilson has protested emphatically. The British Government ignores the protests from Washington, as much as it ignores protests from The Hague and Copenhagen, from Stockholm and Christiania. It treats the United States as a negligible factor, it cares not one straw for the interests of American commerce—unless that commerce be, as in the case of the war supplies, directly profitable to itself,—and it takes no pains whatever to conceal its opinion that the American Government has as much importance in the world's politics as a little child.

Neutrality is the only policy compatible with the American interests—as distinct from the interests of certain industrial and financial circles; and it is the only policy compatible with the American dignity. And neutrality implies obviously an equal consideration for both belligerent parties. Whatever individual opinions or feelings may be, they must be kept in the background. And apart from economic interests, apart from questions of political dignity, there are the strongest and most convincing moral reasons why neutrality should be enforced. The population of the States is a heterogeneous one, it is recruited from all those nations who are to day involved in the European war, and from many other nations besides. The unity of the American Commonwealth is not based on race, but on the common possession of all its citizens of certain institutions and certain traditions; its strength resides in the fact that, in it, men of all races are united in free adhesion to common ideals; its moral greatness lies in the example of human solidarity it has set Europe. To violate neutrality means to violate that solidarity, to gravely offend all those citizens who are of German or Austro-Hungarian descent, the transfer to the New World the strife and the hatred that are laying waste the Old World; it means forgetting the immense services rendered to the American Commonwealth by all the sons of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and their allies, the sons of Ireland, who have helped to build it up. Moral reasons, as much as economic or political ones, imperatively command that such an odious breach of neutrality as the exporting of munitions to the aggressive belligerents, whilst they are withheld from the defending belligerents, do promptly cease.

But, after the war, it will be recognised that those Americans, Irish and Germans, who loudly demand that America remains neutral—truly neutral,—are also the champions of the oldest and highest tradition of their country. This tradition sees in the latter a meeting ground for men of all races and all creeds, who, above every thing which divides, place that which unites; namely, Humanity. America is to-day faced by two alternatives: either the maintenance of the old tradition, or becoming a dependency of Great Britain. Irish and Germans, and all those who are fighting for neutrality, are doing battle, not only for Germany, not only for humanity, but also for America.

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Annex 4

(1917)

A WORD WITH ALL TRUE IRISHMEN!

Men of Ireland! it's an odd thing—a monstrous thing that you should be here fighting the battles of England. It is a devilish thing that you should be here fighting the men who are in truth battling the same cause every Irish patriot has at heart—the freedom of the seas which means the freedom of Ireland. For the cause of Germany is today the cause of Ireland. Every far-sighted Irishman, every lover of Erin, knows this and feels this. Your brethren in Cork and Dublin, in Galway and Limerick are today hoping and praying for the victory of Germany.

Look into your hearts and ask yourselves what you are doing here?

Irish divisions are going to their death in Flanders, dying for the selfish ends of a criminal English imperialism—whilst English divisions are being sent to your dear country to keep down the gallant "Sinn Feiners"—the men who have sworn to set Ireland free.

You are in this hole of hell allowing yourself to be butchered for Britain, for the ancient oppressor of your people—for the stony-hearted, blood-stained tyrant who has trampled upon yours liberties for centuries, put whole cities to the sword, destroyed your flourishing trade, your fair towns and churches, your once busy sea-ports, your free schools—all that had once made Ireland great and rich and happy. You are suffering all the agonies of death, mutilation and disease for the nation which starved millions of your

helpless countrymen (as it is now trying, but in vain, to starve millions of Germans), hunted you down like wolves, sent thousands to convict hulks or into exile, burned your fields and homes and pitch-capped your priests!

Remember the 1,500,000 Irishmen slaughtered in thirty years by command of that monster Henry the Eighth, the first John Bull, and by his glorious daughter Elizabeth—the robberies, the confiscations, the desecrations!

Remember the horrors of Cromwell and the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, when all the inhabitants of those towns, men, women and children, were pitilessly put to the sword after surrendering under promise of immunity!

Remember that the hand that turned the whole of your beautiful green Island of Saints into a black waste, peopled only by unburied corpses and moaning skeletons, were British hands.

Remember the Treaty of Limerick and how it was shamelessly broken by England.

Remember 1798—When that butcher General Lake and his red-coated murderers once more trampled the fair body of Ireland into a bog of blood, outraged your women and girls, slew your babes ("Nits will be lice", they cried), and burned your villages to the ground.

Remember the Irishmen who were beaten to death with whips, the father leaning over the son, the son over the father.

Have you forgotten the horrors of the famine of 1817 [sic]—Which the English declared was "A judgment of God upon the lazy, godless, brutalized Irish vagabonds"?

Have you forgotten the still greater horrors of the long famine of 1846-48, when over two million Irish men and women died of hunger, though England during this period exported £50,000,000 worth of provisions from Ireland to England?"

Do you remember the evictions, the enormous, grinding taxes which sucked and still suck the marrow from the bones of your poor people?

Have you forgotten the immortal Irish martyrs—Emmet, Wolf Tone, John Mitchel, Parnell—Casement?

Have you forgotten Grattan's glorious words:

"I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking in his rags; he may be naked, he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand; the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and so great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man will not die with the prophet, but survive him."

Look into your hearts and ask yourselves what you are doing here?



AND JOHN BULL, "DEFENDER" OF LITTLE NATIONS

Men of Ireland! It's an odd thing—
remember this—that the whole world
fights the Irish—the Irish who are
fighting the men who are in truth
battling for the same cause every Irish
patriot has at heart—the freedom of
the Irish which means the freedom of
Ireland. The Irish who are Irish to-day
today the sons of Ireland. Every far-
sighted Irishman, every lover of Erin,
knows this and feels this. Your
brethren in the Irish Republic in Ireland
and Limerick are today brave and
fighting for the victory of Germany.
Look into your hearts and ask yourselves
what you are doing here?

Irish divisions are going to their
deaths in Flanders, dying for the villain
sons of a scoundrel English impotency
who have no honor, no pride, no
sense of duty, no love for their country.
They have sold their honor, their
patriotism, their freedom, their
country, to the English—to the
steve [sic] millions of Germany, but you
dare not. You dare not to be a
coward like wolves, sent thousands to
convict hulks or into cells, banned your
fields and houses and pitch-capped your
priests.

Remember the 1,500,000 Irishmen
slaughtered in thirty years by command
of that monster, Henry the Eighth, the
first John Bull, and by his glorious
daughter Elizabeth—the robberies,
the confiscations, the desecrations!

You are here fighting for the
souls of your people, for the
souls of your sons and daughters,
(as it is to say, not to be a
steve [sic] millions of Germany), but you
dare not. You dare not to be a
coward like wolves, sent thousands to
convict hulks or into cells, banned your
fields and houses and pitch-capped your
priests.

Remember the horrors of Cromwell
and the massacres of Drogheda and
Wexford, when all the inhabitants of
those towns, men, women and children,
were pitilessly put to the sword after
surrendering under promise of immunity!

Remember the Treaty of Limerick
and the Irish who were beaten to death
with whips, the father leaning over the
son, the son over the father.

Remember 1798—When that butcher
General Lake and his red-coated
murderers once more trampled the fair
body of Ireland into a bog of blood,
outraged your women and girls, slew
your babes ("Nits will be lice", they
cried), and burned your villages to
the ground.

Remember the still greater horrors of
the long famine of 1846-48, when over
two million Irish men and women
died of hunger, though England
during this period exported £50,000,000
worth of provisions from Ireland to
England!"

Do you remember the evictions, the
enormous, grinding taxes which
sucked and still suck the marrow from
the bones of your poor people?

Have you forgotten the immortal
Irish martyrs—Emmet, Wolf Tone, John
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words:

"I never will be satisfied so long as
the meanest cottager in Ireland has
a link of the British chain clanking
in his rags; he may be naked, he
shall not be in iron; and I do see
the time is at hand; the spirit is
gone forth, the declaration is
planted; and so great men
should apostatize, yet the cause
will live; and though the
public speaker should die, yet the
immortal fire shall outlast the
organ which conveyed it and the
breath of liberty, like the word
of the holy man will not die
with the prophet, but survive him."

Look into your hearts and ask
yourselves! What am I doing here?

You are here fighting the enemy of
your enemy. Germany has never
done you any harm, but you have
done her harm. Germany will
never harm England. Germany immedi-
ately declared that she did not consider
the Irish people as enemies, and she has
tried to prove this as far as lay in her
power.

Id Germany today the name of Ir-
land is a name loved and honored. Pro-
found sympathy goes out to the Irish
people, who are Irish—the Irish who
have not changed her methods
for all the years.

Do you remember the Irish who
were forced to Stockholm when Willy
Wilhelm was forced to Stockholm?

Do you remember the Irish who
have forgotten the Irish who
are constantly uprating of your patriotic
conscience in that red Irish week of
last year when they strove to strike a
bargain for Irish freedom and Irish rule
over the Irish people?

Do you remember the Irish who
have forgotten the Irish who
are constantly uprating of your patriotic
conscience in that red Irish week of
last year when they strove to strike a
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If your memories fail you—you will find all those wrongs and ten thousand more in your histories—for these have been written in tears and fire and blood.

Yet the youngest amongst you could not have forgotten the slaughter of Bachelor's Walk in Dublin, in 1914, when British bullets slew harmless Irishmen and Irishwomen.

You cannot have forgotten the heroic but untimely uprising of your patriotic countrymen in that red Easter week of last year, when they strove to strike a blow for Ireland's freedom and shake off the British yoke?

Nor could you have forgotten Butcher Maxwell and the cruel massacre of those bright and promising young lives—true Irishman and sweet-tongued poets and scholars,—Patrick Henry Pearse, Thomas Macdonough, Joseph Mary Plunkett, James Connolly, Thomas J. Clarke—all Martyrs of the Irish Republic! They were dragged wounded and crippled from their cots to be shot down in Richmond Barracks.

You cannot have forgotten the noble Sir Roger Casement who loved Erin above all things on earth and died with the loud cry of "God save Ireland" upon his lips as the English hangmen performed their murderous work at Pentonville Gaol little more than a year ago. Casement's body lies in its grave but his spirit, which England could not destroy, lives in the breast of every true son of Ireland today. The great Casement dead—and Judas John Redmond still alive!

Look into your hearts and ask yourselves: What am I doing here?

You are here fighting the enemy of your enemy. Germany has never harmed Ireland nor for that matter did she ever harm England. Germany immediately declared that she did not consider the Irish people as enemies, and she has tried to prove this so far as lay in her power.

In Germany today the name of Ireland is a name loved and honored. Profound sympathy goes out to the gallant Sinn Feiners who are fighting to make you free, to give you back your own country, your own government, your own prosperity.

A German-Irish Society has been formed in Germany and many prominent men are among its members. A monthly Irish magazine is published, the "Irische Blätter".

Irish songs are sung, Irish books are read, Irish plays are given. Thousands stream to hear lectures upon Ireland.

The memory of Sir Roger Casement is revered in the hearts of the German people. They recognise his greatness, his unselfish sacrifice, his pure patriotism.

Many Irishmen, even those who, misled by Traitor Redmond, fought against us, are walking free about Germany today, or earning good pay at congenial work. From the Irish Camp at Limburg Irish soldiers raise their voices day and night to curse England and the hour in which they listened to her wiles.

In America the Irish at once realized that the cause of Germany was one with their own and have fought England's tool Wilson from the very beginning.

Whilst you are spending your blood in a foreign land for Britain's benefit, the greedy hands of British commissioners seize the foodstuffs grown by Irish hands in Irish fields and meant for Irish mouths, and ship them to England. For England has not changed her methods in all the years.

Day after day Irishmen disappear from their families and their trades,—they are transported to Scotland where they are forced into the British ranks against their will.

It is only because England has drained the veins of Ireland and of other small and down-trodden nations, or nations large and weak like India, with her vampire beak, that she has grown huge and bloated. For centuries she has coaxed or driven you into the army—by threats or by temptation when you were hungry. Irishmen have always fought her battles and never their own. Irishmen furnished the fodder for her cattle and Irishmen the fodder for her guns.

Look into your souls and ask yourselves: what am I doing here?

Your great leader, Sir Roger Casement declared again and again that no Irishman owes the slightest allegiance to Britain. He is under no duty to fight for her. He owes allegiance only to his own land—only to Ireland—and it is only for Ireland he should fight.

Listen to the voice of Sinn Fein. Remembers the meaning of those words in the living tongue of your fathers—"Ourselves Alone!"

Listen to the message of de Valera, and his thousands of brave Irish Nationalist Volunteers. Would you weaken their arms—tie their hands? Would you betray Ireland by fighting for Ireland's tyrant?

It is not, it never has been your duty to fight and die for England or English aims. Your duty, your holy scared duty, it is to fight and *live* for Ireland. It is your ordained duty to help make the Irish Republic a living fact.

It is your duty to yourselves and your country to return to Erin with sound limbs and bodies, to go back to your fathers and mothers and wives, your sisters and brothers, your blue-eyed colleens, your homes and cottages on

the old beloved sod. You are citizens of the coming republic of Ireland, not slaves nor subjects of John Bull.

Men of Erin—the British have slandered us, as they have always slandered you. They have represented you as though you were the scum of the earth, so that their crimes and misdeeds might be presented as the punishment which the virtuous deal out to the wicked. That has always been England's method. Slander and the Lie are her oldest weapons, and she has used them against one people after another.

Today she paints us as devils, as Huns, as Barbarians, and her infamous press smothers the world with calumnies. Believe no word of these.

We Germans are fighting for our right to live, to work, to grow.

We are fighting for the liberty of the seas which God Almighty made free for all men, and which no nation must presume to rule.

We are fighting for all right to work out our own destinies—the right of great nations and small.

By the same token we are fighting for Ireland—for you and your children, so that the black curse of British oppression may be lifted from your fair land.

They tell you we wish to conquer the world. That is falsehood uttered by them who have already swallowed the greater part of it.

"*On English infamy*", John Mitchel said, "*the sun never sets*".

Though our ranks stand opposed, you Irishmen, we are really your friends and wish you no harm. It is infinitely sad that you of all men are forced to attack us. But when we are attacked we must resist and shall resist—with what success the war has shown. The attempt to break through our lines is hopeless and merely results in horrible slaughter. We may bend—we shall never break.

We are fighting for our homes and liberties, and when men fight for these things, they are invincible.

WHAT ARE YOU FIGHTING FOR, MEN OF IRELAND!

Look into your hearts, and make honest answer to yourselves.

[The Continental Times]

[This was issued as a supplement to *The Continental Times*, probably in September 1917. Though anonymous it is very likely to have been written by Mrs. Marie Leonard Marshall who was a friend and supporter of Casement and lived in Germany at the time. She considered herself as

much German as Irish at this time. From France she had earlier contributed to an English journal "*Womanhood—the magazine of women's progress and interests—political, legal, social, and intellectual and of health and beauty culture*". Her subjects were current French literature, Platonic love and she participated in a spirited discussion on "*Should clever women marry?*"

She wrote another appeal called "*An Irishwoman's appeal to all Irish soldiers!*" which was similar in tone to the above and though not under the imprint of *The Continental Times* it was probably published by the paper.

She was a daughter of John Patrick Leonard, a very active and influential Paris based nationalist during the second half of the 19th century who was, according to Gavan Duffy "*like a chargé d'affaires for an Irish government in Paris*". He was awarded the Légion d'Honneur and is buried in his native Cork. Editor)

A LETTER

Englanderlager, Rahleben,
8th September, 1915.

Dear Sir,

We beg to thank you in the name of this camp for the sixty-seven cases of Prisoners' Comforts which you so generously sent us through the Prisoners of War Help Committee. We found the contents most acceptable, especially the Plasmon Cocoa and Plasmon Oats which were a great boon, particularly to those who required special diet.

(Signed) FRED W. HANSON,
STANLEY LAMBERT,
Barrack Superintendent.

To the Editor, "Klub Magazine," London.

PLASMON (Scotch) OATS

— 6d. per packet —

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