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PREFACE

THE UNKNOWN CASEMENT (I)

By Jack Lane

Irish Foreign Affairs magazine plans to publish as many as possible of Casement's writings during World War I which have not hitherto been reprinted since they were first published over 100 years ago. This is an initial collection. The majority of his writings in the period appeared in *The Continental Times* which was a newspaper published three times a week for Americans in Germany. Casement wrote regularly for it but unfortunately there does not seem to be a full run of the paper available in Ireland or the UK. We have been able to access only about 20% of the newspaper published during his period in Germany. This, combined with the fact that he used a number of pseudonyms and some (probably most) of his items were anonymous makes it almost impossible to establish exactly how much he wrote for this and other publications in the period. We believe that those published here can all be verified as his.

His particular contribution to the opposition to the war and support for Germany was based on his intimate knowledge of the personnel and methodology of the British ruling class and this makes his analyses so persuasive. He was aware of Britain's long prepared plans for a war on Germany, how it utilised the military situation that arose in August 1914 to launch that war and then escalated it into a war to destroy the Ottoman Empire and thereby create a World War.

His writings provide a clear view of why and how Britain did this and the disaster it meant for European civilisation. These factors together with his moral standing as an international humanitarian made him a serious threat to the British war effort and he was immediately targeted as soon as he declared his position on the outbreak of the War.

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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. We also acknowledge the assistance of the staff at 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.

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These articles also complement those published by Athol Books in "Roger Casement: the Crime against Europe - with the Crime against Ireland" (2003). The articles in that publication are a prelude to the analyses in this collection and 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
The Elsewhere Empire

Appendix 1

Other Writings by Roger Casement :-

Alsace, Ireland, And A Poet
Letter To The Irish Independent
The Far-Extended Baleful Power Of The Lie
1815-1915. A Parallel And A Contrast
Why I Went To Germany
Speech From The Dock

Roger Casement's Writings in The Continental Times — An Introduction

By Brendan Clifford

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?

In one of his early *Continental Times* articles (reprinted here 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.

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'état* 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 spokesmen 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

Irish Foreign Affairs is a publication of
the *Irish Political Review* Group.
55 St Peter's Tce., Howth, Dublin 13

Editor: Philip O'Connor
ISSN 2009-132X

Printers: Athol Books, Belfast
www.atholbooks.org
Price per issue: €4 (Sterling £3)
Annual postal subscription €16 (£14)
Annual electronic subscription €4 (£3)

All correspondence:
Philip@atholbooks.org
Orders to:
atholbooks-sales.org

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.

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 and humiliating climbdown 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 of 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.

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 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.

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 was not disputable that there were many times as many Irishmen in the British Army in 1916 as 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.

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 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.

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 by Dermot Meleady 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 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, 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.

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.

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

"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

"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

"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)

"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

"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..."

(This refers to the speech by Bonar Law that inspired John Redmond to declare support for a declaration of war.)

August 5th

"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

"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 28th

"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 titled *The Two Germanies*. It is the voice of Liberal England that has submitted to the other England and become part of it—the other England with 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 fray. 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 civilization..."

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

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 produce 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*.

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. Mac’Neill’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 (of civilians bearing nationalist arms to Dublin) 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, 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 British 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 [John?] 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...”

“He.[Redmond] later told an American correspondent that he realized 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 defended Ireland from an impossible German invasion—and was jeered at by the *Irish Times*.

He had a meeting with Lord Kitchener—who was appointed to the vacant post of War Secretary by popular acclaim, and declared it would be a long War to be fought by mass armies.

Kitchener, an Englishman from Kerry, would have no truck with any project for an Irish Army in the War.

Meleady does not refer to Dillon's views on British war policy. The nearest he comes to it is this: "*Dillon was... less moved by the crusading emotions that caused Redmond to fly the Union Jack alongside the Irish flag*" (p320).

Redmond needed a dead-letter Home Rule Act in order to begin recruiting in earnest. He got this in mid-September 1914. The Unionists agreed to putting it in the Statute Book on the strict condition that it would never be implemented, and that after the war it should resume the status of a Bill and go back into debate.

While this was being negotiated the Unionists accused Redmond of going back on his declaration of unconditional loyalty of August 3rd. Meleady comments: "*Redmond rejected the charge of conditional loyalty as 'ungenerous and unjust'...*" (p305).

The Unionists granted him, in mid-September, the dead-letter Home Rule Act that was never to be implemented; he became a recruiter; the Commons sang "*God Save Ireland*"; and the new policy was published in the party newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal*. Then he went home to Wicklow and:

"At Woodenbridge... 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).

That speech split the Volunteers. The original Committee re-asserted itself, taking about 12,000 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;..." (p308).

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 in the Summer to support the enactment of the Home Rule Bill and who did not see their way to shepherding Irishmen by the thousand to the slaughter-house 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 as 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.

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 Anglophilia 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. □

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 eighth 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. □

Nr. 1316. Vol. XXIII. Nr. 18

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1916

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THE HALTER BECOMES A HALO AMERICA

England's Care for the Truth.

By One Who Knows Both.

The Continental Times 30 July 1915

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 bucketsfull 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 deploring 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. □

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

The Continental Times, 2/8/1915

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.

□

**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?

The Continental Times 16.8.15

BRITISH LOSSES - TRUE FIGURES - TERRIBLE SPECULATION

The Continental Times, August 4, 1915

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	4000	67,384	71,384
Wounded	8330	188,199	196,529
Prisoners and missing	1383	62,502	63,885
Total	13713	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. □

The Farce of Neutrality The Continental Times, August 16, 1915

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"

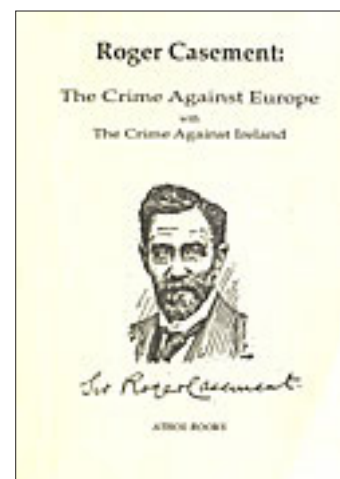
□

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 her 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.

Continental Times 6 October 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 4½ "PEDESTAL BASE MACHINE" (see cut on opposite page).

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 Turpinite, "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. □

"IRELAND, GERMANY AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

The Pamphlet Lives on in Ireland.

The *Continental Times*, 18 October 1915.

The English press of the 20th and 21st inst. 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 then 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*".

The Crime Against Europe

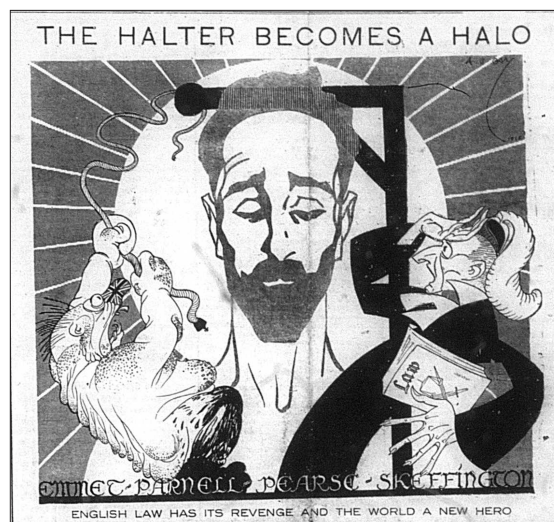
Roger Casement

Edited by Brendan Clifford

Athol Books 2003

This is the first reprint of Roger Casement's only published book for almost half a century. Its subject is the British foreign policy which brought about the First World War.

To order *The Crime Against Europe* go to
www.atholbooks.org



The Continental Times

A Journal for Americans in Europe

Published in New York, San Francisco, Berlin, Rotterdam,
 Stockholm, Vienna, Zurich.

The cartoon of Casement's ghost haunting the British establishment is by *The Continental Times'* resident cartoonist, A.M. Cay.

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.
The Continental Times 24/9/1915

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.

To day 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 born 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 lacessit*” 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.

□

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 Continental Times 4 October 2015 Number 1183 Vol. XXII No 41

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."

Roger Caement

The San Francisco Examiner:

"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 hardly 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 catspaw 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." □

British versus German Imperialism

The Continental Times, 8 October 1915

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, Wurtemberg, 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).

British versus German Imperialism.

Astonishing contrasts in the nature of the Two Empires.

The Continental Times, 11 October 1915.

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.

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 Wurtemberg, 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.)

British versus German Imperialism.

Astonishing contrasts in the nature of the Two Empires.

The Continental Times, 13 October 1915

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, 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 “junkerdome”, 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 leaguings Europe against it, as she has leagued Europe against Germany. □

The Calibre of Roosevelt.

By One Who Knows Him.

The Continental Times. 6.10. 1915

I am constantly asked to explain Theodore Roosevelt. Before the war he expressed nothing but good will 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. □

Sir Roger Casement on Sir Edward Grey

The Continental Times. 18 October 1915

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, Ed.] 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 nor 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 Algecirras 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, Ed.] 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 peninsula 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 some one.

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 abjuring 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.



Ireland and the World War

(I) The Emerald Isle and its Giant Parasite – its Ruthless and Systematic Ruin. The Continental Times, 15/11/15, Münchener Zeitung 5/11/15, Gaelic American 16/1/1916.

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 Rhinelands, 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*.”

Conscription 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.)

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ISBN 978-0-85034-134-8

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