

# THE ANARCHY IN IRELAND-II

England Says: "Murder Must Stop." Ireland Retorts, "Withdraw Your Police and They Will Not Be Killed." ---Deadlock Results

Average Englishman does not yet believe stories of outrages by Black-and-Tans.---It was to Maintain Order, not to do Dirty Work, that they were Organized.---Gibbs Condemns Reprisals, but sees little hope of Peaceful Settlement.

By SIR PHILLIP GIBBS

**T**HE Act of Conscription, which was never enforced in Ireland, intensified the spirit of national resistance to English rule, and the recruiting, drilling, and training of Irish volunteers under Sinn Fein went on apace. I am told—and absolutely believe—that any attempt to enforce conscription would have led to bloody civil war. England could not, and did not, risk it, and during the last two years of the war the Sinn Fein organization was perfected, and the administration of Dhaill Erin, the Irish Republic, was put into actual practice. They established their own courts of law, whose judgments their people sought and obeyed; their volunteers acted as police in civic disturbances when the Royal Irish Constabulary, weak in numbers, and boycotted, could only look on and take no active notice. They did not for a time attack the English executive. They simply ignored it. Over a great part of the south and west of Ireland the King's writ did not run.

**GUERRILLA WARFARE BEGUN.** Then came another phase, when, after the war, the English government were able to turn their attention to Ireland with a greater determination to enforce the old rule. It was the phase of police murders, attacks on police barracks, ambushes, and all elements of guerrilla warfare. The average Englishman read with horror the repeated shootings of Royal Irish Constabulary men. His blood boiled at the thought of these guardians of law and order shot down so often in cold blood, or after sieges of their barracks in which, temporarily, they were greatly outnumbered by well-armed men. It seemed to him, and seems to him still, a brutal campaign of murder for which there is no excuse and no defense. Again he does not know the Sinn Fein point of view, or, if he knows, rejects it as utterly poisonous in its doctrine.

The Sinn Fein view, I am told on trustworthy authority from the inside, is that the majority of policemen shot by armed bodies of men have been proved to be spies of Dublin Castle, gathering, or concealing, secret evidence against Irish volunteers, and that, as in all warfare, it is acknowledged right to shoot spies on sight; so these men have been dealt with as such and not as ordinary policemen carrying on the ordinary duties of maintaining order.

**BLACK-AND-TANS ORGANIZED.** It was to stop murders and to maintain order, apart from all political discussion, that the average Englishman gave his moral support to the

government's strengthening of the military garrisons in Ireland and to the enlistment of a new force of men, auxiliary to the Constabulary, who now have earned a sinister name as the "Black-and-Tans." These men were recruited from the enormous numbers of ex-officials and non-commissioned officers who had not settled down to peace after the Great War, who found it difficult or impossible to get decent jobs, and who were tempted at once by this chance of active employment in Ireland. Their relatives and friends believed that they were going to Ireland for honest work, even though dangerous and unpleasant work, such as might befall a body of special police in time of riot. They did not think they were going for dirty work which would bespatter the good name of England with mud and filth.

**THEIR CAME REPRISALS.** It was not until recently that a certain ominous word was mentioned in English newspapers and in the English Parliament. Reprisals. Months after there were columns in Irish, American, and continental newspapers about this new phase of activity in Ireland did the ordinary English reader hear anything about it beyond a few obscure paragraphs, or occasional half columns, which gave him to believe that dreadful things were happening in some places across the Irish Sea when English soldiers and the new force of auxiliaries were firing back at crowds which attacked them, and raiding private houses where they killed those who tried to kill them, or burning farmsteads and other houses and cottages from which they had been fired upon.

The ordinary decent Englishman deplored these things and said: "Surely to God this business ought to be settled!" but could not find it in his heart to blame any of those soldiers or police who defended themselves against ambush and assassination, and hit back hard against those who struck first. That is still

the view, very largely, I am sure, of many incidents briefly reported to him, and the Englishman says to all sentimentalists: "Surely our fellows must be allowed to hit back, to shoot if they are shot at, to arrest the murderers at all risk, to burn their houses about their ears if they won't surrender to the forces of the Crown in their duty of checking crime and maintaining order!"

**CURRENT REPORTS IN ENGLAND.** It is only quite recently, within the last month or two, that certain facts have been brought under the Englishman's notice which fill him with abominable misgivings. Charges were brought against the "Black-and-Tans" which at first he utterly refused to believe.

It was asserted by the Irish and their American friends that in Balbrigan, and Tuam, and many other places, these English auxiliary police had run amuck and had committed acts of arson and murder, not in self-defense, not in punishment of individual criminals, not even in the passion of rage against great provocation, but blindly, wantonly, and brutally, as those Germans who played the devil's game in Alost and Louvain. It was further asserted that civilians were being shot and flogged; that buildings, creameries, farmsteads and village homes were being burned, not as the sudden impulses of brutal men inflamed by a boycott in a hostile population and by murderous attacks, but under the direct orders of their military chiefs and as part of a deliberate and cold-blooded policy to kill the spirit of a people by a steady reign of terror. The average Englishman, the man of the street, of whom I am writing the decent-minded fellow, proud of the good name and fame of England, resented such charges with indignation and disgust. The vast majority of people in England at the time I am writing still repudiate those accusa-

tions. They do not believe it possible that their government, or the military and police chiefs in Ireland, would tolerate such an abominable policy, or that soldiers who fought in the Great War would carry it out. That is their position now at the time I am writing, and they are fortified by government denials in the House of Commons.

It is there that I must leave "the average Englishman," tired of death for any kind of settlement which would bring about peace without injuring the prestige and power of Old England, willing to grant the broadest measures of self-rule this side of a republic, irritated with the turbulence and narrow spirit of the Ulster men, and with the passion and fanaticism of the Catholic Irish, shocked by the anarchy now prevailing, abhorred of the police murders, but upholding the right of retaliation so long as the tragedy and stupidity of this guerrilla warfare lasts.

**WHAT IS THE TRUTH?** I am bound to admit that I am not satisfied with the government denials on the subject of reprisals. I cannot put on one side the admission of General Macreedy, which he has never denied, that it is a "delicate and difficult matter" to punish men who, under his authority and discipline, do acts of indiscipline and disorder in the way of reprisals.

Only I searched the speech of Lloyd George at Carnarvon for any denunciation of reprisals, but found only an admission and defense. And since then I have seen a great deal of evidence coming in, but not added as a rule, to the English newspapers, revealing certain criminal acts and brutal deeds, a callous and wanton cruelty amounting to a reign of terror on the part of the "Black-and-Tans," which I am constrained to believe, though I hate to believe them, because of their origin and authority. From some English people living in Ireland, as well as from some of the Irish themselves, I have been given detailed accounts of the shooting of civilians, the "shooting-up" of villages, the destruction of property, for which I can find no justification, even by the laws of warfare, which are ruthless enough

Personally, I cannot stand for this. I love England too well to defend that which dishonors her. As a war correspondent in France during the years of slaughter, I was the chronicler of the heroism of all those young men of ours who fought for the ideals of liberty—who died for them—and I described the war with passion I could put into my pen only because liberty seemed to me the only justification of its horror. Its insanity, its degradation of our civilized world. I should be betraying the dead, and all their faith, if now I tried to defend a reign of terror in Ireland which the united body of Irish Catholic bishops have described in words which cannot be put on one side in view of other evidence I have.

"We know that latterly, at least, all pretense of strict discipline has been thrown to the winds and that those who profess to be the guardians of law and order have become the most ardent votaries of lawlessness and disorder; that they are running wild through the country, making night hideous by raids; that reckless and indiscriminate shootings in crowded places have made many innocent victims; that towns are sacked as in the rude warfare of earlier ages; that those who run through fear are shot at sight."

"For all this not the men, but their masters, are chiefly to blame. It is not a question of hasty reprisals, which, however, unjustifiable, might be attributed to extreme provocation, nor of lynch law for miscreants—much less of self-defense of any kind whatsoever. It is an indiscriminate vengeance deliberately wreaked on a whole countryside, without any proof of its complicity in crime, by those who ostensibly are employed by the British government to protect the lives and property of the people and restore order in Ireland."

There is no decent Englishman who, if he believes these things are true, as I believe some of them are, will for a single moment defend them as legitimate. In spite of all provocation. Unfortunately the facts have been boycotted in England—apart from two or three courageous papers—and the mass of the people do not know them.

RESULTS OF STUPIDITY, WICKEDNESS, long stupidity and wickedness. The wickedness began again when Sir Edward Carson was allowed to raise and arm the Ulster volunteers—with German rifles—and defy the authority of the King and Parliament by a threat of civil war if Home Rule were passed. I saw in Belfast the

marsh past of those men, and banners which promised allegiance to the Kaiser rather than submit to Nationalist coercion. I saw riots there in which the Catholic minority were stoned and beaten with extreme brutality, and I saw the swearing of the Covenant which raised again the old fires of religious hatred and political warfare, while the present Lord Chancellor of England, F. E. Smith, acted as "galloper" to the leader of the Ulster rebels.

It was the freedom given to Carson, the blind eye turned to the gun running of German arms and ammunition, which challenged the Nationalists and raised Sinn Fein. We went from one stupidity to another. Ireland would have accepted Home Rule if we had given it with real sincerity before the war. She would have fought with all her manhood by our side if in return we had pledged ourselves to anything like Dominion Home Rule. She would have hated us less if for long years past, as still to-day, we had not placed in Ireland as our representatives men who did not understand the Irish temperament and were not courteous to Irish sensibilities, but men who at Dublin Castle were the avowed enemies of her national aspirations, hostile to her faith, and hard and brutal in their minds and manners. As we have sown in stupidity so now we shall reap in tragedy.

which is ours now in spirit as it will be in every future act. You may cut out Ulster to your heart's content, but Ulster is part of Ireland, and as such shall be part of the Irish Republic.

What is to be done with an attitude like that? Frankly, I do not know, unless we leave the Irish to fight it out among themselves, as far as Ulster is concerned, which seems to be an impossible proposition because of English and Scottish sentiment for Ulster's safety.

If Ireland will not accept any measure of Home Rule, leaving Ulster separate for the time being, nor anything less than a republic, then I am afraid that there will never be any bridge of reconciliation between our two islands. For the English people will not surrender, except by absolute compulsion, the Irish Harp on their Royal Standard. They know that to accept an Irish republic would be the outward and visible sign of the break-up of the British Empire and the downfall of our pride and power. Anything less than that they will grant, but never that except by the pain of their spirit and strength.

As an Englishman, I can see no hope in the future, of avoiding greater tragedy, more fearful things, unless the Irish will show a little generosity on their side, wipe out many black memories, abandon their attacks upon military and police, and, in return for a complete and absolute truce, come to terms which will give them full rights over their own nationality while still remaining in the confederation of British people under the King-Emperor. If they would agree to that they would get not only the friendship of the English people, among whom, in spite of all this tragedy, they have masses of friends, but they would rise to a height greater than that of nationality, which is the brotherhood of man in the name of Christ.

But, knowing the Irish people and their present passion and purpose, I think they will not agree to any of that, so that the future is as black as night.

Copyright, 1921, by Harper & Bros. Published by arrangement with The McClure Newspaper Syndicate.

**OLD WELLINGTON FOLKS**

Miss Sarah Garratt, Aged Ninety-five, Breaks Her Collarbone.

Wellington, March 31.—The month of March has been delightfully warm and all the spring birds are to be seen here. While we in Prince Edward county had an atmosphere of about 60 or 70 degrees on Easter, the west was shivering in zero weather. Here the warm south wind opened out the early buds and brought forth the frogs to sing in small melodious voices the glad tidings of the arrival of springtime.

Rev. Erastus Howard's two sons from the lower provinces are visiting him. The one is Judge Howard, Montreal, and the other an editor of an eastern paper, Rev. Rufus Garratt and wife, Demorestville, were guests of the Rev. and Mrs. Howard on Wednesday. Mrs. Wilson, Toronto, spent Easter with her aunt, Mrs. F. A. Burlingham, Wellington. Harold and Wesley Nash were home from Albert College, Belleville, for the holidays. Miss Helen Harris, Queen's, Kingston, was also home with her parents. Miss Mildred Gibson, Toronto, is the guest of Clayton and Mrs. Pettinill.

Claude Teskey, Hubert Webster and Leslie Smith, government apple inspectors, were at their homes for Easter. Mrs. Gordon Hutchison has joined her husband in Toronto. Mr. and Mrs. Harold Fitzgerald, Toronto, spent Easter with Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Fitzgerald. Mr. and Mrs. Langley, Havelock, spent Easter with friends here, as did Frank Dayton, Toronto. Mrs. McCloskey and Miss Claudia Insley, Toronto, spent Easter at Mrs. Florence Insley's.

J. Lansbury was with his parents for the holidays. H. C. Benmore, Orilla, spent Easter here with relatives. Mrs. E. T. Case, Picton, was the guest of Mrs. Callion this week. Miss Striker, Lake Shore Road, and Mrs. Vernon Smith, Pleasant Bay, called on Miss D. Christy this week. Miss Benson and Mrs. Hazlett were at Bloomfield this week visiting their sister, Mrs. John Bowerman. Mrs. Keith Dean and daughter, Quebec, are the guests of Mrs. Dean's parents, Mrs. and Mrs. L. K. Shrouds. George Johnson, Consequon, was the guest of George Noble this week.

With the arrival of spring it is hoped to continue improvements on the Wellington cemetery. The committee requires funds and assistance to carry on the work commenced last year. It is to be hoped that the people will render assistance. Seeding

**SPLENDID RESULTS WIN CONFIDENCE**

I would be doing an injustice to others if I did not tell of the great benefits I have received from Vital, said a prominent woman.

Afflicted with weak nerves, a sufferer from violent headaches, my blood thin and watery, I was undergoing constant pain and discomfort, she said. "Now, thanks to VITAL, the great blood and nerve tonic, I am restored to perfect health."

For a general run-down condition of the nerves VITAL is one of the most successful tonics. Price, 50 cts a box at all drugists.

For Sale by Mahood Drug Co.

has commenced and the farmers are getting in their seed at a record rate. Miss Sarah Garratt, one of Wellington's oldest residents, had the misfortune to break her collarbone and injure her hip from a fall recently. Before this transpired she was well and active for her ninety-five years. Last Sunday she attended a meeting and then walked down to call on her cousin, Lanior Beach, who is also ninety-five years of age, but has been bed-ridden for years.

Mrs. Amos Garratt spent the weekend with her daughter, Mrs. Seaborn Cronk, Principal K. C. Hortop is in Toronto attending the Educational Association meeting. Miss Hughes and Miss Maud Jarvis, Black Creek, are guests of Mrs. Robert Hughes. George Boyce spent Easter in Belleville with his son, Bert. Mrs. William Monaghan spent Easter with her sister in Brighton. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Mainprize and family visited Mr. and Mrs. Abel Roblin on Tuesday last. Frank Garratt was down from North Bay for Easter.

Wellington has been, and always will be a show town. One show follows another and all are well attended. Mrs. Norman Morrau and son, Ralph, are spending Easter week in Toronto. Miss Helen Wooten, Maynooth, spent a few days with Mr. and Mrs. B. Fanning. Don Gullett spent a couple of days here this week. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson Clark, Paris, Ont., visited Mrs. S. Clark on Sunday. Mrs. Henderson spent Easter with Mrs. Whitten, her daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland Bleakie are guests with his parents.

Leonard McCullough, Utica, N.Y., is spending a few days at his home here. James Lamb has returned home after a few days' visit with friends at Fort Hope. The East Star Lodge will have rooms over Jack Shurrie's drug store. They will be spacious



**These Eternal Meals**

“WHAT to get for dinner?” “What to get for supper?” To-day, to-morrow, next day, every day in the week.

This is woman's problem and the source of almost endless worry.

True, there are times when most women take a pleasure and pride in cooking and baking, but when you are not feeling up to the mark it does get on your nerves and become a real worry—a nerve-exhausting worry.

Since meals are essential to life, the old problem of “what to eat” must endure, but need not be a worry when your nerves are set right.

It is when you are tired—nerves tired—that such things become a source of worry. There is nothing like Dr. Chase's Nerve Food to combat this condition.

It is because Dr. Chase's Nerve Food is such a help under these very conditions that it has come to be relied upon by the great majority of Canadian women. Headaches, sleeplessness, tired, depressed feelings, lack of energy are some of the accompanying symptoms.

You can obtain Dr. Chase's Nerve Food from your dealer at 50 cents a box.

**Dr. Waugh**  
Dentist  
106 Wellington St. Phone 256.

*Genuine*

**Aspirin**

Nothing Else is Aspirin

**Warning!** Unless you see the name "Bayer" on tablets, you are not getting Aspirin at all.

Accept only an "unbroken package" of "Bayer Tablets of Aspirin," which contains directions and dose worked out by physicians during 21 years and proved safe by millions for Headache, Earache, Toothache, Neuralgia, Colds, Rheumatism, Neuritis, Lumbago, and pain generally. Made in Canada.

Handy tin boxes of 12 tablets cost but a few cents—Larger packages.

Aspirin is the trade mark (registered in Canada) of Bayer Manufacture of Mono-aceticacidester of Salicylicacid. While it is well known that Aspirin means Bayer manufacture, to assist the public against imitations, the Tablets of Bayer Company will be stamped with their general trade mark, the "Bayer Cross."