

ing moral victory. What is worrying all England and all English-Ireland to-day is the fact that the Republic has made good its moral authority, and by so doing has come immeasurably nearer to a physical republic. England has no moral weapons to use against the Irish position. She has nothing but physical means to use, and she will use them. But she will use them with her objective as the moral position rather than the actual physical position. She will use them suddenly and sweepingly and comprehensively—very comprehensively. She has to break up the moral fabric which the Republic has erected in Ireland, or else she will have to withdraw altogether.

The Assyrian.

And so the Assyrian will come down like a wolf on the fold; come down suddenly and overwhelmingly all over Ireland. There will be a wholesale round-up of Sinn Feiners all over the country in the hope that by rounding-up a good proportion of the young men the framework of popular government there may be shattered for long enough to enable England to make a fight with some prospect of success for the recovery of her moral authority. It will fail, of course. But it will fail all the more quickly if we recognise that it is coming, and recognise also that one way to lame it considerably is the way which Irish Labour has taken in the present strike.

Direct Action.

Why should English soldiers in Ireland be transported by Irishmen? Or their munitions? Or their food? Or anything in connection with them? Sooner or later we will have to draw a sharp line between the people of this country and the foreign garrison in the country. Why not draw it now? The root principle of the policy of moral insurrection, the policy of Labour, is never to do anything which will help the enemy. The railwaymen who are on strike have made a beginning on that policy, but it ought to be taken up universally and quickly, and made effective on every possible line of supply. Why should soldiers be carried any more than munitions? Are they not more objectionable than the munitions? Why should they be carried in tramcars? Why should they be facilitated in any way? Everybody feels that a *battue* is being organised here. Why not refuse, here and now, to facilitate those preparations in any way? It is the commonsense thing to do, the right thing to do, and the moral-insurrectionary thing to do. Government can do nothing against it. All the Governments have learned during the late war not to be squeamish. They have all thrown away so much human life that they have ceased to regard human life. They have muzzled the Press in every country, and they have no longer any regard for public opinion. Public opinion is whatever they want it to be. But the peoples have learned something also. They have learned that no Government can go on unless they help it; unless they acknowledge its authority. And that is the revolutionary discovery of this age. It, properly acted upon, will destroy even the strongest Empire.

That is the principle upon which the coming Offensive ought to be met, and can be beaten. Physically England can handle, and handle easily, any force which we can bring against her. There, she has all the advantages of position and equipment. But on a policy of moral insurrection she is at once out of her depth and away from her boat, with the initiative against her. And it cannot be begun too soon.



The Elections.

The local elections this time have brought little comfort to England. There are no statistics in her papers showing that Sinn Fein polled less than 50 per cent. of the electorate. There is only a woeful confession that "Sinn Fein has never been stronger than it is to-day." A Republican majority in 29 out of 33 counties is about as overwhelming a self-determination as anybody can wish for. And it does not bespeak very Elysian times for the new "Ulster" Parliament, either. So that, on the whole, the Empire is in distinctly low water. With the local machinery of government absolutely in its hands, Sinn Fein ought now to be able so to strengthen its moral authority over the country as to still further constrict the area within which at present an English writ may run. The local machinery of government will be a most valuable help in perfecting the policy of moral insurrection.

England's Threat.

England threatens to suspend the Irish railways because the Irish railwaymen will not help her preparations for a *battue* in Ireland. And yet her Prime Minister talks about what England will do sooner than abrogate her function of government in Ireland. Can there be a clearer abrogation of government than the proposal to hold up railway transport?

England is in a difficulty, and in a bad temper. She may hold up the railways, but that will leave her with the