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éire óz YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1920.

England at Rome

The English offensive in Rome against Ireland has failed, and Mr. Arthur Balfour returns to England empty-handed. Mr. Balfour sought a pronouncement against the Irish cause from the Vatican, and a Vatican arrangement with the English Government under which the Catholic clergy in Ireland would in future be deprived of a voice in the selection of their bishops. In return, the English Government was prepared to act towards the Vatican in a manner to bring woe and despair to the heart of every true Orangeman in the North-east corner of Ireland. Mr. Balfour has learned that the Vatican is not to be bribed into connivance with English despotism in Ireland. North-east Ulster Orangeism, if it were not bred in stupidity, would learn from this latest excursion of England's Government in secret diplomacy how false and hypocritical that Government is when it professes concern for the " Protestant minority," and poses as its champion.

There is no section of the English people more malignantly anti-Irish than the English Catholics-with few exceptions. Daniel O'Connell was so impressed by their mean animosity to the Irish nation that he once publicly apologised for emancipating them. For months past the leaders of these people have been collecting and inventing the vilest slanders upon our country and its people. Lord Denbigh, the head of the English Catholic Association, appended his name, together with that of Sir Edward Carson, to a document alleging that the Unionists of the South of Ireland were subjected to odious persecution, and the vile falsehood, trumpeted in the English press, was exploited in the Vatican circles prior to the "visit" of Mr. Balfour. In front of the English Government's secret plenipotentiary marched " an eminent English Catholic" carrying the budget of slanders collected by "the English Catholic aristocracy " to deceive and mislead the head of the religion they profess. The Vatican inspected the Slanderers' Budget, it listened to the honied professions of Mr. Balfour, and then, to the confusion of the enemies of Ireland, it replied as it replied many times through the ages to those who sought to bribe or intimidate it from the course of Justice-" Non Possumus." Not only at Rome has Ireland in the past week broken English intrigue. In Washington, despite the frenzied efforts of Sir Auckland Geddes and his mob of paid English propagandists, the Foreign Relations Committee has, by a vote of 11 to 7, reported the Mason Bill for the recognition of Irish independence to the

House of Representatives, English

cable agencies having previously cir-

culated the falsehood through Europe that the Committee had defeated Ireland by 10 votes to 9. This exploit of the English cable companies will considerably help Europeans to appraise the value of "news" about Ireland circulated by Reuter, the Exchange Telegraph Company, and the Press Association—three prime agents of English propaganda.

The Irish nation awaits with confidence the recognition of her equal right to Independence with Belgium, Poland, and all other European nations. Awaiting it, she recalls the fact that America some time ago refused to recognise a certain government in Mexico, because it had not been constitutionally elected by the people of Mexico. The people of Ireland have constitutionally elected their Government, and all the cannons forged in England's foundries, like the libels forged in England's newspaperoffices, will not avail to obliterate that Fact from the political conscience of civilisation.

Utster's False Prosperity

The statement so frequently uttered by Belfast politicians that Ulster has enjoyed prosperity under the English "Union" has been dealt with at length in these pages. No argument has perhaps been so widely circulated by our political opponents in England and the United States. But the cry of Ulster's prosperity has not stood the test of cold analysis. Far from achieving prosperity, the position of Ulster to-day is a source of anxiety to every true-minded Irishman. Emigration from the North is more general than from the South. The Ulstermen are leaving their native land in greater numbers than those who are supposed to be less favoured. But the fact is that the land of Ulster is by no means endowed with greater natural blessings than the other provinces. It is for the best part a made land, which has to be laboured constantly to keep it in good heart. It has however probably more mineral wealth lying hidden beneath its surface than the rest of Ireland, but this wealth lies without any serious effort to exploit or develop it, and consequently Ulster is not able to employ the whole of its male population.

The Ulster Unionist Council now admits the fallacy of the argument resting on the alleged prosperity of Ulster. The subcommittee on Thursday week issued a statement which entirely admits our case. It says in part.

In the three counties (Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan) the Protestant population during the last half-century, and in particular during the last 20 years, has fallen very rapidly. Fifty years ago they numbered over 121,000, to-day they are less than 60,000 people. The ratio between the two faiths in each of the three counties has for 60 years gone steadily against Protestants, due to migration and emigration, and it is more than doubtful if to-day Donegal could elect even one Unionist."

The "Northern Whig," whose editor, Mr. Lynn, M.E.P., wrote a special article last year employing the old argument about the prosperity of Ulster, writes that:—

"With a 9-counties area a majority (a "Unionist" one) would not be ensured; in fact it would be constantly endangered. All the statistics put forward have been based on the 1911 census. When the census of 1921 is made it will certainly be found that the Catholic majority in the three excluded counties has increased materially, and it is a matter of common knowledge that there has been a steady infiltration of Catholics and Nationalist elements into other parts of Ulster also."

We are not concerned here with the question of religious belief. But what does concern us is that Ulster as a whole has been dwindling in population. This has been going on for the past eighty years, but it is only now that the "Northern Whig" and the Ulster Unionist Council have discovered this fact about their own province. Moreover, the decline is now more marked in the case of Protestants than Catholics. It is no consolation to us to draw attention to this fact. The decline in the population of Ulster is a fact to be noted by us all. The causes of it requires to be examined. The decline in population, whether Catholic or Protestant, requires to be stopped.

England's Stranglehold on Irish Commerce

XXVIII.

The effects of the stranglehold which England obtained on Irish Commerce as a result of the "Union" are seen clearly in the changes which took place in the state of the export and import trade in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There was a considerable growth of Irish exports to Britain. In 1801 Ireland's exports to Great Britain amounted to £3,270,000. In 1825 they had increased to £7,048,000 (according to Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables). In a quarter of a century the Irish exports in the Channel had more than doubled. Manwhile the imports from all parts increased from 4½ to 8½ millions. It will be seen that Ireland paid for her imports practically by exports to Britain. The Report from the Select Committee of 1830 (on the state of the Poor in Ireland) contains a good account of the state of Trade in this period. Great, it says, as has been the progress of the exports of Ireland, the increased consumption of British manufacturers has been still more rapid. "The quantity of British manufactures consumed in Ireland has quadrupled since the year 1793; whilst the quantity of Irish produce has little more than tribled (trebled) in the same period," says this most interesting Report (p. 12). Furthermore it makes the vital statement that "the exports of Ireland consist almost exclusively of raw produce." The great feature of English post-Union trade was the growth of her cotton trade with Ireland.

COTTON MANUFACTURE—IMPORTS

		F	RO	M E	ENGL	AND.	
Year					555.3		Yards.
1801	***	***		***	********		44,000
1805							60,000
1813						2	215,000
1817						5	542,080
1821		• • • •	00000000 01 00- 00	• • • •		9	068,000
1825	***	:	***	•••		4,9	97,000

This table shows the perverse side of the ruin of the Irish Cotton industry, with which we have already dealt at length. When the last shred of the tariff protecting our cottons was removed, English goods poured in like a tide over a broken dyke.

From this period also dates the growth of the English coal trade. The following table shows its rapid rise.

IMPORTATION OF ENGLISH COAL.

Year																	Tons
1801												,					315,000
1805											9			8			413,000
1809												õ					402,000
1813												į		į.			517,000
1817	 · ·		20		•		•		•			,		•			713,000
1821					•							•			•	•	652,000
1825											ě		٠	ş	Q.		738,000
1829	 •		ૃ								3	٠					921,000
										O.							77-47 M W 344 24-51

Ireland has been made to depend on imported fuel. The Irish Parliament had done something to aid the Irish collieries, but the use of coal was not as important for manufacturing purposes in the pre-Union days. Foster admitted that the Irish Parliament had not done much to discover new coalfields, and he believed the resources of the country were hardly touched. At all events it can be asserted with confidence that if the Irish Parliament had remained in existence it would have made a great effort to encourage the Irish collieries and to open up new seams.

No general account of the trade between Ireland and Great Britain, says the Report, can be rendered subsequent to 1825, the commercial intercourse having, from the termination of that year, been assimulated to a coasting trade. This business of the English in closing down the reports of Irish trade has not received the attention it deserves. It was evident that the "Union" was working out entirely in England's favour. Irish industries were ruined but English manufactures were promoted in their stead. This fact was quite apparent in 1825 from the publication of the returns at the ports, which showed that English manufactures were going into Ireland and replacing the home industries of the people on an increasing scale. But in 1825 the English customs decided to close down the Irish returns, so that being out of sight, the subject passed out of mind, so far as public discussion was concerned. The shallow pated politicians of the day were too busy hunting for jobs to find time for hunting for figures of Irish trade hidden in obscure port returns; and for four score years there were no records whatever of Irish trade, until in 1904 we have the resumed return. published by the Statistical Board of the Department of Agriculture.

While British trade with Ireland was increasing by leaps and bounds, and while the trade of English manufactures was rising, the foreign trade of Ireland stood still. The Report of 1830 stated "that the imports from foreign parts into Ireland have augumented during the last five years from £1,547,849 to £1,669,406." This is presumably the direct import trade of

Ireland. We are not told what the direct foreign export trade of Ireland then was. We can give, however, the number and tonnage of vessels entered inwards and cleared outwards in the ports of Ireland for the year 1801 and for every fourth year of the subsequent period until 1829 inclusive, distinguishing the Irish trade with Great Britain from the Trade with other Foreign parts. The figures for 1801 outwards were, however, not kept so we start with the complete set of 1805.

IRISH SHIPPING TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

	INWARDS:	
Year	Ships	Tons
1805	6,875	599,000
1829	13,878	1.292,000
	OUTWARDS:	

1805 6,306 567.000

1829 8,922 906,000

Here we see that the number of ships coming in with cargoes from Britain doubled in the years 1805-29. But the Irish return channel trade was by no means increased so rapidly. Moreover, England imported the valuable products of her factories, whereas we exported the bulky produce of our fields, so that the trade results were entirely in England's favour in quality, as well as in bulk.

Our foreign trade after the "Union" remained stagnant, as the statement proves.

TRADE WITH FOREIGN PARTS.

			*** ** ****	DU.			
Year		Tons					
1805	 	***	1,085			*****	156,000
							179,000
		O	UTWA	RDS	:	92	
1805	 		829	***	555		137,000

1829 723 133,000

Ireland's outward shipping went down after the "Union" with England. Our foreign inwards trade employed eight more ships, but our foreign export trade chartered 106 ships less than when Britannia embraced us. England, of course, pretends that her trade with us is a purely domestic arrangement and is not foreign at all. The real fact is that England is the only foreign country which gained trade by the "Union." All the other foreign countries lost to England.

France and Ireland.

Paris, Friday. The international character of the Irish question, though long since recognised in America, is becoming more and more apparent in Europe. In "La Voix Nationale" M. Charles Sancerme recently declared that "in order to maintain the peace of Europe French patriots must look to the future without England, and British propaganda in France must cease. In the future we must interest ourselves in Ireland, Egypt and India—especially Ireland that martyred nation to whom we have only to hold out our hand in order to give her new life—she who has so often shown her sympathy for us in the past. We must unite our efforts with the twenty millions of Irish Americans who will gratefully work for us on the other side of the Atlantic in proportion to the aid we give their motherland. The United States are not loved by England. They are rivals to-day, they will be antagonists to-morrow. The struggle between them has already commenced. America will triumph. disintegration of the British Empire is at hand."

In "Le Matin" too, M. Franklin-Bouillon, late Cabinet Minister, investigates the hostility of the United States to the Treaty of Versailles. It is not difficult to discover "all the fight has centered round the convenant of the League of Nations, and especially Article 10, by which the signatories reciprocally guaranteed their existing frontiers and their various spheres of influence. But the negotiations engaged in since the armistice only helped to establish the supremacy of England throughout the world. The United States refused to sanction this result, and for a much stronger reason, to defend it in the future. She would not ratify a document the passage of which she could not prevent, however repugnant it was to her. American public opinion revolts against English egotism. This is a brutal, indisputable fact. The United States refuse to enter the League of Nations, thus rendering its organism unworkable—an organism which, by the way, is almost a danger for France on account of its composition. As to the special Anglo-American Convention. President Wilson did not even dare to send it to the Senate for examination. Let us add that if voted it could not become effective unless there was a complete and permanent harmony between England and America. This harmony is made more difficult from day to day by growing political and economical rivalries. Then

there are fifteen millions of Irishmen whose