

# IRISH ARMY HAS WON STRUGGLE, SAYS GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

## BRITISH PUBLIC KEPT IN DARK ON THE FACTS BY PRESENT RULERS

So Much Popular Sympathy in England the Lion Would Be Hissed if It Uttered Its Old Roar—Valera's Position Hard—To Refuse Peace Offer Would Alienate World—To Accept Would Anger Own People.

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

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LONDON, Sept. 1.—Lloyd George and his cabinet have at last put themselves right with public opinion both at home and abroad on the Irish question.

They have made an offer which is considered handsome, not only by themselves, but by foreign critics, and by doing so have put De Valera in a very difficult position.

De Valera cannot refuse the offer without being given up as most impossible both by the Center party in his own country and the rest of the world. He cannot accept it without throwing over the Irish republican army, which has brought the government to its knees by the application of military force, which forced the government to choose between surrender, which the present offer implies, and such ruthless, crushing employment of all its powers of destruction as it dare not venture on without a vigorous public opinion behind it.

Just as women, though physically weaker than men, can, and often do, get their way by being so violent that we must either yield or take the poker and abandon all chivalry, so has the Irish Republican Army beaten Dublin Castle and its forces to a point where the Irish gentry can no longer bear the military terror in which they are held.

Yet there is so much popular sympathy, even in England, with the Irish cause that the British lion would be hissed intolerably if it uttered its old roar and made its old spring, letting its terrible teeth and claws rip.

It is necessary to emphasize this situation.

The public has never been told—because nobody in Ireland dared tell it—how complete the Irish victory has been. Sir Hamar Greenwood's myrmidons assured him time after time that there were no complaints in the districts they had just patrolled.

### Like Army Privates.

Lloyd George, learning that his warriors have shot a woman who was unlucky enough to be nursing her child by the roadside when they were passing on a joy ride, triumphantly declares that he has got "murder by the throat."

It is all nonsense. What he calls murder has got Ireland by the throat and when her country gentlemen are asked, military fashion, whether they have any complaints, they, like experienced army privates, know better than to make them.

Their poorer neighbors assure them that they have no quarrel with them and will not burn their houses unless the Irish Republican Army orders them to.

My wife is an Irish woman, born in an Irish country house. The history of her youth is largely a record of visits to other Irish country houses. The house she was born in has been burnt down and nearly all the houses she visited at have been burned. The lady of the house and the servants of the house are impartially taken out and executed if they warn the Crown forces against Irish Republican Army ambushes.

### None Dares Complain.

Levies of clothing, bedding and taxes for the use of the Irish Republican Army are enforced. Nobody dares to complain to the Crown. The terror is so complete in the fringe of parks and mansions round Dublin as in Cork and Kerry. These things come home to me, I learn them, not from newspapers but from victims of the terror.

I am by no means sure that de Valera knows all that I know, but he does know quite well that the offer of the British government was not a burst of repentant magnanimity, but a forced capitulation submitted to after Sir Hamar Greenwood had done his utmost in the way of mere blackguardly reprisal and got the worst of it.

Naturally the Irish Republican Army is flushed with its success. Most of its members, innocent as they are of the great world beyond the Irish countryside, really think that Greenwood's worst was England's best, and that they can force unconditional surrender just as they forced the unprecedented capitulation.

### Sees "A Mistake."

They mistake the horde of undisciplined ruffians whom Lloyd George contemptuously turned loose on them for the whole British army, navy and air force.

The English have caused scores of unfortunate policemen to be shot down and bombed and burned out throughout the whole day for want of wireless installation in barracks, which could have brought a couple of battle planes to raise the siege and scatter and destroy the besiegers within half an hour.

Now I have not the privilege of knowing De Valera, and I have not the least idea how he got into his present position except that it must have been on his merits, as there is no other avenue to eminence in the Irish Republican movement.

### "Must Face Pistol."

For all I know he may share the illusions of the braves who have taken the warpath to set Ireland free. He has said some very naive things, for example, that he cannot argue with a man who holds a pistol to his head instead of discussing questions from abstract principles.

One asks in what obscure hermitage has he lived if he expects Lloyd George to discuss principles even if there were any principle clearly at stake, which there isn't. For nationality, if that is what De Valera means, is not a principle, but a dogma, and anti-Catholic dogma at that. As to the pistol, did he expect Lloyd George to lay down his arms? The pistol has to be faced, and nothing but moral force can paralyze the finger that is on the trigger.

Let me assume, however, that De Valera really does know the world of highly developed capitalism and imperialism in which Lloyd George is living, not by the way, that Lloyd George, God help him, understands it himself, and that he is aware that England can crush Ireland more completely than she has ever crushed her before if she can once get the necessary popular sanction for the appalling ferocity with which the operation will have to be conducted.

In that case De Valera is between the devil and the deep sea. He must either sacrifice Ireland by refusing the offer, thus bringing down the avalanche, or sacrifice himself by accepting it, for the Irish Republican army will not hesitate to burn his house and execute him in the bargain if it conceives him as having sold his country.

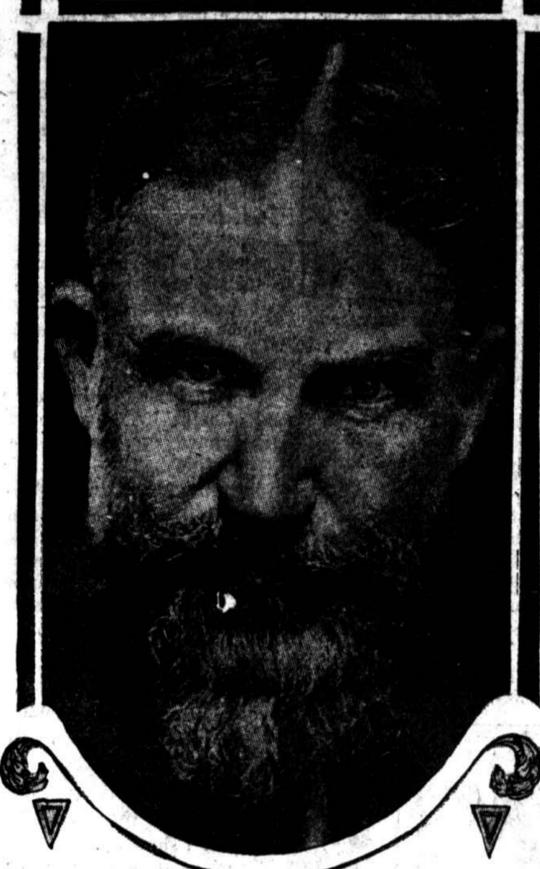
In such a ticklish situation he is bound to temporize. The notion that it was possible for him to embrace the offer with a cry of "Oh, Mr. Lloyd George—or may I call you David—how magnanimous of you—thank you a thousand times," could only occur to people who do not know the facts or to those Englishmen who are transported in their generosity very much as a man might be who, having beaten his wife savagely for years, made her a present of five shillings and promised her he would never beat her any more unless she was very provoking.

Mere temporizing, however, will not help matters. The longer De Valera evades answering without stating his positive case in terms not of eighteenth century idealism, but of realistic politics, the more will the public rally to the view of the matter so sensibly stated by General Smuts.

### People Curious.

For though it would be so ridiculous, after Sir Hamar Greenwood's performances as a modern Alva, to give the government any credit for the generosity it is now exploiting, that generosity exists in the character of the common people. They do not know that it was a forced offer.

They judge it on its merits and not on the motives of its framers, and if it be unreasonably rejected



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their generosity will be wounded and the chorus "Let us be kind to Ireland," may change its tune and words and become a chorus "It will serve Ireland right."

Modulations in that direction are already making themselves heard here and there.

What then is to be said for De Valera's insistence upon complete independence for Ireland, or as it will be called in the United States, secession, the parallel which Lloyd George has been quick to exploit. My hobby is "Home rule for England."

Since the above was written De Valera has reaffirmed his position and Lloyd George in the accents of an indignant governor, has replied: "We consider that these proposals completely fulfill your wish."

The situation remains unaltered. The homogeneity which Lloyd George is insisting on is not a social but a military homogeneity. He makes clear every time he speaks that he is only too willing to leave Ireland to the devil in its own way (I think that is the spirit of it) provided only that England retains the island as a military base and recruiting ground.

The chronic panic of militarist imperialism has obsessed him so he may be regarded as beyond reason on this point, but this happens to be precisely the point on which De Valera's objection has the strongest human appeal.

For what is the next military enterprise to which Lloyd George has expressly committed himself? Nothing less than a conflict with the United States for command of the seas.

### Naval Race Started.

Now, it is hardly conceivable that the United States will voluntarily suffer any other single power to command the seas after the appalling demonstration of what that command meant in the last war.

The race for naval armaments between England and the United States has already started, and unless the old balance-of-power diplomacy is abandoned the result will be the same as that of the race for naval armaments with Germany which began twenty years ago, and what signs are there of any such abandonment at the foreign office?

Lord Curzon, though not more dangerous than Lord Grey (because that would be impossible), is hardly less so. To such diplomatists difference between their "dear friend" Japan and their "dear friend" the United States is only the difference between Codlin and Short, and Lloyd George's effusive propaganda gratitude toward Japan (which hardly went beyond his own obvious interests, as the United States did) suggests that in his opinion, Codlin is the friend and not Short.

Therefore his insistence on a military union between Ireland and England means practically that Ireland must take sides with England in case of war with America, for which the British prime minister is heading.

Now this would be an act of unnatural ingratitude on the part of

Ireland. For the last thirty years the cause of the Irish nationalist has lived on American money and sympathy. There are probably more families named Connolly and Larkin, Murphy and Reilly and O'Toole in North America than there are in Ireland.

Can America seriously blame De Valera for refusing to consent to Ireland being committed to such complicity?

The English people do not see this point because they are innocent of any intention to sink the American fleet and will go on believing that the British government is equally innocent until they are stampered into war by the usual methods and the American president succeeds to the tails and horns of the former Kaiser.

### In Case of War.

And leaders of opinion, many of them, by the way, gulls the most gullible, will take care not to enlighten them because camouflaging a good understanding with America is of the utmost importance, as the good understanding with Germany used to be in the days when General French was officially reconnoitering in Belgium and Germany, and the British fleets were preparing for "der tag."

But the leaders of opinion in America, if they are capable of seeing anything real (popular leaders of opinion seldom are, by the way) must value the strategic importance of Ireland from the other end of the battlefield. It is clearly their business to back De Valera against Lloyd George.

Let none imagine, however, that in the event of a British war with America or any other power, that Ireland could enjoy neutrality. Even if Ireland were an independent neutral state, England would necessarily treat her exactly as she treated Greece in the late war and as Germany treated Belgium. And according to the morals of war she would be quite right. Galway is not more sacred than Salonica, nor Dalkey Island than Euboea.

Ireland could do nothing but protest as King Constantine protested, but at any rate her hands would be guiltless of American blood. It may be said that she could fight the violators of her neutrality as Belgium did, but the fate of Belgium made an end of that heroic pendency.

Greece took it lying down as Ireland would have to take it. Still there would be all the difference in the world between being unable to help America and actively attacking her in her hour of peril. And it is for the power that makes that difference that De Valera is pleading.

### Ireland a Cockpit.

It is only fair to observe here that America would not be able to respect Irish neutrality in a war with England any more than England would, but in the race for Ireland England would win, the course being so much shorter.

If the campaign were a land campaign on the eastern side of the Atlantic, Ireland would be the cockpit of the struggle just as Flanders has

## Exiles Who Plotted Against Gen. Obregon Are Seeing Hard Days

By LOUIS P. KIRBY, International News Service.

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 3. PATHETIC letters have been received here from some of the political exiles who fled across the border when President Carranza's government was overthrown and made the mistake of plotting against the new men in power instead of burying the hatchet. Some, according to letters written to friends, are seeing hard times.

Many of these men, having held political office for years, were not fitted to find positions in a foreign field except as laborers, and some who once knew the pomp of the capital are toiling with their hands.

Even men who held high positions under Carranza are reported to be "hard up." Gen. Candido Aguilar, Carranza's son-in-law and a member of his cabinet, is said to be eager to get back into Mexico.

His desire to return is believed here to be a confession that the Carranzistas offers are empty and that there is no way of refilling them.

General Aguilar is in San Antonio. So is Gen. Francisco Murguia, who has made a futile but troublesome effort to start an uprising during the past six or eight months.

been the cockpit of the old struggles for the balance of power in Europe.

The moment this situation is grasped, De Valera's apparent impossibility changes aspect completely. His demand for freedom for Ireland to keep out England's imperialistic enterprises becomes the plainest common sense. Whether it is obtainable or not is another matter.

The point is that it is not unreasonable, and far from its discrediting De Valera's statesmanship, it suggests that he sees much further than Lloyd George, who thinks he can command the seas without having a fight for them.

Having so striking a card to play, it seems a pity that De Valera does not show his hand, as he has two trumps—the first a threatened war with America, the second the power of the Irish republican army to force England to horrifying extremities as the price of victory.

The two hang together. If De Valera can convince the public opinion that his demand for military independence and the right to neutrality in great wars, which Lloyd George will make inevitable if he persists in his policy, then the coercion of which as I demonstrated when he first warned America off the seas, is practically impossible and abstractedly a grave pathological symptom of frantic cowardice or imperialist idiocy, then the coercion of Ireland may lead to Lloyd George's defeat at the next general election and which is the only sort of catastrophe that the hardened parliamentary leader can appreciate.

De Valera has the advantage of having an indiscreet, inconsistent, hasty, thoughtless adversary, albeit an adroit debater on little issues. Lloyd George had the advantage of a very carefully drafted offer which was evidently the work of several hands. It made a very good impression, but the moment De Valera demurred, Lloyd George, kaiserlike, wrote a letter in his very own shaking mailed fist, blustering about the king.

Now in Ireland the readiness of Royal Ulster to kick the King's Crown into the Boyne on the smallest provocation is proverbial and Lloyd George can hardly suppose that the Sinn Fein is more loyal than Ulster, or that devotion to the throne is likely to rally foreign sympathy to him in Europe that is now predominantly republican or in America which has always been republican since she kicked the King's Crown into the Atlantic and became a nation.

### De Valera's Acc.

The fact that Lloyd George, "biding for the sympathy of the world, should strike such a chord shows how hopelessly insular his daily popularity is. De Valera can easily throw a wide net, he can transcend the eighteenth century limits of Irish nationalism and take a capable hand in world politics.

But the situation is one of extreme delicacy and peril. If De Valera can force on the dutiful statesmen to reflect thereon for a moment it may make the threatened war more difficult to them, even to the extent of preventing its occurrence, besides gaining a good deal of sympathy everywhere except in English security-first circles, which cannot be conciliated lest they should carry their terrors to their logical conclusion by exterminating the human race.

Meanwhile sympathy is all important to both sides at present. If De Valera cannot get it he will have to allow himself to be defeated by the Irish Crown, which will agree with General Smuts and will be emboldened by popularity to offer to revert against the military tyranny of the Left, and accept it.

But if he can look beyond Ireland and play a world game he may yet get support enough to compel Lloyd George to enlarge his offer. More than that cannot be said at present. I must add, for the benefit of those who would like to know what allowance they should make for personal bias in the above statement, that I am neither a nationalist nor an imperialist. I am simply stating the forces at issue without discussing their merits. My hobby is "Home Rule for England."

# By ARNOLD BENNETT

Distinguished English Author, Who Is Writing a Series of Articles on Current Topics for The Sunday Washington Times

## Most Spectacular Symptom of the New Spirit of the Times Is the Revival and Full Democratization of Dancing—Great Need of the Age Is a New Step.

THE new generation—I mean the generation which in 1914 was just old enough to fight, nurse or otherwise serve in the war—probably shows a more striking change from the one before it than any generation has shown for at least two centuries.

A change in mind, spirit, and manner! The change of manner of course irritates a large number of persons who are shocked because the world continues to go round after they have begun to suffer from rheumatism and baldness.

The changes of mind and spirit, however, are more important. As regards mind, the latest generation is better educated, more cultivated, less hypocritical, more courageous, more honest, less "stuffy" than its predecessor; and in all these respects has quite marvelously improved its predecessor's predecessors.

Further it has completed a sort of revolution in the relations of the sexes, which aforesaid were regulated by a system of conventions, shams, and pretences than can only be described as poisonous.

### DULLNESS A SOCIAL CRIME.

As regards the spirit, the latest generation has re-discovered, or is re-discovering, the great secret—lost since the Elizabethan age—that the chief thing in life is to feel that you are fully alive, that life oughtn't to be a straight line but a series of ups and downs, that continual repression is a tragic absurdity, that dullness is a social crime, that the present is quite as important as the future, and that moments of ecstasy are the finest moments and the summits of existence.

It has finally killed the Victorian age dead. I am willing to admit that the Victorian age was a great age, though it acutely exasperated me when I was young. But that it had the terrible vices of continual repression and disgusting hypocrisy cannot be disputed, and to contemplate its corpse gives me genuine pleasure.

So much for the achievement of the latest generation. The latest hasn't done everything itself, but it has handsomely finished what others began, and it shall be awarded the glory. Personally, I rejoice in it, and even in its mistakes.

### DANCE IS ALL BENEFICIAL.

Now the most spectacular symptom of the new spirit is the revival and the full democratization of dancing. The latest generation certainly did not initiate the revival, which began long before the war in the formation of private dance-clubs, whose fault was a ridiculous snobishness.

What the latest generation did was to seize on to a good thing, to exploit it fully, and to tear it free of the chains of convention, and to expose it to all the antiseptic winds of publicity.

It is to the demands of the latest generation that we owe the public dance halls, which are among the most impressive, beautiful, and healthy phenomena of modern social life. Not that the dance halls are the recent invention of the middle-class in London and the great provincial centers, as some might assume.

"Dance halls flourished mightily even in the last century in a few of the most popular seaside resorts, and especially at Blackpool and Douglas, Isle of Man. In these considerable pleasure cities there were dance halls before the latest generation was born, and before the fox-trot and the shimmy had been conceived.

The halls were efficiently managed; they few but rigidly-enforced rules; they had good music; they were bright and ever-glimmering; and they were cheap.

### FIELD FOR SOCIAL STUDENTS.

They did, as they still do, enormous business, and were largely responsible for the popularity of the two places named. Years and years ago I used to watch them functioning with amusement and delight, and wondered that they did not attract attention from students of social phenomena. True, in those days students of social phenomena had not yet removed their blinkers!

### UPLIFTING TO THE SOUL.

That which once was amusingly vulgar is now strictly correct—and still amusing. Halls, clubs, and subscription organizations exist everywhere in which individuals may dance in a crowd consisting mainly of individuals personally unknown to them.

The entertainment is one at which every spectator is also a performer—and not merely a performer but an ecstatic, thrilled, and joyous performer. The resulting spectacle is unique, in addition to being grand. It is inspiring.

What was once vulgar in dancing now is strictly correct and amusing; sees reestablishment of joy and ecstasy.

positive moral, artistic and physical good to the dancer. It has practically none of the disadvantages which accompany other forms of diversion and exercise and discipline.

You can get ecstasy out of a bottle of champagne or even a glass of beer (not to speak of six glasses), but the uplifting is no finer than what the dance affords; it is, in fact, less fine, and it has grave drawbacks, some of which may not be noticed for years and some of which are very apt to be noticed the next morning.

Again, dancing is a physical exercise quite as efficacious as, and far less tedious than, the ingenious contortions prescribed by training experts. Its effects upon the action of the skin is excellent; it develops the muscles; it renders the body lithe, and it fosters gracefulness of carriers.

Further, it cannot fail to teach rhythm; a highly important matter which most citizens would remain quite ignorant of if they did not dance. The mere discipline of moving accurately to music is very valuable; and so is the discipline of co-ordinating one's movements with the movements of another person.

### NO CAUSE FOR SHOCK.

In nearly all these respects modern dancing is probably superior to the dancing of earlier centuries, which was much slower and which certainly was not calculated to induce ecstasy. Modern dancing would have shocked the eighteenth century, and yet the eighteenth century was more cynical and less moral than ours.

Finally, in the catalogue of dancing's merits, there is the fact that, unlike golf and such crudities, it is practiced when people are in their best and prettiest clothes and on their best behavior. To sum up, I would say that the "craze" for dancing is a truly healthy and hopeful sign of these times which are so rich in doubtful and sinister signs.

I shall not let my enthusiasm carry me into the clouds. Public dancing has its evil side. No! Not the evil side which is perhaps in your minds, and the existence of which I do not for a moment credit! I mean that it keeps the devotees up too late.

The law ordains a certain hour for closing public resorts and (I'll say) but the law makes frequent exceptions, and moreover there are well-known devices for evading the law.

I am not an advocate of early dancing; I have no use for afternoon dancing, and assuredly I do not believe in dancing between the courses of dinner. But I think that people ought to know when to go home, and that too many of them, even if they do know, lack the moral fiber to act on their knowledge.

### SOME DANCE TOO LATE.

Dancers who go home at 3 a. m. must cheat either themselves or somebody else the next day; for there are not and never will be twenty-seven hours in a day. The disadvantage is real; it is serious; and every effort should be made to minimize it.

In regard to the actual art of dancing as exemplified today in public and semi-public ballrooms, it may be said to be full of interesting problems, the solution of one or two of which may ultimately split the dancing world into two camps.

Perhaps too many people—especially people with plenty of money in their pockets—the really acute problem, quite unconnected with the art of dancing, is where to find a ball or club that on the one hand is not so fashionably packed that you can't move, or, on the other hand,

is not so unfashionably and forlornly empty that you feel as if you were assisting at a memorial service for the death of dancing.

Another problem, purely artistic and technical, is to decide whether men should dance on their heels or their toes. There may be serious trouble over this. Only a little while ago the existence of the problem would have been unthinkable. Everybody had to dance on his toes, and on the floor of the ballroom nobody could even admit that he possessed heels.

But today one may witness the finest male dancers continually using their heels in preference to their toes, and defending the practice on the ground that it gives a better balance and a quicker turn, and also that it enables the feminine feet to get closer to the masculine feet; and apparently the inmost secret of good dancing is that the feminine and masculine feet should never, never leave each other.

### A MORAL ARGUMENT.

A great problem, of a moral or political nature, now just shimmering up, is raised by the question: "Why should the men always absolutely rule the dance?"

There is no answer to this question, except to say that women have ever been in subjection and therefore must ever be; which answer, is possibly not quite satisfactory. In my dance of two persons, one of the pair must of course be autocrat, but why should not the pair exchange roles at intervals?

Women know as much about dancing as men, and numbers of them could certainly direct the mutual movements quite as well as the men with whom they dance. I am surprised that our more advanced feminists have not made a fuss about such a fundamental affair long since.

But the problem of problems is the admitted monotony of modern dancing. A few weeks ago I beheld with amazement the program of a ball at Buckingham Palace. With the exception of the formal opening grand quadrille and the final galop, every dance was a waltz.

### THE TANGO WAS BARRED.

There were about twenty waltzes one after the other. Not a fox-trot! As for a one-step—? As for a tango—!

It may have been held, and perhaps wisely, that words such as "fox-trot" would not look nice on the pasteboards of a Buckingham Palace ball. But even in other ball rooms the programs are monotonous.

The one-step has fallen into disfavor, and rightly so, for it is a tenth-rate business. Programs are divided in the main between fox-trots and waltzes, and though the waltz is a finer dance than the fox-trot, the fox-trot is still very fine, and, being easier than the waltz and better adapted for variations, it exceeds the waltz in popularity.

The mischief is that the steps of the two dances are identical. Again the authorities who govern and judge competitions will not permit any sort of stung effects, and who shall blame them? So that there is in practice almost a lawful outlaw for the human yearning after change and variety.

Efforts are being made to popularize the tango in London. There is only one waltz, but there are seventy and seven tangos, and the tango is a great dance, with the magnificent rhythm of the fox-trot but rather slower; and if you knew enough you might fancy tangos for a whole evening and scarcely repeat your figures.

Dancing cannot be really popular unless it is public, for not one person in a hundred thousand possesses a ballroom, and square or round dances are impossible at a public dance. What is more, they are not so interesting to the performers as the couple dance. The great need of the age is a new step, with new figures, capable of many variations within a few clear rules. Such a novelty, combined with the fox-trot and the waltz, would remove the reproach of monotony.

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