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NATIONALITY

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Week by Week.

If Ireland is to reap her share of the harvest which is being gathered in to-day by every other small nationality in Europe and Asia, the people of Ireland must first remove the men who, sitting on the ditch at Westminster, tell the world that Ireland is not anxious to leave the British Empire.

On Wednesday last a gang of forty police occupied Sinn Fein headquarters for two hours, during which time they ransacked the entire premises in pursuance of the British Government's determination to continue helping the Sinn Fein movement.

The Election Address issued by Sinn Fein to the people of Ireland has been torn down by the police in many places. Why? Think! Vote!

John Dillon—the Apostle of Futility—told his Imperial audience in the British House of Commons that his hopes of settling the "Irish problem" in "a friendly and conciliatory way as a domestic question" were blighted by the sneers and jibes with which that assembly had received his request to apply President Wilson's doctrine to the case of Ireland.

That age cannot wither nor time decay the flowery oratory of the Apostle of Futility may be gathered from a perusal of last Friday's issue of the Castle Journal, in which appears five columns of stuff that should have been headed "Expediency and Compromise," but received instead the equally futile title "Our Hour Will Come."

The Apostle of Futility "wonders" if Father O'Flanagan and ourselves are not ashamed to speak of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, and the Poles; who, he was kind enough to inform the

Metropolitans, "have now got their liberty and are republics." If "expediency and compromise" secured the freedom of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, and the Poles, we would be ashamed to speak of them.

Long before President Wilson propounded the doctrine that all peoples—even the Germans, whom Mr. John Dillon advised eleven hundred of his followers to go out each week and defeat in the interests of the "Charter of Liberty" on the Statute Book—had the right to choose the form of government under which they wished to live, Mr. John Dillon proclaimed to the world that Ireland was a separate nation, and that the people of Ireland would never rest content until the invader had been removed, bag and baggage, from the fair face of Ireland.

At Ballaghaderreen on Saturday Mr. Dillon pointed out to his audience the awful mistake some Irishmen had made in not taking his advice. It appears that after Mr. Dillon had told them that they would have no conscription they went to America. But, considering that Mr. Dillon is the proud possessor of an Emigration Agency down in Ballaghaderreen, people will be anxious to know why Mr. Dillon should refer to some young men going to America. A few, remembering his activities as a recruiting agent for the British Army, may come to the conclusion that he was sorry they went to America instead of direct to the trenches.

Since Mr. John Dillon clasped the good old Empire to his bosom he has paid no more fitting tribute to his "old flag" than that which he delivered on Saturday in Ballaghaderreen, when he went down on his knees and thanked God that he and his Party had saved the honour of Ireland by their recruiting campaign on behalf of small nationalities.

The Venerable Archdeacon O'Hara did a very poor service to Mr. John Dillon when he reminded the people of Ireland that the Apostle of Futility was the son of John Blake-Dillon.

In his speech on Sunday Mr. John Dillon pointed out to the people of East Mayo the benefits that the benign Empire of which he is so proud had showered on them. No wonder Mr. John Dillon is so anxious that the people of Ireland should remain a part of his Empire! "Is there a single man in East Mayo who is not to-day richer and more prosperous than he was in 1885?" asked the apologist for British rule in Ireland.

We have read many chapters of the Gospel of Futility from time to time, but the full text as delivered by Mr. John Dillon at Kilmoeke surpassed our wildest dreams of what the High-priest of Futility was capable of in that line.

Who gave the Irish farmers their land? Who gave the old age pensioners their pensions? Who gave the publicans licences to sell spirits? Was it the Sinn Feiners? No. The British Empire, of which I am so proud, has done these things—thus may Mr. Dillon's Gospel of Futility be summed up. The people of Ireland could not exist were it not for the bounties which benign Britannia flings at them!

All our industries, such as we have left, could be brought to a dead-stop to-morrow if England stopped giving us coal. The whole world is looking for English coal, and if it had not been for the Irish Party you would have got no coal, and every single industry would be stopped in Ireland except, of course, in Ulster, where the people are not such fools as the Sinn Feiners.

Probably Mr. John Dillon is not aware of the fact, as was his father, that "the resources of our country are sufficient for the support of our people," and that England might not like to stop "giving us coal" in case we might discover that we would be able to get more than enough to meet all requirements out of the bowels of our own land!

The Venerable Archdeacon O'Hara did a very poor service to Mr. John Dillon when he reminded the people of Ireland that the Apostle of Futility was the son of John Blake-Dillon.

There is nothing in the world plainer than this, that your money flows from under laws—laws which deprive you of the

fruits of your industry, and which cause the enormous sums of money which are raised from you to be spent in matters with which you have no concern—this is the root of all your evils."

Although the latter words were uttered in 1842 we are sure the Venerable Archdeacon, if he were not so enraptured over the fact that there are "a thousand landed proprietors" in the parish of Kilmoeke in place of "a thousand serfs," would admit that the words of John Blake-Dillon applied to-day with even more force than they did in his own times.

For one thing the people of Ireland owe a debt of gratitude to the Provincialists—they do not even claim to be anxious to get back to Parliament to get Ireland her Independence. All their oratory is based on the assumption that Ireland is a part of Mr. Dillon's Empire, and that it would be folly for Irishmen to miss the great opportunities which they assert will be presented in the new Coalition Government of Britain for obtaining doles for Ireland.

As the objects which the Apostles of Futility hope to attain if they are sent back to Westminster have been stated over and over again by these men, there is no necessity for us to enunciate them; but having regard to Mr. John Dillon's recent reference to the "narrow patriotism" of the Irish Republican movement, we cannot help noticing a remark made by a Mr. Dowling of Dalkey at a South Dublin Convention which selected Mr. John Clarke as one of the standard-bearers of that very wide patriotism known as Imperialism.

"Irish Independence is undesirable even if it were possible," said Mr. P. J. Brady, who asks the Nationalists to send him back to Westminster under "the old flag" of freedom to secure for the people of Stephen's Green Division money for housing. And if the people of St. Stephen's Green Division con-

sider that Irish Independence is undesirable, and that a return of a little of the money plundered from this country is all the freedom Ireland agrees to, they should have no hesitation in electing Mr. Brady to acquaint the world of that fact by sending him back to the British House of Commons.

In order to prove to the Metropolitans the absurdity of the Sinn Fein policy, Mr. John Muldoon quoted from one of the leaflets circulated by the British Government in Ireland: "They heard," said he, "a good deal about refusing to recognise the authority of the British Parliament in Ireland. Every man who handed in a nomination paper at the election recognised English authority." We would like to remind Mr. Muldoon that it is one thing for a slave to recognise his chains, and, recognising them, to make use of every opportunity that presents itself for casting them off.

The U.L.L. has issued an election leaflet entitled "What is wrong with the Green Flag?" It is about time they asked that question. For the last four years they have held aloft the Union Jack—the emblem of Ireland's slavery—and they hold it aloft still.

Flag—the flag that turned red in their hands—but the people of Ireland want to know what is wrong with the Union Jack! Why are the followers of Mr. John Dillon ashamed to come out in their true colours? They stand for all that the Union Jack symbolises. Why do they not wave that flag?

Captain Redmond in Waterford wants the voters to support him. His own father, John Redmond, once stated to the same people in the City of Waterford that it was his aim and the aim of the Irish Party to drive England bag and baggage out of Ireland.

The bill-sticker who covered up the defunct recruiting appeals in Rathmines with Mr. Moonan's poster—"Vote for Moonan, the Nationalist candidate"—had a very pretty sense of humour indeed, but his humour does not come near that displayed by the present members of the Futility Party, who are now denouncing Ireland's right to as much freedom as they asked Irishmen to give up their lives to secure for all other small nations.

A striking feature of the procession which attended Mr. John Dillon's meeting at Kilmoeke on Sunday last was the large attendance of young men, says the Castle Journal. The striking part of the whole thing is that there would have been very few young men walking about East Mayo to-day if Mr. John Dillon's advice had been followed!

From the official communique (issued from Townsend St. on behalf of the Apostles of Futility) we gather that "a vote of condolence" was passed in connection with the candidature of Mr. C. P. O'Neill, who was selected to stand in the interests of Provincialism for Pembroke. In all decency, we consider that the supporters of Mr. O'Neill might have reserved their condolence till the result of the polling had been declared.

Seumas O'Kelly

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

The Kiss of Judas.

The Apostle of Futility, we are glad to say, knows the reason why the Irish Republican candidates have pledged themselves to ignore the Imperial assembly at Westminster. "Sinn Feiners," he says, "declare that the first principle must be to deny the right of England to rule our country, and the presence of Irish members in her Parliament is an acceptance of that right." But he goes on to justify the right of England to rule our country by stating that our principle of abstention "rules out Grattan, O'Connell, Wolfe Tone and Emmet, the '48 men, the '67 men, Isaac Butt, Parnell and Davitt," because "they accepted and based their policy on the presence of Irishmen in the English Parliament." That is one of the most blasphemous statements which Mr. Dillon has ever made. Not one of the men so glibly mentioned by the Apostle of Futurity "accepted and based their policy on the presence of Irishmen in the English Parliament." Grattan not only did not accept England's right to rule Ireland, but despised any connection with English politicians or their Parliament. "Your legal security is not Repeal, nor Renunciation, nor recognition, nor the laws of England, but the laws of Ireland; your security consists in that you are not dependent for liberty on the laws of England or the Parliament of England; your legal security is that you do not require legal security in the Parliament of England, and have nothing to do with her judges or their constructions, comments, power or quibble of a foreign land." And again: "It is not a question whether Ireland has a right to be free, but whether Great Britain has a right to enslave her. When the latter country asks 'What right have the Irish to make laws for themselves?' Ireland will not answer, but demand 'What right has England to make laws for Ireland?'" It is more than a hundred years since Grattan spoke these words. But, perhaps, if Grattan had lived during the past three or four years and listened to the comments and quibbling of "a foreign land," he would have been as ardent an apostle of Futility as Mr. Dillon himself!

Mr. Dillon's reference to Wolfe Tone is as blasphemous as the use which the members of the U.I.L., to whom he was speaking, make of Wolfe Tone's memory. The membership cards of that body are decorated with a drawing of the dead patriot, surrounded by a

wreath of bay-leaves, and, under a scroll bearing the words "Who fears to speak of '98?" pikes, guns, and swords are profusely displayed. We would suggest that Mr. Dillon's mottoes, "Expediency and Compromise" and "Friendly and Conciliatory," be forthwith incorporated into the charming production to which we refer. Of course, Mr. Dillon may be right in his assertion that Wolfe Tone accepted and based his policy on the presence of Irishmen in the British House of Commons, but we rather doubt it. As a matter of fact, we are inclined to think that Wolfe Tone would to-day be dubbed a pro-German by the Apostle of Futility. Not in the British House of Commons, but in the dock while undergoing his trial for "pro-Frenchism" (as Mr. Dillon would probably have said had he lived at the time), Wolfe Tone declared: "To break the connection with England . . . and to assert the Independence of my country—these were my objects." Not much promise of "Expediency and Compromise" in these words, we fear; and yet, were Wolfe Tone alive to-day, the Apostle of Futility imagines that Sinn Fein would call him traitor!

"The man dies, but his memory lives," declared Emmet from the dock. Little thought this noble patriot who was about to give up his life for his country that his name would be associated with the policy of "expediency and compromise" so much beloved by the man who "cannot withhold his admiration for the tenacity of the British people." "Was I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur; but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner will, through the ministry of the law, labour in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy," said Emmet, and he asked the Irish people not to write his epitaph until Ireland should have taken her place among the nations of the earth, lest "prejudice or ignorance" asperse his motives. Mr. Dillon has not waited for Ireland to take her place among the nations of the earth to inscribe Emmet's epitaph: "Expediency and Compromise." "I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me," said Emmet. Mr. John Dillon has shown this generation of Irishmen how the memory and name of Emmet animates the Apostle of Futility. Better were it for Mr. Dillon's sake had he given to Emmet the charity of his silence.

When Thomas Francis Meagher stood in the dock at Clonmel charged with high treason against the British Empire, of which Mr. Dillon is so proud, he did not express himself in the "friendly and conciliatory" way which Mr. Dillon would lead one to imagine by his reference to the '48 men as being imbued with his policy of "expediency and compromise." It is true that Thomas Francis Meagher had contested Waterford some time previously. He was not elected, but a few words from his election address will serve to show the difference between his appeal to the Irish people and the appeal, for instance, made by Capt. Redmond, of the British army. "I shall not meddle with English affairs," he said. "I shall take no part in the strife of parties—all factions are alike to me. I shall go to the House of Commons to insist on the rights of this country to be held, governed, and defended by its own citizens and by them alone. Whilst I live I shall never rest satisfied until the kingdom of Ireland has won a Parliament, an army, and a navy of her own." More than seventy years ago that appeal was made to the people of Waterford by one of the men whom Mr. Dillon claims to follow! In Meagher's time there was no talk of "a reign of law based on the consent of the governed." And yet Meagher was considerably more advanced in his ideas than the men who say they follow in his footsteps. Mr. Dillon may follow Thomas Francis Meagher—but he is a very, very long way behind him. And when we remember that Thomas Francis Meagher was tried for high treason against the Empire of which Mr. Dillon is so proud, a year or so after he had sought election to the English Parliament, we can guess how much "expediency and compromise" ran through his veins. From the dock Thomas Francis Meagher expressed his sentiments thus: "I am here to speak the truth, whatever it may cost—I am here to regret nothing I have ever done, to regret nothing I have ever said—I am here to crave with no lying lip the life I consecrate to the liberty of my country. Even here—here, where the thief, the libertine, the murderer, have left their footprints in the dust—here on this spot, where the shadows of death surround me, and from which I see my early grave in an unanointed soil open

to receive me—even here encircled by these terrors, that hope which first beckoned me to the perilous sea on which I have been wrecked, still consoles, animates, and enraptures me. No; I do not despair of my poor old country—her peace, her liberty, her glory. For that country I can do no more than bid her hope. To lift this island up, to make her a benefactor to humanity instead of being, as she is now, the meanest beggar in the world—to restore her native powers and her ancient constitution—this has been my ambition, and this ambition has been my crime." Meagher, like O'Brien, O'Donoghue, and McManus, was found guilty, and like them was sent to Van Dieman's Land, to expiate a "crime" which, if Mr. Dillon's reasoning is correct, he and his colleagues are committing to-day. The difference, of course, is that the Apostle of Futility is anxious to go to Westminster to expiate the "crime" for which the Empire of which he is so proud sent the '48 men to penal servitude!

There is very little similarity between Mr. Dillon's policy of "expediency and compromise" and the policy enunciated by Parnell in 1879 when he said: "None of us, whether in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England," although it is very like the policy expounded by Mr. John Dillon nine years afterwards when he said: "I say to you, men of Tipperary, that we would be untrue to our country, and untrue to those who begot us, if we rested content until every vestige of English rule was swept from the fair face of Ireland." Mr. John Dillon might well claim to be a follower of Parnell in 1888. But, not alone is he not to-day a follower of Parnell, he is not even a follower of himself—when he was a Nationalist. Parnell was not far wrong when he said: "The English Government will sap the best Party Ireland could return to the House of Commons."

"To Ireland I leave an undying prayer for the absolute freedom and independence which it was my life ambition to obtain for her." These are the words used by Michael Davitt in his will. Mr. John Dillon says he is a follower of Michael Davitt. Do you believe him?

The Party's Record.

Mr. John Dillon was elected to the British Parliament in 1880. For thirty-eight years he has sat at Westminster. What has been the result? Mr. Dillon is, indeed, a modest patriot, and still more modest politician. He claims that "the Irish Party offered the people a policy which had been tried for forty years, and had been justified by unparalleled successes" (Metropolitan U.I.L., Nov. 21, 1918). Most Nationalists who elected Mr. Dillon and his fellow patriots thought they were sending a Party to Westminster to obtain Home Rule and come back to Ireland to legislate in Ireland for the benefit of their country. Apparently, however, Mr. Dillon has come to regard Westminster as his permanent address. He boasts now of forty years' service in the House, and gives reasons why he should be kept there apparently until he dies. His next modest demand will probably be that the nation should be insured against the "unparalleled" loss it would sustain if anything happened him at Westminster. Forty years in the waiting room does not appear to be a profitable occupation for a whole Party. The argument of success at Westminster is an unconscious admission of hopeless failure in the mission entrusted to him by the Irish people. However, we will take Mr. Dillon on his own method of valuation for the present, and see what this record of "unparalleled successes" is worth.

In 1880, when Mr. John Dillon was first elected to the British Parliament, we take the population test. Every nation counts its prosperity by the number of its citizens. In that year the British Government officially returned the population of Ireland as 5,202,648 souls. The population is now officially estimated by the Registrar-General as 4,337,000. Ireland has, therefore, lost 865,648 souls, or nearly one-sixth of her population, since Mr. Dillon went to Westminster. In the great European war the official figure of British casualties to date, including Dominion and Colonial troops, was announced in the House of Commons on November 19. The total number reported killed up to that date was 658,704. So that Ireland's losses by emigration from British rule in Ireland since 1880 exceed by two hundred thousand the total number of British, Dominion and Colonial troops reported killed

in the great war. This is, indeed, "unparalleled."

In 1880, when Mr. Dillon entered the British Parliament, the revenue estimated to be contributed by Ireland for the maintenance of the British Government was, to March 31 of that year, £7,280,856, according to the Parliamentary White Paper. For the past year, to March 31, 1918, it is returned at £26,865,000, or nearly four times as much, while the population has been reduced by one-sixth. "The Imperial Contribution" has increased from £3,226,307 to £13,863,000. Ireland is paying ten millions a year more tribute for the privilege of having Mr. Dillon gummed to a seat at Westminster.

While Ireland's blood has been oozing out England has been waxing stout and strong under Mr. Dillon's political guardianship at Westminster. The population of Great Britain was 29,710,012 (we quote from the White Paper No. 105 of 1918). In 1914 it had risen to 41,707,851 (same authority). That is to say, it increased by no less than twelve millions, or more than 40 per cent., in 33 years, an "unparalleled success."

When Mr. Dillon entered the British Parliament there was in Ireland one Irishman to five Englishmen. There is now but one Irishman to nine Englishmen. Take it another way. When Mr. Dillon entered the British Parliament there were 159 people to the square mile in Ireland, while there were 445 to the square mile in England. Now there are 134 to the square mile in Ireland and 618 to the square mile in England. While Mr. Dillon sat in the English Parliament Ireland has lost 25 human beings to every square mile, and England has gained 173 human beings to every square mile.

When Mr. Dillon entered the British Parliament that Parliament was taxing the people of Ireland £1 8s. 2d. per head (White Paper No. 105 of 1918). This year (to March 31, same authority) it is £6 2s. 8d. So that the British Parliament has added nearly £5 per head in taxation on the head of every man, woman and child in Ireland, and they have placed these taxes on them by virtue of the presence of the Irish members and by the very votes of Mr. John Dillon and his associates.

To sum up the Party record since Mr. Dillon entered the portals of St. Stephen's we quote Arthur Griffith's message to East Cavan on the eve of his being kidnapped by the British Government:—

If Mr. Dillon's 37 years of service to the English Parliament has resulted in the loss of one-sixth of the Irish population and the increase of Ireland's tax-burden to an extent that now leaves Ireland the most heavily taxed country in the world—if Ireland, after Mr. Dillon's 37 years of supporting English Liberal Ministers and becoming the dupe of English policy, has greater losses to show in man-power and in money than any nation in Europe—would the Irish people be a sane people to continue the policy of Parliamentarianism for which Mr. Dillon stands, or would they justify Dean Swift's bitter epigram:—

"He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad,
To show by one satiric touch
No nation needed it so much."

We leave it to East Cavan to answer, but we know what the answer will be. **The British Parliament is the grave of Irish hope, Irish energy, Irish wealth, and the Irish people.** It has been the Great Delusion of the Irish mind politic for years. Cavan will dispel it for ever, and by making the Irish mind free, ensure the ultimate freedom of the Irish body.

East Cavan gave the answer in May which all Ireland will give in December, and judgment will be passed on Mr. Dillon and his Party's Record.

STEPHEN'S GREEN DIVISION.

The campaign opened on Monday night at the Mansion House, which was crowded. There was a strong rally in support of Alderman Tom Kelly, S.F. candidate, who denounced a Dublin evening sheet which shouted for the blood of the Irishmen members of Casement's Brigade. He said these men were Irishmen, and he hoped the brave Bavarians would do no such thing as hand them over to England. The Irish claim for Independence would be presented to the Peace Conference by De Valera in person going there and acting with the full moral authority of the Irish people behind him.

We regret that owing to pressure on our space we are unable to publish the many appeals for funds and lists of subscriptions which have reached us.

Our usual article in Irish has been held over this week.

Westminster.

Ireland has been electing members to go to Westminster since the year 1801. The result is apparent in the ruin of our country. We wish every voter to ask himself or herself what is the good of sending Irish representatives to a place which has never done us any good. There is no argument in favour of it except the salary attached to the argument. But there are many good reasons why we should not send members to Westminster, even for the sake of their receiving four hundred a year. We must recall a little of our history. Ireland first sent members to Westminster under the Act of Union, which came into force in January, 1801. This was the privilege granted to Ireland in return for the extinction of the Irish Parliament, which had existed for many centuries. There had always been a National Feis or Assembly from the earliest times recorded, and this Assembly made laws for the Irish people. What were we doing during all the ages of the world down to 1801? Not sending members to Westminster. According to Mr. John Dillon, the Irish people followed an insane policy for ages. They only became sane in the year of our Lord 1801, when they commenced the sending of members to the British Parliament. Now, in 1800 an Act was passed at the same time in the Irish and British Parliaments putting into legislative enactment the provisions of a Treaty of Union drawn up in six articles, and purporting to represent a mutual agreement between the two kingdoms of Ireland and Great Britain. Ireland has been and is now governed under the provisions of that Treaty, which was mutual in form, Ireland agreeing to surrender her native Parliament and receiving in return a certain number of seats in the British Parliament, which then became the law making assembly of the "United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland."

Now, it is clear that the election of Irish members to sit and vote in the British Parliament at Westminster is an essential part of the Treaty then purported to be made between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. A treaty is an international contract made between two or more nations. Now, every contract must be based on mutual consideration and the consideration or price which Ireland received for the extinction of her native Parliament was the privilege of sending members to Westminster.

If the Irish members instead of proceeding to Westminster in 1801 had assembled in Dublin and had refused to go to Westminster the Union could never have come into effect. The contract would have become null and void through failure of one of the parties to fulfil an essential condition. The election of Irish members to sit and vote at Westminster carries with it an acceptance of the Treaty, and binds Ireland to be governed by laws made at Westminster so far as these laws do not violate the Act of Union.

Sinn Fein stands for the absolute rejection and repudiation of that Treaty on many grounds, among which are the following fourteen causes:—

1. Because it was a Treaty obtained by bribery.
2. Because it was not, and could not, be sanctioned by the Irish people.
3. Because it was an unjust Treaty.
4. Because it was fatal to the national interests of our country.
5. Because it removed from the Irish Nation the power to promote and protect its trade, foreign commerce, agriculture, industries, transportation, and finance.
6. Because it prevented the cultural development of our race and robbed it of the powers of growth and self-development in harmony with its natural genius and aspirations.
7. Because it inflicted on our country a load of taxation, increasing yearly, far beyond its taxable capacity, and certain to increase far more rapidly, and without any corresponding expenditure to set off its effects.
8. Because the taxes of our country are mainly used to promote British manufactures.
9. Because it reduced our population by one half, and still continues to depopulate our land and keep it depopulated and weighed down by crushing burdens.
10. Because it has restricted Irish industries in manifold ways, has destroyed our merchant shipping and deprived our manufacturers, merchants, and traders of access to the competitive markets of the world for the sale of produce and purchase of raw materials, and has cut the lines of intercourse between our people and those of Europe and America.

11. Because it has shut down our mines, stripped our forests, crippled our railways and canals, prevented access to our magnificent harbours, ruined our fisheries, and deprived our workmen of the ability to earn a living in their own land.
12. Because it has left every Irish interest subject to legislation, and better material, social, educational, or fiscal at the mercy of a permanent majority exercising a numerical superiority of five to one in conflict with our interests.
13. Because it has inflicted upon us innumerable Coercion Acts, Penal Laws and Regulations, directed to suppress our national aspirations, and has deprived us of the rights of free speech, free publication and freedom of elections; has violated its own laws, has paid no regard to the stipulation in our favour in the Treaty of Union, which the British Government now proposes to abandon in its entirety, and has deported many thousands of Irishmen and some Irishwomen for political reasons from their own country and treated them as convict prisoners without process of law.
14. That it did not in any degree promote any real union between the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain, that it has bred national ill-feeling and disaffection, which is growing in intensity from year to year, and has divided the Irish people into factions, and is dangerous to international peace.

Sinn Fein asks every voter at the coming elections to repudiate and denounce the Treaty of Union by withdrawing the Irish members from Westminster. It is the first step on the road to freedom. It will give Ireland a firm and unassailable right to present her claims at the Peace Conference and to obtain the revision and cancellation of the Treaty.

The United States and Partition.

The New York correspondent of the "Daily News" kindly informs us that Americans are in favour of Home Rule (whatever they mean, it certainly does not mean self-determination) for Ireland, "but they see no objection to separate treatment for Ulster." Indeed! Why then did the "Yankees"—the name given by Southerners to Northerners, and often ignorantly misapplied by English people to all Americans—see every objection to separate treatment for the Southern States, and why did they wage a bloody civil war in order to "coerce" the Southerners into remaining in the Union from which they wished to secede? If by "separate treatment" for Irish provinces was merely meant the creation of an Irish Constitution on lines analogous to that of the Swiss Federal State, the Irish people would be prepared to consider it, but we know "separate treatment" here means the partition of our country, and to this we will never consent. We are accustomed to partition proposals from Britishers, but it is amazing that Americans, especially "Yankees," should be found to acquiesce in them. Perhaps they don't. We are not so gullible as to believe all we see in the British Press. But if by any chance President Wilson or another United States representative at the Peace Conference ventures to suggest the partition of Ireland, I can well imagine how that gentleman's argument would be pulverised by our delegates.

"Sir," they would say, "the Government you represent, believing the United States to be one and indivisible, coerced by physical force, at the cost of much bloodshed and much suffering, the people of the Southern States into remaining within the United States. The United States had only risen from the status of a British colony to that of an Independent State two generations previously. They were inhabited by a cosmopolitan population, with no ancient traditions to inspire them, no racial affinities to weld them together. The Southern States exceeded in size and wealth many independent countries, and many were, and are still, of opinion that they possessed as much claim to develop a separate national existence as the revolted Colonies in the War of Independence had a right to renounce their connection with the British Government. In their social and economic construction they differed widely from the Northern States. The question of Slavery was not the only dividing line between North and South. Sinn Fein in insisting on Ireland remaining one and indivisible is in a much stronger position than was President Lincoln and his Party. Firstly, nature has defined the boundaries of Ireland for all time, beyond yea or nay. Our

island home has frontiers which can never be altered. The sea is our sentinel; the waves are witness to our separateness from Britain, and our oneness within their encircling arms. (A little French boy of my acquaintance protested that he shouldn't be asked to learn geography till after the Peace Conference had fixed things up, as frontiers were in a state of flux at present! But he would be safe in learning a definition of Ireland's boundaries). Secondly, the inhabitants of the North-East corner of the country who pretend (I think their attitude is camouflage) they want this corner cut off from the rest of Ireland, are resident aliens. They do not belong to the historic Irish Nation, any more than the sahib-jag belong to India. They have refused to become amalgamated with Ireland. They refuse to have hand, lot, or part in shaping her destinies. If they threw in their lot with Ireland even now at the eleventh hour, we would not ask 'their race or creed or clan.' We would welcome them. But if they insist on remaining resident aliens it is not outrageous that they should claim to carve up the country which belongs to the native Gaelic race, and to those who identify themselves with this race. As well might a colony of Hebrews in France or England claim the partition of France or England in their favour. The people of the Southern States of America, on the other hand, were not resident aliens. They had been settled in America as long as, and in many instances longer, than the 'Yankees,' and they certainly looked on America as their country. They loved it and served it according to their lights, unlike the 'carrion-crow' Orangemen. Still, Lincoln—considered to be the greatest American since Washington—did not say that the coercion of the party led by Davis and Lee was 'unthinkable.' He held partition to be unthinkable. Sir, we have come here in the name of the overwhelming majority of our compatriots, i.e., the historic Irish Nation, to demand self-determination for Ireland one and indivisible. Self-determination is for countries, not for localities; for nations, not for alien settlers, who are in, but not of, the land. . . . But why continue this imaginary declaration of rights at the Peace Conference. We know the principles our delegates will express. We can trust them to state our case.

By the way, it is amusing to see that a statue is to be erected at Westminster to President Lincoln, the Arch-Protagonist of the Anti-Partition policy. During the American Civil War England was on the side of the seceding South, but as Eoin MacNeill once said: "The Englishman worships the accomplished fact." The traveller from New Zealand in the 21st century may find statues of leading Sinn Feinidhe in London, and the English will probably wax as enthusiastic over the advocates of Irish Independence when it is an accomplished fact as they did over Jeanne D'Arc during the recent war.

Maire de Buitléir.

What the Party Costs the Irish People.

Mr. Dillon said some months ago he wanted to summon the Irish people to assemble and forswear a Republic. Now the Irish people are assembling, and they demand of Mr. Dillon to forswear Westminster. They ask him and his followers to forswear £400 a year of British gold, and his answer is to ask Ireland to forswear her right to existence as an independent nation.

We cannot seek independence as a Monarchy, as Mr. Dillon knows right well. We can only seek it as a Republic. Mr. Dillon asks us to surrender that independence. We ask him to surrender Westminster and £400 a year, and yet he will not do it. He cannot surrender a bauble seat in the British Parliament and a petty salary even for the liberty of his country and the future welfare of his race in the ages to come. Every Irish member costs England nothing. They are paid out of Irish taxation. But how much does every Irish member cost the Irish people in cash, in blood, in repression, and commercial destruction? It is not to be counted, measured, or plumbed. It is beyond human calculation.

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DALKEY: 18 Castle Street.

BLACKROCK: Inquiries may be made, for the present, at Sinn Fein Club, 13 George's Avenue.

SINN FEIN supporters wishing to help by canvassing, speaking, subscribing, or supplying vehicles on day of poll, December 14th, will kindly communicate with **Sean Mac Giobuin**, Constituency Director, 5 Sydney Avenue, Blackrock, or call at any of above Committee Rooms.

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On our books are many men and women, Clerks, Shop Assistants, Labourers, Civil Servants, etc.,

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT for favours received, to Sacred Heart, Holy Family, Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Patrick, and preserving me from serious illness.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

GRACE—Michael Grace and family, Oldcastle, wish to thank their many kind friends who sent letters and telegrams sympathising with them in their recent great bereavement on the death of Mrs. Bridget Grace, and trust they will accept this acknowledgment, as it would be impossible to reply to each individually.

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