

# NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. I. No. 13. (New Series).

SATURDAY, MAY 12th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

## WEEK BY WEEK.

When Mr. John Redmond, acting on the instructions given to him by Asquith and Grey at the beginning of England's war on Germany stated that "This was Ireland's War"; he pledged so far as he could the finances of Ireland to England; and England has used them with a vengeance. She has nearly trebled Irish taxation, while she has permitted practically no war-expenditure in this country and nearly trebling her own taxation, she has arranged the expenditure of the increase so that her people are earning treble, quadruple and even sextuple wages and salaries. The Irish farmers are next marked down for taxation. They would have been taxed this time, as Bonar Law admitted last week, only the machinery was not ready. When he tries it, he will find that the farmers have not forgotten the lesson of the Land League, although they have been long misled by a corrupt Parliamentarianism.

The British Taxation of Ireland will be increased to £30,000,000 in the current financial year by the present Budget. This means an average tax of roundly 12s. per week per family—a tax that in proportion to the income is the heaviest taxation in the world. Compared with the taxation of England and the present income of England the taxation of Ireland is 100 per cent. greater.

Now, what are the Redmondites doing? what are these representatives of Ireland "on the floor of the House" doing? They are supporting the Budget. They are supporting the taxation of their country to a heavier degree than any other country in Europe is taxed. While the War-expenditure in Ireland is as £1 to £100 in England they are helping the English Government to tax Ireland equally with England—equality of taxation and differentiation of expenditure.

The last great war of this kind was waged over a hundred years ago; and then, as now, Ireland was charged what was called "her share" in respect of it. When in 1894 the English Parliament appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the Financial Relations between England and Ireland Thomas Sexton had some questions to put to Sir Edward Hamilton, K.C.B., Assistant Secretary to the English Treasury, about these charges. Some of his questions, with the answers they received, have a particular interest at the moment, when we ask exactly for what purpose we have to face an extra payment of Twenty Millions a year.

They are found in Vol. 2, Minutes of Evidence, page 139. Thomas Sexton is examining what Sir Edward Hamilton called Ireland's "enormous debt on her own account that now forms part of the Imperial debt":

10,537—For what reason did she incur it? It was charged to her during the sixteen years following the Union—Yes.

10,538—For what reason? Under the Treaty of Union.

10,539—But for what purpose was it expended? The large proportion of it owing to the war between the United Kingdom and France, no doubt.

10,540—Was that an Irish war? No, not an Irish war; but Ireland was deeply concerned in it.

10,541—It was a British war with France, was it not? No doubt; but I should say that Ireland's safety was quite as much at stake as that of Great Britain.

10,542—Her safety? Yes.

10,543—Was it of more interest to Great Britain to hold Ireland as a territory of Great

Britain than of Ireland to be held as a territory of Great Britain? I should have thought it was quite as much to the interest of Ireland to have been defended at that time as it was to the interest of Great Britain. Ireland was the spot upon which France had fixed her eye for invasion.

10,544—But judging it by results, Ireland is now taxed to double the proportion of her income and several times the proportion of her residue. She has to take all her laws from an assembly where her members are one-seventh of the whole. If a desirable measure passes there occasionally, there is another assembly to reject it; she has no British capital, and her resources have gone diminishing—all which appears to be the result of the Union. Now it is so evident that if Ireland had become independent or had become connected with another power (we are engaged here in looking at practical interests) she would not have been worse off than she is at the present time. I mean where does the practical benefit appear? I venture to think that so hypothetical a point is rather going beyond the scope of this enquiry. I do not think I should be asked to give any direct answer to that question.

10,545—The debt was incurred, so far as the charge against Ireland was concerned, for the purpose of defending Ireland, first as a territory attached to the Crown of Great Britain, afterwards as a part of the United Kingdom against France? Yes.

As much a British debt as I admit it was.

10,547—Suppose France had invaded Ireland in force, would Ireland have been expected to undertake the charge of resistance? Not wholly so; Great Britain would undoubtedly I presume have gone to her rescue.

10,548—Ireland, in such a case, could only have contributed in a very minute proportion? These, I venture to think, are very hypothetical questions.

10,549—To test the principle, if Ireland had been taken by France because her poverty rendered her unable to make resistance, would not Great Britain have spent her last shilling in winning Ireland back? I presume so; certainly.

10,550—It appears then that the dominant interest was that of Great Britain. Yes; I admit that.

Later in his masterly cross-examination Thomas Sexton showed Sir Edward Hamilton, much to the functionary's astonishment, that the Royal Irish Constabulary at that time (1895) cost Ireland as much as her combined Army and Navy cost Sweden; so that if Ireland had been like Sweden, a free country, she could have maintained an Army and Navy for her defence equal to Sweden's, although Sweden had then "a mercantile marine only second to that of Great Britain." That is, broadly, as true now as it was then; and it is interesting to reflect that Sweden has during the three years of this war maintained her neutrality effectually. Now what flows out of this? What bearing has it on the Twenty Millions over and above the ordinary (or extraordinary) expenditure taken by England as "Ireland's share" in this war? In the first place, were Ireland free she could defend her neutrality certainly on half her present taxation—especially as her shores could admirably, under almost any circumstances, be defended by Land batteries and submarines. In the second place we have the admission of a Financial Expert of the English Government that the defence of Ireland is not really undertaken by England for Ireland's sake, but is admitted to be "the dominant interest of Great Britain." In other words, what John Redmond calls "Ireland's share in the war" is admitted by Sir Edward Hamilton not to be "Ireland's share" at all, but "England's dominant interest."

Some time ago Mr. Alf. Byrne stated in the English House of Commons that he had had an offer from a large English firm to buy all the foodstuffs he could in this country for the benefit of English consumers, who are at this moment hard hit by the U-boat campaign. That is to say, the old tale was to be repeated—that Ireland was to be England's feeding ground. Irishmen were to starve, while Englishmen, with full pockets, as the result of munition factories and the scarcity of labour, were to feed on Irish produce. That particular scheme failed, but it has now been revived in a new and insidious form. Witness the following letter in the "Independent":—

### "OPENING FOR IRISH PRODUCE.

"To the Editor, 'Irish Independent'."

"Sir,—Owing to a curtailment of output resulting from war restrictions a cross-channel firm, whose products are household words, and are found in every grocer's shop, is desirous of giving their travellers some Irish goods to sell in England. Irish manufacturers or exporters of bacon, butter, jam, oatmeal, etc., etc., should find this a very good opportunity of extending trade. The firm is one of international repute, and to anyone interested I shall be glad to supply further particulars."

"T. A. GREHAN

"(Advt. Manager, 'Independent' Newspapers, Ltd.)

"Dublin, April 30th, 1917."

It is interesting to note that the advertiser of the "Independent" writing to his own newspaper. We have heard of that form of advertisement before. But what happens to the Irish consumer?

A North Roscommon A.O.H. Secretary writes to us:—

Dear Sir,—The enclosed circular has been sent to the Secretaries of Divisions of the A.O.H. in North Roscommon during the past week by the National Secretary, Mr. J. D. Nugent, M.P.—a gentleman in receipt of £600 a year from A.O.H. funds, in addition to his salary as Secretary to the National Health Insurance. I wonder does he expect the A.O.H. Divisions in Roscommon or elsewhere to pay quarterly levies and be his slaves. You are at liberty to publish this or otherwise as you think fit.

The letter our correspondent encloses is as follows:—

### ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS, DUBLIN.

Secretary's Office,  
24th April, 1917.

Dear Sir and Bro.—I am directed by the National Board to inform you that in view of the open antagonism shown by some of the County Officers recently, when the unity and discipline of the organisation was jeopardised, it has been decided to dissolve the Roscommon County Board. I have been directed to make arrangement to carry on the work of the organisation in the county until the next meeting of the National Board, when the matter will be further considered. In the meantime you will understand the County Board as previously constituted ceases to exist.—Yours fraternally,

JOHN D. NUGENT.

P.S.—I am further to state that the County Sec., Mr. P. J. Neary, has been suspended from membership and office in the Society for the period of 12 months, and is not eligible to attend any meetings under the auspices of the Order.—J.D.N.

We believe the Sligo A.O.H., the Wicklow A.O.H., and now the Longford A.O.H., have been or are about to be similarly "dissolved"



and rumours reach us that the Limerick, Clare and Kerry Boards are to be similarly treated by the person who for years past has used that organisation to support the corrupt and cowardly Parliamentary Party. Within a couple of months at this rate there will be no A.O.H. left to suspend, and the Grand Suspender will probably benefit humanity by suspending himself.

The Hon. R. Erskine writes to us:—"I have the pleasure to enclose you a printed copy of the heads of the National Protest, to be presented in form of a Note at the International Congress that is to be held after the war.

"The Protest Heads are in strict conformity to the terms of the great Charter of Scottish National rights and liberties, the Act of Security.

"Further, I desire to point out that the pretended Act of Union of 1707 was passed by means of 'force and fraud' only; was bitterly resented and opposed by the Scottish democracy; was a gross violation of the rights and liberties of the Scottish Nation and Parliament; and, from the point of view as well of equity as law, is null and void. The Scottish Nationalists are determined to re-assert the Sovereign rights of Scotland in face of the whole world, as well as to make the Act of Security their foundation for future action designed to the re-assembling of the Scottish Parliament, suspended or sunk, but by no means abolished, or utterly cut off by 'force and fraud' in the year 1707.

"The Protest Heads Committee (of which I have the honour to be Convener and Chairman) has been formed for the purpose of securing adherents for the Protest, and consists of the following members:

"Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P.; Mr. Angus MacDonald (President Highland Land League), Aonghas Mac Eauruig, Mr. W. M. R. Pringle, M.P.; Councillor F. T. Robertson (Gen. Sec. International Scots Home Rule League), Mr. Robert Smillie (President Miners' Federation).

"As soon as the Protest Heads Committee has done its appointed work, it will be dissolved, and another and a larger (to be styled 'The Grand National Committee') will be established in its room. This latter Committee will have charge of the negotiations proper to the Protest, and will appoint representatives to carry the Note itself to the Congress.

"Many thousands of persons have already adhered to the Protest."

The following is a copy of the Heads of the Protest of the Scots Nation:

#### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

A Protest, in name and in behalf, of National Scotland, is to be entered at the International Congress to be held after the war.

The Protest will embrace the following heads:—

(1) Protest against the exclusion of Scotland which, notwithstanding any pretended Act to the contrary, is now, as she ever was, a Sovereign State, and, as such, has an indefeasible right to send her own representatives to any International Congress.

(2) Protest against the pretended right of England to appear, and speak, in name, and in behalf, of Scotland at any International Congress.

After describing the career of some of the "shams and frauds who are appealing to the men of Longford not to abandon the old methods of agitation," the "Kilkenny People" asks: What are the old methods? They certainly did not embrace the getting of Government jobs for the brothers, relatives and hangers-on of Members of Parliament. The old methods—the methods that have ever won anything for Ireland—were the methods practised by the men of Tipperary when they ran John Mitchel and O'Donovan Rossa for Parliament well knowing that neither of them would touch it with a forty-foot pole. By electing Joseph MacGuinness, South Longford will not be abandoning but returning to the old methods. What Tipperary man of to-day does not recall with pride that his father or his grandfather supported Mitchel or Rossa? What Longfordman twenty or thirty years hence will not recall with pride that in 1917 his father or his grandfather, spurning the selfish and craven advice of politicians who, if they could have carried out their wishes would have dismembered and mutilated their country, rallied to the Old Cause and proved to the world that the men who stood by Ireland "when 'twas treason to love her and death to defend" were "neither forgot nor forsaken" in the convict cells of

British prisons, from which some of them, broken in body but with spirit undaunted, are even now being turned out to die.

On Thursday last the Committee appointed at the Irish Assembly in the Mansion House met and unanimously adopted a plan for procuring a plebescite of the people of Ireland to select a representation to place Ireland's case for independence before the Peace Conference. Particulars will be announced in the next fortnight.

### NEW IRISH INDUSTRY.

**ST. ENDA SPECIALITIES:**  
**ST. ENDA THICK RICH CREAM.**  
**MCGREAL'S LITTLE IRISH CHEESE.**  
**ST. ENDA CREAM CHEESE.**  
Manufactured with utmost care.

To be had from all Purveyors and Family Grocers.

WHOLESALE DEPOT:—

**24 SOUTH CITY MARKETS, DUBLIN.**  
**L. NUGENT, Proprietor.**

'Phone 3627.

A Mhà Uaile agus a Chàitín na hÉireann  
Ceannuiridh.

### THE PIONEER BLOUSES

Dainty, Floral, and White Voiles.  
You cannot resist them. Made in Dublin.  
Factory:—52a Upper Rathmines.

**MISS E. MacHUGH,**  
**63 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN.**  
Bicycles, Repairs, Accessories, Pumps, Gramophones,  
Repaired.

## PEACE!

and plenty, culture and comfort, efficient teaching, comradeship, co-operation and kindness are the outstanding features of the O'Curry Irish College, Carrigaholt, Co. Clare. Learn your own Language in the second healthiest spot in Ireland. Two Sessions this year—July 9th to Aug. 4th and August 14th to Sept. 1st. Write for particulars and information to the Secy.:

**BRIAN Ó hUIGÍN,**  
Coláiste Uí Chomáide, Carrigaholt, Co. Clare.

**ST. LOUIS CONVENT, KILTIMAGH.**  
**ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS.**

Scholarships of £25, £15, and £10 at an Examination held late in August for girls under 13 on 1st June of this year. Apply for particulars, enclosing stamped-addressed envelope to

THE MOTHER SUPERIOR.

Connrad na Saebólge—Craob. Cluain Tairbh.

**A Grand Irish-Ireland**  
**Concert and Lecture**  
(A GRIFFITH, Lecturer)  
will be given

**On Monday, May 14th, 1917**  
**In Town Hall, Clontarf**  
Commencing at 8 p.m. sharp.

**Admission - 2s., 1s., and 6d.**  
An Saebóluinn Abail

**McCracken Literary Society.**  
**A GREAT IRISH CONCERT**

(In aid of the Widow and Orphan of the late  
D. W. Murphy) will be held in  
**Foresters' Hall, 41 Parnell Square**  
ON  
**Sunday, 13th May, 1917, at 8 p.m.**

New Artists, who are Real Artists, together with  
old Favourites, will contribute. Special features.

**Tickets - 6d., 1s., and 2s.**

**SEUMAS O'CONGHAILE SINN FEIN CLUB,**  
**GLASGOW.**

Subscriptions in aid of the **SOUTH LONGFORD**  
**ELECTION FUND** will be thankfully received by the  
Hon. Treasurer, T. Gillespie, 146 London Street,  
Glasgow.

### THE MUNSTER PLAYERS.

Father Mathew Hall, Cork, Monday, May 7th, to 12th  
"MARY MARGARET,"  
A Comedy in Three Acts by Maurice Walton  
(First time on any Stage), followed by  
"THE RISING OF THE MOON."  
Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 10th, 11th and 12th  
"THE AFTERMATH" (First Production),  
A Play in One Act by Parker K. Lynch.  
"THE YELLOW BITTERN" (First Production),  
A Play in One Act by Daniel Corkery.  
"THE LESSON OF HIS LIFE,"  
A Comedy in One Act by Lennox Robinson.

### ACCURACY.

Accuracy in a watch is of more importance than appearance. We do not recommend so-called "cheap" watches, because accuracy is often sacrificed to appearance. For really dependable watches—good in appearance and workmanship, and moderate in price—come to :: ::

**GANTER BROS.,**

**63 Sth. Gt. George's St., Dublin.**

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### ALL CHURCH REQUISITES.

Irish Poplin Vestments, hand embroidered, from  
£3 15s. a set. Statuary and Stained Glass by Certified Artists.

Busts modelled from life, by a rising Irish Sculptor,  
at a reasonable figure.

**M. CAHILL & CO., 9 PARLIAMENT ST., DUBLIN.**

**STATIONERY, FANCY GOODS,**  
**HABERDASHERY,**  
**RELIGIOUS GOODS and BOOKS.**

**John Kivlehan,**

**2 O'Connell Street,**  
**LIMERICK.**

### CASH TAILORING COMPANY.

"The Irish Tweed House," 4 Capel Street, Dublin,  
and Kingstown, are fortunate in having probably the  
largest stock of "Indigo Blue Serges" and Irish Suits  
in Dublin, bought in July, 1916. It will pay in-  
tending purchasers to inspect our stock. We guaran-  
tee perfect fitting garments, and all Irish workman-  
ship.

**JOHN NELICAN, Proprietor.**

Smokers—Fill your Pipe with Irish Grown Tobacco.  
MILD, MEDIUM, or FULL; 2/6 Quarter lb., post free

**W. J. GLOVER & CO.,**  
**ROYAL AVENUE AND NORTH ST., BELFAST.**  
**IRISH-MADE GOODS.**

For MEN'S SHIRTS, HOSIERY, CAPS, &c.

**PAOIRIAIS O'hallmhúrdán**  
**SRÁID LIAM 10, LUIMNEAC.**

### CHEAPEST HOUSE IN IRELAND

FOR ALL  
**PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES.**  
**AMATEUR NEGATIVES DEVELOPED AND**  
**PRINTED.**

**Cameras, Brownies, etc., from**  
**5/- Upwards.**  
LISTS SENT POST FREE.

**FINEGAN, Chemist,**  
**ROYAL AVENUE, BELFAST.**

### Loughlin's Leading Lines.

LOUGHLIN'S IRISH TIES FROM 1/-,  
IRISH SHIRTS FROM 2/11. IRISH VESTS  
AND PANTS FROM 2/11 EACH. IRISH  
KNIT SOCKS FROM 1/-. IRISH BRACES  
FROM 1/-. IRISH GLOVES, BOOTS,  
IRISH-FINISHED HATS, CAPS, etc., etc.

**T. J. LOUGHLIN,**  
**IRISH OUTFITTING HEADQUARTERS,**  
**19 Parliament Street**  
**DUBLIN.**

**Seástan ó Dálaí**

**Úaúar Spáio An**

**tsáipréalaí,**

**luimneac.**



## LONGFORD BLECTION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	202	16	6
Limerick Nationalists (1st instalmt.)	25	0	0
Sinn Fein Club, Tipperary	20	0	0
Some Co. Galway Sympathisers	14	10	0
Some Castlebar Friends	13	0	0
Independent Nationalists, Coalisland (per Rev. P. Quinn, P.P.)	5	8	0
Oldcastle Sinn Fein Club (2nd instalment)	5	0	0
One Small Office in Cork (per T.N.)	5	0	0
Macroon Sympathisers	4	6	6
Some West Cork Voters (per J. Coghlan)	3	15	0
Michael Dore	3	0	0
A Cork Friend	3	0	0
Three Mayo Priests	3	0	0
D. Coy. Irish Volunteers	2	11	6
Rev. Mark O'Byrne, C.C.	2	0	0
T. Noone and Friends	2	0	0
Gaelic Leaguers, Monogea (per A. Begley)	2	0	0
Mag Nuadhat	2	0	0
Kiltimagh Friends	1	15	0
A Few in Maynooth College	1	9	6
Four Belfast Friends	1	10	0
J. O'Sheehan	1	1	0
Pierce Gammons	1	0	0
Piaras Mac Cana	1	0	0
Anticorruption	1	0	0
A Few Sinn Feiners (per Irishman)	1	0	0
Miss Annie Ryan, Dublin	1	0	0
F.F.	1	0	0
F.R.	1	0	0
P. J. MacCrann	1	0	0
A Friend, Newtowncashel	1	0	0
Mr. Delaney	1	0	0
Belfast Lady (per Mr. Finegan)	1	0	0
Dr. O'Grainain	1	0	0
Gael	1	0	0
Crossmolina Friend	1	0	0
Uisneach	1	0	0
Galtimore	1	0	0
Rev. A. J. Moloney, C.C.	1	0	0
An t-Athair Cathaoir O'Braonain	1	0	0
North Monaghan P.P.	1	0	0
Lil O'Byrne	1	0	0
A Friend (per Lil O'Byrne)	1	0	0
T.F.	1	0	0
C. M. de B.	1	0	0
T. O'Byrne (J.B.)	1	0	0
E.T.	1	0	0
E. P. MacLaughlin	0	10	6
Rev. Father Heenan, Corofin	0	10	0
John Moylett, Ballina	0	10	0
A Friend, Ballina	0	10	0
P.J.T., Dublin	0	10	0
Rev. Father Crowe, Doorra	0	10	0
Rev. Father Molloy, Ennis	0	10	0
J. Hanahan	0	10	0
Bride Neary Canane	0	10	0
Padraig O Glasain	0	10	0
P.D.	0	10	0
One of the O'Byrne Clan	0	10	0
A Friend (per P. Morgan)	0	10	0
Miss Henrietta H. Jacob	0	10	0
Miss H. Kelly, London	0	10	0
Miss K. Kelly, London	0	10	0
Miss Kelly, London	0	10	0
Eamonn O Moran	0	10	0
John Dore	0	10	0
Co. Down C.C.	0	10	0
S.	0	10	0
Patrick Mulhall	0	10	0
A few of the boys (per D.N.)	0	10	0
Anon, Co. Cork (per Seumas Byrne)	0	7	6
P.J.H.	0	7	6
Charles Magee	0	7	6
A. Hayden	0	5	0
A Friend, Ballina	0	5	0
Mr. Callaghan, Ballina	0	5	0
Mr. Brady, Ballina	0	5	0
H. Ruddy, Ballina	0	5	0
Socirb	0	5	0
"A Crank"	0	5	0
T. F. Harvey Jacob	0	5	0
Cillalla	0	5	0
J.D.	0	5	0
Liam O Slataraigh	0	5	0
Baitoir O Foghludha	0	5	0
Three Young Friends, Ballina	0	3	0
O'Rahilly Hurling Club	0	2	10
Bridge O'Callaghan	0	2	6
Miss R. Jacob	0	2	6
Miss V. D. Jacob	0	2	6
A Friend, Dromore	0	2	6
Joe MacGeown	0	2	6
Anon	0	2	6
A Friend, Ballina	0	2	6
Donal Brophy	0	2	6
B. Browne, Cloghan	0	2	6
Ciarain O Nuallain	0	2	6
Ambrois O Deorain	0	2	6
Leo Fitzpatrick	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Sean Maicpbell	0	2	0
Anon	0	1	0
Anon	0	1	0
A Few Sympathisers (Mobill)	1	10	0
M. K.	1	0	0
Nicolas O'Healuige	0	2	6
Portumna	0	5	0
Dalriada	0	5	0
A Few Friends (per L. Cooke)	0	6	2
Mrs. Mullan	0	2	0
Mr. Mullan	0	2	0
Mr. M'Nulty	0	2	6
Mrs. Burns	0	1	0
B. Burns	0	5	0
A Few Friends (per B. Burns)	0	7	6
O'H. agus a Bhean	1	0	0
East Cork Sinn Fein Election Committee	1	0	0
Sean Dhu	0	5	0
A Few Republicans	0	10	0
Tom Conlan	0	5	0
The Brother	0	5	0
A Few Cranks (The Rosses, Donegal)	2	0	0
Sympathisers (Oldcastle)	0	5	0
Timothy Kennedy, Tipperary	0	5	0
O Cupla Cairde, Cillorglan	0	8	6
Irish Volunteers, Castletownroche	2	0	0
North Monaghan Priest	1	0	0
Dr. F. C. Ward, Scotstown	1	0	0
Some Londonderry Sympathisers	2	5	6
Redhills (Cavan) Gaelic Leaguers	1	0	0
T. H.	0	2	6
A Few Sinn Feiners (Dunrow)	2	15	0
Wexford Sinn Feiners (2nd instalment)	10	0	0
Messrs Hales and Donoghoe, Bandon	2	10	0
John Sweeney, Bandon	0	10	0
Miss Walsh, Raheroon	0	6	0
Per W. Hallahan	0	18	6
Other Subscribers, Bandon	2	5	6
Miss H. Harvey	0	10	0
A Few Athboy Wellwishers	5	0	0
Staunch Supporters (Kingscourt)	8	0	0
Glenfina Sinn Fein Club, Donegal	5	0	0
Mrs D. M. D.	0	10	0
T. Ua Duibhir	1	0	0
Louis Walsh, Maghera	1	0	0
Rev. Henry Boy, C.C., Maghera	0	10	0
Francis M'Eldowney, Koughtneil	0	10	0
Bernard Devlin, Maghera	0	10	0
John Walsh, Maghera (2nd sub.)	0	5	0
Mrs. Agnew, Rathlure	0	5	0
John Mulholland, Gortinure	0	2	6
John Mullins	0	2	0
T. J. McCarthy	0	2	6
Mr. Hayes	0	2	0
Miss Bennett	0	2	0
James Shea	0	2	0
Cornelius Flavin	0	2	6
T. N. Slattery	2	0	0
Three Friends (per Ireland's Eye)	0	17	6
444	0	5	0
Two Brothers	1	0	0
John Clunainan	0	10	0
National Chemist	0	5	0
The Whelan's	0	5	0
A.O.H.	0	1	0
Cove I. Vols.	2	0	0
Waterford Sympathisers (1st instalment, per Alderman Quinlan)	5	0	0
D. Coy., 3rd Batt., I. Vols. (2nd instalment)	1	4	6
S. Muaintoir	0	5	0
S. Canna	0	5	0
Ballaghaderreen Friends (2nd instalment)	6	0	0
P. J. N. (Wicklow)	0	2	0
Three Civil Servants	1	13	0
E. T. Toomy	1	0	0
B. P.	1	0	0
Rev. P. Browne, D.D., Maynooth	1	0	0
J. J. D. (per J. M.)	1	0	0
A Few Friends (per T. F. T.)	0	7	0

	£	s.	d.
J. A. O'Loughlin	0	5	0
E. D. (per C. M. D.)	0	5	0
E. Sheehan, M.A.	1	0	0
E. O'Brien, M.A.	1	0	0
Diarmaid O'Cuadlaic	1	0	0
Eugene Ryan	0	5	0
Sean Larkin	0	10	0
Seumas O'Broia	0	5	0
W. O'Leary	0	2	6
"Ireland Over All"	0	2	6
Martin O'Dwyer, Limerick	0	5	0
An t-Athair S. Mac an t-Samhrada	1	0	0
A Few Supporters (Dublin)	0	12	6
Per Luigh Cearbhairain	1	0	0
Some Ballagh Sinn Feiners	3	10	6
Tiobruadarán	0	5	0
Two Ballybrophy Sinn Feiners	2	0	0
Eamon S. Coid, Lorcain Allain,			
Sean O'Concubair, Martain C.			
O'Morda	4	6	6
A Few Sympathisers, Tulla, Co. Clare	1	2	6
John Clarke	1	0	0
A Northern P.P.	0	10	0
A Northern C.C.	0	10	0
Mary McNeill	0	10	0
Annie MacGavock	4	10	0
A Few Greenore Workmen	3	3	0
D.	1	0	0
Cois na Muaid	0	10	0
A Few Galway Friends	7	3	0
B. J.	0	10	0
Rev. J. G. Higgins	1	0	0
A. Louth Priest	0	10	0

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## NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MAY 12th, 1917.

### LONGFORD!

Whether it be the man who risks his life, sacrifices his liberty, and breaks his fortunes in an effort to restore his country to independence and prosperity, or it be the man who risks nothing, sacrifices nothing, and makes his fortune irrespective of his country's independence or prosperity—whom a nation should trust and honour; whether Ireland be the property of England or of herself; whether there be on this earth an Irish nation equal to a Polish nation, or but an Irish province of Britain; whether the Ireland which through evil centuries clung to faith in its nationhood was self-deluded, or whether it held a true faith; whether Ireland, when now for the first time since Sarafeld sailed from Limerick, she has become a question of European concern, will yield that position to which the fortunes of war and the devotion of generations of unselfish men and women have brought her and refrain from appearing at the Peace Congress and demanding from its hands that justice and restitution Poland will obtain—will admit that her quarrel and her contest with England has been but a family broil—that she never was a nation, that when she inscribed and toasted "Ireland a Nation" she was false and foolish—these are the issues on which the election of South Longford will rest.

If the 12,000 grown men and women of South Longford—all that the British Government in Ireland has left of the 30,000 who were there 60 years ago—were the electors of Longford there would be no passing doubt of the issue, despite the hundreds of pounds spent in bribery and corruption in the constituency; and despite the bottles and stones with which a rabble hired and paid by the money of the so-called Irish Parliamentary Party has assailed the mother and the widow of men who were shot twelve months ago in Kilmainham Jail, and has left unconscious the Chairman of the Roscommon Town Commissioners, who until a few weeks ago was a prisoner in English hands. If the 12,000 men and women of

Longford were the electors of Longford the question would be only whether Joseph Mac Guinness's majority would be 3 to 1 or 4 to 1. For the people of South Longford are true to the core. The one hope of the Party marching through Longford to-day with the Union Jack as its ensign lies in bribery and Toryism in the small electorate of 3,000. It has begged the aid of the 340 Unionists of Longford to defeat Irish Nationalism, and free drink flows as in the days when Greville was carried on a wave of bribery and corruption to electoral victory over John Martin.

But we do not doubt Longford. The Party that pursues to-day in an aggravated form the policy of Sadlier and Keogh, and defames the memory of the man whom it betrayed, and the man who left it in disgust, by calling its policy of corruption the policy of Parnell and Davitt, will get a death-blow from Longford. Mr. John Dillon, who appeared in Longford on Sunday, with the Union Jack waving from his platform, told his imported audience that Sinn Féin had but one weapon in its armoury. Well, Mr. Dillon's Party has three—beer bottles for the heads of ex-Irish prisoners of war, bricks and stones for the faces of the mothers of Irishmen who died for their principles, and free drink for the rabble. These are the political arguments of the Party that styles itself constitutional. This is the "constitutional movement" Mr. Dillon implores the country to preserve. We should like his definition of physical force.

Many words have been dragged in the mire by a Party fetid with corruption—none more so than this word "constitutional"—with which a leprous Parliamentarianism seeks to cover its foul body while it shrieks that Sinn Féin is unconstitutional and insurrectionary. Parnell was a constitutionalist when he declared that he would not rest until the last link that bound Ireland to England was broken. He was a constitutionalist when he declared that if the British Empire and Irish independence conflicted then Ireland must live and let the Empire perish. Sinn Féin is as constitutional as Parnell and Grattan were when it declares that Ireland must seek and must demand her complete independence from the Peace Conference, and points out that the way now to the Peace Conference is through the electoral constituencies—through the declared voice of the people of Ireland, whose mandate must be respected by a belligerent world professedly fighting for the principle that small nations are entitled to equal rights with great Powers.

That profession Sinn Féin shall put to the test, when, with the help of the votes of the people of Ireland, it arraigns England before a constituted tribunal. England has kept Ireland for a century past in the dock, and Ireland stupefied and disorganised by a fundamentally false and craven policy falsely called constitutionalism, accepted the position and pleaded "not guilty," when it should have denied the right of its jailor and its judges to put it in the dock. Sinn Féin has taken Ireland out of the dock and taught it not to apologise nor seek to justify to its enemies its existence. And Sinn Féin intends to turn the tables and place England in the dock this time—before an unpacked jury.

That is our policy—and we shall carry it to victory over the body of a corrupt Parliamentarianism that now holds the pass for England and sells the pass on Ireland. Mr. Dillon appeals to the electors of Longford to put their faith in the English Parliament—to trust to that institution which has depopulated Longford year by year, while it increases the taxation of its people. Sinn Féin tells them to trust to themselves—and to challenge the verdict, not of England, but of the world in Congress assembled a few months hence to map the future destiny of the nations, as to Ireland's place in the new Europe. Mr. Dillon told his audience in Longford that he and his corrupt followers in Westminster had saved



Ireland from famine and conscription. What sane man believes him? Who forgets that Mr. Dillon declared recently that he had never stood upon a recruiting platform; who was foolish enough to credit Mr. Dillon's denial on Sunday that he had offered 100,000 young Irishmen to England as recruits in exchange for a fraudulent Home Rule Bill, when Mr. Dillon's offer is on record in Hansard of 29th March last? Who is foolish enough to believe now that Mr. Dillon is "helping Ireland at Westminster," when he is actually helping the English Chancellor there at present to pass his Budget, which will increase the taxation of Ireland this year by more than £6,000,000! Who is foolish enough to believe Mr. Dillon, who, in 1917, lauds Parnell and denounces Sinn Fein, when this same Mr. Dillon denounced Parnell in equal terms in 1891 as the enemy of Irish national hopes? Who is foolish enough, knowing Mr. Dillon's political history, to credit Mr. Dillon with as much political wisdom as would fit in the brain of a sparrow? Not indeed that the poor gentleman does not possibly believe what he says, for we read with some amusement while we were imprisoned by the Government Mr. Dillon supports a fulsome eulogy of ourselves made by him in the English Parliament, followed by a touching account of a cordial political and personal friendship between the Editor of this paper and Mr. Dillon which had subsisted twenty years before. It was very touching, but it had one fault. There was no word of truth in it. We had never spoken to Mr. Dillon, never met him, never communicated with him in our lives. It was a pure figment of Mr. Dillon's imagination, like his account of the achievements of the Parliamentary Party. Yet we presume he believed in the fantasy in the one case and believes it in the other.

Let the electors of Longford, therefore, give their charity to Mr. Dillon and their votes to Mr. MacGuinness, who in 1875, who went to Tipperary to support John Mitchel—a felon, like Mr. MacGuinness—would advise them were he still alive. The vote for Mr. MacGuinness is a vote for the Irish nation, and South Longford will be true to its honour, its interest, and its Nationality.

## LONGFORD'S REPRESENTATIVES

After the forcible suppression of the Irish Parliament the representation of Longford in the British Parliament was divided between the Fetherstons, Forbes and Newcomens for a generation. In 1832 after the so-called Reform Act the people obtained what they considered a victory by electing Luke White and Jas. Halpin Rorke over Viscount Forbes and Anthony Lefroy, and the subsequent elections for 10 years were battles between the Whig Catholics and the Tory Protestants—both of whom were equally indifferent to the Irish nation and equally determined on being guided by their own interests.

In 1847 Blackhall and Fox were elected as Repealers and subsequently the Grevilles divided with the Whites the representation. Except for the election of Myles O'Reilly over one of the Whites this was the state of affairs until 1874 when Errington was elected with O'Reilly as a Home Ruler. Five years later Justin MacCarthy was returned, and from 1885 Longford fell in with the rest of the country outside North-East Ulster in its electoral choice.

The representation of Longford was a stepping-stone to place and position for most of its representatives. Anthony Lefroy, for instance, was rewarded with a Judgeship; Major Blackhall was made Governor of Dominica; Luke White was made a Lord of the Treasury; Greville Nugent was given a peerage; George Errington was created a baronet, and so forth. Meanwhile the people of Longford, on whose

backs these men rode to power and affluence, withered away.

In 1832, when Catholic Emancipation opened the British Parliament to Irish Catholics, and the people thought that political salvation was to be achieved in that institution, there was a population of 113,000 in the County Longford. Grain was largely grown and sold for export, and among the industries carried on were linen manufacturing, distilling, malting, nail-making, etc. At that time the town of Ballymahon had double its present population, and was remarkable not only for its Great Fair, but for the variety of its manufacturing industries. The extraordinary decay that has happened in Longford while it continued to send members to the British Parliament in the belief that by so doing it was protecting its interests will be seen by the following table:

	Population of Longford
1831	112,000
1851	82,000
1871	64,000
1891	52,600
1911	43,800

There were 58,000 women in Longford in 1831. There are now but 21,000. There were 55,000 men in Longford in 1831. There are now but 22,000. Where did these people go to? Between 1851 and 1911, 62,000 people emigrated from the county. Why did they emigrate? Because the industries on which they subsisted were crushed out and because the land which they raised in tillage was taken from them; "consolidated" and turned into cattle-ranches; and all this while Longford elected members to the English Parliament and believed the cant that it was to that institution, whose laws destroyed its industries, turned its tilled land into grass and expatriated its people, Longford should look for protection and support.

This has been the great illusion of Irish politics. The people for 100 years have been mesmerised by the Parliament at Westminster. They have looked to it instead of relying upon themselves for their deliverance. The illusion is now being dispelled. As in the case of Hungary in 1861—Ireland in 1917 has come to see that it is not by sending members to a hostile Parliament, but by relying on their own moral strength they can secure their National rights and their economic prosperity; and Longford, by electing MacGuinness, will send a message of Irish emancipation to the world.

Mr. S. W. Maddock, J.P., of the Dublin Recruiting Committee and Unionist Alliance, prospective Unionist candidate for South Dublin, arrived in South Longford on Saturday. The "Longford Independent," the local Unionist organ, states in its current issue:—"The majority of sensible Unionists have decided to vote for Mr. McKenna, and only a few cranks with a foolish idea about injuring the Irish Party would do otherwise. Let the Protestants of South Longford remember what Sinn Fein means—ourselves alone!" We leave "the Protestants of Longford" shuddering at the fact their local newspaper discloses, and the announcement that the Sinn Feiners are "the greatest scoundrels Ireland has ever had the misfortune to suffer from!" Still it seems strange that Mr. Patrick McKenna should appear to the eyes of Protestant Longford as its Preserver. These are the headings from the Longford Tory organ last week:—

"SOUTH LONGFORD ELECTION."

"ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF NATIONALIST CANDIDATE."

"ISSUE EXPLAINED."

"PRIESTS AND PEOPLE RALLY AROUND MR. M'KENNA."

The enthusiasm of the Longford Unionists for Messrs. Redmond and Dillon's Party should interest those Longford voters who believe in Home-Rule-on-the-Statute-Book.

During the past week, says the "Kilkenny People," South Longford has been flooded with

a motley crowd of professional politicians, including twenty-five of the Four-Hundred-Pounders, paid organisers, briefless barristers on the make for a job, and all the hangers-on of an effete and rotten system. It cannot have escaped the notice of the orthodox Parliamentary politicians in Ireland that in the last ten or fifteen years, when questions of grave importance to the interests of the people—political and economic questions affecting commercial, agricultural and labour interests—were occupying public attention, it was next to impossible to secure the attendance of one of these political mountebanks at any meeting called to discuss Irish grievances. They were too busy in London doing back work for the Liberals and had no time to come to Ireland to assist in redressing Irish grievances. But when their own grievances are touched—when the sacred privileges by virtue of which they draw their salaries are menaced—the instinct of self-preservation overrides all other considerations, with the result that twenty-five of them have been quartered in the constituency in the last ten days, and will remain quartered there until, as we hope, South Longford packs them off to the National Liberal Club in London—that "temple of luxury and ease," as Parnell, the news of whose death was afterwards cheered in its marble halls, called it—or to the lobbies of the House of Commons, where for twenty years they have been slavishly doing the work of their Liberal masters and helping Mr. Lloyd-George to pass his plundering Budgets. It is but right to say that, according to our information, some Members of the Party absolutely refused to have hand, act or part in the campaign against the Irishman in Lewes prison.

On Sunday evening in Longford Town, as the motor-cars conveying the speakers for Mr. MacGuinness returned they were assailed with bricks, stones and bottles, fired by female supporters of Messrs. Dillon and Devlin, while the R.I.C. looked on. About a dozen persons were struck, including Mr. Geraghty, Chairman of the Roscommon Town Commissioners. This is how the "Daily Independent" puts it:—

"The police, who were present in large numbers, made no effort to stop the stone-throwing."

The "Irish Times," the daily organ of the Southern Unionists announces that the Redmondites have canvassed the Unionists of South Longford for their votes, and that those Unionists have decided to vote solidly for the Redmondite candidate. What the quid pro quo offered to the Longford Unionists may be we do not know, but presumably the Redmondites have bargained to hand over their seat for South County Dublin, which the sitting member is expected to soon resign, in return for the Unionist vote in Longford.

The strength of the Unionist vote in Longford we believe is three or four hundred. At the last contested election the Unionists polled 341. To buy these votes by a promise of handing over South County Dublin may be considered by the Party of Corruption good tactics; but it will recoil, as all the acts of the Party of Corruption have hitherto recoiled upon its own head.

The slander on the Committee of the National Aid Fund, insistently whispered through the country by the Redmondite Party, that the funds subscribed for the National Aid purposes were being used in elections, will now be dragged into the open. Last week one J. P. Farrell, temporary M.P. for North Longford, and proprietor of the "Longford Leader" newspaper implied in that journal that the funds of the National Aid were being used in the present election. A writ for libel has been issued against him by the National Aid, and Mr. Farrell will have the opportunity of proving his allegation or being proved an infamous libeller.

The Cork County Council has adopted a motion protesting against the gross abuse of the Press censorship in Ireland unmasked in the suppression of the Bishop of Limerick's letter, and calling on the British Government to permit its publication at once. We can at least assure the Cork County Council that it has been effectively published in South Longford.

As we go to press a day earlier than usual, this week, only subscriptions received up to Monday morning for the Election Fund are acknowledged.



[From "Irish Opinion"].

## FACTS FOR THE LONGFORD ELECTION.

As the Irish Parliamentary Party orators in South Longford are busying themselves with attempts embellished in anything but Parliamentary language, to disprove what the Party and its leader did after Easter Week of last year, we wish to set forth a few facts which we would ask the electors to bear in mind when next they are treated to "indignant" denials of incontrovertible truths.

### John Redmond and the Shootings.

In the autumn of 1915, after the imprisonment of Sean MacDermott, Sean Milroy, Herbert Pim, Denis MacCullagh, Ernest Blythe, Liam Mellows, and Alf Monaghan, Mr. John Redmond in an interview published by the New York "World" stated:

Three or four men have been imprisoned for short terms for open pro-German declarations, for which in similar cases they would have been shot in Germany.

We pass over the lie about "open pro-German declarations." We want to direct the attention of South Longford to Mr. Redmond's unmistakable inference that the British Government should have shot these men—men, be it remembered, against the majority of whom no charge was preferred save that they declined to voluntarily deport themselves from their native land.

The Longford electors should remember this when next they are told by Mr. J. P. Farrell or his colleagues that only for Mr. Redmond many more would have been executed after Easter Week.

### Sanction of Executions.

On May 3rd, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Asquith, amidst cheers in which the Irish Parliamentary Party joined, announced that that morning Padraic Pearse, Tom Clarke, and Thomas MacDonagh had been shot, and following resignation of Mr. Birrell, Mr. Redmond, in the course of his speech said:

This outbreak, happily, seems to be over. It has been dealt with with firmness. That was not only right, but it was the duty of the Government. But, as the Rebellion has been put down, I do beg of the Government not to show undue hardship or severity to the great mass of those implicated, on whose shoulders there lies a guilt far different from that of the instigators and promoters.

Following that implied sanction from Mr. Redmond twelve more men were executed in Ireland.

This statement of Mr. Redmond's was used by Mr. Asquith's Government as their justification for these twelve additional executions. When Mr. Dillon, in an attempt to relieve his Party of the stigma that their action cast upon them in Ireland, later on attacked the Government for the shooting of the leaders, Mr. Duke effectively closed him up with this reply:

When the matter was discussed in the House three days after the outbreak of the Rebellion the honourable and learned member for Waterford himself passed judgment on the criminal conduct of the men who were leaders and participants in the Rebellion. He said this—"Perhaps I ought to give expression, on behalf of my colleagues and, as I believe, the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland, of the feeling of detestation and horror with which we have regarded these proceedings." That is not receded from by the honourable and learned member for Waterford.

Let the South Longford electors remember this also when they are told that it was Mr. Redmond saved sixty or seventy more from being executed.

### The Casement Petition.

After Roger Casement had been sentenced to death a petition was organised asking for his reprieve, Mr. Doyle, the Irish-American lawyer, who at his own expense came across to look after Casement's interests, approached Mr. John Redmond with a request to sign the petition. Mr. Redmond replied:

"No, I will not sign it even if you come to me an hour before the execution."

Subsequently a Dublin lady who was in London on the same mission desired to make a similar request, and at Westminster was introduced to Mr. Redmond by one of the most dis-

tinguished and influential of living English journalists. No sooner had this gentleman mentioned his business than Mr. Redmond snapped out:

"Don't mention that man's name to me."

and, deliberately turning his back on his visitors, walked away.

Furthermore as Mr. Darrell Figgis has conclusively proved, the British Government was prepared to reprieve Roger Casement, and the governor of the prison had actually received instructions to have all ready for the purpose. All that the Government required was some member of the Irish Parliamentary Party to rise in the House of Commons on the day before the execution and formally ask for a reprieve. Not one member of the Party did so, and Casement was hanged on the following morning.

### Redmond's Foul Libel.

Immediately after Easter Week Mr. Redmond gave an interview to a Central News correspondent for transmission to the people of the United States, and that interview, cabled back to this country, was published in the "Freeman's Journal" of May 13th, 1916. Mr. Redmond in that message to America made the utterly false assertion that the Insurrection was "plotted by Germany, organised by Germany, and paid for by Germany, and was a German invasion of Ireland as brutal and cynical as that of Belgium." Proceeding, he said that if Ireland was not another Belgium with massacred priests and violated convents, it was due not to Germany, but, we take it, to that "firmness" of which he already approved with which the British Government had put down the Rising.

What do the electors of Longford think of the man who was capable of making such a statement? What is their opinion of the individual who dared to insinuate that but for the protection of British guns and British bayonets, Padraic Pearse, Tom Clarke, James Connolly, Tom MacDonagh, Joe Plunkett, Sean MacDermott, Eamonn Ceannt and their comrades, both those who died and those who were imprisoned and deported, that in fine, Joe MacGuinness, their fellow-countyman and the Nationalist Candidate, would have massacred the priests and violated the contents of Dublin and Ireland?

Let them give this foul slanderer his chance in the polling booths on Thursday next.

And in contrast to this vile accusation hurled

at his fellow-countrymen by Redmond—an Irishman—let them remember that Asquith, an Englishman and England's Premier, on information received in Ireland from General Maxwell and Dublin Castle, was compelled to admit in the British House of Commons that the Insurgents had fought a clean and gentlemanly fight.

### The German Gold Lie.

In view of Mr. Redmond's allegation about Germany, quoted above, and in view also of the fact that his henchmen, driven to the last ditch, shouted "German gold" at the Nationalist processions on Sunday, it is opportune to mention here that in his speech from the Dock, as reported in the London "Times," Roger Casement solemnly declared:

Since the Irish Rising has been mentioned I must state categorically that the Rebellion was not made in Germany, that the Rebellion was not directed from Germany, that it was not inspired from Germany, and that not one penny of German money went to finance it.

### What Mr. Dillon Favoured.

In his evidence before the Royal Commission following the Insurrection, Mr. Birrell, in reply to questions by the Chairman, Lord Hardinge, said, speaking of his consultations with Messrs. Redmond and Dillon before the Insurrection—

If there had been any proof of hostile associations with the enemy, particularly against individuals, he (Mr. Dillon), would have been in favour of prosecution.

Comment on that statement is unnecessary.

### Questions for Mr. Devlin.

The electors might ask Mr. Joseph Devlin what he said at a meeting in the Clonard Picture House, Belfast, at a Sunday meeting in the summer of 1915, and why, a few days later, Herbert Pim and Denis MacCullagh got orders from General Friend to deport themselves from Ireland, disobedience of which resulted in their arrest and imprisonment.

He might also be asked if he can state why

the delegates appointed to represent Belfast at Count Plunkett's Conference in Dublin on the 19th ult. were, the Tuesday previous, arrested, and after a few days' detention released without any charge being made against them.

### Posers for Mr. Nugent.

In the November issue of the "Catholic Bulletin" a correspondent asks will Mr. J. D. Nugent, M.P., say who was responsible for stating at a secret meeting of the Hibernians shortly after the Rising:

There were certain things about Casement, of which I know, and of which you will all know soon, of which no Christian and no Irishman could approve.

And in the Christmas Number of the same excellent publication a Glasgow Hibernian asked Mr. Nugent to say at the same time

who was the prominent representative of the A.O.H. who came over here recently and, at a specially convened meeting of Hibernians, made a statement casting the most serious reflections on the character of two Irish ladies prominently identified with the Volunteer movement in your city (Dublin). The ladies' names, the nature of the charge, and the place of residence I enclose for publication at your discretion. If these charges, which involve the Volunteer leaders whose character you have so nobly vindicated, cannot be substantiated, as most of us here feel they cannot, I think the methods of those who use secret meetings of a Catholic organisation to traduce patriotic men and women who differ with them call for public denunciation.

Five months have elapsed since then, and Mr. Nugent has not yet vouchsafed an answer. Perhaps some of the electors of South Longford might be able to drag it from him.

### Cheering the Executions.

As the Parliamentary orators in South Longford are specially vehement in their denial of the fact that they cheered the announcement of the executions, we reproduce the following letter from the "Phoenix" of February 17th last. The letter, bearing the embossed seal of the British House of Commons, and the original of which, with the blanks filled in, the editor of the "Phoenix" declares his

Pressman by a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party some time after the executions:

Dear —

The Dublin business has knocked us all clean over. We never expected anything like that. I think the Sinn Féiners were very ill-advised, and their move has only led to their own destruction and to the discrediting of our Party as representing the opinion of the country. Birrell, who was a well-meaning fellow, is very cut-up over the outbreak, but Redmond feels and looks much the worse of the two. We will have to play a very safe card from this out, so as not to estrange English opinion by any expression of sympathy or good-will with the unfortunate men under arrest. Nevertheless I cannot help thinking that many of our Party were too effusive in avowing their loyalty by the noisy manner in which they received Mr. Asquith's statement the other evening. It is all that d— fellow's fault, for if he had proceeded ahead with the Home Rule Bill, and not mind the influence behind Carson and the Curragh affair, there would be no trouble with Ulster and there would be no rebellion. I suppose there is an end to Sinn Féin now, and all that Gaelic business that used to interest you so much. I am sorry in a way, because the thing was doing some little good for native industries and teaching the people that Ireland had a history of which they need not be ashamed.—Yours, etc.,

We might quote many more examples of the attitude of the leaders and rank-and-file of the Irish Parliamentary Party towards the Irish felons of 1916—an attitude that they are in South Longford making such desperate efforts to deny—but what we have given are sufficient to show how much (?) they did to prevent the executions, and on what side their sympathies and approval lay.

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## THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

### IX.—PARNELL AND AFTER.

(Continued).

BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

[These articles were written and first published in 1913. The three years of Irish history which have elapsed render it certain that the moral they point will appeal to the whole people of Ireland to-day. Hence their republication.—A.G.]

#### Gladstone and Salisbury.

The two parties in the British state bid for Ireland's support on the basis of Ireland's terms **once Ireland's representatives ceased to be purchasable**. Had the General Election of 1885 sent back half the Irish representation of the type that all previous General Elections had sent—men seeking place for themselves or their relatives and supporters, there would have been no Home Rule Bill in 1886. The Government would have, as of yore, bought up these men—knowing that so long as there were constituencies in Ireland to elect them that the Irish people at home could not prevail against alien Government. In 1886 the Liberals were pinned to Home Rule as the first plank in their platform. They lost office, but the succeeding four years showed beyond question that they would return to power at the next election and that until Home Rule was passed into law the Liberal programme could not be proceeded with. Eighteen months before their return to office the Irish Party was disrupted. Eight months before the Liberals were in power Parnell was dead. The ostracised Irish placehunter and the banished Irish Whig crept slowly back disguised in the trappings of Home Rule across that great man's grave. After the advent to power of the Liberals in 1892, whisperings of the old hypocrisy were again faintly but persistently a Government pledged to Home Rule—why should not Home Rulers fill at least minor administrative posts under this friendly administration—why should the Tories be left in control of the administration in Ireland? Numbers of ardent Home Rulers who prior to 1886 had not been distinguishable from coercionists put these questions in a passion of virtuous patriotic indignation, and to the deception of a good many simple people who knew little of their country's history in the 19th century. And while place-hunting and place-begging in prominent professors of the Home Rule faith was not explicitly approved by the Home Rule leaders it was to an extent condoned—to the extent, at least that the appointment of some professed Home Rulers to office in the administration was represented in the Home Rule Press rather as a matter for the country to approve as tending to nationalise the administration than as a matter for the country to censure as tending to weaken the morale of the movement.

#### The Liberal Treachery of 1893.

What followed is the story of yesterday. The Home Rule Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, and the Liberal Cabinet, its nose released from the grindstone to which Parnell had held it, declined to dissolve and appeal to the country—the course which Mr. Gladstone urged, for he, however reluctantly he had taken up Home Rule, did when he was compelled to take it up, seriously design to carry it into law. With a couple of exceptions none of his colleagues were in earnest about Home Rule. They were forced into it when the old alternative of bribing the Irish representatives and debauching the Irish constituencies was rendered impossible. The gate to that alternative was again opened by the placehunters who crept back into the Home-Rule councils after the "split" and the death of Parnell. Instead of dissolving, the Liberal Ministers after the rejection of the Home Rule measure clung on to office, even though Mr. Gladstone resigned in disgust, and when they were forced to the polls two years later they were annihilated for ten years.

#### To-day.

In that ten years, emboldened by the returning power of the venal element in Irish politics, Liberalism erased Home Rule from the first place in its programme and dropped it down to the bottom among the pious aspira-

tions and counsels of perfection. In 1905 the Liberals were again returned to power and after an interval of two years proffered Ireland, not the Home Rule Bill, but a Councils' Bill. The fate of the measure decided the Government to produce at least a colourable imitation of Home Rule and the present Home Rule Bill—easily the worst of the three Home Rule Bills introduced in the last twenty-six years—is that colourable imitation.

"Where there is on one side a certain number of men willing to sell themselves, and on the other side a Government of vast resources and occasional need for the services of corrupt Irishmen, the moment when the two will come to bargain is a matter of mutual arrangement." So wrote Mr. T. P. O'Connor in the days 25 years ago when he denounced place-hunting and place-begging as the source of Irish failure in its agitations.

#### John of Tuam and Placehunting.

A movement in which these evils are tolerated is, as he then wisely observed, a movement built on sand. "As for accepting or looking for place," said the great Archbishop of Tuam who witnessed the wreck of three Nationalist movements by those who sought and accepted place for themselves or their friends, "it is out of the question to reconcile such a course with any disinterested or effective patriotism. Those have no terrors for a Minister who can be diverted by the acceptance of his favours to abandon the cause of the people. The poor refection of the pulse which the Roman General showed to the emissaries of corruption who were sent to bribe him, inspired his enemies with more fear than all the success of the Roman arms. The baseness, the apostacy, the treachery of unprincipled men, so many whose noisy eloquence resembled that of the auctioneer vociferating its real or imaginary value, in order to be knocked down to the highest bidder, have inflicted a deep wound on the cause of Ireland which will require the antidote of heroic renunciation of all private favour on the part of public men in order to restore public confidence." Sixty years ago the earnest Dr. Cane wrote that the most poisonous and effective weapon English Government held in its armoury against Ireland was the steady mass of Government patronage—"The patronage exercised by able diplomats and flowing through innumerable channels by which the rulers of this country not merely paralyse all public spirit but by a sort of machiavellian ingenuity the slaves themselves are taught as it were to forge their own chains and the number of Irishmen who walk abroad in manacles of the own manufacture is very considerable. Its real name should be bribery and corruption. . . . Before he became an aspirant for Government patronage the man had public opinions of his own and gave expression to them. But once he has dropped into his situation he becomes silent—upon all public grievances he is dumb, thenceforward he has no more public opinion on public affairs than if he were an automaton. . . . This evil—this lamentable temptation does a two-fold mischief. It buys over many an agitator whose career honestly begun ends in this depravity, while in another direction it impels schemers and scoundrels to brawl for a while about public rights and popular grievances and to do so wholly as a means to an end, to attract the attention of the authorities and to make themselves objects to be purchased. It is the giant evil—the fiend in human shape—which seats itself in Government offices, reclines upon the judgment seat, stalks through the Lords and Commons, wears clerical and military attire, riots in hundreds of legal and medical posts, pervades the army, the constabulary, the Excise, the Customs and Revenue, at home and abroad. It lives in the Universities and has vitality in the National schools of the country; it meets the aristocrat in his lordly hall and the peasant at his cabin door. It influences the farmer in his fields and the shopman at his counter; and everywhere teaches meanness and sycophancy and degrades the man down from God's likeness in which he was created to that of a crawling serpent fit only to eat and drink and die leaving his children the heritage of his slimy shame."

#### The Blood Cuilt of the Placehunter.

The legislative independence of our country was won by the arms of the Volunteers in 1782—it was sold by the placehunters in 1800—and the black history of the 19th century in Ireland—our ruined trade and commerce, our devastated countrysides, our mad sectarian feuds and factions, our shattered national life, our wholly arrested national development, our men of public spirit broken in the effort to stay the destruction of their country or con-

verted into legal felons perishing at the hangman's hands, or herded in England's prisons with the offal of English humanity—these, and more than these, the peasant who in the land of teeming food saw the fruits of his toil swept away from his board by the operation of laws made not for him but for his oppressors by a Parliament in another country where his representatives bartered his cause away for jobs for themselves or their friends and relatives—are the consequences of the traitorism of 1800. On the heads of the placehunters of that day the blood and misery of the 19th century in Ireland primarily rest. The man who sold his vote or influence in that year for place, pension, or title, sold not so much the people of his day as their children and their children's children. And since that day the placehunter in very generation has thwarted most of the efforts to abate the evil. Not consciously, but weakly, many of the leading anti-Unionists who fought so gallantly and so unselfishly to preserve the Irish Parliament, rejected the advice of Charles James Fox's Irish Secretary and coalesced with Fox when after the Union he came back to power, believing that by their support of a friendly Liberal Ministry who disliked or had affected to dislike the Union, Ireland would be served. But the Liberal in office with the Irish support, did nothing for Ireland except to bestow places, and thus the first opportunity of undoing the Union was thrown away. A quarter of a century later O'Connell returned to the British Parliament with nearly half the Irish representatives pledged to Repeal and with seven-eighths of the country behind him on the question—a country then with nearly eight millions of people against England's fifteen millions, and with France, the most powerful and dangerous of England's enemies, looking on sympathetically. The first Repeal Movement was sold by its Parliamentary representatives for "remedial measures" which remedied nothing and "Catholic appointments" which placed on the Bench men who served the English Government with all the zeal of the Unionist against Nationalist Ireland and with less of his independence of the Castle. In 1846 the second Repeal Movement was sold at the same price, and the country left a prey to the "famine" engineered out of a partial failure of a single crop—while the noblest men in the country who intervened to defend the people were deported to English convict colonies as rebels and felons. In 1853 the Union of the Northern Presbyterian and the Southern Catholic was rent and broken by the most blasphemous of all perjured placehunters who utilised the cloak of religion to betray their flesh and blood for material profit, and for another quarter of a century the Irish farmer's neck continued to be bowed to the yoke of the most villainous land code Europe in the 19th century knew. And twenty years later the Home Rule Movement was tottering to its fall—a fall which incidentally would have rivetted the collar on the neck of the Irish land serf—when Parnell appeared as a saviour and swept for the first time in the history of Ireland since her Parliament was suppressed the placehunter out of Irish public life. Then for the first time in a century was the English Government forced to discuss terms of capitulation to the Irish nation.

If the history of Ireland were known to the people as it ought to be, as it would be under an honest Government, the placehunter and the placebeggar would stand in the same class with the informer and the spy in the ranks of Irish armed resistance, with the land-grabber in the ranks of the agrarian war, and with the traitorous deserters from a nation's army on the field of battle. When Benedict Arnold in the American War of Independence went over to the English side, carrying with him knowledge of the plans and resources of his countrymen, he played no part more evil than that of the Irishman who out of the Nationalist ranks deserts to the English Government. Our opponent is not Liberal or Tory Government, it is English Government in Ireland. Our fight is not to improve the administration of the English Government in Ireland—it is to substitute it by National Government. When men plead in defence of their attornment to English Government—of their solicitation and acceptance of its favours—that it is Liberal, not Tory, that it is friendly, not unfriendly—they not only ignore the history and teaching of all Irish experience—but they surrender the whole case of the Irish Nationalist. For the basis of that case is, and can never be otherwise, that were alien Government in Ireland as good as it has been bad it would still be tyranny and denial of

(Continued on next page).



the nation's right to live and shape its own destiny. The plea that an Irishman may seek and accept the patronage of a Government which rules his country while it is irresponsible to the opinion of that country is Unionism and Unionism of the meanest type. If the Irish question be a question not of nationality but of patronage—not of establishing a Government in Ireland controlled by Ireland, but of filling the offices of foreign Government in Ireland with "men of the people"—then Ireland has been an inceptor on the world for centuries, and the long line of Irishmen from Donal O'Neill to Swift and from Swift through Grattan and Flood, the United Irishmen, Emmet, Davis, Mitchel, Duffy, Moore, and Stephens to Parnell, have preached a false doctrine and led their countrymen along a path of error—their efforts and sacrifices have been vain things.

#### National Policy.

There is a cant prevalent to-day in this country—a cant as old as the Union—which, imitating the voice of Nationalism asks—"Would you let the Garrison man the administration?" I answer, I would. It is the Garrison's place so long as Ireland is denied self-government. It is not to reform alien administration but to abolish it Irish Nationalism exists. England bought the Garrison, and its strength in time proved unequal to holding Ireland for English Government. If she can buy the leaders of the other side, she can continue to hold and govern this country from Westminster, or under a mockery of self-government. To popularise the administration of alien government in this or any other subject nation is to cut the ground from under the feet of national assertion and destroy or indefinitely delay the restoration of National Government. When an English Government professedly friendly to Ireland is in power the best service Ireland can do that Government, if that Government be sincere, is to convince it that Ireland is incorruptible—that its leaders and people are not to be swayed from their plans and object by concession and patronage—that its ranks are as strong and as unbroken in the face of a friendly Government as they are in the face of a hostile one, that between capitulation to its demand and continued forcible repression there is no mean—that as it is not to submit to submission neither is it to be bought into gilded slavery. If this friendly Government be really friendly—be truly anxious to undo some of the National wrong done to Ireland, it will rejoice in such an attitude on Ireland's part—for with strengthened hands it can turn to its indifferent or reluctant followers and say—"This people leaves us no alternative. We must settle the account."

Sixty years ago in his passionate appeal to Ireland against the treason of Sadlier and Keogh, Gavan Duffy was met with the cant of "manning the administration with friends." "Let this cant," he said, "deceive nobody in Ireland at this time of the day; no men were more thorough tools of the English Government than those who clambered into power as friends of the people." "Such men as these," said Father Quaid who stood by Duffy's side, "are stained with their country's blood." He knows nothing of Ireland who, looking at the ruin the betrayal of Ireland in 1853 to a friendly Government wrought on the unhappy farmers and labourers thinks that this was a figure of rhetoric. The trail of the Irish placehunter in Irish politics is a trail of blood and wreck. Thrice in the last century he dashed the cup from his country's lips and cast her people back into misery and despair, flinging her farmers out on the wayside or hunting them into the emigrant-ship and driving her young men into the prison cell and up on the scaffold. Parnell for the first time drove him out of Irish politics and inspired in the people true understanding and detestation of the traitor. Since the passing of Parnell he has slowly but certainly climbed back to a place in our public life under his old disguises of sympathy with the people and zeal for the Church, ready to betray and bespatter both when he has mounted on their shoulders to place, if his Governmental masters should so need his services.

#### The Tribe of Rabagas.

In the French fable of Rabagas, that violent champion of the people and declaimer against tyranny is converted by the dinners and patronage of the tyrants. The tribe of Rabagas is extended through all the countries, but nowhere has it found more dupes than in our island. In other oppressed lands it has played the part successfully once or twice, but then it has been annihilated by the very breath of popular indignation. Again and again

it revives in Ireland and imposes itself as Truth upon those whom it means to crucify that it may sit at Pilate's Table. Like the Bourbons it would often appear that Ireland learns nothing from experience. "The Catholic Placehunter," wrote Mr. T. P. O'Connor in Parnell's days when the serpent's head was bruised, "occupies the lowest place in the Inferno of the Irish Nationalist." But he has ascended again and stolen wings to disguise whence he came. In the ranks of Irish Nationalism there have been, and possibly always will be, differences of degree and method, but these differences would matter little to the ultimate achievement of the main object—self-government, if the working principles upon which Nationalism are based were always adhered to. First of these principles is that which declares the Nationalist who seeks favours from the English Government, while England denies this country its own Government is as a deserter in the face of the enemy, as a traitor in council, and that he must be treated as such. Preserve that working principle and whatever hardships Ireland may have to undergo, self-government is ultimately certain. No Government can permanently keep a nation in subjection by force alone. The wages of corruption must supplement forcible repression. "Until," said John Mitchel in 1847, "we have an Irish legislature I shall be irreconcilably disaffected towards the Government of this country: I shall excite disaffection in others, and deem it a sacred duty to rear up my children in that sentiment." Mitchel was true to his word. Had all Irishmen who professed Nationalism been equally true, placehunting and placebeggings would have been killed fifty years ago and the Irish legislature that Mitchel spoke of would long since have come into being.

#### Left and Right.

John Francis Maguire—who represented another phase of Irish Nationalism—in his last years, when it was represented to him that he had kept all the pledges he had given his constituents—that the Church Act and Land Act had become law and that a friendly Government was in power willing to do more for Ireland, and that now he, John Francis Maguire, a comparatively poor man, could honourably accept the lucrative office the Government was offering him, replied—"That it was true he was a poor man, that the future of his family had caused him anxiety, and that it was true that all the specific pledges given his constituents he had fulfilled, and that it was true that a 'friendly Government' was in power; but yet he would accept no place from that 'friendly Government'—for the principle remained unaltered." The common bond between Mitchel on the Left and Maguire at the Right of the Irish Nationalist body was a realisation of the placehunter as the deadliest enemy—refusal to make personal terms with the alien Government of this country. Across the space of sixty years comes the echo of the warning voice of Maguire at Drogheda when Catholic and Protestant stood together in common cause on the banks of the Boyne—"Let us strongly set our foot on the monster of placebeggings. I tell you that by encouraging such a base system of traffic you proclaim that National slavery and class injury shall be perpetual. In God's name tread the reptile to the dust."

Of all hallucinations that is the most insane which inveigles a people to believe that by seeking and accepting the price of corruption it can purchase its liberty. The Placemen whom a friendly Government has bought out from the Nationalist ranks never have resigned and never will resign their office when the "friendly Government" plays Ireland false, or when, overthrown, a hostile Government succeeds. They have covenanted not to serve Liberal or Tory but serve alien Government in Ireland, and the breach of the covenant involves their own destruction. The popular administrators appointed by the Liberal Government in Ireland remain the faithful backs of their Tory successors—lending their knowledge of Nationalist means, resources, character, and genius to their employers to foil Nationalist power. The generation which permits itself to be allured by the specious tongues of the sons of Rabagas to believe that the greatest of modern Irish political leaders, Charles Stewart Parnell, lacked wisdom when he said to the people of Ireland thirty years ago—"The man who goes into Parliament or who out of Parliament seeks to obtain from the Government any situation cannot possibly be independent of that Government,"—that generation will see its hopes blasted and the country Parnell led to the verge of success thrown

back into the state of political impotence in which he found it, and out of which with his heel on those who have since trafficked in its interest and its honour he raised it to the strength of a state to which the most powerful of the statesmen of modern England offered self-government as the price of peace.

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