

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. 1. No. 18. (New Series).

SATURDAY, JUNE 16th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

When in June, 1915, Sinn Fein put forward as the true immediate objective of the Irish nation appeal to the Peace Conference the Irish Parliamentary Party shook with sneering laughter and its Press chuckled sarcastically—so morally degraded had that Party become and so steeped in slavery was its Press that a proposal that this ancient nation should dare to claim a hearing from the Conference which must meet to determine the results of a war ostensibly waged to defend and assert the right of each small nation to live its own life in freedom was to it but food for mirth. All manhood, all trace of national self-respect, it was then evident to us had vanished from the hearts of the men who in the English Parliament affected to speak for Ireland—and in the two years that have since elapsed Ireland has realised that fact. To-day we announce the conversion of Mr. John Dillon.

Mr. John Dillon writes to state the more the Peace Conference is discussed in Ireland, the more he will be pleased. Henceforth Mr. Dillon will derive considerable pleasure from his weekly copy of "Nationality." Mr. Dillon now believes that "undoubtedly" the Irish question has become an international one, and that none can doubt, unless the Irish question is settled meanwhile, it will be considered at the Peace Conference meeting. If Mr. Dillon had succeeded in electing his candidates in Roscommon and Longford, this would not have been said—but he accepts the accomplished fact. The difficulty that now troubles him is the question of the delegates—how they shall be selected, and how they shall agree upon the nature of Ireland's claim. "That rival Irish delegations with conflicting claims should demand admission to a world Conference of this character would be a disaster to Ireland of the direst nature," writes Mr. Dillon. But he can calm his soul. There can be no such disaster. The whole people of Ireland will be invited to choose the delegation and vote their claim—so that there will be no rival delegation and no rival claims. We trust this will calm Mr. Dillon's only remaining fears about Ireland and the Peace Conference.

The proposals of M. Kerensky, the present Russian leader, for the conclusion of peace, are as follows:—

- (1) On a fixed day all military operations on land are to cease: the position at sea remains unchanged.
- (2) The old map of Europe is to serve as a basis of the new frontiers.
- (3) Each belligerent State has the right to lay claim to certain frontier districts which before the war were in foreign possession.
- (4) The population of the frontier districts may express the wish to form an independent State, and may lay claim to certain territories of the belligerent State—this declaration will be taken into consideration when at least ten per cent. of the adult population supports it.
- (5) In cases (3) and (4) the Peace Conference is to take steps to carry out a plebiscite on the basis of universal secret and equal voting within a fixed time-limit. The result of the plebiscite under the supervision of both parties and of the population indicates the final decision of the question.
- (6) A fund shall be created of about 25 milliards of marks for the restoration of the devastated districts. The belligerents will contribute to this fund in proportion to their expenditure on the war. The fund will be distributed among the populations concerned in accordance with the ascertainable amount of damage they have suffered.

Under the heading of "frontier districts"

"small nations" are included, as the expression is used to cover the difficulties in the case of Belgium, Serbia, etc. Kerensky's proposals, therefore, mean that a vote of ten per cent. of the adult population of Ireland would be considered by Russia to justify the Peace Conference seeking an Irish plebiscite on the future government of Ireland. Kerensky's proposal was that substantially made by Sinn Fein when it laid down as a condition for its entry into the Convention proposed by Lloyd-George that the delegates should be elected by the adult vote of Ireland, and that the decision of the majority be accepted and ratified. England's rejection of these proposals will now form one of the strongest points in Ireland's case when it is presented to the Congress of the Powers.

South Dublin and East Clare have both become vacant constituencies. In the former seat there is a small Unionist majority on the register, and the Parliamentarians and the Unionists are understood to be in negotiation for a union against Sinn Fein. Meanwhile we wait and see. In East Clare a convention will be held on to-morrow (Friday) to select the Sinn Fein candidate. The voice of Connaught has spoken through Roscommon; the voice of Leinster through Longford; the voice of Munster will speak a few weeks hence through East Clare the same message—"To the Peace Conference."

"It is impossible to see the history of Ireland without being forcibly struck with the parallel of Hungary." The parallel persisted up to 50 years ago, when Hungary won out on her Sinn Fein policy; but we are glad to see that Hungary is alive to Ireland's position to-day. Dr. Kunfi, one of the Hungarian delegates to Stockholm, has just declared that the problem of Ireland must be considered at the Peace Conference.

The campaign for East Clare opened with a public meeting in Barefield Parish on Sunday, Fr. Scanlan, P.P., presiding. The Rev. Chairman said that to follow the example of South Longford and North Roscommon was worth 10,000 speeches.

Forty years ago an English Lord Lieutenant in this country boasted that he had driven discontent beneath the surface. In the end it exploded and blew him to political fragments. His successor has started to drive the discontent at the treatment of Irish political prisoners beneath the surface. A meeting called for the purpose of protest against the treatment of the men in Lewes was forcibly suppressed on Sunday last, and Count Plunkett and Mr. Cathal Brugha were arrested and are now at Arbour Hill, while the Government is raking up its mind what to charge them with. In the disturbance which followed a police officer was struck with a stick and subsequently died. Had the meeting been permitted there would have been no disturbance, no arrests, and the unfortunate policeman would be alive. The history of the policy of "driving discontent beneath the surface" has no lesson for the regime which rules in Ireland to-day.

On Sunday last the Town Hall of Kilkenny was crowded with delegates from all parts of the county, who met under the presidency of Mr. E. T. Keane to arrange for the organisation of the county on Sinn Fein lines. Mr. Arthur Griffith addressed the delegates, and after speeches from Father Delahunty, C.C.; Alderman Purcell, and others, arrangements were completed by which, within the next few weeks, all Kilkenny will be studded with Sinn Fein clubs.

The conviction of Mr. J. O'Sheehan for displaying a revolver in defence of the ladies of his concert company in Loughrea when they were attacked by the local Duffyite mob has been affirmed by County Court Judge Robert Doyle. Mr. O'Sheehan, the victim of an outrage denounced from the pulpit by His Lordship the Bishop of Clonfert and by Fr. O'Neill, who let the hall to the concert party, goes to two months' hard labour. The hired ruffians who struck him, assaulted the members of his company, and menaced the lives of the women, are walking around Loughrea smiled on by the local Constabulary officers. This case is the most scandalous that has yet occurred in a country where law and justice are seldom found in the same court.

The "Freeman's Journal," replying to the Bishop of Limerick, declared last week that the lying article upon his lordship which appeared in its columns over the signature of "Faith and Fatherland" was a genuine letter to the editor from a "bona-fide correspondent." We invite the "Freeman's Journal" to deny that that "letter" was written by one of its ex-editors, the notorious placehunter George McSweeney, the disappointed candidate for the Solicitor-Generalship—that this person McSweeney is the principal contributor of such "letters" to its columns, and that he is in constant communication with the "Freeman" Office as to the nature of the "letters" he shall write?

Mr. McKenna, the person who opposed an Irish political prisoner's candidature in Longford, is having a busy time preserving the Catholic Church from the mischief being wrought to it by old bishops and young priests. Mr. McKenna, whose business is buying and selling pigs, is receiving queries "from all parts of Ireland" about the Archbishop of Dublin's letter, and the trouble entailed on him must be considerable, through the action of His Grace and the Bishop of Limerick, whom Mr. McKenna witheringly refers to as "men calling themselves Irishmen"—they, of course, being really persons of some other nationality. It pains Mr. McKenna, whose chaste and temperate language is characteristic of the business to which he belongs, and which nature fitted him for, morally and intellectually—but he has to condemn the Bishop of Limerick as a scurrilous person, and to correct his theology. Some pig dealers spend their leisure time in less weighty pursuits, but we take it from Mr. McKenna's exposition of Dr. O'Dwyer's theological unsoundness that his leisure moments are devoted to the study of divinity. Mr. McKenna, we regret to say, was much troubled with a vision of bogus priests canvassing against him during his attempt to help the English Government by defeating an Irish political prisoner in South Longford; but so long as he was not afflicted by visions of snakes there is probably no permanent harm done.

Father O'Connor, C.C., one of four McKennaite clergymen who distinguished themselves by their language and conduct during the election, said that "unfortunately he could corroborate Mr. McKenna when he said that bogus priests canvassed on behalf of our opponents." Father O'Connor knows he can do nothing of the kind. Father O'Connor knows that one of the deportees who succeeded in getting to Longford disguised as a clergyman—as John Dillon's father disguised himself in order to escape in 1848—believing him a gentleman, acquainted him with the fact of who he was. He knows that it was from this the monstrous falsehood of the "bogus priests" was invented.

Monsignor Ryan, Scarteen, who distinguished himself at the Home Rule Convention, held under the domination of Mr. Nugent's baton men, by warning the delegates who had amendments in their pockets "to keep them there," who afterwards beat the recruiting drum in Tipperary, and who referred to Sinn Feiners as "noxious weeds," delivered a discourse on intemperate language at an U.I.L. meeting last week. The Monsignor, with whom was associated Mr. John Cullinane, the temporary M.P. for the division, deplored the use of scurrilous language, and urged his hearers to remember that everyone who differed from them was not a knave or a fool—he did not add "a noxious weed." As "a judge of literary and journalistic eloquence," he gave the palm to the "Freeman's Journal," and advised them to read it. As this is the journal which referred in its evening edition to Edward Thomas, Lord Bishop of Limerick, as the "Rev. Edward Thomas"—a stupid insult that the lowest Orange organ published in Ireland would not be indecent enough to stoop to—Monsignor Ryan as a "judge of literary and journalistic eloquence" might say whether he regards calling a Catholic Bishop the "Rev. Edward Thomas" or calling a Sinn Feiner "a noxious weed" the more eloquent.

M. Viviani, the French Minister, and late Chief of the Grand Orient, is undoubtedly an eloquent man. The phrase in which, referring to the successful operation of his law for the removal of the Crucifix from the schools of France, he boasted he had "put out the lights of Heaven"—was picturesque, and his speech to the Canadian Parliament is described by the "Daily Gazette" of Montreal as making him perhaps "the master orator of the world." "He poured forth his heart" and "thrilled even the septuagenarian." "Women, shaken by sobs, rose and waved their handkerchiefs. All Parliamentary decorum was forgotten. One member enthusiastically exclaimed: 'Viviani could sweep Quebec against the Pope himself!'" This, however, was an exaggeration. From the latest advices it appears that Quebec still prefers the Pope to the Grand Orient.

M. Viviani has a particular interest for us, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and on the left by Mr. J. D. Nugent, M.P., and sustained in the rear by Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P.; Mr. J. T. Donovan, M.P.; Mr. Hanna, Private Secretary to Mr. John Redmond, and other lights of the Parliamentary Party. The Entente Cordiale established between Mr. Redmond's Party and the eloquent orator of the Grand Orient in 1915 was marked by the publication of this photograph in Paris, and although the Party has so often rejected our advice that we dare scarcely hope it will take it this time, we suggest to it that in its present bad circumstances it could not do better than ask M. Viviani to come over here and deliver a few of his eloquent addresses on its behalf. We should be glad to listen to him extolling the matchless services of his political friends and allies in South Dublin or East Clare.

Alderman Jinks, of Sligo, whose exploits on the recruiting platform some time ago made his name and fame familiar, has addressed the following letter to the Sligo Board of Guardians:—

Dear Sir,—As you are aware, the position of Relieving Officer for the Sligo District is becoming vacant by reason of the resignation of Mr. Siberry. I am putting forward my son for the position, and I feel that I can look with confidence to the sympathetic support and influence of my colleagues on the Sligo Board of Guardians. My son is thoroughly qualified for the post, and, as he is well known to you all, I have little doubt that he will receive your support in his present canvass. I trust that I will receive your vote in his favour on the day of the election, and on his part I can assure you that no effort will be spared by him to carry out the duties of R.O. to your satisfaction, and to that of the ratepayers. I thank you in anticipation for your vote, which I will regard as another instance of the many personal favours already accorded to me by my colleagues on the Sligo Board of Guardians. Again thanking you for your support.—I beg to remain Yours sincerely,

J. JINKS (Ald.).

Alderman Jinks asks for the election of his son to a public position as "a personal favour."

Men are not elected to representative positions to solicit personal favours, but to discharge a public trust. Perhaps the Alderman who seeks "personal favours" from public bodies, and who a little while ago was calling on the young men of Sligo to join the English army, will explain why he seeks for his son, instead of a khaki uniform, the position of a Sligo rate-collector?

A general attack has begun on all our principal industries. England is mobilising her trade forces to crush out our brewing and malt industries, bacon curing, woollens, and other branches of enterprise in this country. It is probably true that many of her own industries not essential for the war are being crushed out, and that, with her usual shopkeeper intolerance, she cannot see why our industries, too, should not be obliterated. This attitude of mind is well illustrated by what has occurred in the case of the woollen trade. The recent Woollen Order curtailing the working hours per week applies to all mills in Ireland as well as in Britain, though there is no manufacturing reason why this should be. The Irish factories are not sufficiently numerous to meet our own requirements. As a leading mill-owner stated, "If we do not get a larger allowance of working hours per week the result will be that our workers will starve." There, again, we find the demon of industrial conscription at work. All through these restrictions will be discerned the aim of disemployment, so as to force our workers out of the country by starvation, so as to secure labour to replace the men England sends to the front to "fight for the small nations."

The bulk of the work now done in the British factories is for the clothing of troops. All orders for this purpose are sent from the British Government and the Allies through the Bradford Central Control, and on this Board the Irish trade had one solitary representative. The English members, of course, objected to Ireland being exempted from the Order, and thus it happens that thousands may be forced to leave the country without any reason at all except to please the trade in England. There are, we are told, 100 labourers leaving Dublin every week for England, and it is probable that when the restrictions are in full working

The industry also is hit another way by the restrictions on the raw material. On this subject a curious statement was made by T. W. Russell at the Technical Congress. He said that twelve months ago the woollen industry, so far as the collection and the sale of wool was concerned, was handed over to the War Office, who established a special Committee to deal with it, and on that Committee the Department was guiding the War Office in its selection. Whatever had gone wrong, the Department was not responsible for the wool question. **It had been taken out of their hands and worked from London.** This statement we accept. It tallies with the removal of the Unemployment Register from Dublin to London. The scheme to strip this country of its man-power and force it to work abroad for war purposes is proceeding according to plan. It is a fixed law in the War Office that no aid or encouragement should be given to any Irish industry outside of Belfast and a few districts with which England cannot compete, and it is noteworthy that the oft promised facility of a receiving depot has been repeatedly postponed and evaded.

It is a singular fact that since the war the English manufacturers have increased their sales in the Irish market, and have sent in larger quantities of blankets than ever before, though we should think they have sufficiently "warm business" elsewhere. The Irish woollen export trade has in spite of this made even greater progress than the English in their imports, and it is the progress of our manufacturers that has prompted their competitors to unload their disabilities on us. For the first time on record our exports of woollens exceeded a million sterling in 1915, being an increase of fifty-five per cent. over the previous year, while British imports increased by only forty-one per cent. to £1,297,000. It is clear that we could make all our own woollens and that the importation of British woollens is an "undesirable industry. If British industry is restricted so that the manufacturers cannot supply our markets, what excuse can there be for preventing the Irish manufacturers from supplying the Irish market? If England is committing suicide, why should we be compelled to adopt lari-kari? We await with interest the ex-

planation of this extraordinary state of affairs, as given by the bureaucracy, whether the English manufacturers are getting the kicks and passing them on to us, and whether the Irish manufacturers will kick back.

The latest rumour at the time of writing is that English State control of the breweries and liquor trade is now decided on. Breweries and publichouses considered unnecessary are to be closed, and it is rumoured are to be compensated at the rate of 30s. per barrel of estimated output. A much lighter beer is to be brewed. Such undoubtedly is the trend of events in England, but it is not expected that any complete transfer of ownership to the Government will take legislative shape until after the war. It is not stated if this scheme of State ownership will extend to Ireland, but there can be no doubt that our industry is very gravely threatened with total extinction. If the present restrictions continue and if the reduction of gravity takes place and is enforced in Ireland there will be no ownership to be transferred after the war. Ireland has received none of the profits of the war. We have no great development of chemical trades, no new factories, no expansion of mining and metallurgy, no orgy of bureaucratic palaces, no enormous shipping profits, no introduction of key industries, no disbursement of colossal war loans, no diamonds, pianos and gold bangles for our poor workers' wives, no hotels for munition employes, no wave of Government contracts to fertilise the land. But there is one thing they never fail to send us, and that is a Restriction Order. We are to have all the kicks duly shot over, but no halfpence.

The present attack on the breweries is the second since the war started, and there is reason to believe that aggressive and destructive legislation of this character is not purely instigated by an interest in our social welfare, but is inspired by rival interests in England. The proposal to lower the gravity of beer is directly aimed at this country. It is nothing short of an attempt to filch the industry from us and to substitute British for Irish beer, brown and black. The allied trades of malting and barley-growing would be ruined, and immense sums of money lost in Wexford, Leix, and other Midland counties as well as Dublin, Cork, and other centres. Dublin stout has gained a reputation all over the world for its purity and strength, due to the use of the best materials. English brewers, on the other hand, watered down their inferior beers to a low gravity, and moreover used many substitutes for malt. It is now proposed to make us hewers of wood and brewers of water. The great export trade in barrels and cases from the Port of Dublin, circulating all over the world, is to be stopped by a ukase from some irresponsible Government official living in an hotel on the banks of the Thames, and the greatest business of its kind in the world is to be wiped out as effectively as if it were bombarded by a 17-inch battery. This is the latest orientation of British war policy in Ireland.

The area affected by these restrictions is very great, and scores of thousands of people are threatened as effectively as in the days of the great clearances and the evictions of 70 years ago. Yet the restrictions are not due to war necessity. They will not help England to win anything or to gain anything, but are caused by the unparalleled confusion of crowds of Bourbon bureaucrats, who do not know where they are going or what they are doing, and who are throwing both countries into the seething pot of hell broth.

There is considerable activity in coal mining circles in Ireland and many old pits have been re-opened, and some new ones are being sunk. The latest fields to receive attention are those of Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan, which were worked sixty years ago. Pumping machinery has been installed and good progress has been made in clearing the old pit of water. It is interesting to note the statement of the "Anglo-Celt" that they submitted information fifteen years ago to the Department's mining "experts," one of whom expressed the belief that there could not be coal at Kilnaleck! This does not surprise us. The probability is that the Department knows as much about mining as it does about agriculture and takes refuge in negative assertions which it is difficult to disprove. By the way, there are no mining experts on the staff as far as we are aware. It is only fair to state, however, that the officials of the Department are anxious to do their best, but they have been hampered from the first by English trade jealousy, and that they have no real power to

develop the industries of this country. There is no enabling legislation, and even where they have executive power they are subject to the "Clutching Hand." Recent instances were given from a source in touch with the Cabinet, and we have heard one instance on the best authority, where the Department was entirely blocked in its scheme to develop the peat industry. The lines adopted were those which have been successful and profitable on the Continent. But the late Lord Londonderry, who was in the Cabinet, interfered and compelled the scheme to be dropped. We need hardly say that Londonderry was acting in the coal interests, of which he was one of the leading representatives. We have no doubt but that the Department would do most useful and valuable work if it was paid and controlled by an Irish Government belonging to the Irish people. But the Department does not belong to us. We pay for it, but we don't pay it; and it must not promote schemes in competition with England. Its paymasters are its taskmasters. It is a significant fact that the plans of every known mine in Ireland are kept in London, and cannot be obtained from or seen at the Department. The object of this is evident, seeing that no effort is made to work our mines with British capital. It is to hide their existence from the knowledge of the world.

There is a plucky effort being made to develop the Castlecomer Collieries in spite of the depressing failure of the railways to give a connection. The policy of the "Clutching Hand" has extended its evil and belittling influence to the railways, which are always more or less controlled establishments, that is to say controlled in the sense of held in check. The industrial development of our country is held up more effectively by the refusal of transportation than by any other means that could be devised. There is a technical reason for this. The cost of sinking shafts and raising the coal must be recouped by the output, which is limited by the amount which can be dispatched daily from the pit-head. The tonnage from Castlecomer has to be carted daily a distance of twelve miles or more to the rail-heads, and when the difficulty of securing labour, horses, and carts to convey the coal that distance, when the carts have to come back empty, and when the time taken is practically a horse-load per day per man, it is readily seen that the output which can be handled is very limited, and what is worse the cost is more than the expense of raising the coal in normal times. Let us suppose that only one hundred tons of coal can be carted to rail daily. It is evident that this is the limit of output, and any financial expenditure must be based on the probable profits as calculated from this output, and consequently the amount of capital which can be employed in Irish coal mining is very limited, as this is the case of all the fields in Ireland, where none of them are connected by rail. Before the coal reaches the railway at Kilkenny the cartage alone is ten shillings, and then there is the railway freight to be added. In the case of the South Dublin Union, which gave a contract for it some years ago, it cost more to bring up and deliver the coal than to pay for it at the contract price. The result was, of course, that the next contract went over-channel, and Englishmen "can't understand why we don't develop our country." A rail connection at the pit-head would revolutionise the industry. At least a thousand tons a day could be handled by rail for every hundred by cart, and the cost would be merely a fraction. Moreover, the men now employed in cartage, and wasting the whole day on the road to Ballyragget or Kilkenny, could be employed in the mines and large numbers of colliers could be brought to their work daily from a radius of twenty miles, thus rendering the existing supply of labour many times greater and directly increasing the output in proportion. Yet the railway company has always refused to extend these facilities. There are twenty thousand tons of coal imported yearly into Kilkenny via Waterford over the railway, and the company preferred to hold on to this traffic and carry English coal rather than help the Irish coal mines to send ten or twenty times that quantity over its system. Of the many instru-

ments for the repression of industry in Ireland the railways are the most scientific.

We have before us a statement issued by the Castlecomer Collieries, from which we learn some very important facts which should be known to all. The Royal Commission on Coal Supply estimated the coal **still to be worked** in the Leinster coalfields at one hundred and eighty million (180) tons. For the past ten years the average annual output of the Castlecomer Collieries has been 60,000 tons. At this rate we calculate that it would take the biblical period of 3,000 years to run out of Kilkenny diamonds. But we cannot afford to wait that length of time. We want to see the process speeded up and the "Clutching Hand" yanked off. We want to see men attack the Skehana seam, which is not at present being worked, for lack of transportation. We are also informed and we are glad to hear it confirmed from other sources, that this coal, especially the Skehana seam, "is of very high quality, and is equal, if not superior, to the best Welsh Anthracite." It is good to be told these things by people who do not brag, and who err on the side of modesty certainly, seeing that it took them generations to come out and bow to the public in the Press. It is never too late to advertise.

The fortnightly output at Castlecomer at present averages 2,500 tons. We are further told that if a railway were built to connect these collieries with the main line of railway with Kilkenny the output could shortly be increased to ten thousand tons per fortnight. This statement is well founded, as we have shown when we have shown the disadvantages, loss of time and waste of labour in cartage. The output of a mine could certainly be increased five-fold by making a rail connection to the pit-mouth, and there can be no question that it could be sold. The County Roscommon people are at present paying 70s. a ton for coal. This is a stiff tax in favour of a British commodity.

The fact emerges that the railway company refused a practically assured Irish traffic of three hundred thousand tons a year in favour of a paltry British traffic of twenty thousand tons. This fact requires more explanation than has hitherto been accorded. In order to give some reason other than the true one, we Irish were brought up on the myth that there was no coal in Ireland, and when that myth was exploded by the Royal Commission another one had to be invented. This latter myth consisted in the not very scientific allegation that Irish coal would not burn. People then began to ask why God made Irish coal at all; and enquiries began to be made as to what sort of stuff it was. The pursuit of geology further led to the revelation that the stratification of the Kilkenny carboniferous area was identical with the Welsh fields, and that the coal beds probably lie under the Irish Channel. The celebrated Welsh Anthracite district is in reality an extension of the Kilkenny coal area, so that it is nonsense to allege it is not suitable for fuel. We quote here an extract from a well informed article which appears in the "Irish Independent," in which it is stated that:—

"It should be added that, contrary to prejudiced statements, Anthracite is a first-class coal for the home. In the region covered by the coalfields in Co. Kilkenny **it is used exclusively, with the most satisfactory results, and indeed it has only to be given a trial to be duly appreciated.**"

The chapter of the boycott of our great national coalfield by the Great Southern Railway is the most instructive in modern Irish history. It shows most clearly the forces at work to keep the country in a state of economic slavery. But the rail facilities demanded cannot be long delayed, and we shall soon have the home fires burning all over Ireland. What we want is not a connection with England, but a connection with ourselves.

Notice of the following question was given in the English House of Commons by Mr. Ginnell on Saturday

Mr. Ginnell to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department for what alleged offence, if any, 121 starved and suffering Irish political prisoners at Lewes, under sentences of secret courts-martial, have, without investigation of any charge, been deprived of visits and correspondence, kept in solitary confinement in locked and unventilated cells for more than a week in hot weather, not even allowed to attend Mass on Sunday, then transferred to places unknown, handcuffed and chained in groups, no communication sent or allowed to be sent to their relatives; whether there is any law or precedent in this or any other country for this wholesale tyranny without any investigation; on what pretext were all those cells kept so long unventilated in this hot weather; can he name any sanitary authority willing to accept responsibility for sanctioning that atrocity; on what pretext was the right to attend religious service on Sunday denied; on what pretext was the indignity of chains added to that of handcuffs; why was not this relaxed while passing through public places in England; was it feared that even the English populace, ashamed of their Government, would attempt rescue; on what pretext has the destination of the chained groups of political prisoners been kept secret; where are they now; are they in solitary confinement in unventilated cells and not allowed to attend their religious duties; whether an immediate investigation of this whole matter by independent representatives of Neutral or Allied Governments will be instituted; and, if not, whether authentic statements of the whole matter will be allowed to reach those Governments either through the post or through duly accredited representatives of the Irish people?—(Monday 11th June).

In reply, Sir George Cave said:—Evidence of an intended outbreak was obtained from written communications which passed between the prisoners. A large number of them on being asked if they would proceed to chapel in an orderly and quiet manner refused to give a promise. They were thereupon confined and subsequently refused to work. Sir G. Cave denied that the prisoners were confined in unventilated cells, and therefore there was no reason to call in outside advice.

On Monday, June 18th, at the Irish Theatre, Hardwicke Street, Edward Martyn's three-act play "Grangeolman" will be produced, together with John McDonagh's one-act comedy "Author! Author!" for six nights, at 8.15 p.m., and matinee Saturday at 2.30 p.m.

The annual sports in aid of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Benevolent Fund is announced, and will be held at the Mardyke, Cork, on Tuesday afternoon, June 26th. The object is a deserving one, the prizes are valuable, indeed much above the average and consist of trophies presented by many well-known citizens. A detailed programme appears elsewhere in this issue.

Intending students of the O'Curry College are reminded that places should now be booked as the accommodation in the College itself is this year in great demand. The terms are exceptionally reasonable, and an ideal holiday can be spent in Carrigaholt at what would be considered pre-war rates in other holiday resorts. The class-rooms are bright and airy, several improvements have been made, and the teaching staff is all that could be desired. The first session opens on July 9th, and students should book their places now. Copies of the Clar can be had on application to Brian O hUiginn, Resident Secretary.

As will be seen from our advertising columns, the Connacht College, Tourmakeady, opens on the 1st July. Few, if any, of the many Gaelic Colleges have done better work for our native language than it. Pearse and MacDermot and MacNeill and many others spoke time and again of the good influence of the work done there for education and nationality. Any of our readers who wish to improve their knowledge of the mother tongue will get a hearty céud míle fáilte there. Padraic O'Donnallain, who has done so much for real nationality in his native province, is, as heretofore, at the helm, and, with an earnest and able staff, will, we feel sure, add another to the many excellent records of the College.

Sinn Fein Tricolour Badges, Novelties, &c.

Trade only Supplied. Ten Days' Special Offer: 2/6 worth of samples for 1/3.

THE GAELIC PRESS,

General Printers, Publishers,
Wholesale Newsagents and
Stationers.

30 Up, Liffey St., Dublin.

Phone
78

Quick Selling Lines from 1d.
to 6d. Latest and Best.

Old Sinn Féin Shop

gives below a small selection from the varied stock:

1-6 Shamrock set with green, white and orange buttons, set with a gold-plated safety pin.

Small neat photos, covered with celluloid, of any of the Leaders, price 3d. each, by post 4d.

ed. Rosary Beads in the Irish Colours, by post 7d. (green, white and orange); Irish Crochet bags to match, 8d. extra.

7-6 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beautifully enamelled in green, white and orange.

3-6 Silver 1916 Pike—3½ inches long in form of the

old English Farney Match Box, with two pictures of the leader's face—a very useful present.

3-6 Solid Silver Irish Trade Mark Brooch, gold plated; large size 4/6, post free.

2- Volunteer Silver Brooch—crossed rifles, harp and letters "I.V."—same design as pendant for watch chain.

1-5 Cap Badge as used by the Dublin Volunteers, in gold or silver colour—same badge mounted on safety pin for brooch, 2/6.

2-6 Irish-made Knives, with green, white and orange side stripes, strongly made in black or white.

2-6 Irish Flags—12 inches by 20, post free, 2/6; smaller sizes, 1/6, post free.

The Soldier's Song Full Musical Score and Pianoforte Accompaniment. Correct and original version of both words and music. 1/-; by post 1/1.

Beautiful Picture of Emmet, with his complete Speech at Trial, surrounded with pretty and suitable design; best paper; size 50in. by 22in., post free 1/-, published at 2/6.

2-6 Irish Poplin Ties in the Irish Colours (green, white and orange).

"After the Bombardment"—celebrated Plate of the destruction of O'Connell Street, last Easter Week. 1/6, by post 1/2.

10 MEMORIAL CARDS with full list of names. Finely printed on good card, suitable for framing. Smaller set in four pages for prayer book, post free 3d. each.

2-6 above Memorial Card, in beautiful fret work frame. Complete post free, 3/1.

7-6 Silver Bracelet, with word "Erin" in large letters.

2- Gold-plated engraved "I.V." Buttons, mounted on strong safety pin.

5d. Small "I.V." Brass Buttons, suitably mounted for the pin.

Darrell FICKE's new book, "A Chronicle of Jails," just out. Price 1/6, by post 1/2.

Memories of the Dead, or short sketches of the heroic leaders, 4d., by post 5d.

James Connolly, a study of his work and worth, post free 5d.

James Connolly's Book, containing "The Recognition of Ireland" and "Labour in Irish History," 4/4 post free.

The Graves of Kilmaina—a story of '67 by Canon Sheehan. Post free, 5/5.

Portraits of the Leaders of the Easter Rising—beautiful half-tone photos—size 2½ x 16 ins., suitable for framing. Post free 1/- each. Playing cards—designed and drawn on stone by Irish Artists. Celtic designs—Irish Kings and Queens. 1/6, by post 1/6.

A Rosary of Song—A beautiful book of Devotional Poems, by Brian O'Riada, with 60 full-page Pictures on art paper—Preface by Cardinal Logue—very pretty blue cloth binding. 2/6, by post 3/6.

Fun of the Forge—Humorous short stories, in Brian O'Higgins' best style—laughter on every page—good, strong, artistically designed cover 1/-; by post 1/2.

In Dark and Evil Days (Story of '09)—By Fr. Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A. 3/6, by post 3/10.

A Swordsman of the Brigade—a very fine historical romance, by Michael O'Hara, who was executed at Kilmannham Jail, May, 1916. 3/6, by post 3/9.

Clor na hOile—By Brian na hAnbhan. A beautiful illustrated book of Verse in the simplest of Irish, and delightful pictures by Michael O'Keefe. 1/5, by post 1/2.

SIOBHAN O'RISH—Anpin ager Oana Saorlath Ura na Garbo— 6d., by post 7d.

The Poetical Works of T. M. MacDonagh, M.A. (executed at Kilmannham Jail, May, 1916). 4/6, by post 4/10.

The Poems of Joseph Mary Plunkett (executed at Kilmannham Jail, May, 1916). 3/6, by post 3/9.

Magher of the Sward Thomas Davis—The Feter's Track—all three books are edited by Griffith. Price 3/6, by post 4/11.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Books 6d. each (by post 8d.).—"Astrin and Down in '98."—"Michael Dwyer."—"Gauls of Moonbarrig."—"The Insurgent Chief."—"Bunch of Wild Flowers." (O'Higgins).—"At the Hill of the Road." (O'Higgins).—"David's Poems."—"Irish Volunteers of '92."—"Ireland's Own Song Book."—"Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland."—"Book of Ballads."—"Oona Donnovan (Fennian)."—"Facts and Principles of Irish Nationalism."—"John Bull's Glory."—"The Irish Republic."—"The Irish Republic in Ireland."—"The Irish Republic in America."—By the Stream of Kilmannham.

Quiet, yet Central, for Business or Pleasure:

FLEMING'S HOTEL,
32 GARDINER'S PLACE, DUBLIN.

Two minutes' walk from Gardiner St. Chapel or tram
SELECT MODERATE. CONVENIENT.

GENTS' VELOUR HATS—IRISH TRIMMED

GLEESON & Co.

IRISH GOODS ONLY.

11 Upper O'Connell Street.

All literary communications should be addressed to the Editor.

All business communications to the Manager,
6 Harcourt St., Dublin.

For Subscription and Advertising Rates, see p. 8.

NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JUNE 16th, 1917.

IRELAND'S TAXATION.

To understand Ireland's present position as regards taxation, it must be kept in mind that the taxation now imposed on "the United Kingdom" is of a two-fold character—ordinary taxation (raised to low level) and war benefit taxation. The former is of a permanent nature, and simply means that the ordinary sources of tax revenue are being strained to their utmost limit of productivity, in order to make all classes who do not contribute to the War Loans share, nevertheless, as far as compulsion can produce any result, in the expenses of the war.

The latter, namely, war benefit taxation, is transient in its nature, and comes to an end with the war which confers the benefits. These benefits are the "excessive profits" accruing to certain privileged industrial and commercial firms solely through war conditions: the taxation consequently is the taxation of a privilege. But notwithstanding the taxation, the privilege remains, and confers a substantial benefit.

The Government has taken good care that Ireland has practically no manufacturing firms making excess profits through the war, and no excess profits duty has been acknowledged to Ireland—so far at least—in the public accounts. Those in Ireland who consider the war a just war naturally regard it as a great grievance that Ireland has not been enabled to make its excess profits in manufacturing and distributing munitions and supplies, and would be very glad to get their chance of paying a tax on such profit. If there was a beauty tax, any lady not called on to pay her share would no doubt feel aggrieved also. Those in Ireland who do not consider the war a just one naturally regard the "excess profits" or "war benefits," or whatever they may be called, as so much ill-gotten goods and are very glad that the conscience of their nation is not burdened with them.

But anyone, whatever his opinions, who wishes to keep the Irish account clear in his mind from the British, must note that the Financial Statement (1917-18) drawn up for the Chancellor by the Treasury under date 2nd May, 1917, gives the following figures:—

Year	Total Income	Tax Revenue	Excess Profits	Income
1916-17	272,000,000	84,000,000	188,000,000	
1917-18 (est.)	422,000,000	242,000,000	180,000,000	

By imposing the rate of the Excess Profits Duty from 60 to 80 per cent. of net profit the

WHELAN & SON

17 UPPER ORMOND QUAY, DUBLIN.

GIBSOL

The Great Irish Skin Remedy.

Of all Chemists, 1s.

The healing touch of GIBSOL instantly banishes the agonising irritation of long-standing skin trouble, and speedily cures Eczema, Ringworm, Piles, Burns, Cuts, Wounds, Burns, etc.

DON'T PAY INCOME TAX

Before Consulting Mr. Gwynne and Associates
Solicitors, Farns Field, Spert Way.

JOSEPH MacDONAGH

(Late Inland Revenue and Excheq.),
26 MOYNE ROAD, DUBLIN.

NEW DUBLIN UNIVERSITY

Ask your Draper for

THE PIONEER BLOUSE.

Well-cut, well made, newest designs. Lovely white and floral wools. Sure to please. Each one stamped with our own Trade Mark.

PIONEER BLOUSE MANUFACTURING CO.

Factory: 55a, UPPER RATHMINES.

WANT LONG FELT BY IRISH TEACHERS

is Supplied by the following Irish History Texts:—

TALES OF IRELAND FOR IRISH CHILDREN.

Beautifully Illustrated, printed in bold type, and issued in Four Parts.

FOR NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

General Editors: Rev. T. A. FINLAY, M.A.

Part I., price 3d., to National Schools.

Part II., price 3d., do.

Part III., price 4d., do.

Part IV., (the special), price 4d., do.

N.B.—Specimens sent Free by Postage of National Schools.

IRISH HISTORY FOR JUNIOR GRADE.

With Plans and Diagrams.

General Editor: Rev. T. CORCORAN, D.Litt.

Price, 10th, 1s. 4d., Net.

Specimens Free to Colleges and Schools on application.

Fallon Bros., Ltd.,

THE SCHOOLS HOUSE,
BELFAST, DUBLIN, WATERFORD.

Chancellor now proposes to get in £20,000,000, bringing up the yield of the tax for 1917-18 to £206,000,000, and for the two years £339,920,000. This means that the total war benefits taxed during the two years amount to £483,200,000, without counting the benefits undeclared to the officers of the Inland Revenue.

The residue of this not taxed away amounts to £143,280,000, and those who approve the war as just will be with regret that on the basis of population Ireland's share of this should have been about one-tenth, say £14,000,000, plus undeclared profits and the generous salaries and wages of the officials and workers engaged in the huge system of production.

These figures are an important factor in calculating the exact amount Ireland is now paying under the ordinary, or non-privileged, war taxation of our times. It is true, as pointed out in "Nationality," 26th May, that some stroke is reserved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer against the farmers of Ireland, as practically the only class in the country who have made "excess war profits" through the sale of cattle—while falling to "do their bit" by surrendering to the Government the 50, 60, and 80 per cent. Excess Profit Duty. Our farmers do not keep books like the big industrial firms, and only pay income tax as occupiers on one-third of their annual value (though accounts have been rife this year of attempts to schedule those purchasing under the Land Acts for the full valuation as owners), so that it is hard to get at them. But the resources of civilisation are probably not exhausted yet in their regard. Still at present Ireland's position is that of a wholly non-privileged tax-paying entity, and to estimate what it is actually paying as such we must take the last known percentage of Ireland's contribution to the total tax revenue of the United Kingdom and apply it to the total tax revenue stated and estimated for 1916-17 and 1917-18, deducting, however, from these totals the assessed amounts collected and estimated as Excess Profit Duty. Thus we know from the last Treasury White Paper (16th August, 1916), that the total U. K. tax revenue for 1916-17 was £290,873,000 and that of this amount £16,465,000, or 5.66 per cent., was collected in Ireland, being £3 15s. 8d. per head of population, or—a more practical way of looking at it—£22 11s. 6d. for each head of a family of six. In 1913-14 Ireland paid £2 19s. 2d. per head and £17 15s. per family.

Now, if Ireland paid 5.66 per cent. of the non-bonus tax revenue during 1916-17 also, as no doubt it did, or very nearly, we can calculate pretty exactly what its share will turn out to have been by 31st March last from the following data—1916-17—Total revenue U. K. £573,428,000; total tax revenue, £514,105,000; excess profit duty, £139,920,000; non-bonus tax revenue, £374,185,000. 1917-18—Total Revenue U. K. (estimate), £612,500,000; tax revenue, £543,600,000; excess profit duty, £180,000,000; non-bonus tax revenue, £363,700,000. This non-bonus tax revenue is that which Ireland had a share in producing. Now, 5.66 per cent. of £374,185,000 in 1916-17 comes to £21,178,588, which for a population of 4,370,000 (supposing the balance of births and influx against emigration to be down by 5,554 only since the Government estimate of 4,375,554 for the population in 1914) works out at £4 16s. 11d. per head, or £29 1s. 6d. for the head of a family of six. Similarly for 1917-18 the percentage named of £369,700,000 non-privileged tax revenue works out at £20,925,020 and for the same figure of population at £4 15s. 4d. per head and £28 13s. 0d. for the average taxpayer for a family of six.

This seems to be the very lowest figure at which Ireland's contribution to the revenue can be worked out—that is as far as tax revenue is concerned. If its share in non-tax sources is added, such as share in product of Post Office, Crown Lands, Receipts from Loans, and Miscellaneous, then the Government figures (still excluding any share for Ireland in

Excess Profit Revenue) work out as follows:—

1915-16.—Total Revenue U. K., £337,339,000; Ireland's share, 5.36 per cent., or £18,083,000; per head, £4 2s. 8d.; per family of six, £24 16s. 0d.

1916-17.—Total Rev. U. K., £573,428,000; less Excess Profit Duty, £430,508,000; Ireland's share at 5.36 per cent., £23,236,136; per head, £5 6s. 4d.; per family, £31 16s. 0d.

1917-18.—Total Revenue U. K. (est.), £612,500,000; less Excess Profit Duty, £432,500,000; Ireland's share at 5.36 per cent., £23,182,000; per head, £5 6s. 1d.; per family £31 16s. 0d.

These conditions can be regarded as fairly permanent, as both Customs and Excise are bound to be unproductive of further yield at the present level, the family having fallen off by £5,811,000 and the latter by £21,530,000, which the anticipated increase of £18,067,000 in Income Tax and Super Tax in 1917-18 does not make up for.

SINN FEIN.

I.—POLITICS AND NATIONALITY.

When Pitt composed the Act of Union and destroyed the Irish Parliament he left Ireland without a rallying centre in any political emergency or in any national crisis. A result aimed at by him followed—Ireland sunk into confusion, divided and sub-divided, and temporary lines of division hardened and became permanent. The English Parliament became the arbiter of Irish quarrels, and to it every interest in Ireland was irresistibly attracted. The Catholic looked to it for redress, the Protestant for protection, the landlord for his privileges, the farmer for his rights, the merchant for his security, the workman for his improvement, it encouraged them all and played them all, and the homogeneity of the Irish race was obliterated. We all grew to distrust one another, and eventually to distrust ourselves. Ireland split its domestic disputes to an iminical English tribunal for judgment, and England played the friend of each side alternately and eat up the substance of both.

Ireland ceased to revolve on her own axis. She revolved in an eccentric orbit around the London Parliament. There the thunder of the captains and the shouting impressed the people of Ireland with the belief that from that Parliament would issue their salvation. Parliamentary politics, therefore, obliterated the mind of the mass of the people of Ireland, and a speech on the floor of the House became, through the lost sense of proportion, of more import to them than the vanishing of their industries and the loss of their young men and women by emigration. Politics is a necessary minor part of nationality—politics become inflated by the politicians to appear something greater than nationality itself. The people were taught they had but to vote as they were directed by their Parliamentarian leaders and subscribe to the upkeep of a Parliamentarian Party and their whole duty to the nation was discharged. Implicitly the people were taught to neglect, if not to despise, everything connected with Ireland except its representation in the English Parliament. Implicitly they were taught they had no individual duty to Ireland beyond voting at elections, subscribing to the Party funds, and cheering for the Party at public meetings. Through this teaching they came to measure themselves by English standards, and accept the headlines of England as the rule of their conduct. And the people of Ireland, with their eyes fixed on the English Parliament, nationally and literally continued to perish while the English Treasury and the English merchant stole their money and their trade.

A hundred years ago in Hungary, in nearly similar circumstances, a great Hungarian raised up his voice crying to the people, whose eyes

were fastened upon the capital of Austria—

"Turn your eyes from Vienna or you perish as a nation." The cry of Sinn Fein is a similar cry—"Turn your eyes from London—turn them back to your own country. That way only lies your salvation." Parliamentarianism challenged Sinn Fein to show how a practical policy could be built up in the spirit of that advice. Sinn Fein accepted the challenge and produced its policy. Whereupon Parliamentarianism did not attempt to argue it before the people, but set all its Press and all its agencies at work to persuade the people that Sinn Fein was an invention of the Unionists who lived in trembling fear of the Parliamentary Party, and supplied Sinn Fein with "Castle gold."

The argument of Sinn Fein was briefly this: (1) That Parliamentarianism as a policy had failed and by its nature could never succeed; (2) That Ireland could neither truly progress nor prevent her own decay until she fixed her eyes and her mind upon the conservation and development of her own character, will, distinctive nationality, and material resources; (3) That it was essential to this that Ireland should again revolve on its own axis, and that that axis must be supplied by the assembly in session of the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, who, ignoring the London Parliament, would sit in Dublin as a directing council of the Irish nation, to which it would be a rallying centre; (4) That Ireland, bursting the invisible cords which England had cast around her, should seek for direct trade opportunities and direct political relationships with the independent countries of the European Continent; and (5) That Ireland should occupy and utilise everything at home which could advance her material and national interests—the Railway Directorate, the Insurance Board, the Bank, the Stock Exchange, the Elected Council, the School, the College, the University, the Scientific Institution, and the Learned Society.

In a sentence, Sinn Fein proposed that the people of Ireland should so far as their powers extended take their government into their own hands, and, with full realisation of the meaning of the phrase, run Ireland for the Irish. How far the people of Ireland possess power to do so, and how Sinn Fein showed they could do it, I shall now proceed to explain in detail.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Agreements have been completed by the Committee appointed by the Mansion House Assembly under which organisations accepting the demand for complete independence, appeal to the Peace Conference, and abstention from the English Parliament will be unified with Sinn Fein, the policy and presidency remaining unaltered, pending the National Convention, which will be held in October.

The constitution of the Lloyd-George Convention annals of Berry Street, Belfast. All the time-expired Borough Councils in Ireland are to be represented by their Chairmen—not one-fourth of whom would secure re-election at the polls—the English Government to nominate fifteen, the Redoubtable and Unionists 17, while the people of Ireland are not to be permitted to elect a single delegate.

Sinn Fein clubs have been formed in the last few days throughout Tyrone at the Upperchurch, Inch, Ananarity, Drombane, Rosmore, Thurlis, Clonality, and Knockavilla. The Knockavilla meeting was presided over by Fr. Matt Ryan, P.P., who said Ireland would ignore the Convention and take her case to the Peace Conference.

The Coisde Gnatha of the Gaelic League at its meeting last week decided it would not send representatives to Mr. Lloyd George's "Irish" Convention, which repudiated the right of any person attending to speak in its name.

(Extreme pressure on our space this week compels us to hold over details of subscriptions to the Longford Election Fund and the list of subscribers to the Sinn Fein National Fund received this week.)

Chancellor now proposes to get in £20,000,000, bring up the yield of the tax for 1917-18 to £200,000,000, and for the two years £339,920,000. This means that the total war benefits taxed during the two years amount to £483,200,000, without counting the benefits undeclared to the officers of the Inland Revenue. The residue of this not taxed away amounts to £143,280,000, and those who approve the war as just will note with regret that on the basis of population Ireland's share of this should have been about one-tenth, say £14,000,000, plus undeclared profits and the generous salaries and wages of the officials and workers engaged in the huge system of production.

These figures are an important factor in calculating the exact amount Ireland is now paying under the ordinary, or non-privileged, war taxation of our times. It is true, as pointed out in "Nationality," 26th May, that some stroke is reserved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer against the farmers of Ireland, as practically the only class in the country who have made "excess war profits"—through the sale of cattle—while failing to "do their bit" by surrendering to the Government the 50, 60, and 80 per cent. Excess Profit Duty. Our farmers do not keep books like the big industrial firms, and only pay income tax as occupiers on one-third of their annual value (though accounts have been rife this year of attempts to schedule those purchasing under the Land Acts for the full valuation as owners), so that it is hard to get at them. But the resources of civilisation are probably not exhausted yet in their regard. Still at present Ireland's position is that of a wholly non-privileged tax-paying entity, and to estimate what it is actually paying as such we must take the last known percentage of Ireland's contribution to the total tax revenue of the United Kingdom and apply it to the total tax revenue stated and estimated for 1916-17 and 1917-18, deducting, however, from these totals the special amounts collected and estimated as Excess Profits Duty. Thus, we know from the last Treasury White Paper (16th August, 1916), that the total U. K. tax revenue for 1915-16 was £290,873,000 and that of this amount £16,465,000, or 5.66 per cent., was collected in Ireland, being £3 15s. 3d. per head of population, or—a more practical way of looking at it—£22 11s. 6d. for each head of a family of six. In 1913-14 Ireland paid £2 19s. 2d. per head and £17 15s. per family.

Now, if Ireland paid 5.66 per cent. of the non-bonused tax revenue during 1916-17 also, as no doubt it did, or very nearly, we can calculate pretty exactly what its share will turn out to have been by 31st March last from the following data:—1916-17—Total revenue U. K. £573,428,000; total tax revenue, £514,105,000; excess profit duty, £139,920,000; non-bonused tax revenue, £374,185,000. 1917-18—Total Revenue U. K. (estimate), £612,500,000; tax revenue, £543,600,000; excess profit duty, £180,000,000; non-bonused tax revenue, £369,700,000. This non-bonused tax revenue is all that Ireland had a share in producing. Now, 5.66 per cent. of £374,185,000 in 1916-17 comes to £21,178,588, which for a population of 4,370,000 (supposing the balance of births and influx against emigration to be down by 5,554 only since the Government estimate of 4,375,554 for the population in 1914) works out at £4 16s. 11d. per head, or £29 1s. 6d. for the head of a family of six. Similarly for 1917-18 the percentage named of £369,700,000 non-privileged tax revenue works out at £20,925,020 and for the same figure of population at £4 15s. 9d. per head and £28 13s. 0d. for the average taxpayer for a family of six.

This seems to be the very lowest figure at which Ireland's contribution to the revenue can be worked out—that is as far as tax revenue is concerned. If its share in non-tax sources is added, such as share in product of Post Office, Crown Lands, Receipts from Loans, and Miscellaneous, then the Government figures (still excluding any share for Ireland in

Excess Profits Revenue) work out as follows:—

1915-16.—Total Revenue U. K., £337,339,000; Ireland's share, 5.36 per cent., or £18,083,000; per head, £4 2s. 8d.; per family of six, £24 16s. 0d.

1916-17.—Total Rev. U.K., £573,428,000; less Excess Profits Duty, £433,508,000; Ireland's share at 5.36 per cent., £23,236,136; per head, £5 6s. 4d.; per family, £31 18s. 0d.

1917-18.—Total Revenue U. K. (est.), £612,500,000; less Excess Profits Duty, £432,600,000; Ireland's share at 5.36 per cent., £23,182,000; per head, £5 6s. 1d.; per family £31 16s. 6d.

These conditions can be regarded as fairly permanent, as both Customs and Excise are shown to be unproductive of further yield at the present level, the former having fallen off by £5,811,000 and the latter by £21,530,000, which the anticipated increase of £18,967,000 by Income Tax and Super Tax in 1917-18 does not make up for.

SINN FEIN.

I.—POLITICS AND NATIONALITY.

When Pitt compassed the Act of Union and destroyed the Irish Parliament he left Ireland without a rallying centre in any political emergency or in any national crisis. A result aimed at by him followed—Ireland sank into confusion, divided and sub-divided, and temporary lines of division hardened and became permanent. The English Parliament became the arbiter of Irish quarrels, and to it every interest in Ireland was irresistibly attracted. The Catholic looked to it for redress, the Protestant for protection, the landlord for his privileges, the farmer for his rights, the merchant for his security, the workman for his improvement. It encouraged them all and played them all, and the homogeneity of the Irish Nation was shattered. We all grew to distrust one another, and eventually to distrust ourselves. Ireland carried its domestic disputes to an inimical English tribunal for judgment, and England played the friend of each side alternately and eat up the substance of both.

Ireland ceased to revolve on her own axis. She revolved in an eccentric orbit around the London Parliament. There the thunder of the captains and the shouting impressed the people of Ireland with the belief that from that Parliament would issue their salvation. Parliamentary politics, therefore, obsessed the mind of the mass of the people of Ireland, and a speech on the floor of the House became, through the lost sense of proportion, of more import to them than the vanishing of their industries and the loss of their young men and women by emigration. Politics is a necessary minor part of nationality—politics became inflated by the politicians to appear something greater than nationality itself. The people were taught they had but to vote as they were directed by their Parliamentary leaders and subscribe to the upkeep of a Parliamentary Party and their whole duty to the nation was discharged. Implicitly the people were taught to neglect, if not to despise, everything connected with Ireland except its representation in the English Parliament. Implicitly they were taught they had no individual duty to Ireland beyond voting at elections, subscribing to the Party funds, and cheering for the Party at public meetings. Through this teaching they came to measure themselves by English standards, and accept the headlines of England as the rule of their conduct. And the people of Ireland, with their eyes fixed on the English Parliament, nationally and literally continued to perish while the English Treasury and the English merchant stole their money and their trade.

A hundred years ago in Hungary, in nearly similar circumstances, a great Hungarian raised up his voice crying to the people, whose eyes

were fastened upon the capital of Austria—"Turn your eyes from Vienna or you perish as a nation." The cry of Sinn Fein is a similar cry—"Turn your eyes from London—turn them back to your own country. That way only lies your salvation." Parliamentarianism challenged Sinn Fein to show how a practicable policy could be built up in the spirit of that advice. Sinn Fein accepted the challenge and produced its policy. Whereupon Parliamentarianism did not attempt to argue it before the people, but set all its Press and all its agencies at work to persuade the people that Sinn Fein was an invention of the Unionists, who lived in trembling fear of the Parliamentary Party, and supplied Sinn Fein with "Castle gold."

The argument of Sinn Fein was briefly this: (1) That Parliamentarianism as a policy had failed and by its nature could never succeed; (2) That Ireland could neither truly progress nor prevent her own decay until she fixed her eyes and her mind upon the conservation and development of her own character, will, distinctive nationality, and material resources; (3) That it was essential to this that Ireland should again revolve on its own axis, and that that axis must be supplied by the assembly in session of the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, who, ignoring the London Parliament, would sit in Dublin as a directing council of the Irish nation, to which it would be a rallying centre; (4) That Ireland, bursting the invisible cords which England had cast around her, should seek for direct trade opportunities and direct political relationships with the independent countries of the European Continent; and (5) That Ireland should occupy and utilise everything at home which could advance her material and national interests—the Railway Directorate, the Insurance Board, the Bank, the Stock Exchange, the Elected Council, the School, the College, the University, the Scientific Institution, and the Learned Society.

In a sentence, Sinn Fein proposed that the people of Ireland should so far as their powers extended take their government into their own hands, and, with full realisation of the meaning of the phrase, run Ireland for the Irish. How far the people of Ireland possess power to do so, and how Sinn Fein showed they could do it, I shall now proceed to explain in detail.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Agreements have been completed by the Committee appointed by the Mansion House Assembly under which organisations accepting the demand for complete independence, appeal to the Peace Conference, and abstention from the English Parliament will be unified with Sinn Fein, the policy and presidency remaining unaltered, pending the National Convention, which will be held in October.

The constitution of the Lloyd-George Convention smells of Berry Street, Belfast. All the time-expired Borough Councils in Ireland are to be represented by their Chairmen—not one-fourth of whom would secure re-election at the polls—the English Government is to nominate fifteen others, the Redmondites and Unionists 17, while the people of Ireland are not to be permitted to elect a single delegate.

Sinn Fein clubs have been formed in the last few days throughout Tipperary at Upperchurch, Inch, Annacarty, Drombane, Rossmore, Thurles, Clonoulty, and Knockavilla. The Knockavilla meeting was presided over by Fr. Matt Ryan, P.P., who said Ireland would ignore the Convention and take her case to the Peace Conference.

The Coisde Gnotha of the Gaelic League at its meeting last week decided it would not send representatives to Mr. Lloyd George's "Irish" Convention, and repudiated the right of any person attending to speak in its name.

(Extreme pressure on our space this week compels us to hold over details of subscriptions to the Longford Election Fund and the list of subscriptions to the Sinn Fein National Fund received this week).

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

IV. 1803-1829.

The period of Irish history that lies between Emmet's insurrection and the passage of the so-called Catholic Emancipation Act is remarkable for the rise of Daniel O'Connell. His lustre has obscured the memories of John Keogh and John Sweetman, the two men who put spirit into the Irish Catholic people; but had there been no O'Connell when Sweetman was no longer available and Keogh had waxed old, and the Emancipation movement, weak as it was, had fallen into the hands of fawning Catholic peers and timid ecclesiastics like Dr. Troy, the spirit would have evaporated. It is O'Connell's genuine claim to Ireland's grateful remembrance that he, almost single-handed, fought doggedly against not only the English Government and the Ascendancy faction in Ireland, but the Catholic Seonini for twenty years to secure Emancipation, and that it was his unflinching spirit during that weary and discouraging period that kept hope and courage alive in the hearts of the Catholic people. There were times during O'Connell's fight when he was condemned and even ostracised by some of his own co-religionists, and times when, struck at by the Government, he could scarcely get half-a-dozen men of any prominence to stand by the Catholic cause. When he won he became the recipient of adulation from those who had obstructed, thwarted, belittled and held aloof from him when he needed help.

No paper burned more incense before the successful O'Connell than the "Freeman's Journal." It held him up to the people as another Moses. But during the dark days of O'Connell's struggle the "Freeman's Journal" taught a different view of its new Moses. It posed as the organ of the Catholic Party, but it spoke of O'Connell's policy as "feverish and impracticable." It regretted his political intemperance. It lauded "conciliation and union." It regretted the "unhappy doings" of O'Connell. It was appalled that he should audaciously attempt to "dictate to the legislature." And it published correspondence in led type in its leading columns from Friends of the Catholic Cause—"Faith and Fatherland-ers," who shook their heads about the mischief this intemperate O'Connell might do, and suggested whether the wise policy might not be to consider whether there were any securities the Catholics might give the Government, consistent, of course, with the integrity of their religion, in return for Emancipation. When O'Gorman, one of the few Catholic Emancipationists as sturdy as O'Connell, boldly proposed that Ireland should appeal to the Spanish Cortes' with whom England then professed to be in alliance, and indict England to her Catholic Ally for her treatment of the Catholic Irish, the "Freeman's Journal" gasped with indignation, and the servile Catholic Board shuddered at the idea of angering England. Thereupon the "Freeman" congratulated this spirited and sensible Catholic body on putting down "Don Quixote O'Gorman."

But "The Freeman's Journal" has always claimed that it contributed powerfully to the winning of Catholic Emancipation, and that during the struggle it shone with an "incorruptible splendour" in the midst of a servile, corrupt or hostile Press. When the proprietor of the "Freeman" died in 1826 Mr. Michael Staunton wrote in the "Register" an obituary notice of that gentleman, in which he said: "It is understood that nearly the entire newspaper patronage which the Government could command was repeatedly tendered to Mr. Harvey . . . and he remained unpurchaseable." It will be seen that Mr. Staunton admitted that Government Advertisements were used as the purchase price of newspapers.

The value of Mr. Staunton's testimony to the virtue of the "Freeman" may be weighed with the facts: (1) That Mr. Staunton had been employed as editor of the "Freeman," and (2) That after 1848 Mr. Staunton became a successful applicant for a Governmental appointment in Ireland, and the claim he urged was that he supported the Government journalistically in Ireland in 1848. Years after Mr. Staunton's testimony to the unpurchaseable integrity of the "Freeman" during the period of the Catholic Emancipation movement the correspondence of the Duke of Wellington saw the light. The Duke of Wellington, as Sir Arthur Wellesley, had been Under-Secretary for Ireland, 1807-1809, and on leaving the post addressed a letter to his successor, Sir Charles Saxton, giving him some hints on the proper mode of working the imposture called government in Ireland.

"I am one of those who think," wrote the Duke, "that it will be very dangerous to allow the Press in Ireland to take care of itself, particularly as it has so long been in leading strings. I would therefore recommend that in proportion as you will diminish the profits of the better kind of newspapers, such as the "Correspondent" and the "Freeman's Journal" on account of proclamations you shall increase the sum they are allowed to charge on account of advertisements and other publications. It is absolutely necessary, however, to keep the charge within the sum of £10,000 per annum voted by Parliament. . . . It will also be very necessary that the account of this money should be of a description always to be produced before Parliament."

The last phrase can be pondered over by those who recently saw the "Freeman's Journal" awarded £63,000 compensation by a Government in apostolic succession to the Government whose Under-Secretary in Ireland thus secretly wrote in 1809.

LEADAR NA n-OILITREAC bPOLANNAIC.

XV.

(Continued).

10. Mar rin de, 'do leigeadar oppa iongnad mór a beir oppa, sá farrfaige de cá veáiníz ré 7 cad do bi uaid. Tús na seanbóime uirce beatao 7 arán só, 7 bi an nuimtir beas as sol, te truas do mar o'leat.

11. Agus tuidradar uile: Ni epreimidó sup ceartaiz ón pobáitirde rinne marbáó; ir minic a bi ré anpó ceana 7 o'leat ré poimnt uirce beatao 7 nioi vein ré don o'leatáil uimn.

12. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde iao 7 tuidairt: Má bi ré anpó ceana ir o'leat ir meara, mar tús ré rúit-feuáinir ar bui o'leat 7 ar bui zcom-pannaib, 7 tús ré ré noeára sup zúoáiz atá ina zcomnuirde ra tús. ir é rin te rúó, síme epróde-las imeasíac.

13. An tuirce 'na raib ran ráróte aize tuidradar na zúoáiz: Má tabairt tarpuirne o'ar zcine-na. Nác o'leat ran, nác o'ar zcine-na, an o'leatir do do vein comírac te zóliat, 7 Sampon, an fear ba tpeirre ar bit.

14. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde 7 tuidairt: Táimpe zan eglar agam ar na Scupreáirí; aét amán sup aipúeas an pasairt sá rúó zo raib an o'leatir rin 7 an Sampon ran marb 7 ná héirpócaoir zo b'at aipí. Túsair aipé o'leatir féin mar rin.

15. Tuidradar na zúoáiz: Ni linne baineann an coill do zlanad ó luét pobála, aét teir an pasáitair 7 teir an luét aipm; imtíz 7 abair teo é.

16. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde, sá rúó: Nioi iarp an zúirctir oim rin a coraint ná nioi fanar te luét aipm.

17. Tuidradar na zúoáiz teir: Tó féin a corair.

18. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde 7 tuidairt: A málaire rin ar rúó ir fíor; ni beao agam aét cabruzáó teir an bfozuirde cum rúbre do pobáil nó comeáo tamall maie ina o'leatir 7 rannaint im toir 7 do poimntead ré bui n-ollamaitear uim. O'pfeurpaimn, teir, zan corpuize ar mo tús féin.

19. Tuidairt na zúoáiz teir: Do corair rinn te moncar zo b'uirzra luét raotair. Tá zo maie, túsamaie arán 7 uirce beatao o'leat 7 o'pfeucamaie cum do e'neáoáca; 7 tabairpaimto coróinn aipzúo o'leat ina ceannra ran.

20. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde, sá rúó: Ni ceartaizeann bui noilríac uaim; 7, i o'leatir an arán 7 an uirce beatao 7 an leizir, cuirpéao poimnt aipzúo as tréall o'leatir an tuirce 'na mbeao ra baile.

21. Tuidradar na zúoáiz teir ra veirpéao: Do tpeoir an fozuirde, óir, mar ir eol uimn, ir fear acpánnac tú. Ir maie leao beir as tpeoir 7 bíonn tú as ríadóac ná n-aimmíóte inr na coillteib.

22. O'pfeasair an comeadóirde iao 7 tuidairt: O'á o'leatirinn amac cum tpeoa ir fearp na harpm a beao agam; do beupáinn uim píteupáca móra 7 clardeam; do pasáinn amac poim ré nó i noiaró láime; aét do connacabaie cionnur mar nác poim ré ná i noiaró láime do éuar amac aét o'pfeao nuair a connac an pobáitirde as veunam o'leatir.

23. Táiníz iongnad mór ar na zúoáiz anpán 7 tuidradar: Innoir uimn mar rin 7 amáiz cao rú sup veinir an ní do veinir 7 cao a bi ic' aize asat; mar ir euzpáitac an uime tú.

24. O'pfeasair feirean 7 tuidairt: Síne an t-aon ní amán ná neorpá o'leatir; 7 o'á n-innirinn, féin, ní cuirpéao rúó é, mar ní mar a céite in don LIAM Ó RINN.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

IRISH NATIONAL AID AND VOLUNTEERS' DEPENDENTS FUND.

Grand IRISH CONCERT

By Numerous Popular Artistes,

ROUND ROOM, MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27th, at 8 p.m.,

In Aid of

The Special Fund to provide a Seaside Holiday for the Children of the Men who Died, or who have gone into Penal Servitude.

Tickets, 2s. or 1s. (to be had at 10 Exchequer Street). Early Doors, 6d. and 3d. extra.

The entire price of every ticket bought will be handed over to the Fund.

"SONS OF THE CAEL! MEN OF THE PALE!"

Reserve Sunday Night, June 17th,

For the

Monster CEILIDHE

To be held in the St. V. de Paul Hall, Kells, by the members of the Kells Branch, Gaelic League. The proceeds will go to assist the Shamrock Stall, Kells Bazaar.

An Irish-Ireland Night for Irish-Irelanders!

Gentlemen's Tickets, 2/6. Ladies' Tickets, 2/-. Dancing at 10 p.m.

EXCELLENT MUSIC SUPPLIED.

Feis óuin bleisce

The Doon Great Annual Feis

Will be held on

SUNDAY, JUNE 24th.

Competitions in Irish Language, History, Music, Singing, and Dancing. Concert by best Irish-Ireland Artistes.

Gaels of Limerick, Tipperary and Clare, assemble in your Thousands!

Nuair tíoceparó an Lá beiró Dun Bleisce ann.

Daly Club Aeridheacht FIRST OF SEASON.

Come to Croke Park, Wed., June 20th, At 7.30 p.m.

Prominent Artistes will appear. Platform Dancing, etc. St. James's Band and O'Toole Pipers will be in attendance.

Admission 6d. Tickets sold for Mansion-House Concert will be available.

Irish Theatre, Hardwicke St.

GRANGECOLMAN

By EDWARD MARTYN

AUTHOR! AUTHOR!

By JOHN MacDONAGH

Mon., June 18th to Sat. 23rd. 6 Nights at 8.15 p.m. Matinee Sat. at 2.30.

Grand Aeridheacht

In aid of the Children's Education Fund (Catholic Bulletin) will be held in the Private Grounds of St. Enda's, Cullinstown House, Oakley Rd., Sat. June 23.

Commence 3.30. Tea at moderate cost will be supplied.

Admission 6d.

PÓSAÓ.

Do póráó Toirpéatáic Mac Suibne mac do Seán M. c Suibne ó Corcaiz, ná Maireann, agus Muirgeal Ni Muiréada ingean do Nioclár Ó Muiréada ó Corcaiz, na Maireann, Lá 'Le Colmille Meiteam a 9, 1917, as Eaglais Naomí Ioré Broomyard i Sarana. An t-áitair Auguirctín, O S F. C., a vein an póráó a zooluinn 7 do léiz an t-airpéann "pro rpono et rponra." An t-áitair Denir Machieu, O.S.D., no cabruíz teir.

THE "PARTY" AND THE LAND LEAGUE.

In a letter to South Longford electors Mr. J. E. Redmond solicited support for the Partition Party on the ground that he was "entitled to an unmistakable verdict in favour of the movement and the Party that have done so much for Ireland." The "unmistakable verdict" in which Longford has answered his preposterous claim will be one of our historical landmarks; but the smug assurance of his appeal shows us that amongst the many obsessions of which he is the unhappy victim the prestige of the Party is the delusion he hugs the most. Like the ill-fated Bourbons, he neither learns nor forgets, but the functions of right memory are in his case usurped by false delusions. A Justice of the Peace somewhere down the country put Mr. Redmond's thoughts in more homely phrase, conveying at the same time an ungenerous reproach to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, when he said: "Eaten bread is soon forgotten." As this phrase implies a bountiful generosity on the one hand and black ingratitude on the other, I will try to analyse its meaning and application by asking two questions—whose bread? and who forgets?—and see where the guilt lies.

Michael Davitt can answer these two questions better than any other. The founder of the Land League, who through triumphs and disappointments watched the successful issue of his movement to the last, is a witness whose testimony cannot be discredited. We find it in his "Fall of Feudalism in Ireland." That very interesting record of agrarian revolution tells us that of thirty-six men elected to the pledge-bound Party in 1880 only three survive in the present Party of seventy-two members. Outside the Party are to be found four. Only one out of every nine in the present Party are survivors of the Party of 1886.

And who were the leading members in the Land League, National League, and Plan of Campaign movements? Not, certainly, Mr. J. E. Redmond. His name is mentioned only twice in Davitt's history of the land struggle. Once on page 239 it is to be found in the middle of a list of names of men elected to Parliament. The other mention of Mr. Redmond's name is on the occasion of that gentleman's election to the chair of the Party. This is what Mr. Davitt says of him:—"The work of complete re-union was accomplished on February 7th, 1900, in the election by the majority of the Nationalist Party of the leader of the minority, Mr. John Redmond, as Sessional Chairman of the reconciled sections." In marked contrast to the cold formality of this reference to Mr. Redmond is Davitt's tribute on the same page to William O'Brien. "A foremost fighter in every stage of the Irish movement since he joined its ranks under Mr. Parnell in 1881." And to "the services he has rendered, and the generous sacrifices he has made in the struggles that have been fought, won, lost and re-fought, during the last quarter of a century." Mr. Davitt's book shows that the surviving leaders of the Land Movement who joined the Party under Parnell are five in number. In alphabetical order, they are—Messrs. John Dillon, Maurice Healy, T. M. Healy, William O'Brien, and Thomas Sexton. I won't discuss whether Sexton is the equal or superior of Dillon, or whether O'Brien is the equal of Sexton. Eschewing altogether the personal equation, and finding a common denomination for all in a hostile Parliamentary assembly, where they are hopelessly out-numbered by seven or eight to one, we see that four out of the five leaders of the Land League days are outside the Party, and one only within it. When, therefore, we want the answer to the two questions—whose bread? and who forgets?—we may state that Mr. Redmond's J.P. forgets the bread he has eaten of the two Healys, Wm. O'Brien and Thos. Sexton, not to speak of "the noblest Roman of them all," Michael Davitt himself.

Mr. Redmond's first act after his election as Sessional Chairman was to preside over the expulsion of the Healys. Next came that of T. D. Sullivan, the author of "God Save Ireland," and Poet Laureate of Land League days. William O'Brien's turn came later on. Sexton had been forced out of the Party; his keen insight, clean intellect and gift of exposition which knew no rival in the English House of Commons, lost to the Irish cause there. But as his control of the "Freeman" still left him a means of dissecting worthless Home Rule measures, the Party worked throughout the country to boycott himself and his paper, and eventually succeeded in driving

him from public life. Thus, in the words of the Archbishop of Dublin, "an effective bar was kept up against all real consideration of the question whether the Parliament that is to come is to be a Parliament in any sense worthy of the name." Since then, in the words of His Grace, "fair criticism is at an end," and anyone, thorough-going Nationalist though he might be, who ventured to express an opinion at variance with theirs was assailed in their Press and on their platforms with the epithets "wrecker," "factionist" and "traitor." It required the greatest moral courage to face the torrent of abuse which the merry men of the Party daily poured out. Nor was Mr. Redmond himself behind-hand in the work, as evidenced from his undignified outburst at Waterford. Dublin, because it contained men of independent thought, with the courage of their convictions, was to be re-named Crankstown, and a Scotch importation into the "Freeman" office suggested the "dishing" of the Orangemen by the adoption of the Union Jack as the National flag of Ireland. Such truculent bossism was bound in the long run to bring its just retribution. That it did not come sooner is what surprises one most. Czarism is as inimical to human liberty in Ireland as in Russia. Let us hope we have seen the last of it in both countries.

AN IRISH PRIEST.

At the annual general meeting of the Gaelic League of London, held on the 31st May, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That this general meeting of the Gaelic League of London voices its protest against the deportation (without trial, or any charge being formulated against them) of Messrs. J. J. O'Kelly, Vice-President; Sean T. O'Kelly, General Secretary; two of the principal organisers, a member of the Coiste Gnotha, and other Gaelic Leaguers, and we are glad to see that these have had the effect of making the cause which the Gaelic League stands for stronger and more virile than ever; and that furthermore we demand that the President of the League, Eoin MacNeill, and his comrades at Lewes be either released immediately or treated as prisoners of war."

At a meeting of the Croin Muire Branch of Cumann na mBan, held in Longford on 6th inst. (Mrs. Brady in the chair, in the absence of Mrs. M. P. Connolly, President), the following resolution was proposed by Mrs. Brady, seconded by Mrs. J. Farrell, and passed unanimously:—"That the Irish confined in Lewes and Aylesbury be treated as prisoners of war. Their only offence was love of country, yet the British Government treat them as criminals, while they congratulate the Russians for acting similarly. We think the case of Countess Markievicz deserves immediate attention, and also that of Mr. Joe McGuinness, M.P., who has been so highly honoured by his countrymen in the recent election for So. Longford."

The enrolment of members in the Central Branch of Sinn Fein took place in the rooms, 6 Harcourt Street, on Monday night, 4th inst. Mr. W. L. Cole presided over a large meeting, and having explained the policy of Sinn Fein an interesting discussion ensued in which many present took part. The membership forms were then filled in and a large sum taken in subscriptions. A reading and meeting room for the members is now open each night and it is expected to be largely availed of.

Newcomers to the Central Branch Sinn Fein are asked to get in touch with the Hon. Secretary with a view to having their names proposed for membership. An Organising Committee is engaged in working up the various activities of the Branch, and they are prepared to give a helping hand to other centres where there is a prospect of establishing vigorous branches. At an early date it is intended to create a County Committee for Dublin, consisting of a delegate from each branch, and the future organising of Dublin will be devolved on this body. A good start has already been made in St. Patrick's Division, and the College Green and Harbour Divisions are in course of organisation.

Father Lynch presided at a meeting in Ballycastle, Co. Antrim, last week, at which a Sinn Fein Club was formed with the following officers:—President, Father Lynch, B.A., B.D., C.C.; Vice-President, Dr. Boylan; Treasurer, James McCarry; Sec., Frank Stronge; Committee (with power to add to their numbers), Louis J. Walsh, solr.; S. Clarke, J. McBride, and F. McCarry. It was decided that the club should devote itself very specially to educative work, and rooms have been secured in which a good supply of Nationalist literature will be kept for the use of members. It was also decided to have lectures and discussions on national topics at every meeting, and at the request of the Rev. Chairman, Mr. L. J. Walsh undertook to give an exposition of Sinn Fein views and aims at the next meeting. Having regard to the martyr's association with the district, it was decided that the club should be called the "Roger Casement Club."

IRISH COAL I cannot supply yet (owing to want of Railway facilities), but **Bright and Good Lasting HOUSE COAL and SLACK** at Lowest Prices I can.

A. S. CLARKIN, Coal Merchant, 208 St. Brunswick St. Special Quotation for Institutions. Phone 2769, Dublin

P. J. McCRANN, Auctioneer & Valuer LANESBORO', SOUTH LONGFORD.

A Trial Solicited. Telegrams—McCrann, Lanesboro'.

ABOUT LAUNDRY WORK.

EVERY SINGLE ARTICLE SENT TO THE **NATIONAL LAUNDRY Co.,** RECEIVES INDIVIDUAL ATTENTION. Head Office—60 WILLIAM ST., DUBLIN. Branches Everywhere.

Irish Horn Beads (green, white and orange), 10d. and 1/2, Post Free. Knitted bags to match, 6d. extra. "Key of Heaven" (in Irish and English), 8d. and 1/4, Post Free. A Beautiful Picture entitled "The United Irish Patriots of 1798," 1/3, Post Free. Ditto, "The Men of '98," 2/-, Post Free. Ditto, "The Parliament of Ireland," by F. Wheatly, R.A., complete (with key), 1/3, Post Free. Ditto, in colours, 1/9, Post Free. Ditto, "Dublin After the Bombardment," 1/9, Post Free. "The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps!)," by John Mitchel, Post Free, 1/3. "Ireland from the Siege of Limerick," by John Mitchel, 2/-, Post Free. "Wolfe Tone," by himself, 8d., Post Free. "Life and Times of Robert Emmet," 9d., Post Free. Back numbers of "Nationality" from Feb. 17th, 1917. "The Frongoch Barber always in attendance."

J. J. WALSH'S

IRISH EMPORIUM,

26 Blessington St., 19 Berkeley St., Dublin.

BELFAST SINN FEIN ORGANISATION

CRAOB SEAN MAC DIARMUIDA

Nationalists of Belfast

Don't shirk your duty any longer!
Don't wait until someone asks you to join!

Come to St. Mary's Minor Hall any Sunday Evening between 8 and 9 o'clock and enrol as a Member.

THE MISSES

O'HANRAHAN

High-class Tobacconists, Booksellers, Etc.

Our Specialities—"Flanna Fail" and "Swordsmen" Mixtures.

Irish Blackthorns, Camans, Camogs, Balls, etc., always in stock.

Post Orders promptly attended to.

354 North Circular Road, and 1 Goldsmith St., DUBLIN.

COLARTE BRIGOE, OMEIT
(ST. BRIGID'S IRISH COLLEGE, OMEATH CO. LOUTH).

THE CONVERSATIONAL COLLEGE.

AIM:
TO MAKE FLUENT SPEAKERS.

Most beautifully situated on Carlingford Lough, opposite Warrenpoint and Roostrevor.

Nearest Summer College to Dublin and Belfast. The Method used is Father O'Tuathail's famous "Phrase Method."

No Torture with Phonetics or Method Lessons.

First Session.—Monday, 9th July to Saturday, 12th August.

Second Session.—Monday, 6th August, to Saturday, 8th September.

Apply to—

Rev. SEUMAS O'QUINN, C.C.,
Bessbrook, Newry (Hon. Sec.).

Or to—

PEADAR O'DOWD,
Castletown Rd., Dundalk (Registrar).

Shamrock Dental Surgery

Complete Dental Service at Moderate Fees.

AN EXCLUSIVELY IRISH FIRM.

We pride ourselves on—

Our "Shamrock Ideal Set," at 21/-, and
Our Guaranteed Absolutely Painless Extractions

Hours, 10 to 8 daily. Consultations Free.

29 MARY STREET, DUBLIN (over Garry & Co.)

seamus m o brennan
(J. M. O'BRENNAN),

Fruiterer and Confectioner,
8 SANSFIELD QUAY, DUBLIN.

Vegetables. Fresh supplies daily delivered.

