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Week by Week.

President De Valera, on his return journey to New York, found Butte, Montana, crowded with people from all parts of the State who had come to welcome him. The Legislature also sent him an invitation to address it, and he accordingly broke his journey. In the evening he addressed a vast meeting in Hebegeu Park, presided over by Judge Lynch. On Saturday morning he was entertained at the Butte Club, where Mr. MacDowell, the Vice-Governor of the State, spoke on behalf of Irish independence, and in the name of the Legislature invited Mr. De Valera to address it from the floor of the House. The Mayor of Butte, Mr. Stodden, an American citizen of English birth, declared himself and the city he represented wholly in favour of the recognition by America of Ireland's independence.

On Sunday evening the Irish leader addressed a huge meeting, presided over by the Mayor, at Anaconda. He was entertained afterwards to a banquet by the citizens. On Monday Mr. De Valera returned to Butte, and addressed, at their request, the members of the organised Labour bodies, who received him enthusiastically. On Tuesday he addressed a meeting in Helena, and on Wednesday he was received by the State Legislature. The next day the Irish leader resumed his journey to New York.

The City of San Francisco, in the terms of the inscription carved on the gold plaque presented to President De Valera, officially recognised Ireland as a nation. During his visit to that great city Mr. De Valera was presented with a sword of honour and a silken Irish flag by the members of the Hindustan Gadar Party. At High Mass he was attended by a military guard of honour and chaplains. Father Yorke was the celebrant, and the church was decorated with flowers and American and Irish flags.

The State of Montana covers an area much greater than that of Ireland, Scotland and England combined. Its population is small (about 500,000), but rapidly increasing from year to year. Out of the total population the Irish-born are 10,000, or 2 per cent. Butte, with a population of some 50,000, is the largest city. Helena, the capital, has a population approaching 20,000, and Anaconda some 12,000. Montana is one of the great mineral States. It produces over 3,000,000 tons of coal annually, and immense quantities of copper, silver and lead.

"The reaction of the world war," says the "St. Louis Globe Democrat," "has brought the Irish problem to the front with greater strength and greater insistence than ever before. It is a problem that cannot be localised. There is a greater Ireland, and its boundary, we might say, is the periphery of the world. Wherever there are Irishmen—and where are they not?—there is something more than material, something less than concrete—an ideal, and that ideal encompasses an island, a particular island. In the United States there are more people of Irish birth or descent than there are Irish in Ireland, and no people have taken more readily or more kindly to American ideals and American institutions. They are woven through the society, the industry, the business and the politics of America inextricably. Therefore, the problem of Ireland is not something wholly alien, something far away, to which America can be indifferent. Ireland, though politically external, presents a domestic question to America. And it is not merely one of racial desires and sentiment. Sympathy for Ireland and concern for the Irish problem are not limited to the Irish in America. The feeling of friendly interest pervades all society. Nor does this grow out of intimate association alone. It has beneath it the ancient antagonism to England and the eternal sympathy of America for any nation struggling for freedom.

"For nearly a century the Irish question has been to an extent an Ame-

rican question. It has influenced politics and political action more or less through all these years. And it will continue to influence American politics and our social, commercial and political relations with Great Britain until a settlement satisfactory to the Irish is somehow made."

Mr. Lindsay Crawford, who will be remembered as one of the Independent Order of Orangemen, has appeared on the public platform in America as an advocate of Irish Independence. Some years ago Mr. Crawford, who was editor of the "Irish Protestant," left Ireland for Canada, where he has since resided. Speaking in New York, Mr. Crawford said "the Ulster question" was no religious question. It was the product of English policy, which always aimed to divide the people of Ireland. The Protestant people of Ulster had fought in the past for Irish Independence. Canada, said Mr. Crawford, would back up Ireland in her fight for life and liberty.

The City of St. John, New Brunswick, has a tradition that the American Tories who fought with the English against their country's independence had a hand in founding it. The Prince of Wales visited it last week and made a speech. In it he said: "The City of St. John was founded by men whose loyalty to the British Throne rose triumphant from a terrible ordeal, and I know that the spirit of your founders is strong in you to-day. It is a special pleasure to me that the first Canadian city which I am privileged to see should be the City of Loyalists." The people of the United States will appreciate all this.

Perhaps some readers of ours will send us a biographical sketch of Mr. Gordon Styles. A gentleman rejoicing in this name, or claiming to rejoice in it, has despatched from the U.S.A. to a person in Dublin, who for the present shall be nameless, a cablegram declaring "Anti-Sinn Fein Campaign in America absolutely essential," and he suggests that the person to whom he cables should arrange for "T. P. O'Connor, Dillon, Devlin and Plunkett" to be sent on. We are watching the worried look on the face of the man who has got the order to deliver the four anti-Sinn Fein bundles at New York.

Brigadier-General Hackett Payne, of the Carson Volunteer Force, is now the "competent military authority" for the North of Ireland, appointed by the Government of Mr. Lloyd George on the recommendation of Sir Edward Carson. In accordance with recent instructions he has set out to "proclaim" every Sinn Fein meeting in Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Down, Armagh, and Antrim. The object hoped to be achieved is the preservation of the Carsonite seats from the danger of capture by Sinn Fein.

The following seats at present held by the patrons of Hackett Payne have elements of insecurity in them:—North Fermanagh, South Tyrone, South Derry, East Down, Mid. Armagh, and North Antrim. Two of these seats are fairly certain to be won by Sinn Fein at the next opportunity. In the other cases the Sinn Fein strength is growing in each of the constituencies. Last week Hackett Payne ordered the suppression of Nationalist gatherings on Sunday and Lady Day in those six counties. Tanks, aeroplanes, machine-guns, bayonets and batons were used by him against the meetings of Ulstermen who repudiate Sir Edward Carson. On the other hand, demonstrations of Unionist voters and non-voters were encouraged and were held on the 12th August.

There is nothing new in this except its unusual openness. Hackett Payne is paid by the English Government, and directed by the Ulster Unionist Council.

"If the English who exercise the powers of government in Ireland desire the abolition of those agitations which have so long continued, which have increased by continuance, and which are daily increasing—those agitations

which neither proclamations, statutes, fines, imprisonments, transportations, military cruelties, nor death can appease—if they would stop the progress of bloodshed, let them remove the materials of contention, and first let them remove themselves." This has not been written by us—though it suits the situation exactly. It was written in the "Pres." newspaper on January 27, 1798. English rule in Ireland is a continuity.

The proclamation of the National Organisations in Clare is an effort of English propaganda to paint the constituents of Mr. De Valera as persons of the criminal class. There is less crime in Clare than in Rutlandshire. The document issued from the English headquarters in Ireland ordering the suppression of National Associations in Clare is signed by the English Chief Secretary and his Lord Chancellor. It cites, as proof of the "lawlessness" of Clare, the drilling of Volunteers. This Lord Chancellor is the same person who, in 1913, attended a parade of Carson's Volunteers and urged them to use their arms against any attempt to enforce the so-called Home Rule Act. In Clare 40,000 out of 100,000 people speak the Irish Language. The Irish Language Organisation there is now suppressed by the English Government. Prussia never acted thus in her treatment of the Poles.

The London "Times" has very ingeniously given away the reason for the display of tanks, armoured cars, and machine-guns and so forth in Ireland. That reason is not "the maintenance of law and order" or anything of that kind. It is "to cow the Irish," and the cowering has failed. "The hope," writes the chief English organ, "that an array of military force might cow the Irish into a frame of mind compatible with the eventual acceptance of some moderate measure of devolution has plainly miscarried." It has.

Last week we dealt with the case of Patrick Arkins, sentenced by Mr. Justice Dodd to seven years' penal servitude for injury to a wall. The extreme penalty for the offence with which Arkins was charged was, under the Common Law, a fine of £5. But Dodd and George MacSweeney, the Castle prosecutor, revived the Whiteboy Act in order to punish Arkins under it. This Act, revived in 1913 by the leading journalistic supporter of the Parliamentary Party, has since been continued, and is now being invoked against Sinn Feiners. It will be of interest to describe it.

The brutal Whiteboy Act was born of the confiscation of the commons and bogs of Munster by a greedy landlordism which had neither right nor title to them. Until the beginning of the latter half of the eighteenth century commonages for grazing existed throughout Munster, and free bogs, from which the fuel of the people could be taken for the labour involved, were frequent. Without any claim in law or justice, the Munster landlords proceeded to enclose the commonages and charge rent for grazing, and to seize and place guards over the free bogs and compel the unfortunate people to pay for their usage.

This high-handed robbery of the farmers and labourers reduced the poorest class to the last extreme of misery. A livelihood had been hard enough for thousands of them to make while they had free grazing and free fuel—when they had to pay for the privilege of both, countless families became destitute, and hundreds of others were left little better off. No protection, no justice could be looked for from the legislature or the law courts, both of which were at the time under the absolute control of Dublin Castle. With the alternative of starving or fighting, the bolder spirits among the unhappy peasantry resolved to fight. They assembled and tore down the walls and fences enclosing the commonages. The English Government retaliated with the infamous Act making the "malicious prostration of a wall" a matter of imprisonment for life and public whip-

ping. Similar savage penalties were decreed against the unhappy people if by any means they called in question the title of the robbers who had seized their commonages and bogs. This Act, instead of quieting the people, had the opposite effect. It rendered them desperate, and since heavier penalties could not be inflicted on them, it goaded them into the commission of atrocious acts upon their persecutors. Wearing their shirts over their clothes (hence the nickname Whiteboys), the plundered peasants sallied out at night, tearing down the enclosures and attacking the houses of those who guarded them, and sometimes inflicting cruel treatment on the poor wretches. To break up the Whiteboys the Castle proclaimed martial law, and arrested and hanged right, left and centre. One of those hanged under the law now revived was Father Nicholas Sheehy, of Clogheen, in Tipperary. He was perfectly innocent of the charge on which the Dodd of that day sentenced him to death. But his sympathy was notoriously with the unfortunate people whose grazing land and bog had been openly robbed from them, and so he was hanged.

Whiteboyism and the long train of similar secret agrarian societies thus had their origin in the open robbery of the poorest of the Irish peasantry, and the attempt to choke their voices in their own blood when they protested. Prior to this and the Whiteboy Act there were no secret agrarian societies amongst the Catholic Irish of the South. Whiteboyism spawned a numerous and bloody progeny, and the sanguinary history of agrarian Ireland from 1760 until 1890 is largely traceable to the seizure of the people's common land and bogs and the atrocious Whiteboy Act, which drove the despoiled to desperation. It may be said without exaggeration that that Act was responsible for the murder, legal and otherwise, of twenty thousand Irish peasants and ten thousand Irish landlords and their retainers.

After Catholic Emancipation, when the forty-shilling freeholders were being exterminated, the Whiteboy Act was brought up-to-date and applied with merciless severity to destroy the unfortunate people. After the Famine period, however, the English Government got ashamed of the Act, and in 1861 they assimilated the law of malicious damage in England with that of Ireland. Under that Act the penalty for maliciously damaging a wall is a fine not to exceed five pounds. But the Whiteboy Act remained on the Statute Book, either by accident or more probably as a weapon in reserve. The Castle found it there, and ingeniously revived this infamy of the eighteenth century. There has been nothing like it since Edward Carson earned his promotion at the Bar by disinterring a statute centuries old, under which Irish Nationalists might be heavily punished for doing what, according to the common law, was not illegal. Carson was an unknown lawyer when he made the discovery, and on it he climbed into office, wealth and title.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor and his surviving colleagues have since December, 1918, assisted the English Government to the best of their ability against the demand of the Irish Nation for independence. In return that Government at their request disfranchised the municipal and county electors of Ireland—until next year—thus preventing the machinery of local government in Ireland from coming for the present under the control of the electors. During the Peace Conference Mr. T. P. O'Connor spent much of his time in Paris, where he tried to instil into the minds of Poles and other European peoples the idea that the Irish people did not seek complete independence. Mr. O'Connor later on sought out Mr. Frank Walsh, and told him that he (Mr. O'Connor) was amazed and gratified at the tremendous advance Ireland had made—also that he (Mr. O'Connor) could assure him that Mr. Lloyd George was "within three weeks" about to propose a most wonderful solution of the

Irish question. Mr. O'Connor failed to impress Mr. Walsh or elicit any information from him. He is now back in London serving England at home. His latest effort is this, in excuse for England's proclamation of the County Clare: "I understand that the Dublin Castle decision has followed upon a series of reports from the disaffected districts of a very similar kind to those which reached Mr. Birrell before the Easter Rebellion of 1916." Mr. O'Connor, in sending out his apologia for the dragoners, speaks, it appears, as the mouthpiece of "Parliamentary Nationalist opinion"—that is, for the six accidents of the last General Election.

Mr. Shortt is the English Home Secretary. He invented a German Plot in Ireland in 1918, and he is professing to discover Bolshevik plots now in England. An English Labour leader recently charged the English Government with employing a man named Watson to interrupt his meetings and to foment strikes. The English Home Secretary, replying, admitted the fact, but excused it. Watson, he said, "was not regularly in the pay of the Government." He "volunteered certain information," and when that information was found correct and was acted upon "he was paid for it." Watson, we find from another English paper, was Chairman of the London Workers' Committee.

The contempt with which the rules of English law are treated by those who draw salaries for administering it in Ireland is a curious sign of the times. A prisoner, according to English law, cannot be sentenced to hard labour as the alternative to giving bail or paying a fine. But the English resident magistrates in Ireland, ignoring the rules of law, are now imposing the hard labour alternative.

Mr. Robert Anderson, arrested and imprisoned for a Sinn Fein speech, is one of the most respected citizens of Sligo, a Protestant, and a man of distinguished character and attainments. Since his imprisonment the jailers have endeavoured to treat him as a criminal, and he is now on hunger-strike for political prisoner treatment. The jailers, as their excuse, allege "they have orders from the Castle." Evidently that institution cherishes a particular animus to our Protestant fellow-countryman.

Mr. Paul Galligan, T.D. for West Cavan, is the latest Irish representative to be imprisoned. He was arrested, hurried to Belfast, and the next the bulk of the people of Ireland knew about the matter was an announcement from Dublin Castle that he had been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. Mr. Galligan is the seventh Irish representative at present in prison. The others are:—Mr. Austin-Stack, member for East Kerry; Mr. Finian Lynch, member for South Kerry; Mr. P. Beasley, member for East Kerry; Mr. J. Lennan, member for Carlow; Mr. J. J. Clancy, member for North Sligo; and Mr. Laurence Ginnell, member for Westmeath.

The treatment which Mr. Pierce Beasley—a distinguished scholar, a well-known writer, and an elected public representative—is receiving in his English prison is marked by malignity. When he was brought to Birmingham Prison it was sought to treat him there as one with the wife-murderer, the thief, and the ravisher. He resisted, and the attempt was defeated. But while he is not forced to associate daily with English criminaldom, he is kept in practically solitary confinement, spending nearly 23 hours out of the 24 in his cell. Visits and letters are only allowed at the rate of one a fortnight. This treatment is calculated to physically break down a naturally delicate man.

The English people, if they continue in the direction they are going at present will require to have the title of their daily newspapers altered to "Chronicles of Crime." Not a day passes but one, two, or three atrocious English crimes are recorded in the papers which point to the criminality

of the Irish people. These crimes, in many instances, leave in the shade the awful atrocities alleged to have been committed by England's enemy in the late war, to say nothing of the atrocities alleged to be committed by England's present enemy.

The English rioters in Liverpool, says the "Catholic Herald," showed a nice discrimination. The first three shops they attacked were those of a Catholic firm, and the Catholic and Irish houses in Scotland Road were the first to be attacked. The business premises of Messrs. Daly and of Mr. John Hughes, two well-known Irish firms, were completely wrecked. Mr. Peter Murphy's "88 Shop" was attacked in a fashion which showed premeditation. One of the windows of his shop, filled with tobacco and general goods, was left untouched. The other, stocked with Irish literature and Catholic emblems, was smashed to atoms.

The Belfast Corporation not only refused to invest money—a million was the amount the English Government requested it to invest—in the English Victory Loan, but on top of its refusal advertised for money to be invested in its own stock—sums from £100 upwards in multiples of £10. The Belfast plutocrats have made huge profits out of the war, and they do not consider English Funds a good security to invest those profits in. An "urgent appeal" to "the citizens of Belfast" for £13,000 to meet the bill for the Carson celebration last week, in which all the members of the English Government took part, has not sufficed as yet to raise the money, the Belfast profiteers keeping a tight grip on the profits. £24,000 in all was spent on the affair, of which £6,000 was voted by the Corporation. The Corporation of Dublin has no power to vote money for any similar purpose—it is forbidden to vote a penny to entertain any distinguished visitor or extend civic hospitality to any person, body or association. But the Corporation of Belfast can, and does, use the rates for such purposes. If the citizens of Belfast do not make good that £13,000, we suggest to the Lord Mayor that the same source in England that supplied the funds for staging the Covenant, and carrying on "the Ulster campaign," might be appealed to with satisfactory results.

After a strong effort to keep the English sovereign up to some standard of financial decency, it has relapsed again. The sovereign "broke" on Saturday on the New York exchange and tumbled down to 4 dollars 27½ cents—the lowest ever reached. This is a fall in value of the English sovereign of almost 60 cents, or half a crown. In other words, an English sovereign is only worth 17s. 6d. in or to America.

As we go to press the sovereign has fallen another 3 cents.

English credit is now at the lowest it ever reached in America, and it is likely to fall lower. The Government in England, with a daily revenue of £2,375,000, is expending £4,400,000, or piling on the top of the present huge debt another debt of £800,000,000 for the present year. Next year England must face the problem of raising out of revenue the expenses of her upkeep—her army, navy, civil government, pensions, interest, and sinking fund. For the past five years she has lived out of loans. She is living this year on loaned money. Next year she must, on the basis of much less production, trade and industry, seek to raise four times the revenue she raised in 1913. How it is to be done no one knows—none less than the Government. They are waiting for a miracle or a crash, and meantime they are squandering millions weekly. Happy is the man who has no money invested in English Government "securities."

The Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York has issued some vivid statistics on the war. The securities now outstanding against the seven chief Powers engaged in the war represent a sum six times as large as all the bank deposits of the United States, and twelve times as large as all the gold and silver mined in the ages. The indebtedness of England before the war was represented 4 per cent. of her wealth. It now represents 44 per cent. The exports of the United States were valued in 1914 at 2,101 million dollars. They were valued last year at 6,120 million dollars.

Two English banks in Sheffield are engaged in promoting an issue of share capital on behalf of a firm carrying on an ironworks manufacturing plant and machinery for steel production. These banks have bought 200,000 ordinary shares, and are selling them at a profit.

This is an example of the manner in which English banks help English industry. Whether it is a good way or not may be questioned, but we do not think that it can be questioned that, given a sound enterprise of national utility, the example has the effect of stimulating production. The banks are the custodians of the savings of the country, and we await with interest any better proposals for helping industry in Ireland with the several hundred millions of pounds of which the banks in Ireland have the guardianship.

In this case to which we allude there is a mortgage of £70,000 disclosed, and no doubt it is good policy on the part of the banks to pass on this liability to the public. Many of our industries are heavily mortgaged to the banks, who will not lend beyond a certain fixed amount, which takes no account of the possibilities of future development. Here the speculative element enters, and it is the privilege of the public and not the banks to speculate on the possibilities of the future, to take the risks with the profits. It may be good policy for banks to get the public to take the financing of industries out of their hands, but how many banks in Ireland have made efforts to get the Irish investing public to place their savings in Irish industries? On the contrary, we find the banks in this country devoted to the policy of taking the savings of the Irish people and permanently investing them out of the country. Now, no banker is justified in locking up his cash in investments. His business is to make short loans and keep the position liquid, and subject to periodical review. The banks in Ireland are crippling themselves as well as the country with English mortgages.

Let us contrast the policy of the American banks. They are steering a great campaign for foreign trade. Many of them have formed special foreign trade departments. These, of course, perform the ordinary functions of advising their customers on questions of credit and discounting bills abroad. But they do much more to help the American exporter. They show him how to ship his goods, they even find customers for him, and they keep him well posted in foreign demands, tariffs, freights, and all necessary details. It would be interesting to know how many banks in Ireland endeavour to render these services for our exporters. How many banks in Ireland have a foreign department?

It is announced from the American Consulate that Messrs. Moore, McCormack, and Co., 5 Broadway, New York, intend operating a regular freight service of Shipping Board steamers between New York and Dublin. Their first steamer to call will be the *Corapeake*, which is expected to enter the Port shortly.

The firm of Moore and McCormack is already well known and has extensive shipping connections. It operates South American, European, Baltic and West Indian lines. It is the first over-seas line to place Ireland on the map.

Mr. Geo. Van Dyne, of the American Consulate, states that the gradual modification of import restrictions and the resulting increase of trade between the United States and Ireland, together with the growing desire on the part of American firms to buy Irish products, points towards the success of this new undertaking.

The establishment of an American freight service with Ireland is the first visible sign of the growth or rather the revival of American shipping. Time was when our harbours were crowded with American clippers. But during the Civil War they were swept off the seas by English pirates. We were lately speaking with an Irishman who was in New York at the conclusion of the Civil War, over fifty years ago. He told us that the American feeling on the subject was inexpressibly bitter. They have neither forgotten nor forgiven England.

The years of the Civil War saw England reaching out for that shipping supremacy she has since held without rival or competitor. But the day of restoration of the seas is coming for the United States. To the seas she owes her liberty—to the seas, with the help of Ireland.

No nation has made such rapid progress in shipbuilding as the United States is making now. The actual figures published by Lloyds do not give a real glimpse of these mighty strides. It is true that according to the latest available statistics there is now nearly

double the English tonnage on the shipways of the United States. But two years ago English ship-builders could never believe that America could succeed as a ship-builder. But not merely has the American succeeded, but he has beaten England and left her standing in the race.

The great point which the English made was that American labour was untrained. At the start of the campaign American standardised ships were badly made. The work was inexperienced. But after a few months of hard work, and Americans can work, the riveters got on the job, and they have since made good themselves, and made the ships good.

We lately saw some American grain freighters in our port. The Stars and Stripes are no longer an object of curiosity, but part of the sea-line. The American ships looked to us to be made of real good steel and to be much better rivetted than the English steamers alongside. They are also better equipped with quick-handling machinery.

What struck us most was, however, quite a different fact. The ship we were looking at was high out of the water, just discharged. The crew, with their white round caps, were strung out in lines around the bow, all busy with pots of paint and singing cheerily at their work as happy as bees. Alongside was an English ship, steering up with high bulkhead, a black, dirty-looking hulk, with a sullen and cheerless crew. What an international contrast was there!

The American ship-builders pay great attention to the comfort of the crew. An American ship is a home, not a prison. The crew are berthed amidships with good cabins, well lighted and ventilated. They have good wash-rooms and shower baths, with hot and cold water. The mess-rooms are situated away from the sleeping accommodation and next to the galley, so that hot meals can be served in bad weather. How different this is to the "accommodation" for the crew on board English ships!

The Americans have begun to build ships, and they have taken the opportunity to build well, even though the first cost is reckoned about a third greater than in England. But the running costs are considerable lower. The American ships are built for oil fuel, which can be stored economically to last the return voyage. Their bunker capacity for a standard freighter is seven thousand miles, so that they are independent of English coaling stations. This will be a very important factor in the case of the Irish trade.

Australia has filled her first contract for 100,000 pairs of boots for Europe. A few short years ago the Commonwealth was exporting its hides and importing its boots. Now there are no more Australian hides coming, but there are Australian boots coming. During the war Australia determined to clothe, equip, and feed its own soldiers. The result is that this pre-war pastoral country has become a manufacturing exporter. It is time that Ireland followed Australia's example.

Messrs. W. and M. Goulding, Ltd., are placing an issue of fresh capital, "to meet extensions and further developments." The amount involved is £150,000, in 30,000 shares, of which a third has already been taken up privately. This company, now established for forty-seven years, imports large quantities of phosphates for the manufacture of fertilizers, which play so great a part in agricultural production. It suffers, however, from a great scarcity of shipping, and its stocks afloat are the lowest on record. It is, as far as has been publicly disclosed, the first company engaged in industry in Ireland to come on the market for fresh capital since before the war. The total capital is now increased to half a million. It is important to note that the new issue ranks with the existing ordinary shares as fully participating in future dividends and all other respects. This shows great confidence in the future. There is abundant money in the country, and there are plenty of opportunities for retaining it for the development of the resources of our country. But it must be admitted that hitherto little opportunity has been given for the general public to find suitable investments in new issues in Ireland. A proposition that adds to the producing power of essential industries is worthy of consideration.

The boom in the City of Dublin Steampacket Co. shares is plainly the result of a determined campaign to

capture it from the outside. The ordinary soared to 278 last week. It jumped five pounds at one bound. This cannot be the result of traffic. Meanwhile the price has slackened to 274, but preference has risen from £100 to £105, another jump of five. These operations are directed to securing a controlling interest for the English trust. The Dundalk and Newry line is now receiving attention, and the shares are rising. The plan to capture the "feeding lines" is in motion. It is to be hoped that holders will sit tight.

England destroyed the Irish woollen industry in order to firmly establish her own manufacture, not alone in Continental markets but in Ireland. "In reasons of State," England's Governor of Ireland, Lord Stafford wrote in 1633, "so long as they (the Irish) did not indrape their own wools, they must of necessity fetch their clothing from us, and consequently in a sort depend upon us for their livelihood, and thereby become so dependent upon this Crown as they could not depart from us without nakedness to themselves and children." The destroyed Irish woollen industry is slowly returning to life, while, as a sort of retributive justice, England's woollen manufactures are being ousted by the manufactures of the French—her ally in the recent war. The "Wool Record and Textile World," an English publication, records the fact that French manufacturers are now taking orders in single warp serges which will be sold for the English home trade, and patterns are being shown in Manchester at prices 1s. 6d. per yard less than similar goods made in Bradford. A few weeks ago orders were given from London and Bradford for good dress serges made in Roubaix at 9s. 6d. a yard dyed. "Deliveries are now coming through, and we are informed," says the "Wool Record and Textile World," in a woe-begone way, "that the cloths could not be produced in these districts at anything less than 3s. a yard more than the price paid to the French makers." This fact is all the more interesting since the French manufacturers purchase their raw wool in London, ship it to France, manufacture the cloth, and ship it back to London. If we bear in mind that a large quantity of the wool thus sold to French merchants by English brokers is purchased in Ireland, we can easily imagine that the English brokers must make a pretty profit at the expense of the Irish traders. Direct trading between Ireland and France would put an end to the Englishman's profit on Irish wool, and put extra money in the pockets of our people. Until such time as the Irish woollen industry is developed sufficiently to require all the raw material produced in this country, Ireland should see to it that she sells to the highest bidder.

A General Election is expected in France in October. What will come out of it is difficult to say, but it is expected to lead to the disappearance of M. Clemenceau, the maker, as the French now bitterly call it, of "the English Peace." The French Parliament will enter on the discussion of the ratification of the peace at the end of this month, and an exciting period in French politics will be covered by the months of September and October.

The Commission of the French Parliament appointed to report on the Treaty has adopted a report strongly hostile to M. Clemenceau, who is in effect accused of sacrificing French interests to his pro-Englishism. M. Barthou, the Secretary (reporter) of the Commission, himself a member of the Peace Conference, declares that the Chairmanship of the Conference was given to Clemenceau merely as a device to use him for other interests than those of France. That the French Parliament will refuse to ratify the Treaty is improbable. France is exhausted. She has been bled almost to death. Six millions of her people have been killed or wounded fighting, as they thought, for France and France's interests—really for something else, which France, as she looks towards Persia and Syria, now clearly perceives. She has been dining with Brinville, and she is suffering the effects. But France's anger and disappointment must find a vent, and that vent at present seems Clemenceau. All his life he has been the champion of England in France, and all through his political life the English Embassy in Paris has been his backer. In the days of the Boer War he was the only Frenchman who supported England and reviled the Boers. All this is now recalled against him, and in France, where a phrase can kill, the phrase now coined to describe the so-called world-

peace as "England's pence," is politically killing Clemenceau. He is likely to expire in October if the General Election takes place this year. Who will succeed him is questionable. Briand and Caillaux are his ablest rivals, and the former is likely to be Clemenceau's successor. The task of setting France on its feet again will be a stupendous one. To realise what it means, let it be recollected that the drain of war has now reduced the population of France so much that Italy now surpasses France in population. In essaying it, Briand will be free from the weakness of the present Premier. Unlike Clemenceau, he has neither love nor regard for England.

Persia is now in the grip of England, and France is sought to be ejected out of the reality of control in Syria—so the French Press, despite the Censorship, which still exists, and which M. Clemenceau has ruthlessly used against his critics, is in a ferment. After twelve years of the Entente Cordiale France has discovered La Perfidie Albion again, and not even the strength of the old Anglophile Clemenceau can arrest the expression of France's bitterness.

We understand that Buttle's Bacon Factory at Enniscothy has been purchased by Mr. J. F. Barr, who was one of the promoters of the Irish Packing Co., Ltd., Drogheda. It will be recollected that it was alleged that Mr. Barr was engaged in promoting another packing company in the South of Ireland, and his connection with the Drogheda enterprise ceased. It remains to be seen in whose interest Mr. Barr is acting. The site at Enniscothy is well situated, from an industrial point of view, for the dressed meat industry. We have already pointed out that the openings for this industry have been seized by firms centred in London. It is an industry which should flourish in Dublin. Already there has been a considerable diversion of live stock from the port. A dressed meat industry, once established, cannot be removed or diverted. The cattle export business is, from every point of view, an uncertain and precarious occupation, with little stability in it. We point out, in the course of an article on the Hide Markets, the operation by which the English War Office takes a toll of sixpence in the lb. on every hide exported. This yields a revenue of half a million a year. If such a tax could be applied to the establishment of a great dead meat and by-products enterprise it would lay the foundation of a key industry of national dimensions. As it is, however, it is diverted to waste, or worse than waste, to a foreign military occupation to guard the grass, and to prevent that production for which the Continent of Europe is hungering.

"I imagine," writes a Belfast priest, "the following is a fair illustration of the political outlook in Ireland to-day, outside the Carson camp. A couple of youngsters went around during the day collecting 'h'pence for a bonfire for the night of 'the fifteenth'—you know that the Feast of the Assumption is not referred to, in Hibernian circles, by that name, nor by Lady Day, nor La Muire More—just the fifteenth. The youngsters had a miniature bonfire down the street here—I should say this is West Belfast, or the Falls Division. There was evidently a vigorous opposition somewhere in the vicinity of children also, for I could hear, till a late hour, vociferous shouts of 'Up the rebels' and the lusty singing of a 'Soldier's Song,' to which the 'ancient' juveniles responded with what do you think?—'The Swance River.'"

Mr. Joseph Devlin entertained some of his followers near Dundalk on Friday; on Sunday a detachment of the army of occupation was sent to the same place to prevent Sinn Feiners holding a meeting. As Mr. Dillon used to say, the English Government is certainly helping Sinn Fein.

That interesting phrase, "the Irish question," was born when Irishmen first made their appearance in England's Parliament; it received its death-blow last December. To-day "the Irish question," beloved of England's comic statesmen, has ceased to exist. Even Mr. Devlin's attempt to revive the joke will fail to bring a smile to the lips of the hard-pressed English Government.

The last day for lodging claims for names to be placed on the absent voters' list is Saturday next, the 23rd inst. The provisions dealing with this subject should be extensively availed of for harvesters, etc. Directors and Sub-Directors' attention is particularly drawn to Instructions, No. 2, page 1.

The Freedom of the Seas.

II.

If we are prepared to admit that the British Empire is the only thing in the world worth living for, and the gold of London the only thing worth dying for, one will readily grant the justice of her arrogant claim that she must remain the 'Mistress of the Seas.' But there are those who cannot see why the little island of England, hardly bigger than Ireland, has any more right to this arrogant claim than, say, Ireland herself might have. Suppose Dublin, instead of London, happened to be the capital of a universal empire, which in the early days of piracy and buccaneering, sea brigands had founded and extended by sea-power, first to England, then to India, to Australia, etc. Would anyone listen with patience to the claim of an Irishman that, because Ireland was a little island, therefore she had a right to keep in her possession instruments of war that forced her perpetual brigandage upon the rest of the world, including Britain? Would not the English themselves be the very last to admit the preposterous claim? Yet this is the argument that England makes, and finds fools or knaves in the world to listen to. It is maintained by them that she should be strong by the inverse ratio of her strength. She should be allowed to swagger around with battleships which, if she had to support them by her own resources, she could not afford to build at all.

It would be one thing for the United States, with its marvellous resources and more than three million square miles, to contend that because we are the biggest, and the greatest, and the richest nation in the world, we had the right to the largest navy, and thereby to the control of the seas; which power I am sure we should never employ except for justice and humanity. This presumption, even by us would be an arrogance. But for England to say it: that forsooth because she is little and naturally poor, she has a right to dominate the world and to exploit it, and to make of her little speck of land simply the place where the bankers and brokers and usurers fortify themselves behind the steel walls of battleships in order that they may keep the spoils—that is truly a mountain of arrogance. No nation should imperil their peace and happiness; they must 'of right' have the largest navy in the world, because of 'the peculiar character of their empire'—this 'imperial race' of pirates! Piracy must be perpetuated by the weapons of piracy, lest the pirates lose the swag! This is an argument heard in the twentieth century! which, unless granted, we are smugly told will mean perpetual war. Unless England is allowed to exploit the world, there will be war, war, war.

There was a time when the United States, by virtue of our great resources, had the carrying tonnage of the world. Our flag was seen in every port; the American clipper was everywhere. Shortly after the outbreak of the European war our goods and wares, the products of our fields and factories, were piled upon our docks, waiting for ships that dare not sail the ocean. We were without any foreign shipping worthy of the name. Cotton had fallen to nothing. The business of America was paralysed because the menace of England had driven belligerent shipping from the sea, and her own shipping was still afraid to venture forth except under heavily expensive convoy. All this went into the prohibitive price of freightage and correspondingly destroyed values. It was to relieve this intolerable plight of a great nation that President Wilson then addressed Congress urging the passage of his shipping bill in these words:

Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session, but as yet passed by neither House. In my judgment, such legislation is imperatively needed and cannot wisely be postponed. The Government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide: open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the Government monopolising the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the Congress will be of this opinion, and that both Houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

Since that time we were drawn into the war, and now the war is over. But it took its stern realities to drive us to a Shipping Programme. It may be safely assumed that we have at last embarked again upon a maritime career, and that some day, unless we settle the Freedom of the Seas by absolute universal naval disarmament, and their control under a League of Nations, the time must come when by our trading supremacy over England she will challenge us, as she has never failed to challenge each of her previous rivals as they ascended the scale of commerce.

In every war and in every settlement England's idea was sea-power and the extension of her empire. The instant peace came, as in the case of 'Cromwell's Celebrated Navigation Act,' she declared, even as she is declaring practically this very day, that 'all imports into England or her colonies must be conveyed exclusively in vessels belonging to England herself. Only yesterday she issued an embargo against even American goods in American bottoms, actually forbidding the importation of many of our products, and, by slashing freight rates and other devices, making it necessary to carry the remainder only in her own bottoms. Is it not clear, therefore, that the unbroken policy of centuries of the British Empire is unchanged? It does not matter that we were yesterday her friend, her saviour, and that to-day we are not her enemy. We are her rival. That is the point; and she will brook no rival.' Her rival is in her view her next enemy. Nor does the fact that Germany was yesterday her enemy affect her policy. She would join hands with Germany to-morrow, now that Germany has been swept from the sea.

Take for instance the case of Louis XIV., who not for four years, as in the case of Germany, but for fifty years, had been a thorn in her side, ravaging her with wars. Yet she struck hands with him for the purpose of making a 'destructive attack upon the Dutch Republic,' the 'Dutch Republic' of that day being the menacing sea-power. Fearing, however, even while she struck hands with him, and warning him that the friendship could only last as long as he kept off the sea, she did not wait long before attacking France again.

It is not too much to say that everything now going on at Paris is a mere smoke-screen, skilfully produced by the masters of the British Navy, behind which they are determined to procure her safety upon the sea. And yet there can be no permanent peace unless this security is broken. Wilson himself has said it.

In December, 1916, before we were at war, when he was seeking to bring the conflict in Europe to an end, he declared that of course there could be no peace unless the seas were made free. He realised even then that although we were not parties to the conflict, we had an abiding interest in the terms of peace.

He said: "No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend."

And as the main provision of the peace, after providing for the independence alike of all nations, and granting them access to the sea, he demands that:

"The paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of Peace, Equality, and Co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical re-consideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it."

"It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult

questions of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay."

If this indeed was the position of the United States, a mere neutral, a well-wisher for all, but a sharer also in the peace that was to follow the war, with how much more force then must we stand by these principles now that we not only entered the war, but beyond question, contributed to it the elements of victory. This is our victory, and it must be our peace, especially as it is a peace of which we seek nothing but justice. The Freedom of the Seas is indeed 'the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation,' for in its absence we shall have wars without end. No longer, therefore, do we need words on this subject. The record is written. Deeds, and only deeds will count; and as 'it is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe,' the Paris Conference will be nothing but a monstrous farce, or rather a perfidious fraud, unless all the navies of the world but an irreducible minimum, by its solemn terms, be taken out into the middle of the deep and sunk without further ceremony. Then will the seas be free, and the world made safe for 'peace, equality, co-operation' and civilisation. Then—and never till then.

(The End.)

Irish Topography.

Dysert-Diarmada, or Irish Place-Names. Their Beauty and Their Degradation. By An Irish C.C. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 7s. 6d. net.

Twenty years ago William Rooney, in the "United Irishman"—the old "U.L.," as its readers affectionately called it—dealt with the neglect of Irish topography as a subject of instruction and education in educational institutions in Ireland. The unfortunate scholar, he pointed out, is (in this charge, alas! is still true) primed with the legends of Mount

the Dead Sea, and the junctions of the London and North Western; but of Ireland he is told next to nothing, since the knowledge of anything Irish is not a factor in competitive examinations. Hence, he said, we grow up with the haziest ideas about Irish places, except for such towns as Belfast or Cork or Drogheda: have only the dimmest acquaintance with the lakes, mountains, plains and rivers that go to make Ireland; know somewhat more about Timbuctoo than Tullamore, and are more certain of the source of the Nile than the Shannon. A small party travelling quite recently in a train along the Dublin and Wicklow coastline fell almost accidentally into a discussion of the origin of the names of the places they were being carried through, and, while all were able to maintain the conversation in Irish, they had to admit that they had neglected to make a study of local place-names, though they parted with vows registered that by the time they should come together again they would have done something at least to remove what they agreed was a cause of self-reproach. Each would have been glad to listen to the others expounding local history or tradition, that would have made the journey again, and helped to keep the past alive. For them, to their grief he said, the rivers and lakes had no message in their music, the voices of the glens and groves, the mountains, and the lovely places spoke unmeaningly. They might appreciate their beauty, their rugged grandeur, or their soft splendour, but they were merely earth and verdure to them.

Men have not been wanting at all times to draw attention to the valuable materials slipping from us, and Rooney reminded his readers that Davis, with his ever-clear vision, saw the necessity of something being done in the matter. In 1844 Davis wrote to O'Brien: "Either you or I or someone should compile a short account of the geography, history and statistics of Ireland, accompanied by a map. We must do more to educate the people. This is the only moral force in which I have any faith." That was three-quarters of a century ago, and until the issue of "Dysert-Diarmada" practically the only work on the subject available to the ordinary man in the street was Dr. Joyce's "Irish Names of Places." The present book is the

outpouring of an Irish priest's love for the land that bore him, and not a page of it but bears evidence of that love and of wide research in the domain of local history. It is brimming over with deep learning and kindly humour, and deserves an honoured place among books dealing with Ireland.

Dysert-Diarmada is itself the older and (as our author contends) the better name for Castledermot, in the County Kildare. It serves to introduce us to a topographical history mainly of the County Kildare, but the history is by no means confined to that county. Names of ecclesiastical origin are declaredly first favourites, and, in fact, the author proclaims that his main object was to adduce corroborative evidence that should justify Ireland's right and title to be called the Island of Saints. And wherever that object leads he follows, and so we find ourselves carried all over Ireland—to places here and there and everywhere, and always the translation is pleasant, and we come back enriched with knowledge we had not before. Sometimes our author goes so fast that our breath is almost taken away, and we are left barely sufficient time to mark passages for later perusal at our leisure.

To some the style of the book will appear in places rather flippant. There is a bubbling humour side by side with quotations from archaeological journals and references to Ptolemy and other learned ancients that may appear inapposite, but the humour is not displayed without a purpose, although the transition from "grave to gay" is at times startling. There is no pretence that the volume is a text complete or by any means complete text-book (it is not a text-book at all as the term is usually understood), but nevertheless there are about 400 place-names explained, and the reader's appetite is whetted for further knowledge. "It is to be hoped," said Rooney in the article already referred to, "that one of the earliest school texts the Gaelic League produces will be an Irish geography in Irish, which will do something towards dissipating the apathy and ignorance that surround the subject in our day schools, and indeed in every department of our daily life." "Anyway," says our Irish C.C., "when the Gaelic League supplements its splendid activities by seriously encouraging the study of local history, it is to be hoped to offer a volume as we venture to suggest, for the history of a centre in which it is settled that their succeeding annual Ard-Fheis shall be held—then gradually will our long-neglected old towns, such as Dysert-Diarmada, wear at last their laurels, and the whole country discover itself and think more about itself."

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1919.

Tableaux Vivants

(On Monday last the London "Times" revealed the object of the tanks, armoured cars, aeroplanes, and 120,000 English soldiers in Ireland. "The hope," it wrote, "that an array of military force might cow the Irish into a frame of mind compatible with the eventual acceptance of some moderate measure of devolution has plainly miscarried.")

The miscarriage of the plan to cow Ireland into the eventual acceptance of some moderate measure of devolution has led to what its onlookers are pleased to term a new policy. The new policy provides for 13,000 additional troops to be drafted into the province of Ulster to be used by Sir Edward Carson's nominee, Hackett Payne, against the Nationalists of that province. Behind the screen of these troops Carson is to reorganise and reanimate his volunteers, and demand "separate treatment for Ulster." This, as arranged in Wales recently, is to be Mr. Lloyd George's excuse to America.

The stupidity of England's so-called statesmen in dealing with Ireland is invincible. That these men thought they could cow the Irish Nation with their 120,000 soldiers, tanks, aeroplanes and armoured cars is certain. Their failure has taught them nothing. They send their lords lieutenant, chief secretaries and lords chancellor to Belfast, and they summon Sir Edward Carson to Wales to urge him to reorganise his "Ulster Volunteers" in order that they may pretend to America that there are "two nations in Ireland."

All that is taking place in the North of Ireland now—all that is arranged to take place in the next six weeks—is arranged with one sole view—to influence the American Congress and the American people. (The new tanks, the new aeroplanes, the new armoured cars, the additional 13,000 troops, the "Covenant" celebrations, are all new

pieces in a playstaged for America's deception.

And while these paltry stage-players, masquerading as statesmen, devote themselves to their trickery and call it statesmanship, their country dies before their eyes. Its industries fail, its trade decreases, its revenues fall, and its expenditure increases. They expend 2,000,000 pounds a day more than the country is able to provide from its revenues, and actually bid those, from whose pockets they extract the money, economise. It would be wrong to say that never in her history has England been in such a critical position. Twice, indeed, she has been, but in these crises she had big men to lead her. To-day she is governed by the littlest of men—men without patriotism or policy. At a moment when England is on the very brink of financial bankruptcy, her chief statesmen have gathered privately together to arrange a series of **tableaux vivants** in the North of Ireland.

Our Foreign Trade

Important steps are being taken to further the relations of Ireland with the United States and France. Already direct consignments of American goods and samples are on their way over the Atlantic to Ireland. We have before us the manifest of the first consignment dated New York, July 9, by the Commercial Baltic Line, per the good ship Lakeside, to a Dublin consignee. Advances have also been cabled that the Lake Grenna sailed on Aug. 9 with goods for Ireland. These vessels are calling at Belfast as well as Dublin. The Corapeak is also advised to enter Dublin port shortly. This is the inauguration of a direct general freight service between New York and Ireland.

This service which is now being established is operated by the Moore, McCormack Company, who are well known as the managers of the Commercial Baltic Line. These steamers will call regularly in future, and exporters of Irish produce and merchandise are assured of facilities such as have not hitherto existed for the sale of their goods in the great Continent of America. Of all nations in Europe, we are the nearest to the United States in every sense of proximity, but we have been for several generations deprived of the invaluable benefits of direct trade and intercourse with the American people.

The inauguration of a special Irish service is a manifestation of the desire of the American people to enter once more into the only form of intercourse between nations which can be permanent, the intercourse of exchange of commodities. So far as the merchandise into this country bears the mark U.S.A. we can bespeak on behalf of the Irish people a hearty welcome to its arrival. We believe that both Irish merchants and the Irish public are willing to purchase American produce. It is important that it should come direct through agencies established in Ireland, because its price will be lower, and because direct delivery will avoid the long and expensive detention at the congested English ports. Besides, it will come here quicker than it can be sent to England. We can understand American goods coming to Ireland, warehoused here, and re-exported to England and the Continent. But we cannot understand why American goods should be consigned to Ireland via English ports. It involves delay and expense and it is the reverse of what one would expect from our geographical position.

But it is necessary to reciprocate the trade of America. It is necessary to provide return freight for the ships which call here. It is necessary to have an organised system of collecting and handling Irish produce and merchandise suitable for the American market. It is essential that exporters of existing lines of merchandise should consign their goods to the United States via the Commercial Baltic Line. So far as imports are concerned, there are well-known representatives and agents of American firms in many classes of goods who are willing to support the enterprise of the Moore, McCormack Company. It remains for exporters on this side to see that all consignments for New York are entrusted to the vessels of the American Shipping Board.

There remains a large volume of Irish trade which passes through the hands of purchasers in England and cannot be traced. A large portion of this indirect trade can be secured for the Commercial Baltic Line if American agents are appointed to cover the sale of the goods in the United States.

There is an indirect sale of American goods from English firms to

Irish houses, as distinct from the direct sales made through agents in England. This trade cannot be traced unless it is carried on by Irish agents, and the goods consigned direct to them per the Commercial Baltic Line.

The general tendency of the establishment of a direct service is to place both ends of the trade in the hands of Irish and American firms without any intervention in our domestic affairs. We believe that both the American merchants and our own fellow-countrymen are quite capable of arranging business between each other.

As a guide to the nature of the trade to be expected we quote the following enquiries in response to a communication sent out by the Cork Industrial Development Association, which is sending a special commission to proceed on behalf of the Association to the United States:—

From Ring (Co. Waterford), Baltimore and Albion (Co. Cork), Dingle and Cahirciveen (Co. Kerry), had come letters requesting the Commissioners to investigate the market in America for Irish-cured fish and to assist in developing same. Communications requesting the Commission to inquire into the question of American coal supplies for Ireland were received from the cities of Belfast, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Galway, and from the following centres—Sligo, Donegal, Derry, Monaghan, Greenore, Wicklow, Wexford, Nenagh, Youghal, Cloyne and Skibbereen. A North of Ireland Co-operative Society asked the Commission to obtain information as to the best system of bottling milk for retail distribution; best system of cleansing the bottles, and fullest information re manufacture of milk powder. Correspondents in Cork, Limerick and Galway asked that efforts be made to secure direct shipments of American fruits (including Californian apples) to Ireland. Certain Sligo, Dublin, and Armagh firms asked to be put into touch with American manufacturers of plumbers' supplies. Two Dublin companies and firms in Tralee, Galway, Sligo, Nerragh, and Cork requested to be supplied with the addresses of American shippers of agricultural implements, hardware goods, and tools of all descriptions. Manufacturers' agents in Cork, Waterford, Dublin, Belfast, and Derry stated their readiness to represent in this country American producers of repute. Three Cork City firms and concerns in Wicklow and Tipperary sought agencies in Ireland for American-made motor cars, motor cycles, and accessories. An Enniskillen firm inquired as to the market in America for Irish-flayed hides and skins. Inquiries as to a market in the States for Irish woollen goods and home-spun cloths were received from firms in Cork County, Cahirciveen, Kenmare, Galway, Tipperary, Donegal, and Wexford. Limerick Dublin, and Cork firms sought addresses of buyers in America of Limerick and Carrickmacross laces and crochet. A Belfast house asked to be put in touch with American suppliers of upholstering goods and substitutes.

Considerable progress has likewise been made in arranging a shipping service between Ireland and France. The French Government has sent Monsieur C. E. Hauvette, Councillor of French Commerce, to Ireland to negotiate a fortnightly service between Bordeaux, Havre, Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. The Dublin Chamber of Commerce has extended its support to the project. Mr. Jacob, of the famous biscuit firm, explained that his firm had neglected the French market for lack of shipping facilities. The French Commissioner expressed himself as "almost convinced" that a direct line would be practicable. It remains, however, to organise the Irish export trade to France so as to be in a position to guarantee returning freight. At present the export and import of foodstuffs are regulated by the Supreme Economic Council of the Allies. The supplies are understood to pass into a pool, but the English are keeping the situation dark and it is desirable that the ability of Ireland to provide foodstuffs for France should be brought directly under the attention of the French people. A direct service would enable Irish produce to be shipped direct to France at very much less cost than is possible now. There ought to be a Franco-Irish pool, into which all produce available for export would come automatically on a percentage basis.

A Note on Irish Taxation

In 1896 a Financial Relations Commission appointed by the British Government reported unanimously that Ireland had been over-taxed from the year 1800 to the extent of at least £2,750,000 per year. (See Report of Financial Relations Commission, Blue Book, C. 8262).

Since 1896 the taxation and the consequent over-taxation has been increased many times over, as can be

seen by the following figures, taken from the English Government returns. We have no means of checking them. England takes our money and keeps the books. These figures represent merely what England admits she takes out of Ireland's pockets.

IRISH REVENUE.

| (Year ending March 31st). | Per head of Pop. |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | £ s d |
| 1896 | 8,084,000 1 15 1 |
| 1914 | 11,134,500 2 10 10 |
| 1915 | 12,389,500 2 16 8 |
| 1916 | 17,929,000 4 1 11 |
| 1917 | 23,766,500 5 8 6 |
| 1918 | 26,865,000 6 2 8 |

England has multiplied her collection of taxes from Ireland four times since she discovered the over-taxation of the country. Moreover, the Irish revenue is estimated at £35,000,000 for the financial year ending March 31st, 1919.

Meanwhile let us look back to the period when England annexed the Irish Exchequer at the close of the Napoleonic wars, and let us compare her taxation with ours then and now. We take England's figures as given in the Financial Report of 1896 and Imperial Revenue White Paper (No. 105 of 1918).

REVENUE PER HEAD.

| | Ireland. | Gt. Britain. |
|------|----------|--------------|
| | £ s d | £ s d |
| 1819 | 0 15 5 | 3 13 0 |
| 1918 | 6 2 6 | 14 18 2 |

Increase p.c. 696 308

In one hundred years England has increased Irish taxation almost sevenfold. But she has increased her own taxation per head only threefold. And these are her own figures, not ours. She has managed to do that by selecting for taxation commodities where consumption is relatively greater in Ireland than in England.

Let us look at the other side of the picture. England collects so much from Ireland. But how much does she spend in Ireland? In other words, how much does she lift out of the country? We turn once more to the White Paper (No. 105, of 1918).

IRELAND.

| Year. | Revenue. | Expenditure. | Surplus. |
|-------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| 1916 | 17,929,000 | 12,597,000 | 5,332,000 |
| 1917 | 23,766,500 | 12,686,000 | 11,080,500 |
| 1918 | 26,865,000 | 13,002,000 | 13,863,000 |

It will be seen that the expenditure on alleged Irish services has hardly increased at all, though the revenue has more than doubled. A considerable proportion of the expenditure is really paid out to English manufacturers, to whom are allotted all the contracts for supplies for the Irish services. In addition England pockets the whole of the surplus, which is calculated to be about £32,000,000 for the current year. It must be remembered that the figures given for expenditure include £1,569,000 for the portion of the army of occupation known as the police force, £368,500 for the English Law Courts in the country, £22,000 for the Lord Lieutenant, £23,000 for the Chief Secretary, and much of the remainder on the fifty odd extravagant and irresponsible Boards which England has set up to govern the country in England's interests.

Over and above the extraordinary and unjust over-taxation of two and three-quarter pounds per year, Ireland has paid in the last five years a sum of £49,348,000 for a war to free small nations. That money was spent in English munition factories, and used to raise and equip huge armies, one of which is now used as the army of occupation in Ireland. Here are the figures:—

| Year. | £ |
|------------------|------------|
| 1915 | 12,389,500 |
| 1916 | 17,929,000 |
| 1917 | 23,766,500 |
| 1918 | 26,865,000 |
| 1919 (estimated) | 35,205,000 |

Deduct 5 years' taxation at 1914 rate, £11,134,500

Surplus for War 60,482,500

One aspect of the frightful depopulation of Ireland during the past half-century is that it represents a loss in capital of at least £2,176,250,000.

POPULATION.

| Year. | Ireland. | England. |
|-------|-----------|------------|
| 1841 | 8,175,124 | 15,914,148 |
| 1911 | 4,350,219 | 36,076,492 |

POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.
 1841. 1911.
 England 273 618 - Increase p.c., 126
 Ireland 251 135 Decrease p.c., 46

On the basis of increase in Irish population from 1801 to 1845 the pre-