

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. 2. No. 3. (New Series.)

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1918.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

On Sunday last public meetings in support of Sinn Fein were addressed in Ballinacorney, Roscrea, by Mr. L. Ginnell, at Clonmel by Mr. Figgis, at Bageinstown by Mr. Lennon, while in Cavan meetings were held at Corle, Kingscourt, Bailieboro', Crosskeys, Kildonek and Lavey by Messrs. Sean Milroy, W. L. Cole and Paul Gilligan. On Thursday night (21st) Mr. Griffith lectured at the Whitworth Hall, Drogheda, Rev. Dr. O'Keane, O.P., presiding. On Friday night Mr. Milroy addressed a public meeting in the South Dock and Trinity Wards of Dublin, and on the same evening Mr. Griffith lectured at the public meeting of the Dublin North Dock (Sean Connolly) Branch of Sinn Fein.

On Friday night a Sinn Fein Club was established in Crossmaglen, South Armagh, with Mr. M. MacArdle as President, Mr. Edward Hearty, Vice-President, and Mr. Felix Feighan as Secretary. Over 60 members were enrolled, and the Party supporters, who had declared that not ten persons could be got in Crossmaglen to join Sinn Fein, were struck speechless with astonishment.

New Branches of Sinn Fein were also established on Sunday at Ballyduff and Macollop (Waterford) after a public meeting, with Messrs. John Daly President, James Quirke Treasurer, and John Cashin Hon. Sec., and at Longwood (Meath) after a public meeting at which Mr. Laurence Giles presided and Messrs. E. J. Duggan and Fleming also spoke.

The text of the Franchise Act passed into law a month ago by the British Parliament has at last reached Ireland. Under its provisions about six million new voters will be added to the register in Great Britain. In Ireland the new voters will probably number some six hundred thousand, a large majority of whom will be women. It now becomes the business of all Sinn Fein Branches and Cumann na nGall to see that every eligible Irishman and woman who is not at present a voter shall be a voter on the new register—for on that register the most momentous General Election in Ireland since the General Election of 1805, when the people of Ireland for the first time elected Irishmen to go to the English Parliament, will be fought. The General Election of 1918 in Ireland must undo the disastrous error of the General Election of 1805.

Under the new franchise law every Irishman in Ireland with a residence or a business premises qualification (we shall explain these qualifications later) will be entitled to a vote. Conscientious objectors and lunatics are excluded from the vote. Persons who support the Provincialist Party in Ireland are not assumed by the Act to be necessarily lunatics.

The Residential qualification for a voter is defined as meaning that the voter "on the last day of the qualifying period" must be residing in premises in the constituency.

The Business Premises qualification means that the voter must be occupying business premises in the constituency on the last day of the qualifying period.

The Qualifying Period is a period of six months ending either on the 15th of January or the 15th of July.

During the whole of this qualifying period the voter must have resided in or occupied business premises, as the case may be, in the constituency or in another constituency in the same borough or county—that is, a voter in Dublin living in College Green would not lose his vote by changing residence to Stephen's Green during the six months period. If he removes from one county to an adjoining county—for instance, East Wicklow to South Dublin or North Wexford—during the period he may vote in South Dublin or North Wexford, as the case may be, but if he were to remove from Dublin to North Wexford in the period he would not be qualified to vote in North Wexford.

Women, to be entitled to vote, must be 30 years of age and over, and occupying land or premises value £5 a year and over or a dwellinghouse value £5 a year and over. A married woman whose husband is a voter is entitled also to a vote.

In Universities every man holding a degree is entitled to vote. A woman of 30 years of age and upwards holding a degree is equally entitled. If the University did not at the time she passed her examination admit women to degrees, she is nevertheless entitled to vote if she "kept under the conditions required of women by the University" the period of residence necessary for a man to obtain a degree.

The fact that a person has received poor relief or alms will not disqualify him from being registered as a voter.

It will not be held that "residence" or occupation of a house has been interrupted because the house has been let for a portion of the qualifying period as a furnished house, nor is it deemed to be interrupted because notice to quit has been served by the landlord or possession demanded.

A person may have votes in several constituencies, but at a General Election he can only vote in two. He can vote for one constituency in which he is a voter on a residential qualification—where he resides—and he may vote in another constituency where he has a qualification for business premises. For instance, a person living in Cork City and possessing business premises in Dublin may

vote both in Cork and Dublin. But a person possessing a residence in Cork and a residence in Dublin can vote only in one city. Equally a person possessing a business premises in Galway and Belfast can only vote in one city.

So much for the voter. There is much other legislation about the voter, but what we have set out is the kernel. Sinn Fein and Cumann na nGall Clubs can get to work on this basis, and detailed instructions will be sent out from the Sinn Fein Executive later on. We shall now deal with the register.

In Ireland only one register shall be made in each year.

The Town Clerks of Dublin and Belfast will be the Registration Officers for Dublin and Belfast. The Clerks of the Peace will be the Registration Officers elsewhere.

These officials must prepare the register. There is an appeal from them to the Law Courts.

It will be their duty to make a house-to-house or other sufficient inquiry as to persons entitled to the vote and prepare and publish a list of them. Any person whose name does not appear and who considers they are entitled can thereupon fill a form claiming a vote. The Registration Officers must print and issue a list of these claimants. Any voter may object to a claimant, but a list of the objections must be published. The objections will be heard by the official, who must give five days' notice to both objector and objected to attend before him. If without an objection served, the Registration Officer refuses a claimant, he cannot do so without first giving the claimant five days' notice to attend before him and seek to prove his claim. If he disallows the claim, the claimant may appeal to the County Court against the decision.

In regard to the actual elections, all nominations at a General Election will take place on the same day and all pollings on the same day. A candidate must deposit £150, which in the original draft of the Act was to be returned to him if he won. If he loses, but polls more than one-eighth of the votes polled, the deposit is also returned. Lord Harcourt, at the request of the "Irish Party," got the following words inserted by the House of Lords in the Act:—

The amount shall be returned to the candidate when the candidate is elected as soon as he has taken the oath as a member. These words were put in to penalise Sinn Feiners. It is a particularly dirty political trick, but is only characteristic of Mr. John Dillon, who did not dare to move the addition of the words himself.

Each candidate at an election is entitled to send one packet of election literature weighing not more than 2 oz. by post to every voter. Each candidate is also entitled to use a suitable room in any public elementary school—the National schoolhouse—for public meetings in support of his candidature at reasonable hours. A charge, however, may be made for the room.

Under the provisions of the new Act the next General Election will almost certainly be fought in the autumn. Let every Sinn Feiner see to it that he or she, if they be of election age, shall be on the register for that election. Let it be also remembered that the new constituencies in Ireland will in several cases differ from the old. The following are the principal alterations.—The following constituencies will have but one member each—Callow, Louth, Leitrim, Westmeath, Longford, Waterford County, King's County and Queen's County.

Nowry is merged in South Down, Kilkenny in North Kilkenny. Belfast is divided into nine and Dublin City into seven seats, viz., College Green, Dublin Harbour, Stephen's Green, St. Patrick's, St. James's, St. Michael's and Clontarf. Down is increased from four to five seats, the new seat being called Mid-Down. Tyrone is decreased from four to three seats.

The College Green Division of Dublin in future will be composed of the four Wards—Juss Quay, Rotunda, North and South City. St. Patrick's will consist of the two Wards—Merchants' Quay and Wood Quay. The Harbour Division will consist of the North Dock Ward and part of the South Dock, Mountjoy and Trinity Wards; and Stephen's Green will consist of the Fitzwilliam, Mansion House and Royal Exchange Wards, and the other parts of the South Dock and Trinity Wards. The new Division of Clontarf will consist of the two Clontarf Wards, Drumcondra Ward, and the other part of Mountjoy Ward. St. James's Division will consist of New Kilmainham and Usher's Quay Wards, and St. Michael's of Arran Quay and Glasnevin Wards. So the Dublin branches can readjust their areas.

Father James Kelly, Ph.D., nephew of the Archbishop of Sydney and Editor of the "New Zealand Tablet," writes in that journal:—

"We have read and heard of the term 'Sinn Feiners' being used as a sort of reproach by people who even at this hour of the day do not yet realise what Sinn Fein means. Apart from Irish politics altogether Sinn Fein stands for the most businesslike aims any party can have. It stands for minding one's own business primarily; it stands also for independence and self-reliance; it enforces the highest order of patriotism when applied to national politics.

It is not a reproach; the reproach is in the misuse of the term by those who do not know what they are talking about. And as it affects Irishmen it is something to be proud of. A Sinn Feiner means not only a man who is convinced of the truth that only by self-reliance and by working together can Ireland obtain her rights, but it also means that he belongs to the Party that in this latest hour of Europe, when chivalry seemed dead and honour only an empty word, proved to all the world that Ireland has still hundreds of children ready to lay down their lives for her sake. Sinn Fein means a faith in the old Celtic standards of culture and civilisation, a devotion to Christian principles and a pride in the immemorial traditions of a race that always held the soul above the body, honour above wealth, and chastity above every other virtue. All that Irish-Ireland stands for is conveyed by the watchwords 'Sinn Fein'—the renunciation of the material gospel of England, the rejection of her utilitarian philosophy which makes interest the highest law of conduct, the boycotting of her low ideals, of her gutter journals, and of her modern tendencies to depart farther and farther from the doctrine of Christ. This is what Sinn Fein means for Irishmen, and not only we but all the world ought to be thankful that there is such a policy alive to-day to save the sweetness and the wholesomeness of what was best in humanity for the future generations. Sinn Fein means ourselves alone. It will save Ireland."

J. J. O'C. writes to us:—
Sir—I would like to draw your attention to the short article on the "Freedom of the Seas" in "Common Sense" of February 16th. "Common Sense" is practically the organ of Lord Lansdowne and the increasing body of English opinion he represents; so presumably its views on such matters are authoritative. As the article in question is very short I venture to quote the whole of it, which makes reference easier. (The heavy type is mine).—

"An Irish correspondent, Mr. H. Carroll, writes from County Mayo that he 'would feel deeply'—all explanation of that most elastic of phrases—the Freedom of the Seas—and asks the curious question whether the absolute independence of Ireland is a condition precedent to the establishment of President Wilson's proposal. Surely thought is to be gained except confusion of thought by mixing up the rights and claims of nationalities with the Freedom of the Seas. If there were only four despotically-governed Empires in the world the rulers of them might agree that in peace and war overseas commerce should not be interrupted. In time of peace freedom of the seas means that anybody may navigate freely, and that both merchandise and passengers may go anywhere. In time of war this freedom may be interrupted by the action of the belligerents if they happen to be great naval Powers. Before the war the American Government had proposed over and over again that private property at sea (with the exception of munitions of war) and unarmed merchant ships should be free from capture. This would be a large instalment of freedom of the seas in time of war. Literally interpreted, it would make blockades and the cutting off of food supplies impossible. The sinking of unarmed merchant vessels under any circumstances, by either cruisers or submarines, and the laying of mines in the open sea would be absolutely prohibited."

Now, this article is an excellent specimen of the very capable humbug by which England has been accustomed to rule this country. I will take the italicised portions in succession. In the first place, if the question is "curious" to "Common Sense," it is not curious to us. We are quite familiar with it, and know what is the full significance of it. We are not mixing up the rights or claims—these last being apparently different from "rights"—of Ireland with the freedom of the seas; we simply realise that any "freedom of the seas" that gives any great Power military control of Ireland is no "freedom" of the seas at all, but control of them by that Power. What is in question is not a definition, but a guarantee of freedom of the seas. We do not quarrel with the definition of "Common Sense," but no treaty will ever ensure it.

Of course, what the English advocates of freedom of the seas want is the same immunity from blockade by U-boat as they have hitherto enjoyed against blockade by surface craft. On the other hand, they seek to control us heretofore all North Sea and ex-Baltic shipping by flanking the routes from Lough Swilly and Berehaven. And they hope to get this arrangement sanctioned by a concert of Powers. In other words, they have the effrontery to seek the support of other States towards that naval predominance which up to recently they considered themselves strong enough to maintain by themselves.

Naturally, the Independence of Ireland is incompatible with this: hence to talk of it is "confusion of thought." If Ireland were neutralised, the English, if they refused to abide by treaties would lose their favoured position, and be reduced to the state of "shot for shot, and hang all favours." Neutralisation of Ireland injures no State but England and might easily benefit the others, especially a weak State like Norway, almost dependent on the sea for its existence and prosperity.

As regards freedom of the seas in peace time, it is worth while pointing out that Ireland was a barred zone as far as any conflict

with English shipping interests was concerned. The old boycott of Cork is so well understood now that there is no need to emphasise it.

The firm of Dillon and Devlin offer £5 for an anthem for their followers, the bogus Hibernians, set to a marching tune. How would "We're the Jobbers Passing By" do?

Some time ago the British Government appointed Sir Edward Carson to run a War Aims Committee, and that body is at present affording luxurious employment to a number of Carson's supporters at the rate of £1 per day hotel expenses, first-class travelling expenses and "honorarium." Each Carsonian unfortunately of Ireland some £20 per week. It will be asked what he has got to do for it? This: to memorise a speech of 45 minutes' duration and deliver this speech each night in a different town or village.

Each Carsonian receives a private and confidential printed copy of the speech. He spends a few hours learning it by rote, and thereafter he can travel up and down Great Britain and dwell in the best hotels, consume rare and refreshing wines, and smoke the best cigars at the tax-payers' expense and receive a cheque each week for £7 in addition. Here is some of the stuff he has to repeat each night:—

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, The National War Aims Committee, under whose auspices this meeting is held, represents all the great parties in the State. It is a truly national committee concerned only with national interests, and it has two objects: First, to keep before the nation the causes which led to the great war, and, next, to impress upon the nation the vital importance to human life and human liberties of continuing the struggle until victory is attained."

The £20 a week Carsonian then goes on to denounce the Hun, talk of Christianity and Civilisation, and drop into poetry. He does

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain;
The enemy faints not nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain;
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

Then the Carsonian orator is instructed to talk of the "reckless outpouring of German gold," and to discuss the question of "how long the war is to go on." He is to say:—

"This is a serious and solemn question. . . . much as we long for peace, let us not be tempted to make a sort of peace with our task unfinished. 'We accepted this war,' Abraham Lincoln said of another great conflict for freedom, 'for an object, and a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained.' 'Pray God,' he added—and we may add it too—'Pray God it will never end until that time.'"

"Here and there I hear it asked: 'Will it ever end?' 'Is it possible that we can never achieve what we have set out to do?' Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, it will end, and we can achieve what we set out to do."

Sir Edward Carson's instructions to the speakers at this point is to emphasise the word "will." With the power of appointing persons at £20 a week, to reel off a speech, we do not wonder at that other British agent, Malcolm Lyon's jealous reference to Sir Edward as a "Hoon."

It was an Englishman who wrote that virtue was a matter of geography, and in the sphere of politics English statesmen accept this dictum. The outraged howl of English virtue split the welkin when Belgium having refused passage to Germany, Germany invaded Belgium. Now, Prussia, England and France had years before signed a treaty guaranteeing Belgium's independence, and England declared Germany had broken this treaty by her action. Albania, like Belgium, is also a little country whose independence is guaranteed by treaty between the Great Powers, including England. The other night in the English House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, English Foreign Secretary, in reply to a question, said that the treaty had "ceased to have binding force, as the signatory Powers are now at war."

Thus England repudiates her own guarantee of Albanian independence, and calmly announces that if the signatory Powers to a treaty be at war the treaty is no longer binding—a doctrine which, if true, would completely justify Germany's invasion of Belgium and even justify her annexation of that country. Of course, it is not true; but it was put forward to try and cover one of the most treacherous episodes even in English political history. With England's name signed to the guarantee of Albanian independence, the English Government had secretly contracted to let the mortal enemies of Albania, the Italians, grab that country. Meanwhile, "Remember Belgium," and reflect that England is engaged in this war fighting for the rights of Small Nations.

An English Sunday paper says—"A futile attempt to abolish food queues was made in Nottingham yesterday. Following the introduction of a temporary meat rationing scheme

pending the national scheme, peremptory orders were given that queues must be discontinued. Angry crowds round several city shops had to be dispersed, mounted police being summoned by alarmed shopkeepers. The queues at the meat, pork and tripe shops were longer than ever. Horseflesh was on sale for the first time, and was in good demand." Evidently "lawlessness" is not confined to Ireland.

From an English paper.
New York, Saturday.

Mr. Daniels (Secretary to the Navy), speaking at a Labour Loyalty mass meeting, said the American, British and French fleets were ready for the German fleet if ever it should come out of its hiding place.

"We shall win the war as truly as there is a God in Heaven," he said.

What will Viviani say—that admirable patron and director of T. P. O'Connor, Devlin and Co., the chief French engineer of the present war, and the gay host of the "Irish Parliamentary Party Deputation" to Paris—what will Viviani say when he finds his Ally declaring that there is a God after Viviani in November, 1906, having banished the last Crucifix from the schools of France, got up in the Chamber of Deputies and thus exulted:—

Our forefathers, our fathers and ourselves have unitedly continued hitherto a work of anti-clericalism and irreligion. We dragged human conscience away from religious belief. When a wretched creature, bending under his burdens, knelt to pray, we raised him up, we told him that there were no realities behind those clouds. Together, by a magnificent gesture, we extinguished in the heavens those lights that never will be relit. That is our work; it is our revolutionary work. Do not imagine it is ended; it is only beginning.

What will Viviani say when he reads that Daniels declares that there are realities beyond the clouds, and implies that the lights of heaven are relit? Will T. P. O'Connor, will Joseph Devlin, will J. D. Nugent, and J. T. Donovan, M.P. for West Wicklow—

send him at least a vote of confidence from the Board of Erin?"

Lord Beaverbrook has been put in charge of English propaganda in foreign countries. Irishmen will remember him as the proprietor of the "Daily Express," the paper which described the Easter Rising as "an orgy of murder and theft" and which urged that the leaders "must be ruthlessly punished." On no account were they to receive the consideration that was shown to the South African Rebels. "There is a world of difference in the two cases. The Boers fought as soldiers. They did not endeavour to establish an Independent Republic by brutally killing women and children and looting jewellers' shops." The same article announced that "the Government is properly in constant touch with Mr. Redmond, and we cannot believe that the Irish leader will countenance or tolerate any week-kneed 'mercy.'" Mr. Redmond, as Ireland learned later, did not belie Lord Beaverbrook's confident expectations.

The English Government is engaged in closing up Kynoch's Arklow works. Formerly there was an extensive fishing industry in Arklow, but in recent years the fishery has been brought to the verge of ruin by Governmental restriction of the area permitted to be fished. We suggest to the people of Arklow they should demand the removal of this restriction, and that they should take counsel as to the establishment of a suitable industry in place of the one England is now destroying, before the premises of Kynoch's have been completely dismantled by the Champion of the Small Nations.

The following is the result of the Plebiscite in Garraiboy (Killaloe) as to whether Ireland should appeal to the Peace Conference for Complete Independence:—

For 401
Refused to Sign 10

At a recent meeting of the Organising Committee of the Gaelic League it was decided that the week beginning Sunday, March 17th, and ending March 24th should this year be marked out as Irish Language Week. The annual collection in aid of the Irish Language National Fund will be made by the branches of the organisation in every county of Ireland during that week. Flag-days will be held on the Sundays or other days of the week as may suit local convenience. Branch Secretaries are invited to write to the General Secretary, 25 Parnell Square, Dublin, at once for collection materials. This matter should be attended to by branch officials without delay.

From the London "Daily News" organ of the British Non-Conformist Conscience we take the following paragraph (page 3, col. 3, Feb. 22nd) illustrating the present pitch of British morality:—

"The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene has arranged a meeting for Friday, March 1st, at 5 p.m., to discuss the question of Brothels for British soldiers in France."

Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund Prize Drawing for Rare Souvenirs of dead Leaders postponed for another week. Please send on blocks of tickets to 6 Harcourt St., Dublin.

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can have their own specially-designed Badges (small or large) made to order on the shortest notice, with the name of Club, photo of Leader, and Republican Flag, etc. Prices quoted on application.

Orange, White and Green Flag on black background; nice shiny badge; price 2d. each, postage extra.

Sinn Fein Abul Badge, containing genuine photo of Cosgrave, De Valera, McGuinness and Plunkett, with words "Sinn Fein Abul" in centre; price 6d. each.

Brooch containing real photo of the seven signatories of the Irish Republican Proclamation; unique badge; price 6d. each.

Photo Badge (plain or in Sinn Fein colours) of any of the Leaders; real photo; beautifully finished; 3d. each. Trade supplied.

Songs—The Words and Music of the following songs sent post free at 1/1 each: "The Soldier's Song," "Ireland Over All," "The Resurrection of Ireland," "Whack Fol the Diddle," "Wrap the Green Flag Round Me," "Jackets Green," "The Flag of Freedom," "A Battle Hymn," "Lament for Pearse," "Slievenamon," "Rally Round the Banner Boys."

6 each—James Connolly's "Watchword of Labour," Ashe's "Let Me Carry Your Cross."

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"History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916," with Casement's complete speech from the dock (300 pages). Post free 1/9.

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Poems of John MacEntee, with Sonnets to the executed Leaders. Post free 2/6.

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Cavan Brooch (2 ins. in diameter), Irish-made in bronze and silver-plated; post free 4/6.

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1 3 Silver Shamrock Tie Pin, enamelled in Republican Colours.

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7 6 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beautifully enamelled in green, white and orange. This is a really superb article.

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Gent's Ties, in black, blue, purple, etc., with crossed Republican flags worked in silk; very neat; post free 1/1.

Any Name made with Rolled Gold Wire on mother-of-pearl brooch, plain or in Republican colours; 1/1, post free. Names of Republican Leaders, Pearse, Clarke, etc., same price.

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Rambles in Eirinn (Dulán) 5 5

The Felon's Track (Doherty) 3 11

Land and Liberty (Ginnell) 2 10

Plunkett's Poems 3 10

Stephens' Insurrection in Dublin History of 1916 Rising, with Casement's complete speech at his trial 1 9

Waywarders (Seamus O'Kelly) 2 10

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Ancient Legends of Ireland (Lady Wilde) 3 10

With the Irish in Frongoch 2 10

MUSIC.

Whack Fol the Diddle 1 0j

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Wrap the Green Flag Round Me 1 0j

Plaz of Freedom 1 0j

Easter Week (new version) 0 6j

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Our Latest Hero Dead (Ashe) 1 0j

Let Me Carry Your Cross for Ireland 1 7

The Jackets Green 1 0j

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The Manager from Cashel attends on Tuesdays, weekly.

By Order of the Board,

T. B. LILLIS, General Manager.

Cork, 6th February, 1918.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1918.

THE OUTLOOK

Roughly speaking, there are now but two schools of political thought in Ireland—that which believes Ireland should be governed by England and that which believes that Ireland should be ruled by the Irish nation. This fact marks a big advance in clearness of political issues. It is true that these two divisions of mind have existed in Ireland for generations, but the fact that there was such a fundamental principle of cleavage has been long obscured by clouds of Provincialist sophistry.

It seems but yesterday that the readjustment of the machinery by which England governed this country was regarded as synonymous with the extinction of England's government and the restoration of the Independent Irish State.

We see things with clearer vision to-day in Ireland, and the acquirement of such accurate perception is the first step on the road to national freedom. If our purpose be the re-creation of an Independent Irish State it is a danger and a delusion to regard the attainment of the status of an English shire as the accomplishment of our aims.

In the wild Imperialistic stampede that marked the beginning of the present war there was, to those who had a real conception of Ireland's true interests, a very grave menace to the movement which was making for a resurrected Irish Nation. The blare of Imperial trumpets, the bellowing of orators not then entirely discarded as leaders of national thought, the rampant raging cry of Press adulation of the Imperial defenders of religion, civilisation and small nationalities—all combined to make a whirlwind of fraudulent public opinion which it seemed would at last submerge whatever remained of the Irish Nation's protest against its conquest and extinction.

But the miracle happened, and the moment which the Empire-builders had chosen to write the epitaph of this ancient nation proved to be the hour of its great disillusion and re-birth, and out of the chaos of thought and political delirium that marked 1914 and 1915 has emerged a vigorous, rational, clear-sighted understanding of national right and national purpose.

Yesterday Ireland was thinking in terms of English institutions and adapting its demands to the chances of English Party interests. To-day Ireland is measuring its demands not by the accidents of Westminster or the intolerant anti-Irishism of Empire-builders, but by its traditional inspiration of national right. To-day we are not acclaiming "an Act for the better government of Ireland" by England as our Charter of Liberty. We are now assailing and repudiating any such claim by England to hold or govern our country.

This change of judgment and attitude on the part of Ireland is based upon something very far removed from the racial hatred which some good people regard as the basis of all Irish national activity. As a matter of fact, the race hatred is all the other way about. John Bull loves this country of ours, but he hates the idea that the Irish race should rule it. Ireland's objection to this attitude of John Bull is logical and reasonable enough to impartial outsiders, but to the English Imperial mind it betokens a propensity for red ruin, chaos and irreligion, and sundry other awful possibilities. The

revival of the old national aspiration for Irish freedom seems startling and bewildering to many minds in Ireland, just as God's daylight is dazzling and blinding to a man confined in a dark cellar for years. This simile is a fair illustration of the method by which England has produced in Ireland a number of human beings who regard the idea of Irish freedom with apprehension and dismay. Ireland has been kept in the dark. The shadows of England's Imperial ambitions hid our country from the world. We were represented to Europe as a race addicted to periodic disorder and chronic distress, and the word was whispered into the ear of Ireland by the Empire-builders that beyond England lay nothing but irreligious quarrels and political pit-falls which England, in the goodness of her heart, shielded Ireland from. And so the latest attempt at conquest proceeded, and Ireland slowly and reluctantly was taught to believe that the gloom of Imperial shadows was the native atmosphere of the Irish people.

But, alas! for the projects of the Empire-builders. This war, out of which they were to carve undisturbed world dominion for another century, has produced wholly unexpected results. Its thunder awoke subconscious rogeries into clear impressions. Its blazing fire and fury lit up the world, and revealed many things that England had decreed should remain hidden. It revealed Ireland to Europe in its true perspective, and it revealed Ireland to the Irish nation in a way somewhat out of accord with the theories of Imperialism and Provincialism.

It has revealed this, for example, as vouched for by the British Navy League: "Ireland is the Heligoland of the Atlantic."

Ireland is truly the key to the Atlantic, a fortress that guards the main trade routes of the world. And with this world fact stripped bare before its eyes the Irish Nation to-day is asking: "If nature so advantageously placed our country, how is it that, instead of benefiting by it, our country has been as one stricken with perpetual plague and misery?" The answer is one which gives our Empire-builders substantial grounds for uneasiness. And again, from the same source—"The trade of Europe with Canada, the United States, the West Indies, the Gulf of Mexico, the Panama Canal, the Caribbean Sea, all the Republics of South America, all the States of the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand, China, Japan, Russia in the Pacific, India, Ceylon, and Africa are dependent directly upon the control of Irish seaports and the communications behind them."

It is logical to infer that if the seaports of Ireland and the internal affairs of Ireland were controlled, as they should be, by the Irish people, that they would have a tremendous share of, if not a controlling influence over, this gigantic world trade. How do we stand to-day? Let the Provincialists ponder over the answer?

Some years ago, when Sinn Fein made the proposal that Ireland should endeavour to cultivate trade and commercial relations with countries overseas, the idea was ridiculed by some of our wisacres and Empire-builders as ridiculous. The statement of the British Navy League demonstrates that no country in the world has greater natural facilities for such development. Another fact which the Irish Nation is realising to-day is that England is taking more money from Ireland yearly than that which maintains several small nations of Europe as Independent States. The aggregate revenue of Bulgaria, Norway and Switzerland for 1917 was £21,200,000. Ireland's tribute to England's Exchequer was £23,766,000 for the same year. We are alleged to be a quick-witted race. If we deserve the name our wits should now be very much exercised over this question.

If more revenue is raised annually from Ireland than that which maintains the combined States of Bulgaria, Norway and Switzerland, how is it that Irish education is starved, Irish industrial development strangled, Irish commercial opportunities ignored, and Ireland's population is dwindling? And this, too, with our country so placed as to make it specially favoured for commercial and industrial development. The answer is fairly obvious, and it is one which will be heard of considerably when the Peace Conference settles down to consider the rights of Small Nationalities.

THE PROVINCIALISTS.

After the two pro-English factions in Ireland joined in South Armagh to defeat the Irish Nation they agreed to stand together hereafter against the menace to their corrupt existence—Sinn Fein. The campaign of the United Provincialists has been opened simultaneously by the "Belfast News Letter," the "Irish Times," and the "Freeman's Journal." The "Belfast News Letter" is directed in its policy by Sir Edward Carson, the "Irish Times" by Professor Mahaffy, and the "Freeman's Journal" by Mr. John Dillon. They wave for the better duping of the country they prey upon different flags. They are one in heart and intention against the Freedom of the Irish Nation.

The campaign planned after South Armagh is now in full blast. The three chief daily organs of the Provincialists depict Ireland as rioting in anarchy. The device adopted is to collect all exciting incidents, criminal as well as political, print them together, and by their cumulative effect suggest to the reader a state of chaos in the land. This is the oldest journalistic trick in existence. It is played every day by the three papers mentioned. If a bank manager alleges he has been robbed of money; if a burglar breaks into a post office and robs it; if some of Mr. Dillon's former employees in the moonlighting business pay a brief return to their old trade, the carrion journals of Carson, Mahaffy, and Dillon collect the records of these activities, arrange them together, and present them to the public as a True Account of the State of Ireland. And Professor Mahaffy and Mr. John Dillon, neighbours and friends, meet and like the augurs of old Rome admired by Cicero for their brazen practices upon popular credulity, do not laugh in each other's faces.

The journalistic trick at present being played upon the Irish people by Carson, Mahaffy, and Dillon may be thus realised. In England at the present time there are a thousand outrages a week being committed against person and property. If "Nationality" were to take the reports of these crimes each week, as detailed in such journals as the "Daily News," "Daily Mail,"

"Birmingham Post" and so forth, and, ranging them together, head the columns of crime "The State of England," such a journalistic device would convey to the average reader's mind the impression that England was in a state of anarchy and lawlessness. Messrs. Carson, Mahaffy, and Dillon have used their journalistic hirings to defame Ireland in this manner. The administrators of the Defence of the Realm Act give them secret support. The "Irish Times" and the "Freeman's Journal" are permitted by the Censorship to print what the National journals are forbidden by the same Censorship to mention.

The object of the Press campaign representing Ireland as in an anarchical state is to prevent, as one of the instruments of Mr. Dillon expressed it, "Ireland falling completely into the hands of the Sinn Feiners when the Convention breaks up." In view of the possibility of the Convention breaking up, Mr. John Redmond has been ordered to resign by the Dillon-Devlin clique, who are to evolve a "new policy" and offer up Redmond as the scapegoat for their sins. But Sinn Fein must first be got rid of, and Mr. Dillon in a speech delivered to a dozen A. O. H. jobbers last week urged the British Government forward. "After the death of Thomas Ashe," said this man, "the Government ran away, which was not calculated to improve respect for the law. Then there was a series of armed raids on houses—a most scandalous proceeding, which, he was sorry to say, was spreading rapidly in certain parts of the South and West." Mr. Dillon thus prepares the ground in advance for the British Government in the year 1918, even as in 1915 he secretly conspired with Birrell and Nathan from Dublin Castle the prosecution of Irish Nationalists and advised, as Mr. Birrell testified at the Harding Commission, that where the agencies of Dublin Castle could collect evidence against Irish Nationalists these men should be arrested, indicted, and imprisoned.

To-day there is no country in Europe where there is less crime than in Ireland, yet Ireland is being pictured by her old enemy and his servants as in a state of anarchy. And the basis of the calumny is the fact that the people of Ireland have determined to regain possession of the soil of Ireland, from which they have been displaced by the bullock. Is there another country in the world at the present time where the spectacles could be shown of a people anxious to till the land—eager to labour and produce—and arrayed against them the armed forces of England? With England engaged in a life-and-death struggle, she has still troops and guns to spare to prevent the people of Ireland returning the soil of Ireland to tillage. And her knives and our slaves would brand as criminal the demand of the people that they shall be allowed to earn their bread in the sweat of their labour on the soil God gave them and England usurps.

But the British Government shall not keep the bullock lord of the land. The young men of Ireland must not continue to stream out at the rate of 30,000 a year to America because they cannot get land to work in a country where one man can keep 7,000 acres in grass.

The people of Ireland have learned a great deal during the past five years—and among other things they have learned is the fact that men and women, not cattle, are the strength of a nation. Sinn Fein intends that the land system in Ireland shall be settled on the basis of the Irish people re-acquiring the soil of Ireland. The Irish Parliament between 1782 and 1790 turned Ireland back from the position of a cattle-ranch into a land of abundant tillage. Had we our own Parliament, legislation would effect it. Since we have not, the English Government and its creatures, the Carsons, Mahaffys, and Dillons dare to brand such an object as criminal. No methods that infringe the moral law will be sanctioned by Sinn Fein. No spasmodic or irresponsible action will it permit. Fair and equitable terms must be offered for the redemption of the land, and if those be refused and the need of the people be urgent, then only through the Country Executives of Sinn Fein must other action be taken. So in disciplined order Ireland will again regain the land for its People.

There were many questions and answers in the British Commons a few days ago on the question of sugar-beet growing in England. The Government has recently spent £125,000 in acquiring land for the purpose, and the whole subject was canvassed at length in a conversation, the report of which filled three columns of "Hansard." In that conversation no Irish member took part. Ireland was not so much as mentioned. It is well known that many Irish soils are suitable for the growth of the sugar-beet. It is also well known that England is draining twenty millions a year from Ireland into the English Treasury. Yet not an Irish member rose to suggest that Ireland might be allowed to use portion of her own money—say half a week's tribute to England—to promote an important national industry. The Shoneens who pretend to represent Ireland at Westminster have no eloquence except to denounce their fellow-countrymen, no energy except to plot and scheme against their country's independence, but they connive at the calumnious misrepresentation of Ireland which flows steadily through the English Press. The "Daily Graphic" the other day said that "British money" was being voted to provide Irish school children with meals. The "Morning Post" has been talking of "the rich subsidies on which Ireland has been fattening for generations," and, with reference to the Food Question, has been pretending that "Ireland is starving England." The Irish hirings at Westminster silently assent. They make no allusion to them in Parliament; they write no letters about them to the papers; they give no interviews; they deliver no speeches. They are not thinking about fighting Ireland's battles. They are only thinking how by servility and cowardly silence they can job places and curry favour with their English paymasters at Ireland's expense.

A statement recently by Sir T. C. Money throws some further light on the U-bout warfare. He said that the number of large ships (i.e., 1,600 tons and over) completed in English yards during November, December and January was 22. The number of similar English ships sunk during the same period was 145. Of course, ships completed in these months were laid down much earlier, so that the output is by this time accelerated. Thus it might be computed at perhaps 30 large

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