

# NATIONALIST

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## WEEK BY WEEK.

Mr. De Valera, after a successful tour through Donegal, visited Tyrone on Sunday and addressed an enthusiastic meeting at Strabane. On the same day Messrs. Midroy and Cole addressed meetings at Killinkere, Minterconnaught, Ballyjamesduff and Lurgan (Cavan), Mr. Ginnell at Finea (Westmeath), Mr. Lennon at Killea (Tipperary), Mr. Figgis at Ballinlough (Meath), and Dr. Dillon at Clongorey (Kildare).

The English Government recently passed a Franchise Act, but it appears not to want it generally known. Up to the time of going to press copies of the Act have not reached Ireland. Under the measure the great majority of Irishmen over 21 years of age will be entitled to claim and obtain votes. Women thirty years of age and upwards will be eligible for the vote, and married women of thirty and upwards will automatically become voters if their husbands be voters. The qualifying period for a vote is reduced from twelve to six months. At a General Election all pollings will be held on the same day, and at nomination a sum of £150 must be lodged with the Sheriff.

The total number of additional voters in Ireland will be probably 600,000—making the total Irish electorate 1,300,000—of whom perhaps some 400,000 will be women. The General Election, which will probably take place in August or September, will be fought on this new electorate. By-elections will continue to be fought on the old 1914 register. The existing constituencies in 20 out of the 32 counties are altered, some very much, some slightly. Dublin City will have its members increased from 4 to 7. Rathmines and Pembroke will also receive a member each. Belfast will have its members increased from 4 to 9. On the other hand, King's County, Queen's County, Waterford County, Longford, Leitrim, Louth and Westmeath become single-member constituencies, Kilkenny City merges in North Kilkenny, and Tyrone loses one of its four members.

The business of Comhairle Ceannairé will now be to adjust themselves to the constituency changes, to see that every man and woman possibly is added to the register, and to vigorously push the Sinn Féin Victory Fund until that million shillings which will enable us to fight every seat of the 105 seats in Ireland is raised. The fight will be upon us in six months' time.

Probably 400,000 Irishwomen will be eligible for the new register of voters, and it is essential that every woman Sinn Féin entitled to a vote should have her name placed upon the new register, for on that register the most momentous General Election in Ireland for 120 years will be fought. Cumann na mBan has been active at work in Ulster since the contest in South Armagh. Immediately after the close of the election a branch of Cumann na mBan was formed in Newry. It started with a membership of 45, and in three days the membership increased to 165. Another branch, we understand, has been started in Camlough. In Donegal branches have been started or are being started in Carrindonegh, Letterkenny, Stranorlar and Ballybofey, Castlefin and Killygordan, and another branch has been founded in Derry City.

The conditions on which the Orange and Unionist vote in South Armagh was given to Mr. Donnelly were arranged with Mr. Alexander Fisher, the local Unionist leader. Mr. Fisher later on addressed the local Orangemen and Unionists privately, and the speech was highly interesting and not intended for publication. However, Sinn Féin procured an accurate report of it, and we proposed to publish it in our last issue. The Defence of the Realm Act was called to the assistance of the Partitionists, and we were therefore unable to let the Irish people meditate on Mr. Fisher's address to his political associates on the paramount necessity of standing by Devlin and Dillon.

On the night of the declaration of the poll in Armagh, after 1,063 Unionists had, in obedience to orders from Belfast and Mr. Alexander Fisher, voted for the puppet Donnelly, the victory was celebrated by the Newtownhamilton Orangemen in a demonstration at which the chief concert item was "Kick the Pope." The Dillonites honoured their agreement by helping to kick the Pope a few days later. Mr. MacKean moved an amendment to the Address in the English Parliament condemning the secret treaty by which England and her Allies bound themselves to the Grand Orient Government of Italy to ignore the Pope in connection with the making of peace and to prevent his Holiness having any voice whatever in the matter. Was an instruction given to the Redmondite M.P.'s in London that none of them were to support Mr. MacKean's amendment? So were the Orangemen of South Armagh paid for their votes for Donnelly.

The "Daily Independent" London Correspondent thus describes the scene—

When Mr. MacKean was moving his amendment to the Address complaining of the slighting of the Holy See by the Allied Governments not a single Nationalist [sic] M.P. was present to support him. Mr. MacKean indeed was the only member on the side of the House from which he was

speaking. One member of the Irish Party, while Mr. MacKean was speaking, entered the House to secure a ticket of admission for a stranger, but he walked out immediately on getting it. Mr. MacKean, undaunted by his isolated position, spoke for an hour and seventeen minutes. Even when cries of "Divide, divide" were raised against him, he insisted on having his say until he had come to the end of his arguments. Then the humiliating position confronted him of not finding a Catholic, British or Irish, to second the amendment.

The bulk of the Catholic voters of South Armagh, who were duped by Devlin and the rest of the hypocrites who controlled the A.O.H. at the late election, will not, we prophesy, be so duped a second time.

At the beginning of the war the English Government, for the first time in three hundred years, recognised the Papacy by sending an ambassador to the Vatican, and while thus doing it was signing a secret treaty to prevent the Papacy from having any voice in a world-settlement. The English Government, with a profession of respect and friendship on its lips, was guilty of the outrage of mocking him by sending an ambassador to his Court, while all the time they were bound by secret treaty not to listen to his voice nor allow it to be heard in the councils of Europe. Whatever flickering confidence in the sincerity of the lofty and altruistic professions of the Allies still lingered on in a not too credulous world was suddenly extinguished by the revelation of this astounding duplicity. And in the English House of Commons not one follower of Dillon, Devlin and Redmond could be found to condemn the mocking of the Pope.

The President, Vice-President, and several members of the Upper Killeavey Division A.O.H. (B.O.E.) in South Armagh, at their meeting on Sunday, resigned from membership of the Order, and have joined the local Sinn Féin Club for the district.

Several members of the A.O.H. in Newry have resigned that body, as (they say themselves) a protest against the conduct of the Redmondites on the occasion of the meeting in The Square on January 31st. In Athlery the A.O.H. has come over to Sinn Féin.

The "Northern Constitution," the Coleraine Unionist organ, writes:—"The Nationalists (sic), aided as they were by Unionists, are justly overjoyed by the handsome defeat inflicted on the Sinn Féiners in South Armagh. They are proud of the feat; we are proud of the combination. Yet it is surprising that in an Ulster constituency there should be 1,305 individuals who imagine that Great Britain will ever be mad enough to set up an unfriendly Republic on her western flank. Nature has made the two islands neighbours, and political economy has imposed a partnership. The greater island will always be the dominant partner." Thus God proposes and the Coleraine "Constitution" disposes.

Belfast supporters of the Parliamentary Party are ceasing to support them further. Mr. A. Savage writes, enclosing us a subscription to the Sinn Féin Victory Fund:—"When it became evident that the Parliamentarians and Mr. Devlin's jobbing machine here had sold Belfast Nationalists in connection with Redistribution in the city, just as they tried to sell Ulster Nationalists when 'Partition' was their cry and only hope, a committee was formed for the purpose of making representations to the Speaker's Conference with the object of ameliorating in some degree the lot of those who still believe in the efficacy of work in the 'Mother of Parliaments.' This committee has finished its labours, and I have been requested to send to you the balance of funds at its disposal for the Sinn Féin Election Fund.

"Perhaps you will allow me to add, although I know your space is limited, that Mr. Devlin has now had a Division marked out in a way securing him what his friends call a 'safe seat,' and I am not so sure that they are not right, for it is wonderful what bunkum about 'sweetness and light in the homes of the poor' has done, and what it may do in the future. Throughout the South Armagh election Mr. Devlin, I see, tried to escape responsibility for the most disgraceful vote ever given in Ulster. He forgot himself. Hansard reports what the 'Irish News' described as his 'finest effort' in the House as follows:—

"I deeply regret that the Prime Minister did not keep this matter [Partition] in his own hands, not because he would have handled it more skillfully, or with a more inspired spirit of patriotism than the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Lloyd George), but because I think it was a cowardly thing that he should hand over the responsibility to another."

"What kind of patriotism?" Not Irish, for Joseph himself was the Irish patriot—that awful night. Truly, the Prime Minister's life, with its mixture of patriotism and cowardice, is of a mingled yarn. But why did Mr. Devlin make this charge against the Prime Minister? Because, proclaimed he, "when we were asked to go over and submit these proposals our mission should have been entrusted to us by a man who could have said, 'You have carried out your bargain. You have come back to hand in your documents signed. You have kept your contract, and I, speaking for the Government, now that

I have got you to do this, will either stand or fall by these proposals." These were the days when Mr. Devlin was 'playing,' as Carson said, 'a man's part.' But, oh, what ideas and what language for a nationalist in a foreign Senate! Yet this is the man who told his dupes in Newry at the close of the South Armagh election that by playing the Convention game they were going to have the finest Constitution of any people on earth. On the very same evening the Duke of Abercorn told his pals of the Ulster Unionist Council that they could, and would, play that game till Tib's Eve if necessary."

"Apparently," says the "Newry Sentinel," "the result of the South Armagh election is regarded in England as the 'self-determining' voice of Ulster, which is no longer regarded as part of Ireland. Some Irish-Irelanders, we notice, have been ordered to clear out of Connaught, Munster and Leinster and to take up residence in Ulster. This order may be of more importance than one would at first imagine when we consider the frame of mind of those who sent us a letter from a Government Department in London a few days ago endorsed 'On His Majesty's Service,' and hearing the following address:—

Editor,  
"Frontier Sentinel,"  
Newry, Ulster.  
"We should like to inform those who would cast us about as political dice that we still regard, and shall continue to regard, ourselves as citizens of Ireland."

The Wexford "Free Press," the local organ of Mr. John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson, publishes the following advertisement in its latest issue—

WANTED, at once, respectable young man, R.C., for grocery, provision, and implement business; must be capable salesman and understand the business thoroughly; must be strict T.T. and well recommended; no Sinn Féiners need apply. Apply, stating salary expected, to T.P. this Office. 251-390

"In sending you the enclosed correspondence for publication," writes Mr. M. MacNamara, "I wish to point out that in his evasion of the two main questions put to him, Henderson effectively disposes of his hypocritical attitude towards the principle of Self-Determination. The man who issues a programme of his Party's aims endorsing this principle for oppressed nations beyond the British sphere of influence and denies its application to the nation which Britain holds in a fit rival to that expert, Lloyd George, in the art of verbal camouflage, which perhaps accounts for his being relegated to the door-mat. The Prime Minister was not likely to tolerate such a promising star moving in his special orbit. Henderson's ambitions the early advent of his own arrival at Downing Street, and has hopes of securing the services of the Redmondites in that prospective position. A vain hope, for the disbandment of these faithful Mamelukes of the Liberals is far more certain and imminent than is Henderson's arrival as head of the British Government. Although he falsely asserts to the contrary, he is well aware that the most definite, the largest and best organised section of Irish opinion is not represented on the Lloyd George Convention. He knows also that this combined Sinn Féin and Labour element has, without qualification, accepted the principle to which he pays lip service as the only basis upon which a real peace with Ireland can be secured. If there has been hitherto any doubt in democratic circles as to the necessity for aloof and independent action, this letter of Henderson's should finally dispel it."

The following is the correspondence:—  
7th Feb., 1918.  
"To the Leader of the Labour Party,  
"House of Commons, S.W."  
"Dear Sir—As your Party's programme accepts the principle of Self-Determination for subject peoples, it follows that Ireland is a case in point where it could be most readily applied.

"According to Press reports, you seem to regard the Government-nominated Convention as a fulfilment of this principle in the sense that its decision would be representative of the national will.

"I should be obliged if you will kindly inform me (1) whether you are accurately represented as holding this view, and, if so, in what respect such a Convention differs essentially from that which the German leaders proposed in regard to the future governments of Poland, Courland and Lithuania, and which Trotsky rejected with scorn, (2) if the principle of Self-Determination is to become something more than diplomatic jargon for Imperialistic uses, would you advise your Party to support the Irish people in the event of their having determined by plebiscite the form of government under which they desire to live?—Yours faithfully,  
"M. McNamara."

"The Labour Party,  
"1 Victoria Street, S.W.1,  
"8th Feb., 1918.

"Dear Sir—Replying to your favour, I beg to intimate that the position of the Labour Party with regard to the principle of Self-Determination is set out in their published memorandum. The references to the Irish Convention were the expression of my personal opinion having regard to the fact that all sections of the Irish people had accepted

the Convention as a means of securing a settlement of the Irish difficulty which might be acceptable to the people of Ireland. Until we have the results of the Convention by the production of a scheme or the admission of failure I am not prepared to commit myself as to the next best step to be taken with a view to the settlement of this long-standing difficulty.—Yours sincerely,  
"Arthur Henderson."

It will be noted that Mr. Henderson reiterates, for consumption abroad, the lie that "all sections of the Irish people had accepted the Convention," when notoriously more than two-thirds of Ireland refused to recognise that palpable trick to gain time for England. The Irishman who believes that there is any essential difference between English politicians in regard to Ireland, whether these politicians call themselves Whig, Tory or Labour, will always be England's dupe.

A Mayo correspondent writes to us—  
Will you please inform me of the true meaning of the phrase "Freedom of the Seas" mentioned from time to time by the leading statesmen in the respective nations at war. As I understand it to be the Central Powers' war aim, the explanation will be much appreciated.

We have already explained the meaning of the phrase, but as our correspondent and others may be new readers, we shall do so again. "Freedom of the Seas" means freedom of trade and commerce in war time as well as in peace time. The definition of the phrase by the Central Powers is that navies should only exist (1) to fight other navies, (2) convoy troops and munitions of war; that in time of war as in time of peace commerce should be absolutely unrestricted between neutrals and belligerents. The United States, which equally supports Freedom of the Seas, does not go as far as the Central Powers in restricting the use of fleets, but equally claims liberty of commerce between neutrals and belligerents. England, on the other hand, claims, and has always exercised, her power to destroy the commerce of her rivals in time of war and to stop all trade between neutrals and belligerents opposed to her. If the Freedom of the Seas were established it would mean (1) an enormous reduction in naval armaments, (2) much more infrequent wars between civilised Powers, and (3) the practical abolition of the blockade and the "starving out" of the civilian populations in belligerent maritime countries.

The export of food from this country still goes on. Condensed milk in thousands of cases, large quantities of bacon (dead and on hoof), eggs in millions, oatmeal in bags—even packed beef—are all steadily leaving our shores day by day. On the other hand, what is coming in? We have not been able to discover much except coal coming into the Port of Dublin. On a visit to it this week we learned that no wheat had come in for six weeks. The last cargo was from Karachi, in India. There is no sign of the arrival of a single bushel out of the millions of tons stored in the granaries of Australia, where it has given rise to a plague of rats. The stocks of grain in Dublin are very low. Meat is getting very dear and scarce, and last season's potatoes are being heavily drawn for rationing the armies of three nations—British, Belgian, and American.

Next to the conservation of food, the most important economic question of the day is the putting down of wheat. We have plenty of land under potatoes, so far as our needs are concerned, and we probably have enough under oats, but the bread position is the weakest link in our farming resources. Up to the present the attitude of the millers has been most discouraging, but we notice a change. At a Tillage Week meeting held at the College of Science, Mr. J. Brown, of the Flour Millers' Association, declared that Irish millers were willing to buy as much wheat as could be grown, but they must get the right sort. This is a very remarkable change of attitude. We have frequently been told in public and private that Irish wheat is not suitable for grinding purposes. It is generally complained that it is too soft, it lacks gluten, and is very dirty to work. No doubt, there was ground for these opinions of practical men, but it is not satisfactory that no attempt should be made to grow good grinding wheat when we are faced with a possible cessation of wheat imports for a prolonged period.

Considerable progress is being made with winter varieties. We saw a college farm recently with thirty or forty acres already six inches over the soil, and hardy enough to resist all danger of frost or snow. Last year this quantity produced an abundance of bread for a community of three hundred. The yield was a magnificent one of three tons to the statute acre, an incredibly good return from land which was never before known to have been broken up. There was a considerable quantity of seed sown, and the neighbourhood was supplied in addition. This community is entirely self-supporting on its own land, and has an abundance of everything except of course, tea and sugar. Yet in its neighbourhood, at Sallins, there is a grass farm of eleven hundred acres entirely uncultivated. It is monstrous that this immense near Sallins should remain idle, when its magnificent soil would yield food for ten thousand people instead of a few cattle and sheep, and that within a score miles of the most populous district in Ireland. At the

other side of the road is the empty domain of Sir William Gouling, who, we were informed, employs only three herds. It is not, at all events, for lack of fertilisers that the land of this manure magnum is not broken up. A very good example has been set by the North Dublin Rural District Council, which has decided to ask the Department to furnish them with the names of owners exempted from tillage in the district, and the reasons for such exemption.

The Cork People's Food Committee state that over one hundred tons of butter has been shipped from Cork in the past month. Merchants are invited to sell their supplies to the Committee for transfer of surplus to Dublin and Belfast.

Determined efforts are required to prevent all bacon-curing from coming to an end. The export of pigs now exceeds the number home-killed for the first time on record. American shipments are frozen up in New York, and John Bull is trying to loot all he can from this country. The prices for bacon in England have been deliberately fixed higher than here for the purpose of stripping Ireland of its bacon cure. There is also the additional fact that pig prices are much exceeded by English buyers at this side, and no effort is made to prosecute them.

An important statement has been made at the Cork Chamber of Commerce assuring the local bacon curers, eighty-three per cent. of live purchases, together with the proportion overshipped from October 1st to March 1st. The year 1916 is taken as the last given base. In that year shippers obtained 17 per cent. and it is a very important step towards stopping the bacon famine if they are to be confined to that percentage. The exporters have lately been shipping as high as 22 per cent. of supplies. The amount overshipped is to be subtracted from shippers' proportion. We hope the effective methods taken in Cork to put restriction of exports into practical force outside of the realms of the "Gazette" will be adopted throughout the country. Bacon is practically unobtainable in Dublin at present at any reasonable price. There is, of course, no American or Canadian supplies, and the market relies entirely on country consignments.

We were misled as to the absence of bacon, butter and potatoes from the Listowel market. On Friday last there were 42 firkins of butter (about 68 lbs. each) sold there to a Mr. Filgate, of Limerick, who, we presume, is re-selling this butter in Ireland. On the previous day 15 cwt. of fresh butter was sold at the fresh butter market. The firkin butter was sold at 2s. 2d. per lb., and the fresh butter at 1s. 10d. There was a large market in potatoes on Friday, which were sold at 8d. and 9d. per stone.

The Food Committee of the Listowel Club has purchased 20 tons of potatoes for a potato store which has been set for the past month to all persons who are not in a position to buy a bag of potatoes in the weekly market. The Committee has also made arrangements for a supply of 20 tons of flour in case of shortage in the town later on.

Mr. John M. Fleming of Tormore, Killarney, farmer, declined to fill up the Potato Return Form, believing that by so doing he might help to reduce the necessary food supply for the Irish people. He was accordingly summoned by the Castle before the Killarney Petty Sessions Court, Mr. Wynne, Removable Magistrate, presiding, and acting throughout the proceedings as a shocked Greek Chorus. Said Mr. Fleming—

These potatoes are grown on my own land and are the fruits of my own labour. They are required for food for the Irish people, and I will not fill up any notices about them.

The R.M.—Then you defy the Court!  
Mr. Fleming—If any food is to go from my land it will be to feed the Irish people and to prevent starvation. The last word my old father, who represented the district for years, told me this morning was to show that I had the courage to keep the food for the Irish people.

The R.M.—I would be for fining this man 45!

Mr. O'Connor—Do you bring any of these potatoes to town for sale?

Defendant—No.  
The R.M.—Well, gentlemen, what shall we fine him?

Mr. Murphy—Did you understand when you were asked if you brought in any of your potatoes for sale? Have you brought potatoes to town?

Defendant—Oh, yes, I have. I brought them into the Sinn Féin Club last week and I will bring them as long as I have them for the Irish people.

The R.M.—I am for fining 50!

By a majority, Mr. Fleming was fined 10s., whereupon he said—  
I will not pay any fine. My potatoes are my own and will only be given to the Sinn Féin Club, or the Irish people. What I grow on my land I will keep for home consumption. Mr. Wynne, you can't frighten me, even if you put me up against the wall and riddled me with bullets. I ignore any policeman coming inside my boundary. The Irish people want their own food, and we must keep it for them.

PICTURES

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MUSIC. Whack Fol the Diddle 1 0 1/2. Soldier's Song 1 0 1/2. Wrap the Green Flag Round My 1 0 1/2. Flax of Freedom 1 0 1/2. Easter Week (new version) 0 6 1/2. Three-Coloured Ribbon 0 9 1/2. Lament for P. H. Pearse 1 0 1/2. Our Latest Hero Dead (Ashe) 1 0 1/2. Let Me Carry Your Cross for Ireland 1 7. The Jacket Green 1 0 1/2.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1918.

ENGLAND AND ARKLOW.

In the days of Elizabeth England made it treason for an Irishman to own a ship; in the days of Charles II. England made it felony for the Irish to export produce in Irish ships—or in English ships without England's leave—in the days of William III. England made it criminal for Ireland to carry on its staple manufacture; in the days of the Georges England interdicted all trade between Ireland and the outside world and loaded our linens, cottons, glass, brassware, and fifty other industries with prohibitive duties; in the days of William IV. England prohibited our tobacco industry; in the days of Victoria England annihilated our fisheries; and having succeeded after 300 years of repression in driving the Irish from tillage and manufacturing industry back into the shepherd state, England lamented to Europe our poverty and our backwardness.

Three hundred years have brought changes in England's circumstances—none to England's heart or England's policy towards this country. So long as England controls the Customs of Ireland she controls the trade and commerce of Ireland, and is armed to destroy that trade and commerce when she will.

In the last few days England has shown her hand in Arklow. In that town there is a factory of Kynoch's, which the English Government sought to close down in 1907, and now seeks to close down again in 1918. Owing to the hubbub raised in Ireland, however, the British Government has decided not to close it at once. Sir Warthington Evans, we read, "assured the deputation that Arklow had not been singled out for any special treatment. Similar factories were being closed in different parts of England, and large reductions in output and in works were taking place in the national explosive factories. While he could give no assurance that a reduction would not take place, he said that in about a week or 10 days' time he would summon a conference of the directors and persons interested, and come to a fair arrangement with them as to the proportion

of reduction, which would not be greater in Arklow than elsewhere."

Later on this Government underling, by arrangement with members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, declared in the English Parliament that:

"It was owing to Mr. Redmond's strong representations that the factory, having regard to the stock in hand and the question of tonnage, had not been closed down at once. Every consideration had been given by the Government to the interests of Irish industries."

It is instructive to note how the Irish industry-destroying English Government and Mr. Redmond give each other mutual certificates of good character while they conspire to delude the Irish people.

The destruction of the Arklow industry has been an object of the British Government for the past ten years. In 1915 we published in "Nationality" a signed article on the subject, which we to-day reproduce, since thousands who did not read it then will read it now. Let them ponder the facts and they will realise that while England holds her grip on this country—holds our Customs in her hands—Irish industry will never be allowed to develop.

(From "Nationality," July 31st, 1915.)

Some of the orators and journalists who support the English Government in Ireland have discovered a grievance against that institution and, greatly daring, grumbled. The grievance is that firms in Ireland are not getting orders for munitions. The English Government, however, is going to look into the matter, and so all is well, and those who believe that that Government has ceased to swindle Ireland can again occupy their minds with remembering Belgium, if they do not read further.

In July, 1907, the Managing Director of Kynoch's wrote to me stating that the Chairman of that Company had read something of what I had written on Irish affairs, particularly on industrial conditions in Ireland, and that he was anxious to discuss the matter of industrial development in Ireland. I met Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, Chairman of Kynoch's, and Mr. Cocking, the Manager, by arrangement at the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin. We had three interviews—at each of which I was accompanied by a friend of mine, a Dublin man of business. It was obvious on the second interview that Mr. Chamberlain real object was to protect Kynoch's from loss over its Arklow factory. Eventually this was effected. The substance of Mr. Chamberlain's statements in the matter will be of interest just now to those who believe in leopards changing their spots and other phenomena.

Mr. Chamberlain opened by saying that he had read a speech of mine, issued as a pamphlet, on the Sinn Fein policy, with the industrial portion of which he was in complete accord. As Chairman of Kynoch's, he had caused that firm to have something that might be called a private Industrial Survey of Ireland made. The result was to satisfy him as a business man that Ireland was one of the richest countries in the material of great industries, that her people had a great natural aptitude for commerce and manufacture, and that nothing but ignorance, lack of capital or repressive government stood in the way of making her a great industrial and commercial State. All this was true, but it was interesting to listen to it recited from the lips of the head of England's greatest industrial concern.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to describe the coming of Kynoch's to Ireland, and the birth of which it was to be the germ. Kynoch's, satisfied by their investigators and chemists of the teeming natural wealth of Ireland, had planned a scheme of industrial development through subsidiary Irish companies. The South-East of Ireland, which Kynoch's had discovered to be a richer pottery district than the famous pottery country of England, was to be worked by an Irish Company financed in the beginning by Kynoch, the matches Iron of Leitrim was again to be wrought by Irish hands, and so forth. A pleasant scheme, after describing which Mr. Chamberlain requested my opinion. My opinion was that, to be wholly beneficial to Ireland, the scheme should be worked altogether on Irish capital; that I realised it was impossible in the present circumstances of Ireland to induce Irish capitalists to venture on any large scheme of national industrial development; that therefore a scheme by which Kynoch's would initially supply the capital and organise the development through Irish companies would be acceptable under some restrictions.

But I asked Mr. Chamberlain whether he, as a great English industrialist, really believed that the English Government would encourage Kynoch's or any other firm or syndicate which it could bring pressure upon to develop Ireland's industrial arm.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he did not. That it was a definite part of English policy to prevent any serious industrial or commercial development in Ireland. That he himself was convinced that policy was wrong, but that it was equally held and practised by Tories and Liberals, and it would be practised until Ireland had a form of Home Rule under which she controlled her own finances and had power to impose protective tariffs. No other form of Home Rule could be commercially useful to Ireland. Mr. Chamberlain was very anxious that I should not believe he held the same views as his brother Joseph. He was and had always been a Liberal and a Home Ruler, and he contributed a large sum annually to the Liberal Party funds.

These facts, as I told him, I already knew. I then inquired, that understanding as he did the secret attitude of English Government towards any scheme to seriously develop Ireland industrially, whether Kynoch's would face the Government opposition and carry out its scheme—or attempt to do so.

To this Mr. Chamberlain indirectly replied by detailing the history of the Kynoch branch in Arklow, and the efforts made by the Government of Mr. Balfour and the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to force the firm to shut down the branch. Finally, to compel Kynoch's to leave Ireland, Government contracts were renewed. Mr. Chamberlain described a somewhat lively interview he had recently had with Mr. Herbert Gladstone, now Lord Gladstone, in which

that Minister told him definitely that if the Arklow factory were continued, the Government would see that as little Government work as possible would be given to Kynoch's. On the other hand, the Government offered no objection to Kynoch's establishing themselves in any part of the Empire except Ireland, and the fullest support was offered to the Kynoch branch in South Africa.

I inquired why Mr. Chamberlain came to the Sinn Feiners instead of to the Parliamentary Party, who were allies and were supposed to be the masters of the English Liberal Government.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he had gone to the Parliamentary Party. That the leaders knew all that was taking place, but that they would do nothing except privately appeal to the Government. Mr. Redmond, Mr. Chamberlain said, was an amiable man, but he was putty in the hands of English Ministers.

A further interview developed Mr. Chamberlain's plan for the co-operation of Sinn Fein. I inquired from him whether in return he would guarantee Kynoch's would proceed with their original plan for industrial development in Ireland. Whether, for instance, they would supply the means for initiating the great pottery industry of the South-East.

Mr. Chamberlain hesitated, but finally replied he could not give a guarantee. The Government could not hit Kynoch's in so many ways elsewhere that they could not as business men risk going on with the scheme. If there were Home Rule in the country Kynoch's might risk it. I remarked that no measure of Home Rule which permitted Ireland to protect its industries would be passed by either Liberals or Tories. Mr. Chamberlain assented, but added that the Irish had political strength although they did not know how to use it to coerce Ministers. However, the co-operation of Sinn Fein was not to be considered unless Kynoch's were prepared to go on with the original scheme, and thus this aspect of the matter ended. To save the factory at Arklow, however—the closing of which would mean the ruin of the town—we put Mr. Chamberlain in communication with certain Irish business men, who afterwards attended a small meeting in the Shelbourne Hotel, as a result of which an arrangement was made which enabled the factory to be carried on without exposing Kynoch's to further boycotting by the English Government.

I trust the gentlemen who know that "this is Ireland's war," and who demand a share in the making of munitions, will be comforted.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

The British Government, foiled in 1907, has struck home at Arklow in 1918. The people of that town may take it that the man whom the Chairman of Kynoch's described to us in 1907 as "putty in their hands still, and that his function is to make them agree to die industrially by stages.

SELF-DETERMINATION

If the Convention and the Government fail, rather than face the ordeal of another series of years of agitation and unrest it would be well to consider the question of referring the Irish constitutional question to the Peace Conference.

So writes Bishop Cohan in the current issue of the "Catholic Bulletin," and his observation gives rise to some speculation as to whether or not the presentation of Ireland's case to the Peace Conference might not be considered regardless of what fate overtakes the Lloyd George Convention.

Certain things are becoming obvious to even the casual observer of Irish events to-day. First, that the prospect of any outcome from this Convention satisfactory to the will of the Irish people and helpful to their interests is, if not already vanished, fading away into the regions of the impossible. Second, that the practicability of Ireland's case being considered by the Peace Conference is securing the adhesion of thinking Irish men and women in increasing numbers day by day; and, third, that were it not for the insistent propaganda that Sinn Fein has carried on there would not be the remotest hope that Ireland's case would be so considered. Now, with these substantial political facts before them, it seems to be childish folly for those who desire to secure Ireland its rights to refrain further from giving their whole-hearted support to Sinn Fein, which has brought the case of Ireland to such a plane of international recognition.

A Constitution for Ireland emanating from and guaranteed by the Peace Conference suggests nobler proportions and larger opportunities for national development than anything that might be evolved by a Conference between the British Government and its nominees sitting in a Convention either in Dublin or London; and if it is desirable in the event of the failure of the latter to press on Ireland's case to the Peace Conference, then surely it is desirable to press for a hearing there whatever be the decision such Convention decides upon, assuming for the moment the improbability that it could come to an agreement.

England will have to do something for Ireland to save its own face, urge sundry of our pro-British oracles. A settlement which has in view merely the saving of England's face before the world is not what is required. The settlement required takes as its criterion not the saving of England's face, but the rights and needs of the Irish nation, and such a settlement can be disclosed and defined in two words—"Irish Independence." Until recently the British Government has enjoyed a considerable degree of success in their method of blinding and fooling the Irish people with a phrase. "Autonomy, Self-Government, Home Rule, each devised to suggest infinite possibilities to the unthinking multitude, and to be interpreted by England's Ministers to mean little or nothing. "Give us a label, a good constitutional label," cried the political mannikin who postured in England's Parliament as Ireland's representatives, and accordingly the obliging Britisher produced the label, and the mannikin were satisfied with their label and four hundred a year. But when the cry came from the Irish nation, "Deliver the

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