

# NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1918.

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## WEEK BY WEEK.

On Sunday numerous meetings in support of Sinn Fein were held throughout the country. In Offaly, where the opposition to Dr. MacCartan's candidature can find no standard-bearer as yet, many meetings were held, the principal ones being at Clara, where Mr. Sean Milroy and Countess Marekiewicz spoke, and at Clonbulloge, where Messrs. Arthur Griffith, Arthur O'Connor, Desmond Fitzgerald and Kevin O'Higgins addressed an enthusiastic assembly from the southern districts of the constituency. At Virginia, in Caran, Mr. Darrell Figgis addressed a gathering of 20,000. On Friday night Mr. Arthur Griffith lectured at the Theatre Royal, Limerick, the Mayor presiding.

Let our readers remember that speeches of Sinn Fein leaders as they are reported in the daily Press are to be read subject to the knowledge that they have been in most cases censored. Ireland does not intend to submit to conscription or to compromise in any degree on this question. That is the burden of all Sinn Fein speeches dealing with the matter. We have received resolutions pledging determined resistance to conscription from the priests and people of Killery, pledging themselves to resist the enforcement of conscription by every means in their power; public meeting at Derrynacash (Lurgan), public meeting at Silverwood, at which six Catholic clergymen spoke and a Covenant of resistance was signed; mass meeting of the citizens of Cork of all shades of opinion, presided over by the Lord Mayor, and meeting of Cork County Council; joint meeting of the railwaymen of Sligo and Leitrim with the Labour bodies of Sligo; the Irish Socialist Party; Glin School Board of Management, and hundreds of other bodies; branches of Sinn Fein. Cumann na mBan, a detail of operations. Let all beware of wild and malicious rumours at times like this. The duty of the moment is calmness and discipline.

The following is the teaching of Catholic Theology on the right of resistance in such a case as Ireland is threatened with (Cardinal Zigliara, *Philosophia Moralitatis*, Pars II., lib. ii., cap. ii., Thesis xvii.)— "It is commonly admitted that subjects may lawfully offer passive resistance to laws which are manifestly unjust. . . . It is, therefore, certain that subjects have the right of passive resistance, that is to say, of not obeying tyrannical laws. Now, just as a tyrant may abuse his legislative authority, so he may also abuse his executive authority and may bring violence to bear upon his subjects to secure their obedience. Therefore, the very right which subjects possess of passively disobeying the tyranny of legislative authority gives them the right to resist the violence of executive authority—for the mere right of passive resistance would be ridiculous if it could not be actively defended against an unjust aggressor."

It is most desirable at the present time that all branches of Cumann na mBan should be in touch with the Executive. There are in many places bodies of women calling themselves Cumann na mBan who are not affiliated, and who do no Cumann na mBan work. Such people are useless in a time of crisis. If they wish to be of any value, they are urged to put themselves in touch with the Secretaries at 6 Harcourt St. The Leinster counties are at present not well organised. Louth has branches at Dundalk, Drogheda, and Killybegs; Meath at Kells, Trim, and Virginia Road; Wicklow at Bray; Wexford at Enniscorthy and New Ross; Kildare at Castledermot; Kilkenny at Kilkenny at Thomastown; Carlow at Carlow and Bagenalstown; King's County at Birr, Clara, Tullamore, and Banagher; Queen's County at Mountmellick and Maryboro'; Westmeath at Athlone and Castlepollard; and Longford at Longford, Granard, Killashee, and Killoe. The contributions by the branches to the Organising Fund have been very few up to the present. Only Glasgow, Castle Gregory, Clonmel, Birr, and Carlow have sent in their money. Branches are reminded that the work of organisation cannot be continued unless they assist in the matter. All branches should put themselves in touch with the local Volunteers, and be ready to co-operate with them in any way they can.

The "Morning Post" gives its candid opinion of the Irish Parliamentary Party. They have been "the curse of Ireland and of this country," and the Government ought to "snap its fingers at these professional politicians . . . the miserable

and cowardly gang that misrepresent Ireland at Westminster." It was scarcely worth while to undermine their country's cause only to earn their characteristic exhibition of English ingratitude and insult. The Party tried to "make friends" with the treacherous English, and they have their reward. They would have done better to remember that they were sent to the Parliamentary trenches to fight, not to fraternise, and that victory for the right was a necessary preliminary to any lasting peace.

On the 10th April an alleged Congress of the "oppressed nationalities" of Austria-Hungary ended its sittings in Italy—it is well to remember that in Austria-Hungary the other nationalities enjoy Home Rule. The Congress passed a long resolution affirming that "every race maintains its right to constitute its own nationality and unity as a State and to complete and achieve entire independence." English "delegates" were present, the resolution was passed unanimously, and the Italian Government, through its wireless stations, immediately transmitted the gratifying information to its British Allies. On that very day the British Allies, in the person of Mr. Bonaz Law, were justifying the forcible seizure of Irishmen for the English army on the false ground that England was merely following Austria's example. "As everyone knows," he said in the House of Commons, "among our enemies, especially Austria, a very large number of those fighting in the army would rather be fighting against them." If Austria, why not England? Why not, indeed? But it is a pity that the "Congress" could not have listened to this endorsement of "Austrian oppression" by the champion who pretends to be fighting to destroy it. Its criticisms of the champion would have been worth having.

The jury at the inquest on Mr. Thomas Russell, of Carrigaholt, found that his death was caused by a deliberate bayonet thrust inflicted by one of four British soldiers named. Serjeant MacSweeney, the counsel for the Castle, promptly stated that the verdict would "have no legal effect"—that is, that no proceedings would be instituted against the murderer. There is nothing new in this. The forms of law are only respected in this country by the Government that imposes them when they serve its purpose against the people. Although there have been many cases of verdicts of wilful murder recorded against the armed employes of the British Government in Ireland, there is no case where any of these employes have ever been punished by law for the killing of an Irish civilian—man or woman. Five hundred years ago the English passed a law making the killing of an Irishman a non-indictable offence. In practice that law stands to-day.

The people of Ireland have many calls upon them to-day, but we think they will not refuse a contribution, be it small or great, to the fund we have started in West Clare for the dependents of Tomas Ruiseal (Thomas Russell), who met his death, as the Coroner's Jury found, "by the deliberate thrust of a bayonet," in a room in Carrigaholt, where he was attending a Sinn Fein Club meeting, on Sunday, March 21st. This fine young Kerryman, trained as a school teacher, and engaged for the time being in West Clare as a travelling teacher of Irish (of which he was a perfect master), was the hope of his aged parents in their declining years. Little did they think that hope would be shattered by a British bayonet, that the boy who was as gentle and unoffensive as a child would return from Clare in his coffin! Even though the men of Clare and Kerry gave to that coffin and its contents such honour as kings might envy, even though he had taken his stand in the long line of Ireland's martyrs, the aged parents felt, and feel, the loss of their beloved son. The least that may be done now is to help to lighten their burden of care during the years still left to them on this earth, and we respectfully invite all Ireland to take a hand in this noble work. Clare is already subscribing in that open-handed fashion for which it is famous, but there are many calls on its resources, and so we ask the Gaels of Ireland to come to its aid. Subscriptions may be sent to any one of the undersigned:—

Rev. James Clancy, P.P., Kilballyowen, County Clare.

Rev. A. J. Moloney, C.C., Kilmash, Co. Clare.

Brian O'Higgins, Carrigaholt, Co. Clare. (Provincial papers please copy).

Some time ago the Department of Agriculture in Ireland blew its Scotch trumpet and beat its Neutral drum to call attention to the fact that landholders in Ireland were to be punished unless they tilled a certain proportion of their land. Quite a large quantity of the Irish people's money was spent on exhortations to till more land, and several small landholders were very vigorously prosecuted by the Department for not carrying out the Order.

On last Sunday we were at Clonbulloge, in Offaly. Some weeks previously Mr. T. M. Russell, Co. Co., had been there. Near Clonbulloge Lord Ashtown holds a ranch of 1,140 acres. He paid no heed in respect of that ranch to the Tillage Order. Mr. Russell made a speech to the people, in which he told them that, since Lord Ashtown had disregarded the Order, since the Government that made it would not enforce it, the people themselves should try to enforce it. For this speech Mr. Russell was arrested, and is now imprisoned in Mountjoy. Lord Ashtown is enjoying himself at large, and the Department of Agriculture, no doubt, is chuckling over its joke.

Not very far away from Ashtown's ranch as the crow flies lie the ranch-lands of one Major Aylmer. The Major has high 2,000 acres, while the people around cannot get enough to live on. The Major has, we are informed, paid little heed to the Tillage Order. Eight times the people have called the attention of the Department to the fact—eight times the people have been ignored. Not far from the Major are the vast acres of Lord Cloncurry. How far is this personage obeying the Order?

That the Tillage Order is being fraudulently administered is obvious to anyone travelling in the country. The shocked outburst at the semi-forcible seizure of land to till by the people edified us in the "Irish Times" and its kindred some time ago. Sir T. W. Russell and Mr. T. P. Gill, the men responsible for the administration of the Department of Agriculture, joined, if we remember aright, in an expression of sad regret that such things can be. We have now been travelling up and down the country for some time, and everywhere we find the same story. The big ranchers, the men with a pull, evade the Tillage Order as they like, and are seldom prosecuted. Comparatively small men are sought out and prosecuted. Certain suggestions are made in the country in respect to those responsible and the reasons that influence them. What these suggestions are we should not like to hurt the soft heart of an incorruptible Scotsman by mentioning; but perhaps he or his lieutenant will let Ireland know the minimum social position or the minimum amount of money it is needed to possess for a person in Ireland to secure exemption from prosecution for not complying with the "law."

Last week the Editor of "Fainne an Lae" was arrested on a charge in connection with a speech made in Kerry. The manner of his arrest is a tribute to the broad-mindedness of the British Government. His house was visited at midnight, and he was taken thence and placed in a cell at a police barrack filled with drunken and rowdy prisoners and left there to pass the night on the floor. Mr. Beasley at the time was suffering from a sprained ankle.

Some time ago an English paper published an article under the heading "Under Which George?"—Lloyd George or King George? It would appear that the crime of lese-majeste against Lloyd George exists. In February last a young lady employed in the Dublin Post Office wrote a letter to a relative in New York in which she criticised Mr. Lloyd George. The letter was opened by the Censor, communicated to the English Government, and the lady was suspended from her employment. Later she was ordered to apologise and withdraw her criticism. She declined, declaring she had a right to express her private opinions in a letter to her relative. She has now been dismissed by Mr. Lloyd George's Postmaster-General. Of Mr. Lloyd George it may be said that none but himself can be his parallel.

We have heard nothing about the report of the Irish Peat Committee, which has been sitting for some time. It is singular how many Committees, Commissions and Conventions are set up to deal with Irish affairs. That sane men with any knowledge of the political history of Ireland could ever expect any practical result from these investigations is a mystery of the

human mind. It may be taken as a political axiom that once a body is appointed by the British Government to investigate any matter it has no intention of doing anything. There was no Commission, Committee or Convention appointed to consider and report "on the methods of applying the principle of military service to Ireland."

There is one important point to remember about the peat industry in Ireland, and that is that we possess in turf the principal native source of fuel and power. England does not possess an abundance of peat. She is, in fact, singularly deficient in this valuable source of power. The countries which possess large tracts of bog-land have all utilised them successfully, notably Holland. It is also important to bear in mind that the peat industry helps directly to reclaim land for the purposes of tillage, and the humus in peat plays a very important part in forming soil suitable for the growth of corn. By the application of artificial manures, and principally potash, which can be obtained from seaweed, reclaimed bog can be made to grow good crops of grain. Much of the bog-land reclaimed by the building of the canals was used to grow excellent crops of wheat. It is a summing up of England's agricultural policy in Ireland that they stripped us of our forests, but they took care to leave us our grand virgin bogs.

Under the new butter scheme, which dates from April 10, it is proposed to do the grading and cold storage in England. This is most injurious to our trade, as it means shipping in a fresh, soft state instead of grading and cooling in Ireland. There is no excuse for this proposal, as there is sufficient suitable cold storage in the Irish ports of Dublin, Belfast and Cork. The latter, of course, is the principal butter port; and, as we pointed out recently, Cork has an excellent installation on the quays. The policy, of course, is directed to securing the profits and expenditure on cold stores in England, for which the kind British Treasury has provided £750,000. Nothing, of course, has been provided for Ireland, the "spoiled child of the Empire."

An explanation of the causes which have led to the upset of the Irish cattle trade is afforded by a letter from an Irish dealer in Birkenhead, who describes the whole operation of these destructive Orders as being directed in the interests of the frozen meat ring. The object of the Cattle Prices Order, which rendered stall-feeding in Ireland impossible, was to level up the control price of frozen beef to the same values as home-killed. If Irish cattle were held over and fattened in Ireland during the winter we should now have an abundance of meat to place on the English market, and this, of course, would keep down prices against the meat ring in Liverpool. Thus the whole normal course of agricultural development in Ireland has been stopped to prevent competition with English meat interests. This is the real reason why the Tillage Orders have had to be carried out by the people in face of opposition or discouragement, and in the teeth of secret plans to thwart them. Tillage, of course, depends for its success on stall-feeding, and to stop the latter is the game as played in Liverpool.

The following extracts from present and past members of the British Ministry's speeches to the Unionists of Ireland, urging them to defy English law, will be interesting at present:—

You may say to them what a small band of Puritans said to another tyrannical centuries ago—"You may vote it so if you like, but there is a small company of men here who will shed their blood before it can be so."—Sir F. F. Smith, present British Attorney-General, at Coleraine, Sept. 22, 1912.

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats intimidate us—for, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whatsoever or however we shall be called to make our exit we shall die as freemen.—Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, Sept. 27, 1912.

Your plan is a very simple but a very complete one. You propose to bind yourselves each to the other, as brother to brother; that in the last resort you will have recourse to that preservation which is not merely the first law of nature, but is a right divinely sanctioned and imposed.—The British Attorney-General at Belfast, Sept. 23, 1912.

The following is the result of the plebiscite in Kilmaturras Parish (Cork)—

For . . . . . 890  
Refused to sign . . . . . 115.

**Prescription.**

ages (Tricolour), 2d. each;  
**Sinn Féin**—  
 Postbadges, Enamelled in Tricolour  
**Sinn Féin** of Stud. 7d., post free.  
 Volunteer Cap Badge, officer's or  
 Irishter's, 1/6; mounted on strong safety  
 for brooch, 2/- each.  
 Boy Scout Shirts, 7/6 each.  
 Scout Belts, two swivels, 2/6, by post 2/3.  
 Scout Knives, 1/8 post free.  
 Silver-Plated Tara Brooch, enamelled  
 green, white and orange, pretty design,  
 2/6.  
 Special Badges for Sinn Féin Clubs made  
 up to members' own design. Quotations  
 on application.  
 Playing Cards, designed and drawn on  
 stone by Irish artists; Celtic designs;  
 Irish Kings and Queens; 2/-, by post  
 2/3.  
 3/8 Most Unique Sterling Silver Brooch  
 in form of Flag, exquisitely enamelled  
 in green, white and orange, and inset  
 with Silver Crossed Rifles and the letters  
 "I.V."  
 3/- Sterling Silver Brian Boru Harp  
 Brooch, neatly enamelled in green, white  
 and orange.  
 1/3 Silver Shamrock Tie Pin, enamelled in  
 Republican Colours.  
 7/6 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beau-  
 tifully enamelled in green, white and  
 orange. This is a really superb article.  
 2/- Volunteer Silver Brooch—crossed rifles,  
 harp and letters "I.V." Same design  
 as pendant for watch chain.  
 3/9 Silver 1916 Pike, 3 1/2 inches long, or in  
 sword pattern—both in form of brooch.  
 2/6 Anchor of Hope, enamelled in Sinn  
 Féin Colours; made in form of Brooch.  
 Sterling Silver.  
 Any Name made with Rolled Gold Wire on  
 mother-of-pearl brooch, plain or in Re-  
 publican colours, 1/1, post free. Names  
 of Republican Leaders, Pearse, Clarke,  
 etc., same price.  
 The Foggy Dew, the latest and best song  
 on the market. You'll like it—it's fine  
 in every sense. Music and Words com-  
 plete, post free 1/1.  
 The following Songs at 1/1 each—  
 "Dora," "Jackets Green," "The Sol-  
 dier's Song," "Sliereamonn," "Whack  
 Fol the Diddle," "Lament for Pearse,"  
 "A Battle Hymn," "Wrap the Green  
 Flag Round Me," "Rally Round the  
 Banner," "Easter Week," "Come  
 Along and Join," "I Don't Mind If I  
 Do," "The Resurrection of Ireland."  
 1/6 each.—Connolly's Song ("The Watch-  
 word of Labour"), Ashe's "Let Me  
 Carry Your Cross."

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**NATIONALITY.**

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1918.

**ENGLAND AND IRELAND**

Up to last year the preponderance of the  
 Allies against Germany on the Western  
 Front had been as three to two. In the  
 present year, according to the British Pre-  
 mier, the Allies were still preponderant.  
 "In infantry," said Mr. Lloyd George,  
 speaking of the present German offensive,  
 "they (the Germans) were slightly in-  
 ferior, in artillery they were inferior, in  
 cavalry they were considerably inferior,  
 and, what is very important, they were un-  
 doubtedly inferior in aircraft." The British  
 Premier further declared that the re-  
 serves of the Allies were equal to  
 those of the Germans, with-  
 out counting America. It was Lord  
 Macaulay who referred to the military  
 family of Gough as being "as brave and  
 brainless as the horses they rode." The  
 present representative sustained the  
 family tradition. Thrice his incompetence  
 has been tragically shown, but, notwith-  
 standing the protest of Sir Henry Wilson,  
 General Gough was appointed to the com-  
 mand of the Fifth English Army for the  
 political service he had rendered by orga-  
 nising the Curragh mutiny—his political  
 and social influences were so great that Mr.  
 Lloyd George was afraid to refuse him the  
 command. But it was seen that the army  
 which this man was placed in charge of  
 should consist, as far as possible, of sol-  
 diers who were not of English nationality.  
 In the Bill before the English House of  
 Commons the only significant part is that  
 which refers to Ireland, for the additional  
 comb-out provided for could have pro-  
 ceeded—and is, in fact, proceeding—under  
 the Act of three months ago, and the in-  
 crease of the age limit is mere window-  
 dressing. The objective of the Bill is Ire-  
 land—the object is not military, but polit-  
 ical, and the author of the Bill is not  
 Mr. Lloyd George, but Mr. Bonar Law  
 and Lords Milner and Curzon, three of the  
 patrons and protectors of General Gough,  
 who carried out the Curragh affair in 1914  
 largely under their instigation. Mr. Lloyd  
 George, who is in the grip of the powerful  
 newspaper proprietors and certain great  
 English capitalists who are benefiting by  
 the war, lost his head during the first few  
 days of the German offensive, and his  
 work had to be undertaken by Mr. Bonar  
 Law. That person, with the Milners and  
 Curzons, used the opportunity to press for  
 conscription in Ireland, and one of the  
 chief arguments was the Waterford elec-

tion. They easily bent Mr. Lloyd George  
 to their purpose, for Mr. Lloyd George  
 was thinking, before all things, of his own  
 position.  
 The chief aims of the conscriptionists  
 are to "solve" the English military posi-  
 tion in Ireland and to destroy or extermi-  
 nate the anti-English Government ele-  
 ments in Irish life. They believe that Ire-  
 land has neither the means nor the reso-  
 lution sufficient for a protracted and for-  
 midable resistance, and any brief and in-  
 effectual resistance would be wel-  
 come to them for Party reasons. Orga-  
 nised, national, and protracted resistance  
 the English do not expect. It would defeat  
 their plan. Therefore, it they must have.  
 Ireland must be not less calm than de-  
 termined. She must vow that she will not  
 have conscription, and keep that vow,  
 whatever the cost. But she must not, like  
 Mr. Lloyd George at the beginning of the  
 German offensive, lose her head. We are  
 writing on Tuesday morning. The Bill giv-  
 ing power to impose conscription on Ire-  
 land may pass into English law this week,  
 but it cannot be attempted to be put into  
 operation in Ireland for several weeks.  
 Those weeks must be used to prepare the  
 country for effective and protracted resis-  
 tance.  
 We shall not dwell upon the exposure of  
 the Parliamentary fallacy which the oc-  
 casion has provided. For twenty years we  
 worked to prove to the people of this  
 country that the maintenance of represen-  
 tatives in a foreign Parliament was the  
 true source of Ireland's political weakness  
 —since that representation must be always  
 ineffective, owing to its numbers, when  
 Irish and English interests diverge, yet by  
 its presence will give apparent sanction to  
 laws disastrous to Ireland, and by impli-  
 cily leading the Irish to believe that  
 their salvation is to be sought from without  
 must paralyse their political energies at  
 home. If reason, argument or appeal could  
 move England to restore Irish freedom,  
 Ireland would have been freed a century  
 ago. In the last few days Irishmen have  
 witnessed foreigners by the hundred vot-  
 ing conscription upon them despite the  
 wordy protests of the Irish in the English  
 Parliament, and the English Government  
 pointing to the fact of Irishmen attending  
 that Parliament as England's sanction to  
 apply her laws to Ireland. If upon the  
 passage of the Bill an Irishman remains in  
 the British Parliament, then that man is  
 upholding English sanction to seize Irish  
 manhood.  
 "Ireland," said the English Premier,  
 "is as unreconciled to-day to England as  
 she was in the days of Cromwell." And,  
 with a bloody cynicism, the same Prime  
 Minister proposes to do what Cromwell did  
 not attempt to do—to forcibly seize the  
 bodies of our people and use them.  
 He treats Ireland as a country whose  
 people possess no rights—as a land of  
 slaves. They would be slaves indeed if  
 they submitted.  
 Fifty-one years ago Austria, then lord-  
 ing it over Hungary, attempted to con-  
 script the Hungarians. Hungary stood  
 firm—determined to a man that death  
 itself would not force them to fight in the  
 army of their enemy and oppressor. Deaf  
 to the reply of Hungary, "Cancel  
 the Decree," he said to Austria, "and that  
 as speedily as may be, and restore in all  
 its integrity the independence of our  
 country." Austria had statesmen, and  
 they accepted the "last word" of Hungary.  
 The Decree was cancelled, and Hungarian  
 independence was restored. Else there  
 would to-day be no Austria, for though  
 Hungary fell she would have dragged her  
 tyrant to death with her. England has no  
 statesmen—she has politicians, tricksters  
 and adventurers at the head of her affairs  
 in the most poignant crisis of her history.  
 In their hatred of Ireland they would ex-  
 terminate our race. But, though over  
 Ireland may pass hard and perilous times,  
 yet the nation that survived Elizabeth and  
 Cromwell will outlast Lloyd George and  
 Bonar Law, Lord Milner and Lord Curzon.  
 Ireland is no province, no settlement,  
 no colony—she is a nation, with a nation's  
 rights, and we pledge ourselves to each  
 other that no foreign Government shall  
 ever enforce conscription upon our people.

**COLONIAL HOME RULE.**

The report of the proceedings of the  
 Convention nominated by the British  
 Government to the end of pretending to  
 Europe and America that England was wil-  
 ling that Ireland should have that right  
 of self-determination which she claimed  
 for Belgium, Serbia, and the Negroes of  
 East Africa, has been issued. The origin  
 of the Convention may be briefly recalled.  
 After Rosecommon had repudiated the right  
 of the British Parliament to legislate for  
 this country, and declared for the refer-  
 ence of the question of Irish Independence  
 to the Peace Conference, the British  
 Government, which some months before  
 had declared that the Irish question must  
 not again be considered during the war,  
 revived the Partition Proposals. Mean-  
 while a vacancy occurred in Longford and  
 the Irish and English Partitionists con-  
 centrated their efforts on winning the elec-  
 tion. Had they won, it was to be claimed  
 as voting a free hand to the Party, nomi-  
 nally led by Mr. John Redmond, to deal  
 with—that is, accept—the revived and al-  
 tered Partitionist Proposals.  
 Longford was won for Sinn Féin on May  
 11th, 1917. The Parliamentary Party  
 thereupon were forced to reject the re-  
 vived proposals, and as the "Irish Quos-

tion" had now, in the words of the Prime  
 Minister, become acute, the British Govern-  
 ment proposed to summon a Convention of  
 all Irish parties to draft a Constitution for  
 the future government of Ireland. Sinn  
 Féin was invited to participate in the Con-  
 vention, and offered to do so, provided—  
 (1) That the terms of reference left the  
 Convention free to decree the com-  
 plete independence of Ireland.  
 (2) That the English Government should  
 publicly pledge itself to the United  
 States and the Powers of Europe to  
 ratify the decision of the majority of the  
 Convention.  
 (3) That the members of the Convention  
 should be freely elected by adult  
 suffrage.  
 (4) That prisoner-of-war treatment  
 should be accorded to the Irish pris-  
 oners then in Lewes and Aylesbury.  
 The English Government refused to  
 agree. Sinn Féin then pointed out the  
 object of the proposed Convention. On  
 June 2nd we wrote—  
 "England's object was to exhibit Ire-  
 land to the world as a land of intercommu-  
 nial strife. What England stood to gain was  
 the rejection of Ireland's claim to be  
 heard at the Peace Conference. Ireland  
 can only sustain the claim to have her  
 case heard, examined, and pronounced  
 upon at the Peace Conference on the  
 ground of her distinct nationhood. No  
 province, colony, or dependency can sus-  
 tain a claim before such a tribunal. An  
 Ireland partitioned with the consent of  
 its people loses thereby its national  
 status. An Ireland that accepted a Con-  
 vention, and, rejecting partition, failed  
 to come to an agreement, would have en-  
 abled England to block Ireland's appeal  
 to the Peace Conference by the declara-  
 tion to that assembly that England had  
 offered to leave the question of the  
 government of Ireland to themselves for  
 decision, that the Irish had accepted the  
 offer and failed to come to a decision, and  
 that the Irish were disentitled to be  
 heard before any international tribunal."  
 To ensure the result the English Govern-  
 ment arranged the nomination of the mem-  
 bership of the Convention, and beforehand  
 gave an assurance to the North-East Ul-  
 ster nominees that they would not be ob-  
 liged to accept its decision. This, of course,  
 was equivalent to urging them to oppose  
 any genuine form of even Home Rule. The  
 country, however, was not deceived. Sinn  
 Féin did not permit itself to be turned  
 away from its objective, and coincident  
 with the opening meeting of the English-  
 nominated Convention Clare, by an enor-  
 mous majority, endorsed Sinn Féin.  
 The Convention consumed eight months.  
 At the end of that period, the North-East  
 Ulster representatives, primed by the as-  
 surances of Messrs. Lloyd George and  
 Bonar Law, stood where they stood at the  
 beginning. They had played the game for  
 England of getting the men on the other  
 side to compromise so far as they might  
 Ireland's national right, and to whittle  
 down to the lowest even the Home Rule  
 claim. Having done so much for their  
 masters, they, of course, disagreed with  
 any form of self-government for all Ireland,  
 and England immediately, through her sub-  
 sidised organs abroad, such as the New York  
 "Times," cried out to the world, as we  
 stated she would, that the English had  
 allowed the Irish the right of deciding on  
 their own form of government, and that the  
 Irish could not agree among themselves.  
 Therefore, it was not the fault of England,  
 but the hopelessness of the Irish character  
 that caused Ireland's misery.  
 No warnings avail to prevent some well-  
 meaning Irishmen from believing that the  
 English Government is not sometimes sin-  
 cere. Men not otherwise afflicted by lun-  
 acy entered the Convention firmly believ-  
 ing that the terms of reference set out by  
 the English Government would be adhered  
 to. In those terms they were informed  
 that the only stipulation on the Constitu-  
 tion they might adopt was that Ireland  
 must remain within the British Empire.  
 Nominally they were free to adopt and  
 adapt the Constitution of South Africa,  
 the Constitution of Australasia, or the  
 Constitution of Canada. But the Govern-  
 ment had arranged with its North-  
 Easterns to play the game for them, and  
 well they played it, under the leadership  
 of Lord Londonderry, who humbugged the  
 innocents by pretending that he was in  
 favour of a settlement, but that he had  
 to deal with difficult men. Thus, while the  
 duped members of the Convention talked  
 about "Dominion Home Rule," they were  
 led away from the possibility of adopting  
 or adapting the South African, Australa-  
 sian or Canadian Constitutions, and in  
 the hope of propitiating the men whose busi-  
 ness was to object, to throw away  
 every substantial claim. When they had  
 been thus well enured Mr. Lloyd George  
 wrote them a letter telling them what they  
 must ask for—in effect the bogus Home  
 Rule on the Statute Book, plus a guaran-  
 teed ascendancy for years in the so-called  
 Irish Legislature of the nominees and ser-  
 vants of the British Government in Ire-  
 land.  
 And they asked for it. Thirty-eight  
 members of the Convention voted as Lloyd  
 George directed, and thirty-four against.  
 The minority, however, did not claim  
 Dominion Home Rule. They claim-  
 ed a certain amount of fiscal freedom  
 which the majority consented to surrender.  
 The 38, whose names will live in Irish his-  
 tory, included Messrs. John Fitzgibbon,  
 J. O'Dowd, and Stephen Gwynne, of the  
 Irish Parliamentary Party.  
 What these 38 men did was to say

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 Diddle, Wrap the Green Flag,  
 Sliereamonn, Jackets Green, Ire-  
 land's Marching Song, Ireland Over  
 All, Our Latest Hero Dead (Ashe),  
 Resurrection of Ireland, A Battle  
 Hymn (words by Countess de Mar-  
 kiewicz), Flag of Freedom, D.O.R.A.  
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"Ditto" to Mr. Lloyd George's proposals. If the minority had held out for that full Dominion Home Rule they professed at first to desire, their position could not have been worse and might have been better.

Ireland's claim is not "Colonial Home Rule." The men who said it was forgot that Ireland was a nation. If she has no national claim she has no claim in right at all.

The "Colonial Home Rule" of those three Colonies is as follows:—

South Africa is governed by a Senate and House of Assembly, supreme over all its constituent parts—the Cape, the Transvaal, the Free State, and Natal, each of which has State Assemblies.

The white population of the whole of South Africa is scarcely more than the population of Leinster; people fail to realize that Ireland in population exceeds South Africa by over three to one, and equals Australia.

The total population of the Australian Commonwealth is about 70,000 more than the population of Ireland. Australia is governed by a supreme Parliament, with subordinate legislatures in its constituent States, possesses an army and navy, enters into commercial relations with all other countries.

Canada possesses the largest population of the Colonies—having a population about as large as the population of little Belgium. It has a supreme Parliament and Provincial Legislatures, possesses an army and navy, is not responsible for England's wars and England's National Debt, except insofar as its Parliament may vote participation.

"Colonial Home Rule" means, in fact, independence within the British Empire. The scheme of Home Rule voted for by the Fitzgibbons, Gwynnes, Claneys, O'Dowds, under instruction of Lloyd George, gives Ireland none whatever of the powers of Colonial Home Rule.

PUBLIC CONSCIENCE IN ENGLAND

Scarcely a week passes without some fresh proof of the way in which the rules of law and just administration are manipulated in England in the interest of favoured individuals. The Government a year ago commandeered a hotel. The proprietors demanded rent, and sued for it.

pay him £5,000 a year; and now it leaks out that they have agreed to buy the balance of the Crown lease, expiring in 36 years, for the sum of £30,500. With such alacrity does the English governing ring waive the nation's legal rights when the person concerned is not a hotel proprietor, but a Duke!

Another curious illustration of the lack of conscience in English public life has just come to light in connection with the German long range gun. Some years ago England was experimenting with a similar weapon.

The following subscriptions have been already received:— Seann O'Curraín £2 2 0 Editor "Kerryman" 1 0 0 Owen O'Sullivan 0 10 0 T. O'Muireheartaigh 0 10 0 P. O'Connellachain 0 10 0 S. O'Dubhda 0 10 0

H. I.

LE BANSAD NA GOINNEOIRI

AN TOMAS.

- 1. Tá pé ar an uiltár patac, Tá pé ar an uiltár plean, Tá pé ar an uiltár plean, Tá pé ar an uiltár plean. 2. As dul ó deag ar maidin tam Bionn pé ar mo lám tair; 'S pé mar éirgeann an éian Bionn pé beagnac páoi mo corp.

Approximate Pronunciation.—Un Theous. 1. Thaw shay err an ur-lawr (close "u") sollach, thaw shay err an urlaur glon, thaw shay twee an floo-reen sh-yach-tha, thaw shay twee un ch-ion. 2. A gull oo yas err mwad-yin gh-om, bee-un shay err mu law-iv yesh; a fay nor eye-ree-an an y-ree-un, bee-un shay be-ug-nach twee mu ch-ush. 3. A gull oo yas su thraw-nona gh-om, bee-un shay err mu law-iv ch-leo. iss ay a gull i wadh i dhoel-uv, an ad a l-yan-ee may dhon t-lyee. 4. Thaw shay d-yeer-ach swoe dhu law-iv, och n-yeo h-yuk-ee lath law-v a ch-err err, iss fir (i as in "hit") an dhou-an dhaw may-dveesh on, d-yay-low-ch shay oo-ha gu l-yay-ir. Uu fragra: skaw-il.

Translation.—The Riddle. 1. It is on the dirty floor, it is on the clean floor, it is under the snow-drop, it is under the tree. 2. As I go south in the morning, it does be on my right hand; and according as the sun rises it does be almost under my foot. 3. As I go south at eventime it does be on my left hand, and it getting longer continually, as long as I follow the way. 4. It is directly under your hand, but you will not succeed in putting your hand upon it. And all the men in the world—if they were there—it would escape; steal away, from them all. The Answer: A Shadow.

Alice Furlong. (To be Continued.)

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The English and French are understood to be fighting at present side by side with their backs to the wall. Such is the psychological moment chosen for the production at a London theatre of a play in which the central figure is a French officer who tries to betray his country in order to obtain money to defray his debts!

Pressure on our space compels us to hold over the Sinn Fein Victory Fund List.

ciste spleádaig tomáis RUISÉAL.

(Tomás Ruiseál Dependents' Fund.)

A Fund in aid of the Dependents of the late Tomás Ruiseál has been opened. The death of poor Tomás has left his aged parents almost destitute, and two younger school-going brothers quite helpless, in the world, as their only hopes for support were placed in their brilliant young Teacher whose career was so suddenly and tragically cut short at Carrigaholt, Co. Clare.

- Seann O'Curraín, Main St., Dingle; P. O'Corcorra, The Mall, Dingle; Seann O'Conchubhair, Lower Main St., Dingle; Dr. MacDónnhaill, Ballyferriter, Dingle; Owen O'Suilleabhain, Ballyferriter, Dingle; Fionán MacColuim, Killorglin, Kerry; Muiris O'Conchubhair, R.D.C., Ballinangall, Dingle; T. O'Muireheartaigh (Cisteóir), Ballinangall, Dingle; P. O'Ceallaichain (Rúnaire), Ballinangall, Dingle.

The following subscriptions have been already received:— Seann O'Curraín £2 2 0 Editor "Kerryman" 1 0 0 Owen O'Sullivan 0 10 0 T. O'Muireheartaigh 0 10 0 P. O'Connellachain 0 10 0 S. O'Dubhda 0 10 0

CLONAKILTY UNION.

THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS of the above Union will, on FRIDAY, the 26th APRIL, 1918, proceed to appoint a TRAINED NURSE for Night Duty in the Workhouse Hospital, at a salary of £40 a year, with apartments, an allowance of 11s. per week in lieu of rations, and attendance.

The term "Trained Nurse" means any person who has resided for not less than two years in a Clinical or other Hospital recognised by the Local Government Board and who, after examination, has obtained from such Hospital a certificate of proficiency in Nursing.

The Nurse appointed must act under the directions of the Medical Officer, and will be required to take charge of the Fever Hospital when any cases are admitted thereto. She will be responsible for the Stock in the Fever Hospital, and must keep the Fever Hospital clean and fit for the reception of patients.

Applications, in candidate's own handwriting, accompanied by certificates of training and testimonials as to character and proficiency, will be received by me up to 12 o'clock noon on the above-named day.

By Order WILLIAM HENRY SPILLER, Clerk of Union.

Dated 15th April, 1918.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

CUMANN UL DALAIS. DALY CLUB SECOND ANNUAL CONCERT, at the MANSION HOUSE, ON FRIDAY, 19th APRIL, at 8 p.m., Doors opening at 7.15 p.m.

CITIZEN SEAN McGARRY will deliver a Short Address. St. James's Brass and Reed Band, Miss Joan Burke, Miss Agnes McGrath, Máire Ní Siubhlaigh, Miss Mollie Dingle, Miss Lena Pembroke, Miss E. McGrane, Miss Lena McGinley, Miss Vera Melvov, Mr. Gerald Crofts, Mr. J. Bogley, Mr. J. Raul, Mr. P. J. Long, Eamonn Comber, Michael Ua Feagáin, Mr. Stephen O'Connor, Liam Geretty.

Admission 2/-, 1/-, 6d. Dáid éirte fós as Cár ní Dubhí.

CONRADH NA GAEDHILGE, KILTEELY BRANCH.

AERIDÉACT MÓR AT KILTEELY (Co. Limerick), ON SUNDAY, APRIL 28th, 1918.

Addresses will be delivered by Doctor Richard F. Hayes, I.R.A. (S.F. Nominee for East Limerick); Con Collins, I.R.A.; S. M. O'Mara, and others. Songs, Recitations, and Dances by well-known Artists.

Several Bands will be present from Different Parts of Limerick and Tipperary. Aeridheacht will commence at 1.30 p.m. (Irish time) sharp.

Admission to Field 6d. A DIA SAOR EIRE.

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ART PICTURES.

- "His Easter Offering." In two finishing 1/3, 2/3. "Dublin After the Bombardment," 1/7. "The Interior of the G.P.O.," 2/7. "The Proclamation of the Irish Republic." Full text, artistically tricoloured. Mounted on cardboard and hand coloured 2/-, post free.

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BOOKS.

- "St. Enda's: The Story of a Success," post free 1/8. "A Chronicle of Jalls," by Darrell Figgis, 1/2. "Labour in Ireland," by James Connolly, 3/4 (in boards), or in two parts, 1/2 each part. "Memories of Mountjoy," by Sean Milroy, 1/2. "Ireland's Appeal to America," presented by Dr. McCartan, 7d. "Prisoners of War" (Memories of Frougach, Wakefield, etc.), 1/9 (illustrated). Send for Book List. Above prices are post free. Send your enquiries for Sinn Fein Goods (Wholesale and Retail) to

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NOTICES.

ARD CRAOBH SINN FEIN, 6 Harcourt St.—Meeting on Monday, 22nd April, 8 p.m. Mr. Geo. Lyons will deliver Address.

DRAWING of Prizes at Banba Hall, Manchester. Results—1st, 584; 2nd, 2145; 3rd, 312; 4th, 1455; 5th, 1682; 6th, 2454.

MAJOR MacBride Sinn Fein Club.—Result of Prize Drawing—1st, 826; 2nd, 3761; 3rd, 2874. Apologies for delay in publication.

O'RAHILLY SINN FEIN CLUB, Tallow. Stop Watch Competition postponed to May 19th. Result published in "Nationality" May 25th. Outstanding sheets to be returned immediately.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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