

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1918.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

Meetings in support of Sinn Fein were held on Sunday at Birr, where Countess Marelkiewicz was the chief speaker, and in Kiltcealy (Limerick), where Dr. Hayes spoke. In East Cavan twenty-two meetings were held in support of the candidature of Mr. Arthur Griffith, at Cootehill, Bailieboro', Ballyjamesduff, Shercock, Stradone, Kilmaleck, Crosserlough, Munterconought, Denn, Maudabam, Middlechapel, Bunnoe, Killinkere, Drumreilly, Cara, etc., the chief speakers being the Very Rev. Fr. O'Connell, P.P., V.G.; Fr. Galligan, Messrs. Eamonn De Valera, W. T. Cosgrave, Jos. McGuinness, Sean Milroy, Darrel Figgis, T. P. McKenna, Vice-Chairman General Council of County Councils; E. J. Duffy, solicitor; W. Sears, Paul Galligan, Desmond Fitzgerald, Philip Monaghan, Jos. Stanley, John O'Mahony, Jos. Murray, P. Kirby, Dr. Boyd-Barrett, Dr. McNabb, Paul Smith, P. Little, J. Kelly, Henry O'Hanrahan, J. K. O'Reilly, Kevin O'Sheil, P. Hughes, etc.

The people of East Cavan are raising funds to defray the expenses of the election, but as the constituency is one of the largest in Ireland we invite our readers to help.

The choice of the Convention at Cootehill is challenged by Mr. O'Hanlon, who goes forward on the plank of attendance at Westminster. An attempt to use the Lord Mayor of Dublin as a pawn to support the continued recognition of the British Parliament's authority has been promptly repudiated by his lordship. The issue is now knit. The British Government in attempting to impose conscription pointed to the fact of the attendance of Irishmen in the British Parliament as the sanction for that Parliament to apply the Act to Ireland. He who votes to-day to return an Irishman to Westminster votes the right of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland. No amount of misrepresentation can conceal that fact. He who votes in Cavan to elect a man acknowledging the British Parliament votes for conscription.

The Very Rev. Fr. O'Connell, P.P., V.G., the Chairman of the Convention which selected Mr. Griffith as candidate for East Cavan, has issued the following letter to the electors of East Cavan:—"The situation in Ireland is a grave and critical one, and all eyes are turned upon East Cavan to see what it will do to strengthen the movement to prevent the imposition of England's conscript law on Ireland. Bishops, priests, and people are united in repudiating the right of England to perpetrate this outrage on our country. At such a moment it is of the gravest importance that the man who is selected to represent East Cavan should be one whose character and record marks him out as the uncompromising opponent of this immoral military despotism which the English Government has designed, and which the English Parliament has sanctioned. Only in such a way can East Cavan make it clear to the English Government that Ireland stands resolutely and implacably determined to resist conscription to the end. On Sunday evening a Convention representative of the priests and people of Cavan met and selected Mr. Arthur Griffith as their candidate. This union of the priests and people of East Cavan in a unanimous selection of Mr. Griffith is but a reflex of the union of the whole priesthood and people of Ireland manifested throughout the country on the same day to resist conscription by the most effective means in their power. No man in the country stands higher as a Nationalist than Mr. Griffith. No man has rendered greater services to the Nation. His election would be the strongest blow that East Cavan could at the moment strike against conscription, and his return would probably be more dreaded by England than the return of any living Irishman. In these circumstances, and for the sake of Ireland's greatest interests, I appeal to the men of East Cavan to sink all party considerations and elect unanimously Mr. Griffith as their representative."

The taxation imposed upon Ireland by the British Parliament in the coming financial year will approximate thirty-five million pounds. This is the heaviest taxation borne by any country in the world except the Great Powers and Spain. It is 11 millions greater than the taxation of Sweden or Holland, and equal to the combined taxation of several independent countries. Out of this thirty-five millions England will expend twelve in Ireland, and put the remainder in her

pocket. Then her Press will tell the world that she is "keeping up Ireland."

Lord Salisbury, in a letter to the English Press, announces that the Irish people are "utterly unfit for Self-Government." On this point, though on different grounds, his opinion coincides with that of his father. In the paternal days the reason used to be that the Irish were Hottentots. Now the reason is that they are unwilling to accept the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in military affairs. After settling this point, Lord Salisbury proceeds to say that recognition of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in military affairs "is the rule in the Dominions." If this were a true statement, there would long ago have been conscription in Australia, where, in fact, it has twice been rejected. The statement is, of course, quite untrue. It helps to remind us that Lord Salisbury's family has a modern reputation for falsehood, just as in Tudor days it was renowned for treachery. Some years ago the English Liberal Press used to call any particularly audacious lie a "Salisbury."

The London underwriters are now inserting in their assurance policies against riot and civil commotion the following two tricky clauses:—

"Warranted that the principals of the assured firm shall not take part in any meetings antagonistic to the Government of Great Britain and Ireland, or take part or assist in any disturbances except to uphold law and order."

"Warranted that the principals of the assured firm are not engaged in any propaganda against the prosecution of the war, and are not members of any society or organisation of any kind whose objects are inimical to law and order."

"It is not for the sake of the English people so much as for the ——— themselves that we seek to retain them in obedience to the Crown of England, for we are convinced that if they were to sever in casting off their allegiance, the good who are among them would soon take refuge in the Mother Country from the anarchy with which a successful revolt would be attended, and those who would remain behind would soon pass under another yoke or be exterminated by their savage neighbours."

No. This is not an extract from a speech of the British Prime Minister in 1918 on the affairs of Ireland. It is an extract from a speech of the British Prime Minister in 1778 on the affairs of America. The missing word is "Americans."

Amongst the innumerable Committees with which the British Government amuses itself is one with the resounding title of "Post-War Industry and Commerce," entitled for shortness the "Balfour of Burleigh Committee." Its recommendations are of little interest, as they are likely to have little effect. There is, however, a memorandum by Mr. John O'Neill, who, with Mr. Hazleton, were placed on it to represent Irish interests. What has become of the latter Commissioner we do not know. He has disappeared overseas. Mr. O'Neill's remarks are of some interest. He points out that the word "British" is used to cover the word "Empire" in the Interim Report, while in the Final Report it is used in the insular sense. This, of course, is a humorous characteristic of the Englishman, who lacks a clear idea of anything else except his own interest. The word "Empire" is merely a mark to hide his operations. The red dub on the map is merely an alias for John Bull. As an instance of British geography, we may instance the peculiar fact that some 30 years ago it was decreed solemnly that the British Isles consisted of England, Scotland, and Ireland. So that by law England is one British Isle, Scotland a second, and Ireland, of course, is a third.

Very remarkable is the quotation from an English protectionist economist, Professor W. A. Hewins, M.E.P., who stated this important truth: "The Free Trade movement, favourable as it was to the growth of English manufactures, was based upon even a narrower conception of English interests than that of the mercantile system, and Ireland has fallen farther and farther behind England." This means that English Free Trade Policy was more deadly to us than the hostile tariffs which formerly barred out Irish woollens, and indeed all Irish manufactures, from the British market. This is a very important statement of fact by an authority certainly not prejudiced in our favour. Its full significance can only be understood when we examine the long list of prohibitions, penalties, and customs duties levied against

Ireland in the pre-Union days. It follows from this that it would be better for our trade, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture if we cut adrift commercially and took our chance of getting clean out from "England's Free Trade Partnership," which is the greatest possible delusion. We never had a chance as a partner in a concern which took all it could and never gave us any benefit except by accident. We have repeatedly caught the "partner" cheating, and it is time to dissolve the agreement.

On Monday of last week the British Chancellor of the Exchequer and Irish Exchequer brought in the annual Budget. Briefly it proposes at one sweep to **double** the existing spirit and beer duties and to tax Irish farmers on **double** their rent or purchase annuity as the equivalent of their profits. Tobacco is to be increased from 6s. 3d. to the truly enormous impost of 8s. 2d. per lb., an increase of 1s. 9d., involving, with the increased cost of production, an addition of twopence per ounce to the consumer. Sugar is increased by a penny farthing per pound. All these taxes hit Irish consumers severely. The taxes on beer, spirits, tobacco and agriculture are specially aimed at Irish industry. If any argument were needed to expose the fallacy of the sort of "Home Rule" offered to us, this Budget will clinch it. It is a conscription of Irish wealth at the only sources left to it under British legislation. As we have frequently warned our readers, the English Treasury officials have been specially encouraged to direct their attention to Irish farmers. Here again, as in the case of the beer, spirit and tobacco taxes, Ireland is specially singled out to carry the cross of taxation. Here the farmer is the principal consumer, unlike the English agriculturist, who forms a very small part of the population of his country. The crushing taxes on spirits and beer will affect the barley and malting trades, and will indirectly injure the grower. There is, however, a most serious threat in the doubling of the assessment to farmers' income tax. By the Budget of 1915 the Irish farmer who had purchased his holding was assessed on the amount of his annuity. If the instalment was over the given exemption line, which, we believe, is £130 a year, he had to pay income tax to the British Treasury on the amount in excess of £120 (the abatement). Now at one swoop it is proposed to double the assessment. This means that the tax is now extended to all farmers whose annuities reach half the amount liable to income tax.

This tricky proposal means that all Irish farmers whose Land Commission instalment is £65 a year and over are rated at £130 and over for income tax. There are few farmers who pay on the former Budget, but we believe the new tax proposals will bring in a considerable number. The Chancellor of the British Exchequer is proceeding gradually. First of all he took the rent or annuity at £130 for the purpose of taxation. Now he has lowered it to £65. Next year, if he is permitted to go on, he will probably lower it to one-third (£43 6s. 8d.), and so on until he gets the rope over everybody who can be made to pay.

This tax is a most serious threat to the whole body of men engaged in agriculture. It means that the British Government has become Ireland's landlord and is once more raising rents all round. It is doing it slowly and cautiously, but the design is there. Long ago we detected it, and warned our readers, and we warn them again that the sinister hand of the British Treasury is stretching out to take the rack-rents which the more merciful landlord used to extort in days which were believed to be gone for ever.

We object to any form of taxation imposed upon us by a foreign Government. We object particularly to the new tax on farmers because it is essentially unjust in form and oppressive as well as foreign. It is not a true income tax. If a given line is fixed for incomes, as it is, we believe, at £130 (the amount abated is £120, leaving £10 to be paid on as a minimum), it is mere trickery to double a man's income for the purpose of assessing him. In many countries a tax on land values is levied, and this is a beneficial tax in its application. The object of taxing land values is to throw the burthen on the land held out of cultivation, or in towns and cities on land not used or built upon. Its effect in Ireland would be to throw the burthen of taxation on the grazier, as tillage land would not be burthened. It would have the effect of forcing idle land to come into the market, so that those who wanted to

get land to cultivate it or to build on could have access to it on reasonable terms. Such a form of taxation would admittedly be a great advantage to Ireland provided the proceeds were applied to the national service of the country and the money spent here, which, of course, will never occur as long as we are tied to England.

But the proposed tax is not in any sense a tax on values. It is not even true to its own description of tax. It is not a tax on income. It is merely a plan to fleece Irishmen, most of whom are occupiers of land.

We object to it in further particular because it is a direct addition to the annuities which are now paid generally instead of rent in Ireland. The British Treasury has now stepped into the shoes of the landlord. It proposes to increase the annuities payable to itself. This is a monstrous and inequitable proposal. When the tenants of Ireland agreed to purchase their land they did so on fixed terms amounting to a financial contract, by the terms of which all the parties were bound, including the British Treasury, which now coolly proposes to increase the annuities payable to itself. No Government has a right to collect a greater annuity under the mask of an income tax. This is an attempt to re-impose rent in Ireland. It re-opens the Irish Land Question, and threatens to undo the one good measure that the British Government has imparted to Ireland.

Since 1915 income-tax has been collected from farmers paying £130 a year and upward in the shape of annuities. These were then assessed to pay on at least £100, as we explained above. On this excess of £10 they had to pay at the rate of the schedule. Assuming, for instance, that the rate on land is 5s. in the pound, this means that he had to pay £2 10s. in the case we have taken. But watch the effect of doubling the assessment. That unfortunate farmer has now to pay on assumed income of £260, less £120 abatement. This leaves the assumed taxable income to stand at

amount of tax payable by him will on these figures be £35 instead of only £2 10s., or fourteen times as much. Thus, by the simple but not childlike method of taking a man's income to be double what it was assumed to be last year, though in fact it may be less, the unfortunate farmer is made to pay fourteen times as much money to the Treasury as he paid last year for the benefit of a Government which wants to conscript his sons.

We object finally to the imposition of a tax on farmers on the ground of public interest. It is vitally necessary that the production of food should not be hampered or burthened by taxes on the grower. All the capital the farmer possesses is needed to enable him to purchase more seeds, fertilizers, and machinery, and to pay labour a better wage, and to give more employment on the land. As a State policy, the taxation of farmers is unreasoned and contrary to common sense. On the one hand we have guaranteed prices to encourage the farmer. The Government which puts the farmer on the back with one hand and puts the other hand into his pocket at the same time plays the part of a man who gives a dinner party and steals from his guests.

Last week Mr. Diarmuid Lynch, whose services as Food Controller of Sinn Fein, have been invaluable to the country, was deported under the Aliens Act by the British Government. Mr. Lynch is an American citizen, and America will clearly understand that it was not the people of Ireland, but the British Government in Ireland that objected to an American citizen remaining in this island.

Cumann na mBan branches through the country should take steps to secure representation on local Defence Committees. This is a matter which should be attended to at once, as many of the Committees have been already formed. In such cases it may be possible to secure representation even yet by applying to the Committee. Some misunderstanding apparently exists as to the functions of Cumann na mBan. Although first aid is one of its important activities, it is not the only one. Cumann na mBan is not an ambulance society, but a political and military one; and first aid classes cannot be affiliated as branches unless they are willing to undertake the other work of the organisation.

The National Pledge against Conscription has been produced in most interesting and effective style, embellished with portraits of the members of the Mansion House Conference and the Prelates at Maynooth, by Messrs. Wilson, Hartnell.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1918.

EAST CAVAN

Seventy years ago there dwelt in the Co. Cavan 243,158 men, women, and children—just quarter of a million human beings, with roots in the soil. Where there was one man in England, Germany, Belgium, Poland, or Serbia, seventy years ago, there are two, three, and—in the case of Poland—four, now. If Cavan were part of England its population should now be over half a million; if it were part of Germany its population should reckon 800,000; if it were part of Belgium it should number its people 700,000; were it part of Poland a million of people would dwell inside its borders. Instead its people number 91,173 souls.

The number of men and boys in Cavan in 1841 was 121,000; to-day it is 47,700. The number of women and girls in Cavan in 1841 was 122,000; to-day it is 43,000. The world is staggering through its bloodiest war; but the casualties of the belligerent nations bear as yet no proportion to the casualties of Cavan. Where there should be 500,000 men and women there are 90,000. Where there were actually three men there is but one left. Where there were six women there are two. And God slew none.

If this were true of Belgium, what a sustained cry of horror would ring round the world from the British Press. Were it true of Serbia, of Poland, of any land but this, what thousands of leading articles and tens of thousands of speeches would be poured out on the peoples of Europe and America!

Had Cavan been in Roumania, in Montenegro—nay, even in German East Africa—the great heart of the Allies would have been wrung for the fate of its people. Had the men and women of Cavan the good fortune to be born Armenians, and if 1 per cent. of them instead of 62 1/2 per cent. had been destroyed, the world would have rung with the fact. Had they been Senegalese, Andaman Islanders, natives of the Congo, the philanthropists and politicians

would have sent them socks, blankets, food, money, and held indignation meetings up and down the earth. They were merely Irish—merely white men and white women—children of the staliest branch of the Caucasian race—people who had lost their heritage of freedom—and so the world forgot them, and considered them dead—having read in the London "Times" leading article in 1851 that: "The Celts are gone—gone with a vengeance: the Lord be praised!"

The people of Cavan were not destroyed by war; they were not destroyed by pestilence; they were not destroyed by famine; they were destroyed by legislation. This legislation was made in another country by another people. The assembly that made it consisted of 570 aliens to Cavan and Ireland and 100 Irishmen. The 570 aliens made the legislation to suit their interests—the 100 Irishmen, by their impotent presence, supplied the sanction for its application to Ireland. Caught in the great snare set for Ireland by William Pitt, Cavan continued to elect men to sanction English law in this country. Drawn into the great delusion that a people's strength may lie outside itself, Cavan, like the rest of Ireland, fixed its eyes and built its hopes upon the Westminster Parliament, where British politicians consistently fool and betray Ireland. And if benevolent Europe and philanthropic America did not become indignant over the sweeping from the earth of the people of Cavan, let not this excellent Europe and America be blamed. They could not see Ireland; they could not hear Ireland—the British Parliament was in the way. All that Europe and America could hear was an occasional politician's howl about Ministerial "breaches of faith" or "amendments" or "concessions." All they could see was a number of men from Ireland, like a number of men from London or Yorkshire, marching in the rear of an English Government or in the rear of an English Opposition. The Irish Nation was invisible and inaudible to the world so long as Ireland merged itself in the Parliament of Great Britain.

And so England could do as she pleased, and did as she pleased, in Ireland. If out of three men in Cavan she left but one—if out of six women she left but two—the world knew nothing of it—it was busy reading in the English Press or hearing from English statesmen that Abdul the Damned had massacred ten Armenians, whose vigorous lungs shouted protest to the world. And so long as Ireland continues to send men to the English Parliament—impotent for good or the prevention of evil, but potent to give sanction to English authority in this country—so long as Ireland, sending these men, continues to believe that salvation can come to Ireland from that Parliament—so long will England rule this country and run this country as she pleases—so long will she continue to impose upon Ireland a burden of taxation three greater than her own and yet assure the world that she is keeping Ireland from the pothouse.

The fruit of the false policy of a hundred years in Ireland is the claim of England to conscript the manhood of Ireland to fight her battles. To East Cavan comes the opportunity of reply. Does it admit the right of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland? Does it admit the right of the British Government in Ireland? Does it admit that Ireland has no equal claim to liberty with Belgium and Poland? If it does, then it will properly oppose and defeat the candidature of the Editor of "Nationality."

But if Cavan believes that Ireland is no less than Poland, Serbia, or Belgium—that the British Parliament has no right to legislate for this country, that Ireland, not Westminster, is the proper place for Ireland's elected representatives, then Cavan will support and carry to success the candidature of the Editor of "Nationality." The issue in this election is whether the people of Ireland admit or deny the right of England to govern their country. We deny that right. We assert our country to be a distinct Nation, and we maintain that the court of Ireland's coming appeal is not the British Parliament, but the Peace Conference, at which President Wilson has undertaken to assert the right of Self-Determination for Small Nations. President Wilson's attention has not yet been called to the fact that where Poland waxed and grew fat Ireland pined and grew lean. He has heard of what happened in Belgium. He has not heard of what happened in Cavan. He will hear of it beyond the power of Ireland's enemies to prevent him understanding when Cavan declares by this election for a Free Irish Nation.

THE NEW WORLD.

Where the Sahara Desert now stretches—a sterile waste—millions of people in scores of generations lived in affluence by tilled fields and prosperous cities. Not Nature but Man turned a vast and fertile country into a continental desert. In that other great territory stretching from Aleppo to the Persian Gulf all the needs and many luxuries of life were supplied by a teeming soil. Here man at the least expenditure of labour secured all that life needed—all that material civilisation could seek. Here millions of mankind swarmed and lived in an ease and plenty which Europe as a whole has never known.

The causes that converted the Sahara and Asia Minor from the most fruitful

places of the earth into deserts and wastes were of man's invention. They were the lust of Conquest and the greed of Exploitation. Prolonged wars undermined the civilisation and prosperity of these regions—then Exploitation—the enemy through all the ages to Civilisation, the mask it so often wears—completed their ruin. Through generations the conquerors of the Sahara and Asia Minor lived on the stored capital of the conquered territory—they reaped what the others had sown, but they sowed not in their turn. When there was naught else left to exploit they exploited the trees. The vast forests of Asia Minor and of the Sahara fell to their axes, as the forests of Ireland fell to the axes of the Cromwellians. Then the plundered and denuded countries were abandoned for fresh conquests, and lay wild and bare to the sun. Their neglected rivers made marshes, their neglected uplands became desert, and so for tens of centuries it has been.

What revolution could happen to the world materially to compare with the re-cultivation of Asia Minor and of the Sahara? What material revolution more potent in its moral and mental effects on the future of humanity? Scarcely any can be imagined. France had a dream forty years ago of recovering Sahara for mankind. Had she turned it into reality she would have become the noblest—perhaps the most powerful of Empires. But she deserted the dream of her engineers and poets for the dream of her soldiers and politicians, and she has spent in the past years on war a hundred times the amount she refused to sanction to irrigate the Sahara and lay the foundations of a fertile African Empire, not won by the sword or stolen by the diplomats at the expense of other nations, but recovered for man from the barren sand. One Frenchman, indeed, a man of vast wealth, let the dream fill his mind, and feebly attempted to realise it—proclaiming himself Emperor of the Sahara, and scheming to use his wealth to make the desert blossom like the rose. This wealthy Frenchman had been for years a useless ornament of French society—wasting his millions on horse-racing, debauchery, and gambling. France did not question his sanity. But when Jacques Lebaudy, tired of wasting his money thus, got the great idea of his life and dream of redeeming the Sahara, France decided that his mind was affected, and brought him back from the desert under a military escort.

So perished a French dream. It is now the turn of another dream, dreamed on the opposite bank of the Rhine—the dream of restoring Asia Minor to its old cultivation—its old prosperity—the dream of Returning to Eden, where grows "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food."

This dream was not spontaneous. It arose out of England's command of the sea, and the seeming impossibility of German expansion over the waters. It arose from Germany's great and growing population being forbidden room to live beneath the German flag, because, as Bismarck said, England had seized half the earth and kept Europe an armed camp divided against itself. Kept back from the sea, the idea grew slowly on the German mind of the advance of Germany overland to the Persian Gulf—this being the corollary of an understanding and alliance of interests with Turkey, the keeper of its gate, and then came the dream of a Middle Asia brought back into cultivation—a Western Asia again supporting its scores of millions of people—an Asia Minor absorbing Germany's emigrants, and capable of making and keeping Germany and her allies the masters of the world.

The dream began its realisation with the laying of the first rail of the Bagdad railway. It has helped to bring about this war. To-day Germany holds a line of railways almost continuous from Antwerp to Bagdad—from the West of Europe almost to the Persian Gulf. Allied with Turkey, she holds the keys of the West and the East in her hands. If the Allies cannot snatch them from her, then a chapter of human history as significant as that written more than 2,000 years ago at Marathon will have opened. To-day between Aleppo and Bagdad a few million people scrape a bare existence from the hundreds of thousands of square miles of the land that once was Paradise. To-morrow, if Germany wins, men will labour to bring that soil back again to the fruitfulness it enjoyed before the serpent "more subtle than any beast of the field" entered the garden. Fifty years hence a man may leave Ireland of an evening and next day from Antwerp journey uninterrupted by train to the Persian Gulf, passing on his way, where now the dreary wastes of Asia Minor spread, a region of fertility and affluence, where the earth yields yearly the sustenance of more than the population of Europe.

That is Germany's dream to-day—the dream in the realisation of which the greatest of wars is being waged—the dream of linking all Middle Europe and Asia Minor in a great confederacy, self-supporting, and all-sufficing. If it be realised, then the history of civilisation will have taken a greater course than Alexander or Caesar gave it—a course computable in its vast consequences to the event that decided at Marathon the ascendancy of the white man over all the other races of the world. What the end of this new direction given to civilisation by a Middle Europe and a Middle Asia, combined in one great confederacy and directed by the productive and laborious Germans of Germany may be, it is idle now to speculate. But this is certain—that as it must be

Founded on productivity, not on destruction, the era of conquest for conquest's sake or conquest for exploitation's sake—the era of the Alexanders and Caesars—the era that built up empires such as the British Empire—must pass to its tomb, and a new era which we yet cannot comprehend will dawn; an era which, though in another setting may be as bad, but far more likely an era relatively good—an era to which war will be as foreign in civilisation as cannibalism is now—perhaps such an era as John in his vision at Patmos saw when he beheld 'great Babylon perish: the wine of the fierceness of the wrath of God'; and when he saw dawn upon the world that period of centuries wherein nations ceased to war and poverty vanished. Perhaps such shall be the era into which our children shall enter—on whose threshold we stand while the world travails in blood to its birth. Who may say?

CONSCRIPTION.
(To the Leaders).

Ye pleaded in this cause, one with the other—
In the high Name of the creating Father
Who from the slime bones of the Man did gather!
Ye showed the way by which our feet should run—
In the high Name of the redeeming Son,
The Conqueror of Hell, the Overcoming One!
Ye bade us stand against the tyrannous host—
In the high awful Name of the Holy Ghost,
Steadfast, even unto the uttermost!
Archangel Michael covers us with his shield,
For us the sword of living flame shall he wield.
Mary, the Mother of the Son, shall sweetly tend us,
She, our great sister, mightily shall defend us.
The Bride mystical—glory upon her brows—
Ceaseless for us entreats the Heavenly Spouse.

Alice Furlong.

BRÁGAIL NA SPIAC

1. Féicín 'r Fíannós a n-aimn peo' (Féicín 'r Fíannós a n-aimn peo' / Féicín 'r Fíannós a n-aimn peo' / Féicín 'r Fíannós a n-aimn peo')
2. Tá'n t'ean-eaigha fuaig marb (Tá'n t'ean-eaigha fuaig marb / Tá'n t'ean-eaigha fuaig marb / Tá'n t'ean-eaigha fuaig marb)
3. Cá bfuil sí? Cá bfuil sí? (Cá bfuil sí? / Cá bfuil sí? / Cá bfuil sí?)
4. In a cnaipe ar an talam. (In a cnaipe ar an talam. / In a cnaipe ar an talam. / In a cnaipe ar an talam.)
5. An mílir í? An mílir í? (An mílir í? / An mílir í? / An mílir í?)
6. Peoil 'r fuil í! Peoil 'r fuil í! (Poeil 'r fuil í! / Poeil 'r fuil í! / Poeil 'r fuil í!)
7. An bfuil ceas agam uil i n-éimpeacé leat? (An bfuil ceas agam uil i n-éimpeacé leat? / An bfuil ceas agam uil i n-éimpeacé leat? / An bfuil ceas agam uil i n-éimpeacé leat?)
8. Cnaima go uile í, cnaima go h-uile í, cnaima go h-uile í! (Cnaima go uile í, / Cnaima go h-uile í, / Cnaima go h-uile í, / Cnaima go h-uile í!)

Approximate Pronunciation.—Braw-cheol nu Vee-ach. (1) 'Fay-hyeen iss Fan-oge a nanim shu, err a m-eyo may a thraw-uch-th in snu ron-iv shu, Kree-shoen d-yay-un ins goch kyann oku, a will gorv-nyad hoo-as su ch-ronu oku. (2) Thawn t-yan ch-weera foo-wr morv. (3) Kaw will shee? (4) In a knapp-e err an tholuv. (5) Un milis ee? (6) Fyole iss will ee. (7) A will k-yadh ogum gull in yeen-uch-th lath? (8) Knaw-v (Kraw-v) gu hill-e ee!

Translation.—The Cawing of the Ravens. (1) F and F is their name, of whom I will be speaking in these verses. A little glutton of a bird in each of them, with a rough nest up in the tree! (2) The old sheep is cold and dead. (3) Where is she? (4) In a heap on the earth. (5) Is she sweet to taste? (6) Flesh and blood! flesh and blood! (7) Will you let me go along with you? (8) All bones, all bones, all bones!

(To be continued).

Alice Furlong.

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The English propaganda against Ireland in the Continental Press is illustrated by an article in the "Echo de Paris" which professes to give a view of the situation in Ireland. Here is the bland explanation supplied to our innocent French contemporary of England's present attitude towards Ireland:—

Before a Europe armed to the teeth England cannot with impunity grant self-government to the extent which they desire—that is at least such as Canada or Australia now possess. It would astonish the Editor of the "Echo de Paris" that less than a year ago the English Government pretended willingness to permit Ireland "Colonial Home Rule," which the same Government's Press Bureau now says it is impossible to permit—because Europe is armed to the teeth. Here is also a touching picture of how England endeavoured to give us self-government, but our own crassness prevented her:—

For four years English diplomacy has tried to bring the four-Irish parties to an agreement on the Home Rule question. In March, 1914, an attempt to force Home Rule by arms on the Protestants of the North-East was foiled by the resignation of the officers. The four parties met in July of 1917, brought together by British statesmanship, and English statesmen awaited their agreements, which were only negative conclusions.

Would it be possible for even an English "statesman" to weave a more perfect tissue of misrepresentation? But there is more to follow. It was only (according to the "Echo de Paris") when the Convention, brought about by British statesmanship, revealed the hopelessness of the Irish, who were able to come to nothing but negative conclusions that Mr. Lloyd George decided to apply both the Home Rule Bill and conscription to Ireland. We told the dupes of English statescraft when the Convention was proposed that it was proposed in order to side-track the Sinn Fein movement and misrepresent Ireland's position to Europe. We told the men who went into it they would be used as pawns to play England's game against their own country. But we did not expect Mr. Lloyd George's Government would rise to the sublime height of representing the Convention as a warrant for imposing conscription. What does Sir Horace Plunkett think of the use that is being made of him by the English Government Continental Press Propaganda Committee? We only add we are sorry that a paper of repute

like the "Echo de Paris" should permit itself to be used to defame the Irish nation.

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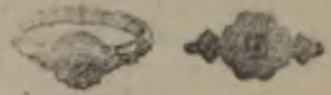
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