

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. I. No. 9. (New Series).

SATURDAY, APRIL 14th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

The following question addressed to the British Premier has appeared for six weeks on the Notice Paper of the British Parliament, Mr. Lloyd-George dodging it every day, and Mr. Ginnell refusing to accept an answer from any of his underlings:—

Mr. Ginnell—To ask the Prime Minister, whether he has noticed that, since July, 1914, in divisions in this House on matters affecting Ireland all English parties have combined to outvote and defeat the party claiming to represent Irish Nationalists; that the leaders of that party frequently complain of having been betrayed, contemptuously ignored, and a policy pursued opposed to that which they advised; that every memorial and resolution sent to the Government, or to any Member of the Government, by an Irish corporation, county, borough, or district council, or other representative body on a matter of Irish importance has been similarly treated, and the opposite policy pursued; that all the forms of justice and of civil law have been abrogated; that men not subject to military law have been, in contravention of English statutes, tried by secret courts-martial, some executed, and many sent to penal servitude where they still are; that many, without charge or trial, have been deported to England, where they still are; that no public meeting of protest is allowed; that elected public bodies are warned not to call attention to these things; that so much of the public Press as is not silenced by bribes is silenced by Government authority; that Ireland is held and ruled as a conquered country by a large army of occupation; that its appeals to neutral countries, in the absence of constitutional government, are intercepted and prevented; that the Irish people, forced by these facts to withdraw their representation from Westminster and look elsewhere for justice, now trust and rely upon themselves alone, *Sinn Féin amháin*; and whether he has any statement to make on the international, the English, or the Irish aspect of this situation.

In Hansard, 1296-7, we find the following:—

Mr. Ginnell (by Private Notice) asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether the English Government in Ireland has prevented Mr. Arthur Griffith from lecturing in the public hall in Limerick; on what grounds and under what law; what was the subject of the proposed lecture; is any person allowed to lecture in Ireland on that subject now; is Mr. Griffith allowed to lecture in any part of Ireland on any subject, and whether the Press of Ireland is under a general and special command not to publish or comment on the prohibition of Mr. Griffith, or any Parliamentary matter relating thereto?

Mr. Brace: The Chief Secretary, who has been called away to Ireland, has asked me to deal with any questions. I have had no notice of this question, but if the hon. Member will hand in his question I will communicate with the Irish Office so that he may have a written reply.

Mr. Ginnell: In view—

Hon. Members: Order, order.

Mr. Ginnell: On a point of order—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: This question in the ordinary course would not have been allowed at all in the hour. It is clearly one of those of which notice should be given. The hon. Member has been promised an answer.

Mr. Ginnell: In view of this, I want to give notice that on the Adjournment for Easter I will raise the question of the misgovernment in Ireland at present and proposed in future.

But when the motion for the Easter adjournment came on business was so arranged by

the British Government that Mr. Ginnell was prevented from raising the question.

The subsidy of £31,000 paid to the "Freeman's Journal" under the guise of Compensation—at the rate of £63,000 for property valued by the "Freeman's Journal" itself at £32,000 is an instance of how the British Government is spending the taxpayers' money. Another instance is disclosed in the British Auditor-General's report. It appears that the British Government engaged to pay a sum of £3,500 for a "patriotic demonstration" to be arranged by Mrs. Pankhurst and addressed by the present British Premier. After the "patriotic demonstration" Mrs. Pankhurst's association claimed an extra £674 which, it was alleged, was expended—and got it. "Re-cripted Vouchers," says the Auditor-General, "were produced in only a few cases."

The following Boards have appointed delegates to Count Plunkett's Conference:—Athy No. 2 R.D.C., Bandon R.D.C., Bantry P.L.G., Corofin R.D.C., Corofin P.L.G., Carrick-on-Suir P.L.G., Carrickmacross U.D.C., Cavan P.L.G., Cahirciveen P.L.G., Clonakilty R.D.C., Delvin R.D.C., Dunmanway P.L.G., Enniscorthy R.D.C., Edenderry No. 1 R.D.C. (King's Co.), Fermoy U.D.C., Galway U.D.C., Galway P.L.G., Glenties R.D.C., Killarney R.D.C., Kilkenny Corporation, Kinsale U.D.C., Listowel U.D.C., Listowel P.L.G., Listowel U.D.C., Mitchelstown No. 1 R.D.C., Nenagh P.L.G., Nenagh R.D.C., New Ross P.L.G., Oldcastle P.L.G., Rathfriland Town Commissioners, Rathkeale U.D.C., Rathkeale P.L.G., Sligo Corporation, Thomastown R.D.C., Westport U.D.C.

We quote the following from "Common Sense"—

"According to compilations of casualty lists from every available source, Washington statisticians estimate the number of killed, wounded, and missing up to 1st January, 1917. These figures are based upon the assumption that in Germany 90 per cent. of the wounded return to the front and 80 per cent. in other countries. Though unofficial, they represent the estimates of extremely well-informed neutral observers and are exceedingly interesting:—

	ENTENTE.			
	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Total
England	205,400	102,500	107,500	515,400
France	870,000	540,800	400,000	1,810,800
Russia	1,500,000	784,200	800,000	3,084,200
Italy	105,000	49,000	55,000	209,000
Belgium	50,000	22,000	40,000	112,000
Serbia	60,000	28,000	—	88,000
Total	2,790,400	1,526,500	1,402,500	5,818,000
	CENTRAL POWERS.			
	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Total
Germany	893,200	450,000	245,000	1,588,200
Austria	523,100	355,000	591,000	1,469,100
Turkey	127,000	110,000	70,000	307,000
Bulgaria	7,500	7,000	6,000	20,000
Total	1,550,800	922,000	912,000	3,381,800

The wounded here given are, of course, only the wounded who are permanently disabled. The losses for Roumania are omitted, and these added to the total of the Entente would make the losses of the Allies nearly 2 to 1 the losses of the Central Powers. In all nearly ten millions of men in the prime of life and vigour have been lost to the world in 2½ years.

"Common Sense" commenting on the expressed indignation of its fellows of the English Press at the destruction of property and produce in Northern France carried out

during the German retreat, reprints Reuter's account of how the Russians acted during their retreat from Poland. This account appeared on July, 8th, 1915:

The newspapers in Warsaw announced that the evacuation of the city would begin on July 18th, but even before then crowds of the people were hurrying eastward on a thousand goods wagons which had accumulated at the railway station.

Fully half the population was removed in addition to 100,000 peasants, whose homes were burnt and whose crops were destroyed.

Practically the entire countryside has been swept bare. Every scrap of metal has been removed, including telegraph and telephone wires, church bells, and machinery.

All the art treasures have been sent to Moscow, and the municipal and State archives and £3,000,000 in cash were all removed.

By July 21 there was not even a wheeled vehicle or a horse left in the city. Ten thousand houses had been destroyed, and there was no public water supply, as the pumping station machinery had been removed.

Poland is now a desert of blackened ruins, and in a plight worse than Belgium.

"Common Sense" recalls that the London Press applauded all this. "We all remember," it writes, "how the London press consoled its readers for the failure of 'the Steam Roller' by dwelling on the utter destruction of Poland, which was hailed as a splendid example of military strategy, making the German conquest of Poland worth while. One of the great features of this 'People's War' or 'Crusade for Liberty' is the absolute ruthlessness of the military machine and the general indifference to human life and suffering on the part of the spectators—more especially of the newspapers which pretend to express public opinion."

According to the "Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant," the continuance of this war throughout 1917 will cause a world famine. Big crops are highly improbable this year, through the reduction of labour, the faulty technical supervision in the belligerent countries, and the lack of manures. Germany has nearly a monopoly of potassium, and the countries of the Allies and the United States will have to do without this indispensable ingredient, and as a result many fields will produce smaller crops. The increasing shortage of Chile saltpetre will, it adds, result in a great reduction of the potato output.

The estimated wheat crop of 1917 from Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand is 7.7 per cent. below the average. The United States crop, after providing for the people of the United States, will leave only 200,000,000 to 400,000,000 bushels for export to Europe. The freight on maize and rice—possible substitutes for wheat—has risen from 28s. 6d. (R. Plate) to 75s. 6d.; Rice (from Rangoon) 6s. 10½d. to 26s. 6d.; sago from 13s. 6d. to 60s. and tapioca from 13s. 6d. to 65s.

Mr. J. A. Smyth, of Rathanny, urges the cultivation of the sugar beet. He writes at length—

"A deep, rich soil, well manured with farmyard manure, in which there is an admixture of straw, which contains a high percentage of nitrogenous matter, is required to grow rich beet root. It may be mentioned that there are two systems of culture peculiar to it, the wide and the close. The first which is the sowing of the seed in drills about 2 feet wide, is the best system to adopt in producing rich beet suitable for feeding purposes as it will

produce roots weighing upwards of 5 lbs., and is excellent food for milch cows and fattening pigs, far superior to either the mangold or turnip. The close system being the sowing of the seed in small drills about 17 inches wide, or in lines, the same distance apart, and in thinning out, leaving the plants as closely as possible to each other in the lines yielding roots weighing from 1½ to 2 lbs. which are the best adapted for manufacturing purposes, as they proportionately per ton contain a higher percentage of sugar than the larger root, although proportionately per acre, the wide system of culture yields the greater amount of sugar. The cartage of the larger roots to a sugar refinery, the delay in chipping them, and the congestion of the diffusion batteries, which is thereby entailed would render sugar manufacturing less remunerative than it otherwise would have been. An Irish acre of rich beet root cultivated on the wide system will yield about 35 tons containing 13 per cent of sugar; while an Irish acre cultivated on the close system will yield 24 tons containing 15 per cent. of sugar."

Mr. Smyth asks is there any Irishman, Nationalist or Unionist, "who will give a definite lead in connection with establishing this much-needed industry among us, by welding the farmers together on the co-operative system. I there is, let him step into the breach at once. It may be possible this Spring to purchase some consignments of Russian beet seed in Paris, by proper negotiations. This would be one of the great means of building up a prosperous and industrial Ireland, and would give the people a tangible lesson in the science of government, which centres round those five cardinal problems—education, agriculture, manufacture, finance and commerce."

We agree with Mr. Smyth. For years we urged on the Department of Agriculture the importance of establishing beet-culture in Ireland. The Department of Agriculture had its secret instructions from England not to set up the manufacture of sugar in Ireland, and it carried them out.

The Beet-Sugar Industry in Europe is the result of the attempt of England in the wars of the French Revolution to deprive France of sugar. England cut off the over-seas supplies and France thereupon set to and discovered how to extract sugar from beet. In Germany the beet-sugar industry is an economic source of wealth to the people. In France, Holland, Belgium, it is a great industry. The German chemists who experimented by invitation on the cultivation of the sugar-beet in Ireland forty years ago reported that neither in Germany nor elsewhere in Europe was there soil so favourable as in Ireland. The Irish-grown beet was rich in the proportion of some 13 to 10 for the best European beet outside Ireland.

Many years ago a little agitation sprang up in Ireland for the cultivation of the beet and the establishment of a good Irish sugar industry. An astute government, when the agitation got troublesome, put on a benevolent smile and said, "yes, go ahead by all means." Then the astute Government arranged the details. The beet-sugar factory was established near Mountmellick. The factory premises were old and unsound. They were carefully chosen to be 2 miles away from the canal. A second-hand boiler was installed, the boiler being warranted not to work; a staff was employed which knew as little about sugar as it did about Japanese, and a manager was set over the staff, whose recommendation was that, though he knew nothing about sugar-beet, he had fought against Pius IX. The sugar-beet factory of course wound up, and the British Government shook its head. "See," it said, "after all the assistance we gave you, it was of no avail. Clearly Ireland is quite unsuited for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar."

In pre-war times we annually imported into this country sugar and sugar manufactures to the value of about £3,000,000. We could have kept that money in the country and employed thousands of people if we had been permitted to cultivate and manufacture for ourselves—if it had not been that the vast English Sugar Interests blocked the way. Sugar is now hard to get even at trebled prices whereas sugar should be one of the most plentiful products of this country and one of the cheapest, and would be if we had a National Government. The growing and cultivation

of the beet is simple work, but unless the factory is there, there is little inducement for the farmers to grow it. A first-rate beet-sugar factory could be equipped and run for £40,000—something like what England is spending every hour of the day in carrying on the war against Germany. There can be no question now, if such a factory existed, of how profitable the manufacture would be to the owners and how beneficial to the people of this country by increasing and cheapening the sugar supply.

LEABAR NA N-OILITREAC BPOLANNAE.

IX.

3. Agus go fóill an malaga d'útaí eile agus ruid na daoine as leigint an deataí ar fuair na dtíge arís, agus as teicéad, go dtí go bhfuair an duine ciailmhar aoudairt leo:

4. Éirigean an t-úr-ghal rian i bfuair uaid; éirigean ré a' marc atá caogair míle ar f. Imtíro, mar rin, agus leigint an t-uirce ar an marc rian agus tioraimíro é, i t-úro, má fíreann ríó féin b'ar ón n-úro-ghal, go bhfanaró bup glann in bup n-úro-ghal in bup n-úro-ghal agus go mbeiró beannac na ruidce oirib.

5. Aet ní leigíro an leirce d'óib d'ol com fada ó baile, agus bí eadla aca ruidmí an m'ar: mar rin níor b'fada go bhfanaró b'ar ar a leabtaeab. 'Do glúair an t-úro-ghal ruidmí, agus bí ré tagta i'cead i' n-úro-ghal aca féin.

6. Oir, an té ná héiread'ar amac ar a t'is féin cum d'ol as t'roir leir an oir, cum é r'pior ar a'ar na t'almán, tiorair an t-ol péna d'ém agus r'aróad'ar ré a'ar ar a'ar leir.

X.

1. Cummíro go bhfuil ríó i lár na scoisríoc mar beaó t'reu caorac imear na b'arólon, nó camta i' t'ir namán, agus beiró an t'riocáin eadair.

2. Iao fuo ná marieann i' t'riocáin i' cormail iao leir na r'icib a t'irdeann amac ón t'reu, óir ní m'otairó ríao an m'actíre as teac; nó, i' cormail iao le r'icib i' t'irdeann amac ón t'reu, óir ní f'icir ríao an namáir; aet ná m'otairóir na r'icib an m'actíre as teac agus ná t'reicóir na r'icib i' t'irdeann an namáir b'fanaróir mar a'ar aca.

3. Agus ní hé an t'riocáin Sácanas amáin i' namáir a'ar aet iao fuo uile a oirigean agus a labrann in ainm na t'riocáin ríó; agus imear na scoisríoc i' l'ionmáir iao luac flear agus Comérom agus Coméruinnigéac agus t'aróe d'aróad.

4. Ní comáir ríó go léir, aet an té i' meara oirib i' r'ar é 'ná an coisríoc f'oganta, óir tá an r'riaró uo cum r'obeara d'eunam de féin i' n'ac duine a'ar.

5. Agus má tá cuo a'ar ná mar a céile, i' mar g'eall ar eudáir na scoisríoc do beir a'ar ná caiteam é; cuo a'ar agus boinéro dea'ra a'ar ná caiteam ar nó na b'fanac; cuo eile a'ar eudáir in eirmin an t'arana'is; agus an cuo eile a'ar agus ioriarde agus bairé na t'armané a'ar ná caiteam. Anoir, nuair a bionn an clann fé b'p'isríoc mar rin i' minic ná haitigean a m'ar féin iao.

6. Aet com luac agus cuiríro ríao umpa arís an t'amara Polannac, a'neocáir ríao uile a céile, agus ruidíro ríao ar glúinib a m'ar agus beunfáir ríre iao go léir d'aríre cuic mar a céile.

7. Ná bíro i' t'comnuirde as cuaróac cionta agus peacai na haimríre atá imigte. i' eol d'aróib go n-abrann an t-atair f'aróirine leir an t'reacáin san cuimneam ar a f'arad-peacai arís; agus go m'aróir san labairt oirib le daoine eile, mar beimeann cuimneam agus comáir d'én t'roir rian na b'peacai do m'aríle arís.

X.

(Ar leanmairt.)

8. Ná glúaróir amac: f'eac go bhfuil a leicéir reo de r'mál ar an duine rin, ní móir dom é noctad; riné an duine d'ém a leicéir reo nó a leicéir ríro de coir. Deimíro d'eunam de go b'f'igear daoine go mbeiró fé de d'ualgar oirib na coir rian do cuaróac i' b'p'icim f'ur leo b'p'ic do b'p'ic oirib i' c'aróir cum iao d'aróir.

9. As g'adail t'roir an t'aróir r'ur, ní glannann

tú an pábail má éionn tú r'aróir uirib; i' nuair a c'arar leat an t'aróir i' é g'adail, ní bionn d'eicéir oir cum é t'aróir cum na c'aróir. Táro daoine eile ánn go b'fuil rian de d'aróir oirib.

10. Ní t'aróir a leicéir oirib d'aróir; mar, le f'ioréunáir, t'aróir d'aróir don t'aróir i' t'aróir d'aróir r'ar b'f'arac, fuo as loir oirib an t'aróir rin r'ar céro, r'e-d'eir-a-r'e de daoine.

11. As labairt d'aróir ar an amrír atá imigte, má b'p'ic ríó: 'Deimead a leicéir reo de b'otún r'ar ead rian, i' a leicéir ríro de b'otún r'ar ead eile rin i' a leicéir ríro de b'otún r'ar ead uo: tá go m'ar; aet ná ceapáir t'aróir an méro rin go b'fuil ana-g'eiríur a'ar, mar i' uirib d'otún d'aróir aet i' t'aróir d'eag'p'ic d'aróir.

12. Má bionn poll r'ar r'icibíro nó r'rota d'ub ar, an céro amáir a t'aróir d'aróir r'e é; aet ní móir b'p'icéam ar r'icibíro cum d'eag'p'ic d'aróir an r'icibíro d'aróir.

13. Ón t'aróir i' g'ile a b'p'ic d'eag'p'ic d'aróir b'p'ic ar d'aróir.

14. As ullmíro i' t'aróir na haimríre ná t'aróir, ní móir don a'irne d'ol r'ar ar an amrír atá imigte; aet san d'ol r'ar aet d'ol r'ar - i' t'aróir an duine r'ur d'ol de léim r'ar d'is d'ol, cum fuinnmí do d'ol r'ar léim.

XI.

1. Tá ríó i' lár na scoisríoc mar beaó luac luinge b'p'ic ar t'aróir ead'arannac.

2. San am rian, uo r'ic loir ar t'aróir; aet mar rin féin t'aróir cuo de m'aríro na luinge r'ar an t'aróir i'aróir.

3. Oirib rian bí r'aróiríro i' m'aríroir i' ceap'aróir i' daoine f'ogumanta, luac leabair uo r'aróir.

4. Bionn go léir as d'eunam d'aróir i' ba rian leo r'illead cum a t'aróir féin: uo cuaróir i' t'aróir.

5. Níor t'aróir m'aríro an d'aróir loir ná b'ar d'aróir, t'aróir iao a beir r'arannac, ní t'aróir r'aróir an t'aróir féin d'aróir san d'aróir.

6. D'aróiríro cum na coirle mar rin i' t'aróiríro ar beir as f'eacáir na t'aróiríro agus ar agus as cuiteam ead'ar r'ar f'eacáir d'aróir r'ar a beaó uata i' conur a d'eunf'aróir an t'aróir: cé aca ar nó an t'aróiríro é nó ar nó nua; cé aca f'igear nó b'p'ic nó cuiteam a d'eunf'aróir.

Liam Ó Rinn.

GRAND IRISH CONCERT

Organised by the Executive of

Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund

(by kind permission of the Lord Mayor)

WILL BE HELD IN THE

Mansion House, Dublin

ON

Wednesday, April 18th

at 8 p.m.

Numerous Popular Artistes have kindly offered their services

Reserved Seats (to be booked at 10 Exchequer St.) 3s.

General Admission, 2s. and 1s.

Every purchaser of a Ticket is a direct contribution to the Fund of the full amount so paid.

ENGLISH IMPERIALISM.

IV.

Adverse to Nature and Reason.—"There is nothing," says the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire [Gibbon], "more adverse to nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of barbarians may pass over the earth, but an extensive empire must be supported by a refined system of policy and oppression; in the centre an absolute power, prompt in action and rich in resources; a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts; fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion; a regular administration to protect and punish; and a well-disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair."... If you have Empire, you will, in one form or another, as Gibbon says, have absolute power. So it has been from the days of the Assyrian Empire down to the days of the Empire of Napoleon. So it will always be. In gaining a vast Empire abroad, Spain forfeited liberty at home." Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.: "Commonwealth or Empire," p. 33.

Against the Commonwealth.—"Against the Commonwealth three forces, distinct but convergent, are now (1902) arrayed. They are Plutocracy, Militarism, and Imperialism. The three instinctively conspire; to the plutocrat Imperialism is politically congenial, while he feels that militarism impregnates society with a spirit of conservatism, and may in case of a conflict of classes furnish a useful force of repression. (p. 2). . . . It is instructive to mark the political effect that Imperialism, with its inevitable consort, Militarism, has already begun to produce in Great Britain. The party of Liberalism and Progress lies prostrate. That of Aristocracy or Plutocracy and reaction triumphs." (p.35). Goldwin Smith, "Commonwealth or Empire."

Fit for a Nation governed by Shopkeepers.—"Will commerce find in the end that it has best promoted its own interests by filling the world with havoc? . . . Will not the price of conquest in itself be a formidable offset to the profit? . . . It is true, the expenditure falls on the public, the gain accrues to the trader, who is active in support of a policy which serves his interest, while the public yawns over the dry details of national finance. As Adam Smith says: 'To found a great Empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may, at first sight, appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. Such statesmen, and such statesmen only, are capable of fancying that they will find some advantage in employing the blood and treasure of their fellow-citizens to found and maintain such an empire.'" Goldwin Smith, "Commonwealth or Empire," p. 39.

Corruption of Empire and Birth of Nations.—"Empire and Emperor are Roman names, and the tradition of Roman Empire still floats before the fancy of modern Imperialists. . . . The Roman Empire united all the Nations within its pale, albeit more in the way of common subjection than of brotherhood. . . . Its great merit was that it maintained peace, a peace, however, broken by the German war, the British war, the Jewish war, and the civil wars in the time of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, as well as by the border wars with the Parthians, Dacians, and other tribes. . . . Literature languished and died. The people of the Imperial City became a debased, debauched, and mendicant rabble. The place of nationalities, some of them richly endowed and promising, which had been sacrificed to pile up the Empire, could not be filled by the satellites of a central despotism. The end everywhere was decay.

moral, political, and social. At last over the wide expanse of Imperial corruption bands of uncorrupted barbarians stalked as conquerors to found new nations." Goldwin Smith, "Commonwealth or Empire," p. 60.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Concerning the brazen Half-Measures, known as "Free Institutions," coined by one T. P. Would (an he could), Government Hack, with a Design to have them pass in this Kingdom:

[We have received the following letter evidently from the venerable shade of Dean Swift:]

My dear Countrymen,

Having been an Eye-Witness of some recent Parliamentary Play-Acting what I intend now to say to you is, next to the Care of your salvation, of the greatest Concern to yourselves and to those who will come after you. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you to hear me for my Cause and to be silent that you may hear; which that you may do the more easily I have but to remind you how in the Past the Cause of Ireland hath so oft and so persistently been swamped in useless Controversy and so-called Oratory, whereby the main Issue was like to be talked out, with unhappy Division, moreover between Irishmen; unlike the motion of Mr. D—n against Deportations which in the Parliament House was confidently "talked out" without a "Division"; the which doth but go to prove the ardently vibrating statement of Mr. H—y that the Government doth more owe to Mr. R—d, than it can ever hope to repay; whereas the English members present did much applaud, and most condescendingly, being wholly unconscious, in their smug self-Complacency, of the cauterizing satire therein apparent to Irishmen of every degree.

Having said thus much Mr. H—y, who foemeth content but to play the Role of Court Jester at the "dramatic fkeddaddle" of the "Party", went on to prophesy that the "Party" would return to that "House" "with its Tail between its Legs" (and faith he would fince appear to have been in the right of it!); whereat there was yet another "Punctuation" of patronizing Guffaws from the English Dullards down to whose level this metaphor did most adequately descend, the "sporting Infinit" of every Englishman being a Thing that is as notorious as Irish Ignorance and Laziness and Dirt and Irresponsibility, thanks to the self-fame source of Information in each Cafe, ceaseless Repetition by the English themselves. Neither, on this Occasion, did the sole Patentees of a "fence of Fairplay," the composition of which, as the well-informed world has long known is a guarded secret known only to Englishmen, fail to reveal their dread skeleton to conceal, in that they have not yet, nor ever will have, discovered what are the Ingredients of a "fence of Humour," of which they stand in such Awe as have the Ignorant, of all Periods of History, of the Unknown; and so, fearful of being considered as lacking the Quality they do most covet, did they follow the simple Rule, alone possible for Dullards, and did laugh the most boisterously at that which they did the least understand; save where a statement was too subtil for them even to misunderstand, as in the case of the caustic-reference to the indebtedness of the Government to the Mifleader of the Irish Race at Home and Abroad, when they did, by their hypocritically and patronizingly appreciative Applause, give their Game completely away.

Having thus introduced by indirect Means, borrowing indeed from an English Atmosphere wherein alone, as the world has been persistently told by all Englishmen in all Ages, "sport" and "Fairplay" are like to thrive, a Metaphor so foreign to the Nature of a backward and, as yet, uncivilized Race like ours, (the which, as we know, or ought to know, from the Frequency with which our good Fortune has been drummed into us, must be due to the regrettable Fact that we did not from a much earlier Epoch in History enjoy the Fruits and the Blessings and the Enlightenment of our Lords' and Masters' Domination, and so are far from understanding such Terms of "sport"); as to which it is meet that our young men should die in Flanders to prevent the daftardly Attempt which hath been made to nip our very Education in the Bud, and this by fo hunnish a People as have to borrow from the true Culture of our

Benefactors to aesthetic and super-refined a Figure of speech as "the Knock-out Blow," their presumptuous Kultur being lacking in any such idealism; fo, too, I, as the humble member of a recognized inferior Race, must borrow from the real "super-men" the Metaphor of a "Dog."

Therefore, my dear Countrymen, prefuming to use such metaphor, even as Mr. H—y, himself a mere Irishman, (but no doubt enlightened by long Comfort with the first Gentlemen of Europe), I will now go on to tell you that the brazen Half-measures coined by this defpicable T. P. Would, a mean Government Hack, and Coalition Office-Boy; nay, further, the "dramatic fkeddaddle" of the Party, the carefully rehearsed speech, copiously written in Advance, and the histrionic Poses and Gestures that must have been studied for days before a Looking-Glass while the Prime Minister grinned Appreciation over a shoulder; and now the wriggings and vague postponements and "pledges" of Mr. B—r L—w, with the object of time-saving till the Colonial Premiers be got rid of: all these are no more than the last Howls of the said "Dog" dissected alive. These contortions and fomerfaults are the only Reserve that is left him. And the direct Cause of it all was the Result of the Rofcommon Election and the expected Appeal of Count Plunkett to Public Bodies in Ireland. Here is the Writing on the Wall; as was well shown during the complete Reading of the Columns of "Nationality" by Mr. S—l, in his maiden speech, these Columns in which was reproduced the Invitation to Count Plunkett to stand for Rofcommon, and during the Reading of which, with its ringing Phrases of sincerity and Earnestness of Purpose, heralding the Death-Knell of British Hypocrisy and Tyranny in Ireland, the proverbial Pin could have been heard to drop in this House hoary with the Tradition of moaning Irish supplication and contemptuous English Response (sic!). It was above their Heads, these flow-witted Dullards. They could only listen in fullen uneasy silence: But an Irishman in the Public Gallery had all he could do not to shout in Exultation at this veritable Magna Charta till he remembered that new Ireland shouts not. The days of "Hurroo," the artificial "Hurroo," are dead! And R—d is all but (I had all but written All Butt!)—at the end of his Career. The Days of funburftry and green Flaggery and "no-distant-Date"-ism and "Floor of the House"-ism and "College-Green"-ism and "Hurroos" are dead. Ireland is finding herself.

For is there one section of the enactment described as "on the British statute Book" (whatever that did ever signify!) which could entitle any of its Provisions to be referred to as "Free Institutions," except by fo mercenary and unscrupulous a wretch as this T.P. Would, Government Hack? "Free Institutions"! If T.P. Would and his Confederates were not convinced of our supposed stupidity, they never would have attempted fo audacious an Enterprife. You have all the Laws of God and Man on your side in fcorning such Dofs. For was ever heard such a Compound of Impudence, Villainy, and Folly?

Therefore, my dear Countrymen, stand to it one and all. Despise this filthy Traff. Ignore these capers of the "Dog" dissected alive. Keep your Eyes and your Minds on the Goal. **Prepara for the Peace Conference!**

I am, my dear Friends, your loving Compatriot, Fellow-Victim, and humble servant,
THE JUNIOR DEAN.

MANUFACTURERS OF

ALL CHURCH REQUISITES.

Irish Poplin Vestments, hand embroidered, from £3 15s. a set. Statuary and Stained Glass by Certified Artists.

Busts modelled from life, by a rising Irish Sculptor, at a reasonable figure.

M. CAHILL & CO., 9 PARLIAMENT ST., DUBLIN.

IRISH THEATRE, Hardwicke St. An Enemy of the People.

Play in Five Acts by

HENRIK IBSEN.

Monday, April 23, to Saturday, April 28, 1917.
Six Nights at 8 p.m. Matinee Saturday, 2.30.

PRICES - - - 2 - & 1/-

The Film Co. of Ireland, Ltd.

WILL PRODUCE

"Knocknagow or the Home of Tipperary."

**THE FILM CO. OF IRELAND,
34 DAME ST., DUBLIN.**

PRAY

THIS EASTER WEEK ON

Irish Horn Rosary Beads in the Irish colours (green, white and orange) 8d., 1/-, and 1/3, postage 1d. extra—Irish Crochet bags to match 8d. extra.

The Soldier's Song—Full Musical Score and Pianoforte Accompaniment. Correct and original version of both words and music. 1/-, by post 1/1.

Beautiful Picture of Emmet, with his complete Speech at Trial, surmounted with pretty and suitable design; best paper; size 30mm. x 22in.; post free 1/-, published at 2/6.

2/6 Irish Poplin Ties in the Irish colours (green, white and orange), with neat photo tie pin of any of the leaders—without pin post free 2/-. 1/- Authentic Picture of Sovereign Parliament of Ireland—a companion picture to the "Irish Volunteers in College Green"—complete with key—by post 1/3. Similar picture in colors, 1/6, by post 1/9.

2/- Volunteer Silver Brooch—crossed rifles, harp and letters "I.V."—same design as pendant for watch chain.

1/6 Cap Badge as used by the Dublin Volunteers, in gold or silver colour—same badge mounted on safety pin for brooch, 2/-. 7/6 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beautifully enamelled in green, white and orange.

3/6 Irish 1916 Pike—3 1/2 inches long in form of brooch.

1/ Unique Fancy Match Box, with two photos of the leaders inset—a very useful present.

The Graves of Kilmorna—a story of '67, by Canon Sheehan. Post free, 5/6.

A Bunch of Wild Flowers—Poems on religious subjects—by Brian O'Higgins. 8d., by post 7d.

At the Hill o' the Road—Songs and Poems by Brian O'Higgins. 8d., by post 7d.

Glor na hÓige—By Brian na Banban. A beautiful Rhyme Book for Children. Verses in the simplest of Irish, and delightful pictures by Michael O Riada. 1/-, by post 1/2.

Fun o' the Forge—Humorous short stories, in Brian O'Higgins' best style—laughter on every page—good, strong, artistically designed cover. 1/-, by post 1/2.

WHELAN & SON,
17 UP. ORMOND QUAY, DUBLIN.

Church Furniture.
Designer and Manufacturer

JOSEPH P. KELLY
(Late Manager T. & C. Martin's Factory)

Specialist in Ecclesiastical Woodwork

Factory: Aungier Place, Aungier St., Dublin
Best Designer in the Trade.

IRISH COAL I cannot apply yet (owing to want of Railway facilities), but **Bright & Good Lasting HOUSE COAL and SLACK** at Lowest Prices I can.

A. S. CLARKIN, Coal Merchant, 208 St. Brunswick St.
Special Quotation for Institutions. Phone 2760, Dublin

IRISH NATIONAL AID AND VOLUNTEER DEPENDENTS' FUND.

The Gift Sale in aid of the Funds of the above will be held at the Supper Room, Mansion House, on Friday and Saturday, the 20th and 21st days of April, 1917. The articles to be offered for Sale may be viewed at the Mansion House, on the 18th and 19th insts., between 12 and 5 p.m. The Sale will commence each day at 12 o'clock. Admission to the Sale will be by Catalogue which is now ready and can be had at the Office of the Association, 10 Exchequer St., Dublin, price 1s.

This Sale affords a unique opportunity for Collectors of Old Irish Books, MSS., Curios, etc.

The pictures which form a representative collection of works by the most eminent living Artists, include blank Canvases by William Orpen, John Lavery, and Gerald Kelly, and Etchings, Drawings, etc., by Augustus John, Herbert Raiton, Morrow, etc. Connoisseurs will do well to avail themselves of an opportunity which is not likely to recur in the annals of the Dublin Auction Rooms.

E. MAC AGODA,
63 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN.
Bicycles, Repairs, Accessories, Gramophones, Repaired.

Quiet, yet Central, for Business or Pleasure.

FLEMING'S HOTEL,
32 GARDINER'S PLACE, DUBLIN.
Two minutes walk from Gardiner St. Chapel or Trams
SELECT. MODERATE. CONVENIENT.

TAILORING.

GLEESON & Co.
IRISH GOODS ONLY.

11 Upper O'Connell Street.

A GAELIC RESIDENTIAL CLUB

It is proposed, in case sufficient support is forthcoming, to establish the above immediately. A fine old Dublin Mansion is available for the purpose, combining Lounge, Library, Study, Dining Room, Drawing Room, Ball Room, Billiard Room, Photographic Dark Room, Bath Rooms, Work Rooms for Hobbies, and a number of large as well as similar airy bedrooms with views extending over mountain and a wide stretch of country. The House is provided with every latest modern convenience, and is only a few minutes from the centre of Dublin. Electric Light throughout. Electric Lift to all floors, etc., etc.

Terms and further particulars on application.

Apply "B.S." "Nationality."

Light.	Fitzpatrick & Byrne
Power.	Electrical Contractors,
Telephone.	39 Thomas St., Dublin.
Osram Lamps supplied.	Best Work Town or Country. Highest References. Estimates Free

All literary communications should be addressed to the Editor.

All business communications to the Manager,
6 Harcourt St., Dublin.
For Subscription and Advertising Rates, see p. 8.

NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, APRIL 14th, 1917.

NOW, LONGFORD!

Mr. Joseph McGuinness, at present an Irish political prisoner in Lewes Jail, and formerly of Longford, has been chosen by a Conference of Longford Nationalists as candidate for the representation of the County.

Circumstances have intervened at the moment of our going to Press to prevent us here saying more.

Now, Longford!

THE U.S.A. AND THE WAR.

The United States has entered the conflict with edifying sentiments on its lips. After 29 months of the War President Wilson announced to the world that he was unable to discover why it was being waged. After 32 months of the War President Wilson has announced to the world that the war is an onslaught on Civilisation by Germany. By formally declaring war on Germany the United States secures as a belligerent a place at the forthcoming Peace Conference.

China and Cuba—which are both under the thumb of the United States—will now join in the War and their representatives will sit at the Peace Congress. This means that the United States will wield three votes there. One object of United States policy is to curb Japanese ambition, which troubles the sleep of North American Statesmen. It was to

keep Japan in check, the United States 19 years ago made war upon Spain in order to seize the Philippine Islands and brandish them as spears against the island-power of the Pacific. But Japan nevertheless has increased her strength in the Pacific and continues to hinder the United States dream of a commercial conquest of China. Another object of United States policy is to curb the commercial expansion of Germany. That country had just before the war displaced the United States from the position of the world's second commercial power, and acquired it for herself. A third object of United States' policy is to secure Freedom of the Seas, but Freedom of the Seas in her lexicon is not what it is in the lexicon of Germany. By Freedom of the Seas the latter country understands that Navies should be limited in time of war to fighting other Navies and to conveying troops and munitions. By Freedom of the Seas the United States understands that Commerce between Neutrals should be unrestricted in time of war and that Commerce between Neutrals and belligerents should be restricted only in certain particulars. Although the United States' doctrine is not so sweeping as the German doctrine, both are inimical to England's claim to dominate the Seas in time of war. Neither of the doctrines will sing to the tune of Britannia Rule the Waves.

No Power, as Tallyrand said, ever stated the real truth in a declaration of war, and that "decent respect to the opinion of mankind," which the framers of the United States' Declaration of Independence professed—has impelled President Wilson to speak at length of Democracy and Nationality and the Rights of Man in his war manifesto. He enters this war, he declares, to "assure security for the democratic countries of the world," and for the rights of Nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience," "for the rights and liberties of Small Nations, for the Universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

The beauty of these sentiments which has melted the denizens of Wall Street to tears is slightly dashed by the fact that President Wilson in enunciating them gushed on the bosom of revolutionary Russia, which has just through the mouth of its present dictator, Milukoff, announced that it proposes as one condition of Peace to acquire a "Protectorate over Roumania"—that is to subvert the independence of one of the Small Nations, fighting on the Allied side. However, for us in Ireland it is a gain that President Wilson has declared in the face of the world that the United States goes into the war to secure for the Small Nations [like Ireland] equal liberty with the Big ones. When the Peace Conference opens the United States will have three votes to cast in Ireland's favour, and Ireland, appealing to President Wilson's declaration of January 22nd last will call for their casting. Thus President Wilson spoke in the name of his country:—

The equality of nations, upon which peace must be founded if it is to last, must be an equality of rights. The guarantees to be exchanged must neither recognise nor imply any difference between the big nations and the small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. . . . Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power; and there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organised nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognise and accept the principle that the Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted . . . the inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all the peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Gov-

ernments devoted to a faith and a purpose hostile to their own. . . ."

Prophetically we hear the scratch of the pen of England's Best American as he writes to the Old Country and appeal "to settle the Irish question"—before the Peace Conference—and writes to the Irish to come in and help their true friends, the Americans, who are out against the Hun. Watch Roosevelt!

THE NEXT BETRAYAL.

That Mr. Redmond contemplates another great betrayal is quite evident. His preparations for it take the shape of an article in his official organ to which all the prominence of principal page and leaded type is accorded. The writer, clearly a member of Mr. Redmond's Party, and apparently "a bit of a lawyer," tries by many wicked subtleties to fool the Irish people into the belief that it is to their advantage to be forced to pay more than three times their proper share of taxation!

As long ago as 1894 Mr. Redmond in a signed public document declared that the Irish farmers' methods were "the most simple and barbarous in Western Europe." Manifestly his opinions of their general character have in the meantime undergone no change. The writer of this "Freeman" article gives two reasons by which he hopes to convince the Irish people that the higher the taxes the better. First, the grievance under the Commission of 1896 was that Ireland contributed one-eleventh or one-twelfth whereas her proper share was one-twenty-second of the whole. The one-twenty-second of 502 millions (this year's revenue) is roughly speaking, twenty-three-millions, what we are actually paying. Second reason, "also note that while Ireland's taxation is nearly trebled England's is quintupled." Poor England! Mr. Redmond's most tender concern! Now few things written or spoken are more malicious or sillier than these two points. As to the first, Ireland's grievance, according to the "Financial Relations Commission," was not that her proper contribution was one-twenty-second of the whole taxation of Great Britain and Ireland. Her grievance was that her proper contribution should be less than one to thirty-six instead of one to eleven: and paying at the latter ratio she was over-taxed by about £3,000,000 annually (not allowing interest). One of the fallacies underlying the arguments by which Mr. Redmond through his amateurish lawyer scribe seeks to reconcile the Irish public to over-taxation on a scale hitherto undreamt of, is that because Ireland's taxable capacity was, as alleged, one to twenty-two in 1896 it is the same to-day.

The Coercionist group on the Financial Relations Commission who prepared the report which Mr. Redmond signed, adopted from Mr. Sexton's report which Mr. Redmond refused to sign, the National inference from the growing productive power and wealth of the British population that "if the present ratio of Ireland's capacity is one-twentieth of the whole, then in the course of a few years, if things go on as they have done in the past, this ratio will be much smaller."

Mr. Redmond who signed, and let us presume read, this passage now commissions his lieutenant to write in his official organ that Ireland's taxation to that of Great Britain is as one to twenty-one? Those who put Ireland's taxable capacity at one to twenty-one of the whole in 1896 did so on a comparison of the net income tax with that of Great Britain which then stood at one to twenty-one. "The steady and solid growth of British wealth" in the intervening twenty-one years has, as Mr. Sexton anticipated, changed the ratio of the net income of Ireland to that of Great Britain. A glance at the Income Tax Commissioners' reports will enable any school-boy to calculate that in the year ended March 31, 1914, it was

as one to thirty-six. In the following year it was one to thirty-seven. The reversed figures for the last financial year have not yet been published in detail, but according to the Treasury figures it was one to forty-one. Thus on the basis laid down by the English members, including a Treasury expert and a Board of Trade expert, as assented to by the Irish Unionists, supported by Mr. Redmond, over-taxation in 1915 was £7,689,000, and in 1916 £9,655,000. For this year which closed on the eve of All Fool's Day this year our over-taxation was £11,756,000 or four times that of 1894! It is quite evident when Mr. Redmond asked us to trust Asquith and trust the Government he considered us "the simplest and most barbarous people in Europe."

At a convention held in the Mansion House in 1903, Mr. Redmond, speaking of Mr. Sexton's work in the Financial Relations Commission, said, "I sat at his feet lost in wonder and admiration." His "wonder and admiration" did not induce him to sign Mr. Sexton's report, which was signed by Hon. E. Blake, ex-Premier of Canada, and Mr. H. F. Slattery, Chairman of the National Bank.

The second point of Mr. Redmond's financial juggler is a rare piece of cunning. "Also not that while Ireland's tax is nearly trebled, England is quintupled." In this he seeks to re-assert the old shibboleth of the wealthy in their endeavours to shift financial responsibilities to the shoulders of the poor. It is best answered by "asking another." On an equal scale of taxes who pays the larger amount of taxes, the rich man or the poor man? Which can more easily bear the increased taxation? The principle applies to communities as well as to individuals. It was admitted by Pitt in 1785 when he said "if one country exceeded another in wealth, population and established commerce even in a proportion of two to one he was nearly convinced that that country would be able to bear near ten times the burden that the other would be equal to." On this basis I would like to ask Mr. Redmond and his "financial expert" what Ireland's taxation ought to be when "England's wealth, population and established commerce" exceeds ours, not by a proportion of forty-four to one as England's representatives would have it, but by a proportion of seventy-three to one as Ireland's representatives were convinced? Mr. Sexton, in a public letter early last year declared that the danger to Ireland from over-taxation was grave and imminent, and that a limit should be specially determined beyond which our contribution must not go. How have the new imposts worked? When the tea tax, for instance, was raised to a shilling it realised £657,000, though had the rate of consumption under the five-penny tax remain unaltered, it would have realised £780,000. Thus we see that the average Irish family reduced its consumption of tea from 17 lbs to 13 lbs. As the rich need not retrench, about one-half the families of Ireland have to be content with half to two-thirds of their former supply. As with tea, so with other commodities. Butter is as rare as golden sovereigns in circulation, though enormous quantities are being exported. Pork and other meats are no longer necessities, they are classed as luxuries. The poor are fast sinking beneath the burden of taxation. The constitution of children and adolescent youth are being ruined beyond repair by the want of nourishing food. Not National bankruptcy only, but the organic health and existence of the race is threatened by the privations due to those unbearable burdens Mr. Redmond seeks to justify.

The time has come to set a definite limit to the taxation of Ireland. A year ago the Archbishop of Dublin warned the people that Mr. Redmond's policy was leading the country straight to disaster. That disaster is already upon us. And as Mr. Redmond has in the part used the powers for good to bring untold evils on this country, so now there is evidently another betrayal in contemplation—another advance along the road to National ruin.

AN IRISH PRIEST.

At a meeting of the Clare County Board G.A.A. held on Saturday, March 31st, the following resolution was unanimously adopted on the proposition of Mr. Michael Scanlan, Killaloe, seconded by Mr. P. Cuddahie, Inagh: "That a Branch of the Gaelic League be established in every parish where a G.A.A. Club exists, and that the members of the G.A.A. be requested to be members of the League for the special purpose of learning the Irish language."

THE CAMPAIGN IN NORTH ROSCOMMON.

I have never seen people so enthused as were the North Roscommon folk all through the fight. Men, women, and children were wild with enthusiasm, and my ears are still ringing with the eager shouts of "Up Plunkett" that greeted us at almost every step wherever our colours of white, green and gold appeared. As we passed along the roads to meetings, the men that we met cheered us, and the women waved encouraging hands at us and the children shouted in exuberant glee, even the little tots joining in and crying "Up Plunkett," or as wee Ryan of Strokestown, the worthy son of a worthy sire, used to say, with all his father's enthusiasm (for Ryan comes of the fighting blood of Healy's famous body-guard in the old days, the men of Cooley) "Up Plunkett"! One day Father O'Flanagan saw a little chap digging in the snow and asked him what he was doing. "I'm making graves, Father," was the child's response. "For whom are you making the graves?" Father Michael asked, and the answer was "For Tully and Devine." Up to the very end we could not get our friends even in Dublin to believe that we were winning. "These fellows really believe in their hearts, though they would not admit it," Father O'Flanagan would say in disgust, "what they read in the 'Freeman' and 'Independent'." "Your enthusiasm has distorted your view-point," the croakers would say to us. "You have had big meetings and voteless young men; but that is no criterion of how the electors are really going to poll." A narrow and stupid point of view, I always thought. Don't despise the voice of the children, I ventured to tell one of my meetings, for their wild shouts of delight at the mention of Plunkett's name show how the great heart of Roscommon is throbbing.

Everywhere that Father O'Flanagan appeared during the fight he evoked the most intense enthusiasm. I remember especially our meeting in Drumlione. We went there at night, and the road was in such a terrible condition with heavy snow that we expected but a poor gathering. But they met us with a band that had to proceed in single file over the rough track through the drifts, and the cheers that greeted us, as the concourse of old men, young men and boys surged round our car, might have galvanised a corpse into life. "Drumlione was always right," an old man said to me proudly. "We were all Parnellites here." And later on when Father O'Flanagan, in the course of his magnificent speech, referred casually to the Great Leader and spoke of the time when he was dethroned, and then added almost in a whisper: "Ah, he was never dethroned in Roscommon!" the proud, wild cheer that went up thrilled me as I have rarely been thrilled, and even in my attorney eyes the tear drop glistened for a moment, as I saw the wave of passion and bitter pathos that passed through the throng of strong men that faced us. And in Drumlione, so was it in Rooskey, and Kilmore, and Hillstreet, and Curraghroe.

The place, however, that struck me most of all was Strokestown, for great as was the enthusiasm elsewhere there was nothing to compare with what we encountered there. I have never come across a finer National spirit anywhere, and I shall long remember the band of eager workers whose labours there I was privileged to share. Most of them, I think, had never identified themselves with any political propaganda before. They were quiet hard-working men who attended carefully to their businesses. But this was not an ordinary occasion. It was a supreme moment in our country's history. The eyes of the world were upon us, and as a native of Elphin district put it in a letter from Chicago to his brother at home: "The ears of the Irishmen in America are open to hear the verdict of North Roscommon." And so MacHugh, Ryan and Pappy Lennon and Tom Sharkey and the MacCranns and all the other good men and true of Strokestown threw themselves into the fray with a spirit that must have triumphed over every difficulty, and did some of the best work that was accomplished anywhere in the constituency. For a time I was puzzled to understand why Strokestown seemed so much in advance nationally of most Irish towns of the kind, and then I discovered the secret, almost by accident. There are two splendid girls there—fine types of young Irish womanhood, quiet and unobtrusive, but in whose fresh young hearts there burns a flame of intense love of Ireland—and to them more than any-

body, I attribute the clear conception of Nationalism and the intelligent political outlook that characterises Strokestown. For the Misses Sharkey have a stationer's shop, and their constant aim has been to circulate and popularise Irish-Ireland papers and all kinds of the right sort of Nationalist literature.

The people of North Roscommon struck me as being particularly able and well-informed and showed a very keen appreciation of the issues upon which the election was being fought. For we did put very clear and definite issues before the electors, and it is a gross untruth to suggest that we confined ourselves to mere rhetorical appeals. In the first place we impressed upon the voters that it was for them to repudiate the fatal policy and doctrines of our political leaders during the last few years, or else we must abandon for ever the old aspiration—"Ireland a Nation." Every Irish leader before Redmond had regarded England as our National enemy, and had demanded Ireland's freedom as a right; but now it was proclaimed to the world that we were a contented and loyal province of the British Empire, that we sought nothing more than the putting into operation, when it might suit England's convenience, of the Government of Ireland Act of 1914 in a truncated form.

As regards policy, the election was fought almost entirely on the question of the Peace Conference. We pointed out that even John Dillon had admitted at Swinford that the Irish Question has ceased to be merely a domestic one, and had now become an international issue. The electors knew who had made it such, and the only reply the English Press was able to make was to point to Mr. Redmond's declarations of loyalty and to draw attention to the number of Irishmen who had voluntarily joined the British army. The way in which these arguments were received at our meetings, not to speak of the overwhelming majority at the polls, showed how thoroughly they were appreciated. It would be ungenerous, however, to claim too much credit to ourselves for the effect of our arguments, because undoubtedly other influences were at work on our behalf, and they aided us very materially. Amongst these I would like to emphasise in particular the speeches of our opponents. For instance, the newly elected M.P. for West Cork, Mr. O'Leary, E.L., made a speech one day, which I described as "the best speech in favour of Plunkett of the whole campaign," and which I found had a great effect at the meetings at which I read it. He was reported to have said that nothing had pleased the people of England so much for a long time as his election for West Cork, and, of course, the moral was obvious. "Men of North Roscommon, if you want to please the people of England, do as Mr. O'Leary, M.P., tells you and vote for Devine." This shot never failed to go home, and it made me regret that the snow tied up the activities of the M.P.'s so seriously. The vulgar abuse of Count Plunkett that was indulged in by a United Irish League organiser from Belfast, named Hugh Martin, probably swelled our majority also, and I pray that the Party may continue to use the services of persons of this type in its electoral contests of the future.

But apart from the O'Learys and Martins and the splendid associations of the name Plunkett and the snow—apart even from the personality of Father O'Flanagan, all powerful as these combined influences were, I think North Roscommon would have been won by any decent man on the straight National issue.

LOUIS WALSH.

EASTER WEEK

AT
HEADQUARTERS.

LOUGHLIN'S Irish Ties from 1/-
Irish Shirts from 2/11. Irish Vests
and Pants from 2/11 each. Irish
Knit Socks from 1/-. Irish Braces
from 1/-. Irish Gloves, Boots,
Irish-finished Hats, Caps, etc., etc.

T. J. LOUGHLIN,

Irish Outfitting Headquarters,
19 Parliament Street
DUBLIN.

THE POEMS OF ART MACCOOBY

Enri O Muirghessa writes to us in reference to the review of the Poems of Art Mac Cooley, edited by himself, as follows:—

Over twenty years ago I began to take an interest in the South-Ulster poets—Mac Cooley, Mac Cuarta, O Doinnin, and the Mac Alindons. No one else at the time troubled about these except Mr. J. H. Lloyd, and the late David Comyn. Writers on the Irish poets and literature of the 18th century either ignored these poets altogether or mentioned them only to decry them.

I belonged to the district: I was cradled in traditions of these poets, and had heard their songs sung in childhood. Fortunately their works preserved in MSS. were still available in the district, and I started to collect these. I bought some, copied others; and eventually made a collection of Irish MSS. second to none in the province of Ulster. I wrote a good deal about both the MSS. on the poets in the "Claidheamh Soluis," "Gaelic Journal," "Louth Archaeological Journal," and the various books that I edited.

Meantime others had begun to get interested in them too, and amongst these, Eamonn O Tuathail.

So about two years ago Mr. O'Toole wrote me to know would I have any objection to hand over to him my collection of the poems of Mac Cooley and some others, as he intended editing them. A person unacquainted with Mr. O'Tuathail would be surprised at such a cool request, but I was not. I replied that I had every objection: that I had spent too much time, trouble, and expense on this collection to hand it over to anyone. But I proposed that he and I should collaborate, and bring out these poems together. He declined this proposal simply by never replying to it. I went on with the work, and now Eamonn vents his disappointment in a hostile criticism. He says I must have known people who would have made an exhaustive search in the R.I.A. for me, and leaves it clearly to be inferred that he himself would have done it. This is perfectly insincere: a man who would not collaborate would not help. But to put his sincerity to the test, what help will he now give in bringing out O Doinnin and the Mac Alindons. A Belfast lady, I may remark, is working at Mac Cuarta. I am taking up O Doinnin: will Eamonn take up the Mac Alindons, and let each assist the other. I know there are some things in the Academy Library which I have not got, but very little so far as South-Ulster poetry is concerned: and on the other hand I have some things which the Academy has not got. My main desire is to get this poetry published and available. It is necessary for a knowledge of our history, and of our literature; it is necessary for our rising writers, and its publication may help to put an end to much of the trash that some of our contemporaries write as Irish poetry.

The criticism that no one should publish anything until he has ransacked the Academy Library is very plausible, but it amounts to this in practice, that no one should do anything in the way of publishing our MSS. literature except one resident in Dublin. For those who happen to live in Dublin it is a very handy kind of criticism, for it constitutes for them a monopoly, and we all love monopolies. But this criticism will never deter me from doing anything I can in the way of publishing and making known our Ulster Irish literature. What is in the Academy is safe and can be published at any time. Most of what I have published has been from sources rescued by me from destruction and it is enriched with the traditions and folk-lore of the district which will not be available in another twenty or thirty years, and with a knowledge of local history and topography which a stranger would find it difficult to master.

It is, I admit, highly desirable that sources of raw material such as the Academy Library should be completely tapped. And if the Academy had, as it should have, a printed catalogue of contents I could discover at home what pieces I wanted, and then copy or get them copied in a day or two. But as things are one might spend a week rummaging in this Library and not come across three pieces to copy. Hence I am quite willing to accept Eamonn's help, if he gives it, but if not I must go on without it. And to show him how much easier it is to criticise than to do things I may recall to his mind the poem of Mac Cooley's which he published in the "Claidheamh Soluis" in April of last year. In this one poem as published therein there are, besides minor slips, two false readings, and in the short note

appended two distinct errors in matters of fact.

Yet he had at his disposal the whole of the Dublin libraries. I live in a town where there is no public library of any description.

Your readers will now, I hope, be better able to appreciate the precise value of Eamonn's "Review." I complained years ago that in Irish matters there is little or no fair or impartial reviewing. A writer or editor gets his book reviewed by his friends who praise without discrimination; and then comes along the enemy who uses the book merely as an excuse for castigating the author. And few of the Irish public who read either productions can form an independent judgment of their own. But every phase of life has its drawbacks, and this is perhaps the one specially designed for the man who devotes himself to Irish literature.

We publish Mr. O'Muirghessa's long letter as he seems to regard that he is aggrieved by the strictures on the fact that he had not consulted the Royal Irish Academy Library before he published the poems of Art Mac Cooley. With the relations of Mr. O'Tuathail and Mr. O'Muirghessa we are not concerned, but it is obvious that if other editors were to follow Mr. O'Muirghessa's theory that because it is inconvenient for them to search the Royal Irish Academy Library, they are at liberty to ignore what it contains, the books they publish could never have a standard value.

A special anniversary Mass will be offered up on Sunday, April 15th, at SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Cork, for the repose of the souls of the men and women who died in 1916.

TRADE ONLY SUPPLIED.

P. PENDER,

12 Waring Street, Belfast,
WHOLESALE BOOT AND SHOE WAREHOUSEMEN.
Specialities: Men's, Women's and Youths'
Field Boots.

NEW IRISH INDUSTRY.

ST. ENDA SPECIALITIES:
ST. ENDA THICK RICH CREAM
McGREAL'S LITTLE IRISH CHEESE
ST ENDA CREAM CHEESE
Manufactured with utmost care.

To be had from all Purveyors and Family Grocers.

WHOLESALE DEPOT:—

24 SOUTH CITY MARKETS, DUBLIN.

L. NUGENT, Proprietor

'Phone 3627

THE WRITINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY.

The Socialist Party of Ireland have for Sale a very limited number of "Labour, Nationality and Religion," price 2/6; and "The New Evangel," price 1/-; also "The Legacy," a poem (with the portrait of the author), price 2d. Apply to Mr. Medcalfe, 31 Eden Quay, Dublin.

M. COUNIHAN,

Wholesale and Family Grocer,

39 Lord Edward St. and 80 & 81 Henry St.,
LIMERICK

Solicits your enquiries for Tea, Confectionery, Jam, Skipper Sardines, Salmon, and General Groceries. Prices will interest you.

We Fit and Suit you with Suits that fit you.

McArdle and O'Carroll,

Stafford and Prongoch Tailors,

136 Up. Dorset St., Dublin.

Seástan ó Dálaig

*

Bácúr Spáio an

TSÁIRÉALAI,

luimneac.

THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

VII.—GEORGE HENRY MOORE AND THE CORRUPTIONISTS.

(Continued).

BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

[These articles were written and first published in 1913. The three years of Irish history which have elapsed render it certain that the moral they point to will appeal to the whole people of Ireland to-day. Hence their republication.—A.G.]

The candidates of the National Association did not find an unanimous support from the priests. In Westmeath, where Father Luke Barton and Father Mullen, of Castlepollard, had kept up a fighting organisation of the farmers, from the days of the Tenant League, Father Mullen advised the people to vote for the Devil in preference to the Whigs. "The sole business of the Irish Whig Catholics," said he, "is to sell their votes and influence at Westminster for place. Do not help these place-beggars into the English Parliament, even though they pose to you as champions of the Church." The "Nation" which never faltered in its denunciation of place-hunting, though for years it could do no more than "register a protest," wrote at the time:

"There are scores of towns in Ireland where a candidate would be laughed at and considered as a lunatic if he ventured to seek popular suffrages as an Irish Nationalist, while there are scarcely half a score where such a candidate would have a chance of being returned for his principles. It is all very well to talk of Sadlier and Keogh—how we sent them to Parliament, and how we were sold, betrayed and so forth, hiding the fact that we who sent them thither ratified and sanctioned the role and betrayal by re-electing the sellers and the betrayers in nearly every instance. When we who elect members show ourselves ready to punish instead of encouraging Sadliers and Keoghs we may expect to be faithfully served. But if we hug Sadliers and Keoghs to our heart and hunt Kennedys, Moores, and Swifts from public life let us not seek to father the blame of our own cowardice on Parliamentary action or describe the Irish member as a big humbug because we ourselves have put a big premium on pledge-breaking and banished honesty from the hustings." At this time there was an election pending for Mallow, where the candidates were a Tory and a Catholic Whig, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor, and a Cork paper gravely wrote—"There is only one opinion in Mallow, and that is that Eddie Sullivan will have a walk-over, and the child now rocked in the cradle will yet have cause to bless him." The Mallow babes of 1864 who still survive can reckon how much they have to bless the late Lord Chancellor Sullivan for.

Father Dunne, of Tullamore, looking on the state of the country at this time, publicly expressed his regret that Catholic Emancipation had ever become the law of the land. "If we had no Catholic Magistrates, no Catholic judges on the Bench, if the old Penal Laws still existed prohibiting Catholics from occupying any position of trust or honour under the Government, then there would be an unanimous feeling amongst all classes of society to shake off the yoke—to emancipate themselves in truth and reality and to demand what every nation—aye, every British colony enjoys—the right to legislate for themselves." And Father Mullen, fiercely replying to the Whigs and weaklings who set up the cry—"What! would you put the Tories in power?" cried—"Aye. What do the Whigs give you but Catholic judges, who when raised to the Bench, spit upon those on whose shoulders they were raised to position. The Catholics you send into Parliament have, with a few honourable exceptions, sold the people, the priests, the Church, the moment the Whig Government held up the tempting bait of place, and now these servile place-beggars raise the cry, 'Will you let in the Tories?' 'Will you fill the Bench with Tories?' and so forth. At any sacrifice cleanse the Augean stable of Whiggery—punish the vile Whigs." All the fighting priests of the old Tenant League shared this hatred of the Whigs. Father Tom O'Shea wrote to the people of Wexford urging them to drive out the candidate of the "base Whigs who bought up the Tenant League and will always buy up Irish members"—"who maintained themselves in power, not by redressing the people's wrongs, but by bribing the people's

representatives." The difference between the Whigs and the Tories, remarked a philosophic Irishman at this period, is that the Whigs bribe thrice as many Catholic lawyers.

Fenianism.

In the British Parliament John Blake Dillon fell completely into the toils of the Radicals. Dillon, charmed with the professions of friendship for Ireland made by his new acquaintances, arranged a "John Bright Banquet" in Dublin, at which the Irish-Radical Alliance was to be cemented. It was held, but as the "National Association" had failed to carry Ireland with it in support of British Liberalism, Bright used the banquet as a starting-point for a movement in Ireland which he thought would give him a grip of the people. "The Irish Reform League" was instituted, with The O'Donoghue at its head, and English "Republican workingmen" were sent hither to preach the doctrine of brotherly love to the end of making Ireland a Radical tail. John Martin protested against the Irish Reform League. He distrusted the English Radicals and Republicans and their reform. Time proved him right. The Irish Reform League gradually threw its president, The O'Donoghue, into the hands of the English Radicals and weaned him away from the cause of his country. But a factor had entered into the Irish situation in the Sixties which rendered its continued subjugation to English Whiggery by the easy process of buying up its Parliamentary representatives, their relatives and chief supporters, not the infallible method it had proved in the Forties and Fifties. The Fenian movement instilled in the people a spirit of active resistance to oppression, it stimulated the national consciousness and exhibited in their true light before the nation those who trafficked in its fortunes. Fenianism when it attempted the field was easily crushed, but the spirit of Fenianism persisted and diffused itself through the arteries of the body politic and made the sale and barter of a nation no longer a venial offence. The hopeless tenantry who meekly submitted to being cast out to die transformed slowly into a people determined to resist their destruction. When Lord Sligo swept 10,000 men, women, and children from the soil, when Adair wiped clean a whole glen of its people—they took these villainies as things to deplore but not to actively resist, but with the returning spirit brought into the land by a movement that however faulty and inadequate to its object swept away the cant that for a nation to defend its life by arms was sinful and that exhibited in its membership a thousand instances of heroism and devotion, the serf of the soil became something of a man. When a Tipperary exterminator went out in 1868 to destroy a countryside the first victims marked down drove him back at the rifle's mouth, and Mr. Gladstone, impressed by the fact that the Irish question was no longer to be kept under by purchasing the place-hunter, hoisted the standard of "Justice to Ireland." The election of 1868 was the first election in the 19th century fought on Irish issues. From that election the modern political history of Ireland dates.

VIII.—HOW THE PLACE-HUNTERS PLANNED TO WRECK HOME RULE.

At the General Election of 1868 George Henry Moore returned to public life. He believed, he told the electors, that during the preceding years it would have been unfair to ask them to make sacrifices to elect him since he could have done nothing for Ireland, but now he thought that something might be done.

The new Liberal Government Disestablished the Church of Ireland and passed a Land Act—a paltry and miserable measure—but the first relaxation of the penal code under which the Tenant-farmers suffered. The devotion of the Fenians, said Moore, won you the reforms which Irish Whiggery sold over and over again. But as in the case of Catholic Emancipation the English accompanied their reform measures with a Coercion Act—and one which this time destroyed whatever remained of liberty to the Press in Ireland. This infamous measure was supported by a majority of the men elected as Liberals by the Irish constituencies. Only a dozen Irish members could be found to follow Moore in steadfastly opposing the "Algerine Act."

The Fall of The O'Donoghue.

In the discussion on the second reading of this measure an Irish member whose name had been for years potent in Ireland—The O'Donoghue—rose to support the Bill. The

patriot had gone over "body and soul" to the Government. The bitterness of the indignation of the people at this man's desertion exceeded the feeling roused by the far more potent traitorism of Sadlier and Keogh. The O'Donoghue had come into Irish politics with youth, eloquence and chivalry on his side, and an ancient name appealing to the national pride. He had humbled a Ministerial bully who insulted Ireland and he had declaimed with eloquent tongue in Ireland's name. Against the dark background of the Ireland of the Fifties and early Sixties he stood out a picturesque figure, and the people charmed with the gallant bearing of the young Chieftain of the Glens invested him in their imagination with qualities which he totally lacked. Both the Fenian and the non-Fenian Nationalists contended for him as a leader. Yet the man possessed none of the qualities of leadership. He was a beau sabreur who unluckily for himself came in the end to believe himself a statesman—and fell easily into the net of the English Liberals with their "Irish Reform League." From the day on which John Bright persuaded him to run that body The O'Donoghue's days were full dates. He had entered Irish politics in honesty. He did not set himself up for sale like most of his contemporaries. He fell to the subtle suggestion that the English nation was willing and eager "to remedy Irish grievances" when it understood them, and that he was the person to lead his countrymen to a proper frame of mind in the matter. A few months before his appearance as a supporter of Coercion he addressed a letter to his countrymen advising them to side with the Government and lend their assistance to the work of the English Liberal Party. In all seriousness he told Ireland, so broad had become the mind, so tender the heart of the English nation that whatever measure for Ireland a majority of the Irish representatives supported, that measure the British Parliament would cheerfully pass into law.

The O'Donoghue fell low enough later on, but there is no reason to think that when he thus apostatised he had become consciously corrupt. He himself had described a few years before how the Irish member was trepanned in the English Parliament: "It is melancholy," he said, "to observe how the patriot falls. There are few to remind him of his duty, and the power of the seducer is great. It is easy to see that there is an interior struggle going on, for he has the look of a man who is trying to make himself think he is doing right, but cannot succeed and is ashamed of himself. How the Whips first act upon him—whether they begin by sending him neatly printed invitations to come down in the evening and support the Government, which look confidential, or whether they begin by staring at him I cannot tell. The first dangerous symptom is the evident anxiety on the part of the patriot to be close in a corner with a Government Whip. If you happen to pass he tries to assume an air of easy indifference, utters a monosyllable in a loud voice and generally coughs. In an evening or two the Ministry can scarcely scrape together a majority, the patriot votes with them and remarks to his friend the Whip that it was a close thing. From bad he goes to worse. Taking courage from the idea, that no one knows him in the vast wilderness of London, he gets up early, steps down a backway to the Treasury, thinking few are about—and all is over."

It was not thus The O'Donoghue himself fell. The Salons of the Liberal hostesses in London, the flattery of the Liberal leaders wrought his ruin. There are other methods than vulgar bribery in the armoury of England wherewith to purchase Irish representatives.

* Since this was written I have ascertained that The O'Donoghue was offered a British Government post with an income of £5,000 per annum attached and that he refused the offer. His memory is, therefore, clear of any suspicion of venal motives in deserting his colleagues.

Moore Abandons Parliamentarianism.

Moore fought the Coercion Bill with a handful of supporters to the end. On his return to Ireland he advised the people to place their main trust in what they could do at home. They should, he said, organise themselves to resist Governmental attack, and depend on their organisation at home rather than on their members at Westminster. A public meeting in Dublin called on him in conjunction with Isaac Butt to initiate a movement for National Self-Government. Unfortunately at this time Moore died suddenly. Had he lived he would have become leader of the Home Rule movement and made a much more effective leader

(Continued on next page).

than Butt. He had what Butt lacked, a thorough understanding of the English politician and English parties. He regarded them all, so far as Ireland was concerned, as rogues and cheats, and he had not the slightest respect for the British Parliament or its traditions. Butt was oppressed with the belief that English politicians were amenable to pure reason and his feeling towards the British Parliament was one approaching reverence. He led the Home Rule Party on the assumption that England would yield Home Rule to a persistent but logical and courteous presentation of the Home Rule case. Moore would have led on the opposite assumption—that Home Rule would be yielded only if Ireland could make it sufficiently uncomfortable for England to decline. It was Moore's misfortune never to have had the chance of leading an Irish Party or an organised people; twice his attempt to form a party had been ruined by the place-hunter, and his sudden death occurred at the hour when the Home Rule Party was in the making.

The Home Rule Movement.

The Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was a violation of the Act of Union. The fifth article in that measure provided that the continuance and preservation of the Church Establishment in Ireland "shall be deemed and taken to be an essential part of the Union." The Protestant Episcopal Church was shamelessly betrayed when the English Government without its assent destroyed the establishment. Out of the bitter feeling engendered towards the nation that betrayed the Church sprang the belief that the English Government would always sell its Irish supporters when it suited its convenience. Hundreds of Irish Protestants turned to the Nationalist side offering alliance to secure Ireland freedom from English Government provided that "the integrity of the Empire" were maintained. An agreement was come to on the basis of the Federal scheme propounded by Fr. O'Malley and Sharman-Crawford, and thus the Home Rule Movement originated.

The Home Rule Movement, at first despised, soon began to alarm the hungry army of place-hunters and place-beggars. It was hinted that it was really a bogus affair got up to embarrass that excellent man Mr. Gladstone, whose programme of justice to Ireland, although it had before 1871 included two Coercion Acts, was declared to have opened a new and friendly era in the relations of the two countries. It was openly asserted in the Whig Catholic Press that the Home Rule Movement was, if not dishonest, inopportune—the question of Catholic Education should be first attended to—after which it was time to consider whether the country should not make its own laws. Mr. Gladstone was so convinced that the forces of Whiggery and patronage upon which he relied in Ireland were sufficient to nip the Home Rule Movement in the bud that he did not hesitate to declare that no constituency would send a supporter to John Martin who sat for Meath. The bye-elections in Galway, Westmeath, Limerick and Kerry undeceived him, and the defeat of his candidate, Christopher Palleas in Kerry showed the statesman that the old game of Catholic appointments to Government office had lost some of its power of hoodwinking the Irish electors. Derry was a Liberal seat and Palleas stood as a Liberal. The "Nation" strongly opposed his election. "Mr. Palleas," it said, "sought election not to serve Ireland but to serve England and he expected to be paid and would be paid for his services by being placed on the Irish Bench later on." His opponent was a Tory, but Jos. Gillis Biggar, then unknown to Irish politics, had himself nominated as a Home Ruler and succeeded in drawing enough votes away from Palleas, and inducing enough electors to abstain, to secure the Placeman's defeat, although the Bishop of Derry actively worked on Palleas' behalf. The defeat of Gladstone's candidate in Derry was accounted a Nationalist victory inasmuch as it demonstrated that the Home Rule Movement would not make itself subservient to the place-hunter. But Mr. Palleas got his reward all the same, and is to-day Lord Chief Baron of Ireland. The defeat of the Kennedys—notorious place-beggars—in Kerry by the Home Rule candidate in the following year against the opposition of the Bishop of Kerry—made the Home Rule Movement a political power in Ireland.

At the National Conference a little later, Irish representatives were exhorted to neither seek nor accept favour for themselves or their constituents from the British Governments. One of the speakers, an Irish member of Parliament, related how in a constituency near his own whose interests were notoriously ne-

glected by its place-begging representative, one of the voters told him the member deserved well, "for there was not a post office in the county that he had not put some voter in charge of." "How could Irish representatives be independent under such circumstances?" asked the speaker. He was Col. King-Harman—then a sincere Home Ruler, afterwards a Government placeman himself.

Prepaid Advertisement

12 words, 6d.; 18 words, 9d.; 24 words 1/-; every additional 2 words, 1d. Minimum Charge, 6d.

Reporter seeks engagement on Irish-Ireland paper; good experience; excellent references and education; specimens of work supplied; T.T.—Apply "C.", this office.

A Tonic in Type.

The Harp

Waterford's Independent Nationalist Weekly

All interested communicate with

THE MANAGER

"THE HARP,"

O'Connell Street,

Waterford.

STATIONERY, FANCY GOODS,
HABERDASHERY, RELIGIOUS
GOODS and BOOKS :: ::

John Kivlehan,

2 O'Connell Street,

LIMERICK.

Send a Postcard for the Syllabus of
SUMMER SESSIONS
OF

COLAISTE na múna

BALLINGEARY, CO. CORK,

TO

LIAM DE ROISTE.

27 Grand Parade, Cork.

CASH TAILORING COMPANY.

"The Irish Tweed House," 4 Capel Street, Dublin, and Kingstown, are fortunate in having probably the largest stock of "Indigo Blue Serges" and Irish Suitings in Dublin, bought in July, 1915. It will pay intending purchasers to inspect our stock. We guarantee perfect fitting garments, and all Irish workmanship.

JOHN NELICAN, Proprietor.

SMOKERS—Fill your pipe with Irish Grown Tobacco.

MILD, MEDIUM, or FULL, 2/6 Quarter lb., post free

W. J. GLOVER & Co.,

Royal Avenue & North Street, Belfast.

IRISH-MADE GOODS

For Men's Shirts, Hosiery, Caps, Etc.

padraig O'hallmura

SRÁID LIAM 10, LUIMNEAC.

CHEAPEST HOUSE IN IRELAND

FOR ALL

PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES.

AMATEUR NEGATIVES DEVELOPED AND PRINTED.

Cameras, Brownies, etc., from
5/- upwards.

LIGHT SENT POST FREE.

FINEGAN, Chemist,

ROYAL AVENUE, BELFAST.

IRISH-ENGLISH PRAYER BOOKS

PRICE 6d. EACH.

Republican Beads, 6d. & 1/- each

STORY OF THE G.A.A., 1/-

Postage on the above extra.

All Irish-Ireland Papers Stocked

J. J. WALSH'S

IRISH EMPORIUM,

26 Blessington St., 19 Berkeley St.

DUBLIN.

J. T. LEMASS,

Hatter and Outfitter

2 and 3 Capel Street, Dublin

Irish-made Goods a Speciality.

ACCURACY.

Accuracy in a watch is of more importance than appearance. We do not recommend so-called "cheap" watches, because accuracy is often sacrificed to appearance. For really dependable watches—good in appearance and workmanship, and moderate in price—come to :: ::

GANTER BROS.,

62 Sth. St. George's St., Dublin.

J. J. O'LEARY

(Late of HOPKINS & HOPKINS).

Jeweller, Silversmith, Watchmaker,
Celtic Jewellery, Medals, Badges, &c.

All classes of Repairs to Jewellery, Watches, Clocks, Barometers, etc., done by first-class Workmen under my personal supervision. Orders by Post receive prompt attention.

Showrooms and Workshops—

32 Bachelor's Walk, Dublin.

máire ní raḡallaig,

87 UPPER DORSET STREET, DUBLIN.

Stationery, Books, Newspapers, Magazines, Toys,

Sweets, Tobaccos, Cigarettes, Fancies, &c.

Orders through Post receive Careful Attention

LABARTAR SAEBILS ANSO.

GAELIC LEAGUERS, bring your collars and shirts to our receiving offices—125 Coombe, 159 King St. (Church St. Corner), 14 Arran Quay, 7 Lr. Clanbrassil St., 16 Gordon Street, Pembroke; Miss J. Lowe, Draper, Monte; M. O'Connor & Co., 7 Main Street, Arklow.

THE MIRROR LAUNDRY

CARN-NA-GELUO (Dolphin's Barn).

H. C. MAC-UATH, Managing Director.

seamus m o braonain

(J. M. O'BRENNAN),

Fruiterer and Confectioner,

8 Sarsfield Quay, DUBLIN.

VEGETABLES Fresh supplies daily delivered.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

Post free, payable in advance.

Three Months	1s. 9d.
Six Months	3s. 3d.
One Year	6s. 6d.

Cheques and Money Orders should be Crossed and made payable to the Manager.

ADVERTISING RATES.

Single Insertion	3/6 per inch.
6 Insertions	3/3 per inch.
18 Insertions	3/- per inch.
26 Insertions	2/9 per inch.
62 Insertions	2/6 per inch.

(Larger Spaces pro rata).

WHOLESALE AGENTS:

Dublin—Messrs. Mason and Son, Gt. Brunswick St., and Belfast.

Messrs. Dawson and Son, 5 and 6 Moleworth Place, Moleworth Street.

Belfast—Messrs. C. Porter and Co., 123 and 125 Old Lodge Road.

Cork—Messrs. Seán O Cuill and Co., 95 Patrick St. Messrs. News Bros., 20 Bowling Green St.

Tralee—E. O'Connor, 42 Nelson St.

Glasgow—William Gribbin, 119 Saltmarket.

Liverpool—Peter Murphy, 13 Scotland Place.

Printed by PATRICK MAWCH, 8 Yarnhall St., Dublin, and Published at the Offices, 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin.