

# NATIONALITY

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SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1918.

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## WEEK BY WEEK.

Great rallies in support of Mr. Arthur Griffith's candidature for East Cavan took place on Sunday last, there being a monster meeting at Bailieboro', contingents, bands, Volunteers, Cumann na nUban and Fianna attending from Cootehill, Ballyjamesduff, Virginia, Shercock, Castlerahan, Carrickmacross, and other centres. The speakers included Rev. Father O'Flanagan, C.C., Crossin, Vice-President Sinn Fein; Rev. Dr. P. Browne, Maynooth College; Professor Eoin MacNeill, Mr. T. P. McKenna, Co. C., Mullagh; Mr. Joseph Dixon, B.L., and Mr. E. Fitzgerald, solicitor, Co.C., Mallow.

Lord Dunraven wrote a letter to the papers last week. Like all his letters to the papers, it was finely shaped. It expressed with judgment the emotions of a mind in agony. How the Earl can continue to suffer mental agony after mental agony and live in a ripe old age is a question for pathologists. What makes his case nationally interesting is the fact that his agony arises purely from the present position of Ireland. He is not distressed because militarism is spreading its tentacles over Ireland; his mind is tranquil as to the arrests of hundreds of Irishmen, many Irishwomen; their deportation from Ireland, and their incarceration in English prisons without trial. The personal liberty of Irishmen is not, to the Earl, of account. It is only when such things occur in Russia that men like the Earl of Dunraven groan in spirit. What agonises the Earl at present is the pledge of Ireland to resist by every means in her power the proposal of the British Government to conscript for military service her manhood. Ireland has gone wrong, is going wrong, and the Earl is afraid Ireland will never do anything but except go wrong. Hence his distresses. Hence his letter to the papers.

This letter found the mind of a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party in as great travail as the mind of the Earl of Dunraven himself. On former occasions of note the Earl was accounted an enemy of the Party. He was classed as a factionist. Accordingly he came under the lash of Mr. John Dillon's comprehensive tongue. Yet in this, his hour of most acute mental strain, the Earl must be greatly pleased to find a brother in the ranks of Mr. John Dillon's Party. The circumstance is made doubly happy by the fact that the Earl found a twin soul in pain the very day the Irish Parliamentary Party met in Dublin. Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., responded to the Earl with affection. He, too, was moved to write a letter to the papers. "With almost every word of it (i.e., Lord Dunraven's masterpiece) I agree." Mr. Law follows this up by explanatory apologies for the action of his Party on the conscription issue. He assures the Earl, "with some knowledge of the minds of my colleagues, that the Nationalist Party have not capitulated to Sinn Fein, and that there are those of us who will, if it should ever be necessary, fight to the last against a capitulation which would be an abandonment of John Redmond's teaching and a betrayal of our soldiers, living and dead." In this way does Mr. Hugh Law bring balm to the suffering heart of Lord Dunraven, and, with Mr. Stephen Gwynn, Sir Walter Nugent, Captain Redmond and others, intimate to Mr. John Dillon his readiness to desert the new leadership. Mr. Law and his friends have refused to answer the new helm. A mutiny aboardship is obviously not out of the question. The gods of Messrs. Dillon and Devlin are plainly not the gods of Messrs. Law, Gwynn, Nugent, Redmond, etc. Their devotion is exclusively "to Mr. John Redmond's teaching." The hint is unmistakable to Mr. Joseph Devlin that they prefer ever so much the cut of his figure as a fiery soldier to his recent pose as a blazing peace-maker.

What happened at this latest meeting of the Parliamentarians last week there is no official announcement to indicate. The very fact that there was no official announcement as to the course of the proceedings is in itself significant. One member of the Party is alleged to have left the meeting in disgust. He made an attempt to prevent the Party from embarking upon an adventure as shameful as any which could be well conceived. He made an attempt to prevent Mr. Dillon and his restive followers from embarking upon proceedings which, to the disgust of all Irishmen, are now in full swing in East Cavan. The Parliamentarians cry out for the blood

of Mr. Arthur Griffith while Mr. Arthur Griffith is in the claws of the English wolves. A member of the Party—as alleged—who shrank from the shame of this thing found himself alone. One just man less, it is alleged, attempted to save the Irish Parliamentary Party from the wrath of the Nation, and it is only fair that this should be stated. The rest of the pack howl for the blood of Mr. Griffith as the English Government howls for it. Between them and it stand the electors of East Cavan. The electors of East Cavan will see to it that the shame of the Irish Parliamentary Party does not become the shame of Ireland.

On Tuesday of last week Sir Edward Carson dined with Lord French at the Kildare Street Club. On Wednesday a Proclamation was issued warning the Counties of Limerick and Tipperary that they would be placed under a martial law as rigorous as that of Clare if drilling by Volunteers did not cease there—the form of drilling popularised by Sir Edward Carson in Ireland. On Sunday the numerous members of the Irish Party now operating in Cavan threatened the people of Cavan that if they did not vote for the Party candidate Cavan would be put under martial law like Clare. On Tuesday the Proclamation was issued demanding 50,000 recruits for the British Army by October, and after that date 2,000 to 3,000 recruits per month to replace those who had meanwhile fallen. That is a week of current Irish history.

The realised taxation of Ireland for the year ending March 31st, 1918, amounted to the huge sum of twenty-nine millions. Mr. Thomas Lough, an authority on the subject, estimates the taxation of our country for the present year at the colossal sum of forty millions, most of which will be levied directly and indirectly on the families of Irish farmers. Not more than a third of this sum, about twelve millions, represents the amount alleged to be spent on Irish administration. England keeps the books as well as the money. She is head book-keeper and sole cashier, and a very dishonest one to boot. The amount of the alleged expenditure on "Irish Services" is very much less than the "partner" pretends when it is borne in mind that most of the contracts for the supply of manufactures and other supplies used for Government purposes go to British firms. At least three-fourths of Irish revenue leaves the country, not to mention the amount of capital exported by the banks. On no other nation, province, territory or empire could such an infliction descend. And it is all for such a beautiful and benign government. We are not, it is true, protected by the great British Fleet, but we are embraced by the British army. And we pay forty millions a year.

Time was not distant when we were told that the revenue of Ireland was not sufficient to maintain an independent State. But it has been shown that we exceeded many flourishing small nations in the cost of government, and that was when we were working on a trifle of ten millions a year. Now that sum is quadrupled. Why, we could run our civil government and maintain the German Army on a peace footing into the bargain with the fine, handsome, generous sum now taken from us by our obliging partner. The British Army before the war cost round twenty-six or twenty-seven millions. The German Army cost thirty-two. We can now take our choice on the margin.

There is one new striking point made by Mr. Lough in his important letter to the "Irish Independent" of May 19th. The taxable wealth of Ireland stands in the proportion of one-forty-fifth, as shown by the income tax levied exactly on the same basis in Ireland and Great Britain. But the total taxes raised in Ireland stand at a little over one-twentieth, so that we are forced to contribute twice as much as the proportionate amount of wealth taxed in the country. The senior partner makes the junior pay twice his share, and puts the excess into his own pocket. We notice there is a tendency amongst Britishers and their friends in Ireland to drop the "partnership" and use the word "alliance" instead.

Of all the orators of the Parliamentarians now fighting with great enthusiasm in East Cavan against the man who is in prison for his love of Ireland, none has a more delicate sense of liberty than Mr. John O'Connor—the man who last January

said in the British House of Commons that the conscription of Ireland was not desirable at present. Mr. O'Connor told the people at Bailieboro' on Monday that "in voting for O'Hanlon they would strike a blow for national and personal liberty." National and personal liberty has been manifested splendidly by what has happened to De Valera, Griffith and hundreds of their followers. Mr. John O'Connor wishes that form of "national and personal liberty" to be endorsed by the voters of Cavan. Once upon a time Mr. O'Connor boasted that he was "six foot three of treason-felony." That six foot three of treason-felony has been bleached white on the benches of the British Parliament. There is nothing left except the dry bones of a spineless Imperialism. Meanwhile Mr. O'Hanlon himself has given a magnificent description of his own position in the East Cavan contest. He declares that he will fight Arthur Griffith even though "the clothes are torn from his back." Mr. O'Hanlon has the courage of a lion in fighting the man who lies in an unknown English prison. But, at all events, Mr. O'Hanlon frankly recognises that he is the hired model—the lay figure—of the artists of the Parliamentarians in Cavan. His threat to pose for them in the "altogether" must have alarmed the people of Cavan for the first time. Mr. O'Hanlon will, we trust, be put under proper restraint in time.

Sir Thomas Esmonde has contributed a timely letter to the Press ("Irish Independent," May 29) on the subject of "Fleeing the Farmer" by income tax. His experience strongly bears out the view we expressed last week that the income tax levied on farmers is taking the place of the old rent. The British Government has stepped into the shoes of the Irish landlord. The fit is a close one. Sir Thomas Esmonde says its income tax under both schedules worked out last year at about one pound sterling for every arable acre he holds. This year it will work out at about £1 12s. or £1 18s. This is indeed a rent in itself. The prospect for the Irish farmer is very serious. The hardship of it is that the tax falls most heavily on the industrious occupier who labours his land best. To quote further from this letter:—

But if he has improved his farm and his homestead, if he has set up machinery, if he has employed labour, above all if he has built houses for his labourers, he will be taxed in proportion to the amount of money he has invested in his farm.

This is a most serious outlook. It threatens to undo the work of the Land Purchase Acts. Let no farmer cherish the false hope that he can escape income tax by keeping no accounts. The British Treasury, with nearly a century of experience behind it, knows how to catch the unwary. Its method is this. It first begins by assuming a small income on some imaginary basis, in this case by taking the annuity to start from. It proceeds to double it next year. The year after it doubles that again. It continues to do this until the unfortunate subject of the tax is compelled in his own interest to keep books and accounts in self-defence, so as to be able to lodge a claim for abatements. Remember he cannot prove anything without accounts to show. We clearly see the moves on the board. The Treasury first began to tax farmers very lightly. First one-third of the rent or annuity was taken. Then one-half. Next the whole, and this year double the annuity is taken as the standard which will be increased until the farmer is compelled to keep books to save himself from further extortion.

The farmers of Ireland can deal with the situation by combining as they did formerly when they had to face the landlords. The fact of the situation is that a new set of agents has arrived in the shape of income tax collectors without any of the howls of compassion. The devil of war is driving the British Treasury to collect money by every hook, crook and device; and it will require the most determined and continuous efforts on the part of the farmers to hold off this new menace.

One more decisive stroke at Irish trade is being planned, as we showed last week. Much public interest has been aroused by the exposure of the plans in last week's "Nationality." As far back as last autumn, now many months ago, we pointed out the dangerous manoeuvres connected with the control of Channel traffic. The supineness and interested indifference

of the Chamber of Commerce is a betrayal of Irish trade interests. Instead of addressing themselves to this vital subject, the Council appears to think of nothing but presenting an address, which is virtually a move towards stripping the country of its workers. Every ounce of energy should be directed towards the retention of the oldest of our shipping services, and the premier service of its kind in the world, the first incorporated packet line. Its destruction means the establishment of a complete monopoly, in British hands, of all lines leaving Ireland or coming into it. There is a deep commercial motive behind it. We have been cut off from the Continent and from the United States, and it is now proposed not to cut us off from the Channel it is true, but to tie the trade of Ireland to a shipping monopoly which can fleece our exporters and manufacturers without the risk of competition. We indicated last week the powerful syndicate behind this move. It consists of companies that trade their ships abroad over practically all important routes. It means the complete isolation of our country and its economic dependence on Britain. All gates to enter the markets of the world after the war would be closed to us except one, and England would sit at that gate and take whatever toll she could extort from Irish shippers and importers. When the Chamber of Commerce meet to consider trade after the war this surely is the most vital question to be considered. Yet we believe it is not even on the agenda.

The following letter has been received:  
"116 Grafton Street,  
Dublin, 1st June, 1918.

"To the Proprietor of  
"Nationality,"  
"6 Harcourt St., Dublin.

Sir—Mr. Malcolm Lyon has consulted me in reference to the publication of the issue of "Nationality" dated 1st June, 1918, in which he is described as a "secret English Government agent." For this statement there is not the slightest foundation whatever, and having regard to the fact that this is not the first reference to my client of a similar nature which has appeared in "Nationality" I have to request that within forty-eight hours from the receipt of this letter you will undertake, in writing, to publish in your next issue an unqualified withdrawal of the statement and an apology for the publication thereof in as prominent a place and manner as the paragraph complained of, such withdrawal and apology to be prepared by me on behalf of Mr. Lyon. In the event of your refusing or neglecting to adopt the course indicated, will you be good enough to name a solicitor who will accept service of a writ of summons on your behalf, otherwise same will be issued for service in the usual manner.

"Yours faithfully,  
"John J. McDonald."

The following communication was received by the printer of "Nationality" from Mr. McDonald:—

"Dear Sir—In the issue of "Nationality" dated 1st June, 1918, on the front page, Mr. Malcolm Lyon is described as a "secret English Government agent." Your name is given in the imprint of the issue as the printer thereof. This is not the first reference to Mr. Lyon of a similar nature which appeared in this paper; and I am instructed by him to take all necessary steps to prevent repetition and publication of the statement, which is without the slightest foundation in fact. I have, therefore, to request that you will, not later than 4 p.m. on Monday, the 3rd inst., sign an apology for the publication of the above statement and an undertaking not to again print this statement or anything of a similar nature, such apology and undertaking to be prepared by me and published in such manner as my client may decide at your expense. In the event of your refusing or neglecting to adopt this course within the time stated, a writ of summons for damages and for an injunction will be issued against you forthwith."

As far as the printer of "Nationality" is concerned, he is in no way responsible for the views expressed in the paper. The proprietor of "Nationality" has, as the whole world knows, been forcibly deported from his country by the English Government, and is now believed to lie in an unknown English prison. Meanwhile space is afforded Mr. McDonald to make the disavowal, on behalf of his client, that Mr. Malcolm Lyon is a secret agent of the English Government.

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# NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1918.

## THE PAPER WALL

Mr. Arthur Griffith used to say that England had surrounded Ireland with a paper wall. On the inside of the wall the British Government wrote whatever it wished Ireland to believe about the outside world. On the outside of the wall it wrote whatever it wished the outside world to believe about Ireland. It was possible for the British Government to do this because of its control of the Press and the great Press Agencies. If England found it to its advantage to do this in peace times, it has developed a passion for the isolation and the defamation of Ireland in war times. From the little information concerning our affairs which filters through from the outside world we know that England is to-day writing luridly on the outside of the Irish paper wall. The British Government is not, of course, attempting the impossible. It is not altogether incriminating the entire Irish people. It is not possible, as Ed. and Burke said, to indict a whole nation. John Bull does the next best thing. He indicts the most powerful national section of the Irish people, and he springs at the most dangerous to his rule of the Irish national leaders. Hence to-day, without trial or a shred of regard for the most elementary rights of human liberty, the Sinn Fein leaders, men and women, with hundreds of their lieutenants, lie in English prisons.

England is at especial pains to mystify America as to what is taking place in Ireland and to mystify Ireland as to what is taking place in America. Certain Labour delegates were allowed to have a peep at us recently. They were conducted to and from our shores much as if they were conducted to the cage of a wild beast in a zoo. But even at that the experiment was risky. The Americans were, from England's point of view, on the wrong side of the paper wall. And, officially piloted as they were, at least some of the visitors saw a little light. Later still England undertook to conduct two Professors of History from America, Messrs. McLoughlin and Moore, to view the aborigines from whence they obviously sprung. They were the guests of Sir Wim. Byrne, the British Under-Secretary in Ireland; were dined by the Lord Lieutenant and British Military Dictator of Ireland, Lord French; they visited Dublin Castle, and were permitted to speak at Trinity College. In this way did the two American Professors see Ireland for themselves. They will be able to give their fellow-citizens in America first-hand historical information on the conditions, position, and bearing of the Irish people during the great world war.

The messages from America which England writes on the inside of the paper wall are not calculated to give us a fine conceit of ourselves. America is represented to us as even more hostile to Ireland than

England. The "New York Times" is more anti-Irish than the London or the Irish "Times." Hence the editorial opinion of the "New York Times" is at every crisis in Ireland quoted as the opinion of America of Ireland. Sinn Feiners in Ireland and America are always referred to by the "New York Times" as "ruffians." Great satisfaction was expressed on the cables by Reuter at the arrest of the Sinn Fein leaders—ruffians who held with President Wilson that no government was lawful except by the consent of the governed—ruffians who held with President Wilson and most of the Great Powers of the world that Ireland and all other small nationalities were entitled to claim national self-determination—ruffians who were planning to make a place for the small nationality of Ireland among the other small nationalities of the world at the Peace Conference—ruffians who conspired to set Ireland up as an Independent State, as independent as any of the small free peoples of the world. The Serb, the Pole, the Belgian, the Estonian who raises his face to the sun of liberty is noble. The face of the Irishman raised to the same sun is ruffianly. So England teaches the world by what she writes on the paper wall.

The English Government, feeling that Ireland has grown completely sceptical as to what is written on our paper wall, is endeavouring to fortify itself by "world opinion." The world opinion which it puts forward as corroborative of English opinion of Ireland is the opinion of publications like the "New York Times." That organ is not alone rabidly anti-Irish, but also highly reactionary—so reactionary that it wants established in America something of a militarism approaching the militarism which we see daily developing in this country. In its enthusiasm for militarism it has fallen foul of President Wilson, so that the Sinn Fein "ruffians" are now in exalted company. "The Irish World" states that the "New York Times" is "pouring upon all classes of Irishmen its stored-up anti-Irish venom." Its campaign for militarism is inspired for the most part by a passion to dragoon the Irish in America. There are Sinn Fein ruffians in America whom the English Government would like to see dragooned even as Sinn Fein ruffians are dragooned in Ireland. President Wilson, it is plain, does not take kindly to the policy of dragooning in America. The first move of the militarists has been to abolish civil courts in favour of military tribunals. To a Senator O'Grerman the President has addressed a letter in which he says:

I am heartily delighted with you for consulting me about the Courtmartial Bill, as perhaps I may call it for short. I am wholly and unalterably opposed to such legislation, and very much value the opportunity you give me to say so. I think it is not only unconstitutional, but that in character it would put us nearly upon the same level of the people we are fighting and affecting to despise. It would be altogether inconsistent with the spirit and practice of America.

If President Wilson considers the abolition of civil courts in favour of military tribunals as putting America nearly upon the same level as the people America is fighting, what on earth would he think of proposals to abolish courts of every description, civil and military, and to the suspension of liberty of the individual without trial of any sort? What would he think of a proposal to deport American citizens from America and their incarceration in a hostile land? What does he think of the demand of a Military Governor of one of the small nationalities of Europe to censor a document prepared for submission to the President himself? That document is known to set forth the case of a small nationality against the right of a powerful foreign Government to conscript it for military service. What does the President of the United States think of the denial to a small nationality of the right to state its case at Washington? Has the small nationality of Ireland no right to tear down the paper wall upon which her conqueror defames her on the outside to the world and libels the world to Ireland on the inside? Are such things inconsistent with the practice and spirit of America?

## CAVAN'S CHOICE

To many minds Arthur Griffith must appear as incomprehensible as the Sphinx. It is quite true, of course, that recently a biographical sketch of him was published which represented him as having been a school chum of poor Con Colbert! That analysis has done little to reveal a personality which only time and his associates shall properly place. Were it not that "the Father of Sinn Fein" is at present enjoying his Majesty's hospitality, this sorry scribe would not attempt comments on the career of one who has assiduously evaded the limelight. Such an offence would not be easily condoned. However, as anything concerning Arthur Griffith must now be very dear to the big bulk of his countrymen; that shall be the plea for liberties taken.

Mayhap it is just as well that the interned Editor of "Nationality" is not a familiar to the crowd. His elected role was to inspire those who have studied to play on the national impulses of our people. The result of thirty years' patient and ill-requited toil is now demonstrated

through a movement which has saved the soul of Ireland and may restore an almost surrendered heritage.

When, because of some derivation, Cavan claims Griffith as her very own, the jealousy of Dublin is not pleasantly smoothed. Cabian Uí Rallaigh is welcome to honoured representation, but B' Cliaith will net wittingly part with an attribute of the character that was shaped in her own environment. Indeed, to special pleading of this sort Arthur Griffith would incline a listening ear. There never yet was Roman citizen who loved the golden sands of the Tiber with an affection deeper than Griffith's for what sweet Anna Laffey can disport. To him all the struggles against what the capital of the Pale was hoped to establish have ever been sacred. In merrier moods his anonymous rhythmic rants amid the foibles of our folk have helped many an entertainer to success.

Where Griffith laid the basis of his education was in the Christian Brothers' Schools, Great Strand Street. The building is a plain structure of considerable size. Originally it served as a Nonconformist worshipping place, and is made notable as having had for one of its ministers the Rev. Thomas Plunkett. Through his youngest son, William Conyngham Plunkett, this divine was to become father to a future Irish Lord Chancellor. Unfortunately the honour secured by this peer as an antagonist of the Union and champion of Catholic rights is tarnished by his behaviour as prosecuting counsel in the trial of Robert Emmet. But to revert to the Strand Street institute: its first claims to distinction rest on the number of youths it sent forth to battle for Ireland's cause. One of those, and a younger contemporary of Griffith's, was the late William Rooney. Through a strange destiny, both these boys were to become sponsors to what is interpreted as the present Irish-Ireland Movement. Like most of working-class children, they had to leave school in early years so that scanty home incomes might be supplemented. The knowledge acquired through what should be afterwards hours of youthful ease was the criterion of their fates. As in the case of Pliny's eulogium on a contemporary, they picked up something out of everything they read. This has also been the spade method of many a self-taught man. But wise, beyond their years, the principle stimulating the efforts of these two lads was how the Ireland they deeply loved could be best served.

That Dublin into which they were born lacked many of the characteristics our modern one holds. The Fenian organisation still exercised a powerful grip on the popular imagination. "New departures" had not satisfied men's souls that the utterance of a shilliboleth and subscription to the Party's fund were all that were required from men struggling to be free. Akin to Kosuth's dictum, the belief was held that "only on the soil of a nation can a nation's salvation be worked out." Men were minded through the utterances of Gladstone and Palmerston that the failure of Fenianism had disclosed well-springs of Irish unrest and led to the Disestablishment of an alien Church and the passing of the Land Act of 1870. With Griffith, Rooney and their ilk already seemed to be born a knowledge of what coquettings with English Ministers would bring. Their anxieties through the Young Ireland Society and what channels offered were to conserve what was pure in the national faith and by means of equipping village libraries and otherwise bring healthy instruction within our people's reach.

The Parnellite Split was to give these activities a new direction. Unlike many of those who now shout "Parnell's policy" and yet at English dictation hounded the great man to death, Griffith and Rooney stood by the Chief, who pleaded not to be "thrown to the English wolves." Their example was not followed by all their comrades, and so the Leinster Literary Society in which they were engaged was brought to an end in December, 1892. From the ashes arose the Celtic Literary Society, which may be regarded as the fountain from which the saving waters of Nationalism have since gushed. About this time Rooney and Griffith had earned some public notoriety through their contributions to the "Evening Herald" entitled "Notable Irish Graves in and Around Dublin." The spark kindled was destined to leap into a bright flame. After the model of the Celtic other similar bodies were to arise. Each was to add Gaelic and Music Classes to its activities. If literary fledglings have since been able to soar it is not for want of example set in pages that seldom got beyond the manuscript stage. What was the culmination of these early hopes was the foundation of "The United Irishman" newspaper in March, 1899. Arthur Griffith was its editor, and William Rooney its chief contributor. Looking back on those early days, it is marvellous how the dreams of those young men have flowered. Week after week their quiet propaganda was pursued. It was a penetration which the philosophic mind of Mr. A. Birrell would have greatly appreciated. To their club rooms in 1898 they had already during the year's commemorations drawn French and other visitors. Now to a select if limited native and foreign public their printed words were borne. All that was worth being attempted was tackled in those times. With qualities that endeared him to those who knew and loved him, William Rooney was able to draw from those who gathered

round him whatever they possessed. Let their ability be but to speak a word of Irish, lift an air, write a sentence, or dance a jig, Rooney had praise for their accomplishment. Those who can recall the first reunions of the Gaelic League will visualise Rooney arranging the clár, and where gaps had to be filled himself supplying the wants. He, too, was an inaugurator during the '98 Centenary Celebrations of the spoken work in Irish from public platforms. His death, in March, 1901, was a blow from which Griffith must have reeled. Others of the small band have answered the great call, but amongst no other two did such affection and mutual understanding exist. There are others still hearkening to the world's voices who have forgotten the cry of Caidin, but Arthur Griffith, the man in jail, is still unshaken in the old troth. The consciousness of labours honestly done must busy him in his loneliness. Where the work to which he put his hand nigh thirty years ago looked a barren undertaking, to-day it unfolds a prospect that gladdens the eye. The secret of its success was in Arthur Griffith's expression that "every Irish man or woman's own self is the Irish Nation." That, through his own steadfastness to ideals our exemplar has made countless others realise. Dealing with his unflinching attachment to whatever he conceived to be right, it is difficult to escape the language of hyperbole. Perhaps in a sense it is to be regretted that the public can judge only of his literary and not what his greater administrative work has been like. All that and much more shall yet be a tale worth the telling. Better not wound a nature that has been revealed to very few. Those who have ever been drawn close to Arthur Griffith can tell of a man who could not utter a coarse word, think unkindly of a friend, or do an unmanly turn to even his worst enemy. Now that he is banished from our midst, perhaps this quotation from the leading article he penned in the first number of "The Daily Sinn Féin," August the 23rd, 1909, may enlighten us:—"We shall advocate Sinn Féin as the most effective policy, but we shall support every honest effort and give full credit to our countrymen of other political parties for all the work they perform for the common good. We shall refuse to regard any Irish party as our enemies. They may be our opponents. They shall not be our enemies. Our enemies are those who govern—and misgovern—this country against the will of its people—not any section of our own countrymen." That is assuredly the spirit in which Cavan's member will work when the Irish people are allowed to determine their own form of government.

T.S.G.

### IN GUISE OF LAW

In his reminiscences published recently Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., a former Law Officer of the Crown, makes some astonishing revelations of the unscrupulous way in which the English tamper with justice and rig courts of law in order to serve political ends.

When Dr. Jameson's attempt in 1895 to raise a rebellion in the Transvaal failed miserably, the captured Englishmen, instead of being executed, were handed over to their own Government on a pledge that justice should be done. In point of fact, as many suspected then and as everyone knows now, the plot against the freedom of the small Boer Republic had been engineered by the British Government itself in London.

"The preparations for an insurrection at Johannesburg," says Sir Edward Clarke, "and the assembly at Pitsani Potlugo of a force which should support the insurrection and suffice to ensure its success, were made with the full knowledge of the English Colonial Office. . . . Sir Hercules Robinson (High Commissioner for South Africa) was told that he must be within reach if the enterprise should fail, and his intervention should be necessary to prevent serious consequences to the conspirators; and two regiments of cavalry were detained at Capetown and Durban on their way between England and India in case they might be found useful. Miss Flora Shaw (afterwards Lady Lugard) was the confidential agent of Mr. Rhodes (Prime Minister of Cape Colony) in London, and had his cypher. She called frequently at the Colonial Office, and kept Mr. Rhodes informed of the opinions and wishes there expressed. At Pitsani Potlugo Dr. Jameson quite honestly and truthfully told his officers and troopers that the advance they were making was in the service of the Queen.

When the raiders were put on trial, legal comedy followed upon political intrigue. The Government were obliged to prosecute in order to keep up appearances and pretend to carry out their promise of punishment. On the other hand, their fellow conspirators in the dock must not be allowed to suffer. It was arranged, therefore, that verdicts of guilty were to be obtained; that modest sentences of imprisonment were to be imposed; and that the prisoners were to be released by the Crown after a short detention and be properly provided for. To carry out this programme it was essential that the complicity of the Government should be concealed. Were the truth to be divulged, the prisoners would be acquitted, while the duplicity of the

English Government would be exposed to the world. Instructions accordingly were given that the trials were to be a sham; the prisoners were to make no real defence; and no evidence was to be allowed of the disreputable Imperialism of the Government that was supposed to be prosecuting them. Sir Edward Clarke appeared for Dr. Jameson, and of necessity, as he says, he was shown all the messages and letters which had passed between London and South Africa and between Johannesburg and Capetown and Pitsani. "But," he continues, "I received definite instructions that no question was to be asked, or any fact elicited, that might suggest that any Department or official of the British Government knew of the preparations for the enterprise or was directly or indirectly responsible for it." The real criminals were prosecuting their humber allies, and the court of justice was being worked in the interests of both. "My instructions," says Sir Edward Clarke, "precluded me from taking the line of defence which would certainly have been successful." By suppressing evidence in this way the jury was misled, and the desired verdict was obtained.

The Englishman of those days was fond of denouncing the "slimness," i.e., the cunning, of the Boer. It will be seen that in respect of slimness he himself left the Boer far behind. The sanctimonious hypocrisy which, after promoting rebellion in a foreign country, affected to abhor and punish it; the contempt shown for the law by using it as an instrument of political camouflage; the suppleness of lawyers earning their guineas by shielding the accused, while pretending to defend the accused—it all forms a picture of English morals and English character which is beyond competition. Nothing in its way is more illuminating than the matter-of-fact air with which Sir Edward Clarke narrates these details. That there was anything to criticise in the Government's conduct or his own never seems to have crossed his mind. There is here one more illustration of the strange differences that may exist between national points of view—between honour as it is understood by Englishmen and honour as it is regarded by those whom Englishmen call Hottentots.

Just as the Government succeeded in deceiving the jury, so it contrived to prevent the facts from coming officially before the political committee of investigation. A few years later, however, the truth nearly escaped, and for a second time it was kept back by devices in legal procedure. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Markham made a speech strongly attacking Messrs. Wernher, Beit and Co., the Jewish South African financiers. Sued for slander, he alleged in what lawyers call "particulars" that the plaintiffs were "prime movers in, and instigators of, acts of armed hostility against the South African Republic." This, as Sir Edward Clarke shows, placed the Government in a critical position. The firm "had, and would be obliged to disclose, the originals or copies of the telegrams which had passed between London and South Africa and between Capetown and Johannesburg at the time of the Jameson Raid, the telegrams the production of which before the House of Commons Committee had somehow been avoided." In those circumstances it became an urgent political necessity to those in high places to have this paragraph in the particulars struck out as irrelevant. "The Master in Chambers thought it entirely proper and normal and refused to interfere." So did the Judge to whom it went from the Master on appeal. Finally the point was carried up to the Court of Appeal. There the Judges saved the situation for the Government. They succeeded in drawing a distinction which hitherto had eluded observation, and the offending particulars vanished. With them vanished also the possibility of bringing into court the documents which would have enabled Mr. Markham to win his case. There was nothing for it but to apologise. This Mr.

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Markham did. The injured Jews on their side withdrew their action, and England's highly moral face was saved once more. But it was a narrow escape, and no time was lost in transferring the incriminating documents to safer keeping. "What was done with the telegrams," says the ingenious Sir Edward, "I do not know, but I have no doubt they soon passed out of the possession of Wernher, Beit and Co."

The facts here recorded have no particular moral. They simply show that the English Government is capable of elaborate duplicity, of manipulating evidence, and of juggling with processes of the law in the course of an intrigue against the liberty of a small nationality.

H. I.

### IS OLC AN RUD AN T-ÉIRISE I n-ÁIRDO!

1. nac í máire a-d ar feadainc go breac?
2. Cao é nac nac úr-áirde, 'sup í sílearta go mar?
3. O'n úr-áirde go úr-áirde, marab ionann 'p mé?
4. nac úr-áirde a-d ar feadainc go breac, mar úr-áirde ar úr-áirde?
5. Tá máire í ba cuma íom a-d an t-éirise i n-áirde?
6. A tair-áirdeann í rúo te éirise go éirise úr-áirde a-d a-d?
7. ní cummín léi nac íom í an úr-áirde mar a-d í úr-áirde?
8. Deir-áirde sup mó bean 'a cailteann a meabair le moir-í-í-í-í.

Approximate Pronunciation.—Is ulk un rudh un t-eye-ree in awrd-veh. 1. Noch ee Mwaw-reh athaw a fay-uch-ant gu be-raw? 2. Koth hige noch vay-uch-uch (last syllables said very shortly) gas ee glay-stha gu mah. 3. Oan varra gu dee-oora morah

in-oun iss may. 4. Noch will ogann och nu gibil (hard g) mar gh-íach err shray. 5. Dhaw may fayn ay ba-sh-um-a trum och un t-eye-ree in awrd-veh. 6. A baish-ban-an shee-shood de gh-naw dhu gh-och dhin-eh dhaw cawrdh-veh. 7. Nye kween l-yay-ee noch rev shee err dhoo-ish mor athaw shu in-you. 8. D-eyer-her gur mos ban a ch-alyan a moir-ir lay moah-isa-f-you!

Translation.—"Haughtiness is a bad thing." 1. Is not Mary looking well? 2. Why wouldn't she look so, and she finely dressed from top to toe, unlike me who has only rags, like a person "on the strag." 5. Still and all I wouldn't care if it were not for the haughtiness she shows to every one of her friends. 7. She does not remember that she was not in the beginning as she is now. 8. 'Tis said that many a woman loses her head through self-importance.

Alice Furlong.

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THANKSGIVING—Grateful thanks to Sacred Heart and Our Lady of Dublin for Cavan victory.—Frances.

THANKSGIVING to the Sacred Heart, Little Flower, and Our Blessed Lady for successful examination.—E. D. L.

THANKSGIVING to the Sacred Heart and the men who died in 1916, for Mr. Griffith's splendid victory.—Peg, daughter of a Cork '67 man.

THANKSGIVING for Cavan victory to the Sacred Heart, Our Lady of Ireland, and SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columba.—"Dympna."

THANKSGIVING to Our Lady of Good Counsel and the Little Flower, for favour received.—Maire.

THANKSGIVING to Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, Sacred Heart and St. Anthony for favour received; publication promised in "Nationality."—J.S.H.N.M.

THANKSGIVING to Sacred Heart, Blessed Virgin, and St. Anthony, for favour received.—A. Un B.

DEATH.

COOKE—May 20, 1918, at the Convent of the Good Shepherd, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A., after a brief illness, Sarah (Ciss), in religion Sister M. Teresa of the Infant Jesus, eldest and dearly loved daughter of William and the late Mrs. Ellen Cooke, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny (formerly of Mountrath and Donaskeigh, Tipperary), in her 24th year and the 6th of her religious profession; deeply and deservedly regretted. R.I.P. Our Lady of Mount Carmel, pray for her.

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