

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

The Chambers of Commerce throughout Lancashire have solemnly protested against India being permitted to protect her industries against the competitors of Lancashire. England first, in the interest of her own manufacturers, stamped down the great Indian cotton industry, and Lancashire luxuriated on its ruin. Latterly under the impetus of an Indian likeness of the Sinn Fein movement, the Indian industry revived, and with the imposition of the protective tariff, Indians may hope to keep millions of money annually at home which now flow out to Lancashire. The increased duty is proposed by the Government of India under pressure of the Indian National movement—which curiously enough has in this matter a private support from the English Tariff Reformers—not that they love India or wish loss to Lancashire, but that they believe by the imposition of the Tariff their main point will be gained and England forced back to the policy of Protection.

In denouncing the Indians for their wicked attempt to protect their own manufactures, the English Cotton Lords who have lived on India for eighty years and who are living on its helplessness to-day, point out that they are influenced by concern for the people of India, who if they are not permitted to buy their cotton goods from Lancashire, will have to pay more out of their scanty wages for them. Thus it is that wherever England ruins or seeks to keep ruined an industry of the weaker people she does it to help them, and the profits that accrue her are merely incidental. We observe that there is "some what of an anti-English feeling" in the breast of England's Ally, Portugal, over the problem of port-wine imports from Portugal to England. This is clearly unreasonable, for as the English explain, it is necessary in the interests of the English distillers. And we agree that those who are England's Allies should suffer what England imposes upon them.

This is from the "Motor Tractor"—"Messrs. Henry Ford and Sons have received permission from the Government to build works in Cork, to make low-priced farm tractors. They will have to bring their materials from America, both for the works and for their product." The Journal continues,—"It is considered it would **obviously be very unfair** to British Manufacturers if they had not the same opportunity of establishing themselves as tractor manufacturers during the war. This appears to have been recognised by the Government, and the Ministry of Munitions has authorised Mr. S. F. Edge to call the British Motor Manufacturers together to consider the project, and to ascertain if they individually or collectively will themselves organise an enterprise at least commensurate with the Ford enterprise, so that they can supply the British market, both home and overseas, with British tractors. It is understood that they will receive every facility should they formulate a workable policy of manufacture."

Observe, that when a manufacture such as this is started in Ireland the English Government authorises the calling together of English manufacturers to ascertain if they will collectively organise a "commensurate" manufacture—i.e., a rival project—in England and lets them "understand" that if, the Government, will give every facility to the English manufacturers should they collectively combine to compete against the Irish factory. Now let the Irish Unionists raise again the chant of "Rule Britannia."

The war has now lasted nearly three years; the motor tractors have been in use on the American farms for several years, and when

an Irish-American starts their manufacture in Ireland, English manufacturers are invited and promised support by the Government which rules this country to establish a rival to the proposed factory in Ireland. In this connection the following letter from Mr. P. Brady, of Cork, was refused insertion in the "Cork Examiner," the local Redmondite organ:—

If it be true, as we are asked to believe, even by leaders of Nationalist opinion in Ireland, that Ireland is an integral part of the United Kingdom, that Irish interests and British interests are identical, that Irishmen should see eye to eye with Englishmen, on the questions involved in the present war, and should be prepared to lay down their lives in defence of the interests of the Empire—if, in fact, for all practical purposes Ireland and England are one, how, then does it come to pass, that the setting on foot of a Motor enterprise in Cork, must be considered by English Ministers and English Manufacturers, a danger to British interests?

How does it come to pass that special steps must be taken by the British Government, and British Manufacturers to protect their interests against Irish Industrial Progress?

How does it come to pass that while, as a diplomatic manoeuvre, Great Britain passes the Cork Improvement Bill through her Parliament, she at the same time directs her Manufacturers to take immediate steps to strike a blow in retaliation against the proposed factory to protect?

How is it that England promises to give them every facility and every help to forestall the Irish Manufacturer in the Markets in which arises the immediate demand for the type of machine the Irish Manufacturer hopes to produce?

What interest does Great Britain hope to serve by this action?

What do the capitalists of Cork think of the "Protection" which England thus affords a Cork Industrial project?

What do the working class of Cork think of it?

Does it not seem remarkably like the "protection" the wolf gives the lamb—the effectual protection of destruction and absorption.

What do the Protestants of Cork think about it, those, who stand to make most by Cork Industrial progress?

What do the magistrates, who propose meeting to-morrow, to apologise to England for the antics of Cork Schoolboys, think about it?

What price has Ireland paid in the past, and what price does she pay to-day for this "protection"?

What of the £400,000,000 of which Ireland has been robbed since the absorption of her Exchequer by England?

What of the £8,000,000 over her tax capacity Ireland gave to the British Exchequer for the financial year ending March, 1916?

What of the £15,000,000 over her tax capacity she will have paid in the financial year ending March, 1917?

When are "all Irish Creeds and Classes" (oh, unfortunate shibboleth!) going to wake up to the fact of the plunder of their country by England, and her real hostility to Irish interests?

Can you tell me, dear Mr. Editor?

When Irishmen of different classes meet each other in a spirit of good-will to adjust their own affairs and do not invoke foreign interference harmony and success will crown their efforts. On Sunday week, representatives of the farmers and labourers of the parishes of Boherlahan and Dualla in Tipperary met to consider the question of labour and wages, and after it had been discussed, Mr. Pierce McCann, on behalf of the farmers, proposed the following arrangement:—

Each labourer to get one quarter of an Irish acre of potatoes, the farmer to till and manure

the land and the labourer to supply the seed.

One sack of whole-meal (20 stone) each quarter.

One quart of new milk per day.

One suit of clothes and one extra pair of trousers per year, the material to be of Irish manufacture, and to be manufactured entirely from wool (or their value, £3 10s.).

A house rent free, and

Twelve Shillings per week (ploughmen and milkmen 13 shillings).

In the case of men living in Labourers' Cottages, owned by the Rural District Council, one shilling per week extra to be paid.

The farmers on their side declared they were not anxious to drive a bargain but to arrange terms with the labourers which being fair and just would keep the relationship of both parties that of friends and fellow-countrymen interested in each other's welfare. The labourers' representative unanimously accepted the proposals and described them as honest and fair. The proceedings were marked with the greatest spirit of friendliness on both sides.

If the farmers and agricultural labourers elsewhere meet and act in the same spirit the result will be a real and friendly understanding and increased prosperity for the country. There is an economic advantage over that of cash in some of the Tipperary proposals. For instance, potatoes and whole-meal provided by the farmers ensure, as well as wholesome food the continued cultivation of the land and the consequent employment of a greater volume of agricultural labour, while the grinding of the wheat into whole-meal ensures a continuous and increased business for the mills.

England's special financial system of dealing with Ireland came under discussion at the meeting of National teachers in Dublin last week. When this war showed England's Primary Education System to be obsolete, the minister announced that he would draw from the common funds of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" to the extent of £6,000,000 per year. Having drawn this out of the common purse he has applied it to British primary education and refused an equivalent amount for Ireland. This fact should stimulate the fervour of those who believe in British Honesty. The Irish teachers now claim the equivalent for education in Ireland, and they further claim that as the purchasing power of the English sovereign has fallen to 9/6, the initial salary should now be at least £130. "If," said the chairman, Mr. Quinn, "we are under England's rule then every grant from Imperial funds for England shall be automatically accompanied by an equivalent grant for Ireland based upon Ireland's share of contribution. If we are not under England's rule then let the British tax-collectors withdraw and from the Irish revenue there will be sufficient to secure that Irish education will not be starved nor its administrative system be a laughing-stock for the world." Good logic, but meanwhile the English schools are getting all the "Imperial" money, thanks to the fact that the Imperial armed forces and the Imperial treasury are kept under the control of England.

"That robust Briton, Sir Acheson McCullagh," writes an Ulster Doctor to us, "would leave a whole countryside in Connaught without a Doctor. Taking the population of Moycullen Dispensary District to be 2,000—probably an under-estimate—the incidence of urgent cases requiring immediate medical assistance (such as Post-Partum Hemorrhage, Appendicitis, Strangulated Hernia, Serious Accidents any form of Hemorrhage, etc.), only a few of the numerous instances, would, according to Sir Acheson McCullagh's words—'once in five years'—work out at 1 per 1,000 per annum. When Sir Acheson McCullagh, or any of the McCullagh's, gets a pain in

his Umbelicus, there are at least six doctors within easy call of his house at Salthill, and there is even a private hospital within a stone's throw of his door. Since the L.G.B. started its policy of depriving large communities of the services of a medical man, there have been numerous deaths of women in their confinements as a result of being left unattended. Are the Boards of Guardians through the country going to stand this state of things?"

The amount of truth printed in the English Press may be estimated from the following passage in Lord Northcliffe's Sunday newspaper:—

"As for Lord Kitchener, amiable, amusing, vacillating—the public knew as little about him as they did about the real state of affairs in the corpse-strewn Peninsula (Gallipoli). An easy-going man with a narrow forehead who was unaware that Welsh was spoken in Wales, or that Irish Nationalist soldiers required Catholic priests, he had one faculty in his latter days—he spoke as little as possible in Council for fear of giving himself away. By then he had become emotional and senile, telling the same funny stories over and over again. The neuralgia of the eyes from which he suffered robbed him of days. This was the real Kitchener."

The English public is now told by the Press that insisted two-and-a-half years ago that Kitchener should be made its Military Dictator, and that Magna Charta and all the boasted rights of Englishmen should be placed under his control, that this same Kitchener was an ignorant, weak, vacillating, and senile man. That English public which was duped by Lord Northcliffe about Lord Kitchener 2½ years ago or is being duped by him now is the entity Irish Unionists believe is best fitted to govern their and our destinies. Lord Northcliffe's latest recipe for winning the war for England seems to be the impeachment of Mr. Asquith and those of his ministers who are unfriendly to Mr. Lloyd-George, who hold office as Premier during Lord Northcliffe's pleasure. Possibly this would terrify Hindenburg and send the German Army in demoralised retreat across the Rhine.

In a history of England by E. Wyatt-Davies this occurs: "In 1750 Henry Pelham diminished the strain on the National Debt which was now £78,000,000 by lowering the rate of interest from 4 to 3 per cent., thus saving £500,000 annually." For this very honest saving Pelham receives no condemnation; the only criticism passed on him being that he "carried on the sound financial traditions of Walpole."

At the end of this month the National Debt will stand at £3,000,000,000, which at the average 5 p.c. rate of interest plus something for Sinking Fund will entail a debt charge of about £200,000,000 per year. Every month of war after March adds on £7,000,000 more to the annual debt charge. A lowering of the rate of interest now involves such a huge reduction, that the "sound financial traditions" may again be carried on. Pensions to discharged and disabled men are estimated as likely to cost England about £100,000,000 a year by the close of hostilities. That estimate may however be too high—it certainly will be so considered if Lord Devonport has anything to do with it. Speaking in Parliament on Nov. 11, 1915, the noble Lord and ex-grocer urged that £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 could be saved by cutting down the allowances to soldiers and dependents.

From the same history comes the following passage with reference to the famous Gunpowder Plot:—"The Government was most anxious to show that some of the priests, and above all, the Jesuits, had been privy to the plot. Fr. Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits, was therefore ordered to be arrested. At his trial Garnet admitted that he had gained from Catesby a general knowledge of 'some stirring seeing that the king kept not his promise.' Subsequently the Jesuit Greenway in confession had given him a full account of the plot, the details of which Garnet had learnt from his penitent Bates, one of the conspirators, who had been executed. It was of course impossible for Greenway to make use of knowledge thus acquired. Garnet was condemned and executed." So far the historian of the Guy Fawkes period. Now for its modern application. On Jan. 11, 1917, the Belfast "Evening Telegraph" published this: "Much discussion has been caused in legal circles (says the London 'Express') by the case of

the Irish solicitor, H. O'B. Moran, who has been arrested for refusing to state how certain documents came into his possession. There is, however, no possibility of doubt regarding the law on the point: there are no secrets from the State in war-time. Solicitors, doctors, priests in the Confessional—all are included in 'the person or persons of any class or description' who must tell on demand under Defence of the Realm Regulation No. 53."

"The safety and defence of the realm override everything," said Sir William Bull, who was an eminent solicitor, to a representative yesterday. "Doctors and priests would be under exactly the same obligations as a solicitor to give information to the competent military authority who demands it." There you have it. Sir William Bull, he who was an eminent solicitor has said it, and even the justifiable guile of the "Croppy Boy" is no longer necessary.

Before the present war, Germany had passed the United States in the annual volume of its trade and was gaining so rapidly on England that, by maintaining the ratio of increase, it would by 1925 have left England behind. Had this been permitted in peace England would have automatically lost her position in the world, and as her chemists and manufacturers and traders and bankers were unable to cope with German trade competition, war inevitably followed. The result of the war up to the present is that the United States now holds the position of the world's greatest commercial power, and she is quite confident that henceforth she can hold it as against England. But many of her wealthiest and most influential men believe she cannot hold it after the war as against Germany, and they are therefore urging participation in the war against Germany as the best means of crippling German trade competition in the future. Of course, they don't say that. They want war to protect the lives of the peaceful people who go down to the sea in ships, just as the shipping and mercantile interests of England wished war with Germany for the improvement of Civilisation and the Purification of Christianity.

The trade of America last year reached nearly 1,600 millions sterling as against 800 millions sterling before the war. Of the increase nearly one-half has come from the shipment of war material to the Allies. This the United States was entitled to do as International Law stands, although it was also within its discretion to place an embargo upon the export of war material to belligerents. The embargo was urged by many in the United States, and had it been enforced the war would have probably terminated last year, for as the United States supplied the belligerents with war material to the enormous value of 400 millions sterling in one twelve months, it is reasonable to suppose that if President Wilson had backed up his peace message with an embargo on such exports that the combatants would have been forced to meet and discuss peace terms. However President Wilson did not do so then or since and now that the German submarine menace threatens to stop the export of arms and munitions of war from the United States to the countries Germany is fighting, the United States is being dragged to the verge of this war, and it is proposed to arm the American mercantile vessels carrying the munitions of war to the Allies to defend themselves against submarine attack. Whether the material gain of 400 millions a year by exporting munitions to the Allies or the moral gain of restoring peace to the world by prohibiting the export of munitions to any belligerent would fix the foundation of the United States firm and secure in this world, we do not presume to say—it is a matter for Americans; but let us at least have no cant about Christianity, Civilisation, and Humanity in the matter.

In March, 1913, the Powers of Europe suggested "Mediation" as to the Balkan Allies in the struggle then on between the latter and Turkey. To this the Allies of that time agreed but only on their own conditions. On this point the English "Times" of March, 17th, wrote in its best philanthropic and world-preserving vein, "Some of the conditions are of such a kind that, were the Allies able to impose them upon Turkey, Europe in her own interests would be compelled to veto them. . . It has become the duty of the Powers at once to take in hand the consideration of a settlement. The natural course, we should suppose, would be for them to formulate such terms of peace as, having regard to all the circum-

stances and to all the interests concerned, they (the outside Powers) judge to be reasonable. The belligerents, we are convinced, would be grateful for such action in their hearts. Turks and Allies would doubtless be loud in protest against the adjustment of particular points, whatever it might be. But the protests would be chiefly meant for home consumption. All Turks . . . have realised long since that nothing is to be gained by further fighting. On all sides it is felt that peace has become a European necessity. Europe cannot suffer her attention to be distracted and her interests to be prejudiced for an indefinite period by the prolongation of a contest the broad results of which are irrevocably fixed. Peace is necessary, and apparently the only way to secure it is by a firm insistence on the acceptance of mediation."

Having read this, presumably, President Wilson advised mediation last Christmas and—but what's the use of guessing?

In Mr. C. H. Norman's article in the English "Labour Leader," from which we quoted recently, he included M. Denys-Cochin of France as one of the members of the Grand Orient. This, a reverend correspondent writes to us, is evidently a mistake, and in looking into the matter we agree that it is most improbable that Denys-Cochin is a member of "that sinister organisation," although the Government, in which he is a part, is appointed and controlled by it. Nineteen years ago the Grand Orientest Massé publicly boasted in France that Orientism was the Republic in disguise, and subsequent events have proved his boast. Combes was made Premier of France by the Grand Orient, and the legislative programme against the Church carried out by him was not his own but the drafted programme of the French Orient Masons, whose President was then Senator Delpech, the orator who publicly declared on September 20th, 1902, that "the triumph of Christ had lasted for 20 centuries, but now in His turn the Impostor dies."

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have all been made Prime Ministers of France by the Grand Orient over which Delpech presided. The struggle between the French Nationalists and the Grand Orient ended some years since with the defeat of the former and the capture of the Army by the Orient Masons, after which it is interesting to add that of the countries engaged in this war, Orient Masonry only obtained a footing in one of the States now allied with Germany and Austria, while it dominates three of the countries at war with the Central Powers—France, Italy, and Portugal, and exists powerfully in all the other Allied countries—except England, whose Masons do not accept the Grand Orient, but who latterly, it is believed, established an "Entente Cordiale" with that organisation.

Of the Neutral Countries, the Grand Orient has exhibited itself to a greater or lesser extent in Greece (where Venezelos is a leading member), in Spain (Catalonia, where the pro-Ally Press exists), in French-speaking Switzerland, and in parts of the United States. The Orientists of the United States, whose lectures and articles on the necessity for preserving Christianity and Civilisation from the non-Orient Austrians and Germans are always reported or quoted from in the London Press, were as explicit in the avowal of the main objects of the Orient before the war as they are silent about them now. "The Papacy," wrote one of their leading journalists, in the pre-war days, "has been for a thousand years the torture and curse of humanity . . . with its robe wet and reeking with the blood of humanity, with the grateful odour of rancid human flesh always in its nostrils, it is exulting over the prospect of renewed dominion."

Some writing that, as the Americans say. The French and Italian Orientists put it with more grace. It is not to be assumed that all American Masons are Orientists—in fact the Orientists are a minority of the American Masons, but they are a powerful section controlling some very important organs in the American Press; and it is a vulgar error to believe that Masonry is a homogenous organisation with a vast membership. There are probably not 3,000,000 Masons in the whole world, and of that number 2,000,000 are found in England, English Colonies, and English-speaking America. In France, for instance, it is doubtful if there are 40,000 Masons out of a population of nearly 40,000,000.

The strength of Orient Masonry does not lie in its numbers. It is a select body ably led on a clever plan of action. It aims at securing in each country where it is established (1) Control of the Press; (2) Control of the Army; (3) Control of the Government, particularly the Departments of War and Foreign Relations. It struggled for these objects in France since 1871 but it did not succeed in gaining them all until 1907. Then the "Entente Cordiale" with England followed. Another delusion about Orient Masonry is that it is in some way identified with Socialism. The delusion has its origin in the fact that Orient Masonry in accordance with its plan of action attempts to use Socialist and Labour movements in Continental Countries to secure its own ends. But in Italy the Socialists were and are as bitterly opposed to the Italian participation in the present war as the Catholics. What happened in Italy was that the Grand Orient having secured control of the Govern-

ment committed the country to war against the will of the people. It would be risky to say there would have been no great war at present if there had been no Grand Orient, but it is fairly safe to say that France probably and Italy certainly would not have been in it.

The National Festival is being looked forward to by the people of Sligo. On that date the Freedom of the Borough will be conferred on Count Plunkett as a tribute from the citizens, through their representatives in the Corporation, to his worth as a man and an Irishman. The ceremony, which is incidentally a public avowal of Sligo's approval of the action of North Roscommon, will take place at three o'clock at a public meeting to be held at the Town Hall at which his Worship the Mayor, Councillor D. M. Hanley, will preside. Several well-known Irishmen in addition to the Count are expected to be present, including Messrs. Laurence Ginnell, Arthur Griffith (Editor "Nationality"), Louis Walsh (Ballycastle), P. T. Daly, T.C. (Dublin). Arrangements in connection with the banquet to be held at 8 p.m. in the Town Hall are nearing completion. Full information in regard to public meeting and banquet can be had on application to the Hon. Secretaries, Plunkett Reception Committee, Town Hall, Sligo.

In compiling the recent list of "The Men in Jail for Ireland" several names were accidentally omitted, including those of Austen Stack and Tadhg Barry, both of whom are in penal servitude, the former for life. An Enniscorthy reader also writes that Messrs. Tomkins and Galligan described as of "Wexford" are from Enniscorthy, not from Wexford town as might be inferred. We shall be glad if there be any other omissions or inaccuracies in the list that our readers will point them out, as we wish to make the list a complete one.

At the March meeting of the Kilkenny Corporation, Councillor P. de Loughrey proposed, Alderman J. Purcell seconded, and it was unanimously resolved:—"That we protest in the strongest manner possible against the unjust and cruel treatment which is being meted out to the Countess Markievicz in Aylesbury Jail, and that we respectfully but firmly demand that until her release, she receive the same privileges as the other Irish Prisoners now in Lewes Jail, namely, isolation from ordinary criminals, and daily intercourse with one another, or failing this, a daily visit from outside friends."

At the meeting of the North Dublin Board of Guardians, March 7th, Mr. J. Farrell proposed, Miss Murphy seconded, and it was unanimously resolved:—"We, the North Dublin Board of Guardians, respectfully, but firmly demand that if the English Home Secretary cannot see his way to grant the Countess Markievicz the same concessions as the other Irish Prisoners who received the same sentence, he will, at least, allow her a daily visit with an outside friend." Copies to be sent to Sir G. Cave, Home Secretary.

The Gaelic League lectures so successfully initiated by that of the Rev. Prof. Corcoran's on Feb. 4th will be continued during the following Sundays. Rev. Paul Walsh will lecture on the late Dr. Hickey next Sunday, March

18th. All Irishmen will have an unique opportunity of hearing Father Hickey's gospel of Nationality renewed in this lecture. Mr. Arthur Griffith will lecture on Sunday, March 25th, on the "National Revival in Bulgaria," and Count Plunkett on Sunday, April 1st, on "Some Irish Artists." No need to invite educated men and women to come to such lectures. The fine Hall of the Bolton Street Technical Schools has been secured for the occasion. The lectures takes place at eight o'clock. Admission 6d. each.

Language Collection will take place all over Dublin on St. Patrick's Day. The flag sellers hope to call at all institutions and houses in the city that day, and have every hope that Dublin will rally round the League and help it to carry out its incomparable programme.

A Ceilidhe will be held in the Mansion House on St. Patrick's Eve. Every preparation is being made to make the function a success, and to give all a hearty welcome to it. Tickets 3/- each—at all Branches of the Gaelic League and at door.

New branches of the Gaelic League have been formed in Dublin at Clontarf (Town Hall), the Dublin Typographical Society (Gardiner Street). Irish classes will be organised next week in the Women Workers' Trade Union, Eden Quay.

We are sorry to learn of the death of Patrick Lively, one of the pioneers of the Gaelic League in Liverpool. Mr. Lively who was a fearless and earnest worker in all Irish National movements, died at the age of 42 a few days ago, and was buried last week at the Fort Cemetery, Liverpool, where Father Moynihan and Father Quinlan conducted a special service for the soul of the dead countryman—Father Quinlan reading the prayers in Irish.

At the most recent meeting of the Supreme Council of the Irish Nation League the following four minutes were recorded, for the information of the English Government and of the Governments of other Nations. (1) Justice demands that each of the persons deported under the Defence of the Realm Act shall be informed at once of the specific charge or charges in respect of which he was deported; (2) Justice demands that these men shall be either put upon trial forthwith, or returned to their homes and indemnified by the English Government, which has been vigorous in denouncing Germany for the deportation of Belgian and French civilians from their respective countries; (3) The list of these deported men includes Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, a member of the Supreme Council, who is also the brilliant editor of the "Catholic Bulletin" and a virile exponent of Irish National opinion; (4) The Council renews its demand for the immediate release of John MacNeill and the other Prisoners of War who are undergoing sentences imposed after their conviction by Courts-martial.

After discussion, the following resolution was also unanimously adopted:—"The Supreme Council of the Irish Nation League approves the principles of equal citizenship for men and women in an Independent Ireland."

Messrs. Wilson Hartnell have admirably reproduced two of our few Irish historical pictures—Kenny's Painting of Grattan's Parliament, painted for Grattan, and Wheatley's "Parliament of Ireland." At the prices Messrs. Hartnell publish those reproductions they are marvellously cheap.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17th, 1917.

THE INVINCIBLE FACT.

The Premier of England has supplied Ireland with one text for her Appeal to the Peace Conference. "The Invincible Fact," said he last week, "is that Ireland is no more reconciled to British rule to-day than she was in the days of Cromwell."

It is 250 years ago since Cromwell settled the Irish question by settling his followers on the lands of the Irish people and making those of that people whose throats he did not cut, whose bodies he did not sell into slavery, or whom he did not banish to Hell or to Connaught! into tenants-at-will and forced labourers on the soil they once owned. Cromwell's successor—the first Nonconformist since Cromwell to govern England—announces that the Ireland of to-day is just as she was before Cromwell declared he had finally conquered the persistent Irish Nation.

The British Premier thus bears testimony for Ireland. He was further helpful when he added that British rule in Ireland decreed that neither now nor after the war could Ireland enjoy "Free Institutions," so long as any descendants, in the flesh or in the spirit, of Cromwell's planted soldiery objected. He described the Unionist people of Ulster as Aliens in Ireland. Claiming them as Aliens he declared that so long as this alien minority opposed the demand of the Irish people for control in any degree of the Government of this Island—then so long would the power of England be ranged behind the Aliens.

The facts and propositions laid down in the name of the British Government by the British Prime Minister are these—

(1) That Ireland is as opposed to English rule to-day as she was in the days of Cromwell.

(2) That those in Ireland who support English rule here are Aliens.

(3) That these Aliens will be supported both during the war and after the war by the British Government.

The British Prime Minister has rendered us valuable assistance in connection with the Peace Conference, by telling more truth than any English Prime Minister did since Lord Salisbury thirty years ago blurted out that England would take back when she was strong whatever she yielded to Ireland when she was in danger. We shall waste none of our space with rhetorical denunciation of Mr. Lloyd-George, such as the gentlemen who pawned Ireland to him at his breakfast-parties are now indulging in. When they were engaged in that transaction we publicly warned them five years ago that Mr. David Lloyd-George was

none other than Mr. Joseph Chamberlain the Second. The men who walked out of the British House of Commons the other night represented the transparent political adventurer from Wales as Ireland's Best Friend. They have now crawled back to that House like dogs to their vomit, and while furiously assailing their old patron in public some of them appeal to him in private to save them from the fate they apprehend.

Possibly the British Premier will try to do so. Destitute of Statesmanship—a mere opportunist politician—most of his colleagues realise that his speech in its admissions has strengthened the claim of Ireland for admission to the Peace Conference. What a sight it will be when the England whose Premier has declared that the Irish Nation must be ever coerced at the dictate of Aliens rises in that Conference to champion the Small Nations, and Ireland knocks at the door? Therefore if we know Mr. Lloyd-George and British statecraft, an effort will be yet made to save the Party to which England is indebted for being able to successfully fool the people of Ireland for nearly ten years past.

It is not the Irish Nation which has applied the term Alien to the Ulster Unionist. It is the British Premier. If the Ulster Unionist accepts and wears it as a favour and pretends to regard himself as honoured by not being termed Irish the choice is his own. If he is willing to continue the dupe of English politics which for its own purposes describes him as alien in Ireland while it equally regards and always treats him as an alien in England, he is indeed a greater dupe than even his history warrants us in believing. England denies him a country, and yet would use him as a dagger against the country that does not deny him and the only country to which he can have claim. We have written of Irish Unionists—of fellow-countrymen who were our opponents but who were our brethren. The British Minister corrects us—he tells us that the Unionists in Ireland are Aliens, and on that claim he bases the claim for the perpetuation of British rule in Ireland. What do the farmers of Down and artisans of Antrim who have been cradled for generations under Irish roof-trees, who have grown up under Irish skies, and whose fathers and mothers sleep awaiting the Resurrection in the little Irish Churchyards of Antrim and Armagh, of Derry and of Down, think of their Alienage. Do they agree with the British Minister that they have no title to this land, no root in its soil, no share in its traditions, its blood, its honour? Do they agree with the British Minister that they are Hostile Foreigners maintained only in this island by British Power or do they agree with Davis and every leader of Irish Nationalism that they have a title and a right to call themselves Irishmen—that Ireland is one and indivisible, and that within its borders there is but room for one—and never can be but one—Irish Nation? England rules in Ireland by keeping Ireland divided against itself. But when the Prime Minister described the Unionist Irish as Aliens in Ireland he did, we prophesy, more to make the Unionist Irish think Nationalist than we could have done in five years by preaching it to them as their interest and their duty.

OUR LANGUAGE—OUR SCHOOLS

If we had again in Ireland our own Government, our own Parliament, our own Army, our own Flag—if we had again all the institutions of political independence, and yet we had not together with these our own language, then National freedom could not be ours. England and the United States—England or the United States—would still dominate and influence our minds and our actions.

Our National existence rests upon the maintenance of our National Language—our

prosperous National life depends upon its resurrection wherever in Ireland it has ceased to be. Let the National language die and the political state may for a time survive, but the nation is dead, the soul has fled from the body. The waters of the Atlantic will never roll over the physical island of Ireland, neither will a time come while the earth rolls evenly on its axis and the Gulf Stream flows its appointed course that human beings will not dwell upon this island; but the island will be rock and sand and its people but dwellers on rock and sand if the Nation, the soul of the island, the soul of our people be annihilated in its shrine, the language that links us with the Red Branch and the Kings of Tara, with the Statesmen and philosophers and legislators and saints and poets and warriors and craftsmen who build up in harmony with their own nature and its need for expression the Irish nation, through whose eyes we must see because they are our true eyes, by whose mental processes we must think because they are our true processes, through whose voice we must speak, because it is our true voice—since if we do not do these things we lose our identity, and can acquire no other identity; and can neither borrow self-respect from the past nor look forward with courage to the future.

The National language has been since the Statute of Kilkenny, six hundred years ago, the continued object of attack in Ireland by the Power that rules this country. Methods alter but the object never changes. Yesterday it was open proscription—to-day it is the Board of National Education that conspires to destroy our most precious possession—while affecting to cherish. Appeals to the Board and appeals to the Government to which it is responsible are vainer things than beating the air. It is its business to de-Irishise Ireland that Ireland may be kept weak and divided. In Ireland to-day the English language is the first necessity for holding any public position or following any profession. In Ireland to-day, even the University that styles itself National, is incompetent to teach an Irish-speaking student through the medium of his own language; while in the primary and secondary schools of the country what is called education is distorted into a process of Anglicisation—rather should we say, de-Irishisation, for an Englishman can never be made out of an Irishman, though his native virtues may be withered and blasted in the attempt.

We wish that the Gaelic League, recognising a real weapon to its hands for the Nationalisation of education, would concentrate upon the public boards of this country. There are some 6,000 public servants employed by the County Councils, the Urban Councils, the Rural and District Councils and the Poor Law Unions of this country. These 6,000 public servants work the routine machinery of local government, and their aggregate salaries amount to some £600,000 annually. They are appointed by the public bodies we have enumerated, and these bodies are responsible to the people.

Some years ago we pointed out that here we had the nucleus of a National Civil Service—that here was a power in the hands of the people with which to considerably re-Irishise education and at the same time to efficiently man the local public service. Let an examining Board be jointly appointed by the Irish public bodies—let every applicant for a position in the gift of any Irish board thereafter hold a qualifying certificate from the Examining Board. Local patronage would thus remain unaffected as between all holders of such certificates, provided that every holder of a certificate would be free to apply for a vacant position under any popularly elected body in Ireland. The obligatory subjects for qualification would, of course, include the Irish language and history, Irish economics and finance, local and national industrial resources, in addition to arithmetic, book-keeping, and other subjects determined by the Board, e.g., a

knowledge of local government machinery and poor law.

Where special technical qualifications were necessary, the same regulations would apply to them as are now in force, with or without the Examining Board's certificate, as might be deemed expedient. It would be wise however to make it necessary in all cases where expert knowledge was available in Ireland, and recourse to the foreigner was not inevitable.

Certificates might be awarded in two grades or divisions, such as obtains in the English Civil Service. Each Council or Union could arrange its staff on these two categories, with the privilege of promotion from the lower to the higher on merit shown after a number of years' service. The co-ordination of the Councils would also allow of the formation of a National Pension or Deferred Pay Fund such as that of the London County Council.

Let such a scheme be adopted and the education programme in the schools of the country will be affected for the better—the local bodies will not lose their patronage, but they will gain an assurance that the public service of the country will be second to none in intelligence and efficiency, and Ireland will gain by having in her service men and women, who, besides their technical ability, are equipped by knowledge of the country as a whole—of its history and its needs—to harmonise the relations of its parts. Here is a thing we can do for ourselves to help ourselves—here is a power to our hands to influence education and the public service and build up the strength of the country. Let us do it, and if the Organisation best fitted to deal with it, the Gaelic League, takes it in hand to secure the co-operation of the Irish elective public bodies we can have it done soon.

ENGLISH IMPERIALISM.

III.

Superfluous Income the Germ of Imperialism—Still more dangerous is the special interest of the financier, the general dealer in investments. . . . To create new public debts, to float new companies, and to cause constant considerable fluctuations of values are three conditions of their profitable business. Each condition carries them into politics, and throws them on the side of Imperialism. . . . A policy which rouses fears of aggression in Asiatic States, and which fans the rivalry of commercial nations in Europe, evokes vast expenditure on armaments and ever-accumulating public debts, while the doubts and risks accruing from this policy promote the constant oscillation of values of securities which is so profitable to the skilled financier. . . . The policy of these men, it is true, does not necessarily make for war; where war would bring about too great and too permanent a damage to the substantial fabric of industry, which is the ultimate and essential basis of speculation, their influence is cast for peace, as in the dangerous quarrel between Great Britain and the United States regarding Venezuela. . . . Apart from the financial Press, and financial ownership of the general Press, the City notoriously exercises a subtle and abiding influence upon leading London newspapers, and through them upon the body of the provincial Press, while the entire dependence of the Press for its business profits upon its advertising columns involves a peculiar reluctance to oppose the organised financial classes to whom rests the control of so much advertising business. Add to this the natural sympathy with a sensational policy which a cheap Press always manifests, and it becomes evident that the Press is strongly biased towards Imperialism. . . .

Such is the array of distinctively economic forces making for Imperialism. . . . The play of these forces does not openly appear. They

are essentially parasites upon patriotism, and they adapt themselves to its protecting colours. In the mouths of their representatives are noble phrases, expressive of their desire to extend the area of civilisation, extirpate slavery, and elevate the lower races. . . . Their true attitude of mind is expressed by Mr. Rhodes in his famous description of 'Her Majesty's Flag' as 'the greatest commercial asset in the world.' . . .

Neglect of Home Market by Imperialism—“American Imperialism,” writes Professor Hobson, p. 85, “is the natural product of the economic pressure of a sudden advance of capitalism which cannot find occupation at home and needs foreign markets for goods and for investments. . . . As one nation after another enters the machine economy and adopts advanced industrial methods, it becomes more difficult for its manufacturers, merchants, and financiers, to dispose profitably of their economic resources, and they are tempted more and more to use their Governments in order to secure for their particular use some distant undeveloped country by annexation and protection. . . . The root questions underlying the phenomena are clearly these: ‘Why is it that consumption fails to keep pace automatically in a community with power of production?’ ‘Why does under-consumption or over-saving occur?’ The answer to these pertinent questions carries us to the broadest issue of the **distribution of wealth.** Let any turn in the tide of politico-economic forces divert from these owners their excess of income and make it flow, either to the workers in higher wages, or to the community in taxes, so that it will be spent instead of being saved, serving in either of these ways to swell the tide of consumption—there will be no need to fight for foreign markets or foreign areas of investment. . . . An economy that assigns to the ‘possessing’ classes an excess of consuming power which they cannot use and cannot convert into really serviceable capital, is a dog-in-the-manger policy. The social reforms which deprive the possessing classes of the surplus will not therefore inflict upon them the real injury they dread; they can only use their surplus by forcing on their country a wrecking policy of Imperialism. **The only safety of nations lies in removing the unearned increments of income from the possessing classes, and adding them to the large income of the working classes or to the public income, in order that they may be spent in raising the standard of consumption.** It is idle to attack Imperialism or Militarism as political expedients or policies unless the axe is laid at the economic root of the tree, and the classes for whose interest Imperialism works are shorn of the surplus revenues which seek this outlet.”

Immorality of Empire.—“It may be readily granted that unless the Union was for the good of both parties [the Union of Ireland with Great Britain is referred to], it was for the good of neither. A nation must be very shallow or very depraved which, in the meridian light of modern philosophy, can imagine that a mere extension of its territory, unsanctioned by nature and morality, can add to its greatness. Greatness in nations, as well as in men, is a moral quality, from which immoral acquisitions must detract in reality, though they may add to it in appearance. An alien and affected element incorporated in an empire can only be a source of internal division of weakness. It would be better in every point of view that the British Empire should be reduced to a single island, to England alone, to Yorkshire or Kent, than that it should include anything which is not really its own.” Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.: “Irish History and Irish Character,” p. 179. Published 1862.

The Hush of Empire.—Robert von Mohl, Professor of Heidelberg University, author of the standard reference book on International Law, “Political History and Literature,” observed in the year 1856 (Vol. II., p. 87) with

THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

IV.—THE UNION OF NORTH & SOUTH (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 will appeal to the whole people of Ireland to-day. Hence their republication.—A.G.]

"The Catholic Defence Association."

Mr. Sadlier was too shrewd a man to openly oppose the Tenant League. No Protestant Tipperary landlords, declared the parish priest of one of the districts in which Sadlier ruled, had ever shown themselves as cruel and heartless exterminators as the Catholic Sadlier and his Catholic cousins, the Scullys. But Mr. Sadlier joined the Tenant League, extolled the Tenant League, and Mr. Keogh did likewise. Frederick Lucas, the honestest Englishman who ever took up the popular side in Irish politics, then Editor of the "Tablet" in Dublin, and, save Duffy, the ablest spokesman and most fearless leader of the Tenant League, divined Messrs. Sadlier and Keogh to be traitors in their hearts and made no pretence of concealing his belief that these men were waiting but for a favourable opportunity to betray and ruin the movement. Yet by a strange coincidence Lucas unwittingly provided them with the opportunity. He it was who suggested the formation of a Catholic Defence Association against Russell's Ecclesiastical Act. Duffy, not so quick to read character as Lucas but better versed in knowledge of Ireland, demurred. He foresaw that a Catholic Defence Association would form a cover and shelter for corruption working subtly against Nationalism. Popular sectarian societies he argued, would do harm instead of good to the Catholic cause. On the lowest ground it would be a mistake to found one. But Duffy stood alone. His opposition was hinted at as being anti-Catholic or at least anti-clerical. Reluctantly he was obliged to assent to such a body but he stipulated that the Catholic Defence Association should not be a weekly meeting Association—should not be a periodical platform from which bigoted and ignorant men might pour out their rhetorical souls to the disunion of Catholic and Protestant.

A Catholic Defence Association was precisely the kind of association Sadlier and Keogh required for working out their ambition. They seized on it and before the astonished Frederick Lucas could realise the use to which his well-meant suggestion had been turned, the two men he knew to be "felons in heart" were grinning derisively at him from inside the Catholic Defence Association, while he was standing outside wondering what had struck him. At a great meeting in the Dublin Rotunda, with the Archbishop of Dublin—afterwards Cardinal Cullen—in the chair, Mr. William Keogh appeared as the anointed leader of Catholic Defence, and hinted a comparison between himself and Christ amid the cheers of the dupes and knaves who thronged the building. He was ready, he declared, if compelled, to bear that cross upon which the Author of Truth suffered but from which He had redeemed the world.

Messrs. Sadlier and Keogh assuming for themselves and their supporters in Ireland the historic title of the "Irish Brigade" thereafter in many limelight combats posed as the champions of Catholicity. In Ireland they and Ousley Higgins, a disreputable gambler who sat for Sligo, now luxuriated in the favour of the Whig Bishops. A newspaper, the "Weekly Telegraph," was established by Sadlier to undermine the Tenant League while claiming to support it. Sadlier supplied the money for the "Telegraph" with lavish hand and caused it to be sold at half the price of the "Nation" and the "Tablet" to the end of ruining those papers financially. But on the surface the Brigadiers protested their support of the League. When in Cork City, McCarthy Downing accused Keogh to his face of meditating selling the pass, that scoundrel stood up and carried the multitude with him by his declaration that "So-help-me-God" he would never support any Minister or any party unless he and they carried out the programme of the Tenant League.

At Athlone, where the Bishop presided at

the banquet to him, and Lucas publicly invited Keogh to deny that he was intriguing with the Opposition for the Solicitor-Generalship, Keogh passionately declared that the man who attributed such a thing to him was as the coward assassin who planted a knife in a man's back. Mr. Keogh was never ambiguous. He took God to witness on half-a-dozen occasions that he would never support any British party that did not repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, pass Tenant Right, and Disestablish the Protestant Church. As for independence of the Government of the day no one exceeded Mr. Keogh in explicitness on the need of such independence on the part of Irish representatives. "All will be of no avail," he told cheering auditors, "unless you are prepared to realise in the Legislature a strong body of faithful and determined Irish representatives. It will not do to have the representatives of the country going over to England to act obediently to the beck of any Minister or leader of the Opposition."

The Election of 1852.

The General Election occurred in July, 1852. Mr. Keogh, Mr. Sadlier and their tail took the Tenant League pledge. So did the majority of the candidates in the constituencies. Sadlier added to his immediate followers some more of his relatives and creatures in Cork, Tipperary, and Queen's County. Frederick Lucas, whom Sadlier and Keogh hated more intensely than any other of the Tenant Leaguers, stood for Meath, and the Sadlier and Keogh party openly opposed him. Nevertheless, Lucas was elected by an enormous majority. John Francis Maguire was opposed by them in Dungarvan, but routed the opposition. Gavan Duffy was elected in the teeth of official opposition from the Castle and secret opposition from the "Irish Brigade" for New Ross. At the close of the elections some fifty members pledged to Tenant Right had been returned. They assembled in Dublin in the following September, and unanimously resolved:—

"To hold themselves perfectly independent of, and in opposition to, all Governments that do not make it part of their policy and a Cabinet question to give the tenantry of Ireland a measure fully embodying the principles of Sharman Crawford's Bill."

Messrs. Keogh and Sadlier supported the resolution. The fifty men thus pledged held the future of English parties in their hands, for they held the balance of power in the British Parliament. The Government could not continue in office without them and the Opposition could not secure and hold office without their assistance. The hour had arrived for the place-hunters to make their own terms, and for the third time in twenty years to sell the Irish people back into servitude and despair.

V.—THE TREASON OF SADLIER AND KEOGH.

At the opening of the General Election of 1852 Gavan Duffy wrote to the Irish electors—"Whatever party can obtain control of the House of Commons rules the Empire. For ten years no English Minister has had an effective working majority of more than a hundred for an entire session. More than a third of his majority was always Irish. Deducting the Irish, it has never exceeded sixty. Whenever the Tenant League can send into the House of Commons fifty members prepared to insist upon the Tenants' Charter in supreme disregard of party interests, it will be carried. They will be able to overturn any Minister by walking across the floor of the House. . . . Against a Government bound together with ribs of iron, against a disciplined aristocracy accustomed from boyhood to command and obey, the naked people have to fight the battle. It was fatuity to hope they would do it by choosing an indiscriminate herd of members, and leaving each to follow his individual will and pleasure. The people must establish a discipline and erect an authority of their own equal to their antagonists."

The constituencies had returned the fifty members, but the Tenant League had perforce to accept among them men whose character was equivocal. To oppose Sadlier and Keogh and their group of followers, backed by the Irish Episcopate as "Champions of the Church" and accepting unreservedly the Tenant League Pledge, was impracticable. Pledged to independence of all English parties and pledged to act together, the fifty members departed to London, and Government

and Opposition, impressed by the appearance of a new factor in politics, began to bid privately for their support.

The Government, menaced by a motion which, if carried, would drive it from office, and which it could only defeat with the aid of the Irish Tenant League members, opened negotiations with Lucas, Duffy and Shee. It offered terms on the Land question and promised enquiry and favourable consideration on the question of Catholic education. The terms were not satisfactory. In private meeting the Irish Party decided to vote against the Government, Keogh being most vehement in advocacy of that course. "They must," he declared, "have the whole land programme accepted." Frederick Lucas was not convinced of the wisdom of throwing out the Government at the moment. It had not been long enough in office, he pointed out, to elaborate any Irish policy, and it might be a shrewder course to permit it to exist until it had put its cards on the table. When the decision was made to throw out the Government, Lucas accepting it, reminded his colleagues that "the next step must be to manifest the same impartiality towards their successors"—to equally and as quickly overthrow the Whigs if they did not enact Tenant Right and repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. The Derby Government was overthrown by a majority of nineteen in the division. The Irish Party had shown itself powerful enough to make and unmake Governments. Lord Aberdeen, supported by Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone, came into office, and his Government, equally at the mercy of the Irish vote, was faced with the alternative of yielding to the demands of the Tenant Leaguers, or again losing office—provided it could not employ successfully the methods of 1834 and 1846 and buy up the Irish representatives with place and patronage.

It essayed the old method with success. Mr. Hayter, the Government Whip, through the intermediary of Maurice O'Connell, one of the great O'Connell's battalion of degenerate sons, arranged the price with Messrs. Sadlier and Keogh. While Ireland was exulting in the efficiency of the new weapon, the announcement appeared that Mr. John Sadlier of the Party of Independent Opposition had been appointed Lord of the Treasury, and that Mr. Keogh, whose appeals to God to blast him if he ever took office or rendered support to a Ministry which did not enact Tenant Right, Disestablish the Protestant Church in Ireland, and Repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act ascended from platforms in three provinces, had been created Solicitor-General for Ireland. The two scoundrels with their retinue of one-third of the Party of Irish Independent Opposition, had taken place in the ranks of the Government, securing it by the votes it commanded from possibility of overthrow by the Independent Oppositionists and the English Opposition.

The British Government and the Irish Presbyterians.

The betrayal of Sadlier and Keogh was not irrevocable. If the North and South held together, and the Irish Episcopate, which had accepted these men as Catholic leaders, withdrew their support, the mischief they had done would delay but not destroy the triumph of the movement. But the English Government was shrewd enough to understand this. At the same time it bribed the "Catholic Defence Leaders" to betray Ireland it set all its secret agencies at work to draw off the Presby-

(Continued on next page).

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terian leaders. Lord Aberdeen, the head of the Ministry, was a Presbyterian, and patronage and liberality were cautiously exercised amongst his co-religionists in Ulster while at the same time plausible men began first to whisper and then to boldly assert in the North that the true way to win the game was to get supporters of Tenant Right into the Administration and to fill Government posts in Ireland with Tenant Righters, to see that "friends," not "enemies," were entrusted to carry out the law. It was the old rogery of 1834 in play again—the old lie that helping a Government to administer Ireland is the way to secure that that Government will concede Ireland's claim. It has been the stock-in-trade of England's secret agencies in Ireland for a hundred years, and it has duped again and again honest and simple-minded men. It duped Dr. McKnight, the journalistic titan of Presbyterian Tenant Leaguism. In vain Duffy wrote to him that the device was the oldest and most potent weapon in the armoury of England for undermining national movements in Ireland. The embryo Protestant nationalism which he was leading knew none of the experiences the Nationalist leaders who were Catholics had gone through. It did not believe that the sympathetic and soft-spoken gentlemen who counselled the "capture of the work of the administration of Ireland" as the true course were rogues and mostly agents of the English Government. The chief of them was an elder of the Presbyterian Church, Wilson Kennedy. McKnight began to think there was much to be said for Sadlier and Keogh—that they really were politic and honest fellows who had gone inside the administration to serve Ireland. "Certainly," quoth Sadlier and Keogh, "our object is to serve Ireland effectively." The union of Catholic Nationalist and Presbyterian Tenant Righter waned. The Presbyterian organ, the "Banner of Ulster," seriously and honestly began to argue that capturing the administration in Ireland was a good policy and a right policy. While Duffy and Lucas, exasperated at seeing again and again the old policy of betrayal played successfully upon their unhappy country when victory seemed in their grasp, fiercely retorted, denouncing place-hunting, place-begging, place-accepting, and all its abettors and apologists, McCabe in the "Telegraph," the organ of deliberately dishonest Catholicism, and McKnight in the "Banner of Ulster," the organ of duped Presbyterianism, defended and excused the villainous practice. "Success," said the "Nation," "absolutely depends on abstinence from place-taking and place-begging. Who expected more or less of these men? . . . They wanted place, they agitated for place, they intrigued for place, they roared for place, they blessed themselves for place—and now they have it. . . . It is the old lesson of Irish history, it is the old treason re-enacted, the old system of corruption restored in vigour—the crying shame of Ireland in all its rotten and contagious iniquity perpetrated once more."

In the Provincial Press the Tenant League papers stood firmly by Lucas and Duffy. John Francis Maguire lashed the apologists of place-hunting in the "Corke Examiner," and the "Wexford People" answered them incisively in a single paragraph. "We are engaged," it wrote, "in endeavouring to wrest our rights from a powerful England, and we are counselled to do so by becoming its dependents, accepting its wages, by doing its work. It is enough to provoke the anger and derision of a savage tribe."

It was in these depressing circumstances the League set out to fight Sadlier and Keogh in the constituencies they had to appeal for re-election. Sadlier sat for Carlow, and a Tory named Alexander opposed him. Duffy and Lucas threw themselves into the fight on the side of the Tory, whilst the Parish Priest of Carlow, Father Maher, supported by Archbishop Cullen, his uncle, fought strongly for the renegade. In the result, Sadlier was beaten by five votes, to the joy of all Nationalist Ireland. But Keogh fared better. Openly supported and eulogised by the Bishop of Elphin, who had condemned the Young Irelanders as had Catholics and presented Keogh to the electors of Athlone as a thoroughly good one, Keogh went to the hustings in the guise of a persecuted man. And he played a trick on his opponents which made his return secure. A Mr. Norton appeared as a Tory candidate against him, and fearing by splitting the opposition to permit Keogh to be returned, the Tenant Leaguers agreed to support Mr. Norton. But Mr. Norton sadly tried their patience. He spoke and acted in a way calculated to incense many decent voters and prevent them supporting him. His conduct de-

stroyed his chances of success. Years later the Tenant Leaguers learned that Mr. Norton had been put in the field by Keogh himself; that astute ruffian had hired Norton to play the part of opposition candidate to ensure that a genuine candidate would not be put forward, and Mr. Norton played it to the end of turning votes away from himself and permitting Keogh to slip in.

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