

Ireland's Independence Day.

Vote for
the
Sinn Fein
Candidates

NATIONALITY

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Vol. 2. No. 44. (New Series.)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1918.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Week by Week.

On Wednesday last twenty-five Irish Republican candidates were declared elected to speak for almost half a million people in Ireland's National Assembly. The names of the Irish members who will form the nucleus of the future Government of Ireland, as well as the constituencies for which they will speak in that Assembly, are as follows:—

CARLOW CO.—James Lennon.
CAYAN, E.—Arthur Griffith.
CAYAN, W.—Paul Galligan.
CLARE, E.—Eamonn De Valera.
CLARE, S.—Brian O'Higgins.
CORK CO., N.—Padraic O'Keefe.
CORK, N.E.—Thomas Hunter.
CORK, MID.—Terence MacSwiney.
CORK, E.—David Kent.
CORK, S.—Michael Collins.
CORK, S.E.—Diarmuid Lynch.
CORK, W.—Sean Hayes.
GALWAY, E.—Liam Mellows.
KERRY, N.—J. Crowley.
KERRY, E.—Pierce Beasley.
KERRY, W.—Austin Stack.
KERRY, S.—Finian Lynch.
KILKENNY, N.—Wm. T. Cosgrave.
KING'S CO.—Dr. Patrick MacCartan.
LIMERICK CITY.—M. P. Collivet.
LIMERICK, W.—Con. Collins.
MAYO, S.—William Sears.
ROSCOMMON, N.—Count Plunkett.
TIPPERARY, N.—Joseph MacDonagh.
TIPPERARY MID.—J. A. Burke, B.L.

This week the people of the other Irish constituencies will be asked to declare themselves worthy of taking their place alongside these representatives of the Irish people in demanding for Ireland the rights to which this historic nation is entitled. Ireland as God made it—or Ireland as Messrs. Eloyd George, Asquith, Carson, and Dillon would make it?

Do not fail to register your vote for Independence. Men in every generation have given up their lives for Ireland. Your vote will save many Irish lives.

The Irish Republican candidates interned in British prisons have not been allowed to send out their election addresses, but, as the Countess Markievicz remarked in a letter from Holloway, their present address is eloquent enough to the Irish people!

To-night (Tuesday), as we go to press, a meeting representing 25,000,000 of Irish-born people and descendants of Irish-born people assembles in New York to demand for Ireland the restitution of her stolen rights. On Saturday the Irish people in Ireland will demand the restitution of their rights.

On Sunday night Mr. Joseph Devlin said it, so it must be true! He said that Ireland had not the slightest chance of winning the same freedom as he advised the Irish people to go out and die that other nations might secure. These so-called leaders of the Irish people have no hope to give Ireland—no encouragement to offer this ancient land at the supreme crisis in her history. "The Independence of Ireland is impossible" is the message these men send around a world that they asked Irishmen to shed their blood to make safe for democracy. The leprosy of Anglicisation hath surely eaten away the hearts of men who tell the world that an independent Ireland is impossible. In the whole history of our race no representative of the Irish Nation has uttered such a blasphemous doctrine. Independence impossible! Away with the men who preach this gospel of despair! The Irish people march on to greet the glorious resurrection of their country.

"When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written," said Emmet, as the grave yawned to receive his body from the hangman's hands. A few weeks ago Mr. John Dillon wrote an epitaph not alone for Emmet, but for all Ireland's sacred dead, in these words: "Expediency and Compromise." To his previous blasphemous performances Mr.

John Dillon added a further act last Friday night when he again linked the name of one of Ireland's noble dead with his own. To further his unholy work, to blind the people of Ireland to his perfidious anti-national conduct during the last four years, Mr. John Dillon spoke of Michael Davitt in these words: "I knew his views well. I was his intimate friend from the time he was released from prison until I stood at his death-bedside, and I knew all his views. Is it true, as has been said, that Michael Davitt repented his support of the Parliamentary policy? It is not true. He never repented." By these words Mr. John Dillon wished to convey to his audience that he followed in the footsteps of Michael Davitt! By these words Mr. John Dillon implied that Michael Davitt would have acted as Mr. John Dillon has acted for many years, and as he is acting to-day! As Mr. John Dillon stood by the death-bedside of Michael Davitt it is not too much to suppose that he read the dead patriot's last words: "To Ireland I leave an undying prayer for the absolute freedom and independence which it was my life's ambition to obtain for her." And perhaps Mr. John Dillon read these words penned by Michael Davitt in his "Fall of Feudalism": "Why should not the Irish people make a persistent demand for the fullest measure to which, as a separate nation among civilised people, we are in every sense and on every national ground entitled? Why should Ireland not be a State in the freest and fullest sense in which Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece are nations? On the grounds of abstract justice, of historic claim, our demand could not in reason be disputed." These words were written by Michael Davitt when there was no talk of a Peace Conference to settle the question of small nations. Were Michael Davitt alive, would he stand where Mr. Dillon stands to-day? "He would not," as the patriot's daughter said in Belfast the other day.

According to the official communique published in the Castle Journal Mr. John Dillon created laughter when he stated at the Edmund Burke Club that the young men of Ireland say: "John Dillon is England's friend." Why the laughter? Has not Mr. John Dillon declared that he is England's friend? "If I were hunted from every platform in Ireland, and could not get a constituency to return me, I am England's friend in this war, because my plighted word is given," said Mr. John Dillon on the 18th of November, 1914, and that he is still England's friend may be gathered from the great efforts used on his behalf by Chief Secretary Shortt. "My whole desire, and the desire of the Government which I represent, is to wipe out the Sinn Fein movement and make it easy for Mr. John Dillon and his Party to carry on the Constitutional movement." In these words Chief Secretary Shortt explained the British Government's object in its offensive against Sinn Fein. And yet some people laughed at the idea of Mr. John Dillon being England's friend!

The great benefits which the Provincialist candidates promise to obtain for their constituents, should they once more favour them with a sufficient number of votes of confidence to enable them to get back to Westminster, are so well known that we consider it akin to whipping a dead dog to refer to same. All the same, we cannot refrain from mentioning one or two of these promised benefits. Mr. O'Neill, the Provincialist candidate for Pembroke, is going to make a gallant attempt to secure wash-houses for his constituents—if he manages to get as far as Westminster. No member of the Sinn Fein organisation will be allowed to use these wash-houses, we presume! On Sunday last Mr. Clarke, the Provincialist candidate for South Dublin, promised his constituents that if he were returned to Westminster he would "work for and advocate the abolition

of workhouses." It is a pity he did not use the word "Union." On the same day Mr. William Field promised, with the assistance of "a proper Irish representation in the House of Commons," to "wreck the Coalition and Coercion Government." If the British Government gets to hear about this awful threat we fear poor old Mr. Field will be interned—as is the Countess—for plotting to upset the Empire! Mr. Richard Hazleton, the Provincialist candidate for Louth, has promised us full Colonial Home Rule if he is returned to the British Parliament. Each of the Provincialists has a special enticement to offer the constituents whom he hopes to represent in the British House of Commons, but on two things they are all agreed—(1) Ireland must not, and shall not, be divorced from Britannia; (2) if "Nationalist Ireland"—whatever they mean by that expression—does not send members to Westminster the British Government will do anything it likes with Ireland!

The Apostles of Futility seem to have a very poor opinion of the stability of the Catholic Church when they tell the people of Ireland that unless Ireland sends representatives to the British House of Commons the very existence of the Catholic Church will be endangered. The Penal Laws did not succeed in doing away with the Catholic Church; centuries of persecution against Catholics in every country have not been able to destroy the Catholic Church; even Mr. Nugent's friend, M. Viviani, has not been able to put out the lights of heaven in France; and the rag-time King of Ulster will not be able to pull down the Catholic Church. That Church will last to the end of time, and hell itself shall not prevail against it. But Mr. John Dillon and his friends speak of the Catholic Church as if it depended for existence on the good graces of the British Government.

His Eminence Cardinal Logue is quoted by the Provincialists as opposed to Sinn Fein, but his recent letter to the Press shows that he is more opposed to the political trickery indulged in by the Castle Journal. In his Pastoral Letter of 1891 His Eminence wrote:— "If politics consist in pursuing mere secular, earthly, personal ends, in seeking the gratification of personal ambition, in amassing wealth, exercising patronage, providing for sons and nephews and cousins to a remote degree, by passing them on as charges on the public taxes, then indeed politics would degrade the priesthood, and corrupt that which is best by the worst degeneracy. But if politics be to love one's country, to make personal sacrifices for her freedom and honour, to give her disinterested services, to strive for the enactment of just laws, which contribute to the greater happiness of the greater number, to defend the poor and weak against oppression of the rich and powerful, then I do not see how politics could stain the priestly robe or lead to the debasement of religion."

When he wrote these words His Eminence was neither condemning the Irish Parliamentary Party nor Sinn Fein, but the people of Ireland will be able to decide for themselves that "politics" which would "corrupt that which is best by the worst degeneracy." In the same Pastoral Letter His Eminence said he believed Ireland would receive from English political parties "just such concessions as we can purchase by sterling service or win by hard blows, and especially the latter," and in his Mayo speech, delivered in June, 1907, His Eminence said: "English statesmen look upon it as the highest effort of statesmanship to hood-wink the Irish." Since 1907 English statesmen have done more to "hood-wink the Irish" than they have done for a century, but the worst of it is that the Irish Parliamentary Party have assisted the English statesmen in their work, and are anxious to continue to assist them!

The Rev. Fr. Humphreys, P.P., of Killeenau, has written some letters to the Daily Press. In these letters the reverend gentleman denounces Sinn Fein, and the Castle Journal naturally enough publishes them with great glee. If the people of Ireland "commit national suicide" by declaring for an

Irish Republic, the Rev. Fr. Humphreys threatens them with a reign of frightfulness before which all the alleged German atrocities of the past four years, and all the real British atrocities of the last seven hundred years, sink into insignificance. "The ranches throughout the three Catholic provinces will be planted with Protestant soldiers, bag and baggage. . . . Of the war debt of twelve thousand millions a large portion will be placed on the farmers, raising their amquities far above the old rack-rents. . . . Any tenant farmer whose farming is not up to its (the Agricultural Department's) standard," will be evicted. "The priests will be turned out of the schools and Ireland will be turned into a France," etc., he says—if the Irish people do not oblige Chief Secretary Shortt by returning the Apostles of Futility to the British House of Commons. The logical conclusion to be drawn from Fr. Humphreys' remarks is that if the Irish people are anxious to make Ireland safe for democracy they must oblige Chief Secretary Shortt! In other words, they must send a strong Party back to Westminster to frustrate the evil intentions of the managers of Mr. Dillon's good "old Empire."

In the second part of this interesting letter Fr. Humphreys, however, discloses to view the fact that he realises that the Irish people have no intention of carrying out Mr. Shortt's wishes. "The elected Sinn Feiners will go before the Peace Conference," he says, and then he goes on to ridicule the idea of Sinn Fein getting anything from that body besides what Mr. Dillon has promised us—namely, a kick a posteriori. He thinks the "Irish Parliamentary Party" the proper channel through which Ireland, via Westminster, should make its appeal to the assembled nations. "The Sinn Fein business," he says, "has been and is being run by Dublin Castle," therefore Sinn Fein would not get a look in at the Peace Conference! Read what the reverend gentleman further says:—

"Dublin Castle wants to wipe out the Parliamentary Party and to place Nationalist Ireland completely at its feet. For this purpose it has imprisoned some Sinn Fein candidates, to have them elected as martyrs. For this purpose its spies and agents among the Sinn Feiners drew up their latest manifesto—the police knew it was coming a week before it was sent out. This was intended to entrap the young fools, and give them two years with hard labour for reading a rignmarole to a few gossamers. This is intended to exasperate the country and secure the election of the imprisoned martyrs."

While Mr. Shortt himself has stated that the British Government deported our leaders and sentenced others to hard labour for the purpose of aiding Mr. John Dillon and his followers, we agree with Fr. Humphreys that these acts have produced quite a different effect. But Chief Secretaries for England in Ireland never did understand the Irish people.

"Mr. De Valera has been the greatest asset of Dublin Castle in modern times," writes Rev. Fr. Humphreys in another letter to the Press. How the editor of the Castle Journal must have smiled as he published the reverend gentleman's epistle! In the course of his letter he goes on to disclose the fact that the murdered Thomas Ashe was not an asset of Dublin Castle. From this we may conclude that the sixteen leaders who were executed in Easter Week are also exonerated by Father Humphreys from the stain of being assets of Dublin Castle! The reason Eamonn De Valera escaped the bullets of Easter Week, and those of the firing-squad in Kilmainham Jail, has now been made public by the Rev. Father Humphreys! Might we suggest to the reverend gentleman that he write a letter to General Maxwell complaining about the way he only left one asset of Dublin Castle alive when he might have left eighteen! Now that Dick Coleman has died in an English jail, we presume Fr. Humphreys does not consider him an asset of Dublin Castle!

Major Talbot Crosbie of the British army is seeking election for Cork City in the Provincialist interest. Of course, he will be defeated, and when he has thanked the people of Cork for the Unionist votes he receives, we suggest that he and his defeated brother-in-law, Captain Redmond, join hands and sing "Oh, to be in Blighty." The crowd of women who, at the meeting held in Cork on Sunday night, waved their little Union Jacks and roared "Down Sinn Fein and all the rebels! Up King George and all his men!" might, together with some of Captain Redmond's Union Jackers, join in the chorus.

Sinn Fein is said to be in alliance with Dublin Castle; if so, Dublin Castle is giving us great assistance. All over the country the uniformed agents of Dublin Castle are telling the old people that if they vote for Sinn Fein they will lose their old age pensions. The Provincialist candidates must also be in alliance with Dublin Castle and Sinn Fein, for they are also doing the best they can to help us. Not content with threatening us with "Ulster" plantations in Munster, Leinster and Connaught, the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the eviction and crushing taxation of the small farmer, the Provincialists have threatened to deprive a young widow and her four children of outdoor relief if she votes for the Sinn Fein candidate. A prominent member of the Waterford Board of Guardians is the instrument used by Dublin Castle to help Sinn Fein in the latter case. Captain Redmond, of the British Army, is the Provincialist candidate for Waterford. Dr. White is the Sinn Fein candidate. Does Dublin Castle want its gallant Captain to be elected, or does it want the people of Waterford to elect the man who stands for an Ireland minus Dublin Castle?

On Monday night the official Unionists held their first meeting in Cork, at which a letter was read from a prominent Unionist in which he alluded to "the feeling amongst many Cork Unionists" that as they could not win "they should vote for the Irish Party." In Waterford the word has been given to the official Unionists; they are to vote for Captain Redmond and the Empire in the service of which he has gained some distinction.

The U.I.L. have issued a leaflet pointing out to the Irish people some of the "benefits" which the kindly British Government have showered on this country during the past forty years. No wonder the Provincialists no longer seek to establish an Irish Parliament! Like the Lord Mayor in the play, they say to themselves: "We'd never be able for it! And even if we were able to look after ourselves," they add, "sure, England says we're not—and we say ditto to that!"

The Roger Casement Sinn Fein Club, London, at a meeting held on last Thursday night, passed a resolution calling on their fellow men and women in Ireland to vote for the Sinn Fein candidates and save Ireland for all time. The Cumann guaranteed £100 towards the Victory Fund. To our Irishmen and Irishwomen in England and in every other land we send this message: Sinn Fein, with God's help, has saved Ireland, and Sinn Fein is going to win back for the people of Ireland their God-given rights.

While a meeting in furtherance of the cause of Independence was being held in Ballyrany, East Mayo, a British military wagon dashed through the assembled people. An old man was knocked down and killed by the military wagon.

The Rev. Fr. O'Flanagan is to address the people of Dublin on Friday night in O'Connell St.

Books for Xmas

Against Satan's Fangs, or the Adventures of Ciaran Ryan. By M. O. Lennain. This is an excellent story for boys—full of adventure and stirring scenes, yet with a good, healthy moral lesson running right through the story. Well printed and bound in good cover. Price 2/1 by post 2/3.

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"The Five of Trumps." By Fr. Fitzgerald. Price 5/7; by post 5/4.

Hearts of Gold. Xmas Stories and Sketches. By Brian O'Higgins. These are sunny smiles and tears of anguish in this book; hearty laughter, and sighs of pain and sorrow, but every line rings true. Full cloth binding, 1/6 net; by post 1/8.

Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe, writing to Brian O'Higgins, acknowledging a copy of "Songs of the Sacred Heart," says:—"Will you permit me to congratulate you on their merit? Their simple and profound religious feeling gives an immense value to their intrinsic literary excellence. I like especially the poem on Christmas, but it is by no means the only one. They are all delightful, and I wish our people would read and memorize them."

This beautiful little book of Religious Poems can be had for 1/6; by post 1/9.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1918.

IRELAND'S INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Think of the patriots whose names are enshrined in the history of Ireland! What would they do to-day? Would they repudiate or endorse England's claim to rule the land for which they lived and died? Would they make use of the best opportunity that has ever occurred in the history of Ireland for obtaining the Independence of their country—or would they crawl on their hands and knees to England, supplicate forgiveness for the "crimes" committed against her in the past, and promise to be good if she would only be so kind as to give them a few crumbs off the Imperial loaf? What would they do to-day?

In every generation men have given up their lives to secure the freedom of their native land. Women have suffered torture and death. What did they die for? Was it to ensure that Ireland would take her place within the tentacles of that monster of which Mr. Dillon is so proud? For more than seven hundred years the people of Ireland have defied the might of Empire. They have suffered tortures which might have been imported from hell, but they have never quailed under those tortures. They have never lost faith in themselves or in their country. Would they have been afraid of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, and Lord French? They faced the gallows; they faced Cromwell, the ancestor of the gentleman from Ypres; but they did not deny the faith that was within them. What would they do to-day?

The blazing hatchets the scalding pitch, the wholesale butchery of our people, the Penal Laws, the hundred and one Coercion Acts, death from starvation and death from forcible feeding, imprisonment, exportation to the Barbadoes, hangings and hangings, rack and fire and sword and bullet have been requisitioned in the past to teach our people to love England. And today the would-be leaders of the Irish people threaten you with fire and brimstone if you dare to turn away from Westminster. Our people have suffered the torments of the damned for seven hundred years—our country has been laid waste. But the flaming spirit of Irish Nationality has never been extinguished. The Provincialists ask the men and women of this generation to willingly do what seven hundred years of tyranny have not succeeded in doing. The Provincialists ask you to-day to repudiate the past, and pawn the future of the Irish Nation by returning them to the British House of Commons. Think of your martyred dead! What would they do to-day?

To-day Ireland is painted red on the map. That red is the outward symbol of Ireland's slavery. The Provincialists wish to convince England and the world that Ireland grieves in her chains, and accepts the place which England has been pleased to grant her within the British Empire! For seven hundred years the blood of Ireland's noblest and best has been shed... for what? Was it that Ireland might turn red on the map and become a portion of Mr. Dillon's Empire?

The Provincialists threaten you with the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Ireland if you dare to seek the Independence of your country! So the mighty British Empire is going to destroy the Word of God? With due respect to Mr. John Dillon and his friends, clerical and lay, we wish to say that when Mr. John Dillon's Empire and all other Empires shall have passed away the Catholic Church will still remain. The Penal Laws would surely have succeeded if anything could succeed in destroying the Catholic Church in Ireland. Pitch-caps and boiling pitch, the rack and the gibbet, fire, sword and bullet were all used as arguments against the Word of God in Ireland, as they were used against Irish Nationality, and they failed to persuade the priests or people of Ireland to become English.

Nationality and Religion are beyond the control of Empires. Thousands upon thousands of our people have died for Faith and Fatherland. What would they do to-day?

The land will be taken from you if you do not deny your country and admire, with Mr. Dillon, the good old British Empire! The land was robbed from the people of Ireland in the old days—the people of Ireland fought for it, and got it back! They did not sell their country for the sake of an acre or two of land, but they gave their lives for their land, because they looked upon the Land War as a war between the Irish Nation and Imperialism. The National spirit was the driving force in this as in all other fights that have been fought in Ireland. What would they do to-day?

Ireland will not get "her share" of the "reconstruction" money which the British Government intend to fling around, according to Mr. John Dillon and his friends, during the next few months, but she will get more than "her share" of extra taxation—if the Irish people do not send a strong Irish Expeditionary Force back to Westminster to safeguard Irish interests! Well, Ireland needs a lot of money to "reconstruct" the damage done during the seven hundred years' war, but we doubt if Mr. John Dillon and his friends will be able to secure any for our country; and, as far as extra taxation is concerned, we fear that, as they were never able in the past to prevent (if they had wished) the passage of the Empire's Budget, they cannot prevent it in the future. Ireland's industries (?) will be ruined; the tenacious people of the bulldog breed, of whom Mr. John Dillon is so proud, will refuse to eat any more Irish beef, etc.—if the people of Ireland do not send a troupe of comedians over to Westminster to amuse them! The industries of our country have been wiped out by British Acts of Parliament because these industries interfered with the British merchants—our cattle and sheep, butter, cheese, eggs, potatoes and vegetables, etc., are too dear (and too nice and cheap!) to John Bull's fancy to be allowed to go elsewhere! The ruination of our industries in the past, the robbery of our people—under the name of taxation—has not been able to make them forget that they are Irish. Would the men whose industries were wiped out have become less Irish because of a threat to wipe themselves out as well? What

would they do to-day? Would they realise that in a free Ireland they could build up a commercial prosperity equal to any small nation in the world—and that they need not go to any of the coal mines attached to Mr. Dillon's Empire for fuel? Messrs. Dillon, Devlin, Clancy and Brady have already told us that Ireland could not get on without the motherly assistance of Britannia, while the real fact is that an independent Ireland could, and would, become one of the most flourishing nations in the world. The whole truth of the matter is that "these men" stand for the British Empire—they have lost faith in their own country; they have lost their Nationality.

Again we ask you to think of the patriots whose names adorn the glorious pages of our history. What would they do to-day? All the world is ringing to-day with the triumphant shouts of small nations freed from the grasp of oppression. Nations long since considered by their tyrants as dead and buried away under a headstone labelled "Imperial," have had a joyful resurrection. The Irish is the only white race held in bondage to-day! On Wednesday last the Irish Nation flung off twenty-five of her chains, and to-day the people of Ireland can, if they will, fling off the other chains which bind them to Mr. Dillon's Empire.

To-day the people of Ireland can repudiate England's claim to rule their country, can tell the people of the world that the people of the historic Irish Nation claim the right to separate nationhood, and proclaim to the world that that right must no longer be denied by the defenders of small nations.

Will the people of Ireland declare for Independence? We believe they will.

The Price of Slavery.

The Parliamentary Party is handing round handbills pretending to show sums of money they have secured for Ireland in the shape of money for labourers' cottages and other items. We propose to show what the Party has secured for England out of Irish pockets by reason of the presence and votes of the Irish Party in the English House of Commons, thus giving sanction to this gigantic tribute hung like a millstone round the necks of our people. During a recent period Lord McDonnell calculated that we had handed the enormous tribute of 320 millions to England since the Union. That was a few years before the war. We now exhibit below a table of the "Imperial Contribution" made by Ireland over and above all expenditure charged against Ireland for local services. The period is for the past three years (Parliamentary Paper on Imperial Revenue, No. 105, of 1918, p. 20).

Imperial Contribution.	
(Excess of Irish Revenue over Local Expenditure.)	
Year ending	£
March 31, 1916	5,332,000
March 31, 1917	11,080,000
March 31, 1918	13,863,000
	£30,275,000

These are the figures admitted by the British Treasury. The amount contributed by Ireland from all sources is very much greater than is disclosed here, and the local expenditure actually made in Ireland is very much less than the amount allocated to Irish services, in respect of which much Irish money is spent in England. It is evident on the face of it that, on England's own case, she has been taking ten millions a year from us in war taxation to "free the small nations." The Irish Party voted for and supported these Budgets on the ground that we were going to get "Home Rule on the Statute Book." The Home Rule Act never left the Statute Book, but thirty millions of money left Ireland. What has the Party to show against this? Nothing but loans for labourers' cottages paid for out of the rates by the taxpayers of Ireland. It is a gross and impudent imposture to parade these loans as if they were grants from the British Treasury. The following table gives the taxation of Ireland per head during the war (same Parliamentary Paper, p. 13):

Irish Taxation per Head.	
Year ending	£ s d
March 31, 1915	2 16 8
March 31, 1916	4 1 11
March 31, 1917	5 8 6
March 31, 1918	6 2 8

The Irish Party, by their presence in the British House, and by their actual votes and open support of the Budget, have raised the taxation of every Irish person by £3 6s. per head since the war. This is considerably more than double, and it is certain that in the next Budget there will be another enormous increase unless Sinn Fein wins, and the Irish members are withdrawn.

and complete independence of English Budgets is secured.

At the meeting held in Swords last Sunday Mr. J. J. Clancy, K.C., was asked: "What about the land tax?" He replied—

The tax on the farmers was doubled last summer when the Party came home to resist conscription and acted as Sinn Feiners.

What are the facts? Mr. Clancy himself moved Sub-section 2 of the Clause (Section 22) of the Finance Act (No. 2) of 1915, merely substituting annuities and rent for annual valuation. This Clause trebled at one stroke the amount on which farmers are assessed to pay income tax. The Party, including Mr. Clancy, assented to this Budget and every other Budget passed to fleece the Irish farmers and every tax-paying class in Ireland (see "Nationality," July 6, for documented details). The following are the figures showing the actual amounts of income tax collected from Irish farmers by the British Treasury during the past 5 years (from the White Paper on "Revenue and Expenditure"):

Irish Farmers' Income Tax (Schedule B).	
Year to	£
March 31, 1914	26,000
March 31, 1915	38,000
March 31, 1916	62,000
March 31, 1917	240,000
March 31, 1918	250,000

The tax is increased ten times over. Mr. Clancy moved the Clause loading this tenfold increase on the farmers of Ireland. He moved it in the British House of Commons on October 23, 1915. The Irish Party assented, and it was passed unanimously. The farmers of Ireland have paid over half a million already to the British Treasury under the Clancy Clause in the Budget. It has since been doubled, but the Treasury is holding back the assessments until this election is over in the hope that North Dublin will return Mr. Clancy, and other constituencies in Ireland do their bit to give the British Parliament the necessary sanction to it by the presence of Irish members, and their assent and their votes in exchange for £400 a year! This will be the price for electing Mr. Clancy and his friends to the British House of Commons.

National Reconstruction.

The flag of National Independence has been kept well to the front in the great electoral battle for Irish Freedom. The case for abstention or recall from Westminster has also been placed with great force before the constituencies. The third aspiration (the Irish Parliament) has, however, not received as much consideration as is due to it. At the same time it is really necessary to keep one flag flying at a time, and that flag must bear inscribed on it the magic words: "Sovereign Independence." All other issues flow from it. Occasionally these issues thrust out their heads rather sooner than others, and it is well that the mind of the country should turn towards them. One of these issues is the Irish Parliament and the work of National Reconstruction that lies before it. We notice Lord Montagu writes a letter on the subject of Irish Reconstruction ("I.L." Dec. 3). In it he takes occasion to write—

"And yet again Sinn Fein now concentrates on the National Question in its extreme Republican demand, and would postpone any economic or social questions as being merely secondary."

While it is true that we concentrate on the National Question, we must join issue with his lordship on the statement that we would postpone any economic or social question as being merely secondary. Most of our leaders are helpless and imprisoned and we have no means of communicating with them. They have, however, left abundant records behind them and we cannot discover any ground in these records for the statement of Lord Montagu. Sinn Fein postpones nothing. The policy clearly laid down by our leaders did not propose the postponement of economic and social questions. On the contrary it proposed that we should on all occasions join with our fellow-Irishmen in any policy of economic reconstruction or social advancement. The history of Sinn Fein is the story of a continuous struggle against the heresy of subordinating common action to the attainment of a political objective. A scheme of National Reconstruction was long ago worked out by Arthur Griffith in "Sinn Fein," and later adopted in "Nationality." This plan, however, involved the County Councils, which were captured by the Parliamentary Party, and a great and far-reaching scheme has been delayed for a generation. National Reconstruction must be worked out by the public represent-

five bodies, and it has not been possible to undertake the work. The disappearance of the Irish Parliamentary Party from their arena of obstruction is an indispensable preliminary to National Reconstruction. Nothing could be done as long as the public bodies and the public representation of the Parliamentary constituencies lay in the hands of the Party and their satellites and under-studies. It was the only fixed policy of the late Parliamentary Party to prevent all national, social and economic progress in Ireland until they got "Home Rule," and as "Home Rule" never came in the door there was no progress during thirty years of obstruction in Ireland.

Despite these years of barren hope and weary waiting Sinn Fein was not idle. It undertook much work of a preliminary character and investigated the realities of practically every aspect of Irish Reconstruction, whether financial, agricultural, industrial, social, educational, commercial, or generally speaking every national cause and effect. It also instituted a long series of comparisons with other countries situated similarly to our own, and derived many valuable lessons from their experience. Above all, it has made a careful study of Irish history, economics and the resources and trading possibilities of our country. The policy of Sinn Fein has been directed to National Reconstruction from its birth. It aims at the revival and restoration of the old Irish Nation and its progress under modern conditions. This is essentially a policy of reconstruction. It is one which we can carry out ourselves. It is not a made in England nor a made in America nor a made in Germany article.

We have read with care Sir Horace Plunkett's long letter ("I.I." Nov. 23). He can rest assured that the work of reconstruction will engage the earnest attention of the Irish Parliament, which is the proper body to undertake the work of Irish Reconstruction. Vain indeed must be the hopes which rest on Westminster for anything except taxes and coercion. There will be no Irish Reconstruction at Westminster.

Sir Horace Plunkett is evidently under the impression that large grants will be made for reconstruction purposes in England, and he evidently has Mr. Lloyd George's promises dangling before his eyes. We must quote here the First Interim Report of the Committee on Currency (p. 6), Cd. 9182, 1918:—

"A primary condition of the restoration of a sound credit position is the repayment of a large portion of the enormous amount of Government securities now held by the banks. It is essential that as soon as possible the State should not only live within its income, but should begin to reduce its indebtedness. We accordingly recommend that at the earliest possible moment an adequate sinking fund should be provided out of revenue, so that there may be a regular annual reduction of capital liabilities, more especially those which constitute the floating debt. We should remark that it is of the utmost importance that such repayment of debt should not be offset by fresh borrowings for capital expenditure. We are aware that immediately after the war there will be strong pressure for capital expenditure by the State in many forms for reconstruction purposes. But it is essential to the restoration of an effective gold standard that the money for such expenditure should not be provided by the creation of new credit, and that, in so far as such expenditure is undertaken at all, it should be undertaken with great caution. The necessity of providing for our indispensable supplies of food and raw materials from abroad and for arrears of repairs to manufacturing plant, and the transport system at home will limit the savings available for new capital expenditure for a considerable period. **This caution is particularly applicable to far-reaching programmes of housing and other development schemes.**"

This report is signed by a dozen of England's leading bankers and financial experts, including the Governor of the Bank of England. We are inclined to attach more importance to this document than we are to the election promises of Mr. Lloyd George. Sir Horace Plunkett need not be alarmed at the prospect of abstention from Westminster considering the financial position of our "partner in the Empire." Under the circumstances we suggest that a voluntary liquidation is desirable, and we should undertake the work of reconstructing Ireland ourselves and leave England to manage her own reconstruction.

Another Martyr.

Dick Coleman died in Usk Prison on Monday. He took a prominent part in the Battle of Ashbourne in Easter Week, and was sentenced to penal servitude. He was again arrested on a charge of drilling in East Clare during the historic election, and went through the hunger-strike as a result of which his commandant, Thomas Ashe, was done to death in Mountjoy. With the other men, he was released under the Cat and Mouse Act. Last May he was deported on the "German Plot" charge. May God have mercy on the soul of this gallant Gael, and give his people grace to bear their loss. For Ireland Dick lived, and fought, and died.

The Party and the Peace Conference.

Mr. Oliver J. O'Connor of Kilkelly, Co. Mayo, contributes an important letter on this subject ("I.I." Dec. 6). He tells us, from a personal canvass in E. Mayo, that Mr. Dillon's lieutenants are trying to persuade voters that by voting for him they stand a good chance of their country's case being heard at the Peace Conference. What are the facts? They are very simple. The ambassadors which the British Cabinet is sending to the Peace Conference will present their credentials bearing the inscription "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." This is the official title by which the British Government is known and recognised by all foreign nations. The cards of England's Peace representatives will carry on their face the declaration that they speak for Ireland. They are entitled to speak and act as long as the Treaty of Union is in force. The Treaty of Union between the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland came into force in January, 1801. It came into force by the act of Ireland holding a General Election and sending members to sit at Westminster instead of College Green. The Treaty is therefore renewed at every General Election at which members are elected to sit in the British Parliament for Irish constituencies. Mr. Dillon invites the electors of East Mayo to return him as their member to sit and vote in the British House of Commons. He therefore proposes to renew the Treaty of Union, and he therefore has no right to speak for Ireland at the Peace Conference except through the mouths of Lord Reading or Mr. Arthur J. Balfour or one of the other British representatives. **They will represent Ireland and present their view of Ireland's case at the Peace Conference, if Mr. Dillon and his Party are returned to power. There is only one way by which Ireland can speak with an Irish voice at the Peace Conference, and that lies through the renunciation of the Treaty of Union. The Treaty can only be renounced by electing members not to sit at Westminster, and by assembling them in Ireland and making a formal declaration to the Powers that Ireland desires to renounce the Treaty of 1800. Until that step is taken England will claim or pretend to claim that she speaks for Ireland in international affairs. The matter is summed up by Arthur Griffith in the following words ("Nationality," Nov. 3, 1917):**

"The first step to the Peace Conference is the repudiation by Ireland of England's right to rule in this country, and the withdrawal of moral sanction to the exercise in our country of foreign authority. This step is taken when Ireland withdraws from the British Parliament. Ireland has taken step. So far as opportunity has afforded the electors of Ireland, they have renounced that Parliament. **The renunciation is the key position of Irish National politics.**"

Sinn Fein, through our illustrious leader, Eamonn de Valera, invites the voters of East Mayo to open Ireland's door to the Peace Conference and the world. They have the key in their hands, and the key which will free Ireland will also open the lock of the prison door for De Valera and his noble comrades.

The Castle Journal has made a most important discovery to the effect that a strong Irish Parliamentary Party is very necessary in the British House of Commons to safeguard the interests of the American Republic. If the Party were to look after the interests of the American Republic as it looked after the interests of the Irish Nation, the American people might find themselves called on to fight the Boers or the Zulus, or any other little war that Mr. Dillon might decide to nick-name "America's war."

The Electors' Catechism.

- Q. What has the Irish Party done for Irish Nationality?
- A. The Irish Party has almost done for Irish Nationality.
- Q. What is the guiding principle of Irish Nationality?
- A. "Rebellion against the rule of strangers" (Mr. J. E. Redmond).
- Q. How long has the Irish Party represented Ireland in the British House of Commons?
- A. The Irish Party has misrepresented Ireland there for about forty years.
- Q. When Mr. Dillon entered Parliament, nearly forty years ago, what was the annual taxation of Ireland?
- A. About seven millions.
- Q. After forty years of Parliamentary action how much is it to-day?
- A. About thirty-five millions.
- Q. What is Partition?
- A. Before breakfast at Downing Street, "an abomination and a blasphemy"; after breakfast, "an eminently sane, moderate and statesmanlike proposal."
- Q. What is a good synonym for Partition?
- A. Perdition.
- Q. Does the Dillonite Party, which says that the settlement of Ireland's claim is "a domestic question within the Empire," stand for Parnell's policy?
- A. "No man has a right to set a boundary to the march of a nation."
- Q. But perhaps Mr. Dillon looks on "Home Rule" as merely a first instalment of Ireland's full claim?
- A. "We accept this Bill as an absolute and final settlement" (Mr. John Dillon).
- Q. Does the Dillonite Party stand for Davitt's policy?
- A. Those best fitted to answer that question are Michael Davitt's daughter and sons.
- Q. On what side do they stand in this election?
- A. On the side that their father always stood—on the side of absolute Irish Independence.
- Q. What was Michael Davitt's opinion of the value of Parliamentary effort?
- A. "The conclusion with which I leave this House is that no cause, however just, will find support, no wrong, however pressing or apparent, will find redress here—unless backed up by force."
- Q. Did Parnell use words almost similar?
- A. Yes; he said: "No amount of eloquence could achieve what the fear of an impending insurrection had achieved."
- Q. Can there be any compromise with regard to Irish Independence?
- A. "The Irish leader who would propose to compromise the National claims of Ireland, who would even incline for one second to accept as a settlement any concession short of the unquestioned recognition of that Nationality which has come down to us sanctified by the blood and tears of centuries, would be false to Ireland's history" (Mr. J. E. Redmond).
- Q. What should be Ireland's attitude towards such a man?
- A. "The man who would be traitor enough to propose such a course would find himself no longer a leader" (Mr. J. E. Redmond).
- Q. Is the Dillonite Party willing "to accept as a settlement a concession short of the unquestioned recognition of Irish Nationality"?
- A. "We are entirely loyal to the Empire. . . . We do not demand such local autonomy as the Colonies possess. . . . We are willing to forego the making of our own tariff" (Mr. J. E. Redmond).
- Q. Does the spirit of Sinn Fein portend "red ruin and revolution"?
- A. "I know of no more ennobling influence in Ireland to-day than the spirit of Sinn Fein" (Archbishop Mannix).
- Q. Does Mr. Dillon stand for the policy of Self-determination?
- A. Mr. Dillon has always stood for self, but has never shown determination.
- Q. Does Sinn Fein stand for Self-determination?
- A. Sinn Fein means Self-determination.
- Q. How many Acts of the British Government have the Party been able to defeat?
- A. Not one—except we give them credit for defeating the Conscription Act!
- Q. How did the Party defeat the Conscription Act?
- A. By adopting the Sinn Fein principle of Abstention.
- Q. Have you any reason for supposing that the Party, if it returns to Westminster, will be able for six hundred and thirty members of the Bulldog breed?
- A. If they enter the "only arena in which the battle for Irish Freedom can be won"—i.e., the British House of Commons!—armed with ten-foot pikes they may make an impression on the enemy. Forty more long years of speaking will not upset the stubborn Britishers in the least. (Mr. John Dillon himself has spoken of the futility of attending at Westminster, also in praise of the old Empire and the tenacity of the British people.)
- Q. Why were eighty representatives sent to Westminster in the past?
- A. To secure a full measure of Self-government for Ireland.
- Q. Have these representatives of the Irish people secured a full measure of Self-government for Ireland?
- A. No. ("After the speeches we have listened to to-night from the Government, the hope of settling the matter in that way—in a friendly and conciliatory way as a domestic question—is over, and we shall do our best to get a hearing for the claim of Ireland in the re-settlement of Europe."—John Dillon, 5th Nov. last.)
- Q. How does Mr. Dillon propose "to get a hearing for the claim of Ireland in the re-settlement of Europe?"
- A. By making Ireland a "domestic question once more."
- Q. Will the Peace Conference listen to claims put forward by a small faction in the British House of Commons?
- A. No. The Peace Conference will not interfere in the domestic questions of the British Parliament.
- Q. What chance has Ireland of securing consideration at the Peace Conference?
- A. Every chance, if the Irish people declare that Ireland is a distinct nation.
- Q. How can the people of Ireland declare that they belong to a distinct nation??
- A. By electing Sinn Fein candidates to pre-

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sent Ireland's demand for absolute Independence before the nations of the world.

- Q. Will the assembled nations be likely to listen to what Mr. Dillon is pleased to call "the pro Germans"?
- A. "All peoples, great and small, must be accorded an opportunity of deciding under what form of government they wish to live" (President Wilson).
- Q. Why does Mr. John Dillon call us pro-Germans?
- A. Because we oppose the British Government in Ireland, as every generation of our people for seven hundred years have opposed that Government.
- Q. Why does the British Government keep our leaders in jail?
- A. To help Sinn Fein!

Mr. Christopher Friery, Coroner, held an inquest on the great work done by Mr. J. J. Clancy for Ireland during the past thirty-three years. Recording the life's work of a man "who had grown grey in the service of his country," the Coroner drew a vivid picture of the state of affairs in Swords before Mr. Clancy declared war on the British Government. "When he was a boy," he said, "the condition of the farmers and labourers was pitiable." To prove that Mr. Clancy had changed all that the Coroner asked a simple question: "What was their condition to-day as a result of the Constitutional movement?" Mr. Friery did not get an answer to his query, and did not think it worth while going into details. Perhaps he could not explain all the Constitutional movement had done for the people of Swords, but one thing he could have done—he could have added a rider to the effect that the Constitutional movement had, in 1914, made Ireland the one bright spot in the British Empire by accepting responsibility for extra millions of war taxes, to say nothing of the amount of the blood-tax imposed upon the Irish people.

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