

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. I. No. 6. (New Series).

SATURDAY, MARCH 24th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

Kilkenny and Sligo are far apart in Ireland geographically—they are one in thought and faith just now. The enthusiasm which marked Count Plunkett's visit when he went to receive the freedom of the marble city was reproduced in Sligo on a similar occasion last week. Leitrim and Roscommon honoured him on the way, and when the freedom of Sligo was publicly conferred upon him at the doors of the Town Hall it was conferred in the presence of the largest and most enthusiastic meeting witnessed in Sligo since, as an old man said to us—"the time of the Swift election"—more than half-a-century ago.

At the ceremony and later at the Banquet in the Town Hall speeches were delivered by the Mayor, Count Plunkett, Father Dolan, Father Caulfield, Alderman Dr. White, Alderman Lynch, Pádraig Ó Domhnaillain, Messrs. O'Mullane, Kelly, the Editor of "Nationality," and others. On Sunday the Count and Countess Plunkett and Mr. Arthur Griffith had the pleasure of visiting the Ursuline Convent, where they had proof of how the patriotic nuns are educating the pupils to be kindly Irish of the Irish, and in the evening they were entertained by the Sligo Wanderers Gaelic Club. It is right to add that among the addresses presented to the Count was one from the Moylough A.O.H., that the A.O.H. Band joined in the demonstration of welcome to Sligo, and that Councillor Monson, Provincial Director of the A.O.H. took the second chair at the banquet. The fire lit in Roscommon, as one of the speakers said, is sweeping through all the West.

Mr. H. L. Glasgow of Cookstown, Co. Tyrone, has set forth the basis of the Ulster Unionist faith as it seems to him. Is it that Ireland was poor before the Act of Union and has prospered exceedingly under that measure.

Possibly Mr. Glasgow understands and uses that new English language of which the Northcliffe Press is the fine exponent—the language which terms a Revolution against legitimate authority, "Benign" when the Revolution serves English policy and that describes what in old English would be termed the Brutal Murder of Father Rasputin as a desirable "Execution." If so—if this be the language Mr. Glasgow uses—the language of English Imperialism—why, then, it is possible when he uses the word "prosperity" to describe Ireland under the Union, he is no less accurate than Lord Northcliffe when that person's journalistic hirelings describe a foul and treacherous murder as a laudable Execution.

Assuming, however, that Mr. Glasgow uses the English language correctly, except in regard to his name—all the people styling themselves "Glasgow" in Ireland are McCluskeys, who changed that name some generations back to "Glasgow" in shame of their Irish origin—we have here a fine example of the intelligence which possesses the spokesmen of Ulster Unionism about their country and even about their Province. At the period of the Union, 1801, there were 54 persons in Ireland to every 88 persons in England—there are now 43 persons in Ireland to every 360 persons in England. Thus the people of Ireland have withered away under the Union while the people of England have increased fourfold. Mr. Glasgow, on behalf of Unionist Ireland, describes this withering away process in Ireland as an Increase of Prosperity. Therefore the contrary process in England must be a sign of decay. Hence the Union is bad for England.

Logic and reason we have sometimes found in the equipment of the ordinary Irish Unionist—never yet in the equipment of their journalists, M.P.'s and other spokesmen. Ireland, alone among all the States of Europe has decayed in population, while the country which has imposed its rule upon her has more than quadrupled in population, and every Unionist spokesman in Ireland dodges that fact, though charitable people contend they are not aware of it—a possibility. For with the exception of some members of the Irish Parliamentary Party we have never found men so utterly ignorant of the history of the country they profess to represent as the "Irish Unionist leaders."

However Mr. Glasgow's Prosperity shall have further elucidation from us. At the period of the Union the 9,000,000 of people in England owed a National Debt of 450 millions—or £50 the Union the 9,000,000 people in England land owed a National Debt of 28½ millions or roundly £5 10s. per head. Now the Irishman and the Englishman owe equal amounts, for in 1817, just a hundred years ago, England decreed there should be "equality" of debt, and Ireland was made responsible for the English National Debt. This, no doubt, Mr. Glasgow would contend contributed to our prosperity.

After this transaction had been completed, another transaction in the name of "equality" was begun. The Irish paid a tax per head of 15s. 5d. and the English tax of £3 13s., and so through the generations England worked to equalise matters, until when the Financial Relations Committee sat and returned a verdict that England was plundering Ireland of 2½ millions a year in excess of the amount of plunder her own law had styled it equitable for her to take, the Irishman's tax per head had nearly trebled while the Englishman's tax per head had been reduced by 40 per cent. Mr. Glasgow will be able to show how this rendered Ireland exceedingly prosperous.

It may be that Mr. Glasgow will say that if the population has decreased that after all it is but the population of the thriftless South—that loyal, law-abiding, God-fearing and industrious Ulster—we use the four adjectives every professional Ulster Unionist spokesman keeps permanently on the tip of his tongue—has prospered. And if it be prosperous for Ulster to lose her people, why Ulster is prosperous. She had 2,400,000 people in 1845. She had 1,580,000 in 1911. Thus 800,000 of her people had actually vanished—leaving as Mr. Glasgow no doubt, would ingeniously suggest—so much the more for the remainder,

Mr. Glasgow dwells in Tyrone. Tyrone is a shining example of the Prosperity the Union, according to Mr. Glasgow, conferred. It had 315,000 people in 1845; there are 14,000 there now. If we were now to hear Mr. Glasgow seeking to explain this as an evidence of prosperity to the rank-and-file Tyrone Unionists, we should, we presume, hear Mr. Glasgow assert that, after all, it was only the Papists in Ulster who had been depleted. But it is not so. There were 1,600,000 Protestants in Ireland in 1845. There are 1,100,000 now. The Ulster Protestants have withered away no less than the Ulster Catholics. There are six counties in Ireland the Unionists claim as their own—Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone. There were 1,800,000 persons in these counties in 1845. There are 1,250,000 now. One-third of the people of the "six Unionist counties" has vanished in six years—mainly Protestant Unionists. Will Mr. Glasgow explain to the survivors how much **their** prosperity—Ulster's prosperity—

yea, Ireland's prosperity, has been thus increased?

We have found the average Ulster Unionist no less intelligent individually, though slower of apprehension, than the Irishman of the South, East or West. Yet the political leaders of these men can and do treat them as children devoid of knowledge, reflection or power of reasoning. Mr. Glasgow tells them Ireland has prospered under the Union. Well under the Union—

Ireland has decreased in population. England has increased in population.

Ireland has had her taxation per head increased. England has had her taxation per head decreased.

Protestant Ireland has lost one-third of its people. Protestant England has increased fourfold.

Catholic Ireland has lost 50 per cent. of its people. Catholic England has increased fourfold.

The manufacturing counties of Ulster have lost in population. The manufacturing counties of England have increased from 300 to 1,000 per cent.

If decrease of population and increase of taxation in Ireland spell prosperity, increase of population and decrease of taxation in England cannot spell the same thing. What would Mr. Glasgow make it spell when he is not out to air his ignorance of his country's history and position?

The past week has been by far the most important in many ways since the new year. And another of equal importance is not likely to occur for a long time. The event of most outstanding importance is the Russian Revolution. This is, of course, entirely a political event at present; it is too early to estimate what effect, if any, it will have on the course of the war. That the new Government is determined to press the war vigorously is quite certain, but whether they will be able to improve upon the former Government time only can show. Russia's problem has always been her long and imperfect communications and backward industrial state. These will always remain a handicap to the military operations, and the other members of the Entente cannot remedy them.

Another event of greater immediate military importance is the beginning of the active struggle in the West, where the fighting has been much intensified at all parts of the line. French attacks have taken place in Champagne and in the Verdun region—these are probably holding attacks. The main onslaught is on the westward-facing third of the German front from Lille to Larsigny. In the main the attacking troops here are British, the French pressing an auxiliary attack along the last dozen or so miles of front. It was only to be expected that the main attack would devolve on the British forces which must be massed in much greater depth than the French.

If this offensive—the main one—can be pushed it will take in flank the German positions on the heights of the Aisne which are, upon the whole, probably the strongest part of their line, and where latterly they have been fairly active. The evacuation of the positions on the heights of the Aisne would, of course, necessitate withdrawal from this part of France.

The Germans, for their part, are no longer defending their positions stubbornly as they did on the Somme. They are evacuating them bit by bit, and destroying everything as they go. In this way they have evacuated great stretches of works north of Peronne and we may presently look for the evacuation of the

entire Bapaume salient. We may therefore expect a wide gap in the German lines around Bapaume.

Now to the south of Bapaume the German front lines are still some miles in front of the Somme, which above Peronne in its course has a southerly direction in a marshy valley and is paralleled by a canal. The river line is thus a strong obstacle in itself, and is so placed as to be a fairly useful flank support to the lines on the heights of the Aisne eastward from that. In this quarter then there is a useful flank support alike for the entrenched positions north of the Aisne, and for the Crown Prince of Bavaria's armies as they move back from the Bapaume region. In other words defensive action is the most likely by the Germans in this quarter.

But certain considerations point to a different course of action by the Germans further north. Here are indications that the Germans are in favour of a campaign of manoeuvre in the West. It is certain that they have massed large bodies of troops in Belgium, there is room and a sufficiency of communications to permit of the manoeuvre of masses in that quarter; all these taken together seem to indicate that the Germans will yield a considerable amount of ground in the Arras-Peronne-Cambrai district, will maintain a defensive attitude to the south of this region, and will make a counter-stroke from the north from the side of Lille-Douai-Valenciennes. Of course, this may not happen; but many present indications seem to point in that direction.

The question of aerial supremacy naturally acquires an increased importance if there is to be a war of manoeuvre. This question has certainly not yet been decided definitely, and it is possible the war of manoeuvre will have progressed considerably before a decision is reached.

In Asia the Turkish forces have practically evacuated Persia and the force from Bagdad has fallen back up the Tigris. These two retreating forces will probably unite on the Tigris to the south of the Mosul. The Russians from Persia and the British at Bagdad will also probably join forces. Activity is beginning in the Caucasus, also, and it is probable that this Summer almost all the Turkish troops will be operating in Asia Minor. It is hardly probable though, that, any of the divisions actually in Europe will be withdrawn.

In contrast with British calm and stolid placidity other peoples seem almost savagely boisterous. A striking example of this was given not long ago; it was mentioned, in an aloof sort of way, by the London "Times" of January 3rd. It appears from the paragraph in question that some few months previously the Municipal Council of Berlin, Ontario, had with the approval of the Government changed the name of the town to Kitchener. The sequel is thus given: "In a municipal election held yesterday the Citizens' League, organised to restore the name Berlin, elected on its full ticket a candidate for mayor, getting a majority of 754. When the result was announced a battalion, which was spending its holidays in the town, formed a parade, and a riot started. At 10 o'clock at night martial law was proclaimed, and a regiment was brought by special train from Galt and is now in control of the streets."

Is not the contrast instructive? In England a Great War cannot stir English stolidity, in Canada a municipal election causes a riot. How un-English it is, how ungentlemanly, it is almost Irish in its unreasonableness.

Of course riots and riotous assemblies can occur in England, if the "Irish Times" can be trusted. Among its items of news, on 13th March is this—"Twelve Chinamen were remanded at the Thames Police Court yesterday on a charge of taking part in a warlike affray on Sunday morning, and causing bodily harm to another Chinaman. It was stated that one body of Chinamen belonging to the Scamen's Union went out armed with hatchets in order to try and persuade another body to join the Union."

Having this proof that the Chinese had the true missionary spirit we were inclined to wager that they would soon join the gay throng under Father Bernard Vaughan, and Mr. Bottomley. Now we see they are actually severing relations with Germany, thus ensuring that they need not pay the £500,000 indemnity for the Boxer troubles owed annually to Germany. In Chin-

ese harbours, moreover, there are 65,000 tons of German shipping. Having thus by a stroke of the pen gained £500,000 and 13 German vessels, the new supporters of Christianity and Civilisation may be fired to try what they can do in the way of persuading Germans with hatchets.

In spite of all its misfortunes—perhaps because of them—in spite of so many of its workers being forced momentarily out of the organisation by being obliged to live in England, the Gaelic League showed an activity last week that could not fail to meet with success. Never has Dublin seen so many flags sold as on St. Patrick's Day. Never have the Dublin people shown such general willingness to associate themselves generously with the Language movement. Visitors from the provinces have been eloquently declaring their astonishment and their delight at the headline the Capital sets in its enthusiasm for the language revival. The Flag Day was splendidly organised this year. Every individual district in city and suburb had its captain with her squad of flag sellers. The energy of these workers was magnificent. A great number of them had been busily engaged the evening and night before until a late hour helping to make the St. Patrick's Annual Ceilidhe a success. After a couple of hours' sleep the workers were again at their posts. During the early hours of the morning flag sellers were busy at the Church doors; later in every street and square in Dublin. They all testify to the great good humour of their purchasers, to the kindly and immense response of the whole populace. The Ceilidhe was held at the Mansion House. The huge crowds attending might lead us to conclude that it would be better not to advertise too widely such functions in future.

The audience that listened to Father Paul Walsh's fine lecture on the late Dr. O'Hickey on Sunday night had a real treat provided for them. It must have been more than ordinarily pleasant for those who knew the late Dr. O'Hickey personally to hear his services to the Language movement recounted so forcibly by his young friend and admirer. For those who have never seen Dr. O'Hickey they left the Hall feeling they have in some measure made his acquaintance, and undoubtedly bringing with them much of his enthusiasm for the revival of Gaelic Ireland. They also could not fail to grasp what a goodly way we have travelled, however short it seems on the long, long road to success, how comparatively easy it is for us all now to be genuinely Irish-Irish-Irelanders, as Dr. O'Hickey used to say, worthy of our country's best ideals. Father Walsh is liable to be requisitioned frequently to lecture to an Irish-Ireland audience.

Next Sunday Mr. Arthur Griffith's lecture on the "National Revival of Bulgaria" takes place in the Technical Schools, Bolton Street. Count Plunkett will give the final lecture of the series on Sunday, April 1st, on "Some Irish Artists."

Lecture begins at 8 o'clock p.m. Admission Sixpence.

Preparations for the Feis Bhaile Atha Cliath—temporarily interrupted by the work of organising the recent very successful Flag Day—are now proceeding apace. The Committee were asked to extend the time for receiving entries, and decided to accept names of intending competitors up to the 24th inst.

At the monthly meeting of the Limerick Federated Labour Council held on the 9th March, 1917, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Michael Hickey, and carried unanimously:—"Whereas, Great Britain and her Allies have entered the present European war in the defence of the rights and privileges of Small Nations, and whereas, the English Prime Minister said recently that the present war is being fought for the oppressed against the oppressor, we, the representatives of the Labour Societies of the City of Limerick, are convinced that Ireland being a Small Nation struggling to be free, and adhering rigidly to her nationhood, is entitled to representation at the Peace Conference, and that any peace settlement in which she is not considered as a separate Small Nation will not be acceptable by the Irish people. With a view to having her claims and rights considered at the Peace Conference we are of opinion that Ireland should be represented at the Conference by one entitled to speak the voice of Nationalist Ireland as understood and advocated by Tone, Mitchel and Davis, and those others who worked for the cause of Ireland a separate entity amongst the Nations of the World. With

the view to assisting the movement for having Ireland's claims being made known to the Nations of Europe, that copies of this resolution be sent to His Lordship the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, for transmission to the Pope; to the American Consul for transmission to President Wilson of the United States, and to Arthur Griffith for transmission to the other Neutral States of the World. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Limerick Borough Council for their adoption."

Mr. P. F. Gaffney, Kelleslin, sent the following telegram to the recent Women's Suffrage Meeting at the Mansion House, Dublin:—"Very much regret my inability to attend to-night's meeting. Irishwomen have a perfect right to voice their feelings at the Imperial Conference. Hope the result of to-night's meeting will be the urging on of the vote and of the right of Irishmen and Irishwomen alike to consider themselves as free people in a free country."

The following names should be added to those of the list of Men in Jail for Ireland, at Lewes Prison, England:—

Sean MacEntee, penal servitude for life.
Con. Collins, penal servitude for life.
Denis Leahy (Louth), 10 years' penal servitude.
J. Martin, 10 years' penal servitude.
E. Sally, 5 years' penal servitude.
David Kent, 5 years' penal servitude.

The following from the pen of a Russian, Dr. Paul Mitrofaroff, written in May, 1914: "The extension southwards is for Russia an historical, political, and economic necessity, and the foreign Power which stands in the way to this expansion is ipso facto an enemy Power. . . . I say quite briefly and precisely: everywhere at every spot throughout the Levant, Russia has been and is still meeting, in trying to solve her most vital problem, the Eastern question, the resistance of Germany, acting either alone or as the ally of Austria. Hence it has become quite clear to the Russians that if everything remains as it is, the road to Constantinople will have to be carried through Berlin."

That statement is pretty clear, and the London "Times" (3/6/14), only put in different form: There are signs that Russia has done with defensive strategy. . . . The increased number of guns in the Russian Army Corps the growing efficiency of the Army, and the improvements made or planned in strategic railways are, again, matters, which cannot be left out of account. These things are well calculated to make the Germans anxious."

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FOOD AND POLITICS.

Eighteen months ago the head of the British Government Department of Agriculture in Ireland held what he termed a Food Production Meeting in the Courthouse of Sligo. He professed on behalf of the British Government to be anxious to see food production increased in Ireland, and Father Michael Flanagan who was present at the meeting showed the British Government how, if it were in earnest, the thing might be done.

We reproduce from the "Sligo Champion," of October 16th, 1915—mark the date—Father O'Flanagan's speech. Read it carefully—read it, keeping well in memory that it was spoken 18 months ago:

"Father O'Flanagan, C.C., Cliffoey, who proposed an amendment to the resolution said—Very Rev. Chairman and gentlemen, there is one point that has not been brought out in the discussion, and that is the length of time that we look ahead in this matter. Our plans must be laid now not for the sake of next year but of the year after next. The wheat you sow next month and the oats you sow in the spring, will no doubt be ripe next August, but it will be consumed, and it will be the only home-grown corn available for consumption, from that time until the following August. It is too late now to make provision against probable scarcity in the summer of next year. What we are called upon to consider to-day is how to provide against scarcity in the summer of 1917. Millions of men and hundreds of millions of capital in Europe have been withdrawn from the tillage of the soil and given over to slaughter. In America a tremendous amount of human energy has been taken away from other pursuits and devoted to the task of manufacturing engines of destruction. In the summer of 1917 Europe will be in a greater need of food than ever before, and America will have less to spare. When there is not enough food to go round somebody must starve.

But there is a special difficulty with regard to Ireland and Great Britain. Both countries have been allowed to run into grass. Travel from here to Dublin you pass through a sea of grass. Cross over to Holyhead and up to London through the heart of England—another sea of grass. Then go over to the Continent and travel from Calais to Paris, and on through France and Germany to Berlin, you pass through an ocean of tillage. France can feed itself, Germany can feed itself, but England can supply itself with wheaten bread for only three months of the year, and Ireland for little more than one month. Ireland and Great Britain being Islands, must get all their outside supplies from across the seas. France and Italy can get help from Spain, Germany and Austria, can get assistance from the neutral countries around her borders. But neither Ireland or Great Britain can get a single cargo of wheat from abroad that does not run the gauntlet of the German submarine. It is very pleasant to be told by Mr. Balfour that the submarine menace is well in hand and that English commerce has increased instead of diminished since the war began. But we in Ireland whose memories can go back for a few years, must refuse to regard Mr. Balfour as infallible either as a historian or as a prophet. The activity of the German submarine may have abated for the past few weeks. It abated several times before the submarine campaign commenced, only to come on again with re-doubled fury. Who can foretell what that activity will be within the coming twelve months? Above all who can foretell what it might be during the spring and summer of 1917? There have been times within the past six months when a hundred thousand tons of shipping were sent to the bottom within one week. It is not at all improbable that that record may be beaten three or four times over before the crop we are preparing to sow is consumed. If that comes to pass England will have to accept whatever terms Germany may wish to impose upon her, unless in the meantime an enormous increase can be made in the supply of home-grown food. Not matter what the military situation in France may be, England will have to submit as soon as the spectre of famine begins to stalk through the land. Neither a con-

script army nor an unlimited supply of high explosives, will be of any avail when Ireland's black '47 is transferred to the England of 1917.

"The British navy has two defensive functions. One is to prevent invasion. The other is to safeguard the flow of commerce. A navy may be quite capable of preventing invasion, and yet not be able to safeguard commerce. The German navy is a case in point. The German navy has protected the German coast from invasion. It has failed to protect German commerce. Up to the present the English navy has succeeded in performing both functions. That the English navy will be able to protect the country from invasion, there can be no room to doubt. That it will be able to continue to protect English commerce, there is every room to doubt. The United Kingdom may be compared to a besieged city. It cannot be taken by assault. But as long as it is unable to feed itself, it can be starved into surrender.

"The problem we are met to discuss is how Ireland is to contribute its share to the food supply. Last year Ireland had 70,000 acres of wheat. It would require 700,000 to supply us with bread. To supply the whole United Kingdom, would require 7,000,000 acres. Of the 7,000,000 acres Ireland ought to supply 2,000,000. We have altogether 20,000,000 acres of land in Ireland. If we are to do our bit in a tillage sense we must have one-tenth of all the land in Ireland under wheat before the end of March. How can it be done? It cannot be done by going round the country summoning meetings and making speeches like the present. It must be tackled in the same way that the army was tackled. It must be taken up in the same way the munitions were taken up. We need an agricultural Lloyd George. We require a tillage Kitchener. Just as Lloyd George was made minister of munitions, so there must be a minister of tillage. Give him ample powers. Give him plenty of money. The hundreds of millions put at the disposal of Lloyd George will disappear in smoke. They will be represented only in debt upon the coming generations. A hundred millions given to a tillage minister, will grow into a golden harvest and save the drain upon the countries' resources for imported food.

"Instead of sending men round to curse and abuse the farmers' sons because they will not go into your army, invite them back upon the rich plains from which their fathers were driven, and ask them to feed you when there comes upon your land the hour of sorest trial. Go round by the bogs and the mountain-sides of Ireland's barren fringe, and call them back to toil once more in the rich heart of Ireland, till one golden sea of wheat shall wave in the sunshine from Limerick to Dundalk and from Wexford to Sligo. Let the fifteen thousand boys and the fifteen thousand girls who leave Ireland every year remain to found fifteen thousand happy homes by the grass-grown roads of the central plain. Send out across the Atlantic and invite the exile back. You will get a hundred thousand of the keenest minds and the cleanest bodies that any race of men can show. Show that the old sinner has at last repented, and intends to disgorge his ill-gotten gains, and even though the repentance may have come under the terror of the skeleton hand of death, it may still bring him mercy and life.

"When England planned an expeditionary force to send to Flanders, she did not send a number of children out with tea spoons to dig the trenches. When she tried to force the Dardanelles she did not borrow any of our Lough Gill motor boats to lead the charge. Her munitions campaign does not consist of a man with a tin whistle playing 'Pop goes the Weasel' in front of the powder factories. A few twopence-halfpenny meetings, a few Jack-in-the-box speeches and a placard in front of every police barrack will not dig out of Ireland the roots of a grass that have been growing deeper into the soil for 70 years.

"The present tillage campaign is useful only as a means of rousing interest in the country. Looked at from that point of view, the Department is doing a good work. But as a real tillage movement capable of meeting the necessity of the case, it is childish. Let these county conventions go the rounds of all Ireland. Let them be followed up by local meetings. What estimate have you made of the probable net result? Is there anybody sanguine enough

to hope that the result will be a hundred thousand acres of wheat, instead of 70,000 of the past year? What is the meaning of such a result in terms of Irish food supply? It means that instead of having home grown bread for thirty-five days we shall have enough for fifty days. So that instead of commencing to starve on the 5th of Feb., 1917, we shall have enough to keep body and soul together for fifteen days longer.

"Does the Department of Agriculture speak as the mouthpiece of the Imperial Government or is it carrying on a little campaign on its own account? We know that while the Department of Agriculture is blowing hot in this matter the Congested Districts Board is blowing cold. The only large increase in tillage that has been made within the past few years has been made upon the few thousand acres of grass land that has been divided up amongst the people. Yet this is the time chosen to withdraw a portion of the grant and restrict the work of the Board. Is it then going too far to ask whether this is a real tillage movement or a sham tillage movement?

"But though the Government may have no real tillage policy, the Irish people ought to see to it that the danger of famine is kept away from their doors. Unless the Government is prepared to undertake a tillage campaign upon a huge scale, unless it is prepared to add another million a day for tillage to the five millions it is already spending upon the war, then we must be prepared for the probability of starvation. And if it comes to England and Ireland starving, Ireland will have to starve first. There is one remedy in our own hands. Stick to the oats. If we have only enough wheat to give us bread for five weeks of the year, we have oats enough to give us better bread for the whole year round. The famine of '47 would never have been written across the pages of Irish history if the men of that day were men enough to risk death rather than part with their oat crop. Let each farmer keep at least enough oats on hand to carry himself and his family through in case of necessity till next year's harvest.

Now what was the reply of the British Government through the mouth of its representative, Mr. T. W. Russell, to the speech of Father O'Flanagan. It was that Irish people "might as well ask for the moon as ask that money should be put in tillage in the same way that it was put into munitions; and that Father O'Flanagan and 'his friends' (the Sinn Feiners), 'were play-acting and knew they wereplay-acting.'"

Fifteen months later the British Government accepted as its own the policy outlined in this speech of Father O'Flanagan's. It has appointed a Mr. Prothero with "ample powers and plenty of money" to carry it through. And most of the Catholic Bishops in Ireland in their Lenten Patorals warmly approve. But it is too late to make provision for the danger of scarcity in the Spring and Summer of 1917, and as the time for sowing Winter wheat is past, and there is not sufficient time to organise in full the tillage requirements of the Spring, it is too late to make more than partial provision against the danger of scarcity in 1918. However there is still time to prepare for the Spring and Summer of 1919!

If the advice that Father O'Flanagan gave in October, 1915, had been acted upon, the people to-day would not be paying famine prices for potatoes and bread. Father O'Flanagan was an economic prophet, and a prophet is often without honour in his own diocese. In his speech he was irreverent to the British Government, when he spoke on the 9th of October, 1915. On the 10th of October, the Bishop ordered him to leave the Parish of Cliffoey in Sligo, and go to the Parish of Crossna in North Roscommon.

He went and he made history in North Roscommon. He was a prophet in the economics he preached, and the Bishop was not a prophet. But the bishop had the power of transferring him to a remote part of his diocese and he used the power. Father O'Flanagan's politics now no more convince the Bishop than Father O'Flanagan's economics did in 1915. And the Bishop has again used

his power—this time to deny Father O'Flanagan the right in future of addressing any public meeting or demonstration of Father O'Flanagan's countrymen.

The priests of Sligo town who are nearly all anxious to be present at the banquet to Count Plunkett, and most of whom had purchased tickets, were not there. Why? The Priests in the diocese of Killala who sent congratulations to Count Plunkett on his election have since been penalised. Priests in another Western diocese are about to be "invited" to be unanimous with the Bishop in his political views.

Three-fourths of the people—two-thirds of the Irish priests—are in revolt against the Parliamentary Party. In the Province of Connacht not one member of the Party—not Mr. John Dillon himself—could secure re-election if there were a General Election to-morrow. And in an attempt to save a corrupt party, it is sought to gag the priests of the West—or rather the majority of the priests of the West—for those who will support the Party are to be as free as air.

It is not the Bishops of Ireland—it is three individual bishops who are thus abusing their authority as bishops over their priests in the interests of a political party. The attempt must not be persisted in—a Connacht priest must not be denied his elementary right as an Irish citizen if he refuses to regard Mr. John Redmond or Mr. John Dillon as persons whom he should revere and support. Rome did honour to Count Plunkett, Rome did honour to Father Michael O'Flanagan when it brought him to St. Sylvester's and gave him the blue-ribbon of Pulpit oratory. The young Irish curate whom Rome ranked with Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Ryan, and Monsignor Benson in its pulpit is forbidden by his Bishop to raise that eloquent voice which rang from St. Sylvester's, before "public meetings and demonstrations" of Irishmen. The Bishop of Elphin meant well when he penalised Father O'Flanagan for the speech we reproduce. He means well when he penalises him to-day. But admittedly he was wrong in the first case. We trust his lordship will consider and come to the conclusion that whatever a bishop's individual view in politics may be; that the use of his authority in support of that view is illegitimate when it tramples on the equal right of any of his priests to hold and express political views with which he is not in sympathy.

FRIEDRICH LIST.

Since we wrote a few weeks ago about Friedrich List and Matthew and Henry Carey, the German and Irish economists who built up modern Germany and modern America in the teeth of English Free Trade doctrine, we have received scores of letters requesting further information on List and his economic doctrine. List's economic doctrine—an expansion of Carey's, is that Nationality is the highest value in economics, and the doctrine as expounded in his famous work—scarcely known in Ireland however—"The National System of Political Economy."

We cannot, as some of our readers request, expound that system in detail in our columns. Our space is limited and there are many other urgent matters to deal with; but as to its application to Ireland we shall here quote from a speech by the Editor of this Journal delivered at the first Convention of Sinn Féin in Nov., 1905—

"The Anglicisation of the Irish mind, said the speaker, "is exhibited in its attitude towards economics. The system of economics which Adam Smith and his successors invented for the purpose of obtaining control of the world's market for England, is taught in our educational system and believed by the people to be the quintessence of wisdom. It does not matter that all Europe has rejected it. England still holds on, and because England holds on, Ireland, under the British system of education, perforce concludes the "as-good-and-as-cheap" shibboleth must be a gospel. Well, with the remainder of English imposi-

tions and humbugs we must bundle it out of the country. I am

In Economics

largely a follower of the man who thwarted England's dream of the commercial conquest of the world, and who made the mighty confederation before which England has fallen commercially and is falling politically—Germany. His name is a famous one in the outside world, his works are text-books of economic science in other countries—in Ireland his name is unknown and his works unheard of—I refer to Friedrich List, the real founder of the German Zollverein—the man whom England caused to be persecuted by the Government of his native country, and whom she hated and feared more than any man since Napoleon—the man who saved Germany from falling a prey to English economics, and whose brain conceived the great industrial and united Germany of to-day. Germany has hailed Friedrich List by the title of Preserver of the Fatherland. Louis Kossuth hailed him as

The Economic Teacher of the Nations.

There is no room for him in the present educational system of Ireland. With List—whose work on the National System of Political Economy I would wish to see in the hands of every Irishman—I reject that so-called political economy which neither recognises the principle of nationality nor takes into consideration the satisfaction of its interests, which regards chiefly the mere exchangeable value of things without taking into consideration the mental and political, the present and the future interests and the productive powers of the nation, which ignores the nature and character of social labour and the operation of the union of powers in their higher consequences, considers private industry only as it would develop itself under a state of free interchange with the whole human race were it not divided into separate nations. Let me continue in the words of this great man to define the nation. Brushing aside the fallacies of Adam Smith and his tribe, List points out that

Between the Individual and Humanity stands, and must continue to stand, a great fact—the Nation.

The Nation, with its special language and literature, with its peculiar origin and history, with its special manners and customs, laws and institutions, with the claims of all these for existence, independence, perfection, and continuance for the future, and with its separate territory, a society which, united by a thousand ties of minds and interests, combines itself into one independent whole, which recognises the law of right for and within itself, and in its united character is still opposed to other societies of a similar kind in their national liberty, and consequently can only, under the existing conditions of the world, maintain self-existence and independence by its own power and resources. "As the individual chiefly obtains by means of the nation, and in the nation, mental culture, power of production, security and prosperity, so is the civilisation of the human race only conceivable and possible by means of the civilisation and development of individual nations. But as there are amongst men infinite differences in condition and circumstances, so are there in nations—some are strong, some are weak, some are highly civilised, some are half-civilised, but in all exists as in the unit the impulse of self-preservation and desire for improvement.

It is a task of National Politics to ensure existence and continuance to the Nation

to make the weak strong, the half-civilised more civilised. It is the task of national economics to accomplish the economical development of the nation and fit it for admission into the universal society of the future. I now take List's definition of a normal nation such as we desire to see Ireland. "It should," he says, "possess a common language and literature, a territory endowed with manifold natural resources, extensive and with convenient frontiers and a numerous population. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation must be developed in it proportionately, arts and sciences, educational establishments, and universal cultivation must stand in it on equal footing with material production. Its constitution, laws, and institutions must afford to those who belong to it a high degree of security and liberty, and must promote religion, morality and prosperity. It must possess sufficient power to defend its independence and to protect its foreign com-

merce." Sir, in the economy of Adam Smith, there is no place for the soul of a nation. To him the associations of its past possess no value; but in the economy of the man who made out of the petty and divided States of the Rhine the great Germany we see to-day there is a place, and it is the highest. True political economy recognises that prompt cash payment, to use Mitchel's phrase, is not the sole nexus between man and man—that there is a higher value than a cash value, and that higher value nationality possesses. When the German Commercial League 60 years ago exhorted all to stand together for a Germany such as we see to-day, it appealed to what its great economist had taught it was the highest value in economics—nationality. Can we imagine our manufacturers addressing our people as these German manufacturers did? Perhaps we can; but we can only imagine it as occurring at some distant period when they have realised the value of a national spirit. Listen—"Every misfortune that we have suffered for centuries past may be traced to one cause; and that is that we have ceased to consider ourselves a united nation of brothers, whose first duty is to exert our common efforts to oppose the common enemy. . . . More beautiful than the spring of nature—more beautiful than any picture created by poetic imagination—more beautiful even than the death of the hero resigning his life for the benefit of his country, is the dawning of a new and glorious era for Germany. That which has been gradually vanishing from us since the days of the Hohenstaufen Emperors—that which is indispensable to enable us to fulfil the destiny marked out for us in the history of the world—that which alone is wanting to render us the mightiest of all the nations of the earth—viz.: the feeling of national honour—we are now about to recover. For what object have our honoured patriots been striving? To imbue the people with the feeling of national honour." I shall detain you with Friedrich List, because he is unknown in the country which now needs his teaching most. We in Ireland have been taught by our British Lords Lieutenant, our British Education Boards, and our Barrington Lecturers, that our destiny is to be the fruitful mother of flocks and herds—that it is not necessary for us to pay attention to our manufacturing arm, since our agricultural arm is all-sufficient. The fallacy dissolves before reflection—but it is a fallacy which has passed for truth in Ireland. With List, I reply: A nation cannot promote and further its civilisation, its prosperity, and its social progress equally as well by exchanging agricultural products for manufactured goods as by establishing a manufacturing power of its own. A merely agricultural nation can never develop to any extent a home or a foreign commerce, with inland means of transport and foreign navigation, increase its population in due proportion to their well-being or make notable progress in its moral, intellectual, social and political development: it will never acquire important political power or be placed in a position to influence the cultivation and progress of less advanced nations and to form colonies of its own. A mere agricultural state is infinitely less powerful than an agricultural-manufacturing state. The former is always economically and politically dependent on those foreign nations which take from it agriculture in exchange for manufactured goods. It cannot determine how much it will produce—it must wait and see how much others will buy from it. The agricultural-manufacturing states on the contrary, produce for themselves large quantities of raw materials and provisions, and supply merely the deficiency from importation. The purely agricultural nations are thus dependent for the power of effecting sales on the chances of a more or less bountiful harvest in the agricultural-manufacturing nations. They have, moreover, to compete in their sales with other purely agricultural nations, whereby the power of sale in itself is uncertain—they are exposed to the danger of ruin in their trading with agricultural-manufacturing nations by war or new tariffs, whereby they suffer the double disadvantage of finding no buyers for their surplus agricultural products and of failing to obtain supplies of the manufactured goods they require. An agricultural nation is a man with one arm who makes use of an arm belonging to another person, but cannot, of course, be sure of having it always available. An agricultural-manufacturing nation is a man who has two arms of his own at his own disposal, and the relative cultivation of the agricultural and manufacturing arms of a fertile country will support in comfort thrice the population of a country developed in agriculture alone."

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24th, 1917.

WHERE THEY BREAK TREATIES— WHERE THEY MAKE TREATIES.

The position of the Irish voter, the Irish representative, the English Parliament and the European Peace Conference was crystallised in a phrase spoken by the Mayor of Sligo at the banquet on St. Patrick's Night. "Send them," said he, speaking of those whom Irish constituencies elect, "Send them where they make treaties—not to where they break treaties."

For generations Ireland has sent her elected representatives to the place where England breaks treaties. Now she can and must send them to the place where Europe will make treaties—the Peace Conference.

For generations Ireland has sent her elected representatives to the place where England breaks treaties—and now there are a quarter of a million less roof-trees in Ireland, millions of acres less cornland, and a million less men and women than there were on that fatal day in 1801, when, rejecting the shrewd advice of one wise Irishman, Irishmen entered the London Parliament, to be impotent of achievement and yet to sanction by their presence the imposition of a hostile and usurped authority upon our country.

Ireland has wakened from a troubled dream. When we told our countrymen thirteen years ago that the election by an Irish constituency of one man who would refuse to enter the doors of the English Parliament or acknowledge the validity of its authority over Ireland would do more to bring the Irish Question to a solution by carrying it into the region of world-politics than all the speeches, resolutions and manoeuvres of an Irish Party in the English House, the vast majority of our countrymen could not credit our teaching; when Charles Dolan of Manorhamilton, convinced by his experience in the English Parliament that we were right, resigned that institution and asked Leitrim to elect him under the banner of Sinn

Fein, he was defeated in the contest—for he had a century of misunderstanding in Irish politics to overcome as well as the organised forces of political corruption; but when he brought 1,200 voters of Leitrim with him in repudiating the right of England to govern this country, he won a victory. Nine years afterwards Roscommon achieved for Ireland what Leitrim first gallantly essayed. Had Leitrim succeeded the past nine years of Irish history would have been written in an Irish hand. Resolve now that the next nine years shall so be written.

Behold what happened. Roscommon having elected a Representative, not a member of the English Parliament—having elected not a man to sit in that Parliament, but a man to refuse it recognition—then at once that Parliament rushes to concern itself with the "Settlement of Ireland." Harken to English Whig and Tory and Radical barking in unison—"The Irish question must be settled." The "Times" and the "Daily Telegraph"—Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Bonar Law—the instigators, the financiers, and the leaders of the "Ulster" conspiracy against Ireland, are now determined that Ireland shall have Home Rule. Seventeen years of Mr. Redmond and his marionettes posturing on the "Floor of the House" brought from that House not Irish Self-Government, but more insults and more handcuffs and more taxes for the Irish people, and why has the election of a man who will not go to the English Parliament made that institution talk more about Ireland and think more about Ireland than it has talked or thought in years—except in the way of coercion? Because every English statesman knows that when Ireland turns her back on the English Parliament, by refusing to elect men to attend its proceedings, Ireland becomes as much a question of European politics as the Balkan States have been for fifty years past; and because under such circumstances no European Congress can discuss and devise the European future without taking the position and relations of Ireland and England into its account. North Roscommon told England that Ireland was going to send her representatives to the Peace Conference—and to avert Ireland going to the Peace Conference, England would even set up a body in Ireland and label it—"This is guaranteed to be an Irish Parliament—please do not touch." Therefore, if a general election intervenes between now and the assembling of the Peace Conference Ireland must elect not 80 men to attend the English Parliament, but 80 men to proceed to that Conference, headed by Count Plunkett, and to claim and demand from it the restoration of Ireland to Europe by the restoration of her sovereign independence. We guarantee that Ireland in such circumstances will be admitted to the Conference and that her claim will be examined and debated by assembled Europe.

But unless a political accident happens, the English Government will not permit Ireland the opportunity of a General Election. Still Ireland must prepare for the possibility and be ready for the fact of bye-elections occurring in the coming months. Let therefore, men of character, men of principle, men of intelligence, men of ability, be found in each constituency to champion the cause when opportunity for election comes—the greatest opportunity Ireland has had for more than a century—the opportunity of this generation—the opportunity of gaining Europe to declare that the freedom of Ireland is necessary to the future stability of the world.

Think of it: it is the opportunity of a century. It can be done and it must be done by the people declaring now that the men they elect in each constituency they will elect to not to the place in London where they break treaties, but to the place in Europe where they will make the Treaties that will govern the destinies of the nations for another hundred years.

THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

V.—THE TREASON OF SADLIER AND KEOGH (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.]

John of Tuam.

The Bishop of Elphin and the other Bishops who took active part in the fight that now began between the Sadlier and Keogh party and the Catholic Nationalists took part on the side of the place-hunters, with one noble exception—the Archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale. He had been a strong supporter of the "Irish Brigade," as the place-hunting group styled themselves until it committed treason. Then he did not hesitate to condemn them. "How to guard against future treachery," he wrote to George Henry Moore, "is now the question, as it was often before, seriously propounded. Not certainly by curing people of their credulity, for that would be a remedy worse than the disease—if disease we should call so wholesome a disposition—no, but by carrying the reform where it is most wanted—by raising the standard of public morality to the level sufficiently lofty for the idea of a Christian people who still believe that grave and serious and solemn promises are sacred things."

But John of Tuam stood alone. In the constituency of every one of the traitors there were priests, who gallantly urged the people to oppose them, but in the Episcopate the anti-place-hunters had no active supporter save the fearless Archbishop—a few of the Bishops sympathised with Duffy and Lucas, but fear of Dr. Cullen kept them inactive.

Sadlier in search of a seat found one in Sligo vacated by J.P. Somers, a corrupt place-beggar of the lowest type. This man procured Government situations for cash payment. On one occasion he contracted to provide a Stipendiary Magistracy for a constituent in consideration of a payment of a thousand pounds—£400 to be paid in advance. When the magistrate was appointed he declined to pay the balance, and Somers quite openly and unashamedly appealed to an influential gentleman of the county to use his influence to induce the magistrate to pay up. The influential gentleman instead published the transaction, but the fact did not disturb Mr. Somers. "The price of places," said George Henry Moore, speaking of Connacht at the time, "is as well known and as publicly canvassed as the price of stocks." Mr. Sadlier arrived in Sligo carrying the banner of Faith and Fatherland. He had to contest the seat against a Mr. Hanley, who was furiously denouncing all things Catholic. Mr. Sadlier had hired Hanley as Keogh had hired Norton, to oppose him, to the end of keeping off a genuine candidate, and he instructed Hanley to blaspheme the Catholic religion so that indignant Catholics might be driven to vote for Sadlier. The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin urged Sligo to elect Sadlier and the Parish Priest of Sligo proposed him. The League, not deceived by Hanley, put Mr. MacNamara Crotwell in nomination. Father Peeney, the Vicar-General of the diocese, supported the Tenant Leaguer, and several of the Sligo priests fought for him bravely. They were defeated, and their lives endangered by the murderous mobs employed by Sadlier. The man who hired the mobs and bribed the voters was an English Catholic named Stoner. For his services at Sligo and elsewhere Sadlier secured this ruffian an appointment as Chief Justice of Victoria, Australia, from the Aberdeen Government—a post worth £2,000 a year. However, while Mr. Stoner, English Catholic, fresh from his work of organising mobs to intimidate or murder Irish Nationalist priests and his task of bribing voters, was en route to Australia to preside over the administration of justice in its chief colony, revelations of his general infamy appeared publicly and were seized on by the English Opposition to embarrass the Government. The Government was obliged to cancel his appointment and pretend that it was unaware of his character when it made the appointment.

Mr. Sadlier was triumphantly elected, and

although on an election petition it was proved and found that bribery had been carried on by his agents, he was permitted to retain his seat. The re-election of Sadlier and Keogh were heavy blows to the Tenant Righters. They were endorsements of place-hunting—a repudiation of the party of Independent Opposition by Catholic Irish constituencies. Some of the weak members who had sufficient virtue not to desert with Sadlier and Keogh, but who could not stand straight without the bracing of popular opinion, began to fall away, and at the end of 1853—eighteen months after the election—more than thirty of the pledged Independent Oppositionists were sitting on the Government Benches and servilely voting as the Government Whips directed them.

The Dowling Forgery.

At this period an incident happened which filled for a moment Lucas and Duffy with the belief that the protecting influence of the Episcopate, which had been thrown around the traitors, would be perforce withdrawn, and the situation saved. Mr. John Sadlier had founded and controlled the Tipperary Bank. At the Carlow election in 1852 he sought the support of a Mr. Dowling, who exercised some influence in the small constituency, influence that might turn the scale at the election. Dowling had bills in the Tipperary Bank that had not come to maturity, and he had given a friend of his named Crotty who endorsed them a bond as security. Dowling refused to support Sadlier, although he was offered a renewal of his bills for any period and a cash loan of £300, never to be pressed for. He remained adamant, rejecting all bribes. A Father Dempsey, one of Sadlier's leading supporters, then induced Crotty to give him the bond, which he immediately travelled up with to Dublin and handed to Sadlier. The name of a dying attorney was forged to the bond in Dublin in Sadlier's cousin's office and a writ of execution issued against Dowling, who was arrested by the Sheriff on the morning of the poll. He was kept in jail for six weeks, and on his release having declared he would institute an action at law, he was again arrested through Sadlier's machinations and kept in prison for months. In the subsequent legal proceedings Sadlier appeared on the witness table and swore point blank he had had no connection with Dowling's arrest. The jury by their verdict found he had perjured himself in the box. The English Opposition seized on the case, and clamoured for the resignation of a Government which could include such a man in its membership. To escape dismissal, Sadlier hastily resigned from the Government, but retained his membership of Parliament and still posed as a "Catholic Leader." The expectations of Duffy and Lucas that he would be publicly disowned by the hierarchy were not realised. Sadlierism was not dead, although the "Nation," exulting in the public exposure of the character of its leader, thus wrote its epitaph on the morrow of the verdict which branded him a perjurer:—

"The corruption of the constituencies was not the only or the worst evil of Sadlierism. Every office which is distributed from the Solicitor-Generalship and the Tax Commissionships down to the last clerkship spent on Sligo was notoriously given as the reward of political profligacy. . . . Now that it has received the last brand in a Court of Justice who can regard without shame the immense injury that has been done to the influence of the clergy in the country from the day on which the bishops and priests of Athlone and Carlow were induced to excuse the breach of the most sacred pledges to the hour in which Father Dempsey, used and flung aside, walked out of the Court of Exchequer with the censure of a Whig Catholic judge ringing in his ears."

"Judge" Keogh.

Mr. Sadlier's exposure was soon followed by the flight of Edmund O'Flaherty, another of the "Irish Brigade," and the unsuccessful opponent of John Francis Maguire at Dungarvan. O'Flaherty was one of the "practical patriots" who had sought and secured a Government position "to benefit his country by working from the inside." He was Commissioner of Income Tax and brother of Anthony O'Flaherty (M.P. for Galway, who sold himself for a promise of the Under-Secretaryship at Dublin Castle and was ejected out of it). He had borrowed and forged and embezzled until he could no longer hope to escape detection and then having raised all the money possible from the Jews of Dublin fled to parts unknown. Two months later his friend and

colleague, Mr. William Keogh, was made a judge by the English Government to the stupefaction of the Irish public.

"Mr. William Keogh a judge!" wrote Duffy in the "Nation." "With life and death in his hands, with the peace and honour and property of the community hanging upon the breath of his lips, with the liberties and safeguards of society under his direct control! Mr. William Keogh, with the antecedents of his unprincipled political career, his mediocre professional character, his false pledges, his disreputable associates, all intimately familiar to thousands in the city and throughout Ireland—this gentleman a judge! we hesitate to believe it possible."

But all things are possible to British Government in Ireland. Mr. Keogh was a judge, and before the appointed time when he died a lunatic, he delivered from the Bench in Ireland the most scathing invective against the Catholic Bishops who had helped him there that is extant in the printed records of the nineteenth century.

The Independent Opposition dwindled. Shee, the nominal leader, a weak but not originally a corrupt man, lost heart and fell away, to become later Mr. Justice Shee of the English Bench. It can at least be said of him that he did not desert until three-fourths of his nominal followers had preceded him. When desertion and place-hunting had become not only popular, but loyalty and corruptibility were made to appear a species of impiety, a weak man cannot be too harshly condemned for following the fashion and embracing evil as his good. "To prevent deserters," as the "Nation" said, "you must flog deserters. But when they are exonerated, when Catholic Bishops become their political sponsors—when added to the wages of treason there is popular immunity—what wonder then that the desertion becomes universal!"

Nationalist Priests and Whig Bishops.

The backsliding of Shee led to decisive action against the young priests who were gallantly backing Duffy and Lucas in the fight against the place-hunters. Father Matthew Keefe, the Callan Curate, proceeded to work against Shee's re-election. The Bishop of Ossory intervened, and commanded him to take no further part in public affairs. Father Doyle, of New Ross, who had beaten the Catholic "Slave of Pontius Pilate," Sir Thomas Redington, and caused Gavan Duffy to be elected, was banished to Ramsgrange: Father O'Shea was silenced, and over nearly the whole of the country, save in John of Tuam's country, the Nationalist priests of Ireland were gagged by the bishops on the plea that it was unseemly for them to engage in political controversies, while the same bishops gave their countenance and support to the place-hunters, even as in the case of the Bishop of Kilmore actually from the altar and the hustings exhorting the voters to support an avowed Catholic place-hunter, a man who had supported the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and a man who was bringing up his children in the Protestant faith, and who boasted from the platform that the bishop sanctioned all he had done and was doing.

Of the few dignitaries of the Catholic Church who gave support to the Independent Oppositionists, Archdeacon Fitzgerald of Rathkeale was the most energetic and fearless. Had there been a score as bold as he to stand by the younger clergymen there might still have been hope of saving the Nationalist movement of the Fifties from wreck. "I read," he wrote to the Press, after the silencing of the Callan Curates by their Bishop, "in some old world history, of Les-tock and Matthews, two captains who, from mutinous or cowardly impulses, fled from the battle, leaving their rough old Admiral Denbow to defeat and death. When they returned to England they were turned out of the service with ignomy, and their swords broken over their heads. Pity they had not to deal with the tender-hearted folks of Athlone or Sligo or Carlow. Bonfires and illuminations and triumphal arches would have awaited Les-

(Continued on next page).

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tock and Matthews. I can imagine the Very Rev. Father — or the patriotic and eloquent Father — returning their swords and expressing a hope (a hope not likely to be disappointed) that they would use their weapons as nobly and as honourably as before. The representation of a borough or county is the mightiest weapon for good or evil to the Celtic race and the Celtic Church that an Irishman can wield in our time, and is it not evil of the worst kind to commend that all powerful weapon to dishonest traitorous hands—to the felon hands of those who falsely and perfidiously violate their solemn pledges. To me it would appear that the parties who select such as these to sit on that awful tribunal where the doom of the Irish race is in the balance, share in the guilt of him who opened the gates of Rome to Alaric or the fishermen who steered the Algerine corsair into Baltimore to visit midnight slaughter on the sleeping and unsuspecting town."

The Nationalist priests of Ireland silenced, the place-hunter and pledge-breaker sustained by the majority of the Episcopacy, and the people warned by Archbishop Cullen against "those whose only crime it was that they would not sell themselves to the enemies of their country," the Tenant League Movement seemed doomed. The Tenant League priests decided on appealing to Rome, but were intimidated by their bishops—a "reign of terror," as Lucas described it, was inaugurated against the Nationalist priesthood. Thereupon he decided to go to Rome himself and appeal to the Propaganda and the Pope against the patronage of place-hunting in Irish politics by Dr. Cullen and his Whig Bishops.

VI. — LUCAS'S APPEAL TO ROME AGAINST THE PLACE-HUNTERS.

Lucas, born of an English Quaker family, became the first of English Catholic publicists. Neither before nor since has Catholic England produced in journalism and affairs his peer. His sympathies had always been with Ireland—it was he who startled Catholic England when it sneered at the Irish by telling it that the Irish Catholic owed not a jot to it, but it—English Catholic peer and English Catholic priest—owed everything to the Irish—but he had been a frank and candid opponent of the Repeal of the Union until he came in contact with the Young Irelanders. John Mitchel and Gavan Duffy were amongst his dearest friends, and in the end he adopted their political creed. Soon after the debacle of 1848, he came to Ireland, and thenceforward devoted himself to the Irish cause and the advancement of Catholic interests—not as the scoundrels Sadlier and Keogh affected to do by increasing dissension and misunderstanding between Catholic and Protestant, but by uniting Irishmen and exhibiting Catholicity in its spirit and charity and tenderness towards all good men—substituting to the vision of the long-prejudiced for the hideous and bloody hag they had conjured up before them as Catholicity, the angelic embodiment of a creed which gave Francis of Assisi and a hundred souls as beautiful to the salvation of man; until Irishmen who did not accept the creed of the Catholic Church yet could learn to respect and revere its spirit and live in harmony and good-will with their Catholic fellows—for peace and goodwill are not begotten of uniformity in thought or creed, but of understanding and respect.

If Ireland had had a Catholic Press carried on in the spirit of Lucas's "Tablet" national union among all creeds could not have been indefinitely delayed. Unhappily since Lucas died, the thing that in Ireland calls itself Catholic Press has been and is—with one or two honourable exceptions—remarkable only as reproducing under the name of "Catholic" all the vices that the rabid organs of Orangeism swelter in—and for adding to them a defence of that violation of public morality involved, in the circumstances of Ireland, in place-hunting.

With the Apostolic Legate in Ireland, Archbishop Cullen, openly on the side of the place-hunters, and his bishops, with a few exceptions, using all the instruments of their office to silence the Nationalist priests, with the announcement, now officially made, that the clergy were to be interdicted from politics—that is, the clergy who refused to condone pledge-breaking and place-hunting and persisted in exhorting the people against Sadlier and Keogh and those who followed their example—Frederick Lucas was chosen to go to Rome to fight the battle of the Nationalist priests against the Whig bishops. The priests had first determined to draw up a me-

morial and send it by a deputation of their own number to the Pope, but this, under the existing reign of terror, was found impossible, and Lucas had to undertake the mission, which he did, fortified by the opinion of the theologians that the action taken by Dr. Cullen and his Whig bishops was indefensible. The Senior Professor of Theology in Maynooth—Dr. O'Hanlon—in advising Lucas, wrote:—

The author of all the mischief is the Archbishop of Dublin. He has become far more willing than poor Dr. Murray ever was to carry into effect the views of the Saxon Government in regard to this unfortunate country. In truth he has been up to the present regarded in Rome as the organ and mouthpiece of the Irish Church, and he has employed the influence thus acquired in endeavouring to subjugate prelates, priests, and people to the British Government. It is with this view he has, in utter contempt of the recommendation of both priests and bishops, caused the rejection by the Holy See of several of the most worthy priests, and substituted in their places as prelates of our Church men who have little other merit than that of subserviency to his views and wishes.

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Printed by PATRICK MAHON, 3 Yarnhall St., Dublin,
and Published at the Offices, 6 Harcourt Street,
Dublin.