

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

The "Freeman's Journal" which now boasts the possession of the smallest circulation of any daily newspaper in Ireland, publishes in its obscure columns a "refutation" of the "misrepresentation" of the Home Rule Act. The refutation is a series of falsehoods and false suggestions. If there be any of the few persons who buy the "Freeman's Journal" yet who has doubts on the point, he can solve them by purchasing a copy of the bogus Home Rule Act from Messrs. Ponsonby, Grafton St., Dublin, and reading it for himself.

The "Freeman's Journal" boldly lies about the Veto Power. It does not really exist, it argues, and anyhow the same power exists over the British Colonies. Let us see what the veto power is according to the Act as printed by the English Government:

It expressly declares that the Power and Authority of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland will remain unaffected and undiminished after the Irish Parliament is established.

At any time the British Parliament may impose a tax on Ireland without reference to the Irish Parliament.

No Act of the British Parliament extending to Ireland, passed after the establishment of the Irish Parliament, may be altered or repealed by the Irish Parliament, even though the new British Act infringes the powers delegated to the Irish Parliament.

Furthermore, any Act passed by the Irish Parliament in pursuance of the powers conferred upon it under Home Rule may be declared void by the British Parliament or may be altered by the British Parliament in any way it deems fit.

In addition to these powers it is provided that any law made by the Irish Parliament at any time in pursuance of the powers delegated to it becomes void automatically when the British Parliament passes a general Act in which a different law is made. The only exception to this is in the case of Customs and Excise duties, which the Home Rule Bill gives it power to vary.

Apart from these powers of the British Parliament to annul or reverse the legislation of the Irish Parliament, the British Cabinet can direct the Lord Lieutenant to postpone to an indefinite period his assent to any Act passed in Dublin. And even though an Act passes the Irish Parliament and receives the Royal assent it may at any time be impugned by any person or corporation as invalid. The question whether an Act of the Irish Parliament, signed in the Monarch's name, and which has been for a term of years regarded as settled law is not and never has been law is then to be decided by the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council sitting in London. The tribunal is to consist of not less than four British lawyers and one Irish lawyer.

The pettiest diet in the Central European Empires has no such veto-power imposed upon it, as is here provided to be imposed upon Ireland.

The power of veto and interference thus retained to England bears no analogy to that nominally retained over the British Colonies. These Colonies control their own Custom-houses and their armed forces. If England attempted to exercise a veto on their Acts they could retort by increasing the Customs duties on British goods and in the last resort by armed force. Under the Bill Ireland is prohibited from imposing tariffs or raising armed forces. In the event of the British Parliament exercising its powers to annul, alter, amend, suspend, or override Irish legislation, enacted in pursuance of the powers assigned to it by the Home Rule Bill, Ireland is bereft of the powers of

resistance which Canada, Australasia and South Africa hold. She cannot retort by imposing tariffs against England—she cannot call a single armed man to her assistance. She can do nothing but pass a resolution of protest.

In 1893, when Mr. John Redmond was posing as a Parnellite he demanded that a guarantee should be inserted in the Home Rule Bill that the British Parliament would not exercise its power of legislation for Ireland over the head of the Irish legislature in respect to the questions committed to its charge by the Home Rule Bill. He pointed out that so far from the presence of Irish Members at Westminster affording protection against unfair use of the veto powers, their presence there would be an invitation to have it regarded as a Court of Appeal from the Irish legislature. "Men would go there with the purpose of wrecking the Irish constitution by initiating debates on every Irish question." Under such a veto-power, he said, Ireland's position after Home Rule could be rendered worse than her position without Home Rule. He stated that Ireland could not tolerate the setting-up of the British Parliament as the Court of Appeal over the Irish legislature's proceedings.

That was 24 years ago. Now Mr. Redmond has accepted all this and a veto-power more stringent than that of the Bill of 1893, and the "Freeman's Journal" brazenly denies the fact.

With a cynical contempt for the intelligence of its readers, that no doubt is largely merited, the "Freeman's Journal" pretends to deny that England will collect and receive Irish taxes and decide how much of them she will return. Thus it is. Not a penny of the taxes imposed by the proposed "Home Rule Parliament" can be collected by an official appointed by that Parliament or responsible to that Parliament. Every penny of taxes levied in Ireland will be collected by officials appointed by England, and responsible alone to England. Every penny of the taxes thus collected in Ireland will be sent out of the country to the British Treasury in London, and thereafter, a Board consisting of three persons (including the chairman) appointed by England and two persons appointed by Ireland will determine how much of the money lodged from Ireland in the British Treasury represents Irish taxes imposed by the Irish Parliament within the limits of the powers conferred upon it. On the warrant of this Board with an English majority, and on its warrant alone, the proceeds of Irish Taxation may be paid out of the British Treasury to the Irish Government. From the decision of this Board with a permanent and absolute English majority the Irish Parliament can have no appeal.

And this shadow of a Parliament, this Parliament that cannot appoint or control a single tax-collector, this Parliament which can neither protect Irish Trade and Commerce, collect its own taxes, or borrow money in the open market, is the thing with which the place-hunters of the "Freeman" deceived Ireland for ten years—in return getting Co. Court Judgeships and Local Government Board Inspectorships for themselves and finally £63,000 compensation from an obliged English Government, for property not worth half.

The corruptionists who wallowed for ten years past in English gifts and English favours—from Mr. John Redmond, who got his son-in-law, Max Green, appointed Chief Jailor of the English prisons in Ireland at £1,400 a year down to the M.P.'s who got for their relatives posts in munition works—told the people that this Statute of Proscriptions was a Charter of Liberty.

Under this Home Rule Act—let the people

mark it well—they are expressly forbidden all the rights England affects to be championing for Small Nations. They are forbidden to interfere with the Crown, with peace and war, with the Army and Navy, with Treason, Alienage, or Naturalisation. They are forbidden every right possessed in these matters by Serbia and Belgium, Roumania and little Montenegro. All these rights Grattan's Parliament possessed. It could legislate with regard to the Crown; it could deal with peace and war; it could deal with the Army and Navy; and it could decide what constituted Treason and Alienage and Naturalisation.

Under the Home Rule Act Ireland is forbidden the right the pettiest State possesses—the right of maintaining a territorial force. It is forbidden to make political treaties, it is forbidden to make commercial treaties, it is forbidden to make trade treaties even with the British Colonies, it is forbidden to make Navigation laws, it is forbidden to make Quarantine laws, it is forbidden to appoint consuls, it is forbidden to alter the Merchandise Marks Act, it is forbidden to mint money, it is forbidden to use any weights and measures other than England uses, it is forbidden to appoint tax-collectors, it is forbidden to collect its own taxes, it is forbidden to receive them into its own Exchequer until they have been sent to London and it is there decided how much shall be sent back, it is forbidden to protect its own industries, it is forbidden to charge Customs on any article not taxed by England, it is forbidden to levy an export tax on Irish produce. It is forbidden to exercise every Right and Power and every function of a Free Nation.

When the grafters of Belfast and the place-hunters of Dublin described it as a Charter of Liberty they knew it to be a Statute of Proscription, but this at least it could do. It could create jobs to any extent and tax the Irish people to pay for them. It spelt graft in Excelsis for 70 M.P.'s, 700 relations, and 7,000 hangers-on. And so for years the corruptionists of the press and the platform led the people to really believe that the Home Rule Act was a measure of legislative and fiscal liberty.

The history of the "Freeman's Journal" is a history of Irish traitorism from the days of the Volunteers of 1782 to the days of the Volunteers of 1916. Henry Brooke was a gentleman employed by the British Government to write pamphlets pointing out that the French, who were then at war with England, were robbers, murderers and sacrilegious ruffians, who wished to confiscate the farms of Ireland, thus showing it to be the clear duty of the Irishman in defence of Religion, Morality, and his country to help England to beat the French. Mr. Brooke's pamphlets were distributed free and his labours were handsomely rewarded with English gold. He was the first editor of the "Freeman's Journal."

Mr. Frederick Jebb was a near successor of Mr. Henry Brooke. Mr. Frederick Jebb's business as editor of the "Freeman" was to destroy the Volunteer movement of 1782, while affecting to support it. Mr. Frederick Jebb's name may be seen on the Secret Service Pensions List of Dublin Castle, unearthed by Dr. Madden, with £300 a year opposite it.

Mr. Francis Higgins was successor to Jebb in a "Freeman" editorial chair. Mr. Higgins, who is known in history as the "Sham Squire," received a very generous allowance from Dublin Castle for vilifying Irish Nationalists. In time Mr. Higgins became proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," and the next editor—Brennan—was placed on the Dublin

Castle Secret Service Pay Roll. The betrayal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald added a thousand pounds to Mr. Higgins' store, and the "Freeman" became a first-rate paying property.

Mr. Higgins was called to the eternity appointed for "Freeman's Journal" editors in 1802, and Whittfield Harvey became proprietor. Things were dull for a time, but towards the end of 1802 the faces of the "Freeman" staff brightened up. There were more felons to be set. An imprudent young man named Robert Emmet had been away to France looking for military aid for Ireland, and the sleuths of the "Freeman" got wind of it—so they warned the country of the "Erin-go-Braghites" primed with French gold—as the "Freeman" called the Irish Nationalists of those days—and when Emmet and his comrades perished on the scaffold more blood money was divided up in the "Freeman" office.

Things languished for a while, although Dublin Castle, to its credit, continued an annual subsidy. Then O'Connell arose, and the "Freeman" was instructed to earn its Castle wages. It did so by attacking him and pointing out the danger of Ireland following the rash counsels of a more or less obscure Irish lawyer, instead of the wise teachings of Dr. Troy and Lord Kenmare, two Catholics whom Dublin Castle could rely upon never to outrage its traditions.

But O'Connell won, and the "Freeman" became his sycophant. Also it gave up for a few years its connection with the Castle, and old harlot as it was arrayed itself in the garb of respectability. It of course condemned the Young Irelanders, and after O'Connell's death, finding the British Government had no use for it—that Government then being at the expense of keeping three organs in Dublin—it offered itself secretly to Sadlier and Keogh for £20,000 down to smash up the tenant-right movement. There was no business doing however.

Then came the Crimean war, and the "Freeman" discovered that it was the duty of every Irishman to think imperially and go forth and fight the Russians who were proclaimed the enemies of Religion, Civilisation, and Humanity. An appreciative English Government provided it with a subsidy for its service.

After this it began to languish again—but in the Fenian time it bid boldly for a place on the Castle Pay Roll by its vitriolic denunciation of the Fenians. After John O'Leary's arrest, it pronounced him guilty before he was brought to trial, and Isaac Butt thereupon publicly denounced it as the most contemptible journal in Ireland.

Next came Parnell. It opposed and vilified him for years and made a last supreme attempt to destroy him by forging a story to the effect that he had spoken of Irish Catholics as "Papist rats." Beaten by Parnell it licked his boots and fawned on him until his power was undermined. Then it turned around, and stabbed him to his death. From that time until 1916 it became the humble slave of the English Liberals.

In 1905 the Sinn Fein movement arose. The "Freeman" set to write many articles to prove that Sinn Fein was anti-national. The articles were chiefly written by Mr. Matthias Bodkin, Mr. MacSweeney, and Mr. Donovan. Mr. Bodkin was rewarded by Dublin Castle with a County Court Judgeship, Mr. MacSweeney was made a Sergeant-at-law and promised the Solicitor-Generalship, and Mr. Donovan became a Professor of English Literature and a Commissioner of National Education.

Then the war came, and the "Freeman," as in the days of the Crimea, preached the whole duty of Irishmen to be to die for England—to fight for Religion, Morality, and Civilisation—against not the Russians this time but the Germans. To die anyhow that the "Freeman" staff might become Local Government Board Inspectors, County Court Judges, and so forth. And some went forth and died, and the Local Government Board filled itself up from the "Freeman" office, and even the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland went to a "Freeman" man.

But Hibernia was not thus pacified. Out of the bloody furnace Irish Nationalism rose

stronger and purer, and there was work for the "Freeman" again—work but no money. Its ramshackle premises were destroyed. Ireland had come to loathe the "Freeman"—America had cast it off. No discreet government could hand it over money privately. What was to be done. Why, claim for compensation of course.

So the "Freeman" sent in its claim for compensation, and the British Government paid it—£63,000 down on the nail. And the other night Mr. Ginnell invited the British Chief Secretary to give the name of the valuer on whose advice the Government had enabled the "Freeman's Journal" Co. to issue an enlarged paper in war time by paying £27,000 for machines insured for only £15,000; £2,500 for furniture insured for only £1,000; £6,837 for stock insured for only £3,325; £3,700 for loss of revenue insured for only £1,000; and £21,286 for buildings insured only for £1,000; and would the Government obtain and act upon the valuation of the same valuer in compensating for the newspaper plant destroyed by the military and police in Ireland during the last two years.

The amounts paid to the company represented, said Mr. Duke, what the Property Losses Committee found to be the actual loss upon an insurance basis. A good deal of the property was only partly insured, as the company had its own arrangements for security against an ordinary outbreak of fire. There was no ground for the suggestion that these claimants received any exceptional treatment from the Committee.

Pressed by Mr. Ginnell to give the name of the valuer, Mr. Duke said: "I have not the least idea. I had no doubt he did his duty properly in giving evidence before the Committee. He was not employed by the Government." "Did he not succeed in getting £63,000 of public money to start a paper in Dublin to support the Government?" asked Mr. Ginnell.

We have before us the balance sheet of the "Freeman's Journal" for the year ending 31st December, 1915. The following items appear:—

Premises, plant, machinery	£27,902.
Addition during the year	32.
Stock, including horses, vans, etc.	4,321.
Making a total of over	£32,060.

The British Government has supplied £63,000 to replace the premises, plant, machinery, and stock. And so the "Freeman" has blossomed forth again—doing its old work for the old party—the work it did in 1782, in 1800, in 1803, in 1820, in 1854, in 1865, in 1878, in 1891, in 1907—the work of the Sham Squire—the work of holding Ireland for the English, by defaming and felon-setting the Nationalists of Ireland.

A Western priest writes us a letter not for publication, in which he regrets our references to the three Western Bishops last week. He believes any criticism of the Bishops may interfere with the success of our policy.

These bishops used or are using their authority on behalf of the Irish Parliamentary Party and against us. Fr. O'Flanagan has been forbidden the public platform; priests have been prevented from honouring Count Plunkett; priests have been penalised for congratulating Count Plunkett; priests are to be prevented from taking part in future elections on our side, but they are to be free to the fullest extent to support the Parliamentary Party. The suggestion of our correspondent is that we should be silent about this; that we should hope even with this secret handicap against us, to win; that we should conceal the fact, since its publication may do injury.

We utterly disagree with our correspondent. Two-thirds of the priests in the dioceses of the three bishops we refer to are with us. No question of faith or morals is involved in the matter, and the action of the three bishops is not only tyrannical but indefensible. Ireland submitted to the Whig bishops in the days of Sadlier and Keogh—when the Bishop of Elphin of that day and most of his brethren silenced the priests and smashed up the National movement. Ireland refused to submit to the Whig Bishops in the days of the early Land League, when once again they attempted to silence their priests and prevent them helping to emancipate the Irish tenant-farmer. If Ireland had not done so, the tenant-farmer would be a slave still. Now again in 1917 a party as corrupt as the party of Sadlier and Keogh slinks in the west of Ireland behind three Bishops, and these

three Bishops illegitimately exercise their power to prevent their priests from opposing that party.

If with the help of these three Bishops, the most corrupt party that has ever existed in Irish politics maintains a footing in the west of Ireland, then for every consequence that ensue these bishops will be as responsible as the Bishop of Elphin and his Whig Episcopal colleagues were responsible sixty years ago for the misery wrought on the people of Ireland by the scoundrels Sadlier and Keogh.

"No priest in politics" is the cry of Continental anti-clericalism. "No priests in politics except they think as we do" seems to be the coming cry of these three Irish bishops of 1917. Fortunately up to the present only three Irish bishops have attempted to interfere with their priests. We trust they will cease the attempt as a matter of justice and in the interests of the harmonious relations of the priests and the people. But so far as we are concerned we shall turn the fullest glare of publicity on every such attempt. No priest who stands by Ireland in this crisis will be penalised to our knowledge by any Whig Bishop without the people of Ireland being made acquainted with the fact. We are fighting in the open, and if the majority of the Irish priesthood, who are with us to-day are to be prevented from freely aiding us, those who by abuse of ecclesiastical authority prevent them shall receive from us the fullest attention in Ireland and the fullest advertisement in Rome.

Father O'Flanagan was removed from his parish the day after he made a speech in Sligo displeasing to Mr. T.W. Russell. Mr. Russell is a foreigner, a member of the British Government, and, we believe, a Freemason. We hear a great deal of denunciation of Freemasonry, but we see a Parliamentary Party whose leaders were entertained by the leaders of the Grand Orient Masonry in France supported by some Irish ecclesiastics. Mr. John Dillon telegraphed the other day in the name of Ireland—for which he has as little right to speak as he has for the people of Russia—to congratulate the new Russian Government. Well, the new Russian Government is not a government of the Russian people, but a government of the Grand Orient Masons—of whom Miloukoff, the new Foreign Minister, is the shining Russian star. The Russian people may have risen in Revolution, but the Russian Okhrana has seized the Russian government, and we observe have declared "seditious" the cry of the Russian people for peace. If the Russian people displace the Okhranists, and get the government of the country into their hands, will Mr. John Dillon send another telegram to them congratulating them on the overthrow of Miloukoff and his brethren? A party that dines with Viviani, congratulates Miloukoff and incorporates in the Home Rule Bill a Freemason-Extension clause may for some reason we cannot fathom be deemed worthy of support by three Irish Catholic bishops even to the extent of forbidding freedom of speech to the Catholic priests who oppose it, but it would appear that these bishops can see nothing of the ramifications of the Freemasonry they annually condemn in their pastorals.

The following is the Freemason clause to which we refer in the Home Rule Act:—

Clause 43 (Section I.), It is hereby declared that existing enactments relative to unlawful oaths and unlawful assemblies in Ireland do not apply to the meetings or proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland or of any Lodge or society recognised by the Grand Lodge.

(2), The Irish Parliament shall not have power to abrogate or affect prejudicially any privilege or exemption of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Ireland, or any Lodge or society recognised by that Grand Lodge, which is enjoyed either by law or custom at the time of the passing of the Act, and any law made in contravention of this provision shall so far as it is in contravention of this provision be void.

This clause puts into the hands of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Ireland the power by recognising any Society to place it largely outside the scope of the legislation of the Home Rule Parliament. The Grand Masonic Lodge of Ireland is absolutely controlled by Irish Unionists and the strength of the weapon thus placed at the disposal of Irish Unionism cannot be exaggerated. The clause was passed with the assent of Mr. John Redmond, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Joseph Devlin, President

of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. We suggest to the bishops who are trying to muzzle the Catholic priests of the west in the interests of Mr. John Redmond, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Joseph Devlin that they will do better work for the Catholic Church by demanding publicly from Messrs. Redmond, Dillon and Devlin the reason for their support of the Freemason-Extension clause, than by interfering with the right of their priests to regard Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, and Devlin as misleaders of the Nation and to speak what they think on politics to the Irish people.

The County Councils of Ireland who contribute by means of the rates to the upkeep of the so-called National University of Ireland will do well to reconsider this expenditure of the public funds, since the University, or that portion of it controlled by Dr. Denis Coffey, is becoming a danger to the commonweal. The students of the University whom the English Government arrested and interned were penalised, so far as it was possible to penalise them, while students—some of them hopeless failures at their examinations—who joined the English army or who sport English flags in their button-holes, receive from the University the degrees they were incompetent to win. The "National Student" states that in addition to honorary degrees in arts, commerce, and science being conferred on ex-students at present in the English army it is rumoured that the Final Medical Examination is being allowed a student who joined the English Officers' Training Corps. This, if true, will make the Medical Degree of the University of no value. No person in his senses would employ a medical doctor with the degree of a University which allows its students their medical examinations without requiring any knowledge of medicine on their part.

Commenting on this degradation and undermining of the National University by its servile Governors, the "National Student" says: "The degree of B.A. is a harmless one, but those of Commerce and Science are technical, and, in ignorant hands, a danger to society. And quite apart from the debasement of our College coinage, entailed in giving degrees to those who, to put it mildly, cannot add to their dignity, such an action very plainly says—'Prove our loyalty for us, and we will present you with a degree; don't, and you may work for three or four years, present us with a corresponding sum in fees, and then, perhaps, be plucked.'

"If it were merely a question of a student being rewarded, with a purely ornamental degree, for defending his opinions, there could be no objection; but unhappily the personality of the student is quite ignored, and rewards are given only for defending the opinions of the Governing Body. One must think as they do, or (must we utter the cheap, nasty sneer) as they pretend to think."

Let the County Councils see to it that no more of the people's money goes to the National University if this corrupt practice of awarding examinations and degrees in medicine, science, commerce, and arts to unqualified men is persisted with. There exists at the present time in America numerous so-called Universities which sell degrees to any person who cares to buy them. £15 will create an LL.D. and £25 a Medical Doctor "without examination." The National University degree will rank with the degrees of these bogus Universities if the people tolerate the scandal that is now going on at Stephen's Green.

We are glad to welcome to the circle of the Irish Press, the "Limerick People" and "The Harp," Waterford. The "People" is issued by the Limerick printers who are on strike for an increase of wages, and is a perfect bijou newspaper, well-written and well-printed. The printers, pointing out that food-prices had risen enormously and yet that wages remained stationary, asked for an increase of 7s. per week. The employers refused, but later offered a "war bonus" of 3s. The men offered to accept 5s. increase, but the employers declined, and so the strike took place, and all the Limerick papers disappeared, and the "People" arose. In No. 2 of our contemporary we read—

"The weekly wage of the members of the Limerick Painters' Society has been increased by 4s. 3d., the minimum being fixed at 38s. 3d. per week. This satisfactory agreement was arrived at to-day through the arbitration of

our Bishop, Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer. Representatives of men and employers attended at St. Munchin's College and laid their respective cases before his lordship, who ultimately made his award at the figure above stated, to the entire satisfaction of both parties. Our hearty congratulations to the Painters' Society on their success, and to the employers on the good sense and intelligence they have shown. This is another link in the chain of affection which binds us workers to our beloved Bishop. What a striking contrast the action of the painters' employers presents to that of the printers' employers, who, thoroughly Anglicised as they are, and of which Anglicisation their newspapers are unmistakable evidence, appealed for the arbitration of an English Government Department, and this the men unhesitatingly rejected."

Will the Limerick newspaper employers say why they cannot act as the Limerick painting employers did and submit the dispute to the arbitration of a Bishop in whom the community deservedly confides?

Some years ago we discussed with an Irish box manufacturer resident in England the possibility of utilising Irish peat for the manufacture of box-boards. What were called peat boards had been placed upon the market, but owing to their brittleness were not successful. Our friend told us that he believed that if a fibre of some kind could be added in the pulping it would by toughening the boards be successful and a new industry, for which plenty of raw material is available, be started in Ireland. He writes to us now to suggest that the time is exceptionally opportune, as to-day the minimum price of Dutch straw boards is £20 per ton, while £30 and £35 is not a maximum, plenty of boards changing hands at £40 per ton, the pre-war price being £4 7s. 6d. delivered free. "If the making of the peat boards were taken up seriously I am sanguine that fortunes could be made at the moment here. The demand for boards is abnormal, yet owing to the restrictions we are only allowed 25 p.c. off our past year's consumption, which was two-thirds of our 1914 supply, so you can easily realise the terrible famine in Dutch straw-boards. There would be no restrictions on Irish-made boards, and if they could be successfully placed upon the market Ireland would be the richer by some hundreds of thousands of pounds. You have I believe a firm in Dublin that makes wrapping paper; this firm must have a mill, and here we have a depot where experiments could be made and successfully made. The supply of turf is inexhaustible and the demand for the material is beyond conception, therefore I hope you will give this your deepest consideration, not because individuals would benefit, but because Ireland would be the gainer."

At the last meeting of the Carnegie Free Library Committee, Limerick, the following resolution was adopted on the motion of Mr. Blake, seconded by Councillor Griffin:—"That we, the members of the Carnegie Free Library and Museum Committee, protest in the strongest manner possible against the deportation, without trial or without any definite charge being stated, of Mr. Jas. McInerney, a member of this Committee. That copies of this resolution be sent to the local Press, to the Editor of "Nationality," and to the Editor of "The Irishman."

Eileabair na n-oilitreac bpolannaic.

VII.

1. Dúbaire Críofte: An té a leanann míre, págáid ré a acair 7 a mátaí, 7 cuiread ré a anam i gcontadair.
2. Deir an tOilitreac Polannaic: An té a leanann an tSaoirse, págáid ré a tír, 7 cuiread ré a anam i gcontadair.
3. Óir, an té fanann ina tír 7 fuilingséann an daoire, d'onn a anam do coimeád, castleann ré a tír 7 a anam; aet an té págáid a tír cum na Saoirse do éoraint go hmiir anama, beid a tír aige 7 miarrid ré go ríorparde.
4. Sa treamair, nuair a tógad an ceud caoir riam ar an tcalam, do páintis sup dhír teine amac ra caoir rín.
5. D'éirig cur veir na daoine ina fuirde 7 tpeudadur amac an fuinneog, aet nuair a conuacadar go raib an teine i b'ad amac uata túsadur an leabair oppa réim 7 do tuiteadur dá gcooldad.
6. Agus nuair a conuac cur eile aca go raib an teine ni ba goire d'oid úfanadur ina reairam

ar an tdaire 7 tuidradar: Cuiremto cum a mucca nuair a tucadur ri eugann.

7. Aet do neartais ar an teine go mór 7 do d'ois ri tige na daoine úfan inr na d'oirid; 7 na daoine bi ina gcooldad, do loice ri maraon lena t'oisid iad.

8. Jan ampar bi poimnt daoine míreamla do b'ead amac ar a t'oisid 7 a táinis i gcaoir ar na comuipain ba goire d'oid; aet ó táira ná raib ionta aet buidean beag níor éirig leo.

9. Agus nuair a bi an caoir loirce, do tóg na comuipain 7 na daoine míreamla ran arir i le congnah muintir na tíre go léir, 7 bi ri ni ba ríó 7 ni b'áille 'ná riam.

10. Aet na daoine úo náir rit cum na teine 7 úfan ina reairam i nd'oirid a t'oisid, do comáinead amac ar an gcaoir iad. Agus fuaradar b'ar von forca.

11. Agus do veinead an react ro ra caoir rín a muintir na caoir go léir do rit cum gac t'oisid ra caoir rearta 7 uirce 7 t'oirid 7 crúcaí do b'air leo, nó daoine do ceapad cum fairre na hoirde veunam 7 cum an t'oisid do rúcaid.

12. Agus tá a leicéto rín do t'oisid 7 t'oirid 7 t'oirid inr na caoir go t'oisid an lá ro 7 cooldad muintir na gcaoir go fuairnead.

13. Ir i an éorair an caoir rín; 7 iri a neimad rín, a. an t'oirid aet, an t'oisid; 7 iri na gcaoir na cooldad; 7 iri na Francais 7 na Saranais na daoine úfan i na reairam ar an t'oisid; 7 iri na Polannaic na daoine míreamla.

VIII.

1. Bi ríolga i Sarana raod agus móirreuda b'ir caoir aca.

2. Aet ba míne na maicirí ircead ar a maicirí ag veunam t'oisid.

3. Do veinead na ríolga arim teine agus gcaoir do b'air leo agus dul ag riadac agus ag marbad na maicirí; aet nuair a comáint na maicirí amac ar taob do éarair ircead ar taob eile, agus in aet an aon maicirí amán do marbadir t'oisid veid gcoim eile amac. Aet b'oid na ríolga ag riadac i gcoimurde i t'oisid gur págáid veid iad ó veir ag beacugad gcaoir agus ag ceannac arim. Agus bi na t'reuda ag dul ar neamni.

Liam ó Rinn.

seamus m. ó braonain
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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY MARCH 31st, 1917.

WHEN THE DEVIL WAS SICK.

There is only one remedy for Sinn Feinism and that is the concession of the reasonable and legitimate claim of the Irish people to Self Government.—London "Daily News," March 22nd.

We have to reckon with the Sinn Feiners who are now the most powerful party in Ireland.—London "Sunday Times," March 25th.

Sinn Fein threatens unless we act promptly to dominate the situation.—"Reynold's Newspaper," March 25th.

Every day you delay settling the Irish question you are recruiting a new soldier to the physical force party.—Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P.—Hansard, 2083, March 25th

The question the Right Hon. Gentleman will have to answer [at the Peace Conference] is: "What is the Irish view of your Government? Has your Government the assent of the governed? . . . Suppose that at the Peace Conference we are met with a united and free Poland. I think even then the Prime Minister will admit that it is not a case for mere words, but that he will have to show something of the same sort in the case of Ireland. . . . It will not be pleasant for us to have to go to a Peace Conference with Ireland standing in the corner as a naughty child. It will want some explaining to the world, and I am not sure that the world will not listen to Ireland as much as to ourselves.—Major Hills, M.P., in the British Parliament, 22nd March.—Hansard, 2090-1.

The Sinn Fein Party is growing stronger every day because of our neglect to settle this question.—Sir Hamer Greenwood, M.P. British Parliament, March 22nd.—Hansard, 2102.

If you are going to treat Ireland as a Nation you will be driven to separation, because it is only in independence that Nationality is fully realised. . . . I do not suppose that the Peace Conference will trouble itself about the question of Home Rule for any portion of the world. . . . I am quite convinced that the Sinn Feiners will go on succeeding as long as they have logic on their side, and until they are firmly convinced that Ireland is not in their sense of the

word a Nation at all, you will not solve any of the difficulties that arise.—Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., in the British Parliament, March 22nd.—Hansard, 2113.

We in Ireland no longer look to this Parliament for the goal for which we are aiming. . . . Therefore I have prepared an amendment to the motion before the House which is to leave out all the words after the word "that" and insert "This House having legislated for Ireland during the last 116 years with callous tyranny, part of which, that of excessive taxation, was revealed by the finding of the Royal Commission that Ireland had been excessively taxed to the extent of £2,750,000 per year, creating a debt of over £400,000,000 now due by this country to Ireland, common honesty and the undeniable rights of the Irish Nation demand that we pay the debt forthwith and leave Ireland in absolute and exclusive control of herself, her own property and her own affairs." Amendment negatived.—Mr. Ginnell, M.P., in the British House of Commons, March 22nd—Hansard, 2130.

To the people who inquire what would happen to Ireland if they did not return members to sit in the English Parliament, the English Press and the English Parliament reply this week—"If you will not recognise us, then we must recognise you." The fact of ignoring that Parliament—the fact of turning our back upon it and our face to Europe—has achieved for Ireland in a few weeks what the policy of Parliamentarianism failed to achieve and could never have achieved. As a result of the Roscommon election—the smashing of the machine by which corrupt Irish Parliamentarianism held Ireland at England's service—English Whig and English Tory are now vying with each other in their haste to put Home Rule into operation.

But let there be no misunderstanding in the mind of the people of Ireland on the matter. England's eagerness to put "Home Rule into operation" is dictated solely by fear of Ireland at the Peace Conference, where, as Major Hills admitted, her voice will be no less listened to than the voice of England.

It is believed by English Statesmen that they can humbug Ireland into silence by the immediate gift of a sham Home Rule measure—that Ireland will not discover the sham until the Peace Conference is over.

While the leaders of the Parliamentary Party are publicly proclaiming that they have ceased to hold negotiations with the English Government, they are in active negotiation with that institution to have a measure "imposed" involving partition by county option. Once again the corruptionists believe they can throw dust in the eyes of the Irish people, and once again they are intriguing with the English Government to do so.

We have, after the experiences of the past twelve months, an abiding belief in the illimitable stupidity of English Statesmen. We are convinced that these men do believe that they can humbug Ireland into acquiescing in partition under the guise of county option and can humbug her into staying away from the Peace Conference by erecting a mock Parliament in Dublin. We shall watch their "settlement" of the Irish Question with curiosity, and their faces with amusement when they wait for Mr. T. P. O'Connor and his colleagues to deliver the goods. English Statesmen will succeed in settling the Irish Question when they restore to Ireland the same sovereign rights they profess to be fighting for in the case of Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania. To claim these rights, Ireland is going to the Peace Conference, where, as Major Hills confesses, her voice will be listened to equally with England's, and while the English Government and Ireland's misrepresentatives conspire to try and prevent her going there, let our countrymen in each constituency prepare when opportunity comes to elect an Irishman to go, not to the London Parliament where they break treaties, but to the Peace Conference where all Europe will make Treaties.

FOOD AND FAMINE.

In 1846 when the Young Irelanders called on the English Government to close the ports to the end of keeping that food in the country for lack of which people were starving, the Government replied it was a most ridiculous proposal. How could the people carry on their trade if they did not export their food?

On Monday, Mr. T. W. Russell, representing the English Government, said he could not conceive how sensible men could ask for the prohibition of the export of food from Ireland. How could Ireland pay for goods if she did not export food?

The Government of Ireland, it will be seen, is a perfect continuity.

Nobody, we think, has asked for the total prohibition of food exports. There is, we agree, no immediate necessity for prohibiting all food exports. There is a real necessity for the prohibition of the export of potatoes and oatmeal.

Mr. Russell has affected to prohibit these exports. And yet since December 21st last he has issued 144 licenses for the export of potatoes from Ireland, and while oats are supposed to be prohibited, oatmeal is being exported in large quantities. Mr. Russell issued a licence for the export of potatoes from Sligo. The people of Sligo, on our suggestion, had formed a Watch Committee. The transport workers of Sligo declined to load Mr. Russell's licensed potatoes, and there is no shortage of potatoes in Sligo now.

The immediate problem is to bridge over the next sixteen weeks. We shall have a full potato crop by the first week in August—Mr. Russell suggests June, but a vice-president of the Department of Agriculture in Ireland cannot be expected to know the difference between June potatoes and the potato crop. We shall have the oat crop a few weeks later. With abundant oats and potatoes there can be no fear of famine.

But in the four months ahead of us there is a real danger to the community owing to the shortage of wheat and potatoes. The danger can be averted and the four months tided over by three measures:

First, the total prohibition of the potato export.

Second, the total prohibition of the export of oatmeal.

Third, the utilisation of the stocks of barley left on the hands of the distillers and brewers under the new restrictions, for the baking of bread.

Let this be done, and food will not only be plentiful but will be cheaper than it is at present to the people. We await the action of the Department of Agriculture.

Count Plunkett has sent the following letter to Public Boards, National organisations and prominent Nationalists throughout Ireland:—

Dublin, March 17th, 1917.

Dear Sir,

I am returned to Dublin pledged by the Electors of North Roscommon to recognise no foreign authority over Ireland; to maintain the rights of Ireland to Independence; and to initiate Ireland's work of taking control of her own affairs.

The duty has been cast upon me of inaugurating a policy for Ireland. If the declaration of policy may seem new, the principle upon which it is based is as ancient as the Irish race. Ireland will accept nothing short of complete liberty.

To bring this affirmation of the National faith and the National will to a practical issue, it is necessary to organise the whole country.

The vast majority of our people hold, as their fathers held, the principles for which Ireland has fought through the centuries. If the members elected in Ireland represented the opinions of their constituencies they would be sitting as an independent body in Ireland, not as a minority accepting its defeat in a foreign Parliament.

The complaint of those who trusted the so-called constitutional movement is, that the men

they appointed to represent them, from being their agents, became their masters. In consequence the daily needs of the country and the material advantages upon which its life depends, have been made secondary to the little plots and plans of the Party at Westminster. In this condition of affairs it was an easy matter to transfer to the English Party dictators the allegiance of men pledged to Ireland. The payment of Irish members by England severed a natural tie between the electors and the elected. The Irish member of Parliament is in most cases no more than an English pensioner. By the English Government's refusal to allow a general election to take place during the war, the expression of Irish opinion through the electoral system has been silenced.

The position of the Irish Party during Easter Week was deplorable. The Leader of the Irish Party accepted the points of view of the Government. He speaks like an Englishman, intent on maintaining English supremacy, not as an Irishman who believes that his Nation has the rights common to all nations, and the duty to wrest her liberties from foreign control by every means in her power.

The Irish Party's Alliance with the Liberals and the nondescript administration that followed is ostensibly come to an end. But inter-communication between the Party and the Government is not ended, although the Party are at present in a position of absolute hopelessness. The nominal Home Rule Act is a worthless measure that it would be injurious to Ireland to put into operation. But the Party cannot take even the mock Act from the war shelf where it lies with other "scraps of paper." The alternative plan fathered by the Party, by which the Irish people were to be permanently divided for the convenience of England, may at any moment be revived, if the Irish people show weakness or unpreparedness for national emergencies.

Even from a material point of view not only was Ireland made, as far as these men could make it, a part of the accursed Union, but her progress, nay her very existence, has been subjected to the convenience of the enemy.

Ireland at this moment is without any consultative body representing popular feeling, experience, or judgment, regarding the conditions of the country and its future. We are faced with taxation for a war which would reduce our people to hopeless poverty and keep them in misery for generations to come. We are faced with the danger of famine if we do not take measures to protect our resources and keep the people's food in the country.

English devices to control our labour and to lead up to the forcing of our population into the English army are already in operation, and require to be met at once by the wisdom and determination of the people. The whole machinery of England, because of England's necessities, is being turned against Ireland, without any regard for Ireland's rights and Ireland's needs. It is the business of Ireland at once to take control of her own resources, national and material, and to secure and protect her own authority for her own people.

The dominant body of resolute men left without the opportunity of enforcing their opinions or the hustings in the various constituencies throughout Ireland, demands representation by other means.

We want a free Ireland. We want liberty not merely for those who are free in soul, but also for those whose souls need liberation. We want one people, composite and various as they may be in moods and aims, to be knit into a vigorous nation. Such differences test the fibre of our patriotism, the largeness of our view, and the sincerity of our principles, and none but men strong enough to bear the trials of a nation, and single-minded to think of Ireland only, can win Ireland's liberty. No foreign power must control the incomings and outgoings of her trade, the raising of necessary taxes, the establishment of her national army of defence. There shall be one authority in the Nation, and Ireland's representatives must be subject to Ireland, and answerable to the Irish people alone.

The Irish Party have refused to make any claim for the representation of Ireland in the Peace Conference, and have allowed to go uncontradicted the statement of English Ministers that Ireland would not be represented in that Conference.

Ireland has reclaimed her title to separate national existence. She should proceed at once to establish her own Council and state her own case for recognition among the Nations. The world is looking forward to the assertion of National rights from the various peoples claiming independence. If the Nation fails to state such a claim, or fails to do it

quickly, it will be considered as acquiescing in its dependence on another country. Also the terms in which the claims to national freedom are stated will be taken as defining the rights and aims of the particular nation.

The claim of Ireland must be made as though Ireland were already a separate entity. No consideration of existing restrictions of national expression, no suffering of the present interference with Irish liberty, no subservience to the prejudices or convenience of another power should be allowed to mar the national demand. We are a Nation; we should be less than a Nation if we accepted or suggested terms that limited our Freedom.

I have therefore decided to convene an Assembly of the representatives of the Administrative Bodies and National Organisations, and other public men of Ireland. The first of its duties will be to address itself to the Peace Conference with a view to obtaining the support of Nations which will be represented at that Conference. With its representative authority this Assembly will claim the recognition of the Sovereign Status of Ireland; that Status to be guaranteed by the Continental Powers of Europe and by the United States of America.

I ask your Council to give in their adhesion to the principles and methods enunciated in this letter, and so having expressed their approval, to appoint two of their members to take part as delegates in the Assembly to be held in the Mansion House, Dublin, at 11.30 a.m. on the 19th April.

If your Council adopts the principle which the Assembly is convened to put into action, please have the appended form filled up, and forwarded to me at 26 Upper Fitzwilliam St., Dublin, as soon as possible.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

GEO. NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT.

A number of the Public Boards have refused the invitation. These bodies have been in existence since before the war and the people have had no opportunity of purifying them. This year the opportunity was due for election to the majority of them, but the British Government has arranged to "postpone" the elections—that is, to disfranchise the people of Ireland. Not until after the war will the people have the opportunity of getting at their local representatives—meanwhile let the names of those who vote, as at Wexford, against proper treatment for Irish Political Prisoners and as elsewhere against Count Plunkett's invitation be noted and their public career be put an end to by the voters when the British Government again permits the Irish electors to have an opportunity of exercising the franchise.

The following is a list of the Public Boards up to Saturday last which have adopted Count Plunkett's letter—Nenagh Poor Law Board, Corofin Poor Law Board, Westport Urban District Council, Nenagh Rural District Council, Galway Rural District Council, Corofin Rural District Council, Mitchelstown Rural District Council (No. 1), Athy Rural District Council (No. 3), Bandon Rural District Council, and Killarney Rural District Council.

There are now several dispensary districts in Ireland without a doctor, owing to the action of the British Local Government Board in Ireland in penalising young Catholic doctors who do not wish to be conscripted. This action on the part of the Board—staffed by the way with Inspectors of military age, partly recruited from the "Freeman's Journal" office—should be met by united action on the part of the Poor Law Boards. The Boards affected should act together in ignoring the attempt of the L.G.B. to deprive the people of proper medical assistance. To act together, they must first meet together, and appeal—not to the L.G.B., but to the people of the country to stand behind them. Then the issue will be knit, as to whether an autocratic body can override even what is the supposed "Law of the Land" in dealing with mere Irish doctors. If there were a public spirited medical association in the country it would be impossible for this Castle Board to act as it is acting towards members of the medical profession.

The Keating Branch of the Gaelic League is producing two Irish plays at the little theatre at Hardwicke Street, Dublin, on Saturday night. We trust a crowded audience will reward the enterprise.

THE IRISH PRISONERS OF WAR

We are requested to publish the following report:—

The Committee of the Irish National Relief Fund (London Branch of the Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund) having been closely in touch with all the events which led up to the release of the interned prisoners at Frongoch, Reading and Aylesbury are convinced that the release was due to the sustained public protests in Ireland culminating with the resolutions of the General Council of County Councils and the Dublin Corporation on this matter; to the several reports published by branches of the Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund, and to a volume of communications from private individuals and Committees to the Home Office and other Government Departments. The Committee desire to make this opinion known because they feel that similar action with regard to the men at Lewes, the Countess Markievicz at Aylesbury, and the men recently deported from Ireland will also have a similar satisfactory result.

Countess Markievicz.

The Countess Markievicz is still detained as an ordinary convict at Aylesbury in association with the vilest criminals. She has not been accorded any of the better treatment promised by the Government (and already in part carried out in the case of the convicted men) except that she is allowed one visit per month from friends and one visit extra per month from her sister; the most valued of the better conditions (i.e., conversation) is not allowed to her. The Home Office states that this cannot be altered because she is a woman and cannot therefore be placed with her male companions at Lewes. In the meantime, apparently because she is a woman, she must continue to associate with the scum of the earth and only have an opportunity for suitable conversation during two hours per month. Be it remembered that by their action in altering the conditions of imprisonment of the men, the English Government tacitly admitted that the former treatment was wrong; yet they make no effort to discontinue this treatment in the case of Countess Markievicz. The Irish people must eventually obtain the release of all the convicted prisoners, but pending that result the same conditions must be secured for the Countess as those given to the men. It is quite possible for the Government to make arrangements for the Countess at Lewes, but puritanism and officialism will prevent them doing so unless great pressure is brought to bear upon them.

The Committee have been in constant correspondence with the Home Office about the case of the Countess, and have made various suggestions for better treatment, amongst others, as a via media, that she should be brought to a London prison and allowed a visit of one hour's duration per day, but the Home Office so far content themselves by merely stating that they cannot adopt any of the suggestions.

Political Prisoners at Lewes Prison.

Of the men sentenced to penal servitude or hard labour four with sentences of six months have already been released, and seventeen with sentences of one year's hard labour were released on various dates from 7th to 21st March, this leaving a total of 122 at Lewes of whom 121 have penal servitude sentences and one a sentence of two years' hard labour. The penal servitude and hard labour cases are separated from one another, and after the release of his 17 companions in March the one remaining hard labour case will be left in practically solitary confinement for the remaining year of his sentence unless some amelioration is obtained for him.

Despite promises to the contrary the men are still in convict garb and are treated as criminals instead of as political prisoners or prisoners of war. The prison in which they are lodged compares favourably as a prison with Dartmoor, but not with Portland, which is the best of the English convict prisons. The prisoners suffered very much from the cold during the late spell of frosty weather. The Irish prisoners are the sole occupants of this prison which was specially re-opened for them. It was promised before their removal to Lewes that any books sent to them would be their private property on discharge, now, however, it is claimed that the books must remain the property of the prison, as in the case of any of the recognised convict prisons. Many of

the men are well-known scholars and writers and it was promised on their transfer to Lewes that they should be given facilities for continuing their studies and literary work; this promise has however been very imperfectly fulfilled by merely issuing paper and pencil to the men and no adequate time is allowed to them for literary work; in addition to which there seems to be a doubt as to whether they will be allowed to retain their writing when they leave as originally promised.

The men are allowed one visit per month, they work in association and have one hour's communication exercise per day (i.e., an hour during which they can converse with one another whilst exercising). These conditions are a considerable improvement on the former ones, but whilst agitating for their release, their treatment as political prisoners must be secured in the meantime. The privilege of one visit per month is greatly counteracted by the great increase in railway fares, which makes it harder for intending visitors to go to Lewes. It will be remembered it was publicly stated that the object in view when increasing the railway fares was to stop unnecessary travelling, but the Government having granted the condition of one visit per month can hardly claim that the visits are unnecessary. The Committee has been in correspondence with the Home Office on this matter but so far they have refused any concession in this respect.

Deportations.

The total number of men recently deported from Ireland is 28. They have been placed in three different centres in England. The Government whilst depriving them of their means of livelihood, and their families of their support has made no provision for their maintenance, and so far refuses to recognise any responsibility in the matter. Most of the men are without any means, so that their maintenance and that of their dependents falls on the Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund.

The Irish people, as individuals, and through their elected bodies should inaugurate a strong and sustained agitation for the treatment of the convicted prisoners as political prisoners and for the return of the deported men; if they maintain such an agitation they will force the English Government to give way to their wishes.

The principal organs of the daily press in Ireland have been all through too supine in their treatment of the questions affecting all the prisoners, both interned and convicted, merely treating these matters as news items. In any other country, leading article would have followed leading article for the redress of the treatment of their fellow-countrymen, and the question thus be kept as a burning one before the minds of the people.

The Committee will be very glad at any time to furnish any information in its possession to relatives or friends of the prisoners, either as regards particulars of travelling facilities, visiting hours, or in any other way to render any assistance in its power.

The release of the interned prisoners from Frongoch and elsewhere seems to have brought somewhat of a lull. Very many appear to be under the impression that with the release of these prisoners our efforts are at an end. This is of course actually far from being the case. With regard to the financial aspect there is undoubtedly a greater need for funds now than before as on account of a campaign amongst many firms and the Government Offices in Ireland to keep these men out of employment (although they have never been charged or tried) many of them will be unable to find work. In addition to which the funds have still to provide for the dependents of the convicted prisoners at Lewes; the dependents of those who were executed and of those who fell fighting during Easter Week. All Committees, and individual members of these, should keep the above points clear in the minds of the Irish people.

THE GAELIC LEAGUE.

Last Sunday evening in the hall of the New Technical Schools, Bolton Street, Mr. Arthur Griffith lectured on the "National Revival in Bulgaria." An immense crowd attended and listened with spell-bound interest to the lecturer's clear exposition of Bulgaria's struggle to national realisation, his compelling latent comparisons between that small nation's trials and triumphs and those of Ireland, his unclouded picture of Bulgaria to-day a nation. Mr. Griffith infused his audience with an energy born of hope and faith in the near

realisation of our own national aspirations—an energy to work untiringly for Ireland and in the first and foremost place to learn our language, spread it over Ireland and make it the universal tongue of the Irish Nation again. Without the language we have no foundation for our nationality. The speakers who contributed to the discussion emphasised the same point.

Count Plunkett will lecture next Sunday evening on "Some Irish Artists." In spite of the many calls Ireland makes upon his time the Count has kindly reserved next Sunday evening for the Gaelic League. He fully realises the vital necessity for the Language Movement to prepare the Ireland to come.

The results of the language collection are not yet definitely available; but all last week our workers have been opening boxes, counting and tabulating their contents. The total obtained will be published next week. One box contained the sum of £3 10s. 9d., a record collection of small sums that make no one the poorer. Another was unfortunate enough to bring in collectively less than a shilling. With a levelling-up process wonders could literally be affected in collecting in Dublin. A good many boxes contain over £1.

The Dublin Feis Committee are taking every precaution to make that institution a success. A great number of candidates are expected to present themselves for examination. Students are also reminded that a careful perusal of the Oireachtas syllabus will reward them: a number of its attractive competitions with big prizes must inevitably appeal to the advanced student.

The Gaelic League Choir under the very able leadership of Mr. Robert O'Dwyer, meets each Monday at Craobh gCuig gCuigi, 19 Plas Ely, at 8 o'clock sharp. The committee is anxious to increase the membership at once, as it is intended to compete in the Dublin Feis after Easter. It is therefore earnestly requested that all who wish to learn choral singing in Irish and are free to attend on Monday evenings from 8 to 9 o'clock should join without delay.

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All persons having claims against the Estate of above Deceased are required to furnish written particulars thereof to the undersigned Solicitor for Messrs. John Mooney and John Friel, deceased's executors, before 1st May, 1917, and notice is hereby given that after said 1st May, 1917, the estate will be distributed having regard only to those claims, of which notice shall have been given as aforesaid.

(Signed)
LOUIS J. WALSH, Solicitor,
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THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

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

(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.]

Lucas at Rome.

At Rome, Lucas was received with distinction, for his fame as a great Catholic publicist was world-wide. Archbishop MacHale and Cardinal Wiseman gave him their support, but that was far from a counterbalance to the extraordinary influence Dr. Cullen possessed at the Vatican. At the request of the Pope, Lucas drew up a statement on affairs in Ireland, an exhaustive and valuable document on the position of Ireland in the middle of the nineteenth century. Dealing in it with the treason of the Place-hunters, Lucas wrote:—

By the sacrifices of the people a large number of members were returned to Parliament, pledged in the most solemn manner to pursue a particular course in Parliament which the priests told the people was indispensable to the service of the Church. Seduced by offers of place and Government patronage a great many of those representatives have broken their pledges in the most disreputable manner. A great many priests and some bishops have leagued themselves with the betrayers of the people, have given sanction to this scandalous breach of faith, and are now before the public as men utterly indifferent to public morality, men who by their acts teach the people that even Catholic politics are a selfish game to be pursued for selfish ends and by the use of the most abominable means.

As to the Archbishop of Dublin's plea that all he aimed at was to keep the priests out of politics, Lucas wrote to the Pope:—"The rule recommended by the Archbishop of Dublin is a mere rule of party politics. The priests may give open opposition to the Tories, they may give open support to the Whigs or Peelites, but under no circumstances may they try to replace treacherous Whigs or Peelites by Independent Catholics, so long as the former find it to their interest to use smooth language and do us all the injury in their power without actually professing open enmity." "The greatest scandal of all," Lucas described to the Pope as "a regular system of corruption, organised and methodised by which Whig statesmen have contrived year after year to augment the number of Catholic clergy whom by the basest methods they used as the instruments of their perfidious hostility against the Catholic Church and the Catholic poor."

The system, Lucas explained, consisted in offering to influential priests whose near relatives were known to be in want of situations, places for these relatives in return for co-operation by the priests on the Government side at the elections.

Lucas, after describing how the venal and perjured place-hunters had been supported by Dr. Cullen while the honest Catholic politicians had been assailed as enemies of the Church, exclaims:—"We, of course, are lawful game. Every priest may indulge to the utmost in public vituperation against us. It is 'not politics' to come before the world as our assailants. We are the offscouring of the earth, and if a priest holds us up to the general indignation he performs the true work of a priest, he is doing God's service—he is earning a Dublin Canonry." The reference here is to Father Redmond of Arklow, a renegade from the Tenant League. In reward for his recreancy and his writing in the Press letters abusing Lucas as a "whitewashed Quaker," Archbishop Cullen created him a Canon. "We see in Ireland," said Lucas to the Pope, "the Government doing its utmost to render us powerless by practising towards men who had sworn to take the very course which we have taken—corruption open and shameless." A reign of terror, he told the Pope, prevailed in Ireland under Dr. Cullen, and no clergyman dare appeal to the Holy See. The favoured policy of place-hunting and place-begging he then describes:—

The notion is that the Catholic members

of Parliament should connect themselves with the Liberal Party, especially when in office, that such of them as are suited for the minor places under the Crown should try to get such places for themselves; that all of them should try to get smaller places such as are obtainable for themselves and political supporters; that they should thus bind themselves to the Ministry by personal obligations and the pursuit of personal advantages, and that for the Church and the poor they should exert themselves just as much as is not displeasing to the Ministers, by whom they are patronised, and as will not in the smallest degree interfere with their own personal interest and that of their friends. No one who understands the working of our constitution could look for redress of grievances from any such mode of acting.

Describing what happens to the office-taker, and pointing out that no English Ministry will do more in the way of redress of non-English grievances than English public opinion will permit in the absence of pressure, Lucas shows that no subordinate officer of the Government can ever ask his Minister to endanger the administration by conceding demands which, however just and right, are not popular in England. And he goes on:—"If Mr. Monsell (afterwards Lord Emly) were to press upon Lord Palmerston the redress of any particular grievance, and Lord Palmerston were to answer that redress of that grievance could not be attempted, Mr. Monsell's mouth is shut by that rejoinder. If he wishes to carry the matter farther, he must resign his place and speak to the Minister as an independent member."

The Place-hunters' Novitiate.

The Catholic place-hunter's novitiate was next described to the Pope:—"He spends months, perhaps years, as an expectant. During that time he has to earn the office which he expects to hold; he must show a certain amount of industry and capacity and influence; he must show that he is both willing and able to serve the Government; that he is discreet, not too zealous to seek redress of Catholic grievances; not too Catholic in his sentiments or his language, careful in avoiding the utterance of any unpopular Catholic principle, and, better still, ready to deny, renounce and vituperate any such principle if advanced by others. In a word, the expectant must show in the embryo the virtues which as an official he is expected to display in full maturity. His main object, as that of the official must be to serve and please the Government of which he expects to be a member. This must be his leading purpose, and every act and every word must be regulated so as to serve that end most effectively. He must be ready to renounce and condemn unpopular doctrines and advocate false views."

The suggestion that the "cause" gained by men who supported it accepting office under Government, Lucas dismissed in a dozen words—office did not make them more articulate—it made them dumb, and it was conferred to make them dumb. He treated the matter of place-hunting, he said, in abstract. If he could render visible to the Holy See the place-hunter in the concrete—"If I could make it understood what depths of public and acknowledged baseness the greater part of these men have had to go through in order to become servants of the Government, and what indecent beliefs of principle they became when they did become its servants," the Holy See would admit that "my delineation has been a very faint copy of the original."

The Death of Lucas.

Before Lucas had completed the statement his health broke down. The news from Ireland was, week by week, growing worse, and in Rome he saw that the influence of Dr. Cullen far outweighed that of the Archbishop of Tuam and the prelates who sympathised with Lucas's object. His depression of spirits reacted disastrously on him bodily, and in May he had to return to England. When he arrived there his "countenance was cadaverous, his eye feverish, his cheeks hollow, and his flesh had so fallen away that he seemed to be wearing the clothes of a bigger man." "He told us with a painful smile," says Gavan Duffy, "that the doorkeeper at the House of Commons had stopped him as a stranger, and in fact he was barely recognisable by his intimate friends. The news he had to hear was as discouraging as the news he had to tell. The Independent Party had dwindled to half-a-dozen, and the Land Question had fallen back to the condition in which the League had found it. . . . In short, all our labours had been wasted by the policy of the Whig Bishops and the success of the deserters."

The Independent Party had gone. Lucas

felt he had failed in Rome. Both Duffy and he agreed they had failed in Ireland. The country which three years before seemed to have within its grasp a bigger victory than Emancipation was lost—sold by the place-hunters. Lucas's doctor told him to prepare for death, but not to give up all hope of life. "I would rather die," he answered. He died a couple of months later, two weeks before Gavan Duffy quitted Ireland, writing in his farewell this indictment of place-hunting and its apologists:—

The Irish Party is reduced to a handful—the popular organisation is deserted by those who created it—prelates of the Irish Church through the ranks of our opponents, priest is arrayed against priest, and parish against parish; a shameless political profligacy is openly defended and applauded, the special opportunity sent by Heaven for our deliverance is bartered away to an English fashion, and the ultimate aim for which alone I laboured—to give back to Ireland her national existence—is forgotten or disdained. Till all this be changed, there seems to be no more hope for the Irish cause than for the corpse on the dissecting-table. I have done my best to change it. For the last twelve months I have spared no pains in public or private to rally the National Party—but in vain. A preternatural apathy broods over the country, disheartened by corruption and pampered by a false and temporary prosperity. When all external circumstances favour a national movement, it is repudiated at home. God knows I have done my best. One step alone remains. I promised in such a fatal contingency to throw up my seat in Parliament in order that the truth might not be screened from the people nor the crisis pass without some warning and protest. The time for this duty has come. . . .

The Irish Party commenced with fifty adherents—to-day more than forty have gone over bodily or in spirit to the enemy. Some of them sit on the Treasury Benches to marshal our opponents and employ the knowledge learned in our ranks to divide and defeat us. In three years the country has not sent us a single recruit from county, city, or borough. The Archbishop of Dublin, foremost and loudest to pronounce for the principle of Independent Opposition, lends all the weight of his authority to our opponents. A majority of the Irish Hierarchy follow in his wake; and we have been disparaged from popular hustings and in pastoral letters for no sin that I know of, but because we will not sell ourselves to the enemies of our country.

The "Catholic Leader's" End.

Thus passed the great movement of the Fifties—sold in the hour of its supreme power by the place-hunters and place-beggars as they had sold Repeal. The year 1856 dawned on an Ireland more hopeless, more degraded than the Ireland that watched with despairing eyes Sarsfield's soldiers embarking for France. But the grass had not grown on the grave of Frederick Lucas—the ship that bore Gavan Duffy into exile had scarce cast anchor in its port—when the chief of the band who sold Ireland, to maintain whom and his friends the League of the North and South was broken up, the Irish tenant-farmer thrust back under the foot of his landlord, and the Nationalist priests of Ireland punished, silenced, degraded, and persecuted—died a despairing suicide. Mr. John Sadlier, reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in the Three Kingdoms, was—in the years of his posing as Catholic leader, backed by Archbishop Cullen, and sitting as Lord of the Treasury in the British Ministry—a swindling forging miscreant. The extent of his transactions as a forger have not been fully gauged, for even this present year (1913) one of his forgeries has turned up to complicate a land sale. The autumn of 1855 witnessed Sadlier's organ, the "Catholic Telegraph," describing as a manifest act of Providence the overthrow of Gavan Duffy and his Independent Opposition. The winter of the same year found the proprietor of the "Telegraph" making his last huge forgeries to save himself from ruin.

On the 1st of February he caused a dividend of 6 per cent. and a bonus of £3 per cent. to be declared on the shares of the Tipperary Bank, through which he had sucked up the money of the farmers of South Leinster and North Munster; while, at the time, he knew, that unless by a miracle or a stupendous and successful forgery, it must close its doors within a fortnight. "The directors," said the official report of the Bank published ten days before it collapsed, "are happy to have it in

(Continued on next page).

their power to report to the shareholders that the course of the Bank continues satisfactory, and the improving aspect of affairs in the country (that is the silencing of the anti-Place-hunters and other troublesome agitators), induces them to feel confident that the business of the Bank will go on extending and that the annual profits will be thus increased."

On the night of Saturday, February 16th, 1856, John Sadlier was at the end of his tether. He knew that the Tipperary Bank would collapse on the following Monday and his ruin and exposure as a forger follow. He addressed to one of his tail—Robert Keatinge, M.P. for Waterford, an industrious place-beggar—a letter in which he implied he was about to commit suicide as he could not witness the ruin he had brought on the innocent. "To what infamy have I come step by step," he wrote, "heaping crime upon crime, and now I find myself author of numberless crimes of a diabolical character and the cause of ruin and misery and disgrace to thousands—ay, to tens of thousands. . . . It must be better that I should not live. No one has been privy to my crimes—they sprang from my own cursed brain alone. I have swindled and deceived without the knowledge of any one. . . . Oh! that I never quitted Ireland. . . . If I had had less talents of a worthless kind and more firmness I might have remained as I once was, honest and truthful. . . ."

After writing this letter, the Prince of Irish Placehunters took a phial of poison and left his house at midnight. Next day the dead body of a gentleman was found on Hampstead Heath with a phial of poison beside it. It was identified as the body of Mr. John Sadlier, and Mr. James Sadlier, M.P., whom in his pathetic letter he acquitted, together with every other member of the "Irish Brigade" from all knowledge of complicity in his proceedings, proceeded to secure control of his deceased brother's affairs. Mr. James Sadlier was very reasonably suspected of being as much a rogue as his more capable brother and he fled the country in due course.

Mr. Sadlier's organ, the "Telegraph," the defender and eulogist of Place-hunting, the defamer of all honest Nationalists, ceased publication soon after the suicide of its founder. But files of it must still be cherished in many newspaper offices of Ireland to-day, for each "argument" for place-hunting which has appeared in recent years in the *Irish Press* is merely a transcript from the leading articles of John Sadlier's Dublin "Weekly Telegraph."

VII.—George Henry Moore and the Corruptionists.

With Lucas dead and Gavan Duffy in exile there were six men left in Independent Opposition faithful to their pledges who still essayed to keep the movement a political force. They were George Henry Moore, John Francis Maguire, Tristram Kennedy, Richard Swift, Patk. MacMahon, and Dr. Brady—six of the original fifty pledged Parliamentary representatives. All were able men, but Moore possessed in the greatest degree the gift of leadership and was tacitly recognised as leader. He was as fearless as he was incorruptible, a radiator of enthusiasm from the platform, brilliant and skilful in debate, clear-sighted and resolute. Next to him, John Francis Maguire ranked in ability and talents. Tristram Kennedy was a man of high character and clear mind, with a thorough knowledge of the Land Question; Patrick MacMahon, an acute lawyer, who had shown himself unpurchasable when the Government were buying up the Independent Oppositionists; Dr. Brady, a wealthy physician, who remained equally impervious to bribery and cajolery; and Richard Swift, a high-minded and unselfish Irish gentleman resident in London, ex-Sheriff of that city, whose interest in Parliament was to serve his country.

Moore, after the loss of Duffy and Lucas, kept this little band together, and hoped by augmenting it at the next General Election with men of similar character to undo the mischief the place-hunters had wrought. Like Smith O'Brien, Moore was a landed proprietor, who entered the English Parliament as a Unionist, but, disgusted by the manner in which he saw Ireland's affairs treated there, gradually drew away from English parties, convinced that the association of the Irish representatives with these parties and the toleration of place-hunting and place-seeking were the real sources of defeat to Irish agitation against English Government. "You fought the battle of Emancipation that you might be no longer bought or sold; it was used by lawyers and landlords to buy and sell you; it was used to ally you with English Whiggery—an alliance which contained the seeds of every foul distemper under which the nation withers. The alliance debased your morals and blunted

your honour—perverted the purpose of those who led you and weakened the faith of those who followed; your national character has been more demoralised and your national cause more dishonoured by 25 years of servility to English Whiggery than by three hundred years of bondage. You condoned place-hunting, but the price you paid for the condonation was your own blood. The corrupt and profligate representatives who trafficked with British Government were bought, not for themselves, but for their influence with you, and you, the people of Ireland, pay the price of their treachery in eviction, expatriation, misery, and oppression. Trample the accursed treachery—drive it for ever from the land." This was the exhortation of George Henry Moore to the people of Ireland.

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