

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

From the official Hansard report of the proceedings in the English Parliament on the 21st of May, when the English Premier made his Convention proposal, we find that he admitted that the support of Ireland was necessary to enable England to win the war in which she engaged; that the Premier of Australia, who got knocked out in his plan to conscript Australia for English purposes by the Irish-Australian vote, has been since then appealing to the English Government to placate the Irish; that the "goodwill and co-operation of the Irish race throughout the world" are essential "from the war point of view." Mr. Lloyd-George was at least on this occasion not hypocritical. No question of justice or right moved England. It was expedient in England's interest to pretend to leave the Irish question to the Irish themselves.

Mr. Lloyd-George's scheme is worthy of any Marconi gambler. He summons a Convention and guarantees that a small minority of the people will not be bound by its decision; and thus, having secured its failure, he is armed to assure the world that England left the Irish to settle the question of Government for themselves and they could not agree. Meanwhile the Convention would cover the months between this and the end of the war, which may be looked for this year, and Ireland would have been distracted and side-tracked from appealing to the Peace Conference.

This time, however, Mr. Lloyd-George has others to deal with than the gang of place-hunters who he and Asquith bribed every year during the past ten years to assent to every imposition on their country in return for jobs for their friends and relatives and £400 a year for themselves. The leader of the place-hunters, we find in Hansard, fell in with Lloyd-George's plan by declaring that "no proposal put forward by any man or section of men" would be ruled out at the Convention. That is, that the Ulster Unionist Council's proposal to cut off four Unionist counties and two Nationalist counties from the rest of Ireland should be admitted. Day by day the Castle organs in the Press have been assailing the Archbishop of Dublin for his statement that "Ireland had been practically sold." The Parliamentary Party asks, like Judas, "Is it I?" The leader of that Party on May 21st supplied the proof of the Archbishop's statement in his speech in the English House of Commons.

Sir Edward Carson later on (Hansard, 2051) stated that there "must be no misunderstanding" of the fact that the partition of Ireland was not to be barred at the Convention. Mr. Devlin, following, hoped that the Convention might mould a constitution that would ultimately bring about a united Ireland. Thus Redmond, Carson and Devlin all agreed that partition was practical politics at the Convention, and the corrupt Press and the corrupt organisation for which Redmond and Devlin stand, are now engaged in a game of pretending that partition is dead, in order to get Ireland to accept the Convention—to get the fly to walk into the English spider's parlour.

As usual, the one man in the English Parliament who spoke with an Irish voice was Mr. Ginnell. His speech, of course, has been practically suppressed in the so-called Irish newspapers. Here are a few sentences from it (Hansard, 2021-2032):—

"We are passing through a period of the most brazen duplicity that has ever been practised, even in Ireland. Whoever dares to expose that duplicity, and remind the people of indis-

putable facts, is not challenged as to the correctness of his statements, because it is in their correctness that his offence consists. He is first denounced as an enemy of Ireland by a Government Press pretending to be free, and is then imprisoned or deported, without charge or trial, as the highest stroke of British statesmanship in Ireland in the 20th century."

"Such prisoners as these, however, have some consolations. They have the most complete and absolute approval of their own consciences; they have the knowledge that they are suffering for a cause so noble and immortal that it has survived the wiles and power of far abler men than the present Government comprises; they have the comfort of knowing that we have reached a time and a temper of the Irish people when this method of stifling public opinion is the surest means of bringing the alien rule of Ireland to an end; they have the certainty, which unbroken experience gives, that the promises of full self-government by which the Liberal Party held office for many years, and even the disgraceful travesty of self-government which, under that name, they have placed on the Statute Book, will be broken like the Treaty of Limerick, like the Renunciation Act of 1783, and like all the other promises and scraps of paper given by England in her moments of difficulty, to be betrayed as soon as the difficulty has passed away. The one thing that England may always be trusted to do is not to keep faith with Ireland longer than it suits her own purpose. The English Government, being in a chronic state of war with the Irish people, and that being a dangerous state at a time when England is at war with other people also, you are anxious now for a settlement of the Irish problem, not for Ireland's sake or for Ireland's benefit, but for your own."

"A settlement of the Irish problem can be reached quite easily and speedily by precisely the same course as would be pursued in any other country so circumstanced, namely, by withdrawing yourselves and the discredited leaders of both parties and leaving the people, North and South, to arrange terms among themselves."

"One thing the House may take as certain, and that is that Irishmen of to-day will not allow any set of Englishmen or any set of Imperialists, whether brought from Canada, Australia, South Africa, or anywhere else, to treat Ireland as a British domestic question. In treating her in that way your statesmen have had a free hand for too long, with fatal results. The men you call Sinn Féiners have raised the case of Ireland above that plane, and we are not going to let it slip back. So far behind are your statesmen that they imagined we would beg for admission to your Imperial Conference. You found that we did nothing of the kind, and that we have no desire whatever to interfere in your own domestic affairs. The only Conference that Ireland is interested in is the International Peace Conference to follow the war."

In the course of his speech Mr. Ginnell twice referred to the fact that the English Commons, including the Redmondites, cheered the announcement of the execution of Messrs. Clarke, Pearse, and MacDonagh. Mr. Boyle, who misrepresents a Mayo constituency, at the end of Mr. Ginnell's speech, rose and denied the statement. Mr. Ginnell immediately rose again and the Speaker attempted to stop him by saying he had already spoken an hour. What followed we quote from Hansard:—

Mr. Ginnell: Will you not allow me to give a personal explanation? I was here on the 3rd May, 1916. The Prime Minister announced the execution of the three first leaders of the Volunteers. The vast mass of the House, except one small section on the other side below the gang-way, sprang to their feet and waved their handkerchiefs and cheered.

Hon. Members: Oh, Oh. Withdraw!

Mr. Ginnell: Among the loudest of those cheers—

Lord Edmund Talbot (Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury): I beg to move, "That the Question be now put."

Mr. Speaker: The question is, "That the Question be now put."

Mr. Ginnell: A personal explanation.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Mr. Ginnell: On a personal explanation am I not entitled—

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has been guilty of a statement which I can most decidedly deny.

Mr. Ginnell: Will you deny this, Mr. Speaker, this is a personal matter between you and me. I went round to your chair the following day. (Interruption). Why are the cheers omitted from the Official Report? They are omitted by your order, Mr. Speaker, because when I went round to your chair the following day and handed in a notice—(interruption)—to ask you why were the loud cheers omitted, you sent an official messenger after me to tell me that I should not be allowed to put such a question.

Mr. Speaker: I give the statement of the hon. gentleman the most unqualified denial.

Mr. Ginnell: You suppressed the loud cheers from the Official Report.

In regard to the Speaker's pretended denial of the fact, we point out that the "London Daily Telegraph" of May 4th reported that the announcement of the executions was received with "general cheers"—a phrase only used in Parliamentary reporting, when all parties join in the cheering—and that the "Manchester Guardian" of the same date—the only English paper which condemned the executions—reported that when Mr. Burrell rose after the announcement of the executions and declared "this was not an Irish rebellion" he was loudly cheered by the Redmondites. Those cheers will live in Irish history.

It only now remains for the "Party" to deny that it was on their certificate, per J. Mooney, M.P. for Newry, that 560 men were imprisoned at Reading and Prongoch. Next year they may be trusted to deny that they opposed a political prisoner in Longford.

The details of the reduction in the dietary of the Irish political prisoners were elicited by Mr. Ginnell on the 21st May from Sir George Cave, the English Home Secretary. The details were, however, skilfully arranged in a tabular form which required considerable arithmetical calculation on the part of the reader to grasp its significance. We arrange it in a form which can be easily grasped. When the Irish prisoners were committed to Lewes and Aylesbury their diet was that prescribed by the Prison Rules as adopted in 1901. The changes in the diet, we show, were subsequently made.

Former and Present Weekly Prison Dietary of the Irish Political Prisoners.

	Former	Present	Increase	Decrease
Bread (oz.) ...	196	119	—	77
Meat* (oz.) ...	36	19	—	17
Soup (pints) ...	2	2	—	—
Porridge (pint) ...	7	7	—	—
Cocoa (pints) ...	7	7	—	—
Tea (pints) ...	—	7	7	—
Peas and Beans	12	36	24	—
Margarine ...	—	7	7	—
Rice ...	—	2	2	—
Treacle ...	—	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	—
Cheese ...	4	7	3	—

* Including suet pudding, whose composition no prisoner could ever define.

From this it will be seen that the diet of the prisoners has been reduced from 232 ozs. of bread and meat to 138 ozs. in the week, and that the solid food allowed in lieu of this great reduction (including bread and margarine)

amounts to only 36½ ozs. Thus a net reduction of 57½ ozs. of solid food per week has been made in the case of the Irish political prisoners on a dietary scale which had been accepted since.

The "Irish Times" has found a Catholic clergyman after its own heart. We take the following from its issue of Saturday:—

The Rev. W. P. Burke, preaching in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Cahir, on Sunday on civil authority spoke of wars which were justified, and others which were unjustified. Referring to last year's outburst in Dublin, he said:—But who can call the wretched Dublin business a war? It was backed neither by the mind nor strength of the country. It had not a dog's chance, nor a shadow of justification; but if it was not war it was murder. We hear (continued Father Burke) a great deal about the "men who died for Ireland," but have you any sympathy for the seven hundred creatures whose lives were sacrificed in this orgy of blood? Have we any thought for the ruined homes and broken hearts, for the widows and the orphans created by this horrible affair?

Is the Rev. W. P. Burke the same Rev. W. P. Burke who appeared on recruiting platforms in Tipperary in 1915, and whose advice to Irishmen to enlist in the English army was printed and placarded by the English Government throughout Ireland?

We have received the following resolution adopted by the Ennis Rural District Council:—

"That we, the Ennis Rural District Council, congratulate the people of South Longford on their victory over the combined forces of the British Parliament, Mr. J. Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the Unionists of South Longford, in electing Mr. McGuinness, to represent them in the old Parliament House at College Green and elsewhere. That we call upon Mr. J. Redmond and his followers to resign their seats in Parliament, as they no longer represent the views and wishes of the Irish people, either at home or abroad. That we will not accept any form of Home Rule short of complete independence, seeing that Roscommon and Longford have now placed two milestones on the road to the European Conference, where we can get complete independence, the same as Poland, Belgium and the Balkan States. That we call upon Major William Redmond to resign his seat in East Clare, and give the people an opportunity of selecting an English or an Irish soldier to represent their views and wishes, and afford them an opportunity of placing a third milestone on the road to the European Conference; and that we demand the release of all political prisoners, Russia having released hers."

Many people have been looking for information as to what the English National Service means, and there is an extraordinary amount of official vagueness and reticence about it. Mr. P. J. O'Neill, a party hack, is the Director for Ireland, but as to what he is "directing" and as to what "direction" he is going, there is no information available. His declaration at the Dublin Chamber of Commerce last week contained the remarkably frank observation that it was not always easy to take the public into one's confidence. We should think not. He might at least have told the public what it hasn't been told yet, that there is no such thing as a "National Service Act." We have met people who went to look for it, but couldn't find it. What has occurred is this. A Ministry of National Service has been created by an Act passed in the English Parliament "for the purpose of making the best use of all persons." This in short is the declared purport of this the baldest bureaucratic buffoonery. Perhaps Mr. O'Neill will make use of somebody in the end. His efforts to "make the best use" of the Chamber of Commerce was an unfortunate and misguided effort. Surely his knowledge of Dublin might have told him that of all bodies the Chamber was the one which anybody was least likely to find amenable to the "purpose of making the best use of all persons." If he had so construed the Act so as to omit the word "use" he might have got them. Or perhaps there was some subtle humour in his visit and still more ticklish jocularities in the vote of thanks proposed by Sir W. Fry and seconded by Mr. Shanks.

The Director of National Service is by law omnipotent. He can do anything "for the purpose of making the best use of all persons."

He could, for instance, find something to do for the members of the Chamber besides reading the newspapers or walking up and down with their hands in their pockets before the swing doors. It would be a delicate matter for us to suggest to the "National" Director what exactly he should order them to do. Apparently Sir Wm. Fry, with his remarkable foresight and acumen, sized up the moment of danger and promptly moved a vote of thanks. This, of course, disarmed the "National" Director, or rather pulled the teeth of a forcible tiger. When one is confronted with the mellowing influence of a resolution moved in unctuous and smooth tones by a practised mouth one cannot very well call on its proposer to "make the best use of him," or when a congratulation is eagerly seconded by a mineral-water manufacturer can you kill him with a ukase. Yet under this extraordinary Act constituting the Ministry of National Service, passed in this very year, we have a real live dictator, a bureaucrat, a living, walking, talking Czar, one to whose powers there is no constitutional limit. He can do everything, except, as he said, that he is not "Chancellor of his own Exchequer." He is omnipotent until it comes to pay night, when he can do nothing.

It could hardly be believed, even by a servile English Parliament, that such an Act has been passed. To prove we are not jesting we will quote the speech of an English member, Anderson (Attercliffe Division of Sheffield), made in the English Commons on March 12th of this year (Official Report, p. 761):—

"We know very well that Parliament is particularly servile at the present time. Parliament is losing a large part of the self-respect that it had in the country, and until Parliament begins to assert itself a little more it will not win back that respect. Mr. Neville Chamberlain told us in a speech he made at Westminster the day before the opening of this House that it was not the Press, and it was not the public who were being asked to work out the scheme. It was he. We are asked under this Bill merely to set up a Ministry of National Service, and having done that we give practically a blank cheque to the Director of National Service to do what he likes, to act as he likes. He has got the very widest powers even under this Bill. He has got powers under the Defence of the Realm Act. In addition he can call to his aid Orders in Council. I believe personally that this present measure is but the prelude to something more, and that Parliament will find it is as unable to control the wider measure when it comes as it is to control the smaller measure. That is bound to have very wide effects upon industry, upon employment, upon labour, and upon small businesses. Parliament is entirely abrogating its functions if it is going to have all these powers taken out of its hands and decided by someone outside, no matter how able or how efficient he may be. My own view is that bureaucracy is growing far too rapidly in this country. We are more and more approaching the position of a servile State, in which our whole lives are to be governed by controllers or the representatives of controllers or directors.

The truth is that, as many other speakers declared, the English Parliament has abdicated. It is like the Parliament of Paris before the Revolution, and any measure no matter how ridiculous it is, may be passed within its walls provided it gives more power to the Government and sacrifices the liberty of the people. Yet there are Irishmen who see or pretend to see in this same Parliament the only hope, the sole shrine, the load star of Irish freedom, the Palladium of Nationality, and the refuge of small nations!

With all its grotesque humour, there is a serious and dangerous side to this "National Service" business. Our Director stated to the Chamber of Commerce that at the "inception of National Service" (a delicious joke) there was every reason to believe that there would be an adequate supply of male labour to deal with the harvest, but from information since received it had been ascertained that there was a steady, continuous and serious drain on the man-power of the country, and if this should be maintained in the next two months, as there was reason to fear it might, it seemed fairly certain that substituted labour would have to be found to deal with the necessities of the harvest, and that the utilisation of female labour must be largely extended. The

control and organisation of such labour would, he declared, create a necessity for local organisation, and he was hopeful that volunteers would be found to carry out this duty. The report does not state what the members of the Chamber said to this hint.

It is an extraordinary pass that the affairs of this country have come to, that, while we have a deplorable lack of unemployment in the city, we may yet have to depend on the mobilisation of the members of such a place as the Chamber of Commerce to help in getting in the harvest. Sad indeed is the state of an ancient nation reduced to such straits.

If we had a Government that was not a bogus one in this country, employment would immediately be found for all our disemployed in valuable and remunerative public works, such as the development of peat works, building of railways, mining of coal, afforestation, deepening of canals, dredging of harbours, mining of pyrites, copper, iron, lead, and other minerals. All emigration at the same time would be stopped. Then there is the rebuilding of the city, and the provision of working class dwellings wanted in all our towns. There is work for every man and woman in Ireland, and Ireland is taxed £30,000,000 a year, £12,000,000 only of which is expended in Ireland. Why then is it not done?

The answer is to be found in the peculiar devious and winding contortions of the British Government. Faced with a call from the military authorities for another half-a-million of men, which they state they must have by July, there has started another of these gigantic "combs" to squeeze out Britishers of military age from all the corners into which they have escaped. The result must be another shortage of labour in the factories of Britannia, and the unfortunate manufacturers are at their wits' end to carry on at all. We have been told by a manufacturer just returned from England that the position there is desperate in any industry not actually connected with war material. The only chance they have is to get hold of a Belgian or a German or an Irishman. There are industries carried on by German labour in England to-day. The practice is to march them out from an internment camp to the factory under police escort and to take them back at night. Belgians, of course, are liable to be "combed out," too, by their own Government. The best chance is to get hold of an Irishman who can neither be conscripted nor "combed out." This is the reason that the Government is blocking the "National Service" Director in Ireland, by the simple expedient of providing no funds for "National Service," cancelling permits for the use of raw materials, and attaching impossible financial conditions to the peat scheme organised by the "Party." This is what we call "combing in." It is just the reverse of the "combing out," but it is equally effective, as the statement of our National Director has shown. Yet we are told that we must get "Liberty first, Finance after"—a National Director without an Exchequer.

At the last meeting of the Kerry Branch of the Irish Creamery Managers' Association Mr. J. Byrne, Ballymacelligot, proposed, and Mr. O'Connell, Causeway, seconded the following resolution:—

"That a gift of butter from each creamery be sent to aid the dependents of the Volunteers who sacrificed their lives and liberties on behalf of their country."

Speaking to the resolution, Mr. Byrne said that there was much if not more reason why assistance be given to the dependents of those men than to the victims of the present war, who some time ago received parcels of butter from almost all creameries. It was decided that the C.C. representative present the request for the consideration of the C.C. meeting, and that the Secretary of this branch send copies of Mr. Byrne's resolution to the other branches.

On Thursday last, "Empire Day," the Union Jack was floated at half-mast over St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. The fact attracted great attention, some of the citizens holding it was merely a mistake, others that it indicated the belief of Archbishop Bernard that England was up the pole. Up to the time of going to press no proceedings under the Defence of the Realm Act have been instituted against the Dean of St. Patrick's.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

II.

1792-1798.

By 1792 the "Freeman" had completed the first phase of its work for Dublin Castle—the destruction of the Volunteer movement and the undermining of Grattan—"the mercenary apostate who sold his country," as the "Freeman," every one of whose editors was on the Castle Secret Pay Roll, styled him. Lord Moira, the Earl of Charlemont, the Duke of Leinster, and George Ponsonby, Grattan's colleagues, were each in turn assailed by the "Freeman," acting on English instructions, in an effort to blacken them to the people of Ireland. Under the style of Letters to the Editor, signed "Molyneux," "Lucas," "Aristides," "Hibernicus," "Old Ireland," and "Justice," all the leading men in Ireland whom the Castle could not bribe were assailed by Higgins, Brennan, Houlton, and the other Secret Service journalists who wrote the "Freeman." By 1792 the English interest had again the upper-hand in the Parliament of Ireland, and the "Freeman" announced itself as an organ which henceforth would merely concern itself with the material interests of the country, giving independent support to the Government. Its advertising columns now appeared filled with Government Proclamations and under the guise of payment for advertisements the infamous journal was sustained by the Castle. "There was little talent in the 'Freeman' to light up its baseness. No wit to enliven its advocacy of everything that was corrupt and vicious, and of every person who was vile and venal." This, which might have been written to-day, was written by Dr. Madden of the "Freeman's Journal" of 1790-1800.

In the three years 1792-5 an effort which, had it succeeded, would have changed the whole course of Irish history, was unsuccessfully made to emancipate the Catholics. It is to the honour of the Protestant Parliament of Ireland that the majority of its members favoured in the beginning complete Catholic Emancipation. William Pitt, the English Premier, then planning the Union, realised that such a measure would destroy his plans by firmly and permanently uniting the whole Irish people. All the agencies of England were set at work to prevent the Parliament of Ireland passing, as it intended to pass, a complete measure of Emancipation. Miserable Irish Catholic peers and some servile Irish ecclesiastics declared they did not ask anything so extravagant as complete equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and the sturdy Catholic leaders, like John Sweetman, who sought the full measure of right, were openly condemned by dignitaries of their own Church as extreme and dangerous men. Pitt dexterously used the servile Catholic to repudiate the manly Catholic, and then through his agencies whispered to Irish Protestants that the Catholics who called for complete Emancipation were such dangerous and reckless men that even their own co-religionists could not touch them. The "Freeman's Journal" played its part in the intrigue, which was crowned with a success disastrous for Ireland. The Protestant Irish Parliament passed an Emancipation Act admitting Catholics to the franchise and to the professions, but still debarring them from sitting in Parliament—and England was saved. But let it be ever remembered to the honour of that Parliament, in which no Catholic sat, that despite Pitt's intrigue sixty of its members voted to place the Irish Catholic on an absolute equality with the Irish Protestant. Had it not been for England, complete Catholic Emancipation would have been enacted in 1793—and the Act of Union would have been rendered impossible. In the list of the dark forces that operated under the direction of Pitt in 1793 to prevent the Protestant Parliament of Ireland completely unshackling the Catholics of Ireland not the least place is occupied by the "Freeman's Journal."

The last gleam of that light of liberty which Ireland so exultantly hailed in 1782 faded out of our sky in 1795. Night fell and the storm-clouds gathered. Pitt's policy for the calculated destruction of Ireland was in full swing. Camden and Carhopton, Castlereagh and Clare and Cooke, were its agents—the "Freeman's Journal" was its secret organ. Mr. Cooke was in direct communication with the "Freeman" office, and transmitted instructions, and the "Freeman" held up Cooke and Camden and Carhopton—three scoundrels of a superior type—to public admiration as the

defenders and preservers of Ireland. The invincible Insurrection burst out and nearly proved too much for Mr. William Pitt, who had designed and fomented it to the end of terrifying the Irish Parliament into voting a Union, and the "Freeman's Journal" revelled in blood-money. Its description of the men of 1798, their objects and their character, has been only equalled in its columns in recent times. The chivalrous M'Cann, who carried on business as an apothecary in Dublin, was suggested to be a person who sold a thousand packets of arsenic to servants in Dublin for them to poison their employers with. Christopher Clinch of Peamount, the wretch who at the head of his drunken Yeomen rode into Rathcoole, forced the bakery open, eat the baker's bread, and then shot the unfortunate man and his apprentice, was lauded for the cowardly murder, but blamed for being so lenient as to only "shoot such villains;" and the United Irishmen in Dublin were described as villains whose daggers thirsted for the blood of innocence, and who were only prevented from committing such wholesale assassinations by "the fortunate arrest of the principal traitor"—Lord Edward Fitzgerald. But the "Freeman's Journal" had its heroes in 1798, as it has now. Thomas Reynolds, the traitor who sold his fellow-conspirators to the gallows, was pronounced to be a person who deserved much from his country, and Cope, who suborned Reynolds, was extolled. "Let the country," wrote the "Freeman," bestow on him some munificent token of gratitude.

These were golden days for the "Freeman's Journal," for as the blood of his countrymen flowed out, the blood-money of the Castle flowed into the "Freeman" office. Its nervous rage at a prospect of the interruption of its sale of blood for gold is exhibited in its leading article of June 23rd, 1798. The Insurrection had become more formidable than Pitt had dreamed, and the Lord Lieutenant, Camden, was recalled and Cornwallis sent over in his stead. Unlike Camden, Cornwallis was averse from cruelty, and possessed a reputation which did not encourage the blood-money traders to hope for his patronage. On the day of Cornwallis's arrival, therefore, the "Freeman" wrote menacingly:

They talk of conciliation. That the Marquis of Cornwallis comes to conciliate. Whom is he going to conciliate? Rebels with arms in their hands and vaunting their numbers. Ask the hordes who have desolated one of the finest counties in Ireland, and made it a universal scene of blood and plunder. Ask what it is they want. Their atrocities will answer for them. Ask them what concession will satisfy them—your property, your power, your constitutional establishment in Church and State—the separation of Ireland from the Crown of Great Britain—give us your wives and daughters to satiate our base lusts—your lives to satiate our thirst for blood—give these, and when we can find no longer others to fall before our barbaric rage, we will then cast away our useless pikes, bask before the smoking ruins of our country, and wallow in the blood we have spread around us.

This article is said to have caused the execution of John and Henry Sheares. Cornwallis came with the intention of stopping executions, but the scoundrel dom of the Castle with its secret organ, the "Freeman's Journal," overcame him. The blood-money trade was too lucrative to give way without a struggle.

In that portion of the Secret Service Books of Dublin Castle which fell into the hands of Dr. Madden some records of the payments to the "Freeman's Journal" appear. In January, 1798, the proprietor received £100. On June 20th, 1798, three days before the menace to Cornwallis against closing the field of labour to the Blood-Money Brigade, the proprietor of the "Freeman" was rewarded with £1,000 for "the discovery of L. E. F." (Lord Edward Fitzgerald), and an annual pension of £300.

Mr. Higgins, the eloquent editor and proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," was the person who betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald to the English Government, inducing one Francis Magan, a barrister, who lived for 45 years afterwards, to "set" the patriot. Mr. Higgins' name figures for other sums in the Secret Service lists, and it is clear that each of the "Freeman" staff who did his bit for the Castle was not left unrewarded.

The year 1798 passed and left the "Freeman's Journal" twice as rich as it found it. On November 8th of that year it rejoiced that "the Erin-go-Braghite Theobald Wolfe Tone" was to suffer the just reward of his crimes. But the "Freeman" made nothing out of

Wolfe Tone's blood, the price of which was paid to Sir George Hill. However, as the proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal" is suspected of having procured the murder of Oliver Bond in Newgate Prison, the historian who unravels the mystery of Wolfe Tone's death may find his clue leading towards the "Freeman's Journal" office.

General Sir George Cockburn, who fought against the United Irishmen in 1798, left behind him a private paper containing a list of 49 persons who constituted the secret Government of Ireland, 1798. On that list appears the name of the editor and proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," and to that name General Cockburn has affixed one word—"miscreant." It might with equal truth have been affixed to the names of the other "Freeman" editors.

For what that miscreant wrote in the journal which trafficked secretly in the blood of his countrymen was as like to what some of his successors wrote and write as one pea to another pea. "The whole energies of the 'Freeman' will be devoted in the future, as in the past, to the preservation of religion and morality," wrote Mr. Francis Higgins 120 years ago in the journal which lived in the secret sale of its countrymen's blood. Scarcely a year has passed since then that a similar sentence has not appeared at the head of a "Freeman's Journal" leading article. Next week we shall trace the "Freeman's Journal" record in supporting the Union and selling Robert Emmet.

TOM CLARKE ATHLETIC CLUB

Watch Competition

Result will be published in issue of 9th June. All Sheets to be returned before June 3rd.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

II.

1792-1798.

By 1792 the "Freeman" had completed the first phase of its work for Dublin Castle—the destruction of the Volunteer movement and the undermining of Grattan—"the mercenary apostate who sold his country," as the "Freeman," every one of whose editors was on the Castle Secret Pay Roll, styled him. Lord Moira, the Earl of Charlemont, the Duke of Leinster, and George Ponsonby, Grattan's colleagues, were each in turn assailed by the "Freeman," acting on English instructions, in an effort to blacken them to the people of Ireland. Under the style of Letters to the Editor, signed "Molyneux," "Lucas," "Aristides," "Hibernicus," "Old Ireland," and "Justice," all the leading men in Ireland whom the Castle could not bribe were assailed by Higgins, Brennan, Houlton, and the other Secret Service journalists who wrote the "Freeman." By 1792 the English interest had again the upper-hand in the Parliament of Ireland, and the "Freeman" announced itself as an organ which henceforth would merely concern itself with the material interests of the country, giving independent support to the Government. Its advertising columns now appeared filled with Government Proclamations and under the guise of payment for advertisements the infamous journal was sustained by the Castle. "There was little talent in the 'Freeman' to light up its baseness. No wit to enliven its advocacy of everything that was corrupt and vicious, and of every person who was vile and venal." This, which might have been written to-day, was written by Dr. Madden of the "Freeman's Journal" of 1790-1800.

In the three years 1792-5 an effort which, had it succeeded, would have changed the whole course of Irish history, was unsuccessfully made to emancipate the Catholics. It is to the honour of the Protestant Parliament of Ireland that the majority of its members favoured in the beginning complete Catholic Emancipation. William Pitt, the English Premier, then planning the Union, realised that such a measure would destroy his plans by firmly and permanently uniting the whole Irish people. All the agencies of England were set at work to prevent the Parliament of Ireland passing, as it intended to pass, a complete measure of Emancipation. Miserable Irish Catholic peers and some servile Irish ecclesiastics declared they did not ask anything so extravagant as complete equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and the sturdy Catholic leaders, like John Sweetman, who sought the full measure of right, were openly condemned by dignitaries of their own Church as extreme and dangerous men. Pitt dexterously used the servile Catholic to repudiate the manly Catholic, and then through his agencies whispered to Irish Protestants that the Catholics who called for complete Emancipation were such dangerous and reckless men that even their own co-religionists could not touch them. The "Freeman's Journal" played its part in the intrigue, which was crowned with a success disastrous for Ireland. The Protestant Irish Parliament passed an Emancipation Act admitting Catholics to the franchise and to the professions, but still debarring them from sitting in Parliament—and England was saved. But let it be ever remembered to the honour of that Parliament, in which no Catholic sat, that despite Pitt's intrigue sixty of its members voted to place the Irish Catholic on an absolute equality with the Irish Protestant. Had it not been for England, complete Catholic Emancipation would have been enacted in 1793—and the Act of Union would have been rendered impossible. In the list of the dark forces that operated under the direction of Pitt in 1793 to prevent the Protestant Parliament of Ireland completely unshackling the Catholics of Ireland not the least place is occupied by the "Freeman's Journal."

The last gleam of that light of liberty which Ireland so exultantly hailed in 1782 faded out of our sky in 1795. Night fell and the storm-clouds gathered. Pitt's policy for the calculated destruction of Ireland was in full swing. Camden and Carhrompton, Castlereagh and Clare and Cooke, were its agents—the "Freeman's Journal" was its secret organ. Mr. Cooke was in direct communication with the "Freeman" office, and transmitted instructions, and the "Freeman" held up Cooke and Camden and Carhrompton—three scoundrels of a superior type—to public admiration as the

defenders and preservers of Ireland. The invincible Insurrection burst out and nearly proved too much for Mr. William Pitt, who had designed and fomented it to the end of terrifying the Irish Parliament into voting a Union, and the "Freeman's Journal" revelled in blood-money. Its description of the men of 1798, their objects and their character, has been only equalled in its columns in recent times. The chivalrous M'Cann, who carried on business as an apothecary in Dublin, was suggested to be a person who sold a thousand packets of arsenic to servants in Dublin for them to poison their employers with. Christopher Clinch of Peamount, the wretch who at the head of his drunken Yeomen rode into Rathcoole, forced the bakery open, eat the baker's bread, and then shot the unfortunate man and his apprentice, was lauded for the cowardly murder, but blamed for being so lenient as to only "shoot such villains;" and the United Irishmen in Dublin were described as villains whose daggers thirsted for the blood of innocence, and who were only prevented from committing such wholesale assassinations by "the fortunate arrest of the principal traitor"—Lord Edward Fitzgerald. But the "Freeman's Journal" had its heroes in 1798, as it has now. Thomas Reynolds, the traitor who sold his fellow-conspirators to the gallows, was pronounced to be a person who deserved much from his country, and Cope, who suborned Reynolds, was extolled. "Let the country," wrote the "Freeman," bestow on him some munificent token of gratitude."

These were golden days for the "Freeman's Journal," for as the blood of his countrymen flowed out, the blood-money of the Castle flowed into the "Freeman" office. Its nervous rage at a prospect of the interruption of its sale of blood for gold is exhibited in its leading article of June 23rd, 1798. The Insurrection had become more formidable than Pitt had dreamed, and the Lord Lieutenant, Camden, was recalled and Cornwallis sent over in his stead. Unlike Camden, Cornwallis was averse from cruelty, and possessed a reputation which did not encourage the blood-money traders to hope for his patronage. On the day of Cornwallis's arrival, therefore, the "Freeman" wrote menacingly:

They talk of conciliation. That the Marquis of Cornwallis comes to conciliate. Whom is he going to conciliate? Rebels with arms in their hands and vaunting their numbers. Ask the hordes who have desolated one of the finest counties in Ireland, and made it a universal scene of blood and plunder. Ask what it is they want. Their atrocities will answer for them. Ask them what concession will satisfy them—your property, your power, your constitutional establishment in Church and State—the separation of Ireland from the Crown of Great Britain—give us your wives and daughters to satiate our base lusts—your lives to satiate our thirst for blood—give these, and when we can find no longer others to fall before our barbaric rage, we will then cast away our useless pikes, bask before the smoking ruins of our country, and wallow in the blood we have spread around us.

This article is said to have caused the execution of John and Henry Sheares. Cornwallis came with the intention of stopping executions, but the scoundrelism of the Castle with its secret organ, the "Freeman's Journal," overcame him. The blood-money trade was too lucrative to give way without a struggle.

In that portion of the Secret Service Books of Dublin Castle which fell into the hands of Dr. Madden some records of the payments to the "Freeman's Journal" appear. In January, 1798, the proprietor received £100. On June 20th, 1798, three days before the menace to Cornwallis against closing the field of labour to the Blood-Money Brigade, the proprietor of the "Freeman" was rewarded with £1,000 for "the discovery of L. E. F." (Lord Edward Fitzgerald), and an annual pension of £300.

Mr. Higgins, the eloquent editor and proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," was the person who betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald to the English Government, inducing one Francis Magan, a barrister, who lived for 45 years afterwards, to "set" the patriot. Mr. Higgins' name figures for other sums in the Secret Service lists, and it is clear that each of the "Freeman" staff who did his bit for the Castle was not left unrewarded.

The year 1798 passed and left the "Freeman's Journal" twice as rich as it found it. On November 8th of that year it rejoiced that "the Erin-go-Braghite Theobald Wolfe Tone" was to suffer the just reward of his crimes. But the "Freeman" made nothing out of

Wolfe Tone's blood, the price of which was paid to Sir George Hill. However, as the proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal" is suspected of having procured the murder of Oliver Bond in Newgate Prison, the historian who unravels the mystery of Wolfe Tone's death may find his clue leading towards the "Freeman's Journal" office.

General Sir George Cockburn, who fought against the United Irishmen in 1798, left behind him a private paper containing a list of 49 persons who constituted the secret Government of Ireland, 1798. On that list appears the name of the editor and proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," and to that name General Cockburn has affixed one word—"miscreant." It might with equal truth have been affixed to the names of the other "Freeman" editors.

For what that miscreant wrote in the journal which trafficked secretly in the blood of his countrymen was as like to what some of his successors wrote and write as one pea to another pea. "The whole energies of the 'Freeman' will be devoted in the future, as in the past, to the preservation of religion and morality," wrote Mr. Francis Higgins 120 years ago in the journal which lived in the secret sale of its countrymen's blood. Scarcely a year has passed since then that a similar sentence has not appeared at the head of a "Freeman's Journal" leading article. Next week we shall trace the "Freeman's Journal" record in supporting the Union and selling Robert Emmet.

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amounts to only 36½ ozs. Thus a net reduction of 57½ ozs. of solid food per week has been made in the case of the Irish political prisoners on a dietary scale which had been accepted since.

The "Irish Times" has found a Catholic clergyman after its own heart. We take the following from its issue of Saturday:—

The Rev. W. P. Burke, preaching in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Cahir, on Sunday on civil authority spoke of wars which were justified, and others which were unjustified. Referring to last year's outburst in Dublin, he said:—But who can call the wretched Dublin business a war? It was backed neither by the mind nor strength of the country. It had not a dog's chance, nor a shadow of justification; but if it was not war it was murder. We hear (continued Father Burke) a great deal about the "men who died for Ireland," but have you any sympathy for the seven hundred creatures whose lives were sacrificed in this orgy of blood? Have we any thought for the ruined homes and broken hearts, for the widows and the orphans created by this horrible affair?

Is the Rev. W. P. Burke the same Rev. W. P. Burke who appeared on recruiting platforms in Tipperary in 1915, and whose advice to Irishmen to enlist in the English army was printed and placarded by the English Government throughout Ireland?

We have received the following resolution adopted by the Ennis Rural District Council:—

"That we, the Ennis Rural District Council, congratulate the people of South Longford on their victory over the combined forces of the British Parliament, Mr. J. Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the Unionists of South Longford, in electing Mr. McGuinness, to represent them in the old Parliament House at College Green and elsewhere. That we call upon Mr. J. Redmond and his followers to resign their seats in Parliament, as they no longer represent the views and wishes of the Irish people, either at home or abroad. That we will not accept any form of Home Rule short of complete independence, seeing that Roscommon and Longford have now placed two milestones on the road to the European Conference, where we can get complete independence, the same as Poland, Belgium and the Balkan States. That we call upon Major William Redmond to resign his seat in East Clare, and give the people an opportunity of selecting an English or an Irish soldier to represent their views and wishes, and afford them an opportunity of placing a third milestone on the road to the European Conference; and that we demand the release of all political prisoners, Russia having released hers."

Many people have been looking for information as to what the English National Service means, and there is an extraordinary amount of official vagueness and reticence about it. Mr. P. J. O'Neill, a party hack, is the Director for Ireland, but as to what he is "directing" and as to what "direction" he is going, there is no information available. His declaration at the Dublin Chamber of Commerce last week contained the remarkably frank observation that it was not always easy to take the public into one's confidence. We should think not. He might at least have told the public what it hasn't been told yet, that there is no such thing as a "National Service Act." We have met people who went to look for it, but couldn't find it. What has occurred is this. A Ministry of National Service has been created by an Act passed in the English Parliament "for the purpose of making the best use of all persons." This in short is the declared purport of this the baldest bureaucratic buffoonery. Perhaps Mr. O'Neill will make use of somebody in the end. His efforts to "make the best use" of the Chamber of Commerce was an unfortunate and misguided effort. Surely his knowledge of Dublin might have told him that of all bodies the Chamber was the one which anybody was least likely to find amenable to the "purpose of making the best use of all persons." If he had so construed the Act so as to omit the word "use" he might have got them. Or perhaps there was some subtle humour in his visit and still more ticklish jocularly in the vote of thanks proposed by Sir W. Fry and seconded by Mr. Shanks.

The Director of National Service is by law omnipotent. He can do anything "for the purpose of making the best use of all persons."

He could, for instance, find something to do for the members of the Chamber besides reading the newspapers or walking up and down with their hands in their pockets before the swing doors. It would be a delicate matter for us to suggest to the "National" Director what exactly he should order them to do. Apparently Sir Wm. Fry, with his remarkable foresight and acumen, sized up the moment of danger and promptly moved a vote of thanks. This, of course, disarmed the "National" Director, or rather pulled the teeth of a forcible tiger. When one is confronted with the mellowing influence of a resolution moved in unctuous and smooth tones by a practised mouth one cannot very well call on its proposer to "make the best use of him," or when a congratulation is eagerly seconded by a mineral-water manufacturer can you kill him with a ukase. Yet under this extraordinary Act constituting the Ministry of National Service, passed in this very year, we have a real live dictator, a bureaucrat, a living, walking, talking Czar, one to whose powers there is no constitutional limit. He can do everything, except, as he said, that he is not "Chancellor of his own Exchequer." He is omnipotent until it comes to pay night, when he can do nothing.

It could hardly be believed, even by a servile English Parliament, that such an Act has been passed. To prove we are not jesting we will quote the speech of an English member, Anderson (Attercliffe Division of Sheffield), made in the English Commons on March 12th of this year (Official Report, p. 761):—

"We know very well that Parliament is particularly servile at the present time. Parliament is losing a large part of the self-respect that it had in the country, and until Parliament begins to assert itself a little more it will not win back that respect. Mr. Neville Chamberlain told us in a speech he made at Westminster the day before the opening of this House that it was not the Press, and it was not the public who were being asked to work out the scheme. It was he. We are asked under this Bill merely to set up a Ministry of National Service, and having done that we give practically a blank cheque to the Director of National Service to do what he likes, to act as he likes. He has got the very widest powers even under this Bill. He has got powers under the Defence of the Realm Act. In addition he can call to his aid Orders in Council. I believe personally that this present measure is but the prelude to something more, and that Parliament will find it is as unable to control the wider measure when it comes as it is to control the smaller measure. That is bound to have very wide effects upon industry, upon employment, upon labour, and upon small businesses. Parliament is entirely abrogating its functions if it is going to have all these powers taken out of its hands and decided by someone outside, no matter how able or how efficient he may be. My own view is that bureaucracy is growing far too rapidly in this country. We are more and more approaching the position of a servile State, in which our whole lives are to be governed by controllers or the representatives of controllers or directors.

The truth is that, as many other speakers declared, the English Parliament has abdicated. It is like the Parliament of Paris before the Revolution, and any measure no matter how ridiculous it is, may be passed within its walls provided it gives more power to the Government and sacrifices the liberty of the people. Yet there are Irishmen who see or pretend to see in this same Parliament the only hope, the sole shrine, the load star of Irish freedom, the Palladium of Nationality, and the refuge of small nations!

With all its grotesque humour, there is a serious and dangerous side to this "National Service" business. Our Director stated to the Chamber of Commerce that at the "inception of National Service" (a delicious joke) there was every reason to believe that there would be an adequate supply of male labour to deal with the harvest, but from information since received it had been ascertained that there was a steady, continuous and serious drain on the man-power of the country, and if this should be maintained in the next two months, as there was reason to fear it might, it seemed fairly certain that substituted labour would have to be found to deal with the necessities of the harvest, and that the utilisation of female labour must be largely extended. The

control and organisation of such labour would, he declared, create a necessity for local organisation, and he was hopeful that volunteers would be found to carry out this duty. The report does not state what the members of the Chamber said to this hint.

It is an extraordinary pass that the affairs of this country have come to, that, while we have a deplorable lack of unemployment in the city, we may yet have to depend on the mobilisation of the members of such a place as the Chamber of Commerce to help in getting in the harvest. Sad indeed is the state of an ancient nation reduced to such straits.

If we had a Government that was not a bogus one in this country, employment would immediately be found for all our disemployed in valuable and remunerative public works, such as the development of peat works, building of railways, mining of coal, afforestation, deepening of canals, dredging of harbours, mining of pyrites, copper, iron, lead, and other minerals. All emigration at the same time would be stopped. Then there is the rebuilding of the city, and the provision of working class dwellings wanted in all our towns. There is work for every man and woman in Ireland, and Ireland is taxed £30,000,000 a year, £12,000,000 only of which is expended in Ireland. Why then is it not done?

The answer is to be found in the peculiar devious and winding contortions of the British Government. Faced with a call from the military authorities for another half-a-million of men, which they state they must have by July, there has started another of these gigantic "combs" to squeeze out Britishers of military age from all the corners into which they have escaped. The result must be another shortage of labour in the factories of Britannia, and the unfortunate manufacturers are at their wits' end to carry on at all. We have been told by a manufacturer just returned from England that the position there is desperate in any industry not actually connected with war material. The only chance they have is to get hold of a Belgian or a German or an Irishman. There are industries carried on by German labour in England to-day. The practice is to march them out from an internment camp to the factory under police escort and to take them back at night. Belgians, of course, are liable to be "combed out," too, by their own Government. The best chance is to get hold of an Irishman who can neither be conscripted nor "combed out." This is the reason that the Government is blocking the "National Service" Director in Ireland, by the simple expedient of providing no funds for "National Service," cancelling permits for the use of raw materials, and attaching impossible financial conditions to the peat scheme organised by the "Party." This is what we call "combing in." It is just the reverse of the "combing out," but it is equally effective, as the statement of our National Director has shown. Yet we are told that we must get "Liberty first, Finance after"—a National Director without an Exchequer.

At the last meeting of the Kerry Branch of the Irish Creamery Managers' Association Mr. J. Byrne, Ballymacelligot, proposed, and Mr. O'Connell, Causeway, seconded the following resolution:—

"That a gift of butter from each creamery be sent to aid the dependents of the Volunteers who sacrificed their lives and liberties on behalf of their country."

Speaking to the resolution, Mr. Byrne said that there was much if not more reason why assistance be given to the dependents of those men than to the victims of the present war, who some time ago received parcels of butter from almost all creameries. It was decided that the C.C. representative present the request for the consideration of the C.C. meeting, and that the Secretary of this branch send copies of Mr. Byrne's resolution to the other branches.

On Thursday last, "Empire Day," the Union Jack was floated at half-mast over St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. The fact attracted great attention, some of the citizens holding it was merely a mistake, others that it indicated the belief of Archbishop Bernard that England was up the pole. Up to the time of going to press no proceedings under the Defence of the Realm Act have been instituted against the Dean of St. Patrick's.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2nd, 1917.

CONVENTION AND PARTITION.

Last week the Executive of Sinn Fein unanimously resolved that Sinn Fein must decline to participate in any Convention called by the English Government in Ireland, ostensibly to settle the Irish question, until—

- (1) The terms of reference left it free to decree the complete independence of Ireland;
- (2) The English Government publicly pledged itself to the United States and the Powers of Europe to ratify the decision of the majority of the Convention;
- (3) The Convention consisted of none but persons freely elected by adult suffrage in Ireland;
- (4) Prisoner-of-war treatment was accorded to Irish prisoners at Lewes and Aylesbury.

Ireland has been consistently governed for England by the alternate policy of the Scourge and the Promise. The frown of General Maxwell and the smile of Mr. Lloyd-George had a common origin and a common purpose. "Dread the Englishman when he smiles," says the Irish proverb. And if we had kept our language we might have made the wisdom of that proverb a barrier of defence against English policy in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd-George smiles, Mr. Balfour smiles, Mr. Bonar Law smiles—they are all smiling—as they hold out the hand of friendship and invitation to Sinn Fein, and Ireland has reason to fear these smiling Ministers of 1917 more than she had reason to fear them when they were the scowling Ministers of 1916.

The people of Ireland have long been treated by those who profess to be their leaders as children in politics. We shall treat them as grown-up men and women, persons capable of thought and reason. England, having failed to partition Ireland, offers Ireland a "Convention"—that Convention to decide on a constitution for Ireland and submit its constitution to the English Government, which is conditionally promised (not pledged) to ratify it.

This proposal the Redmondite Party accepted with gratitude, the Unionist Party accepted on terms and Sinn Fein has replied to in the terms we print. Some people and some newspapers whose views were not machined also accepted the proposal. As we write we find

that the principal of the newspapers to which we refer is withdrawing its acceptance. Let it think harder before it again welcomes the Greeks who come bearing gifts.

A Party has flourished in Ireland for a dozen years past on the sale of political gold-bricks. England's "Irish Convention" is the last gold-brick. "Buy my Convention," says England, "and you can be happy ever after." The price was moderate and was not even expressed. It was merely that Ireland should vitiate her title to be heard at the Peace Conference.

The Convention that England offered Ireland was a Convention whose basis of representation was to be fixed by England, and whose dissident minority—if it coincided with the dissident minority that falsely arrogates to itself the name of Ulster—was to be supported by England.

When England makes an offer it is the business of Ireland to read the offer a hundred times, to examine it with a microscope, and to submit it to chemical analysis before she replies. England's offer in this instance was a trap, baited with the words "Convention," and "Settlement by Consent"—sweet-sounding in many Irish ears. All Ireland was to march into the trap, and the North-East corner of Ireland, instigated by England, and guaranteed the full support of England, was to cry "Non Possumus" to a United Ireland Partition or failure of the Convention were the alternatives.

What was England's object? What did she stand to gain by such a Convention? These are the questions intelligent Irishmen should put, weigh and consider. England's object was to exhibit Ireland to the world as a land of internecine strife. What England stood to gain was the rejection of Ireland's claim to be heard at the Peace Conference. Ireland can only sustain the claim to have her case heard, examined and pronounced upon at the Peace Conference on the ground of her distinctive nationhood. No province, colony or dependency can sustain a claim before such a tribunal. An Ireland partitioned with the consent of its people loses thereby its national status. An Ireland that accepted a Convention, and, rejecting partition, failed to come to an agreement, would have enabled England to block Ireland's appeal to the Peace Conference by the declaration to that assembly that England had offered to leave the question of the government of Ireland to the Irish themselves for decision, that the Irish had accepted the offer and failed to come to a decision, and that therefore the Irish were disentitled to be heard before any international tribunal.

Let this fact impress itself upon every Irish mind. If Ireland had accepted the Convention as offered by England, then whether that Convention broke up or whether it partitioned Ireland, England would have achieved her end of debarring Ireland from appeal to the Peace Conference.

The politicians of England considered Sinn Fein must come into the Convention, as a refusal to do so would constitute an effective answer to any claim made by Sinn Fein to the Peace Conference. Sinn Fein has turned the tables on England's minor Machiavellis. It has gripped England in a trap of her own making and exhibits her before the world as a Power that refuses to take and accept the verdict of the people of Ireland upon her claim to rule Ireland. The English Government is challenged by Sinn Fein to let the people of Ireland vote on the question of complete Irish independence. The English Government refuses—it denies the dictum of the United States that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It laid a trap for Ireland and it has fallen into a snare. Whether England accepts the terms of Sinn Fein and summons a Convention elected upon the basis of adult suffrage, and free to declare for a completely independent Ireland, or whether it refuses—Ireland wins. If such a Convention be

not summoned England admits she holds Ireland, not by the consent of the governed, but by force, and Ireland's claim at the Peace Conference is made morally irresistible.

Do not let the English people blame their matchless statesmen. They have played the same game in 1917 in Ireland that they played successfully in the past. They have failed—only because Ireland has come to understand the game. The position is serious, but all is not yet lost for England. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is in conference with the English Government. The Imperialistic Bishop of Ross—the stout apologist and appraiser of English government in connection with the Budget—the ecclesiastic whom England honours, and whom the place-hunters of the "Freeman's Journal" who shriek foul abuse at the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Limerick delight to honour—has "returned from London" where he was attending a "Re-construction Committee." And preaching in the cathedral in Skibbereen he panegyrises the "Convention." He assures his congregation "that each and every member of the War Cabinet was sincerely desirous that the Convention should not only meet, but especially should form a new constitution for Ireland." He believes that the meeting of the Convention will **relieve momentarily the tension of world-opinion on the (English) Government.** He knows that **"Russian opinion is at present most active and suspicious regarding the Irish case."** He approves the **"universal spirit of shedding worn-out shibboleths and of re-adjusting one's point of view."** Here at least is a Bishop worthy of the respect of the Editor of the "Freeman's Journal"—a Bishop who, happening to journey to London to attend "a Re-construction Committee," is able to come back informed of the views of every member of the British Cabinet. The English Government was delighted to appoint his lordship to Commissions—shall we doubt that it will delight to appoint him to the "Convention?" Shall we doubt that there he will consider the proposal of the "temporary exclusion of four counties instead of six" as the basis of compromise; shall we doubt the patriotism of the Bishop of Ross and the integrity of Mr. T. P. O'Connor? Who may say? But this we say—that partition is afoot again with the secret connivance of Irish Parliamentary leaders, who are willing that Ireland be dissected, if only the English Government will "enforce" the dissection, and let them pretend to protest.

That the political future of Ireland has passed from the hands of the British friends to the new generation is evident from the enormous volume of inquiries daily received at the offices of the National Council, 6 Harcourt St., Dublin. Since last week inquiries as to the formation of Branches of Sinn Fein have arrived from the undermentioned districts:—

Blanchardstown (Co. Dublin), Kilcock (Co. Kildare), The Ward (Co. Dublin), Kiskearn (Co. Cork), Belfast, Kanturk, Kells, Milltown (Co. Meath), Edgeworthstown, Rathmore (Co. Kerry), Lissard (Co. Tipperary), Borrisoleigh (Co. Tipperary), Castletownbere, Ballinasloe, Ixnaun (Co. Kerry), Kildorrery (Co. Cork), Addiewell (Scotland), Hospital (Limerick), Claremorris, Rooskey (Co. Roscommon), Nenagh, Swinford, Bantry, Kilrush, Dunlavin (Co. Wicklow), Sligo Town, Rathliffe (Co. Longford), Castlebellingham, Rismore, Kenmare, Graigue Cross (Co. Longford), Collins-town (Westmeath), Plunkettstown, Carrickmacross, Banteer, Ballina, Scramogue (Co. Longford), Bailenacailighe (Co. Clare), Ballyvourney (Co. Cork), Youghal, Ferbane (Co. Cork), Rath (Co. Longford), Castletownroche (Co. Cork), Leekann (Co. Leitrim), Bohermeen (Co. Meath), Smithborough (Co. Monaghan), Crosna (Co. Roscommon), Balla (Co. Mayo), Banagher, Kilmacow (Co. Kilkenny), Thurles, Lanesboro' (Co. Longford), Lisnaskea (Co. Fermanagh), Fore, Coole, Glanidan, Finea, Stonetown, Ringtown (Co. Westmeath).

Since last week active organisation has been carried out in Cavan, with the result that Branches now exist at Cootehill, Middle Parish,

Mandebawn, Drung, Larab, Carrickallen, Kill, whilst Organising Committees have been formed at Shercock, Bailieborough and Benoe. Pallyjamesduff is also anxious to join up for the final big push.

Far Donegal has at last stirred itself, and letters have come in from Malin Head and Ballintra seeking instructions as to how best Ireland may be served.

Every report shows that the confidence trick will no longer work in Tyrone and Fermanagh, and shortly we expect both these counties will be solidly with us.

Delegates from the National Council attended at Athgarvan last Sunday week, when details were arranged with local representatives for the organisation of Kildare.

Clubs have been formed at Listowel (Dr. O'Connor, Chairman; Mr. Michael P. Moran, Sec.), Mountrath No. 1 (President, Rev. Fr. Dunne, C.C.; Sec., H. D. MacCullough), Athboy (President, B. McConnell; Sec., John O'Grady).

Affiliation fees were received from Athboy, Borrisoleigh, Drumard (Ballinagh), Limerick, Achonry (Co. Sligo).

The organisation of Dublin City is at present under consideration; further details will be published later.

Attention is directed to the Associate Membership Scheme. Those wishing to join, but living in a locality (if there be such) where only a few Sinn Feiners are to be found, can get into touch with the National Council by signing the undertaking printed in "Nationality" of a few weeks ago.

A most encouraging feature is the fact that urgent applications have come from many parts of Longford for literature dealing with the Sinn Fein Policy. Earnest effort is being made in Dublin, to cope with the large influx of work thrown on the Executive of the National Council.

The great meeting held under the auspices of Cumann na mBhan in the Dublin Mansion House on the 21st inst., adopted the following resolution:—"That this meeting calls the attention of foreign countries to the unjust treatment of our Prisoners of War, of whom 122 are confined in English convict prisons, and treated as criminals. That we draw special attention to the case of Countess Markievicz, in Aylesbury, England, who is allowed no association except with criminals, and that we claim for all these prisoners their right under International Law to be treated as Prisoners of War."

And now the Irish Party, which opposed the election of a prisoner in Longford, and spent its money—where did that money come from?—to secure his defeat, is calling for the "release" of the men they insulted in Longford a few weeks ago.

A member of Cumann na mBhan writes to us:—Among those who were wounded in Easter week there are some who spent months in hospital, and whose health has been a good deal injured, and who have not yet been able to return to work, principally as they are still quite unfit for hard work. Now, a few weeks in the country would be a real boon to these men, and help to pick them up again as nothing else would. I would ask any of our country friends who can conveniently do so to write and say if they can receive one of these men for a few weeks during the summer. There are Irish men and women devoting all their time and attention to English wounded soldiers, and are we going to neglect our own?

Seumas O'Caomhanagh's letter has brought us some correspondence from Irish farmers—who are sympathetic to the idea of employing some of the young men like himself on the land; but they point out (1) that townsmen know practically nothing about farm work; (2) that they expect high wages; (3) that what seems to the townsmen the dullness of country life is apt to make them leave work on the land after a short time. Any released prisoner who understands orchard work can be given permanent employment, if suitable, by one of our correspondents. Some Dublin labourers who are willing to start as farm labourers may be placed if farmers can arrange terms with them. Any such labourers will please let us know the terms they seek.

Owing to the Whitsuntide holidays we are obliged to go to Press very early this week. In consequence we are unable to deal with letters which reached us later than Saturday.

SINN FEIN NATIONAL FUND.

Funds are required for the organisation of Sinn Fein propaganda and Sinn Fein Clubs. It is essential that Sinn Fein should be organised to secure the return at bye-elections or at a general election of candidates pledged to the principle of Irish Independence and to the policy of abstention from the British Parliament and the presentation of Ireland's case to the forthcoming Peace Congress.

The corrupt Parliamentary Party is backed by a wealthy organisation, and has the active sympathy of the foreign administration in this country. If the cause of Irish Nationalism is to triumph over this combination there must be little delay in opposing this alliance by a virile and well-knit National Organisation.

In Sinn Fein, which has been in existence since 1905, Ireland possesses such an organisation, and we appeal with confidence to our people for the necessary support to enable it to carry its policy to victory.

Subscriptions should be made payable to the Hon. Treasurers, National Council of Sinn Fein 6 Harcourt St.

I gCuis na hEireann,
Arthur Griffith, President.
Padraig O Caolmh; Chas. Murphy,
Hon. Treasurers.
Sean P. Campbell, Hon. Secretary.

Dublin, May, 1917.

	£	s	d
Clann Ui Gramhnaigh, per Padraig MacDiarmuida	10	0	0
John Sweetman	10	0	0
A few of the Sinn Feinidhthe of Gulladuff and Ballinapeake District, Co. Derry, including 10/- from Fr. McKenna, C.C., per A M'Guirk	6	0	0
Ganter Bros.	5	5	0
George J. Nesbitt	5	0	0
Ireland First and Last, and Ireland Over All	5	0	0
'De Valera's Fort' (per O'H.)	3	7	6
Rev. J. O'Meara	3	0	0
A Few Listowel Boys (D. J. Flavin)	2	7	0
Mrs. M. B. Barrett (1st sub.)	2	2	0
Madeline McHugh	2	0	0
Felia Colahane, London	2	0	0
Eireannach	1	10	0
D. T. Sheehan, M.B., Kerry	1	1	0
Aingilin Ni Matha	1	1	0
Rev. Fr. Harpur, C.C.	1	0	0
Wexford Sagart	1	0	0
P. Keane	1	0	0
1001, Biorra	1	0	0
Patrick Kane	1	0	0
Maire Mairead Luaghnaid (tre laimh an tAthair Clem. O'Luaghnaid)	1	0	0
Rev. Felix M'Neece, P.P., Tandragee	1	0	0
Padraig Mac Seaghan	1	0	0
Sean O Buachalla	0	10	0
T. H., Dublin	0	5	0
Brigid, Dun na nGall	0	5	0
"No. 1 A" (1st sub.)	0	5	0
Sean Mac an Bhaird	0	5	0

Mr. John Sweetman writes:—"All those who in the past were accustomed to endorse the idea of Ireland a Nation must, if they be logical, agree to the presentation of Ireland's case for sovereign independence at the forthcoming Peace Conference. I therefore enclose a cheque for £10 towards the organisation of Sinn Fein Clubs."

"No. 1 A" writes—"The Peace Conference will provide the great opportunity to secure for Ireland guaranteed independence. This fact is patent to every clear-thinking Irishman. There must, however, be some Nationalists who have given the matter but scant thought. To them the explanation suffices that as one of the 'small nations' Ireland's political status must engage attention at the Conference. If, however, we accept a subordinate Parliament before the Peace Conference assembles, we resign our claim to representation thereat. By sending genuine representatives to the Peace Conference Ireland stands to gain—

"Independence guaranteed by Europe,
"Relief from crushing taxation.

"These gains include a multitude of minor blessings. A subordinate Parliament, insecure as to its existence, as it inevitably would be in our case, would prove a very curse. Representation at the Peace Conference, then, means not only good sentiment, but also good business.

"My income is scanty, but I owe a duty to my children, and I feel that I (and they) shall be amply recompensed by the investment of what I can spare per month in the Peace Conference Fund. I enclose my first subscription."

LONGFORD BLECTION FUND.

Table listing donors and amounts for the Longford Blection Fund. Columns include names and amounts in £ s d.

Table listing donors and amounts for the Nationality fund. Columns include names and amounts in £ s d.

CORRECTIONS.

In the last issue "Eamonn O'Murchada, £1 17s. Od.," should have been "Lismore Sympathisers, £1 17s. Od." A sum of £5 received from T. F. Kane was included in the £32 acknowledged as from "Some Castlebar Friends."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The P.'s & C.'s Concert Party

Although this Party is Complete, I am always willing to consider Applications from Irish People having Anything Good, Original or Novel to offer, especially of an Instrumental or Humorous Nature.

Mr. JACK O'SHEEHAN,

P. O., Newcastlewest, Co. Limerick.

Next Week—P. O., Listowel, Co. Kerry.

DON'T BE ONE ODD. COME TO THE

ΔΕΡΙΘΕΑΔΤ

At MOYVORE, Co. WESTMEATH,

On SUNDAY, JUNE 10th.

Commencing at 2 O'Clock (Irish Time).

Artistes from Dublin, Tullamore, Ballymore, Ballinacargy, Moyvora, etc., will attend.

Proceeds to be devoted towards paying off the Church Debt.

Cumann Camóguirdeacta.

MATCHES FOR NATIONAL AID,

On SUNDAY, JUNE 3rd.

At CARRIGALINE, Co. CORK:— Camogie—Plunketts (Ballinshagig) v. Thomas Kents (Cork City), 2.30 (Old Time); followed by Hurling—Ballinshagig v. Tracton.

At RIVERSTOWN, Co. CORK:— Hurling—Greenmount Nationals v. Fair Hill, Semi-Final, Sunday Hurling League, 2.30 (New Time) followed by Camogie—Carrig Dubh (Blackrock) v. Clann Emer (Cork City).

ADMISSION, ... 4d.

SINN FEIN LEADERS OF 1916.

Short Sketches of their Careers, illustrated with 16 Photos. Complete List of Casualties, Deportees, Prisoners of the Rebellion

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BELFAST SINN FEIN ORGANISATION.

CRAOB SEAN MAC DIARMUIDA. (SEAN MacDERMOTT BRANCH).

AN ADDRESS

Under the auspices of the above Branch will be delivered by SEAN MILROY, Dublin (Member of National Organising Committee) in St. Mary's Hall on Wednesday 6th June. Other prominent Speakers will attend.

Doors open 7 o'clock. Commencing 8 o'clock. Admission—Sixpence. Platform—One Shilling. Songs and Recitations will be rendered by Talented Artistes.

COME AND SUPPORT IRELAND'S CLAIM FOR REPRESENTATION AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

AN CUMANN SAOBALAC, DROMCONNRAC POSTPONED WATCH COMPETITION.

Opening of case containing Watch at 8 p.m. on Thursday 28th July, 1917, in Clanna na hEireann Hall, Fairview.

Name of winner, etc., in "Nationality" of following week. Sheets and monies must be returned before 18th July to the Hon. Sec., 7. Wheatly, at 251 Richmond Road, Fairview (not 25, as appeared on some Sheets).

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THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF IRELAND.

A STUDY IN NAVAL STRATEGY.

In a recent issue of "Nationality" a very interesting and equally important correspondence appeared on the subject of Ireland's representation at the Peace Conference. Mr. McNamara's contention that Ireland has a right to state her case before the great Tribunal of the Nations is unquestionable. Our right is just as good as that of other nations, which admittedly will have their cause pleaded there. Apart altogether from considerations of justice or equity, there is another reason of an even more powerful character and that is the importance of our position on the high seas. This matter is one which will constitute an element in the most vital and difficult question which will come before the Tribunal, affecting decisively the freedom of the seas and peace on the frontiers of the world. The importance of sea-power is unquestioned. The late Admiral Mahan in his great work on Naval Strategy tells us that sea-power is the potent instrument of international relations. It affects every nation because of the fact that there is practically no country which has not a sea frontier and naval power is felt everywhere. There is also the additional fact that no power can be compared to the navy as a weapon of destruction. It has been calculated that if a battleship could be put on land and mounted on motors it would destroy an army of a million of men. It possesses in addition to its immense weight and range of gun-power the vital factor of mobility. These facts are plain and they cannot be questioned.

What, however, is not clearly understood is the real importance of Ireland in regard to the exercise of sea-power. This question has seldom ever been considered. Naval strategy itself is a very recent conception. The navies of the world are in their infancy, and the great wealth of literature on military affairs finds no corresponding output in naval affairs in reference to strategy. Yet this question is the most important that can be investigated in relation to the international position of our country, and we propose to lay before our countrymen some information which will not be found in the text-books of the English navy.

Before we do so, it is well to approach this subject with caution. It is a matter for professional experts. A mere layman's opinion on such affairs is not worth the fin of a sprat. It might be said, indeed, that politicians in every country ruled democratically have generally succeeded in completely thwarting naval policy. There is no subject in which a layman is more likely to go astray. Even now the question of the submarine has upset the theories of the ablest seaman. We are told, however, that the basic principles of strategy never change, and all expert writers are agreed upon this. We are, therefore, safe in taking for our guide the recognised authorities on naval strategy.

So far as we know, the only references to Ireland contained in works of this character are to be found in Admiral Mahan's writings. They are to be found in his work on "The Interest of America in Sea-power," published in 1897. None of his other works appear to contain any reference to the strategical value of Ireland, and it is a little curious that they are only indirect references. They are, however, of peculiar value, being the fruit of a life-long study of a subject in which he tells us he could find no other work to guide. He was, in fact, the founder of naval strategy. According to Rear-Admiral Fiske, President of the Naval Institute, U.S.A., writing as recently as September, 1916, there is only one other standard authority on naval strategy, so that it is evident this great subject has received very little attention. In England there is a burning controversy on the whole subject of the navy, and there is a regular book war between the two schools of thought on this subject. There is no settled English strategy, despite the enormous experience she has had.

From "The Interest of America in Sea-power."

P. 309.—The mere size of Cuba, the amount of population which it has or ought to have, the number of its sea-ports, the extent of the industries possible to it, tend naturally to an accumulation of resources such as great mercantile communities always entail. These, combined with its nearness to the United States, and its other advantages of situation,

make Cuba a position that can have no military rival among the islands of the world, except Ireland.

P. 302.—These natural conditions (of Cuba) governing the approach to the Isthmus (of Panama) reproduce as nearly as possible the strategic effect of Ireland upon Great Britain. There a land barrier of 300 miles, midway between the Pentland Firth and the English Channel—centrally situated, that is with reference to all the Atlantic approaches to Great Britain—gives to an adequate navy a unique power to flank and harass either the one or the other, or both. Existing political conditions and other circumstances unquestionably modify the importance of these two barriers, relatively to the countries affected by them. Open communication with the Atlantic is vital to Great Britain, which the Isthmus, up to the present time is not to the United States.

It is clear that in Mahan's opinion Ireland is the most important island in the world from a naval point of view.

We have next to examine what it is that confers this unique strategical value on our country. Mahan lays down the general principles in his work, "Naval Strategy," where he tells us that there are three elements which decide the strategical value of an island:—

Position, Strength, Resources.

Applying these to Ireland we find that we occupy a commanding position at the junction of great high sea routes, one passing round our northern shores and the other skirting our southern coast. They are the most important trade routes in the world. We may mention here a fact which is, of course, well known, that soundings have to be taken by ships approaching our coast from the west. The peculiar configuration of the sea-bed requires this to be done, as we stand on an elevated table land of the ocean. This plateau rises steeply several hundred miles out. A captain must take soundings, as he has to lay his course by the 20-fathom line which clears the south coast. We mention this fact as showing that the trade routes must converge on Ireland, and our strategical position is therefore of the first importance.

The next element is the question of strength. This depends on the number, capacity and features of our harbours. We can say with confidence that we possess on our coasts at convenient points the finest natural fortresses for naval purposes in the world. This is a large claim, but it can be easily proved by a reference to the charts. We will content ourselves here with some facts which are readily accessible in Government publications. Various Commissions sat to investigate our harbours, and it was stated by the highest naval authorities that Castletownberehaven was "unquestionably" the finest naval harbour in the "United Kingdom." Times have changed since then, and there are many other harbours available. From a study of Mahan's principles, qualified by recent experience, we would suggest that Foynes could be made an impregnable position of naval value, on account of its remoteness from the sea, combined with its accessibility and deep water. The value of Galway, too, is not to be overlooked. It is, however, rather near the ocean. It is an interesting question to investigate the possibilities of the Aran Islands. Standing right in the centre of our west coast, itself on the centre of the great trade routes, they seem to invite the question of armament. The fact, too, that there are two entrances to Galway Bay is an important point. We cannot speak with the authority of a naval strategist on the offensive or defensive value of such a position, but we do know it is well worth obtaining a neutral and unbiassed naval opinion from officers of high standing in their profession, so as to be ready to advance our claims to international recognition. The question of forming an international police force to patrol the seas may arise, and with it the question of an international harbour or base. No force can keep the seas without a base, and if there is an international force established the existence of a suitable harbour as a base must arise.

We are already coming within measurable distance of the definite establishment of a composite force patrolling the Atlantic. The arrangements made between the French, American and British Governments are in that direction, and the arrival of an American flotilla in Cork Harbour is a reminder of the fact. The importance of our great southern sea-port, described recently by a naval expert as the "true key to the (English) Channel," has been promptly discerned, and the fact utilised by our

American strategists. They did not come empty-handed either. They escorted a trans-Atlantic liner into port. There was no question of "cutting out Queenstown" this time. The British Admiral who swore it was dangerous at any time for a big liner to enter the harbour was not in evidence. He has now probably hauled down his flag. The deliberate suppression of Irish interests on the part of England is now telling its fatal tale. Our unrivalled naval position is of no more use in this, "the" war of all time, than if we were Greenland. Though the whole island is a natural naval fortress flanking England, and the friendly alliance of the two nations, if it had been fairly pursued, would infallibly have secured the real dominion of the seas, it has become the playground of devil fish, and the happy hunting ground of submarines.

The attraction of Cork for the American flotilla lies in the secure character of the harbour. The fairway at the entrance is only four hundred feet wide, and this is an important element in the defence of the port. The surrounding hills forming natural bastions and wide, deep shelter within, combined with the all-important strategical position it commands, render Cork an asset of priceless maritime value.

The line of the Shannon appears even to a layman to be of some importance. It is one of the great features of our island, equally from a shipping, industrial, naval and military point of view. Its strategical position, occupying a commanding position on the Atlantic sea-board, is evident. Yet it is completely neglected. We Irish might as well be living on a coral island.

The most striking feature on our western coast is the prominent position of the Aran Islands. It is true they do not occupy a re-entrant coast angle like Heligoland, but in some respects it may be said that Ireland occupies the centre of a re-entrant angle with regard to the trade routes of the North Atlantic, and as the Islands of Aran are fixed in the absolute centre of this unique position it may well be said they constitute a strategical point of supreme importance. The "Blue Water" school attached no importance to Heligoland, which was duly presented to Germany, with compliments, but without fortifications, and we know the result.

Skirting the coast to the north, we find a magnificent harbour in Blacksod. Its strategical importance was recognised by Wellington, who indicated it as a port which should be used for commerce on account of its remoteness from the path of enemy cruisers.

In the extreme north-west we have Lough Swilly, another magnificent harbour, which is of great naval importance and accessible for thirty miles to ships of the largest size.

We have consequently accommodation for naval purposes in six first-class harbours on our western sea-board, besides many secondary ones, and all these harbours are within striking distance of the trade routes of the North Atlantic.

We next come to the question of resources. Mahan lays it down that the most important is the provision of dry docks. On the west coast there is no dry dock capable of taking a battleship certainly. Then there is the provision of fuel. We have abundant resources in coal suitable for steam purposes at Arigna at the head of the Shannon. We have also an abundance of iron there. The development of these resources has been, of course, repressed in accordance with the usual British policy in regard to Ireland. The extension of the canal to Galway would involve no great expenditure, yet it would add enormously to the facilities of naval expansion, as well as securing our commercial, industrial and shipping position. The principles of strategy are in reality governed by commerce, which in turn is controlled by industrial development. The lines of war are concentric with the circles of trade. The development of Arigna and its connection by rail and water with the projected naval bases would secure our position behind the line of the Shannon. It is important to bear in mind that a harbour must be capable of defence on the land side as well as on the sea. The building of a trans-Ireland ship canal would compare with the Kiel Canal.

We have mentioned what seem to us to be the essential elements in the estimate of the position.

Owing to the Whitsuntide holidays, the present issue of "Nationality" goes to Press much earlier than usual. Much correspondence, etc., is therefore undealt with. In our next issue the first of a series of four articles on "The Sinn Fein Policy," by Mr. Arthur Griffith, will appear.

