

# NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. I. No. 4. (New Series).

SATURDAY, MARCH 10th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

## WEEK BY WEEK.

Two facts of politico-economic importance stand out this week. England being short of potatoes, her people clamour that the Irish, who are also short of potatoes, should be forced to supply England out of their scarcity. The Indians, having decided to help themselves to make their own cotton garments, the voice of indignant protest is heard in England against the injury to Lancashire. Why should the Irish eat their own potatoes—why should the Indians work their own cotton?

This conundrum may be solved at leisure by the persons who pretend to believe that there is an "Empire" apart from England, and that England is concerned for the welfare of each portion of that Empire equally with her own welfare. These persons are of the same class with those who send men to prison in Ireland for declaring they are opposed to English rule in Ireland. Did anyone ever hear of an Englishman being sent to prison for declaring that he was or would be opposed to Irish rule in England?

The story of how Lancashire rose to wealth on the ruin by English legislation of the Indian Cotton industry is too long to be told here; but at the present time England does an annual trade of £20,000,000 with India, in cotton goods, which India could produce more cheaply for herself if she got the opportunity. It is proposed to levy an import duty of 7½ per cent. on the imported cotton goods, and with this protection the Indian Mills believe they will recover the industry for India—that is, they will keep £25,000,000 a year of Indian money in India instead of sending it to England. But, "it may be taken for granted," says England's chief fiscal organ, "that the employers and the trades union leaders in Lancashire will lose no time protesting against the proposed change in the duties, and it is understood that arrangements are being made to send a deputation to the Secretary of State for India on the matter." Observe that, that when one part of the Empire seeks to foster its own industry, instead of letting England have the profit, it may be taken for granted that England will hit that part of the Empire through the machinery of the English Government to which the "Secretary for India" is solely responsible.

The English Statesman, said Chief Justice Bushe, 120 years ago, always does as the English manufacturer bids him. The English manufacturer, added Bushe, jealous of Ireland's prosperity and fearing her competitor, bade the English Statesman to crush Ireland politically, and the English Statesman did as he was told. Only when England had crushed by force the active and potential industrial competition of countries, such as Ireland and India, and exhausted the energies of Continental Europe in war did England adopt Free Trade as her policy, and with Free Trade she went forth to conquer, assured by Cobden that none could stand against her for ten years. With her shibboleth of As-Good-and-as-Cheap she hoped and believed she would make the whole world her vassal. She sent forth her agents in swarms to preach to all the Nations the gospel according to Adam Smith, and she subsidised in every country in Europe newspapers and University professors to ridicule and denounce any who held or attempted to teach the true science of Economics which Goldsmith compressed into two lines:

Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

England failed to become absolute owner

of the earth, because Germany and the United States rejected her economic fallacy, and Germany and the United States did so much because of an Irishman driven from his country by English hatred of his advocacy of Ireland's right to independence. . . . Matthew Carey, the Irish Volunteer, who was forced to flee to the United States to escape English vengeance because of his insistent preaching that Ireland should never trust English promises begot Henry Carey, the greatest of Irish Economists, whose teaching induced America to reject the English Free Trade doctrine and thus built up America as England's commercial rival. Friedrich List, the German, forced by English influence—Germany then being England's footstool—to flee from his country, met Matthew and Henry Carey, and learned from them the doctrine which he expounded into his great work, "The National System of Political Economy," out of which sprang the economic and afterwards the political union of Germany. The Law of Compensation works through all human history. When Matthew Carey was driven from Ireland because Matthew Carey opposed English influence in Irish politics, it was an English triumph. When Friedrich List was driven out of Germany because Friedrich List opposed English influence in German affairs, it was an English triumph; and when the Irish and the German fugitives met each other in Philadelphia, modern Germany was born, and two English triumphs over the weak became an English triumph. . . . My object," said List, "is at all costs to save Germany from the destruction which the commercial policy of England designs for her." He learned how to do so from an exiled Irishman. The reflection adds to our interest when we listen to-day to the English cry for Ireland's potatoes and for India's manufactures. The same old England—but the circumstances are different. The Irishman has discovered that a potato is as good for him as for the wealthiest Briton, and the Indian has ceased to regard it as a sin to support himself with his own money, instead of making Manchester Millowners into Millionaires.

The journals recently re-established in Dublin on £63,000 "compensation" money have discovered through their patrons that Count Plunkett was a place-hunter. It alleges that in the past when Count Plunkett believed in the efficacy of Parliamentarianism and in the possibility of Irishising the administration in this country he was a candidate for a Government position.

The effort of the Sham Squire organ against Count Plunkett is mild however compared with the activities of some of the members of its staff against the prisoners and the Dead. Last week in the "Wexford Free Press" a letter signed "Observer" appeared in which it was alleged that James Connolly had written to Austin Stack as follows—

If I am in command when war breaks out I shall issue as my order—the essence of war is violence—moderation in war is imbecility. . . . Hit your enemy in the belly and kick him when he is down, and boil your prisoners in oil (if you take any), and torture his women and children, so the people will keep clear of you.

The journalist who clipped this extract from Lord Fisher's interview with the "Review of Reviews" seven years ago and attributed it to James Connolly, is one of Mr. Joseph Devlin's right-hand men.

To-day it is Count Plunkett, yesterday it was John MacNeill, The O'Rahilly, Roger Casement and a score of other Irishmen. Two years ago—in September, 1914—the "Freeman's Journal" published an article headed

"The Irish Pro-Germans!" Here are a few examples:—

"Who is the person who signs himself the Ua Rathghaile, and who is sometimes described as The O'Rahilly. As we understand he is a person of no occupation, and nobody knows where he came from."

"Who is this Sir Roger Casement. . . . He is of course a British Knight, who secured his Knighthood from the British Government in 1911. . . ."

"Mr. MacNeill has lived on British bread and butter all his life."

"Of Mr. Edmund (otherwise Eamonn) Kent (otherwise Ceannt) all that anybody knows is that he is employed in the Corporation, that it is stated he is the son of a gentleman who served in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and it is rumoured he has a near relative at the front."

The hand which in the "Freeman's Journal" of 1914 stabbed them is the same hand that in that organ to-day attempts to stab Count Plunkett, and circulates the forgery about James Connolly. The Sham Squire has been eclipsed by his children.

Mr. Joseph Devlin—whose address to the "Private Conference" at 3 Great Denmark Street, Dublin, on Sunday night, February 18, in which he denounced Sinn Feiners and the Gaelic League, was followed three days later by the arrest and deportation of the Secretary of the Gaelic League, members of the Executive bodies, and organisers—is, it seems, hurt that anybody should suppose there was a connection between the facts. Perhaps not—it may be that Mr. Devlin is the eternal victim of coincidence. In 1915, Mr. Devlin had another "Private Conference" at the Clonard Picture House in Belfast, where he denounced by name two Belfast Nationalists—Messrs. McCullagh and Pim. Within a week both gentlemen were arrested and placed in Belfast Jail. We shall wait and see whether there will be a third coincidence after the next "Private Conference."

There is to be no medical doctor in the wide area from the Spiddal shores of Galway Bay to the banks of the Corrib—from Galway city to the town of Oughterard, as Sir Acheson McCullagh, whom the taxpayers of Ireland are taxed to support, as "Chief Medical Officer of the L.G.B." so decreed. The Galway Guardians have appointed Dr. McDermott. The L.G.B. declined to sanction his appointment, because he was of military age. Acheson McCullagh attended from the L.G.B. to browbeat the Galway Guardians in the matter. "We cannot leave the district without a doctor," said the chairman. "Well," quoth Acheson McCullagh, "we won't sanction him, and what will you do then." "It is nonsense," said Acheson McCullagh, "talking about sudden calls here and there." "What will happen," asked Mr. Moloney, "if a person is dying and the Relieving Officer cannot get a doctor. Is he to let the patient die sooner than call in Dr. McDermott." "An absurd question," quoth Acheson McCullagh, "the circumstances of which won't occur once in five years." And if only one mere Irish person, taxed to pay the salary of Acheson McCullagh, dies for lack of medical assistance in Moycullen only once in five years, then what of that? Let the Galway Guardians refuse to cancel Dr. McDermott's appointment. It is a barefaced attempt to force conscription on young Catholic doctors by the Customhouse Gang.

Certain technical difficulties have now been overcome in connection with "Nationality," and next week we shall be able to produce it in the form we desire—covering many matters we have not hitherto been able to deal with.

LEABAR NA N-OILITREAC BPOLANMAC.

IV.

(Ar leamhaint.)

6. Agus an léigean, do réir Chríost, ba é cónaí gur é focal 'Dé, arán 7 tobac na beata, é. Dúdar Críost: Ni har arán amháin a mairseán an duine aet ar an uile focal dá dtéann ó beul 'Dé.

7. Agus fadó a díodar amháin, bí meaf ar comáct 7 ar léigean. Aet ina diair rin, do fteannais upocadaine irteac i zcomáct mar fteannadair irteac ar leabair, cum covlata. Agus ní meafair oifis poiblíde aet mar 'tis tádarine, do réir a focair.

8. Agus na daoine foalumanta, in ionas an aráin, ir nuh a pinnearas, 7 ba corraíl a nglór le focram na mairseán bpolam, san cruinead an éreomh ionta 7 a bpoctam sea dá deunah san doinne do éocusa.

9. Agus do deim díbre cloé deapbaigte do pinnraib 7 o'llamhnaib an tpoctam seo; óir, ar bua n-oilitreac do aob, ná mó an éabair a fuaradair ó luca deirce 'na ó pinnraib. Agus i zcomlannais 7 i bpinraib 7 in anró do aob, ná bpoláine do aob don paroir amáin 'na léigean Voltaire 7 Hegel, ná fuil ann aet nuh, 7 'na léigean Guizot 7 Courin, ná fuil ionta aet mar bead mullinn póina?

10. Agus riné cuir 'nar tuit comáct 7 léigean pé tárcuirne; óir, fan ébrair, tugtar minirir ar bpoctadaine, iré rin le ráo, fear den piagaltar; 7 tugtar doctraínéir ar amadán, iré rin le ráo, póirir.

11. Mar rin a bí, leir, nuair a táinig Chríost. An puidhocánac, .i. oirgeac Rómánac, ba cuma é nó zsuirde; 7 an ppoctam, .i. piagaltair, ba cuma é nó fear a éirreacó cain ppoctam ar na daoine; 7 an fairsineac, .i. fear a bead foalumanta in na Scriptúirib, ba cuma é nó cluanaire; 7 póirir, nó ollamh Spreuac, ba cuma é nó pógair. Agus tá bús tárcuirneac leir na foclaib rin zo deí an lá inoiu.

12. Agus tárcuirneac do aob, leir, beid bús tárcuirneac as an zChríostadéac leir an bpoctal tigeapna, 7 leir an bpoctal pí, 7 leir an bpoctal tairta, 7 leir an bpoctal ollamh.

13. Do zsuirde píbre cum comáct 7 léigean do cur pé meaf ar in bua nótaib féin 7 ar fuar na Chríostadéaca.

14. Agus zo deimh, iad rúo ir fáine ruah ina noisnitib 7 a deineann paróiréar doib féin ar a n-oifisib, ní hiaf fan ir taoisib oraid;

15. Aet iad rúo ir mó éirra 7 ir luca doollann, iad rúo ir mó ceurtar 7 ir mó zo nointeap mazaó púca, iad rúo doas móran talim 7 paróirir ina noisib. Agus an duine oib a tuiteann i zcomáct do bua náhaó, fuilingeann pé marpa nó-éruar.

16. I doiréad eile, nuair a táann an náhaó 7 áraigeann pé an piagaltar, lomtar na daoine 7 cuirtear doiréad leo; aet claidro na noisigeaca lena n-oifisib; zcomnuirde 7 leanao na nollamhain as aigneaf: fochnao ríad do zac piagaltar mar a céile, 7 doiréar iad ó zac piagaltar mar a céile.

17. Agus ríbre, ir eol do aob, na daoine bfeair imeaf bua luca feanao 7 bua doeacairi 7 bua piagte féinne, zupb iad fan pógann impire na Rúire do beir ar na cuirpéir ir mó; 7 iad fan pógann pé a beir ar na cuirpéir ir mó, iríad ir mó 'na bfuil upraim as uil doib, 7 na daoine fuilingeacair marpa uiró beo ríad ina naomáib.

18. Agus iad rúo a éruinnis paróiréar doib féin ar a zcuir foalumta do oíol 7 o'iomadais ollamhatear 7 tige doib féin 7 do buair ór doib féin 7 fabar na piagte, ní hiaf fan ir luca eagna in bua meaf,

19. Aet iad rúo dofóirir zo háro bpiatar na raoirre 7 dofuilng ppiarín 7 builli; 7 iad rúo ir mó dofuilng, iríad ir mó 'na bfuil upraim as uil doib, 7 iad rúo a éirreó feula ar a doeazore lena mbár beo ríad ina naomáib.

20. Zo deimh, aveirim uib, caifiró an éoraip uile a foalum uairde cé ar zo doabairéar eagnaíre. Óir rúo náraeac iréad comáct fan éoraip inoiu 7 baon iréad léigean na héopa.

21. Agus má veir doinne asáib: Ir oilitreac zán airn rínn, cionnur ir féirir doinn órouzad na ríac móir zcomáctac do áerusaó?

22. An té Labrann mar rin breitnigeac pé cionnur mar a bí an impireac Rómánac com móir leir an noomán, 7 cionnur mar a bí impire na Róime com comáctac leir na piagteib zo leir le céile.

23. Agus feuc ná feol Chríost ina doinnib aet doiréir fear rímlíre; aet ó bí an ppiaró naom ionta, an ppiaró cum ióbearta deunah oib féin, do piagadair buad ar an impire.

24. Agus má veir doinne asáib: Saigóirí

WAR TIME TEMPTATION.

According to "The Herald" (the English Labour Weekly) an interesting article appeared in a Sunday journal recently. It was headed "My Biggest War Time Temptation" and consisted of a number of interviews wherein various more or less well-known women told of the sacrifices they were making in the common cause. Thus Lady Swaythling fights down the temptation to go to the theatre occasionally with Lord Swaythling, and Lady Muir Mackenzie resolutely strafes the desire to serve a bigger luncheon than a mere two-course one.

Following up the idea we have set down some probable replies which might have been given had the question been put to some of our National heroes. Take Mr. John Dillon for example. He would possibly have confided in an interviewer thus, "I have been often tempted to appear, like Devlin and Redmond, on recruiting platforms, but so far I have resisted the temptation. To make a characteristic T.P. bull about it—my hands are clean at least of ever standing on such platforms. Honest criticism I welcome, but vulgar abuse of such a kind would annoy me did I not recognise that it came from mere misguided cranks, factionists, sore-heads, and obstructors of Redmond and General Maxwell. Still, it would have been better policy for Redmond and Devlin not to have cheered quite so loudly over the repression of the Rebellion."

Or suppose our interviewer visited the mis-leader of the Irish Race, "I confess that I have had several temptations since the war started," Mr. Redmond admitted, "I feel tempted of late to re-visit my native constituency, but it costs too much to arrange for sufficient police, and to purchase the spontaneous outburst of popular enthusiasm at my return. I also feel tempted to tell Mr. Dillon what I think of him, but he might retort about land purchase rates, and we must preserve unity." Mr. Redmond then produced copies of his recent pamphlets:—"Horror and Detestation—a study in psychology," and "The Hanging Up of Magna Charta, II."

"The temptation to invite my old friends, Gallagher and Vivian over to see some of the films I do not pass almost irresistible," remarked T. P. O'Connor, looking up from a future Sunday-Paper article on "Ireland and the Kinema," "But my work is of such National importance, that I must forego the pleasure of a second trip with them for some time. You see, Ireland is at present in revolt against the old type of pictures. Only a film producer ignorant of Irish history would have made the blunders committed so far. This, I can assert with confidence, is the lesson of the late Roscommon election." Mr. Devlin said he could scarcely refrain from telling T.P. what he thought of him: "After all my attempts to keep my constituents from getting too much education, O'Connor must rush in his Picture Palaces. That means two evils. First they may get some education and desire for life. Secondly, think of the poor sweated employees of Belfast, women sewing handkerchiefs at one penny per dozen—think of these spending their little savings on the cinema, and having nothing to subscribe to the Party." Mr. Landon was brief—"I succumbed to one temptation, but I'll never go back—no more." Mr. Stephen Gwynn was in courageous vein, "Serve Landon right; I have always repressed the desire to go near Galway, but—I wish I had repressed that hobbling-on-a-crutch stuff."

The London correspondent of the "Freeman," interviewed at his Mayfair (London) residence, said "that he had been grievously tempted a few times to refrain from announcing that the recent remarks of . . . showed that a new spirit had come into the country, and were a happy augury for the future. The recent election in Roscommon, he said, undoubtedly portended that a re-organisation of the U.I.L. was necessary, or something or other like that, and he added that the heart of the

finne 7 daoine zán eolar, cionnur feurpaimione ollamhain na zepíoc ir mó foalum 7 ir doiréac nóir do cur ina doiré?

25. An té Labrann an éaint rin breitnigeac pé cionnur mar a bíad ollamhain éacair na háine na mó éal 7 ba mó foalum 7 ab doiréac nóir: aet do hírligeac le bpiatar na n-árbal iad; óir, nuair a toirnaib na harbail ar éazore do éabairé uata in ainn 'Dé 7 na Saoirre, do éréis na daoine na nollamhain 7 do leanao ar na harbail.

Liam Ó Rinn.

Irish democracy both in England and Ireland was thoroughly sound." It is a pity we had not time to question all our heroes—perhaps further examples of determined resistance to temptation might be collected later. X.

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**ABHRAIN AIRT MHIÉ CUBHTHAIGH  
AGUS ABHRAIN EILE**

Enri O Muirghessa do chruinnigh agus do chuir i n-eagar. Baile Átha Cliath: M. H. Mac Giolla agus a Mhac. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1916.

This book will be welcomed as an addition to the steadily increasing store of modern Irish literature. Ulster people will find it particularly interesting in so much as it deals with the Fews, a well-known district often mentioned during the long struggle which ended in the downfall of the O'Neills. The volume contains the best poems of Art Mac Cubhthaigh, an Armagh poet, born in 1715. Little more than a century had passed since the Earls left Lough Swilly to seek aid on the Continent, and hence the greatness of the O'Neills, especially the local branch, was a lively tradition in the Fews during MacCovey's time; and this is strongly reflected in his poetry. Two of the poems deal directly with the Castle of Glasdrummond, the seat of the O'Neills of the Fews. There is an article in the Appendix on the O'Neills of Glasdrummond, which is far from being satisfactory. The matter requires more investigation than the editor has been able to give it.

The historical notes on the poems are very exhaustive, with the one exception already mentioned, and show that the editor has taken great pains to make his information as full and complete as possible. These taken with a biography of MacCovey, occupying 26 pages, form a useful contribution to the social history of Oriel during the 18th century. Too much of the history of Ireland has been studied through English spectacles. In these poems of MacCovey we have life depicted in many phases as seen by one who viewed it from a purely Gaelic standpoint.

"Hence," to quote a paragraph in the introduction, a "person who, would try to understand the life and mentality of Gaelic Ireland during the Eighteenth century must put aside his 'histories' forget all about the 'Irish' parliament, and come and live in spirit with MacCovey and his contemporary brother poets. They alone vocalised the thoughts and feelings of the people. All other mediums of expression were closed; the Gael had neither press, platform, nor pulpit. The poet, however, sang—for his contemporaries it is true—but his strains have come down to our time; and this peculiar fact invest these songs with a human interest and a historical value quite independent of their literary merits."

In addition to the poems of MacCovey, a selection of poems by different authors is given. The most interesting of these, perhaps, is a peculiar composition by Seumas Mac Cuarta, about Glasdrummond Castle, a favourite subject, it would seem, with nearly all the Oriell poets.

In reading through the poems themselves, one cannot help wishing that the editing had been done more carefully. A few more pages added to the list of corrigenda would have redeemed the text to a great extent.

Probably the least satisfactory poem in this respect is the "Grave-day" for MacCovey written by James Woods. The editor states that his source for the poem is the author's original copy, which was "not complete," and found "in two loose leaves" in a copy of Keating's History without the obit of the person about whom it was composed. In the Royal Irish Academy there are two copies of the poem, one of which contains fifteen stanzas, more than appear in Mr. Morris's version.

The last stanza reads:—

Seacht gcead ar mhíle gan dith, gan claonadh,  
An deichmhadh ar thrí fichid is a trí gan ineach,  
Aois an Ríogh an cúigeadh lá de ghiombharí,  
Tháinig dar nódh chum síol adhma sbaoradh,  
Gur theagmhaigh do'n phríomh-ollamb liombtha eol-gach,  
Art, a bhí doir Mhac Cubhthaigh a chlaobhlodh.

This would indicate that Art died on 15th January, 1773.

There is a copy of another poem in the R.I.A. commencing:—

'A Gháilén thairis, tháinig, chugainn air cuairt anoir'  
which is not contained in Mr. Morris's collection.

Of the poems which he has published there are many copies which, he tells us, he was

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unable to consult. He has been content to edit from one copy in some cases when two others were available. This is regrettable, for collation with the other MSS. would have avoided no inconsiderable number of errors.

Mr. Morris's apology is that he was unable to devote the necessary time to searching for material in the Royal Irish Academy. But Mr. Morris must have known people who could have assisted him greatly, if an attitude of self-sufficiency in knowledge of the language—which one feels occasionally in reading the book—would have allowed him to accept such help.

The work is neatly turned out by the Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.

EAMONN O TUATHAIL.

**EXILES, POLITICIANS, AND A  
LITTLE TALK.**

Nothing better displayed the utter futility of debates in the Talking Shop than the discussion that proceeded on Monday, the 26th February. The subject was John Dillon's motion to adjourn the House for the proposing of discussing a definite matter of public importance, namely, the arrest and banishment of thirty Irishmen, without any charge being made against them, and the declaration of the Government that there is no intention to put them on their trial. (Hansard, vol. 90, col. 1683).

There was little enough said about the deported men in Dillon's speech, which was mainly devoted to a denunciation of Lord Lansdowne, General Maxwell and Major Price. Mr. Duke, strange to say, enlivened the proceedings somewhat. He did so without the least intention to do so; casually and incidentally, as it were. For example, he stated that the Proclamation of Martial Law last April "did not bring a state of martial law, but it notified to his Majesty's subjects in Ireland that a condition of things existed in which they might be dealt with outside the law." Really there is quite a lot of history in that remark, though Mr. Duke deprecates the study of Irish history. However, Mr. Duke went on to say: "that state of things passed away when the time of insurrection passed." Did it? That is very interesting to discover. How then comes it that from that time to this a series of courts-martial have sat, trying men for singing songs, giving two years' penal servitude for statements, and enunciating the novel principle (novel, that is to say, in frank statement, though not at all so novel in practice), that the burden of proof fell on the defence to show that accused men did not commit acts or say words charged against them, when it has hitherto been assumed a cardinal principle of all law that accused men were innocent till they were proved guilty? But the whole of Duke's argument implies that Ireland lives in a constant state of martial law; and that is historically true, in spite of the fact that Carson upset the constancy a little, both in what he himself did and in what he merely permitted others to be suffered to do. And why, by the way, did Dillon so carefully avoid saying these very obvious things?

Mr. Duke went on to make statements that could have been, and obviously should have been, instantly challenged. He said: "28 men have been told that they must reside in England until further orders, and they have been told the reasons to which I will refer." The deported men have had their deportation orders read to them declaring that they are "suspected of acting, or of having acted, or of being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the realm," a statement, vague enough to include anybody, and actually including Carson. Neither did Mr. Duke subsequently refer to any reason—but one. He said: "Is there any member on the Irish benches who thinks there is one of those 26 men capable of taking the oath of allegiance?" There we have it. Duke afterwards taunted Laurence Ginnell with being "obsessed with his recent triumph in Nth. Roscommon," but if these words are not a direct reference to North Roscommon, what then exactly are they?

Duke was succeeded by Devlin, whom Sir John Simon complimented on his "eloquence." But Devlin's eloquence after the event is to be set against his eloquence on Sunday, the 18th, when he denounced the Gaelic League, whose secretary and leading members were subsequently arrested. Sir John Simon brought the question back to the point, that it was not the sufferings of the Old Gang that was in ques-

tion, but the sufferings of the deported men—not the men willingly absent from Ireland—but the men compulsorily ejected from Ireland. And Bonar Law kept to that point too—in his own pawky way. Simon had pleaded for at least some show of a trial, if only before an Advisory Committee, just to make matters look a little better by making them look a little more formal. And John O'Connor, misrepresenting North Kildare, said "he surely was not wrong in insisting that all the forms of law with which people accused are surrounded by custom and by the law shall be exhausted before they are condemned." The dear man! By all means let them be condemned; but let them have a few forms first. It looks better. And John O'Connor said that that was all the Old Gang wanted. Exactly so.

Bonar Law, however, declared that even the forms were not possible. Duke had said that the deported men "had been told the reasons" for their deportation. Bonar Law says that the reasons are so grave that they cannot even be entrusted to the deported men. These are his words: "If we are to be justified in this action on the ground of fear that something may happen, then we are justified in not conveying that information to anybody, including the prisoners themselves." Whereupon Bonar Law sets to work, in vague terms, to suggest terrible things that would have happened if these men were not deported that very day—the very day John Dillon put down his question. A very pretty way of making out a case, to be sure.

The only reality imparted into the debate was when Major Newman rose. The pretended friends of Ireland, on one side and the other, had attempted as best they could to get the issue beclouded and confused. A candid enemy put it clearly. Here are some portions of his speech:

"The Chief Secretary assured the Hon. Member that the re-arrest of the deportees had nothing to do with the result of the bye-election in North Roscommon . . . Let me read to the Chief Secretary exactly what took place in this bye-election at Roscommon. We are told in one of the newspapers that: 'In the Polling Booth on the election day at the counting of the votes prominent men were there from Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, who were only released a few weeks ago from the Internment Camp in Wales, and as the result Mr. Redmond's election machine went to pieces. It meant that if Mr. Redmond's Party joined the sore-heads and forced an election, they would be swept out of four-fifths of their seats in the same way as they had out of North Roscommon.' . . . Why on earth was this debate raised at all? Why was the adjournment of the House moved? It was because the stock of politicians stands very low at this moment. Politicians are at a discount—even the leaders. . . . There are very few Christian virtues supposed to attach to the politician, but I must confess that here members below the Gangway are enumerating one of the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount, and are blessing those who spitefully use them. We know that the ungrateful dog bites the hand that caresses him, and the Irish Party serves unwillingly to lick the hands of Sinn Feiners. I have here a magazine called the 'Catholic Bulletin.' . . . The editor of this magazine was deported the other day. . . . What was his last article? It was a very long, very able, and extremely bitter article against the Hon. Member for East Mayo, criticising a speech he made at Swinford, in which he dealt with a variety of topics. That was one article. The other article—"

At that moment "eleven of the clock" arrived, and John Dillon allowed his motion to be talked out, but not before we had a little truth to enlighten a darkness of falsehood.

F.

In reply to 'K'—It is untrue that any N. Roscommon Unionist voted for Count Plunkett. There are 250 Unionist Voters in Roscommon—a majority of them came to the Poll and every one of them voted against Count Plunkett. But it is true that the Parliamentary Party appealed to Unionists for support, and begged from Unionist brewers the services of their motor cars. In North Roscommon, the Redmondites, the Unionists, and the R.I.C. were a unit against Count Plunkett.

The Clonmel Division of the A.O.H., 913, has resolved to congratulate Count Plunkett on his election for Roscommon.

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## NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MARCH 10th, 1917.

### A NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Ireland will be summoned within a few weeks to form a National Council to support its claim for admission to the Peace Conference and to safeguard the general interests of the Nation. In that Council all sections of the Irish people who know their country to be a Sovereign Nation and who discern in the forthcoming Peace Conference the means of its assertion, can and will combine. Ireland has become a question of international importance and the efforts of the Party which for a generation past helped England to pretend that Ireland was "a domestic matter" will not avail to drag the country back from the position in regard to Europe it has now attained.

We read in English papers this week that the Carsonites and the Redmondites in the British Parliament would "settle" the "Irish question" between them "in half-an-hour's" discussion were it not for the "shadow of Sinn Fein." We have not a doubt of it. They would partition Ireland to-morrow, sacrifice her young manhood, her ideals, her hopes, her traditions, her past and her future if they dared. But there is a "difficulty." The difficulty, an English Journal explains is that the Parliamentarians

"are not at present in a position 'to deliver the Goods.' They are themselves quite willing to assent to an arrangement which would be regarded by all except partisans as reasonable, but they cannot commit themselves to it because they know their supporters in Ireland would repudiate them."

But though the Parliamentarians are not "at present in a position to deliver the Goods"—the Goods being Ireland—they are not without hope for the future.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor and the reverend gentlemen who arranged the "Irish Mission to Paris" are hard at work propagating Free Institutions and Fiscal Red Herrings to distract Ireland's attention from the Peace Conference and the claim for the full measure of her rights as a Nation.

Gentlemen connected with the Universities of Ireland have suggested to us a Conference of all Irish Parties to decide on a satisfactory settlement of the Irish Question. They misjudge the situation. The only satisfactory settlement of the Irish Question now is the Independence of Ireland. It is the settlement Ireland will seek from Europe, when in a few months' time Europe recovers Peace and meets in Council to devise means to make that Peace permanent. Europe shall be the judge of whether the Irish Nation is as worthy of Freedom as the Nation of the Poles—of whether

the Irish people suffered as cruel an oppression as the people of Poland, and of whether Ireland's emancipation is less vital to the European Peace.

Ireland has for generations claimed to be a Nation, and claimed as her due a Nation's rights. Now, when for the first time the opportunity approaches to lay that claim before the Supreme Court of Europe, to have it discussed, and judged in the light of day and in the eyes of the whole world, nothing else matters but to prepare that claim, make that claim, and press that claim. The time has passed for "Conferences on a Home Rule Settlement." Ireland's settlement will be claimed not from the British Parliament but from the Congress of Europe. That the alleged Irish Parliamentary Party will do all it can—as we know it is doing all it can secretly at present—to prevent Ireland appealing to the Peace Conference—is assured—that "Home Rule" will be forced on Ireland even at the point of the bayonet rather than that Ireland should appeal to Europe is probable. Still, Ireland will do so. This time she not only holds the winning cards but she knows how to play them. When England declared she entered this war with the object of asserting the freedom of Small Nations the Lord delivered her into our hands. Ireland now possesses the same title as Poland to be heard before the High Court of Europe and that title will be asserted, by and through a Council of the Irish Nation.

### ENGLISH IMPERIALISM.

II.

Imperialism means bad business for the nation, good business for a clique. "Foreign Trade and Poor Source of Income"—Professor Hobson writes, p. 30:—"The absorption of so large a proportion of public interest, energy, blood, and money in seeking to procure colonial possessions and foreign markets would seem to indicate that Great Britain obtains her chief livelihood by external trade. Now this is not the case. . . . The total income of the nation is approximately estimated at £1,700,000,000 per annum, . . . the total value of the import and export trade in 1898 amounted to £765,000,000. If we were to take the very liberal allowance of 5 per cent. as profit upon this turn-over of trade, the annual income directly derived from our external trade would amount to a little over £38,000,000, or about one forty-fifth part of our total income . . . (p. 33). Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, whereas during the first seven decades of the century, before any strong, definite, or continuous imperialistic policy was maintained, England's foreign trade was advancing faster than her home trade, the three decades during which our public policy has been consciously dominated by a struggle for external markets show no increase in the value of our external trade comparable with the increase of our home trade. Between 1870 and 1898 the total income of the nation from all sources has grown from about £1,200,000,000 to £1,700,000,000, . . . and while (p. 34), the total income per head of the population has certainly increased by as much as 20 per cent., the value of external trade per head has actually shrunk (from £19 19s. 3d. in 1870-74—five years' average—to £19 7s. 10d. in 1895-8, as shown by tabulated Government figures."

Intra-Imperial Trade Unprogressive—"The proportion of our exports and imports as between foreign countries and our own possessions," continues Professor Hobson, p. 35, "is virtually the same in the period 1855-9 and the period 1895-8, nor, with one exception, has it varied widely during the entire half century. That exception consists in a notable drop in the proportion of exports to our possessions in the period 1865-74. . . . Although since 1870 such vast additions have been made to

British possessions, involving a corresponding reduction in the number or size of 'foreign countries,' this imperial expansion is attended by no increase in the proportion of intra-imperial trade as represented in the imports and exports of Great Britain . . . The elaborate statistical investigation of Professor Alleyne Ireland into the trade of our Colonial possessions (see his work, 'Tropical Trade'), strikes a still heavier blow at the notion that trade follows the flag. Taking the same period (1891-1900), he establishes the following two facts:—'The total import trade of all the British colonies and possessions has increased at a much greater rate than the imports from the United Kingdom.' 'The total exports of all the British colonies and possessions have increased at a much greater rate than the exports to the United Kingdom.' (p. 44). Such evidence leads to the following conclusions bearing upon the economics of the new Imperialism:

1. First, the external trade of Great Britain bears a small and diminishing proportion to its internal industry and trade.
2. Secondly, of the external trade, that with British possessions bears a diminishing proportion to that with foreign countries.
3. Thirdly, of the trade with British possessions, the tropical trade, and in particular trade with the new tropical possessions, is the smallest, least progressive and most fluctuating in quantity, while it is lowest in the character of the goods which it embraces. . . ."

**International Trade Expansive**—"Did space permit," continues Professor Hobson, p. 38, "it could be shown that the greatest increase of our foreign trade is with that group of industrial nations whom we regard as our industrial enemies, and whose political enmity we are in danger of arousing by our policy of expansion—France, Germany, Russia, and the United States. Our import trade with the United States alone is greater than with the whole of our colonies . . . In 1898 the imports from the United States were £126,062,155, and from our possessions £99,433,995."

**The Many Sacrificed to the Few**—"Seeing that the Imperialism of the last three decades is clearly condemned as a business policy," continues Professor Hobson, p. 51, "in that at enormous expense, it has procured a small, bad, unsafe increase of markets, and has jeopardised the entire wealth of the nation in rousing the strong resentment of other nations, we may ask, 'How is the British nation induced to embark upon such unsound business? The only possible answer is that the business interests of the nation as a whole are subordinated to those of certain sectional interests that usurp control of the national resources and use them for their private gain. . . The vast expenditure of armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with great injury to the nation, have served well the present business interests of certain industries and professions. . . What is the direct economic outcome of Imperialism? A great expenditure of public money upon ships, guns, military and naval equipment and stores, growing and productive of enormous profits when a war, or an alarm of war, occurs; new public loans and important fluctuations in the home and foreign Bourses; more posts for soldiers and sailors and in the diplomatic and consular services; improvement of foreign investments by the substitution of the British flag for the foreign flag; acquisition of markets for certain classes of exports, and some protection and assistance for trades representing British houses in the manufactures; employment for engineers, missionaries, speculative miners, ranchers, and other emigrants. **Certain definite business and professional interests feeding upon Imperialistic expenditure, or upon the results of that expenditure, are thus set up in opposition to the common good,**

**and, instinctively feeling their way to one another, are found united in strong sympathy to support every new Imperialistic exploit. . . .** The direct (p. 55) professional influence of the services (Army and Navy) carries with it a less organised but powerful sympathetic support on the part of the aristocracy and the wealthy classes, who seek in the services careers for their sons. To the military services we may add the Indian Civil Service and numerous official and semi-official posts in our colonies and protectorates. . . . From this standpoint our colonies still remain what Jas. Mill cynically described them as being, 'a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes.' In all the professions, military and civil, the army, diplomacy, the church, the bar, teaching and engineering, Greater Britain serves for an overflow, relieving the congestion of the home market and offering chances to more reckless or adventurous members, while it furnishes a convenient limbo for damaged characters and careers."

**Superfluous Income the Germ of Imperialism**—Professor Hobson writes, p. 62—"If, contemplating the enormous expenditure on armaments, the ruinous wars, the diplomatic audacity of knavery by which modern Governments seek to extend their territorial power, we put the plain practical question, Cui bono? The first and most obvious answer is, The Investor.

The annual income Great Britain derives from commissions on her whole foreign and colonial trade, import and export, is estimated by Sir R. Giffen ("Journal of the Statistical Society," vol. xlii., p. 9), at £18,000,000 for 1899, taken at 2½ per cent. on a turnover of £800,000,000. This is the whole that we are entitled to regard as profits on external trade. Considerable as this sum is, it cannot serve to yield an economic motive-power adequate to explain the dominance which business considerations exercise over our imperial policy. Only when we set beside it some £90,000,000 or £100,000,000 representing pure profit upon investments do we understand whence the economic impulse to Imperialism is derived. Investors who have put their money in foreign lands, upon terms which take full account of risks connected with the political conditions of the country, desire to use the resources of

their Government to minimise these risks, and so to enhance the capital value and the interest of their private investments. The investing and speculative classes in general also desire that Great Britain should take other foreign areas under her flag in order to secure new areas for profitable investments and speculation. . . ."

FIACHDUBH FAIRE.

**The Peace Conference.**

The Limerick Porkbutchers' Society send us the following resolution unanimously adopted: "Whereas Great Britain and her Allies have entered the present European War in the defence of the rights and privileges of Small Nations, and whereas, the English Prime Minister said recently that the present war is being fought for the oppressed against the oppressor, we, the members of the Porkbutchers' Society, are convinced that Ireland being a Small Nation struggling to be free, and adhering rigidly to her nationhood, is entitled to representation at the Peace Conference, and that any Peace settlement in which she is not considered as a separate Small Nation will be utterly displeasing to the Irish people. With a view to having her claims and rights considered at the Peace Conference we are of opinion that Ireland should be represented at the Conference by one entitled to speak the voice of Nationalist Ireland, and with a view of assisting the movement for having Ireland's claims being made known to the Nations of Europe.

**The McHale Players.**

The McHale Players announce the production of two short plays at the Temperance Hall, 41 York Street, on Monday evening, 12th inst.—W. P. Ryan's bilingual play, "An tOide as Tir na nOg," and "The Rising of the Moon," by Lady Gregory. The former has been produced by the McHale Branch, Gaelic League, on numerous occasions, and when first presented by them at the Oireachtas some years ago, was regarded as a splendid propagandist play, its simple language making it understandable to persons with practically no knowledge of Irish. The proceeds go to the funds of the Branch. Further particulars in our advertising columns. A public meeting for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Craobh and of the Gaelic League generally will be held in the Branch Rooms, 26 Upper Blessington St., on Thurs., 15th inst., at 8.15 p.m. Claud Chevasse and other prominent Gaelic Leaguers have promised to address the meeting.

# CONNRAÐ NA GAELTIGE

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## Irish Language Week

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## THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN 1917

Ireland's own year, 1917, is still with us, vividly present to our minds.

Reflection cannot fail to convince us that the Ireland that obtains such service is no mean object of worship. None of us are too illustrious to serve our Princess Kathleen, none too lowly to be excluded from her Court.

Let us give a solid half hour to another subject of meditation: ourselves. Let us deliver ourselves up to minute introspection in order to decide how each of us can best serve this country so adored by some, so neglected by others. We want to arrive at a practical conclusion. It would be an immense gain to know, each of us, what we are able to do, also what unable to do. Let such a man, such a woman recognise this manfully and definitely. There is an immense choice left of things to do. It may be that fewer of us are capable of taking and keeping a vow to preserve Ireland's National Language, Ireland's National Life in so far as it is alive, to revive it in so far as it is dead. Many of us who have not yet done anything appreciable for our Native Land could try our hand at that programme.

"Gan teanga gan tir"—the gospel of the miracle-working Gaelic League cannot be gainsaid. The same message is writ large in the history of each country with national life the world over. The same message is latent in every linguistic study ever published. The shortest and perhaps the newest way of proving the priceless value of our language to us is to consider the fabulous amount spent by England in destroying it, England that values money as none of the Nations do, and reasonably, for it has been her constant weapon of success.

We have unlearned our language in favour of a stranger's. In a little while it may be but a memory, a relic preserved in books, if we don't re-learn it and do so quickly. We ignore our Celtic Art. We neglect all but a fraction of the wealth of our exquisite Irish melody. Not knowing our language we can't read our old records. We misunderstand our own history. We can't enter into the life, the ways, the customs, the civilisation of past days, the deeds of the true men, we revere as our Irish ancestors, the men who ruled the destinies of our Island before the bad times and evil days of foreign rule crowded thick upon us, the men who left us one great heritage, to wit, the echoes of a past too real, too insistent, too appealing in its grandeur and its distinctiveness to be put on one side with impunity.

It is impossible even for the apparently anglicised Irishman not to feel instinctively that something is missing in his life, that something has gone astray, something is irreparably disappearing while he leads an enforced existence abroad among foreign standards or at home unconsciously hankering after a lost ideal. The discontent and nostalgia of a great section of the Irish at home, who know not how to be themselves, because our past is blotted out and who go on feebly and ingloriously trying to be English as an alternative, is scarcely excelled in poignancy by the home sickness of the Irish exile, about whose ceaseless craving for Ireland so much has been written and related.

The Gaelic League, some 20 years ago, made a masterly analysis of this nostalgia, this discontent with life even at home, and proclaimed a remedy for it with the precision that marks all great revelations in the world, for a revelation it was. The Gaelic League pointed out that we must be ourselves wholly and exclusively, that the strain of being both English and Irish—or neither perhaps—was becoming intolerable, that mongrels were necessarily inferior and essentially soulless and dispirited and disaffected. It taught moreover that we Irish have every conceivable reason to wish to be ourselves, entirely, as we were of old, for our country used to hold a topmost place in the records of learning, enlightenment and civilisation and in the annals of deeds of prowess and acts of chivalry and honour.

The Gaelic League demonstrated that the way to be wholly Irish was not merely to reject sturdily an imposed culture but re-learn what we had been, to renationalise ourselves after the enfeebling years of denationalisation. Not much could be attempted till we had learnt our language; with that key we should unlock the treasury of all Irish knowledge, and possessing our own language we should be too self-respecting to speak the language of our conquerors, that degrading badge of our slavery.

The Gaelic League taught us a deal more.

It taught us that we, Irish, need apologise to none for cultivating our own Tongue, that that Tongue was amongst the finest in Europe, that in it was recorded a literature unsurpassed in its own day though neglected and developed in recent times, that a sordid European spectacle was not conceivable than Ireland, the last stronghold of the ancient Celtic people, trying to lift her voice among the nations after having discarded her chief title to nationality—her language.

In Ireland there are people who regard the language revival as more important than any other factor for the attainment of an ideal Ireland. There are others who regard it as less important than a fight for liberty, a combat, physical or diplomatic. There are none who regard it as unimportant now-a-days—or should there be a man calling himself Irish who could think thus, let him beware. The Irish strain in him has disappeared. The enemy has got him. He does not deserve to be an Irishman anyhow, and would be happier living among the native English.

Irishmen viewed patriotically might be classified according to three types. First those to whom the slavery of Ireland is a nightmare, who think nothing too much to do for their country, nothing too little to neglect in her interest, whose patriotism stronger than themselves carries them through life consumed with the passion of righting her wrongs.

Many overburdened with the hard, uphill work our country requires have died of exhaustion, aggravated perhaps by feverish anxiety about her precarious future. Many of our early Gaelic Leaguers—their names are not forgotten—succumbed to an early grave because there were not workers enough to share the burden of spreading a dying language and saving a dying nation.

The next and more numerous class of Irish people are more subconsciously than consciously Irish or devoted to an Irish ideal. They would fain be faithful to their country. They know however very little about it. They have not their own language. They have not read their history. They generally lead hard lives of little leisure and little culture. But their hearts are in the right place. They try to respond to appeals made on behalf of Ireland. They are willing to spend their money in any movement for her advancement. They would fight for her, given a fair chance, to the best of their ability. They sing songs they believe to be essentially Irish. They cling faithfully to "Killarney," "Kathleen Mavourneen," the commoner ones of Moore, for they don't know "A Spailpin a rin," and "Una Bhan." Above all they never require to be told who is their enemy. They are too instinctively Irish to breathe the air of Shoneenism. Anglicisation would choke them. This whole section of the Irish people could be made to take their place among the active nation-builders this year, had we more resources to spread the teaching of the Gaelic League.

After these two classes there is undoubtedly a host of people who forfeit all claim to the name of Irishmen by reason of their callousness to Ireland's despairing appeals. There are too many who have never given a thought to Ireland or her martyrs, nor spent a sixpence in anything patriotic. These men, generally the backwash of human nature, demoralised by their own selfish interests are plentiful enough in all lands. In Ireland they almost invariably throw in their weight with all that is anti-Irish. Any money they spend is spent in shoddy goods not made in Ireland, or for the promotion of un-Irish music hall art, or on the most worthless sort of foreign literature. Sceptical about all but the faults of Ireland, they are too wise in their generation to join any light-giving organisation. They prefer the guidance of the daily newspaper. With an effective and educative organisation, such as the Gaelic League is, spread over the length and breadth of Ireland, this hopeless section of Irish people could not exist.

Before concluding we have one other meditation to make. Ireland as we know her today is not the Ireland of our dreams and hopes. There is an Irish Cause, for us, of tragically serious importance. This Cause is not lost; far from it. **Neither is it won.** This meditation holds in germ the moral that all talk about the dawn of freedom and the Irish millennium be suppressed till we are nearer its realisation, and that much emphasis on the necessity for hard work be substituted in its place. There is not a man calling himself Irish at home or abroad but can take part in this work, hard as it is. Not even this year should pass without practical effect being given to our resolution to work for Ireland, as we have never done before. We can only huddle to-

gether once again for our common good. In doing so, much can be achieved. In the first and foremost place we can get back our distinctive badge of nationality.

Let us all learn our language. Let us begin it before the present year, 1917, is advanced.

Our Princess Kathleen, whom all who know serve so gladly is not a tyrant. She expects strenuous, serious work in her days of peril. She forces nobody however. Enthusiasm is dearer to her than slavery. If then any of her children at home or far away find it literally impossible to learn her language, they should read her history in English, they should make their children and young friends learn Irish. They should most especially subscribe loyally to the organisation that is doing so much for the Language of Ireland.

Join the Gaelic League. You will understand its glorious inspiration after a term's work at Irish. You will catch therein a glimpse of the promised Ireland. Spread the teaching of the Gaelic League. Found new branches all over the country. Strain all your resources to support the League financially. Think how much it cost to plant English in our country. You can estimate how absolutely indispensable funds are to an active organisation whose aim is nothing less ambitious than the resurrection and reconstruction of Ancient Ireland.

If we do this work, which lies to our hand, God will save Ireland.

## ENGLISH POLICY AND IRISH MANUFACTURE.

### II.

The following extracts are from a work published in London in 1747, entitled "A Complete System of Geography," by one Emanuel Brown:

Our author takes notice of two articles in the Irish trade which appear exceeding grievous to the English, especially at a time when the woollen manufacture in England is under any discouragements in other respects; and these are:—

"I. The exportation of the Irish yarn to England which was at first thought a matter of little consequence and of no great use except at Bristol, and 'tis plain the British Parliament intended it should not be too extensive, by their rejecting the petitions from London and Norwich for allowing Irish yarn to be brought directly into the Thames and to Yarmouth. But such is the cheapness of the yarn and the goodness of the wool, that this liberty of bringing it to England is become a grievance by the prodigious quantity imported, which is said to be not less than 40,000 packs a year; and the cheapness of it is such that though 'tis chiefly landed at Bristol, yet they find it worth while to send it from thence to London by land carriage, and likewise from London to Yarmouth by water.

"By this yarn the English spinning is anticipated, and the poor so far unemployed. Nor is the value inconsiderable, for every pack of the yarn is supposed to weigh, like the pack of wool, 240 lb., which at 3d. per pound, the common price for spinning, is £6 sterling per pack, and if the quantity be so great as mentioned above, it amounts to no less than £240,000 a year taken from the employment of the poor of England, and paid to the poor of Ireland, and that also out of our own manufacture.

"The other grievance to England in the Irish trade (as appears from the complaints of our merchants) that the prohibition of exporting the Irish manufactures of wool is not so strictly observed in Ireland as it ought, or perhaps as we believe it to be; but that the woollen manufactures of Ireland are found in the foreign markets, as well in Portugal as in Spain and Italy, and no doubt 'tis the same in other parts. 'Tis apprehended that if this commerce should prevail by the connivance of private encouragement of those who ought to suppress and prevent it, England might in time be reduced to great extremities for want of the vent of its manufacture and be compelled to make herself amends again upon Ireland by prohibiting the Irish yarn which nevertheless would not be sufficient in the end, tho' it would be a great loss to Ireland."

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## THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

### IV.—THE UNION OF NORTH & SOUTH

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.]

#### After 1848.

The survivors of the storm that swept Ireland almost bare of her honest leaders in 1848 were men of stout hearts indeed, when on the morrow of disaster they called a rally of the prostrate and despairing people. Gavan Duffy re-established the "Nation" and attempted a fusion of forces in an "Irish Alliance." Mr. John O'Connell thereupon re-established his sham Repeal Association to render impossible a general movement in which place-hunting and place-begging would be proscribed. Earnest men on both sides intervened, and John O'Connell consented, in appearance, to negotiate for union. He put forward proposals which, to his chagrin, were accepted. The Alliance explicitly agreed that it would not seek the attainment of its objects by force of arms. Mr. O'Connell was disconcerted. Then the happy thought struck him of reviving and insisting on administering the egregious "moral force" pledge which he had invented in 1846 to drive the anti-place-hunters from Conciliation Hall and let the renegade Shiel in for Dungarvan. What, asked the "Nation" in disgust, is the meaning of this revival. "These Peace Resolutions were first announced to the world by John O'Connell himself as a convenient interruption of Meagher's withering speech upon the election of Shiel for Dungarvan. Meagher was denouncing place-begging, place-hunting, and all traffic with the Whigs when John O'Connell declared that certain resolutions would be submitted. These resolutions were aimed to force a number of members to cease to be members, and, of course, to be disentitled to impugn the selection of Whig candidates for Repeal constituencies. The people never heard of the Peace Resolutions before—they have never ceased to hear of them since."

The Alliance rejected John O'Connell's immunity-for-place-hunting Resolutions, and that gentleman thereupon anathematised it as Jacobin, and called Old Ireland to rally around Conciliation Hall. The Alliance was killed; the sham Repeal Association followed it quickly to the grave.

#### The End of the "Constitutional Leader."

Here we may briefly dismiss Mr. John O'Connell. That champion of the Church distinguished himself a little later by supporting the Government which had made the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by Catholic prelates in Ireland and England an offence; but he made his peace with the Irish prelates subsequently, and handed over his seat for Limerick city to an English Catholic—the Earl of Arundel, a young man without interest in, or sympathy with, Ireland. Father Kenyon again appeared in Limerick to denounce the transaction, and again had his life menaced by the Limerick mob which O'Connell controlled. Soon the man who had driven the Young Irelanders out of Conciliation Hall because they declined to subscribe to the doctrine that the liberty of the world was not worth the shedding of a drop of blood appeared as a militia captain on the Curragh, flourishing his sword against imaginary Russian invaders. His final display on the stage of active politics in Ireland was made at Clonmel, where he appeared as a Parliamentary candidate, supported by the local clergy and boasting that he would give no pledge to "Lucas and Duffy"—that is, no pledge to maintain independence of English Ministries and forswear place-hunting and place-begging. Here he reckoned without his host. Gavan Duffy, Frederick Lucas, George Henry Moore, Father Tom O'Shea, "the Callan Curate," Father Mullaney, and others met him on his own platform in the face of the people of Clonmel, and fought him for the verdict of the excited meeting and won. "He is against Ireland," cried Father O'Shea. "Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray—undistinguished they live if they shame not their sires." In vain John O'Connell and his sup-

porters tried to win the people back after Father O'Shea and his friends had appealed to them to end the reign of the traffickers in Irish Nationalism. O'Connell was forced to retire from his platform to the cry of "Down with Place-hunting" from the Tipperarymen. To save himself from defeat, he swallowed the pledge to maintain independence of English parties, and was permitted thereupon to be again elected to the British Parliament. A couple of years later he received a Government appointment which he did not live a year to enjoy. Such was the end of O'Connell's potent son, the man who influenced the great Tribune in his old age to drive out of the Repeal Association its best elements. Contemptible in intellect and mean in soul, he wrought more harm to this country than any other Irishman of the nineteenth century.

#### The Callan Curates.

But though John O'Connell foiled the attempt, after 1848, to create an Irish Alliance, his success only cleared the way for a movement which for a space leagued North and South in brotherhood. In one of the first numbers of the revived "Nation," the suggestion was made that the tenant-farmers should band themselves together, for common defence, in local societies. Two young priests of Callan, in Co. Kilkenny—who had seen in the bounds of their own parish some five hundred people swept from their homes by ruthless landlordism—seized on the suggestion, and within three weeks had formed the Callan Tenant Protection Society. The two priests were the "Callan Curates," Father Tom O'Shea, born to inspire men with hope and courage, and lead them in the fray, and Father Matthew Keefe, a man of penetrating mind and calm determination. These brave and gifted young men joined the tenants together, gave them as their objects Tenant Right, Fair Rents and Employment, taught them that by law divine the tiller of the soil was decreed first share in its fruits, and by their action established the first great Tenant Right Movement.

The oppressed tenantry in the adjoining counties began to follow the example set by Kilkenny; Tenants' Protection Societies sprang up everywhere in South Leinster, then in Munster, then on the Connacht border, back into North Leinster, and over the frontier line of Ulster. The "Nation," which had made the suggestion, was amazed at the rapidity with which it was realised. True, there was no cohesion—the societies were unconnected with each other. But that was a detail to be remedied. Gavan Duffy enlisted Frederick Lucas, editor of the "Tablet," John Francis Maguire, editor of the "Cork Examiner," and Dr. MacKnight, editor of the "Banner of Ulster," and leader of the Ulster Presbyterian farmers, and others in the project he rapidly conceived of uniting North and South in a land agitation. On the 6th August, 1850, representatives of the Irish tenant farmers, Protestant and Catholic, met in the Assembly Rooms, William Street, Dublin. There, assembled together, Catholic and Presbyterian clergymen, Protestant and Catholic laymen, founded the Tenant League. "It was," wrote a Tory organ, "a grand and ennobling sight to see the children of the Covenant from the far North, the Elizabethan settlers from the Ards of Ulster, the Cromwellians of the centre, the Normans of the Pale, the Milesians of Connacht, the Danes of Kerry, the sons of Ith from Corca's southern valleys, the followers of Strongbow from Waterford and Wexford, and the Williamites from Fermanagh and Meath—all, all uniting in harmonious concert to struggle for the dear old land."

#### The Tenant League.

One of the first actions of the Tenant League was to send one of its leaders to London with a draft Bill to temporarily prohibit eviction for arrears in certain circumstances. The Irish members of the British Parliament to whom the Tenant League representative brought the Bill would do no more than introduce the bearer to Lord John Russell, at the same time assuring that Minister that they were not to be taken as approving such a measure. Ousley Higgins, one of the representatives of Ireland who thus re-assured the Minister, had been bitterly opposed by the "Nation," when seeking election. He had gone forward as a Repealer, and Butt contested the seat with him as a Conservative. The "Nation," declaring Higgins to be a man of no character—a mere place-beggar—advised the honest Repealers to vote for Butt. The "Freeman's Journal" shouted out that this was treason to Ireland. "The 'Freeman,'" replied Gavan Duffy, "sets up its old profligate and ruinous cry

which has handed over the representation of Ireland to scamps and swindlers so long—that we are not to look to the character of the man but to the bundle of pledges which he is prepared to bolt at the hustings. Mr. Higgins is, it appears, an avowed Repealer, an advocate of Church Reform, a supporter of Tenant Right, and the Poor Man's right to live: not a doubt of it; but so was Mr. Dillon Browne (the former representative) until that lamented gentleman sold the whole batch of them at Downing Street for a particular and individual right to live—his own."

This time, however, the Irish place-hunters overshot the mark. Their action incensed the farmers, and their tenure of representation began to appear endangered. Presbyterian clergymen and laymen from the North invaded the Southern platforms and addressed enthusiastic gatherings of Catholic farmers, urging them to drive the opponents and lukewarm friends of Tenant Right out of the representation, where young Catholic clergymen and Young Ireland "rebels" were equally enthusiastically received in the strongholds of Orangeism in the North. At Vinegar Hill, under an Irish tri-colour, "the Catholic Green, the Protestant Orange, and the Presbyterian Blue," Dr. MacKnight, the journalistic leader of Irish Presbyterianism, the Rev. Mr. Rogers, and the Rev. David Bell—leading spirits of Ulster Presbyterianism—addressed twenty thousand Catholic Wexfordmen, and were welcomed by Irish priests.

At Ballibay, a stronghold of Orangeism, John Francis Maguire was cheered to the echo by members of Orange Lodges, and a Protestant clerical dignitary presided at the reception to the Catholic delegates who were escorted to the meeting by a guard of honour of Nationalist and Orange farmers. But the crowning of the movement took place on the Banks of the Boyne. There on the very battlefield, and almost on the anniversary of the famous battle, the Protestant and Catholic farmers of Meath, Louth and bordering Ulster counties assembled around a platform from which Protestant, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Catholic addressed them, and resolved unanimously:—

That from this national aggregate meeting on the Banks of the Boyne, where our forefathers once stood in internecine hostility, we call upon all creeds and classes of Irishmen to unite for the safety of our common country, and we pledge ourselves to co-operate earnestly and perseveringly until justice is done to the oppressed tenantry of Ireland.

That evening in Drogheda Catholic Southern and Protestant Northern banqueted together, and toasted "The Union of Ireland," to the strains of the "Protestant Boys," and "St. Patrick's Day." John Francis Maguire was the chief orator of the evening. His eloquent tongue described the happy future that appeared to await the United Ireland, so suddenly achieved, and then, as if some premonition of disaster fell upon his glowing spirit he continued—"But there is one danger to our cause more formidable than all the force and power that our direct enemies may command, and that is the corruption of place-begging. It has marred many noble enterprises—it has set its fatal mildew on many a great cause. It is a blighting, blasting, deadly curse—one that requires all the virtue of a struggling nation to resist and overcome. Gentlemen, the time has come when we can no longer suffer any man to barter the rights of human

(Continued on next page.)

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industry for the exercise of a miserable patronage of small places; we can no longer afford to sacrifice the prosperity of a whole class for the benefit of a single individual. We shall not surrender the destinies of our country for the advantage of some superannuated butler or for the settlement in life of some thirty-first cousin of some thick-and-thin electioneer. In a word, if we really desire to see justice done to this country, and to obtain a legal protection for the industry of the people, we must strongly set our foot on the monster of Place-begging at the risk of losing influence in the Post Office, or patronage in the Customs. I tell you that by encouraging the base system of traffic in which the interests of humanity, aye, and the loftiest principles of liberty, are sacrificed to the selfish advantage of a few individuals—oftentimes, indeed most generally, utterly worthless, you proclaim that national slavery shall be perpetual. In God's name, tread the reptile to the dust."

#### How the English Government Intrigued.

Now, what was the English Whig Government to do, threatened thus with the union of Catholic and Protestant Ireland—menaced with the destruction of its venal Irish tail—for the Tenant League had decreed that no man should be elected where it held sway who was not pledged to opposition indifferently to English Whig and Tory, and bound neither to solicit nor accept the "favours" by which Government had governed in Ireland. In 1847—in the very agony of the Famine in Ireland—Lord John Russell, learning that certain Irish members and decided to vote for Bentinck's proposal to spend sixteen millions on railway construction in Ireland, had ordered them to vote the other way, else he would appoint no more Government servants on their recommendation, and the God-forsaken creatures did so, letting their countrymen perish in hundreds that they might job for their relatives and supporters. Lord John Russell saw that the new development in Irish politics and the serious determination to kill the place-hunter must be met by a bold step—the wedge must be driven between Protestant and Catholic.

Towards the close of the year—three months after the formal Union of North and South in the Tenant League—two months after its declaration that Irish representatives should be indifferent to English Whig or Tory, this English Premier, who barely a year before had proposed to restore formal diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See—addressed a public letter to the Anglican Bishop of Durham in which he laboured to produce in the Protestant mind the belief that in assuming territorial titles the Catholic prelates were really aiming at making the Pope and the Papacy masters of the British Empire. The effect he designed and created—a furious No-Popery Movement sprang up in England, and to preserve the realm the grinning Minister produced from his sleeve an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, making it a legal offence for a Catholic Bishop or Archbishop to style himself "Bishop of Liverpool," or "Archbishop of Westminster," "Bishop of Ferns," or "Archbishop of Dublin." Such Catholic dignitaries must attempt to call themselves no more than Bishop Brown or Archbishop Smith, as the case may be.

The Union of Catholic and Protestant in a common cause for Ireland was too recent not to be affected by the event. The leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, worked nobly to keep the ranks steady. Following on the Durham letter a great public meeting of the Tenant Leaguers was held in Dundalk—the Parish Priest presiding. Girdwood, one of the Protestant leaders, declared his suspicion that Lord John Russell's stroke was really intended to smash the Union of North and South in Ireland, and he warned the people not to let themselves be side-tracked from the object which they had joined to achieve, and Father Lennon, who followed him on the platform, unequivocally declared that the British Premier's design was to break the Union of Catholic and Protestant Irishmen. "Russell," said Fr. Lennon, "has heard of your organisation in this great question, and he would like to disunite you according to the accursed policy of your rulers. 'Divide and govern.' But the advocates of the Tenant League are quite awake, and will not be caught in the net. Union is strength—division is weakness and ruin."

The unanimity of the leaders averted a stampede in the ranks. They met and adopted with one accord a declaration that no artifice or intrigue would be permitted by them to interrupt the Union of Catholic and Protestant. So the No-Popery ebullition inspired by the Govern-

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ment failed to split Ireland again into sectarian factions and the crisis seemed surmounted—the Minister had been effectively defeated if Irish politics had not again produced Place-hunters destitute of all morality.

#### Sadlier and Keogh.

Mr. John Sadlier and Mr. William Keogh sat as Irish representatives for the Boroughs of Athlone and Carlow in the British Parliament. Mr. Sadlier was a successful solicitor who had soared into finance and stood high as a great financier both in Ireland and England. Mr. Keogh was an unsuccessful lawyer deep in debt and possessing no credit and no character. Both possessed one trait in common—effrontery—and a common object—place and power. Keogh sought place primarily for the ease and comfort it would afford him. Sadlier sought it to satisfy his ambition. A farmer's son, a successful solicitor, a great financier—the crown of his ambition was a peerage and a marriage into the greatest of English financial families next to the Rothschilds. To this end, Sadlier used his wealth and influence to gather around him a Parliamentary Tail. He secured the election of his cousin, Frank Scully, for Tipperary, and of his cousin, Robert Keating, for Waterford. He planned to secure the election of his brother, of other cousins, and of creatures dependent upon him, for Midland and Munster counties through which his financial and corrupting influence reached. At the head of ten or twelve members he knew he could bargain with Government and Opposition and buy power and title in exchange for the votes he commanded. Mr. Keogh saw and understood Mr. Sadlier. Mr. Sadlier realised the advantage he could derive from enlisting with him a man as unscrupulous but more brilliant than himself. So Mr. Sadlier and Mr. Keogh joined forces and were plotting to sell themselves at the best obtainable price when the advent and rapid spread of the Tenant League upset their calculations.

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