

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

Hypocrisy may be ruled out of the vices of the United States Government if it succeeds in involving the American people in war. The "New Republic"—the intellectual organ of the American war party—frankly admits that there is no more moral justification for the United States making war upon Germany than there is for war upon England:

"No American lives would have been lost," it writes, "if we had acquiesced in Germany's policy as we have in Britain's. American lives would almost certainly have been lost had we refused to agree to Great Britain's blockade as we have refused to agree to Germany's war-zone decree. If Britain said we must put into a certain port we have put into it; if Britain said we must not use certain areas of the North Sea we have not used them; if Britain said we could only do a certain trade with Holland, that is all the trade we have done. Nor is there any reason for regarding the submarine war as more deadly than the blockade of Germany. It is well to remember that the German people are suffering anguish as the result of it, that their children's vitality is being sapped, and that there is an alarming increase of tuberculosis within the German Empire. The blockade and the submarine are both terrible weapons, and the blockade is the more effective of the two. In choosing between them, we are not choosing between legality and illegality, nor, perhaps, in the last analysis, between cruelty and mercy."

Nothing could be franker than this except the "New Republic's" admission that the American Government has "clothed the most unneutral purposes in the language of neutrality," because "we have worked to assist the Allies and hamper Germany, but we have also worked to keep out of the war. . . . It is because we cannot accept a German triumph that we have accepted the closure of the Seas to Germany and the opening of them to the Allies. That is the true justification of our policy and the only one that will bear criticism."

This war is a war for trade, said Archbishop Mannix in Sydney the other day. At least there is no cant about that fact in the "New Republic." There is a frank admission that while neither a moral justification or a justification in International Law exists for war, yet what a section of Americans conceive to be American interest render it advisable to make war against Germany. No Religion, Morality, Right of Small Nations fraud, but an appeal to the Almighty Dollar. Germany, if she is not crushed, will beat us commercially—therefore we must make war upon Germany—this is the frank voice of the United States Jingo. De Tocqueville prophesied that Democracy would prove its inability for Government in the United States—that the United States would be the grave of the Democratic idea. If the United States entered the war on the principles cynically but frankly disclosed—that Morality and Law must go by the board when Interest is at stake, De Tocqueville's pessimistic prophecy would have been proved true.

Sir Herbert Leon, the famous English stock-breeder and chairman of the Buckingham Co. Council Finance Committee has been figuring out that the British National Debt being now 4,000 millions sterling, it will, should the war continue for another twelve months, stand at 6,000 millions sterling. This will mean an annual charge of 300 millions yearly for interest; in addition there will be sinking fund and pensions, and the normal cost of running British Government, amounting to a total of some 610 millions in taxation annually, or a perman-

ent increase of taxation per head on the people of Great Britain and the people of Ireland of three times the pre-war taxes.

How England is going to raise after the war three times her pre-war taxation on a reduced trade, Sir Herbert does not seem to know. Neither do we. He suggests, however, that a capital levy might be made—that one-tenth of every man's property in Great Britain and in Ireland should be confiscated by the British Government, and a thousand or fifteen-hundred millions of war debt thus paid off. We are sure the Unionists of Ireland who are so fervently devoted to Dear Old England will joyfully welcome the confiscation of one-tenth of their property as affording them an opportunity of showing that their Imperialism is quite unselfish.

But still we are unable to see how if England, as Sir Herbert Leon admits, could shoulder the War Debt which will have accumulated by March, 1918, she can ease the burden by confiscating the property of her own people. That she might relieve herself a trifle by confiscating all the property of the Irish Unionists and the Scottish Imperialists we can understand—but then the whole lot would not reduce the war debt 10 per cent.

However, should the war cease soon, Sir Herbert thinks England's financial position would be less dangerous. For instance, "if the war came to an end immediately," England's annual revenue of over £400 million would probably only have to raise an annual revenue of 450 millions—that is a taxpayer instead of having to pay permanently over £3 annually for every £1 he paid before the war would get off by paying £2 5s. Besides, Sir Herbert thinks that if the war ended immediately the loans made by England to her Allies and her Colonies to keep them in this war might be repaid—within 25 years: And thus at the end of 25 years the taxpayer in England and in Ireland and in Scotland might have his taxes reduced—if the whole 900 millions advanced to Russians and Italians and Serbs and Roumanians and so forth were repaid, from £5s. to £2 1s. for every £1 pre-war taxes. So we quit the subject on a note of hope for those in Ireland who think Imperially any who will have the pleasure hereafter of using full price for their happy Thought.

The British Government has added a clause to its Bill prolonging the life of Parliament, postponing all elections to local bodies until 1918. The local elections were due in Ireland this year, and the Unionists by getting the British Government to tack this clause into the Bill have succeeded in dis-franchising all the County Council and Poor Law voters in Ireland for another twelve months. In return their supporters in these bodies are encouraged by the reward of another year of public life to reject Count Plunk's invitation.

Amongst Public Bodies that have decided to send delegates, addition to the list we published last week are Kilkenny Corporation, Galway Poor Law Guardians, Rathkeale Town Commissioners, Feoy Urban Council, Carrick-on-Suir Poor Law Guardians, Listowel Rural District Council, Delvin Rural District Council, Glenties Rural District Council, and Cork County Council.

The English Government a few weeks ago offered Guinness's brewery in Dublin certain concessions if they did agree not to brew for export—that is, to compete against the English brewers. Guinness, a highly imperialistic firm, refused, have accepted the same

restrictions as those put upon other brewers. Mr. Henry Ford's projected Cork factory is still the target for English attack. If he will only consent to leave Cork and set up that factory in England all will be forgiven, but until then—"I am very sorry to notice that Henry Ford and Son's scheme for the establishment at Cork has been approved by the War Council," cries Martin, of Martin's Cultivator Co., Ltd.; "The Ford undertaking can be of no real service until the ploughing of 1918, and the British manufacturers maintain that they can do much more in the time available," declares the "Autocar"; "It is an open question whether this Cork project threatens the British Motor Industry," writes "Motor Traction." Up to the present Ford has shown no sign of yielding to the effort to make him transfer his project to England, but the illustration of how determined English manufacturers are not to permit Ireland to develop industrially may stimulate some of our Unionists and seoinins to think of what English rule in Ireland stands for in industry and Commerce.

The people in the towns of Ireland are suffering from the high price of potatoes. Dublin is particularly hit, and Mr. T. W. Russell of the British Department of Agriculture in Ireland and the British military authorities in Ireland have appeared in the role of the Friends of the Poor, with considerable applause from the slave-press, which holds up the Dublin Potato Factor as the wicked villain of the piece—the defrauder and oppressor of the poor.

All the potatoes sold in Dublin from about June until November come from the County Dublin. From Christmas until June the main supply comes from the North of Ireland. The Dublin Factors are obliged to buy these potatoes from the Ulster merchants—not from the Ulster farmers direct. The British Government fixed a price of £9 per ton to the farmer and £10 10s. to the shopkeeper. The Dublin Factors had to buy from the Ulster shopkeeper and in addition to the price to pay for bags, for the freight to Dublin and for the cartage from the railway station.

The following are the freights per ton of potatoes on the Great Northern Railway:—

	s.	d.	
Limavady	13	6	per ton.
Coleraine	12	7	"
Ballymoney	13	2	"
Greenore	9	4	"
Dundalk	6	11	"
Warrenpoint	9	9	"
Newry	8	4	"
Belfast	7	8	"
Bush	9	4	"
Carlingford	9	4	"
Strabane	10	5	"
Magherafelt	12	7	"
Cookstown	10	3	6 ton.
"	15	8	per ton.
Ballymena	12	7	6 ton.
"	18	4	per ton.

The Dublin Potato Factor thus had to pay £10 10s. per ton to the Ulster merchant, an average of 11s. or 12s. a ton freight, and 2s. cartage from the Station. Thus the potatoes when they reached him cost generally about £11 4s. He attempted to sell them at £11 10s. to the retailer and the British Government prosecuted him.

Observe, the British Government had so arranged matters that the Ulster merchant got £1 10s. a ton profit, while the Dublin factor was prosecuted for seeking 6s. a ton profit, and held up as a defrauder of the poor. Moreover in some cases we have the documentary evidence before us that the Ulster merchants asked from the Dublin factors more than the

fixed Government price. Not one of them has been prosecuted.

And now the Department of Agriculture with the aid of the British military is eliminating the Dublin potato factor and thereby throwing scores of Dublinmen out of work. The Dublin potato factors had the audacity to think that if a Ulster Unionist was permitted to make thirty shillings a ton on potatoes, a Dublin non-Unionist might be permitted to make 6s. a ton. They had the further audacity to suggest that they were entitled to have the profit made on potatoes divided equally between the Ulster merchant and the Dublin factor. And so the Department with the aid of the British military bought potatoes at from £9 to £9 15s. per ton, and sold them to the people of Dublin at £11 at the Northern terminus.

The result of all this is—

(1). That somebody is making a profit of from 14s. to £1 10s. a ton on the sale of potatoes in Dublin.

(2). That that somebody is either the Department of Agriculture, Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P., or the British Government.

(3). That the price of potatoes to the people of Dublin, in whose interest, the trick professed to be carried out is still the same.

(4). And that a hundred or so people in Dublin are being thrown out of employment.

Mr. H. L. Glasgow, Unionist newspaper proprietor, writes to us:—

Sir,—I have received several copies of your paper of the 24th March in which you attack me because I have asserted that Ireland has prospered since the passing of the Act of Union. May I point out, in the first place, that it was in a letter to the "Irish Independent," in reply to an invitation by my friend, Dr. Gillespie, to his Unionist neighbours to give Home Rule a trial? Dr. Gillespie, writing as a Nationalist, not only admitted that Ireland had prospered but went so far as to describe the change as a "transformation," though attributing it to other causes. He is, therefore, equally guilty with me, but you ignore him and fasten on me, even to the extent of bearing false witness against my ancestors. Am I to take this as a sample of treatment your party will give Unionists in the Hibernian Utopia to be established by Act of Parliament—that fair play of interest we hear so much and see so little?

Permit me further to repudiate any such language as that which you are charitable enough to assume would be used by me. I claim to be a typical Ulster Protestant, and I defy you to find, in the 26 years I have been conducting my paper (files of which can be seen in the National Library) any such barbarisms as that which you so glibly put in my mouth. I suggest that the reason why you and other Nationalist Journalists of your class misrepresent Ulster Protestants in this way is in order to perpetuate the differences which unhappily exist in Ireland, by keeping your dupes in ignorance of our real motives and our true character, and by playing on their prejudices and cultivating a spirit of bigotry, you have succeeded in blinding them to the benefits conferred by the Act of Union, which links the Irish democracy with the British democracy in a common heritage.

The prosperity of a country, in my view, is measured by the prosperity of the bulk of the inhabitants—that is by the relative standard of living—and in no other way. So far as I can gather from your not very exact language, and still more inaccurate statistics, your index to the prosperity of a country is the density of its population and the lowness of its taxation. If that be so I suggest that it is a mistake to invite the intervention of statesmen from our Colonies because they are accustomed to a sparse population and a high per capita taxation. Rather should you seek for the guidance of some of the superfluous mandarins of China, because under them portions of that country have become extremely prosperous from your point of view, the population being extremely dense and the taxes extremely low per head. And, if you are logical, you will oppose the clearing of slum areas of Dublin and the building of decent houses in breathing spaces, because the population of these areas will be less than before, of taxes higher and higher per head.

Yours truly,

HENRY L. GLASGOW.

Passing over Mr. Glasgow's twaddle, and coming to his attempt to reply to us we find his reply is an accusation that our language is

inexact and our statistics inaccurate. As to language inexactness Mr. Glasgow cites no instance. As to our statistics his statement is untrue. He informed the public that Ireland had prospered under the Union. We showed from the figures of the British Government itself that Ireland had decreased in population and increased in taxation under the Union while England had increased in population and decreased in taxation. Mr. Glasgow, like a true Unionist Journalist, attempts no reply but a denial. "Your figures are inaccurate," says the self-styled "typical Ulster Protestant."

Here are some of the British Government's own figures:—

	England	Ireland
	Pop. per sq. miles	Pop. per sq. miles
1801	152	166
1911	618	135

The population per square mile in England has increased 400 per cent. since the Union. In Ireland it has decreased. Mr. Glasgow alleges this is an evidence of prosperity in the case of Ireland. Therefore in the case of England it is an evidence of decay. But not even before the Unionist farmers and workmen of Ulster whom he and other Unionist Journalists blind and mislead will Mr. H. L. Glasgow attempt to publicly state such a paradox.

Here are some more English official figures: loyal to that institution as Mr. H. L. Glasgow is he will not declare them inaccurate:—

	Pop. of England.	Pop. of Ireland
1801	8,892,536	5,395,456
1911	36,070,492	4,390,214

There were thus four times as many people in England after 110 years of the Union as there were in the year the Union was passed, but there were a million less people in Ireland. Mr. Glasgow declares the diminution in the case of the Irish is evidence of prosperity. What is the four-fold increase in the case of England—evidence of decay?

Mr. Glasgow is impatient of references to Irish taxation. Clever fellow as he is, he sees no connection between the fact that the Englishman is more lightly taxed now than he was in 1801 and that the Irishman is more heavily taxed and prosperity or the lack of it—it is only the "standard of comfort" that counts and our Cookstown economist suggests that taxation and population are quite irrelevant to the standard of comfort. If Mr. Glasgow knew anything of his country's history, he would know that the standard of comfort in Ireland as tested by the statistics of import and consumption between 1782 and 1801 had increased 400 per cent. while the same standard in England only increased 80 per cent. But it would be unreasonable to expect an Irish Unionist editor to know anything about the country he lives in.

At the period of the Union—England's own figures again—England owed a National Debt of 450 millions, and we owed a National Debt of but 28½ millions. Not we are jointly responsible for England's debt. But we have prospered under the Union Mr. Glasgow says. If a Tyrone Unionist farmer whose neighbour owed £450 to Mr. Glasgow, while he owed that gentleman but £28 0s. was forced to assume joint responsibility for the £450, what would he say to Mr. Glasgow when Mr. Glasgow blandly told him he had prospered by the union with his neighbour.

"The Irish," said the economist, Nassau Senior—an Englishman—are the heaviest taxed while the English are the lightest taxed people of the world." On the basis of National

Wealth and Population to-day, the Irishman is paying £27 in taxation for every £15 the Englishman pays. However, Mr. Glasgow, is quite satisfied that Ireland is blooming under the Union.

Mr. Glasgow must stand some more English Government statistics from us—about his prosperous Ulster:—

	Pop. 1841	Pop. 1911
Antrim	361,000	194,000
Armagh	282,000	120,000
Belfast	64,000	387,000
Derry City	15,000	40,000
Derry County	222,000	100,000
Tyrone	313,000	143,000
Fermanagh	157,000	62,000

From this it will be seen that a fourth of the people of Protestant Ulster has vanished in seventy years. This according to Mr. Glasgow is an evidence of prosperity and a good improvement to the standard of comfort.

Mr. Glasgow is merely a peg to hang some commonsense for Ulster farmers and workmen on—the people who have been and are being exploited by the capitalist and landlord to keep privilege and profits intact. Half a million Protestant Irishmen have disappeared from Ireland under English rule in the past 80 years, but so long as the Ulster Protestant people can be got to think that not English rule but the Pope is their undoing, so long will the great Linen manufacturers securely sweat their employees and the landlords preserve a feudal authority, morally if not legally. Alone in Europe Ireland has decreased and is decreasing in population, and alone in Europe there are men in Ireland—some merely ignoramuses like our correspondent, Mr. Glasgow, and some deliberate knaves—who deceive the honest rank and file of Ulster Protestants with the fiction of Ulster prosperity and Papist designs upon their sacred liberty to be sweated and to bless the squire and his relations.

The National Teachers' Congress will be held next week. On the agenda is a resolution to be proposed by a Mr. Hegarty, of Rathfarnham, and seconded by a Mr. Magill. Part of the resolution reads:—

"That English, consisting of Reading, Writing, Spelling, Grammar, and Composition, with Arithmetic and the elements of Geography and the broad facts of History (with Needlework for Girls) being the ground work of all education, should be the only subjects absolutely compulsory in our Elementary Schools."

Let Germany and France note—English is the ground work of all education. The effect of this resolution is of course to prevent Irish being made an essential subject in the Irish Schools. Mr. Hegarty is a Dublin Castle magistrate, Mr. Magill, a Northern Unionist. We should like to know who inspired the resolution and we shall watch with interest how the teachers will receive it.

Those of little faith who could not credit the stories told of German depredations in Belgium, especially in regard to the food sent by neutrals for the support of the Belgians, ought now have their doubts removed. The chairman of the Commission for Relief was one Mr. Hoover, who recently returned from the United States to Spain. At a dinner held in his honour at New York Mr. Hoover said, "no one need fear that the German army was getting supplies meant for the Belgians. . . Less than one-tenth of one per cent. of what was sent for the relief of the Belgians got into German

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"This Picture has aged the space of four years to collect and arrange. I dedicate it to the Irish people in the hope that it will be engraved and a copy placed in the house of every man who values liberty and his country."—HENRY GRATTAN.

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hands, and the army of occupation received less than 5 per cent. of the native products of the country."

"There has been no starvation in Belgium up to this date," he said. "The mortality of infants is below the normal rate. We do not appeal on the ground of saving a starving people. Ours has been the ambition to preserve the laughter of children, not to dry their tears."

The press notices about the dynamic power of the small nationalities' idea have not been numerous for some time. That, of course, does not mean that there is any weakening in the Allies interest in this direction. They are just as interested as ever. In "Common Sense," one of the two or three sane papers published in England, we have two statements bearing on this. In one the struggle on behalf of little oppressed nations is not at first apparent, but when looked at with the eye of faith all becomes clear. Think this out. "General Georgesco, of Roumania, told Signor Chiesi, of Italy, that no one in Russia dreams of making peace without having Constantinople, whose acquisition was to compensate her for the severance and complete emancipation of Poland." In other words "we don't mind freeing Poland, when it is taken away from us, but we must have someone else to repress instead."

The other item reads. "Lord Curzon's statement on Persia in the House of Lords on Tuesday gave an interesting account of the distractions in that luckless country between the Turco-German forces on the one side and the Anglo-Russian on the other. Some Persian soil is still occupied by the Turks; but a British force has pacified Eastern Persia, and Sir Percy Sykes, after a sensational march to Teheran, is now at Shiraz. He is organising a force for the pacification of Southern Persia. The 'Manchester Guardian' expresses its surprise that Lord Curzon did not mention a new Anglo-Russian agreement with regard to Persia which has been discussed in the Russian and French press." It does not appear from Lord Curzon's speech whether the liberation-of-nationalities idea is to be applied east of the Ural mountains.

What has become of Italy or Italy's cables broken down? According to "Common Sense" of Feb. 24th of this year "coal is now costing £14 per ton at Italian harbours. Complaints were made in the Chamber about the prices of charcoal and wood. The cost of a 'barrozza' of charcoal has risen from £4 9s. to £19, and wood from 2/2 to 5/10 a hundred-weight at end of December to 11/8 a cwt. in January."

Another meeting of the Chamber was dealt with in "Common Sense" (10.3.17), and one cause of annoyance is shown to be the "alarming depreciation of Italian paper money which on March 3rd, fell to 53 per cent. discount in London." "The causes of the present depreciation," continues the article, "are not far to seek. From two three-quarters thousand millions of paper lire (francs) in circulation in 1913 an inflation to over 5,000 millions took place in 1915, and to over 6,000 millions in 1916. Concurrently the adverse trade balance has been increasing—in 1916 it amounted to over 3,000 millions of lire, while remittances from emigrants (500 millions of lire) and money brought in by tourists (300-400 millions) which in 1913 almost met the adverse balance have almost wholly dried up."

On March 17th, "Common Sense" states "The shadow of coming political changes hangs over the Chamber. The long debate on the economic policy of the Government has taken place. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Government to permit discussion of the Socialist peace motion, the Socialist and Giolittian Deputies have made their stop-the-war speeches during the debate." Signor Pampolini apostrophised the Government "to take their bearings for peace and be patriots in the best and highest sense." The eminent Prof. Ferri, "frankly avowed his disbelief in the success of the coming Spring offensive, and amid cries of 'Tedesco (German), Tedesco!' expressed his hope that before writing new pages of blood someone might be found among the belligerent statesmen who could and would spare Europe and humanity the immense sacrifice which, after all, is impotent to solve the war in a military sense." He was followed by another Socialist Deputy, Professor Ciocotti, who in his speech "defended Great Britain from the

charges of waging war in her own interests, and of exploiting the economic needs of Italy."

Public opinion is, quite apart from Socialist deputies, "much pre-occupied with the growing adverse trade balance, which is aggravated by recent British limitations of imports. The prohibition of silk has hit Italy badly. Exports of Italian silk to Great Britain amounted in 1916 to over 103 million lire, apart from exports to British colonies and to India."

A writer in the "Secolo" estimates "the nominal adverse balance of 1916 of 3,000 millions of lire to be actually nearer 9,000 millions when the disturbing factors of war material, increased charges of freights, and increased values are considered." "Our friend England says the 'Secolo,' must take account of these things before deciding on a prohibition which, on the face of it, is absurd, since silk is of high value in proportion to its bulk; or if she cannot let us export our fruit and silk, and it is necessary to cut deep into the foreign trade of her Allies, let her, if necessary, help us with her signature and her securities to obtain from America a loan which will serve to improve our exchange."

The "Tribuna" is even more outspoken. "This war is not being fought by England alone. She is directly interested in not depressing her Allies' energies by provisions that aggravate their economic situation. We expect Great Britain to grant a liberal use of licences in order to temper the blow, and we hope that the Italian Government will act with firmness to secure that end."

It really looks as if that "breeze of democracy from 'new born Russia'" was blowing down towards D'Annunzio land.

This is from the "British Medical Press" of March 21st:

"Bethnal Green Military Hospital, formerly an infirmary, names its wards after British virtues thus—Courage, Truth, Fortitude, Loyalty, Justice, Honour, Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Mercy, Grace, Candour, Innocence, and Patience."

From this it is evident that England has commandeered all the virtues except Chastity, Allies.

The Department of Agriculture has now issued a poster to Irish farmers urging them to spray their potatoes with copper sulphate supplied by five English manufacturers. The poster is printed by "Wightman, Mountain and Andrews, 31 and 3 Victoria Street, Westminster, London." What do the Irish people think of the use of their money to support the English manufacturer and the English printer. What do the Irislprinters think of it?

The Castleport Sinn Fein Club has adopted the following:—"That we demand the immediate release of all the political prisoners, and demand of public representatives to support Count Plunkett's policy, by sending delegates to his meeting, otherwise they are not representing public opinion. Copies of the said resolution to be sent to Mr. Ginnell, M.P., and the editors of "Nationality," "The Irishman," and "Midland Reporter."

Nationalists verally will deeply regret the demise of Mr. Patrick Flood, whose remains were laid to rest last Tuesday. Mr. Flood held a position of considerable importance in the Dublin during the '67 period, and exercised an amount of influence in later political movements. He never lost touch with the National Movement, and never flinched from the ideas of his younger days. His last thoughts were Ireland; he lived in the hope of seeing her, and died strong in the faith of her ultimate salvation.

On last Saturday evening in the hall of the Technical School, Bolton Street, Count Plunkett delivered last of the series of lectures organised there by the Cuig Cuigi Branch of the Gaelic League. These lectures have proved some of the most interesting and successful delivered in Dublin for years. Crowded audiences are succeeding evening testified to the greater there is in Dublin to learn all that speculation in any province of knowledge can put our disposal. People leaving the hall Sunday gave expression to their regret they had heard the last of the short and at course, many intimating

a desire that the lectures should be continued after Easter. They will be continued in equal vigour and at greater length next Autumn, as the above Branch of the League has its hands too full to work for the Summer term to change its programme at this date.

Count Plunkett held his audience for more than an hour and a half last Sunday evening showing the high record of the Irish artist in the world, the absolute perfection, the wonderful variety sought and attained by our countrymen, working mostly under discouraging and unfavourable conditions. Count Plunkett went back to the earliest days of Irish Civilisation for our distinguished artists and showed how they persisted throughout all the centuries. He had most to tell us of the 18th century. Never was a lecture delivered to an audience on art and artists less hackneyed than Count Plunkett's. The subject of Irish art is, most unfortunately, a sealed book to the masses of the Irish people. For all but an odd exception the Count had things to tell about Irishmen and Dubliners of world fame, that were as new to us as if we had never seen or heard of Ireland. He expressed at the end an earnest desire to see our public building beautified with paintings recording our civilisation and our history. All Gaelic Leaguers will heartily endorse that wish and work as far as possible for its realisation.

The following has been fired at us—"Sir—We have decided to confer upon your paper the privilege of announcing to all whom it may concern that 'Irish Fun' will shed the refulgence of its smile upon the area called Ireland on the 15th day of April in this year of grace, 1917. It will contain several columns of delightful advertisements contributed by some of the best known firms in the country, a fair quantity of reliable and authentic news, several epoch-making announcements, elevating articles, powerful and thrilling stories, perfectly legal songs, a simple competition for a prize of Fifty Pounds, as well as innumerable minor contests (three in all), a cover design and cartoon by Reidy calculated to make even a rationed Englishman laugh, and countless other attractions, treats and delights too numerous to mention. The whole will be printed on war-time art paper (guaranteed not to melt for at least two hours after moment of purchase) and will be on sale everywhere, as we have already stated, on April 15th. Its appearance at this crucial stage is likely to have a big effect on the future course of the war, and all who would wish to preserve as an heirloom the first number of such an important publication should place their order with some recognised newsagent now. The Head Office is situated at 87 Upper Dorset Street, Dublin, the Manager and his staff are daily in attendance, and the yearly subscription is a paltry 1/8.

"Yours in the cause of Free Institutions—The Chief Editor, 'Irish Fun.'"

We are informed that the first new Sinn Fein Club was established in Belfast last week, Mr. D. F. Muray acting as Secretary pro tem.

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1/- Authentic Picture of Sovereign Parliament of Ireland—a companion picture to the "Irish Volunteers in College Green"—complete with key—By post 1/3. Similar picture in colors, 1/8, by post 1/9.

2/- Volunteer Silver Brooch—crossed rifles, harp and letters "LV."—same design as pendant for watch chain.

1/8 Cap Badge as used by the Dublin Volunteers, in gold or silver colour—same badge mounted on safety pin for brooch, 2/-.

7/8 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beautifully enamelled in green, white and orange.

3/8 Silver 1916 Pike—3½ inches long in form of brooch.

1/ Unique Fancy Match Box, with two photos of the leaders inset—a very useful present.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, APRIL 7th, 1917.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

It is very easy for word that are packed with very deep and urgent meaning to slip into use as a meaningless phrase. That is, literally speaking, one of the dangers of public life; for thereby the wheels of the mind lose grip on the metals of fact, and are rapidly round without making much headway. One of the first results of this is that to join a cause without realising very well what it stands, and without any deep faith in the action-value of the principles they espouse.

Take, for example, the case of the Peace Conference. Whatever happens now, nothing can stop the case of Ireland being laid before the Peace Conference. When that time comes, quite possibly it will be found that that case has an unexpected strength and proceeds on unexpected lines. And yet there are a number of folk who, while they are bent to pledge all their strength to the movement, yet remain more than a little sceptical as to possibilities. Their strength is pledged but just that touch of faith that makes strength invincible is lacking. For the slave-idea become so firmly embedded in the national mind, as the result of such centuries of session and suffering as few other nations have known, that we have some difficulty in perceiving of ourselves as by heritage free and the nations of the world, and only robbed of heritage temporarily. We do not quite sure of ourselves when we speak of addressing our brother-nations of the world, when they assemble in Conference, of claim-

ing our place there as by inalienable right. We decide to do these things. We decide to "try them out for what they are worth"; but we are not quite sure that some of the bonds of our captivity are not destined to remain shackling our limbs for ever.

It will hearten us to observe how profoundly alarmed England has become since she noticed our resolve to claim the full measure of our freedom in the Court of the Nations of the World, where she is only one among others, and perhaps not the best beloved of the company.

Lloyd George openly refers to the question, although he is careful to disguise his reference as well as he may. Here are his words:—

"My hon. friend, the member for Scotland Division, appealed to the opinion of civilisation. I am not in the least afraid of submitting the proposal of the Government to the judgment of any unbiassed friend of Ireland in any quarter of the Globe. I put it again, and I want not merely Irishmen to know, but I want men outside the countries of the United Kingdom and of the British Empire to know what it is we offer. It is that the part of Ireland that clearly demands Home Rule—self government—shall get it."

There we have it. England is preparing her answer to our case before the Peace Conference. With a characteristic hypocrisy and stupidity she bases her defence exactly on the foulest wrong she has done to Ireland—a wrong that essentially figures in our historic case—the Plantation of Ulster. It would not require a very considerable adroitness to turn the case against her on the very ground of her choosing; and in more ways than one. But where does Lloyd George find this strange reference of his? It is gratuitously presented to him by no less a person than Major William Redmond. "What stands in the way of a settlement?" asks that worthy; and answers himself: "The attitude of a section of our countrymen in the North of Ireland." Precisely as an Englishman would expect, and Lloyd George is quick to take advantage of the admission; but in international affairs resisting minorities are never permitted to cancel international ranks and rights. Belgium, for example, will be thought of at the Peace Conference as a nation despite the Flamandes; and if America admitted the case of Ulster as abrogating international status, she would at once create three or four nations of herself.

Yet Lloyd George does not refer definitely to the Peace Conference. He speaks only of "any unbiassed friend of Ireland in any quarter of the Globe," and of "men outside the confines of the United Kingdom and of the British Empire." It was left for his newly-begotten friend, Bonar Law, to blurt out the real truth that Lloyd George sought to wrap about with words. Says he:

"Suppose the Prime Minister has to go to this Peace Conference, and is taunted, let us imagine, with the position of Ireland, this is the answer which we are ready to give: 'We are prepared to give Ireland self-government to-morrow where they distinctly demand it.'"

And then he proceeds to cite the perilous parallel of Poland, of which more will be heard. Yet here again is the argument presented by Major William Redmond, less ingenuously, though more pawkily stated.

In neither Mr. George, nor Bonar Law do the accents ring with any conviction. Bonar Law was answering a motion proposed by Dalziel, and seconded by Major Hills, an English Unionist; and this is how Major Hills expressed himself:

"It would not be pleasant for us to go to a Peace Conference with Ireland standing in the corner like a naughty child. It would have to be explained to the world, and he was not sure that the world would not consider Ireland as much as England."

It is perhaps unnecessary to assure Major

Hills that Ireland does not propose to stand in any corner like a naughty child. The fear his words express springs from quite another thought. The prevalence of that other thought is discovered in Northcliffe's words:

"I can tell you that quite a number of Conservative members of Parliament have assured me that England cannot talk about the rights of the smaller nations while ignoring the insistent demand for some re-adjustment of Irish affairs."

In all these there is one thought; and it is a thought that is causing England considerable anxiety. It is that Ireland is thinking, not of those idle words, "Home Rule," which now mean nothing, but of the first opportunity presented her for many years of addressing the assembled nations of the world for the recognition of her essential sovereignty. If there are any among us who may be doubtful of the issue of this appeal, it is re-assuring to discover that England is uneasy—profoundly uneasy. That is why Northcliffe talks so loudly of the economic injustices with which Ireland has been visited. He knows well that the Redmond-George-Law argument will not weigh in the scales of an international conference—of a conference, that is to say, accustomed to the administration of minorities; and so he turns to the old stock argument that Ireland's grievance is not national but economic, not a matter of dignity and national uprightness but a matter of pocket. His whole speech was crafty; but it was none the less an indication of the predominant fear in Englishmen. That fear is, that Ireland's claim as a nation among nations at a meeting of the nations places England out of court. What is the immediate result? England seeks to take advantage of the few days in which, by a conqueror's hand, she remains in court by rushing through a settlement!

The moral is plain; and it needs no pointing.

THE SMALL NATIONS.

The Congress of Vienna, dominated by England, reconstructed Europe on a basis that denied the principle of Nationality. Belgium was given to Holland, Norway to Sweden, Poland to the Czar, while Greece, Ireland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Serbia, and other Small Nations had their existence ignored.

Exactly a hundred years after the Congress of Vienna, England entered into war at the head of the most powerful Coalition ever formed in military history, and the justification and purpose of her entry was explicitly defined as the Assertion of the equal rights of the Small Nations of Europe to a place in the sun with the Great Empires.

The sincerity of England's declaration need not now concern us. One effect of it must be to open the doors of the Peace Congress to the claim of any Small Nation to be heard, and the Small Nation suffering or believing itself to suffer wrong and repression, which did not seize the opportunity to have its case heard and considered before the Tribunal of Europe could be inhabited only by fools or led by weaklings.

We may, therefore, briefly review the Small Nations of Europe and contrast them with our own country, for the purpose of obtaining a true perspective of the International situation.

At present there are ten recognised sovereign States in Europe which may be classified as Small Nations. These are—Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Roumania, Serbia, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Belgium and Greece. The full sovereign status of the last-named two countries was not completely admitted by some of the Great Powers, but they exercised in every respect sovereign right and power. Montenegro, too, may be added to the list, despite a technical flaw. Thus Europe may be said to possess Eleven Sovereign Independent

Small Nations—the rights of which are co-equal with the rights of any of the Great Powers.

Besides these Sovereign Independent Small Nations, there are four Nations in Europe which may be placed in the category "Small" and which do not possess Sovereign Independence. These Nations are Poland, Ireland, Finland, and Bohemia. Claims are also made on behalf of the Letts, the Ruthenians, the recently-discovered Czecho-Slavs and others for recognition. But these peoples are not Nations, though some of them may form Nationalities. As to Alsace-Lorraine, of which so much has been heard in this War, Alsace-Lorraine has no pretence to be a Nation, and has never claimed to be one. It is only the English Press that dubbed it Nation. Nevertheless we shall consider its present position.

Of the eleven Sovereign Independent Small Nations of Europe Ireland exceeds five in extent, four in population, and nine in revenue. Of the Small Nations which do not exercise Sovereign Independence, Ireland is third in extent, third in population, and second in revenue.

First, then, we shall deal with the Sovereign Independent States in contrast with Ireland:

	Area* (sq. miles)	Population*	Revenue* £
Ireland	32,600	4,375,000	22,000,000†
Holland	12,600	6,500,000	18,750,000
Belgium	11,600	7,500,000	32,000,000
Denmark	15,600	2,800,000	7,500,000
Switzerland	16,000	3,900,000	3,100,000
Norway	125,000	2,400,000	10,000,000
Greece	42,000	4,900,000	9,250,000
Bulgaria	43,500	4,760,000	10,800,000
Roumania	53,500	7,500,000	24,000,000
Sweden	173,000	5,760,000	22,000,000
Serbia	34,000	4,550,000	8,600,000
Montenegro	5,600	520,000	400,000

* Latest available returns. † Estimate for 1916-17.

From this it will be seen that Ireland is greater in extent than Holland, Belgium, and Montenegro combined, or Denmark and Switzerland combined; in population she exceeds Denmark, and is nearly level with Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, all of which countries she exceeded in territory or population until the accession of both that accrued to them as a result of the Balkan War of 1912; in revenue, it will be seen, Ireland exceeds all the Small Sovereign Nations of Europe except Roumania, Sweden and Belgium.

All these countries maintain a National Government with a National Army, Consular and Diplomatic Services, and with the exception of Switzerland, Belgium, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, a National Navy out of their revenues. Internally they provide for Education, Agriculture, Industry, Transit, and the Poor, on a lesser ration per head than the people of Ireland pay to the British Exchequer.

Contrasted with the four non-Independent Sovereign Nations of Europe Ireland stands thus:—

	Area (sq. ms)	Population*	Revenue* £
Ireland	32,600	4,375,000	22,000,000
Finland	126,000	3,250,000	8,500,000
Poland	44,000	12,250,000	—
Bohemia	20,000	7,000,000	—

There are no print available separate returns of Polish or Bohemian revenue. The one, however, is higher than Ireland's, the other less. Poland which was destitute of political institutions under Russian rule, economically prospered. The Central Powers have now recognised Poland as a Sovereign Independent State a purpose to make the acceptance of this recognition by England and her Allies one of terms of Peace. Seventy years ago the population of Poland was but equal to one-half population of Ireland.

Finland was dependent State, possessing its own Constitution, Laws, Parliament, and Army, with Czar as Grand Duke. For years past, how the Russian Empire has

attempted to destroy Finnish Independence and considerably curtailed Finnish liberties. Still at the worst, Finland enjoyed a measure of self-government far more extensive than what is termed "Home Rule," and under it her wealth and population have constantly increased.

Bohemia, the fourth of the non-Independent Small Nations, possesses a much larger measure of Home Rule than that proposed for Ireland. The Bohemian Parliament—which controls Bohemian taxes—consists of 242 members.

With the exception of Ireland under England and Poland under Russia, there was no Small Nation in Europe—Independent or non-Independent—which did not possess a legislature of its own. Ireland is now the solitary Small Nation in Europe which has no legislature.

As to Alsace-Lorraine—the German territory wrested by France from Germany in the 18th century and recovered by Germany in the 19th—the Alsace-Lorrainers are three-fourths German and less than one-fourth French. Their territory is less than a sixth the extent of Ireland, while their population is nearly half that of Ireland. The population has increased greatly since 1871. The Alsace-Lorrainers possess a Parliament of their own, and have two votes in the Supreme Council of the German Empire which determines Peace or War.

Within the German Empire the three Independent Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurttemberg are all lesser than Ireland in extent, two of them are lesser in revenue, and one in population.

Thus it will be seen that among the Small Nations of Europe Ireland holds a front place in extent, population, and wealth, and her claim to be heard at a Peace Conference in Europe is sustained by this fact.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

From Ginnell's speech on Dalziel's motion: 22nd March, 1917 (Hansard: vol. 91, No. 28).

"Why do gentlemen who in September, 1914, got their Home Rule Act placed on the shelf, treat this grave question as so urgent to-day? Does any one suppose that it is due to any Parliamentary action? No. Does any one suppose that it is due to military tactics or military expenditure? No. Will Hon. Members of this House even now realise the fact that the urgency of this Irish problem to-day is due to the men of Easter week in Dublin, and to the fact that the majority of the Irish people to-day ratify that action? What does that mean? It means that Nationalist Ireland looked to this House long enough, too long enough in my opinion, and has ceased to look to it any more. Not only has it raised it above being a domestic question; that is it has raised it above being a British domestic question. . . ."

"Nationalist Ireland no longer looks to this House to remedy this urgent problem. That is precisely why they consider it urgent. If Nationalist Ireland could come to the bar, and, on bended knees, petition for something, it would be scoffed at. Nationalist Ireland has, on the contrary, turned its back on you and your House, and looks to itself and to itself alone, and it will continue to do so, dislike it how the Chief Secretary may. Nationalist Ireland looks to itself for its redress, in the first place, and, in a secondary sense, to the Peace Conference. Members of the Government talk about an International Peace Conference as if they were entitled and able to determine its constitution. They are nothing of the kind, and we know it. They say that Ireland will not be represented at all at the Peace Conference. We know it is not so. Ireland will go to the Peace Conference, and will be admitted to it, because it no longer admits that its inalienable right to absolute and exclusive independence is a domestic question for any country but itself. We could not go to the Peace Conference, as was pointed out by the Noble Lord (Lord Hugh Cecil) on the other side, to discuss the Home Rule Act or any other measure of this Parliament."

THE IRISH OLD AGE PENSIONERS

On the 7th December, 1909, a decision was given in the King's Bench Division on an Old Age Pension Appeal which was of very far-reaching importance so far as Ireland was concerned; and yet so far as I have been able to ascertain, none of our Members of Parliament or other public men troubled themselves to turn the Judge's ruling to the advantage of the poor people affected.

William Pawley began to receive an Old Age Pension on 1st January 1909, at the weekly rate of 2s. Not being satisfied with the amount, he raised a question with the local Pension Officer that he was entitled to 5s. per week. The Pension Officer re-investigated his claim and reported to the local Pension Committee that, in his opinion, Pawley was not entitled to any pension. The Pension Committee as a result disqualified Pawley, who then appealed to the Local Government Board, as the Central Pension Committee. The latter however dismissed the appeal which was then carried by Pawley to the King's Bench. The King's Bench, on 7th December, 1909, upheld the appeal on the ground that an Old Age Pension case can only be re-opened in the event of there being a change of circumstances; and that no new facts had been produced in evidence for disqualification. Consequently a writ of "Certiorari" was issued to the Local Government Board to quash their order for disqualification.

To the uninitiated the above decision may appear of no account; but the following particulars should make clear to all how important it was.

The Old Age Pension Act was passed in 1908; and during the last quarter of that year Excise Officers were kept very busy investigating claims. In Ireland the work was done chiefly by Irish officers, many of whom were conversant with the means of the poor old people within their stations, and a great majority of the remainder (who were drafted in from distilleries, etc.), were men sufficiently ripe in years and experience to be able to form a just estimate of claimants' means.

To the amazement of the Treasury it was found that the estimate of the number of pensioners for Ireland was altogether too low. Many theories were advanced to account for the enormous discrepancy; but the solution that Ireland had pensioners in proportion to a population of eight millions found no favour with the authorities. Consequently when the older Irish Excise Officers returned to their own stations after the investigation of claims, they were replaced by juniors, mostly Englishmen, who set to work to revise the estimates of pensioners' means though there had been no change in their circumstances. As a result, questions were raised wholesale throughout Ireland for the disqualification of pensioners who were in receipt of pensions of from one to five shillings a week. In most cases the local Pension Committees meekly adopted the Officers' recommendations, and whenever a decision was sought from the Local Government Board, it was almost inevitably given against the pensioner. (It is well known, of course, that the Local Government Board of Ireland, whenever possible, upholds the Pension Officer's recommendation as against the Pensioner or Local Pension Committee). By the end of 1909, by this process of "combing out" several thousand poor old people had been deprived of their pensions.

Then came the "Pawley decision," and no more questions could be raised for disqualification on the ground of means unless evidence could be produced showing a change of circumstances.

The Board of Customs and Excise (acting for the Treasury), however, failed to fulfil its legal obligations in view of the King's Bench Decision, which were (1) to restore to each pensioner the pension of which he had been in receipt prior to his illegal disqualification, and (2) to pay him the sum which had accrued during the period of disqualification. Not only did they not do these things but they neither gave the disqualified pensioners notice of the Pawley decision nor encouraged the Pension officers to inform them of it.

There are still many thousand Old Age Pensioners in Ireland illegally disqualified during the period of 1st January, 1909, to 7th December, 1909, who are still alive. In both law and equity these poor old people are plainly entitled to a restoration of their pensions as from the date of their disqualification.

As probably several hundred thousand pounds are involved, Pension Committees throughout Ireland should ascertain if there

are any such disqualified pensioners in their districts with a view to having their pensions restored and arrears paid to them. The Irish Party would hardly like to embarrass the Government on such a purely domestic matter at the present time; but it is not too much to hope that Mr. Ginnell will be unable to rise above such petty considerations.

JOSEPH MACDONAGH.

THE SONG OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS

[Mr. Outhwaite asked the Foreign Secretary whether, in view of the general lack of knowledge as to the Czecho-Slovaks, for whose independence the Allies were fighting, he would issue an official statement as to the territory they claimed, and the form of government they desired to be established.

Mr. Balfour said he did not think any such statement was necessary.

Mr. Outhwaite said that ignorance was widespread, and even the Prime Minister had been making enquiries as to who the Czecho-Slovaks were.—Evening Paper.]

The night before Home Rule was stretched "on the Floor";

Hung up by black Orangemen's flax, Says Carson and Co. "The wild Irish must go "To make room for the Czecho-Slovaks."

"Let Erin in vain for her liberty sue "To blaze the 'O's' and the 'Macs.' "For we only have ears for the hullabaloo "Of the down-trodden Czecho-Slovaks."

"Let fools go to fight for Utopias! "Let Belgium endure more hard whacks! "But we'll blow all our brass Cornucopias "For Home Rule for the Czecho-Slovaks."

I hear them come over the mountain and glen With their pibrochs and drums—making tracks. But listen again! 't is no Cameron men! 'Tis the march of the Czecho-Slovaks.

Is that the "Old Glory"? Say, has Uncle Sam At last joined our valiant attacks 'Tis the star-spangled, new-fangled, grand oriflamme— 'Tis tue flag of the Czecho-Slovaks.

Is the language they speak Esperanto or Greek? Interpreters only are quacks When they try to get round (in three lessons a week) The tongue-twists of the Czecho-Slovaks— Let us pay to these heroes a big cheque—of thanks— Who join Poilus and Tommies and Jacks For the Belgo-Italo-(Jap-Serb-Portugee-Montenegro-Frank-British)-Russ-Romany ranks Is the place for the Czeche-Slovaks.

Then the Austro-Hungarians will clean run away, And the Bulgar-cum-Turks turn their backs, From the hells of the shells—and the smells and the yells Of those never-checked Czcho-Slovaks.

For they'll stab, shoot and sweep all before them away Till the dead are piled roud them in stacks, And with slaughter galore they are swimming in gore, Those blood-thirsty CzecheSlovaks.

We'll free Constantinople fra Terrible Turks (Who throw wives into rive, in sacks) But the slimnest and toughest of all our good works Is to find out those Czechdlovaks.

Then we'll fight till the last m and shilling are left, And we'll pile on more gay come Tax, For the world (or what's left) must be never beroff Of those hyphenate Czecho-Svaks.

So we'll muddle away, both byght and by day, Till we get a "BritannicPax," Or till nobody's left—neither iton nor Hun— But ubiquitous Czecho-Slova

ENVOI.

And when they go marching tigh Berlin How the pressmen will click 't kodaks! With cheers and pipes skirlin' 'd banners unfurlin' The victorious Czecho-Slovak!

H.M.

LEADAR NA/n-OILITRE bPOLANNAc.

VIII.

4. Annpán túbpaóap pcoy eite ba ciail-maípe 'ná iao fan: Céromíap pta i noiaró an beitróis aitta, céromíap sa an coill, cum é túipeact, agus cuirpíap pead leir ina snátois. Acé tanaóap náctipí amac a' coillcib eite apir, agus doctaisgead na pcoiúga agus vo cáilleapap tpeuda.

5. Ap veit cpeacta dóib, óapap ag tpiall ap a gcomhpanaib agus túbri: Cpuinníap na óaoine go léir agus bímir óac i gcaiteam na bliadna go léir go oí beró an uite

maectipe fan oileán 'oipeigte agann; map oileán iprad Sapaná.

6. Agus vo ghuairéapap agus bíopa ag peadac na maectipí go oí go raib an uile ceann píam aca 'oipeigte aca; annpán vo cúipeapap na haípm uata agus vo pcoileapap uata na conaípeaca agus céro a peiti ag inníap san aóapapí ó foim i leit.

IX.

1. Ap taob eile den uóman, fan loadáil, bí uócais a bí go hana-mait cum cpánn ola agus pípe acé a bí go mí-polláin; map, pa tpaípaó, vo túgaó an talam uaró gal ap a ucuíapí malaípa, a leacáó euscpuar mapbtaó ap puaro na típe.

2. Vo deinead curo ve muinctap na uúitce pín veataó vo leigint ap puaro a veigte cum an oipoc-gail vo mápbaó agus vo cáitíap mórán aipívo ap cúmpactaib; vo deinead curo eite aca porpballaí vo cúp puap ap an veaob tíap, map ír aníap a taígaó an síoio; agus 'óiméigead an curo eite nuap a taígaó an pcurp mí-polláin; go oí, pa veipead, go bpuap gac aoinne báp agus go raib an áit ina uaisneap agus na tuípe ag píudal na gcoill n-ola agus na bpaípe pípe.

Liam Ó Rinn.

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THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

VII.—GEORGE HENRY MOORE AND THE CORRUPTIONISTS.

(Continued).

BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

[These articles were written and first published in 1913. The three years of Irish history which have elapsed render it certain that the moral they point will appeal to the whole people of Ireland to-day. Hence their republication.—A.G.]

This was the burden of Moore's addresses to the people in the last effort of the fifties for independence in Irish politics. He did not flatter his auditors and acquit them of responsibility. He told them it was his duty to speak the blunt truth to them, and that if they were men they should stand the unpleasant truth. A proud and fearless man—with much of Mitchell and Parnell in his character—he strove to infuse some of his own haughty contempt for base traffic and traffickers into the people. His first effort after he became virtual leader of the remnant of Independent Opposition seemed to promise success. For the vacancy in Tipperary caused by the expulsion of James Sadlier from the British Parliament, Laurence Waldron who declined to pledge himself to independence of English parties was nominated. The O'Donoghue, then a dashing young man, chivalrous and sincere, took the field against Waldron supported by Moore. "Save your county from pollution and disgrace," said Moore to the Tipperary men, "Mr. Waldron and men like him seek seats in the British Parliament not for your good but for their own. But for such men Tenant Right would now be the law of the land and so sure as does the sun shine over Tipperary so sure would hundreds of its farmers now mourning in exile, or beggars on the world, be happy and prosperous in Irish homes." Tipperary responded to Moore's call and elected The O'Donoghue by what was then an enormous majority. At the declaration of the poll a brawny blacksmith presented Moore with a key he had made in his forge. "There was a key of Tipperary," said the blacksmith, "which those who held it asked me to mend, but I found it was English stuff and I would not mend it for them for ten thousand pounds, but I have made this true Irish key to Tipperary for George Henry Moore to keep all his life."

The Election of 1857.

The Tipperary victory raised the spirits of the anti-Place-hunters to a high pitch. John Francis Maguire declared that they might hope for a party of 25, and he said "Give us 25 incorruptible men and we will make Tenant Right the law in a year." But the General Election of 1857 showed that Tipperary was not an index but an exception. Here and there a few fairly independent men were elected, but Tristram Kennedy was defeated by the Bellevs in Louth and Richard Swift by ribbonmen in Sligo. These fellows demanded black-mail from Swift, and on his disdainful refusal, hired themselves to the Whigs and menaced with death Swift himself and all who would dare to vote for him. A greater disaster was the unseating of Moore by a committee of five hostile English members on the ground of clerical intimidation. Most of the priests had supported Moore against Ousley Higgins who with Sadlier and Keogh long basked in the smiles of the Whig bishops. Higgins on his defeat immediately set up the claim that "the clerical tyrants" had beaten him by terrorising the voters. The champions of the Church whom the Irish Episcopate helped in to public life at this period delighted later on to defame their patrons.

The Triumph of the Place-hunter.

Within two years—in 1859—a second election was held and a final effort was made by Moore to battle with the Place-hunters at the polls. Independent Opposition candidates were nominated in a number of constituencies and Moore himself opposed the renegade Shee in Co. Kilkenny while his colleague, Tristram Kennedy, assaulted a stronghold of the Corruptionists in King's County. But the defeat of 1857 grew into disaster in 1859. Shee was rejected in Kilkenny, but Moore was rejected along with him, and Kennedy was badly beaten in King's County. That General Election left the representation of Ireland almost a mono-

poly of the Government placeman-expectant. Public morality seemed dead, and those who revered its memory simpletons. When at the hustings in Sligo a candidate could get up and amidst cheers repel the charge that he had not sought place for his supporters from the Government the last conquest of Ireland did seem consummated. "If there be one man more than another who ought not to say anything against me," said the indignant candidate, "it is this critic," alluding to a journalist who was opposing him. "He and his brother called on me in Dublin and told me they wanted employment and asked me to get them situations. I am never tired conferring benefits on my constituents, no matter whether they be Catholic or Protestant, although I am one of the best abused men in the world. Those two young gentlemen called on me and I got them two situations." And the retort of the young gentlemen was not an indignant denial that while running a professedly independent organ they were cadging for Government appointments, but a solemn declaration to the people that their representative had promised to get them appointments and had not done so. "I did," persisted that gentleman amidst the applause of the bulk of the electors of Sligo who considered his honour vindicated. "And what I have done I will do again for you if you elect me." He was elected.

The Blood Price.

"The price of the place-hunter will be paid in your blood," George Henry Moore warned the people. And the sequel of the elections of '57 and '59 proved his grim prophecy true. The vast "famine clearances"—the unrestricted eviction of whole countryside had been temporarily abated by the growth of the Tenant Right Movement—the Union of North and South. The Government, pressed and momentarily endangered by the new movement, strongly hinted to the clearing landlords that it was desirable to ease off in order that it might make a case against Tenant Right. For a couple of years there was a comparative lull in the extermination policy, but the decisive triumph of the place-hunters at the polls of '57 and '59 restored it to its pristine vigour. There was no longer a Government convenience to be considered, or force in the country to resist. John George Adair, after the General Election of '59 swept Glenveigh clear of its human population whose fathers had dwelt there for a thousand years. The Marquis of Sligo exterminated humanity over 200 square miles. Alan Pollock levelled 200 houses in a single day and the Bingham and the Leitrim and a hundred lesser tyrants devastated their territories more thoroughly than did Cromwell. Hundreds of their victims died in the ditches or in the poorhouses, scores in the emigrant ship, and thousands in American pauperism. They paid the price of the place-hunter in their blood and the blood of their children. This was his golden era—In the dozen years between 1857 and 1869 the Irish constituencies sent scores of rascals to the Bench, to Colonial Governorships and Commissionerships, via the English House of Commons, and thousands of petty jobs were distributed amongst their relatives and supporters.

In considering the constituencies it must be recollected in extenuation that the franchise was very restricted, that the voting was open, and that the tenant farmer who voted against his landlord's wishes risked and often incurred eviction from his holding. The villainy of the betrayal by the Place-hunters in 1853 is enhanced by this fact—that in order to elect the fifty to sixty Independent Oppositionists, thousands of Irish farmers had to openly vote against their landlords and risk their own destruction, and that hundreds of them were destroyed—the little homes in which their mothers bore them and wherein their children were born were levelled, the fields they had tilled were consolidated into cattle ranches, their friends were forbidden to shelter them within sight of their patrimonies. These things they risked, and, as brave men, could not have complained of suffering them if the cause for which they dared them had been maintained. But they saw the men for whom they suffered these evils sell them in the English Parliament House for place and pension, and despair was added to their misery. Heart and hope went out of four-fifths of the Irish farmers. What, they asked, is the use of voting for the man whom the landlord objects to, to be destroyed by the landlord, while that man breaks every pledge he give us and sells himself to the British Government? It was thus the Bishop of Ross came to protest against the people being asked to vote at all. "They had," he said, "voted for men professing god principles and sacrificed

themselves by so doing." "By Emancipation," said the Bishop, "the Catholic people gained little and lost much."

The "National Association."

George Henry Moore agreed that human nature was on the side of the Irish farmers' despairing point of view. After his defeat in Kilkenny he declared it was hopeless to rescue Ireland from the Place-hunter until a Ballot Act gave the voter some protection against terrorism and God gave Ireland the vision to see in the traffickers with English Governments her deadliest enemies. He privately suggested to John Mitchel a method for utilizing the English Volunteer Movement to the end of creating an armed opinion in Irish politics to counteract the dry-rot, but Mitchel could not agree to the scheme Moore propounded. The real political history of Ireland for the next few years is the history of Fenianism. John Martin and A. M. Sullivan kept up a protest against the place-hunter and place-beggar when they could keep up no longer an effective fight at the polls. The O'Donoghue, not yet seduced by English subtle arts, played a picturesque and sincere part on the Irish platform and in the English Parliament; John Francis Maguire and three or four other incorruptibles maintained an honest but ineffective fight "on the floor of the House;" Moore from his Mayo home fired occasional charges of grapeshot into the ranks of the apologists of place-hunting. But there was no true life in Irish politics outside Fenianism. The National League founded by The O'Donoghue, Martin and Sullivan was an honest attempt to band together Ireland in a Nationalist movement from which place-begging would be proscribed; but it had scarcely breathed before the Whig Bishops, with Cardinal Cullen at their head, launched the "National Association," whose ostensible objects were Dis-establishment, Compensation for Improvements to the Tenant Farmers, and "Equality in Education." John Blake Dillon was used by Cardinal Cullen to recommend this dubious body, two of whose fuglemen were John Sadlier's chief backer in Tipperary and Canon Redmond of Arklow, the Tenant League renegade whose scurrilous attacks upon Frederick Lucas had won him his canony from Dr. Cullen. Sullivan in the "Nation" fenced the National Association cautiously, giving it a qualified support on the condition that it specifically adopted and pledged its representatives to Independent Opposition. But as the secret of the institution of the National Association was a private agreement between some English Liberals and Dr. Cullen, this was obnoxious to it. The Archbishop of Tuam refused to touch this "National Association"—"I trust you yourself, but I don't trust your Association," was the tenor of his letter to Dillon. "They may be sincere," wrote the great Archbishop, "who see no fault in place-hunting, but what is to be expected of an Association in which should men prevail? Nothing but that they will play over again the same game. To be once deceived is not discreditable, to be deceived a second time justifies the reproach that we are willing to be deceived." The Fenians equally saw in the new Association a new imposture. "The most credulous Irishman,"

(Continued on next page).

Mr. JACK O'SHEEHAN

(OF THE P's and G's CONCERT PARTY).

Referring to the announcement in the first number of this paper of the conviction and fining of Mr. Jack O'Sheehan at Ballaghaderreen Petty Sessions for obstructing Police under the above Act by refusing them admission to his Concerts without payment, on Appeal to the Quarter Sessions at Boyle County Court. Judge Wakely decided in Mrs O'Sheehan's favour and threw out the Crown case. It will interest the public to know that Mr. Rice, R.M., who inflicted the fine, refused leave to Appeal to King's Bench at the time on the ground that Mr. O'Sheehan's application for leave to Appeal was "frivolous."

Many, many thanks for the numerous congratulations received.

THIS WEEK—

ST. JOSEPH'S HALL, LONGFORD.

wrote the Fenian organ, "cannot fail to ask himself where were these people when the priests of the South joined hands with the ministers of the North in the Tenant League—when upwards of fifty members of Parliament were forced to pledge themselves to remain independent of every Ministry that would refuse to make Tenant Right a Cabinet question. Where were they when Sadlier and Keogh betrayed the people? We find the names of men to the requisition (to form the Association) who are not only place-beggars but place-holders. . . . We are curious to see how a rebel of '48 will play the part of lay leader, for of course Dr. Cullen will be the clerical leader. Mr. Dillon may make his mind easy on one point—the church doors will never be closed against his remains."

George Henry Moore, at the banquet to Gavan Duffy, who was revisiting Dublin at this time, spoke directly and publicly to Dillon, who occupied the chair, affirming his belief that the National Association was merely a Brass Band affair got up by Dr. Cullen with an eye on the impending General Election. "When Mr. Duffy left Ireland," said Moore, "he regarded Ireland as a corpse on the dissecting table; but it appeared there were resurrection men at work to galvanise the body, and the ghost of Independent Opposition had been summoned through unexpected mediums to preside, as if that were its natural function, over the mysteries of a General Election. The cause of Ireland was murdered in 1855. The men who did the deed walked red-handed through the land, and were now engaged, they were told, in a work of reparation, the only parallel for which in fact or fiction was the case of the famous Chinese jugglers who were so dexterous that they could cut off a man's head and put it on again without his knowing it."

The ghost of "Independent Opposition" which the National Association resurrected was thus garbed—"I pledge myself to promote in Parliament the following measures—Compensation of Improving Tenants; the Dis-endowment of the Established Church in Ireland; and Equality of Education for all Denominations. And I further pledge myself to act in opposition to any administration which will not promote one at least of the measures first mentioned."

Here was a palpable imposture. Any Ministry that affected to be Friendly to a Bill promoted in connection with the Tithes or the Land was to be supported. All Whig Governments affected to be friendly to reform on these questions, and therefore the "pledge" was simply a device to delude honest electors to return supporters of the Liberals for Irish constituencies. A. M. Sullivan suggested there should be a clear pledge against place-hunting, but his insistence was dodged. "Again and again," he wrote in the "Nation," "we have called on this body to speak out on the question of Place-hunting. It will yet speak, we are inclined to believe, when the necessity of so doing becomes more actively apparent." But he failed to coax it to speak even by this gentle device.

The warnings of Moore, the hints of Sullivan, the expressed suspicions of Martin, the emphatic repudiation by Archbishop MacHale, and the refusal of Gavan Duffy to touch the Association—all failed to make John Blake Dillon realise its inner character and his own exploitation by Dr. Cullen. In political judgment he had always been deficient, and the flattery of the Cardinal drove the small judgment he had clean out of his head. In the course of his National Association campaign he furnished the Fenians with their best joke. There was in Dublin at the period an Alderman Peter Paul MacSwiney, who was regarded with humorous eyes by the citizens. "What has this kind of agitation ever achieved for Ireland," asked a person at one of the National Association meetings. "It has given us Catholic Emancipation and Peter Paul MacSwiney as Lord Mayor," returned Dillon, triumphantly. The Fenian wags seized on this gleefully. "What has agitation achieved for Ireland," one of them would cry out on the gallery of the Theatre Royal, and others would sing back in chorus: "It has given us Peter Paul MacSwiney for Lord Mayor."

The Election of 1865.

At the General Election of 1865 Dillon was returned to the British Parliament for Tipperary and to the best of his ability served Ireland there. But he was one of the few candidates endorsed by the National Association who was not a place-hunter or place-beggar. Himself incorruptible he assented to the glaring doctrine in the case of Charles Barry, afterwards the notorious Serjeant Barry and eventually Judge Barry, that it was not the province of

the National Association to support the Tory against the Whig—the Whig here being a Government placeman. His utter inability to understand how the pledge of the National Association and this doctrine were merely devices to make support of the English Liberals and place-hunting seem virtuous was astounding. His absolute honesty no man could ever question. He was honest to the hour of his death, but none was more easily blinded by skilful flattery. As Mitchel said of him, he was all wrong about almost everything, but a better man than most men who were all right.

George Henry Moore declined an invitation from the Nationalists of Wexford to stand for that county. If Ireland had seemed almost a corpse on the dissecting table to Gavan Duffy it seemed to him now a "corpse in a state of decomposition too far gone even for the uses of body-suatchers and alive only in the vitality of the reptiles that feed on its decay." Referring to the National Association, he wrote to the people of Wexford:—"As lately put forward in Dublin and particularly throughout the country 'Independent Opposition' is a fraud and a snare, and as I do not wish to bind myself to a political intrigue by wearing the same colour as its promoters I prefer for the present at all events to refrain from contact with public affairs."

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