

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

A forged circular letter headed "The Socialist Party of Ireland" was sent out this week to the Catholic clergymen of Ireland. It affected to be sent in support of Count Plunkett's Conference, the object being to associate that Conference in the eyes of the Irish priests with matters the forger considered Irish priests would repudiate and oppose. The object of the forgery which the "Freeman's Journal" printed in its columns on Monday, was the same object with which the "Freeman's Journal" 38 years ago forged the "Papist Hat" story.

At that time Parnell was gradually but surely crushing the Placehunters whose organ in the Press then as now was the "Freeman's Journal." For three years it had struggled to destroy him as it had previously struggled to destroy Henry Grattan and Daniel O'Connell. In May, 1877, it denounced him as the enemy of Home Rule—"The question, raised by the action of Messrs. Biggar and Parnell," it wrote, in its issue of 26th May, 1877, "is shall the Home Rule Party exist or shall it perish. . . It is high time for the country to pronounce upon the attempt to break up the Home Rule Party and those who are determined to maintain its unity and existence may fearlessly invite its verdict, confident what that verdict will be." The establishment of the Land League gave the hoary organ of the Placehunters new material, and it painted Parnell and his colleagues to the Irish people as unscrupulous men who were luring the tenant farmers into a hopeless fight for their own selfish ends.

"It is easy to catch a cheer from a crowd by a violent phrase," wrote the "Freeman's Journal," on June 12th, 1879, "but it would be a terrible responsibility to advise the unhappy Irish occupiers to enter a battle with the law. The law is too strong for them, and the only consequence of a quarrel with it would be utter ruin."

The "Freeman's" effort to smash the Land League and keep the tenant-farmer a serf of the soil failed, because Charles Stewart Parnell was Charles Stewart Parnell, strong as granite and incorruptible. In a last effort to ruin Parnell, the "Freeman's Journal" forged a story to the effect that Parnell had spoken of Irish Catholics as "Papist Rats." It hoped that this would raise Catholic feeling against him and drive him from public life. The story proved a boomerang. Its falsity was demonstrated and the dastardly "Freeman" was forced to grovel before the man whom its forgers had failed to destroy.

The forged circular issued this week to the Priests of Ireland has evidently cost a fairly considerable sum of money for printing and postage; but if it were to deceive even 5 per cent. of the Irish priesthood the forgers would, we believe, consider the sum well-spent. As it is we have heard of but one Irish priest who has been duped. The parish priest of Bray on Sunday last read the forgery to his congregation, at Mass. The villainy that plans to use the Altar of God for the publication of a forgery and to use credulous priests as the instrument of its dissemination has not hitherto been equalled in the black history of the Placehunter in Ireland.

Up to Monday last 68 Borough Councils, County Councils, Urban Councils, Rural Councils, and Poor Law Boards had appointed delegates to Count Plunkett's Conference; 101

National Organisations and 14 trade and labour bodies have also appointed delegates.

Mr. John Dillon declares he is anxious for a General Election to see what the Irish voters are thinking about. He can discover this at any moment by getting his seventy marionettes to resign their seats and go up for reelection.

Since we called public attention to the manner in which the Department of Agriculture was helping to kill off the Dublin potato factors in the interest of profit-making for the North of Ireland potato trade, two of the four-hundred pounders who mis-represent Dublin in the British Parliament and whom the people of Dublin will fire out when they get the opportunity of an election, have "waited upon the British Chief Secretary." When the factors asked one of these men to champion their case, before we exposed what was happening, he, we are informed, ignored them.

"The North of Ireland Produce Co."—of which Mr. T. W. Russell, Vice-President of the Department, or his friend, Mr. H. F. Barrie, M.P., the giant-exporter of potatoes from this country, might, perhaps, tell us something, has appointed, we are informed, Mr. S. N. Robinson as their agent in Dublin. At what price per ton has Mr. S. N. Robinson been selling potatoes? The Dublin potato factors have been pointed out by the Department of Agriculture, and by the inspired press, as oppressors of the consumer, because they attempted to sell potatoes at a profit of 5s. a ton. At the same time some Northern merchants have been helped to make 30s. a ton, and these Northern merchants have in many cases demanded 10s. a ton more than the legal price. None of them have been prosecuted. The whole affair seems to us a cool attempt to hand the control of the potato-business of Dublin over to certain people in the North of Ireland—a continuance of the game that has been going on for years past, though the Department of Agriculture and other Government agencies, to bolster up Unionist Ulster at the expense of the remainder of Ireland.

When the Department of Agriculture explains why it prosecutes Dublin potato factors for asking a certain price per ton for potatoes, while it does not prosecute Northern potato factors for asking a higher price still, it may use the opportunity to also explain the present position of the Ulster Linen Industry—to tell us for instance whether cotton is being used by certain Ulster Linen manufacturers in the manufacture of the product styled Irish Linen—and if so, when these manufacturers will be prosecuted by the Department—these manufacturers being upright, God-fearing, loyal, and industrious Ulstermen who will not have Home Rule.

We have received from Mr. H. L. Glasgow, the Unionist Mentor of Cookstown, who informed the world that Ireland has prospered under the Act of Union, and who has twice evaded answer to our facts, another column-and-a-half column of evasion. Once again we invite Mr. H. L. Glasgow to answer our questions.

At the period of the Union Ireland was more densely populated than England. Now England is nearly five times more densely populated than Ireland. At the period of the Union there were a million more people in Ireland than there are now, while there were 27 millions of people less in England than there are now.

At the period of the Union the Irish owed

a National Debt of roundly £5 10s. per head, while the English owed a National Debt of £46 per head. Now the English (pre-war figures) owe £18 10s. per head and we owe £18 10s. per head.

At the period of the Union Ireland was one of the lightest taxed countries in Europe, while England was the most heavily-taxed. Now Ireland is the most heavily-taxed country in the world in proportion to her income.

At the period of the Union Ireland was described by William Pitt, the English Premier, and Lord Chancellor Clare as the most rapidly-prospering country in Europe while England was on the verge of bankruptcy. Lord Chief Justice Bushe said England's object in forcing the Union was to destroy Ireland's prosperity in the interests of England's manufacturers.

At the period of the Union the artisans of Dublin were better paid than the artisans of London. At the period of the Union Ireland grew all her own food, manufactured every necessity and many of the luxuries of life, was self-contained and self-supporting.

At the period of the Union Ireland traded direct with the world at large. Her overseas trade was as 12 to England's 88. It is now as 3 to England's 99.

Mr. H. L. Glasgow may take these facts and state categorically his pious belief that each of them indicates that Ireland has prospered under the Union. We shall print his profession of faith. It is clear, however, that if Ireland has prospered under these circumstances then England has declined—that England's increased population and trade are evidences of decay. Why then does Mr. Glasgow want to keep this prosperous Ireland of his chained to a decaying England?

Two countries are nominally united. The one decays in population, industry, trade, and increases in taxation. The other increases in population, industry, and trade and decreases in taxation. And some three-quarters of a million of the people of Ireland are hoodwinked by political adventurers, economic exploiters, and journalistic ignoramuses into the belief that the Union has made them prosperous. Mr. H. L. Glasgow in an effort to get away from facts—than which is nothing is more unpalatable to a Unionist Journalist—attempts to confuse sparsely-populated countries with Ireland. The population question in Ireland is not one of sparsity—it is one of decline. There is no declining population in any other country in Europe. When a nation declines in population it does so from one of two causes (1) moral degeneracy or (2) political and economic oppression. The Irish are not moral degenerates.

We invite Mr. Glasgow to point out any civilised country in the world to-day, except Ireland, where the population is falling year by year. If he cannot do so let him cease to falsely allege, while Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants are equally disappearing from their native land under the operation of the infamous Act of Union, that that Act spells prosperity to Ireland.

A correspondent writes to us that a prominent member of Devlin's A.O.H. in Enniskillen has circulated the story that the election expenses for North Roscommon were supplied from the National Aid Funds. The story has been circulated by the Devlinites in order to

injure the collection for the relatives of the dead and imprisoned Irishmen and those released prisoners who have not yet been able to obtain employment. It is, of course, a malicious falsehood—worthy of the creatures who cheered the announcement of the shooting of their fellow-countrymen.

We learn from the English Press that the Russian refugees in England whom Mr. Lloyd-George's Government arrested with intention to return them to the Czar, have now been released by request of the new Russian Government. The same Mr. Lloyd George who withdrew the right of asylum in the case of political refugees now congratulates the "Russian Democracy" on the overthrow of the Russian Government on whose instructions the English Government acted.

Life in Bucharest, the Capital of Roumania, now under the control of the Central Powers, is described by the Balkan Correspondent of the "Gazette de Hollande," a pro-Ally organ: As in the days before the war swept like a cold blast across the fertile fields of Roumania, he writes, so now the town is essentially a centre of diversion and amusement. A recent census taken by the German authorities shows that comparatively few of the inhabitants followed the Roumanian troops as they fell back. Only the rich—their pockets lined with war profits—hurried across to Russia, where they are now regretting their precipitancy in leaving their luxurious mansions. In the early days no illumination was allowed at night, and robbery became rampant, while freedom was so far restricted that no one was allowed out after 9 p.m., says the correspondent. Now the town is a blaze of light. The theatres and other places of amusement are thronged as heretofore, and the cafes are open on alternate days till 1 a.m. (otherwise 11 p.m.). Even the working classes seem to appreciate the new order of things. There is abundance of work, and wages have never been so high. The town, and indeed the whole country is of course under military rule. The German General von Tuelf is at the head of affairs. He had similar posts in Northern France and Poland, where he gave evidence of organising ability of no mean order. Within a month of his arrival everything was working like clock-work. The German Governor-General is assisted by representatives of Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. As far as possible the Roumanian officials have been allowed to remain at their posts, and no changes have been introduced in the civil regulations, save that the Prefect receives his instructions from the German military commander. The populace thus finds no great difficulty in the new order of things, though they note with satisfaction that business with public departments is transacted with much more expedition and straightforwardness than before.

This description from an unfriendly source of "Roumania under the Huns" will comfort the friends of that Small Nation. In regard to the Roumanian Oil Industry, the Dutch correspondent states that the United States representative worked hard to prevent the Roumanians resuming work. "He exerted himself," he writes, "to prevent the resumption of work in the petroleum industry, insisting that the Entente Powers would withdraw their promise to make good any damage done, if the Company supplied the enemy with oil, etc. He had apparently a double end in view, first to serve Entente interests, and secondly to injure the Roumanian petroleum industry as much as possible to the advancement of that of America. While normal diplomatic relations subsisted between Germany and the United States, it was impossible to ask for the recall of the American representative alone and all the neutral representatives were therefore included in the demand. Some scepticism is evinced in Bucharest as to the promises of compensation made by the Entente."

Observe that the American Minister was working against Roumanian interests while America was professedly neutral. So the Standard Oil Company of America is in this war for Justice, Humanity, Civilisation and the Rights of Small Nations, and if incidentally the competition of the Roumanian oil-fields should be squelched the Standard Oil Company will meekly submit to the decrees of Providence.

Our reference to the Beet Sugar cultivation in Ireland and how it was nipped in the bud

at Mountmellick has brought us considerable correspondence, seeking further information on the subject. The history is briefly this: Some 60 years ago experiments made in Ireland showed that Ireland was better adapted for the beet sugar industry than Germany, France or Belgium, where it now flourishes—the yield of the beet being greater for while a 9 per cent. yield in those countries is reckoned good, Ireland yielded beet giving up to 17 per cent.—a record. In 1852 two chemists carried out tests on 118 beets grown in Ireland and these yielded the following analysis:—

Above 12 per. cent of Sugar	10.17
Between 11 and 12 do.	7.60
Between 10 and 11 do.	16.12
Between 9 and 10 do.	27.12
Between 8 and 9 do.	15.25
Between 7 and 8 do.	13.56
Between 6 and 7 do.	1.70
Under 6 do.	8.50

From this, 76 per cent. of the beet grown in Ireland was suitable for profitable sugar-making; the other 24 per cent. was not suitable for sugar but was suitable for distilling.

The richest sugar beet was grown in Kilkenny and Cork, and in response to a persistent movement in favour of establishing the beet sugar industry here a start was made at Mountmellick. What happened at Mountmellick was what happened in connection with the establishment of direct steamship connections between Galway and New York. British interests saw to it that the factory was a failure. Dr. Sullivan has left an account on record of what happened which exhibits the manner in which hostile interests work against the establishment of any great industry in Ireland.

Two old buildings, said Dr. Sullivan, were offered to the promoters at Mountmellick, one on the banks of the Canal, and another half-a-mile away from the Canal; the one a half-a-mile away from the Canal was selected. Beet machinery, especially the portion of it where the sugar is separated from the syrup by centrifugal machinery, requires a very high speed; it requires a new building to put it in; an old one was taken. Next, the boiler that was used was one that had been worked for the whole of the beet season in Belgium, where it was purchased, and it required 400 tons of coal to work it when it was properly set. It was so set that it burnt 800 tons. A proper factory would have required about 200 feet of pipes which should be covered, because for the evaporation a good high pressure of steam is required; there were in place of that 800 feet of uncovered pipe. The beet is at its best in the months from September to November. They did not begin manufacturing till February. The beet is also stored so as to keep it from rain and wet when it is not worked immediately; they put it in the middle of a field where half the time it was flooded. They required about 15 horse power; they used three engines to produce over 30 horse power, and one of them which was the patent of one of the promoters, required more steam than would have worked the whole machinery. The whole effective power of a factory of this kind depends upon the rasps; the beet was at the time rasped into pulp. The rasp consisted of two drums revolving which were to be fed. The old mill was so adapted as a factory that they carried the roots from the ground up to the top and washed them at the top, and then let them down to the ground floor, whence they were again lifted to the drums, and these were so set that only one rasp could be used; so that when the rasps of that factory were at work only half of the normal product that ought to have been produced was obtained. Then there was nobody who had ever boiled a ton of sugar in his life. The workman who actually produced the sugar was a copper-smith from Belgium, and a good copper-smith too. The superintendent of the factory had never seen any sugar boiled, and the only thing he knew about it was that he had been one of Garibaldi's men in Rome.

Of course the factory collapsed, and the English Government announced that Ireland was proved unsuitable for the cultivation of the beet. Thus £3,000,000 a year of Irish money was returned to English Capitalists, English shippers, and English traders. The captain of the first vessel that sailed direct from Galway to New York and back again, ran his vessel on the only possible rock in

Galway Harbour, and thereafter retired to become a landed proprietor and a Justice of the Peace. What happened to the superintendent of the Mountmellick Beet Sugar Factory we do not know. But we daresay he became a landed proprietor and a Justice of the Peace, too, like the skipper who saved the ports of Liverpool and Southampton from the competition of Galway.

If the sugar-beet industry had been permitted in Ireland, sugar would be abundant and cheap to-day and about a hundred thousand people would be directly or indirectly supported by the industry. It is one of the industries Ireland will develop under a National Government. What it means to a country—even a very rich country, may be seen from the following account of the industry in the United States, which we published a few years ago in an effort to turn the obsessed mind of this country to the thought of making Ireland one of the sugar-producing nations:—

Even in the countries whose governments foster and protect industries to the utmost many a stirring tale of extraordinary courage and final triumph is bound up with the struggles of enthusiasts determined to plough their way through seemingly insuperable difficulties to attain great industrial ends. How much more necessary is it then for us to nerve ourselves here in Ireland with the constancy of faith to the solution of our large industrial problems. The first factory to make beet sugar in California was started so recently as 1870, and though it passed through desperate crises, that factory is in full vigour to-day. The Press, vested interests, the usual scoffers at inexperienced enthusiasts, all predicted and did their utmost to effect the inevitable failure of the attempt to make beet sugar profitably. Investors were frightened off by every difficulty that was encountered being magnified a hundred-fold, and yet the industry lived and grew. Though many firms went down, mainly through failure of crops in 1872 and 1875, and though public confidence in the future of the industry was severely shaken by this cause and through the failure of the beet sugar makers to compete successfully against the cane sugar planters, the indomitable founder of the industry in California, E. H. Dyer, held on through a period when all over the States the beet sugar industry was in extremis. Even he in 1887 had to yield—for a short period—to superior forces, for in that year no beet sugar was made in the States. By persistent hard work the output grew from 500,000 lbs. in 1870 to the highest point, 1,906,300 lbs. in 1884. Let those of us who are interested in seeing this industry started in Ireland think of the way the man who conquered the adverse circumstances he met with went to work:—"Mr. Dyer began to study the beet proposition carefully and scientifically. He sifted out the peculiarities of the beet and analyzed its individuality that had been impressed upon it as a native of American soil. He applied new methods of handling juices. He studied often night and day to find new fields of economy, and actually reduced the cost of manufacture from ten to five cents a pound. Not only this, but he went out into the fields, he talked with the farmers, he taught them, he did his campaigning near the ground as he always had done, he studied the soils, so that in the early Eighties his beets tested as high as 14.37 per cent. sugar contents and a purity of 85.7 per cent., and after the experience of six years he demonstrated to the reluctant farmers what was in store for them. He faced all sorts of attacks, ridicule, and contempt, but never permitted himself to be a martyr, for there was too much dignity in beet culture. He faced such articles as the following with some amusement when he read:—

"Capital has been seduced into these ventures by plausible representations and magnificent figures. . . . Every good citizen who has a regard for the permanent prosperity of the State, whether engaged in sugar making or not, must regret so large an expenditure of money fruitlessly."

After the great breakdown of 1887, nothing daunted, Mr. Dyer improved his machinery, and in 1897 increased his tonnage capacity to 800 tons per day.

In a special report to Congress relative to beet sugar on May 22nd, 1900, President McKinley said of Mr. Dyer and his work:—"This is the pioneer plant in the United States for the manufacture of sugar from beets. Through his enthusiasm and persistence the factory at Alvarado continued to

make sugar out of sugar beets in the face of all opposition, vicissitudes, and adversity. The enterprise itself had to fight its way into public favour as a plausible proposition."

From the very start he gave his money, energy, and ability to build up the industry and educate public opinion in regard to it. In season and out of season he advocated the adaptability of California for producing beet sugar. To-day eight large successful factories in California are the tribute to this great industrial patriot's work, reaching in 1903 an output of 160,000,000 pounds, £1,200,000 in value, with a home consumption of 101,577,800 pounds in a population of 1,485,053. It has been steadily on the increase since.

Suppose Ireland's consumption of sugar was the same, although our population is three times that of California, and that she only supplied herself, we should be able to have five factories going regularly for the supply of our own home demand alone. We need men like Dyer to set the industry in Ireland. Three sons and two nephews of our Californian exemplar have thoroughly educated themselves in the art and science of sugar making, also in factory designing and construction. They with their father "delved into German laboratories, scrupulously studied details with microscope and polariscope, had mastered the mechanical part, and waged a relentless war on all obstacles that had crossed their path."

One is a mechanical engineer, another an expert of designing and construction, another a specialist on every day operation, another an analyst, but each a sugar expert first.

Two of them have gone into the sugar machinery construction business and have already constructed 23 beet sugar factories within the United States.

We have not hesitated to go thus fully into the history and acts of these men, because their whole story and their present work is of intense and immediate interest to all who hope to see this industry re-created in Ireland. But further, the history of what was done at Mountmellick is in such utter contrast to that of California that the steady effect of the latter may nerve us to grapple with the problem in a more manful and business-like way. And it is as likely as not, when Ireland settles down to work on this problem, that we shall have to consult these successful specialists about our plans.

What prospects are there for, let us suppose, a number of Irishmen who believe in growing beet for sugar and wish to get the industry on its feet? We know that some Cork farmers grew beet 30 years ago and got 13 to 17 per cent. sugar content, but as there was no factory the farmers could not dispose of the crop and gave up growing it. The weight of evidence given at the Irish Industries Commission of 1885 was strongly in favour of Ireland as a country adapted for growing beet for sugar. An eminent expert, Baruchson, examined in regard to climatic conditions in Ireland, said:—"A moist climate with moderate sun is what the beet requires, and such is the climate of Ireland." And Professor W. K. Sullivan, of the Queen's College, Cork, at the same enquiry, made it clear as the results of experiments that sugar beet could be grown in Ireland with a minimum average of saccharine matter to ensure the supply of any factories that might be established. And when Sir Robert Kane was

asked did he know of any reason why Ireland should not be a great sugar manufacturing country, "I know of none," was the reply.

Let us see the value of this industry and its wonderful growth. In a paper read before the Kansas City Sugar Congress, Mr. Palmer, Secretary of the American Beet Sugar Association, told how "in 1840 the world used about one million tons of sugar, less than five per cent. of which was derived from beets. In 1890, the world's sugar consumption had increased to six million tons, only to be doubled last year, when the crop exceeded twelve million tons, over seven millions of which were produced from sugar beets. Owing to the important bearing of home sugar production on the domestic economy of a nation, the statesmen and political economists of Europe have so legislated that over £120,000,000 have been invested in 1,500 beet sugar factories. In Germany, especially Central Germany and Saxony, beet sugar production is not only the chief industry, but is annually increasing in extent. Wherever it makes its way, writes Consul Thomas H. Norton, to the U. S. State Department, from Chemnitz, in the kingdom of Saxony, the whole countryside is changed in appearance. The houses and fields have been largely improved and the air of thrift and prosperity prevails. Japan is racing hard with Germany and America to capture the big markets of the East, and is building up a vast industry in beet sugar with feverish haste. Thousands of miles away, the farmers of Camperdown, in Natal, have met and decided to start a beet sugar factory with a capacity of about 300 tons. This is the standard advised by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. It costs £40,000 to build and equip.

When is Ireland going to capture her own vast trade in sugar for herself? When is she too going to have her share of the export trade of Europe?

One of the immediate needs of Ireland, an Irish priest suggests, is an Irish Examining Body. "Looking over the results of several Technical Schools I find that the Certificates gained by the students are for the most part from English Examining Bodies—the Society of Arts, etc. For modern languages these are purely written examinations—quite an English way of doing things. The certificates for piano and music in many convents are also from English Examining Bodies. Now to remedy this state of things I would suggest an Anglo-Gaelic examining Board that would issue certificates in all subjects taught in Intermediate Schools, e.g., Irish modern languages, shorthand, mathematics, music, etc. The schools would then have no excuse for sending examination fees to the other side of the Channel. In modern languages the examination should be purely oral and conducted by the teachers of the pupils with one or two extern examiners as a guarantee that it was of a sufficiently high standard. This is the system in all continental countries where education has made any progress. It is the University system and the system of the Gaelic Colleges—the only bodies in Ireland who enjoy academic freedom. As a result each Gaelic College has developed its own methods, its own outlook and its own ideals; whilst an Intermediate School in Ballymore would differ but little from an Intermediate School in Parnell Square. The same rigid programme prevails in all Intermediate Schools, and the writ-

ten examination for modern languages has become an obsession wherever a product of the Intermediate can be found, whether in the University or in the Gaelic League. A National Examining Body should not be overweighted with teachers. As one would expect the first and best books on Irish teaching methods came not from the University, Secondary, or Primary teachers, but from the ranks of the Civil Service. A National Examining Body would be the first step in establishing a National Civil Service, and as the Gaelic Colleges gave new ideas to all our schools so would this new body give new ideas to the various education boards that are completely out of touch with Irish life."

It is proposed we are informed to enter a Protest in name, and in behalf of, Scotland at the next International Congress.

The protest will embrace the following heads:—

(1) Protest against the exclusion of Scotland, which, notwithstanding of any pretended Act bearing to the contrary, is still as she ever was, a Sovereign State, and as such has an indefeasible national right to be present in quality of chosen Representatives at any International Congress or Conference.

(2) Protest against the right of England, or any other country not expressly authorised to do so, to appear, or speak in name and in behalf of Scotland, a Sovereign State at any such International Congress or Conference.

Wheatley's Picture of the Parliament of Ireland, painted during the actual existence of that Assembly, is the only authentic picture of the Sovereign Irish Parliament. Kenny's picture of that Parliament, painted for Henry Grattan, is, next to Wheatley's, the most valuable historical painting of the period. Henry Grattan who stated that Kenny's Picture took four years to arrange and paint, hoped the picture would be engraved and hung in the house "of every man who values liberty and his country." Messrs. Wilson Hartnell and Co. have now made Grattan's wish possible of realisation. They have reproduced the two pictures—the one in monochrome, the other in colours, and publish them at 1s. and 1s. 6d. each. They are by far the cheapest historical pictures ever reproduced and published in Ireland.

We are glad to welcome the first number of "Young Ireland"—a brightly-written and well-printed magazine for the young. If it keeps up to the promise of the first issue, it will fill a real want in our periodical literature.

An announcement of unusual interest is made by the Irish Theatre, Hardwicke Street, for the week of Monday, April 23rd. Ibsen's great 5-act play, "An Enemy of the People," will be produced for 6 nights at 8 p.m. and Saturday matinee at 2.30. Produced in Christiania in 1883 it is the Ibsen play most calculated to appeal to popular taste, and every line of the vital and amusing comedy appeals as effectively to-day. The impulsive, generous and childlike Dr. Stockmann is generally held to represent the author's own attitude at an important crisis in his career. "An Enemy of the People" is included in all Continental Theatre repertoires, and the Irish Theatre is to be commended for its enterprise in staging this play which presents unusual difficulties even for Theatres with all the usual resources at their disposal.

Two Famous Irish Pictures for Every Home

A NATIONAL HEIRLOOM.

The Parliament of Ireland

Painted by F. WHEATLEY, R.A.

Companion Picture to "The Irish Volunteers in College Green."

THE ONLY AUTHENTIC PICTURE OF THE SOVEREIGN PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, PAINTED IN 1780, DURING THE ACTUAL EXISTENCE OF THE ASSEMBLY

With Key

One Shilling. Per Post, One Shilling and Threepence.

For "Every Man who Values Liberty and his Country."

"Grattan's Parliament"

Facsimile, in colour, of the Celebrated Picture of Grattan's Parliament, painted by Nicholas Kenny, for Henry Grattan, M.P. WITH KEY. HENRY GRATTAN'S INJUNCTION RESPECTING THIS PICTURE:

"This Picture has occupied 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.

One Shilling and Sixpence. Per Post, One Shilling and Ninepence.

WILSON HARTNELL & Co., Commercial Buildings, DUBLIN

The Man for Longford!

Joseph McGuinness

Large Photo Badge, in Gilt Frame with safety pin—Post free, 6d. each. Special terms for quantities.

Irish Horn Rosary Beads in the Irish colours (green, white and orange) 9d., 1/-, and 1/3, postage 1d. extra—Irish Crochet bags to match 6d. extra.

The Soldier's Song—Full Musical Score and Piano-forte Accompaniment. Correct and original version of both words and music. 1/-, by post 1/4.

Beautiful Picture of Emmet, with his complete Speech at Trial, surmounted with pretty and suitable design; best paper: size 90m. x 22m.; post free 1/-, published at 2/6.

2/6 Irish Poplin Ties in the Irish colours (green, white and orange), with neat photo tie pin of any of the leaders—without pin post free 1/-.

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, 1/6, by post 1/8.

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

1/6 Cap Badge as used by the Dublin Volunteers, in gold or silver colour—same badge mounted on safety pin for brooch, 2/-.

7/6 Large Solid Silver Tara Brooch, beautifully enamelled in green, white and orange.

3/6 Silver 1816 Pike—3 1/2 inches long in form of brooch.

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

The Graves of Kilmorna—a story of '67, by Canon Sheehan. Post free, 5/8.

WHELAN & SON,
17 UP, ORMOND QUAY, DUBLIN.

Church Furniture.
Designer and Manufacturer,

JOSEPH P. KELLY
(Late Manager T. and C. Martin's Factory),
Specialist in Ecclesiastical Woodwork.

Factor: **Augier Place, Augier St., Dublin**
Best Designer in the Trade.

IRISH COAL I cannot supply yet (owing to want of Railway facilities), but Bright and Good Lancing **HOUSE COAL and SLACK** at Lowest Prices I can.

A. S. CLARKIN, Coal Merchant, 208 St. Brunswick St.
Special Quotation for Institutions. Phone 2769, Dublin

IRISH NATIONAL AID AND VOLUNTEER DEPENDENTS' FUND.

The Gift Sale in aid of the Funds of the above will be held at the Supper Room, Mansion House, on Friday and Saturday, the 20th and 21st days of April, 1917. The articles to be offered for Sale may be viewed at the Mansion House, on the 18th and 19th insts., between 12 and 5 p.m. The Sale will commence each day at 12 o'clock. Admission to the Sale will be by Catalogue which is now ready and can be had at the Office of the Association, 10 Exchequer St., Dublin, price 1s.

This Sale affords an unique opportunity for Collectors of Old Irish Books, MSS., Curios, etc.

The pictures which form a representative collection of works by the most eminent living Artists, include blank Canvases by William Orpen, John Lavery, and Gerald Kelly, and Etchings, Drawings, etc., by Augustus John, Herbert Railton, Jack B. Yeats, Morrow, etc. Connoisseurs will do well to avail themselves of an opportunity which is not likely to recur in the annals of the Dublin Auction Rooms.

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All business communications to the Manager,
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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21st, 1917.

LONGFORD!

Four candidates appeal to the voters of South Longford. Three of them—Messrs. Flood McKenna, and Garrahan, stand for John Redmond and all Mr. Redmond is pledged to—including Conscription for Irishmen—to which Mr. Redmond pledged himself in the English House of Commons on December 21st, 1915. On that night he offered to support the conscription of his fellow-countrymen any time England should prove it necessary for England's success in this war.

The fourth candidate is Joseph McGuinness, a prisoner in Lewes Jail, where together with Professor MacNeill, Eamonn de Valera and a hundred others of his countrymen, he performs the convict's task, clad in convict garb, day by day. He is a felon according to the Law of England, equally with Tone, with Emmet, with Mitchel, with Meagher, with Smith-O'Brien, and with John O'Leary—all of whom were felons according to that law. The voters of Longford are asked to choose between Joseph McGuinness, of Lewes Jail, who will not support Mr. Redmond, or conscription, and Messrs. Flood, McKenna, and Garrahan, who are prepared to take £400 a year, the Party Pledge, and Mr. John Redmond's instructions.

We do not doubt the choice of the people of Longford. They will not embarrass Mr. Redmond by sending him a recruit like Mr. Flood, or Mr. McKenna, eligible for the English army. They will elect as their representative Joseph McGuinness, and from Lewes Jail he will represent them before the world.

The defeat of the corrupt and slavish Parliamentary Party in North Roscommon convulsed English politics. The defeat of the corrupt and slavish Parliamentary Party in South Longford will end the yoke of the jobber and trickster who prostituted Ireland's honour, betrayed Ireland's cause, and essayed even to sell the life-blood of the Irish people. The Whig and the placehunter are twin curses

of Irish politics—the twin powers that enable England to divide, distract, and impoverish our country—that dash the cup of freedom again and again when Ireland's hand is outstretched and hope returns to her eyes—the dark forces that ensnared O'Connell—that ruined Repeal, that smashed the Tenant League, that wrecked Home Rule—the thuggery from whose stranglehold Ireland, choking to death, thrice in the past hundred years, has only been saved by the sacrifice of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of Irishmen—the Whig and the Placehunter defeated in Roscommon can be destroyed in Longford.

When Longford returns Joseph McGuinness as its representative, it will have completed the work Roscommon begun—it will have killed the Whig and the Placehunter in Irish politics for our generation—pray, God, for all generations—and it will have spoken to the world with a strong voice the truth that the men who represent Ireland's hopes, Ireland's rights, and Ireland's heart are not the men whom England receives in her Parliament.

Now, Longford! Let the spirit that animated Tipperary in 1869 to elect O'Donovan Rossa as its representative animate your voters today. For four years the Fenian prisoners had been treated with a greater brutality in the prisons of England than was meted out to the vilest English criminals. Then Gallant Tipperary chose the man among them whom England most slandered and elected him as its fit and proper representative, and the world from Washington to Madrid and Paris and Petersburg awoke to the fact that there was an Irish question, and that Irish political prisoners were treated as ordinary convicts. The election of Rossa for Tipperary forced the release of the Fenian prisoners. The election of Mr. McGuinness for Longford will end the treatment of the Irishwoman in Aylesbury and the Irishmen in Lewes as common convicts. The election of Mr. Flood, or Mr. McKenna, or Mr. Carrahan would mean nothing to the outside world, but the election of Joseph McGuinness will find an echo in Paris, in Washington, and in Petrograd.

Let, therefore, every voter who loves his country and desires its freedom and its welfare—who believes that neither the welfare nor the freedom of Ireland can be advanced until the domination of the Placehunter in Irish politics is overthrown—who realises that Ireland is a nation with a nation's rights, and who apprehends that the coming Peace Conference affords Ireland an opportunity for the assertion of those rights such as she has not had since the Act of Union—let every such man in Longford work for the triumphant return of the Man in Jail for Ireland—and the Longford Election of 1917 will hereafter shine on the pages of the history that records how Ireland passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death into the light of life and freedom.

Three persons all eager to take the pledge, to sit, act, and vote as Mr. John Redmond directs in the English Parliament—thus acquiring £400 a year—have appealed to the voters of South Longford. How the followers of Mr. John Redmond act and vote in that institution is illustrated by study of the recent issues of Hansard. A Bill was introduced recently to relieve the British Exchequer of one-half its monetary responsibility for the administrative expenses of British War Pensions Committees and throw the moiety on the ratepayers of the district in which the War Pensions Committee exists. The Redmondites offered no opposition to the Bill, which has now become law.

It was left to a Scottish member to protest that Ireland was unfairly treated under the Bill, and he secured that the amount the ratepayers should be responsible for would be one-third, not one-half. Henceforth, the ratepayers in Ireland will have the privilege of paying one-third the administrative expenses of every British War Pensions Committee

in Ireland, and they will have the consolation of reflecting that the 70 persons they sent to the English Parliament as "Pledge-Bound members of the Party" were willing they should be mulcted in even more.

But on the other hand, occasions do arise when the Redmondites muster in force in the English House of Commons and make their pressure felt. Some time ago a private Bill, promoted by the English South-Eastern and Chatham Railway Company was thrown out of the English Parliament. It was a Bill for the strengthening of Charing Cross Bridge, and the opposition to it of men like John Burns was frank and vehement. They said rude things about the meaning of the Bill, and put, as one of its supporters complained, "The South-Eastern and Chatham Co. in the dock."

Again the Bill was introduced and a strange thing happened. The Redmondite Party turned up in full force to support. The biggest muster of the Party seen for weeks appeared "on the floor of the House," to overcome the opposition of John Burns and his colleagues to the mysterious Bill. By their vote they carried its first reading. They turned up again in strength to support its second reading and helped to carry it against vehement opposition. The Bill is now on its way to the Statute Book and the English Railway Company is rejoicing.

All reference to this kind of thing is omitted from the newspapers published in Ireland. It is a kind of thing that is constantly going on. The "Freeman's Journal" is careful not to inform its readers that with the acquiescence of the Redmondites the local rates in Ireland are now to be made part liable for the payment of War Pensions Committees' administrative expenses. It is much too modest to chronicle the fact that some Redmondite M.P.'s who kept away when the British Government was thus adding a new burden to the Irish ratepayers attended in full strength in the House to support an English Railway Co. in pushing through a Bill bitterly opposed by the representatives of the districts affected. It was not in the interest of Longford, or Roscommon, or Limerick, or Dublin, or Belfast that the Redmondite Party voted for an English Railway Company's opposed Bill. It was not in the interest of the Irish ratepayer, the Irish taxpayer, of the Irish farmer, the Irish labourer, the Irish artisan, the Irish merchant that three-fourths of the Redmondite Party turned up to force through an English Company's Railway Bill. These men did not cast a vote against the mulcting of the Irish ratepayer for War Pensions Committees. They cast four-fifths of their available votes for the Private Bill of an English Railway Company. Why? We would give any voter in South Longford or elsewhere in Ireland one guess, and provided he is not born an idiot, or had idiocy thrust upon him by reading leading articles in the "Freeman's Journal," we guarantee he would guess right. It is good for the South Eastern and Chatham Railway Company that Irish constituencies elect men who take so kindly an interest in helping it to pass its little Private Bills. But what do the voters of Longford think about it. Will they elect another—"I-vote-for-the-South-Eastern-and-Chatham-Railway-Company," or will they choose as their representative a man who stood and stands for Ireland?

The Gift Sale which has been organised on behalf of the National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund will be held at the Mansion House, Dublin, on Friday and Saturday of this week, commencing at 12 o'clock each day. Apart altogether from its object, which naturally makes particular appeal to patriotic Irishmen and women, the Sale will be one of almost unique artistic and literary interest. Even a cursory glance through the elegantly produced catalogue is sufficient to reveal the amazing variety and attractiveness of the Collection of rare gifts which the energetic workers of the Committee have been able to acquire. In all there are four hundred objects comprising Curios of all kinds, Jewellery, Cut Glass of rare manufacture and design (including some choice examples of the world famous Waterford manufacture); Paintings Drawings, and Etchings, by famous artists; and a most tempting array of rare editions of books, many with inscriptions by their authors. With this Section also is grouped many almost priceless manuscripts and autograph letters from Irishmen

whose names have become familiar indeed as "household words."

In the Art Section there are many fine examples of contemporary Portrait Painting: a "Drawing" by Augustus John, presented by the artist, and a signed Etching, "Classical Subject," and a charcoal sketch by the same artist presented by Miss L. Slade and Miss E. Solomons, who has also contributed other interesting gifts. There are also gifts of original pictures by Messrs. John B. and Jack Yeats; Norman Morrow, Jack Morrow, Miss L. Williams (portrait studies of Sean Mac Diarmada and Padraic Pearse); Miss Mary Duncan, Dermot O'Brien (President Royal Hibernian Academy); P. Tuohy; Paul Henry and others. Mr. L. E. O'Carroll has given some choice etchings and engravings, and six Bartolozzi Prints in Sepia. But perhaps the most interesting feature of this Section are the blank canvasses presented by three artists of European reputation—Messrs. John Lavery, William Orpen, and Gerald Kelly, who have generously undertaken to paint portraits of the highest bidders for the canvasses.

In the Book Section there is provided an opportunity for the collection of rare editions such as is rarely afforded. Many of the books and MSS. among these treasures would not have been parted with by their possessors for any consideration except the lofty one which has actuated all the donors to this collection. In fact there is such an embarrassment of riches here, that it is absolutely impossible to select individual items, and we can do no more than to refer book-lovers to the catalogue. Among the manuscripts are autograph letters by Clarence Mangan, William Carleton, John O'Leary, Gavan Duffy, Lionel Johnson, J. M. Synge, William Rooney, Ethna Carberry, Ellen O'Leary, as well as such extremely interesting items as two Bills of Exchange and a Cheque on La Touche's Bank, signed by Henry Grattan.

All the objects can be viewed on the two days preceding the Sale at the Supper Room, in the Mansion House, which has been kindly lent by the Lord Mayor.

We have received per Messrs. Chas. Larkin and James Dowling £2 14s. 0d. for the National Aid Fund, being the balance of a public subscription raised for Masses for the repose of the souls of those who died during Easter week, 1916.

Mr. Edward Walsh, gardener at Ealing Park, London, has just brought to perfection a new type of Amaryllis Lily bearing three immense blooms. Jersey-striped, named "Easter Week." It has been purchased by an Irish lady for five guineas.

Gaelic League, Dublin.

The Dublin Feis Examinations, beginning on April 16th, will be continued each evening until May 7th.

Branch Examinations, April 16th to 26th. Candidates will be examined in their own Branch Rooms.

Intermediate Schools' Examinations, April 28th, in the Technical Schools, Parnell Square (kindly lent for the Feis by the Dublin Committee of Technical Instruction).

Scholarship Examinations, April 30th to May 3rd, Keating Branch Rooms, 46 Parnell Square.

Primary Schools' Examination, May 5th, Technical Schools, Parnell Square.

History Examinations, "Best Writer," and "Best Speaker" Competitions, May 5th, Technical Schools, Parnell Square.

Dancing Competitions, May 4th.

Singing Competitions, May 7th, in Gaelic League Hall, Parnell Square.

On Wednesday, May 9th, a Grand Concert will be held in the Gaelic League Hall, to bring to a close what promises to be the most successful Feis yet organised in Dublin. Besides the Prize-Winners, many popular Irish-Ireland artistes will appear.

The Ceilidh of An Ard-Chraobh de Chonnradh na Gaedhíge will be held on Saturday next, April 21st, in the Gaelic League Hall, 25 Parnell Square, commencing at 8 p.m. (English time). Every effort will go to make it a success, and not only every Gaelic Leaguer but those interested in Gaelic League matters should make a point of being present at this, the last big Gaelic League function of the Session.

A FRAGMENT.

We have a poet who set out to form an audience, to educate his public, and to build, as it were, a smooth wall to echo his words.

He was not original. He borrowed the idea from the little Island of Atlantis, whose people use words instead of coins.

It is told of them that, from the earliest times, their custom has been to select their chiefs and those who are to rule and direct them by the size of their mouths. The man with the mouth best suited for minting words is made King by acclamation. A method proper to such people. The manner of choosing the King is this: He is put standing on a stone. He delivers his test oration (which is also his neck verse, for they are wild and exacting rhetoricians). If, as a result of his oratory, the stone on which he is standing begins to sound, it is held thus to signify its approval. He is hailed as King by all the people, with the exception of those who unsuccessfully contested the Kingship. But these are treated with contempt which is social death.

This test may seem unduly harsh to those unacquainted with the island, but when it is remembered that they use words instead of money as a means of fixing Values in all the relations of their life—a coinage that, from its very nature, cannot be confined to the mere economic purposes of buying and selling, but becomes an idealistic mark and token of sublime values that can never be dealt with by the utterances of a more exclusive material mint—it will be admitted that no process of selection can be considered too exclusive where such high issues are involved and so much power is conferred; and when it is remembered that the god of their island is Echo, whom they worship by erecting walls and preserving ruins and gable-ends which can be seen to this day all over their country; and they have worshipped thus from a little before the Earliest Times.

Some say that these, the most cultured of peoples, require only the introduction of a precious metal standard for the less spiritual values, the values of goods and chattels, to become also the most civilized. But for my part I think that the introduction of gold and silver could not fail to corrupt them.

Some of their leaders whom I have met, old, aimless, deposed men who had lost the Kingship because their front teeth had been worn away by a life-long shouting of "Freedom" and other sacred words, and who were now emancipated from this rigid observance, and who, loaded with gold and honours, were cut adrift, confessed to me that they looked upon the islanders as a mad and idolatrous race, with all the narrow prejudice and intolerance of savages; that nothing could be done with them until they connected the sacred words with ideas and deeds, took charge of the economic life of their country and became responsible to themselves for its condition and their own. They suggested that they should appoint—not an orator—but an auditor to surcharge hyperboles, contradictions, and plenonances, and that the more popular gramophones (thus he was pleased to speak of the mouth-pieces of the people), that is, the most contradictory ones, should either be placed so as to play beside each other and at the same time, so that the silence might ensue from a general meeting of the modes of sound, or be silenced by withdrawing the sacred records removed from beneath them.

These opinions coming from those who had been enriched by acting as needles on the heretic records of their country, I could but consider as treacherous and ungrateful, and examples of the corrupting influences of a base metal coinage on an idealistic people.

From one of these, for a very small sum, I obtained a record which he assured me will provide me with a competence if ever my fortune should fail me. Backward and forward it reads the same.

The Song from the Disc.

Day not far Distant,
Distant far not Day.
Ray, a light persistent,
Persistent light, a ray.
Pay for what cheer starts up
Upstarts cheer—what?—for pay?
May never keep hearts up:
Up hearts, keep never May!
Could we O, need Suture
Suit your need, O we could!
Would you sell the Future?
Future thistle, vew-wood.
Tut! Things may in wreck go
Go wreck in May things? Tut!
But—worship we Echo;
Echo we worship—But—

LEADAR NA N-OILITREAC BPO LANNAC.

XI.

7. Faro a bi an meirio rin ar riudal, 'd'airis muintir na h-aithe geoin an aighear a bi aca da deunam, 7 'do riteodar ircead 7 'do comaineadar na deoraide amac ar an scoill.

8. Annpaon 'do copnaigeadar na deoraide ar veit as deunam buarfa 7 'do cuadar i gcomairle

9. Uí curd aca gá rúó supb é an ríolóro fé nveár bpríeas na luinge 7 bad maic leo é marbad aet bi fé bárdte ceana. Uí curd eile aca as cup an milleán ar na máirneulaig aet toirc gan aet beagán máirneulaic 'do veit aca ni feur-píoir cup eun faraise da marbdaigíoir iad 7 mar pin níor veineodar aet carcuirne tabairt uóid 7 spear ponomaide deunam rúca.

10. Uí curd aca gá áiteam supb i an gaoe doctuar fé nveár an longbpríeas. 'Do leas curd eile ar an ngeaie amiar é 7 'dubairt curd eile fóir sup éarraig pó tuinn fé nveár é. Asur 'd'ár aighear móir eacopra 7 'do maip an t-aighear fan bliain iomlán 7 níor veineodar eada.

11. Annpaon vubraodar: Scapam le céite 7 loirgeam rúigte beacáó uúinn féin. Asur vooeudar na riuinéirí i mbun tigte deunam, 7 na faoir cloide i mbun faoirpreacáta, 7 na daoine foglumanta i mbun leadar 'do ríolóro, gac ceárváide lena céirv féin.

12. Asur tápla go vóáiníg uúil móir aca ina vóir féin vfeirvint arir: ni feoirv curd vóid conur tigte tógáil ar nóir na vóáinúide n-iaracáta 7 níor feirv an curd eile leadar 'do ríolóro ra ceangain iaracáta.

13. Asur táiníg buairt oppa 7 'do cuadar i gcomairle arir.

14. Asur ví fear ionnpaic ar a mearc 'do ví ina toir go vóir fan, mar fear ríotcánta v'eas é; vubairt rírean leo:

15. As vobair 7 as tuitlean vup gcoáa vóaid. deapmáóann ríó go vfuilimíto le rílleas ar ar vóir féin, 7 ní raóamíto éarpar aet ar vóro árváig 7 ar muir.

16. Mar pin ve, leanáó gac doinne asarv as tógáil tigte nó as deunam vobair faoirpreacáta nó as ríolóro leadar, aet fan am gceuvna, ceannáigead gac doinne asarv tuas vó féin 7 foglumáigead cionnur rúamí 'do deunam.

17. Maíoir leir na máirneulaig aet ar ar mearc faigvóir eolar ar gac a mbáineann leir an vfarraige 7 le córváib 7 le gaoaráib.

18. Asur nuair a veimíó állam, raóamíto go vóir an cóill, asur veunpáimíto aracá go tararv, rará mberv uain as muintir an córvta ro ar éarvó tímeall. Asur máir fonn leo toirmeare vó cup ar an vobair córvnócamíto ríinn féin leir na tuasnaib.

19. Annpaon vubraodar: Toóamir ríolóro.

20. Teapraig ríeanaíolóro ó curd aca 7 ríolóro ós ó curd eile aca; a leicéro ríó a teapraig ór na raoraib cloide 7 a leicéro ríó ón luét fogluma. Asur 'do maip an t-aighear fan leacvbláóam, gan don ní 'do éinneas vóid.

21. I gcoinn na haimpíre rín, vubairt an fear ionnpaic leo: Toóarv ar vóáir ríuínéirí a veunpáirv árvac vóaid go beo, 7 bíóó fé ar an ríeannóir asarv go fóil mar nil uain asarv an éabairt féna málaric.

22. Asur nuair a veimíto ar vóro 7 amac ar an vfarraige, cívunneócamíto a vfuil ve máirneulaicáib ar ar mearc 7 órvócamíto vóid ríolóro 'do tógad óna mearc féin.

23. Ní mian leir na máirneulaicáib, aet com beag linne, go mbárvpíóde iad 7 da vpríg rín toórváirv ríad fear maic.

24. Asur má éirígeann eavpáinn annpaon beró veiréas leir an aighear láirveac, mar veunpáirv na rír lárvíre na rír laga 'do ceangal 7 cairpíto ríad amac ra vfarraige iad; aet ríad a veimíto annpaon ní beró veiréas le haon árvann córvóce, mar nil fé ceaváigte e vóinn doinne 'do marbad ná 'do caetad.

25. 'Do veineodar mar vubairt fé leo 7 'do ví v'ad oppa sup éirveadar eun farraige.

XII.

1. I gcomáirleáib 7 i gcomairleáib vóaid ná veimíto mar a veimíto luét na n-íódal v'adrváó.

2. 'Do copnaig curd asarv comáionóil 7 comairle 7 coméogair, neite iarpánn ciall 7 donvact, ar vinnéur nó ar ríurpéur, le hite 7 le hóil.

3. Cé v'airis ríamí ciall 'do teact a' vóilg lán ná ríotcáin a' ceann ar meirce; cé v'airis ríamí sup curveas tír ar a bonnaib arir le feoil 7 le fíon?

4. Síne an fáe ná héirígeann lena leicéroí rín ve comairleáib 7 ve coméogaraib, óir cívó-náigtear mar a copnaigtear.

5. Ir maic ir eol 'do leasáib, an gein a geintear ón árváir a veineann cpaor ar bíad 7 ar vís, go mberitear ina geit e 7 náe fáva buan vóil.

6. Mar pin ve, copnaigíóir vup gcomáionóil 7 vup gcomairle ar nóir vup ríreap, le hairpeann

v'éríveact 7 le corp órvíort 'do gíacáó, 7 cinnpíó ríó comairle ciallmara.

7. Ní feacáó doinne ríamí eavpántar vóir vóaine an lá cérvíóir go vóvóveas v'adá eun comáoine, ná go mbíóó eavla oppa an lá fan.

8. As vóil i gcomairle vóaid, umlárvíó ríó féin in vup ríúil féin, óir ní bíóinn an donvact aet mar a mbíóinn an umlárvéact.

9. Ní vubraó ríamí le vóaine: "Árvárvíó ríó féin eun na haonvacta," aet: "Cláonárv eun na haonvacta."

10. Asur an té 'do ceanglócaó vappáir na gcránn da céite ní móir vó iad 'do tubad. Lubárv vup ríurpínn mar pin 7 ceanglócaó ríad da céite.

11. In vup ríolláimíto vóaid ná veimíto don árvíur ar luét na n-íódal v'adrváó. Óir, an luét íódalárvárváca 'na gcomárvdeann ríó ar a mearc, ceiteadrváó a vfeirte nárvíunta, vóir ríeite árváir 7 ríeite vpróin, ar an don nóir amáin i gcomárvde, .i. le hite 7 le hóil: a mbórv ir árvóir aca 7 a mbórv ir v'ia aca.

12. Aet ríóve, ceiteadrváó vup vfeirte nárvíunta, ríeite an érvíge amac 7 ríeite gírochob 7 ríeite vabep, ceiteadrváó iad ar nóir vup ríreap, le vóil eun an teampáil ar v'árvárvín 7 le tprígead an lá go léir.

13. Asur an t-árvígead v'beró rírvárvta ó nbur mbeul asarv an lá fan tugarv vóir na ríreapárv é eun vup márvta, eun vup vóirve, 'do córvgead. Ní córvpíó ríagárvta ar bíe a leicéro rín ve ceiteadrváó, 7 ní gáó tigte móra 'do gíacáó ar éíor ná cívunnugead ar na rírvárvíóv as deunam gíeo.

14. Ná veimíto árvíur ar gíeuv euvárví luét na n-íódal v'adrváó. Óir, luét an íódalárvárvta, 'na gcomárvdeann ríó ina mearc, bad maic leo a mbpríeacv 'do deunam onórvac, 7 ní le vóirve vóon ceap é aet le hérvve. Asur gíeuvárv ríad iad féin i gcoirv 7 in éirvín, i rírvíníó 7 in órvárvíó, 7 ir córvmáil iad leir na rírvárvárvárv, a euvárvígeann iad féin i mbán 7 i vóevárv 7 a órvárví-ígeann iad féin, 7 da gírvárvne iad íreas ir márvemla a gceuv euvárví.

LIAM Ó RINN.

A CATHOLIC TO HIS ULSTER BROTHER.

Is there no bond of blood to you, my brother? We two have called her ours, the ancient Mother, And here we hope to rest from Life's temptation Building of souls our patriotic Nation.

Can we not stand amongst the purple heather To find that God we both revere together? Beneath this sky can come no bigot preaching To fling our lofty dreams to lowly teaching.

William or James, need we still hate each other For their dead sakes, my Irish-hearted brother? Can we not pray without fear of dissension "God save our land" with but the same intention?

If we from Derry walls were flung defeated, And you from Limerick town in speed retreated, One God is ours no matter what religion, One land we love and shall not have division.

Shall we divide? Ah, better take the token Of Ireland's luck and leave the shamrock broken - O! one green leaf, when four brought joy upon it, As Ulster lost—from Munster, Leinster, Connacht.

But Ulster lost with each green sod still crying For those dear dead who left us dreams undying O' Ireland's needs, O'Neill whose heart took fire And joined the sacred flames of Hugh Maguire.

Shall we not cry "Lamh Dearg abu" and glory In Cromwell's fall, in reading Clonmel's story, Or by the "Yellow Ford" who cheered most loudly As hand from hand we passed the same flag proudly?

Yea, we have gone with joyous hearts to follow Men of your thought by mountain, hill and hollow, Died for them, lived again, loved down the ages To bless them yet upon historic pages.

Emmet and Tone! Ah, half our pride uprooted, We were but dead if we such names refuted, Our well-beloved, dear brothers of our Sireland, We call with them "For God and Holy Ireland."

And do we mourn our Owen Roe less sadly, Or hold Lord Edward's claim more loved or gladly, Because of "popish" ways of Owen's praying, Or Edward went to other altars straying?

Do we forget or could our fond faith slacken A patriot's glow in owning Joy MacCracken, Who Belfast-born has helped the island's story And shed from Antrim's hills a sunrise glory.

Mitchel or Meagher! Ah, hear the dear names falling On no deaf ears, we welcome to you calling, "O dead long gone, O dead of recent slaying, From your chill hands we take the banner, praying."

Where this dear land forbids us to forsake her, Join with the one sweet voice to the same Maker, 'Our hate is one, our love is one the other, Lead on! or follow, O my Irish brother.'

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THE PLACE-HUNTER IN IRISH POLITICS.

VIII.—HOW THE PLACE-HUNTERS PLANNED TO WRECK HOME RULE.

(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.]

The Election of 1874.

Gladstone sprang the General Election of 1874 on the three countries without warning, hoping to take his opponents unprepared and win by surprise a victory which the unpopularity of his Government had rendered certain he could not win otherwise. His stratagem failed, for the Tories were returned to power, but it saved some of his avowed supporters in Ireland. Taken unawares, the Home Rule League had few candidates ready for the constituencies and little money to fight the battle with. It had therefore no choice in the majority of cases, but to accept the candidate who subscribed to the Home Rule pledge. Nominally over 60 Home Rulers were returned at the General Election. They agreed to form a separate party, but the principle of offering Independent Opposition to all governments which did not concede their demands was not accepted nor acted upon. On Irish questions the party to some extent acted together, but on other questions the members voted as they pleased. This rendered it ineffective. When the question was purely an Irish one, the Government and the Liberal Opposition nearly always joined against the Irish. On English and Imperial questions, where the Home Rule Party might have played off Liberal against Tory, three-fourths of the Home Rulers invariably voted with the Liberals. Of the Home Rule members, one-half at least were open to accept places for themselves or for their supporters, and of the other moiety there was not a dozen in earnest about Home Rule. The Home Rule Party introduced annually a Home Rule motion which was annually voted down by an annual combination of Whigs and Tories. It introduced many excellent Bills, which were equally derisively rejected. And had it not been for the good luck which brought a Tory Government into power coincidentally with the formation of the Home Rule Party, the party would have gone to pieces in a year, for a Liberal Government would have bought up half its members as it bought up the Independent Oppositionists 20 years before. The Tory Government had little use for Catholic Placehunters—it bought up the Protestant ones—the representatives of Ulster, who sold the Protestant Church Establishment.

Parnell.

However the rejection by the constituencies of the Catholic Whig Place-hunters for men who pledged themselves to independence of English Governments alarmed Cardinal Cullen and his Whig Bishops for that political power which they had used for twenty years against Irish Nationalism. Home Rule was a compromise between two sections in Irish Nationalism and one section of Irish Unionism, and it was not a popular compromise, although in the circumstances of the time it was necessary—for nothing could have been achieved by any of the three sections of themselves. To break up the basis on which it rested by founding a bogus Repeal Movement was the idea which suggested itself to the allies of the English Liberal Party who in 1854 backed Sadlier and Keogh to help an English Liberal Ministry, and in 1865 founded the "National Association" to help the Liberal leaders. As in 1865 John Blake Dillon had been used on account of his prestige as a Young Irelander, so in 1875 the attempt was made to utilise Gavan Duffy and P. J. Smyth, two other Young Irelanders. After the death of John Martin, Charles Stewart Parnell who had fought a gallant and unsuccessful battle as a Home Ruler in Dublin Co., and, declining to accept any aid from the impoverished purse of the Home Rule League, paid the whole expenses of the contest himself—two thousand pounds—was selected as candidate for Meath. A forged telegram was sent to Gavan Duffy stating that Parnell would probably retire if Duffy would stand and join

the Home Rule League. As Duffy was a Repealer, the object of the telegram was to involve him and the League, forcing the League into open opposition to him. Who forged the telegram is still unknown—it was sent in the name of Mr. John Dillon's brother. Duffy replied that being a Repealer he could not join the Home Rule League, but if Meath elected him as a Repealer he would accept election. Parnell's candidature was immediately pressed by the League and he was elected. The first attempt to use Gavan Duffy against the Home Rule League had failed. A more serious effort followed. In August, 1875, the O'Connell Centenary demonstration took place in Dublin. It was planned to use the occasion to found the bogus Repeal movement and under its aegis to restore the golden days of 1855-74 when the Irish representatives were chiefly in control of the Whig bishops and place-hunting, place-begging, and pledge-breaking were inscribed among the cardinal virtues. The Home Rule leaders were to be excluded from the O'Connell Centenary platform, which was to be occupied by a brave array of Catholic place-hunters, of whom the chief, Lord O'Hagan, was to pronounce the panegyric. By the exclusion of Butt and his colleagues the country was to be impressed with the idea that these men were in opposition to O'Connell's principles, and by the place-hunters' platform arranged for the occasion the country was to be impressed with the further idea that those who sought and accepted office were true disciples of the Father of his country—that place-hunting and place-begging were hall-marks of Irish Nationality. After that, a newspaper, with, if possible, Gavan Duffy as editor, was to be started to preach this version of O'Connell as the True Faith. Gavan Duffy had come to Ireland to attend the centennial celebrations. His account of the matter is that—"The Lord Mayor, Ald. MacSwiney, who was for the moment a personage of unusual importance, invited me to a conference of three persons at the Mansion House, the purpose of which was to found a new Repeal Association on the old lines of 1843, and a national journal to sustain its policy. I enquired who was to furnish the funds for so costly an undertaking as a daily paper, and he told me, after some hesitation, that in addition to his own large contribution, the Cardinal promised a substantial share of the capital. I demanded if the Lord Mayor knew that his Eminence regarded me, who was invited to direct those operations, as a man 'who ought to endure a long penance of bread and water before being permitted to serve his country again.' He rejoined that the Cardinal had altered his opinion on the point. I replied that I had not altered mine. I still thought that the policy of excluding priests from politics to make way for bishops, and excluding bishops to make way for archbishops, was execrable, that I had always striven to rear people able to judge and act for themselves; to rear men and citizens, not grown children or obedient mutes; and that I would be mad to undertake the task he designed for me where there existed differences of principle so fundamental and unchangeable."

The O'Connell Centenary.

On the day of the procession the Home Rule element insisted on the right to participate, and at the head of it. They were preceded by the Amnesty Car, a high vehicle from which it would be possible to step on to the guarded platform. P. J. Smyth, whose resentment at the minor part he was obliged to play in the Home Rule Movement hurt his vanity, and who had evidently been flattered with the prospect of being placed at the head of the new "Repeal Movement" sustained by the Bishops, was Chief Marshal, and failing to eliminate the Home Rule Confederation followers from the ranks, he ordered the traces of the Amnesty Car to be cut. The traces were cut and the horses removed by his sub-Mmarshals, but Charles Stewart Parnell, then a young and practically unknown man, rushed forward and with the help of others who procured ropes dragged the car to the platform in O'Connell Street and ranged it alongside. From the top of the car Charles Doran, of Queenstown, stepped on to the platform followed by A. M. Sullivan, Frank Hugh O'Donnell and O'Connor Power. Mr. Butt was then brought by his friends from the Imperial Hotel and conducted to the platform whence the Whigs had planned to exclude him. Lord O'Hagan did not appear to deliver the address which he had written to glorify O'Connell as the man who opened the road to Catholic preferment at the Bar and to ignore him as a Nationalist. O'Connell the Nationalist was to have been sunk in O'Con-

nell the ally of Whiggery. Peter Paul MacSwiney, the Lord Mayor, attempted to read a letter from the British Placeman who was to interpret O'Connell as the apostle of Whiggery and place-hunting and seek to impose his memory in this capacity as a spell upon the people to blind them to the villainies of a system which sold their interests and nationality for Government favours to a class. The mention of O'Hagan's name, however, roused a demonstration of hostility from the people, and when MacSwiney proceeded to glorify him as the "First Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland," and declared that O'Hagan "embodied the glorious conquest achieved by O'Connell when he flung open to all his countrymen those paths of honourable ambition which led to the highest rank of dignity," a storm of execration at the attempt to gild place-hunting with the appearance of patriotism and virtue burst from the vast assembly and MacSwiney hurriedly left the platform whence amid extraordinary enthusiasm Butt and the Home Rule leaders addressed the people. A. M. Sullivan closed the proceedings with a declaration that they would never be parties to separating O'Connell the Catholic from O'Connell the Nationalist and at his request the demonstration wound up with a declaration for National Independence. At the banquet that followed the intriguers attempted to ignore Butt and the Home Rule leaders in connection with the toast of legislative independence, although it had been agreed that one of them should, jointly with Gavan Duffy, respond to the toast. So ended the elaborate plot of the Catholic place-hunters in 1875 to wreck the Home Rule Movement.

The Advice of "The Times."

The English Whig Press was disappointed at the failure of the intrigue. Before the actual demonstration the "Times" had hinted to the Ministry to end the Home Rule Movement by buying up the leaders.

The career of O'Connell, said the "Times," taught much to England as well as to Ireland, and among other things it showed us the best way of treating Irish agitation—to make the agitators placemen. The wisest course would have been to place O'Connell on the Bench, and after a few years of sober work to make him Lord Chancellor of Ireland. . . . The very fact that he had been the most noisy agitator in his time, that he was a fervent Catholic, and that he was feared as well as hated by his Protestant countrymen would have crushed his rich humour under an overwhelming load of responsibility or even perhaps made him dull. . . . He would have besought the Irish people to shut their ears to the whisperings of the agitators who went about in his cast-off clothes. Ireland would have been recommended to forget and forgive. Repeal would have been denounced as the prompting of insanity, and the House of Commons would have been lauded as an assembly that would be perfect if aided by the confidence of the Irish people. That is what might have been. Fortunately it is not a vain retrospect. We have learnt that the best way to make a noxious element harmless is to absorb it into the political system. We have found that judicial and political responsibility can

(Continued on next page).

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tame into decorous calm the most impetuous theological and political enthusiasms.

The "Nation" repudiated the idea that O'Connell could have been thus bought and repaid to the "Times"—

Government may make Judges, Chief Justices, Masters of the Rolls, and Lord Chancellors of whom they please, but in so doing they purchase only the individuals. The public influence of these men in Ireland vanishes the moment the pay of England goes into their pockets. Eloquent they may still be, but the eloquence has lost its charm; artful they may be, but no art will enable them to hide their real character and purpose; fully competent they may be to punish individuals for illegal manifestations, but they are powerless to seduce the Irish people from their political principles. The same appointment that enables them in one way disables them in another. If these facts were better understood in England, the Irish Bench of Justice would be a much more respectable institution than it is, and the "Times" would not now be supposing it possible for the Irish people to be led away from their political faith by British placemen or influenced by what it calls their "good advice."

Butt's deferential mode of dealing with the English House of Commons was requited by it with indifference to Ireland's claims. Parnell's method of obstructing and exasperating it roused its rage but compelled its attention. Butt in his denunciation of Parnell's method was sincere. He was an old man—much older through care than his years—and he possessed a firm belief that the English Commons was an assembly that would eventually respond to an appeal to its reason. Parnell knew that until its comfort and interest were interfered with no English Government would have ears for Ireland. Butt was an Irishman whom Ireland for what he did do and for his good intentions must ever remember with affection. He opened the way to Parnell. But without Parnell the Home Rule Movement would have perished as the Repeal Movement in the Forties perished—at the hands of the place-hunters—on the accession of the Whigs to office—without Parnell the Famine of 1879 would have been a second edition of the Famine of 1847. O'Connell's weakness left Ireland a prey to famine and corruption; Parnell's strength preserved Ireland from both.

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