

# NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 28th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

## WEEK BY WEEK.

Mr. Scanlan, the present temporary representative of North Sligo, held a "large and representative" meeting of the "North Sligo Executive of the United Irish League"—a body without existence—in Sligo last week. The "large and representative" meeting comprised, according to the report in Mr. Scanlan's local organ, two priests, two J.P.'s, one U.I.L. organiser, six miscellaneous, and Ald. Jinks. Mr. Scanlan announced that the Sinn Feiners had no policy, that John Redmond was the greatest of Irishmen, and that Alderman Jinks was worthy to sit on the "National Directory" over which John Redmond presides; and Alderman Jinks was elected in the place of Mr. Monson who is no longer deemed worthy to associate with the meanest leader Ireland ever knew. Mr. Caffrey, who proposed Jinks as John Redmond's worthy colleague delivered a speech from which we cull the following extract—"I had come here, just as had my fellow-delegates, to show by our silent presence to the mushroom and ephemeral politicians of Sligo that Tíreragh would never desert Parnell's policy. It was our intention by our silent presence to make it clear that neither pharasaic howlings of Arthur Griffith's 'penny dreadful' nor the 'half-penny logic' of William Martin Murphy would sever the cords which bind us in our allegiance to John E. Redmond. I assure you, Mr. Scanlan, that Knockarea will have come down from its present altitude to the level of a grass-grown table-land ere Tíreragh will prove false to you or Mr. Redmond, and I can assure you further that the policy of John Redmond and the Irish Party will be the policy of the men of Tíreragh while grass grows and water runs."

We congratulate the eloquent Caffrey on proposing and electing Jinks as the fit and proper representative of the Sligo Redmondites. It is worth an extra 500 votes in the majority with which Sligo will politically bury Mr. Scanlan when it gets the opportunity of an election.

Our vigorous contemporary, the "Harp" (Waterford), sheds an historic sidelight on peace-hunting in its last issue. It writes:—"There were always independent Irishmen in the public life of the country, and it is such incorruptible men that have preserved the soul of Ireland. The following correspondence we find in the files of the 'Northern Star'—

1 Morphet Street, Green Street,  
Bethnal Green, London, Feb. 25, 1848.

Sir,—I am anxious to obtain a government situation. If you will interest yourself in my behalf, I should be happy to place in your hands the sum of three hundred pounds, to be disposed as you might think proper. I can give respectable references and security; the most inviolable secrecy may be relied on. Should you please to entertain the subject, and will enclose your town address, I shall be glad to wait upon you.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant.

JAMES W. ELGER.

To Fergus O'Connor, Esq., M.P.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and the only chastisement to which I shall subject your insolence in writing it is, its publication and exposure.

FERGUS O'CONNOR.

Major O'Gorman, who once represented Waterford City in the British Parliament, sent the following circular and letter to the local press:

Springfield, Waterford, Dec. 2, 1874.

Sir,—I should be much obliged by your publishing in your excellent journal (as an advertisement), the following letter which I

this day addressed to a valued political friend in Waterford, in reply to one from him, in which he asked me to intervene in his behalf with the Government, with a view to obtaining for him an official appointment.—I remain, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

PURCELL O'GORMAN.

"Springfield, Waterford, Dec. 2, 1874.

"My Dear Sir,—It occasions me the deepest pain to be forced to refuse your request. I entreat of you to remember that, in presence of at least 10,000 people of Waterford, and at several meetings, I faithfully promised never to ask the English Government for any favour for myself, or for anyone else. If I now break that promise, I part forever with my political independence.—Faithfully yours,

"PURCELL O'GORMAN.

We wonder how many of the self-pitying egotists, says our contemporary, who compose the Irish Parliamentary Party to-day could honestly put their hands on their hearts and say that their dealings with the British Government in the matters of place and patronage have been as clean as was the record of Fergus O'Connor and Purcell O'Gorman?

Last week our friend, Cathal Shannon (late of Reading Jail) and eight other Belfast Nationalists were arrested in Belfast. We have received the following letter on their behalf:—  
Sir,—Our attention has been drawn to the fact that Mr. Joseph Devlin has given notice of a question to be asked of a British Minister in the English House of Commons with regard to our arrests last Tuesday.

We resent Mr. Devlin's interference in our concerns as a gross impertinence.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed on behalf of the nine prisoners),

DANIEL TURLEY.

SAMUEL HERON.

P.S.—Letter to above effect has been sent to Mr. Devlin.

At the beginning of the war the world was startled and for a time taken in by the operations of the "German Atrocity" bureau. There are stories that it is difficult for some of us to believe human beings can really credit, yet the story of the German soldiers cutting off the hands of the Belgian children was swallowed by previously sane people in this country, who believed that hundreds of such mutilated victims were being cared for in Ireland and England. The mentality that did not pause to reflect that a child or a woman or a man whose hands were cut off, and who did not receive immediate adequate medical assistance would bleed to death in a couple of minutes, is, we suppose, a product of war. But that a lie so ignorant and so obvious to any person with even a moderate degree of education could have been invented, sworn to by 500 newspapers, persisted in for months, and believed by tens of thousands of people is the strongest indictment of the so-called education in this country under English rule and in that country itself. The savage in the forest would have known the thing a lie—and yet men and women who posed as educated, and indeed had been educated in the curricula of our British Government schools fell to a falsehood as patent as a declaration to a man with eyes in his head that rivers run uphill.

But there is no limit to the belief of the English Pressmen employed by Lord Northcliffe, in the infinite capacity of the English for swallowing falsehoods. Munchausen could not invent. Last week the Press of that interesting nobleman announced that the Germans were converting the bodies of their dead countrymen into oils and fats and pigs' food. To prove the statement, Lord Northcliffe's Press alleged that it was publicly ad-

mitted by an important Berlin Newspaper—the "Lokal Anzeiger." Thus the English people were asked not only to believe that the Germans were acting thus horribly, but that they actually published in their newspapers the fact. Two English newspapers had the decency to protest against the invention of the Cannibal-minded Northcliffe Press—the London "Daily News," and "Commonsense," which wrote:—

The Northcliffe Press alleges that the German Government is disposing of the bodies of soldiers by turning them into oils and fats. In the "Times" of April 16th, under the heading, "Through German Eyes," appeared the following translation of a passage taken from an article by Herr Karl Rosner, the special correspondent of the Berlin "Lokal-Anzeiger" on the Western Front:

"We pass through Evergnicourt. There is a dull smell in the air, as if lime were being burnt. We are passing the great Corpse Exploitation Establishment (Kadaververwertungsanstalt) of this army group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils, and everything else is ground down in the bone mill into powder which is used for mixing with pigs' food and as manure."

The "Times" adds: "Herr Rosner conveys this information with no comment but the remark that 'nothing can be permitted to go to waste.'" On the same day in the "Daily Mail" Mr. Wile translated "Ein fader Dunst liegt in der Luft" as "Suddenly a stench offends our nostrils," and the "Times" "There is a dull smell in the air." Again, Rosner's comment ("nothing can be permitted to go to waste"), translated properly by the "Times" (the original is "Nichts darf ungenutzt verkommen") appears in the "Mail" in the amazing form: "The theory on which our army works, one sees, is that nothing must be allowed to go unused"—which is placed between quotation marks and professes to be a rendering of the original.

Both translators have stumbled over "Kadaververwertungsanstalt," and the "Daily Mail," in subsequent issues, has discarded the rendering of its own contributor for a modified form of the "Times" translation. In reality the word "Kadaver" is never used in conversation, journalism, or literature (so far as we can discover) to mean a dead human body. Leichnam is the word for a human corpse—cf., our Lichfield "the field of corpses." Kadaver is so used only by doctors and medical students, and in purely technical or scientific literature. "Kadaver" is simply the carcass of an animal; and there are known to be factories in Germany and Austria where the bones and flesh of animals are treated in the manner described. Besides, as a matter of mere common sense, it seems unlikely that the German Government would have permitted a reference to the disposal of human bodies in this way, even if such an extraordinary thing had been done. Rosner's reference to such an amazing practice would hardly have been buried away in the middle of a paragraph.

We refer to this matter, not because we care what the English public swallows, but because of the fact that papers published in Ireland—papers like the "Evening Herald" which might be expected to exhibit some decency and commonsense—republished the Northcliffe invention. We trust that henceforth even those journals in Ireland who wish to see England in the future as she has been in the past the dominator of Ireland and the world will not insult Irish intelligence by the circulation of obvious and monstrous slanders forged in England about England's enemies.

"The Catholic Herald," of India, Feb. 14, in its London Letter prints the following:—"Cardinal Bourne, at the special request of the Pope, has delayed his return to our shores. There are, as usual, all sorts of rumours current as to the reasons which are keeping the Cardinal so long a time in the Eternal City. Unfortunately, the Roger Casement conversion has been seized upon by certain Catholics as a peg on which to hang a story calculated to cause ill-feeling in Catholic ranks, and give a false impression to those outside the Church. It is said that the authorities at Westminster refused faculties to receive Casement into the Church or reconcile him with her—if as rumoured he was born a Catholic—until he had signed a declaration apologising for his public and private conduct. The gossip-mongers, who are again trying to stir up strife between Irish and English Catholics go on to say that Casement signed the apologia, and after being received into the Church, repented himself of the document, and repudiated it. Before proving that such a document exists, these amiable false friends within our ranks begin to demand by what right such a condition was exacted from a Convert to the faith. Naturally the conversion of Casement just before his death was no gain to the Catholic Church. On the contrary, there were many ill-natured non-Catholics who declared that Casement's conversion showed where the sympathies of the Catholic Church in Britain were to be found; a most absurd statement, but one swallowed by many bigots. Now an endeavour is being made to suggest that the Irish element has appealed to Rome regarding the matter of the so-called declaration, and that Rome will shortly make a pronouncement on the Casement conversion. The necessity for such a proceeding would be very regrettable."

Stripped of the ambiguity and vagueness in which it is clothed, this most Christian outburst would have its readers believe that certain "gossip-mongers" have seized on certain incidents said to have been connected with the reconciliation or conversion of Sir Roger Casement "on which to hang a story calculated to cause ill-feeling in Catholic ranks," the story, according to the "Catholic Herald," being to the effect that the Westminster Diocesan authorities refused the usual faculties for the reconciliation or reception of Sir Roger into the Church "until he had signed a declaration apologising for his public and private conduct"; that Sir Roger actually did sign a declaration of the kind; that he was thereupon reconciled or received into the Church; that as soon as this was done he repudiated his signed declaration; that the Irish element has appealed to Rome against the action of the said authorities; and that Rome is expected shortly to make a pronouncement on the matter.

Side by side with this hash supplied to the "Catholic Herald," of India, by its London correspondent we give the true account of how matters stand. This is to the effect that Mr. Gavan Duffy, acting in his capacity as executor of the dead patriot, and as solicitor for his living friends has formally transmitted to the Holy See a statement complaining that a fortnight before the execution the Westminster diocesan authorities without any right whatever demanded a written declaration over the signature of Sir Roger containing the expression of regret and apology for his public and private conduct, before the usual faculties for reconciliation or reception would be granted, which declaration was never to be made public unless for the very gravest reasons; that Sir Roger declined to hand in a declaration of the kind, which would obviously not only belie his political principles, but would even set a seal on the vile stories so actively circulated by his enemies at the time against his moral character and his good name; that these faculties were refused to the very end, and were never granted; that the reconciliation or reception into the Church took place the very evening before the execution, and then only in virtue of the innate power which every priest possesses to absolve every penitent in imminent danger of death; that the matter is now before the Holy See; but that no pronouncement is expected before the end of the war.

The reader is now in a position to estimate the honesty and value of the "Catholic Herald's" statement that "an endeavour is being made to suggest that the Irish element has appealed to Rome regarding the matter of the so-called declaration"; nor will the average Catholic have much difficulty in making up his mind as to the nature of the charity and Chris-

tian spirit underlying the dictum that Casement's conversion "was no gain to the Catholic Church." The Church's Founder certainly did not teach any such thing.

Catholics of all classes will confidently await the verdict of the Holy See, even though the writer in the "Catholic Herald," of India does not hesitate to issue veiled threats against anything being done when he dogmatically lays down that "the necessity for such a proceeding would be very regrettable." Meanwhile it is only fair to all parties to add that two explanations of the declaration alleged to have been demanded of Sir Roger have been put forth, one of which, at least, comes from inspired sources. The first is that the document submitted to Sir Roger for his signature was nothing more than the usual profession of faith which is supposed to be signed by every Convert. The other is to the effect that the Westminster diocesan authority simply postponed the reception of Sir Roger into the Church, for the purpose of giving him time to grow calm after the trying scenes through which he had passed, and of making sure that in seeking admission or re-admission into the Church he was actuated by solid motives of religion, and was not really influenced by political consideration or national sympathies. The latter version would be much more plausible if one were sure that the required faculties were granted and the demand for an apology withdrawn before the end, and that there is any good reason for believing that men's minds usually grow calmer the nearer they approach the date fixed for their execution.

In a paper read before the Liverpool Bankers Mr. Edgar Cramond gave the gross earnings of the British shipping in 1916 as 367 millions pounds sterling. The working expenses were 179 millions, and the profits thus 188 millions. Of this 188 millions the State received 88 millions in excess profit tax and 24 millions in income tax. This left 76 millions profit in the hands of the Shipowners, and 25 millions was paid in dividends and 51 millions went to extra depreciation, reserves and interest.

It is safe to say that Ireland's share of the 188 millions profit amounts to practically nothing. When we consider what part of the 188 millions is paid by Ireland, it will be seen that as Ireland imports large amounts of food stuffs, minerals, etc., the sum paid by Ireland must amount to several millions. Part of the money paid by Ireland for high freights goes into the pocket of the British Shipowner and part into the British Treasury, and in the taxation returns Ireland gets no credit for the large sum so paid.

The following resolution was passed by the Committee of the Irish Women's Franchise League on the 19th inst—"Whereas the Irish Women's Franchise League has always vigorously upheld the principle of equal treatment for men and women political prisoners, we desire to enter a strong protest against the denial of political status to Madame De Markievicz, the woman political prisoner in Aylesbury Jail, and demand that, pending her release, she shall be accorded the privileges due to a political prisoner."

At the request of a number of influential members of the audience the following resolution was put to the audience at the National Aid Concert in the Round Room of the Mansion House on Wednesday, 17th inst., and was passed unanimously—"That this gathering of Dublin citizens and representatives from every part of Ireland, demands that our fellow-countrymen now convicts in Lewes Prison be treated as Prisoners of War, and draws special attention to the case of the Countess Markievicz." A message of greeting and hope was also sent by the audience to the Countess Markievicz and to the men at Lewes. It was suggested that a similar course be adopted at every national gathering held in Ireland in future.

Edward De Valera, speaking for himself and the other men at Lewes, asked a recent visitor to convey to the widows, mothers, and other relatives of the executed men and the men who died last Easter their deep sympathy at this anniversary time, and to tell the relatives of their comrades that all their thoughts at Lewes are with them at this period.

Tá gach aon rud socair anois i gcoir Céilidh

na Bealtaine a bheidh ag lucht an Fháinne Dé Sathairn, 5 Bealtaine, ag 19 Plás Eilí, óna 8 godte a 12 p.m., agus tá súil againn go mbeidh an ait lan de Ghaelgeoirí an oidhche sin. Tá ticeudaí le fáil ar 1/6 an ceann in oifig an Chonarthá agus i siopa Mháire ní Raghallaigh agus i siopa na Leabhair nGaele. Ní labharfar ag an gCéilidh ach Gaelig.

We have received £20 from the Seumas O Conghaile Branch Sinn Fein for the Longford Election Fund; and 10s. from J.P.M.

#### Dublin Feis Results.

The result of the Inter-Branch Examination, so far, are as follows:—

First Year Classes: Craobh na gCuig gCuigi—No. 1, 1st place—Sile Ni Mhurchadha, 100 per cent.; 2nd place—Sean O'Murchadha, 95 per cent.; 3rd place—Nora Ni Mhurchadha, 90 per cent. No. 2, 1st place—Brigid Ni Mhaolshuthain, 75 per cent.; 2nd place—Liam O Caomhanaigh, 70 per cent.; Aine Ni Mhaolshuthain, 69 per cent.

Craobh an Cheitinnigh—1st place—Liam O Briain, 82 p.c.; 2nd place—Sean Mac Cathmhaoil, 81 p.c.; 3rd place—Liam Sutton, 80 p.c.

Craobh Cholmchille—1st—Diarmaid Hamilton, 80 p.c.; 2nd—B. Nic Ghabhann, 70 p.c.; 3rd—Padraig Ledwidge, 67 p.c.

An Ard-Chraobh—1st—Eibhlin Ni Chuinn, 75 p.c.; 2nd—M. Nic a Bhaire, 72 p.c.; 3rd—A. Ni Ghillín, S. Nic a Bhaire, M. Cheitin, S. Ni Lorechain, Enri Mac Uait, Liam O Duinn, 70 p.c.

Second Year Classes: Craobh an Cheitinnigh—1st—Eamonn Mac Cuire, 97 p.c.; 2nd—Neans Ni Bhriain, 95 p.c.; 3rd—Seosamh Mac Canna, 93 p.c.

Craobh Cholmchille—1st—G. O Seaghdha, 96 p.c.; 2nd—C. O Broin, 92 p.c.; 3rd—Brigid Ni Raghallaigh, 90 p.c.

An Ard-Chraobh—1st—Sean Ceitinn, 97 p.c. 2nd—Sean O Faolain, 88 p.c.; 3rd—M. Walton, E. O Duibhlín, 87 p.c.

Craobh na gCuig gCuigi—1st—Micheal de Burca, 97 p.c.; 2nd—Liam Seoighe, 80 p.c.; 3rd—Nora Ni Fhearghail, 71 p.c.

Third Year Classes: Craobh na gCuig gCuigi—1st—M. de Burca, 86.75 p.c.; 2nd—Maire Ni Aodha, 77.5 p.c.; 3rd—Caitlín de Barra, 77.25 p.c.

Craobh Colmchille—1st—Seosamh O Dolain, 81 p.c.; 2nd—Aine Nic Chaoilte, 78 p.c.; 3rd—Maire Nic Gheal, Sean O Floinn, 76 p.c.

Craobh an Cheitinnigh—1st—Micheal de Paor, 78.5; 2nd—Neans Ni Bhriain, 76.5 p.c.; 3rd—Padraig O Raghallaigh, 72.5 p.c.

Fourth Year Classes: An Ard-Chraobh—1st—Sean O hEaluighthe, 95 p.c.; 2nd—Maire Ni Chinneide, 85 p.c.; 3rd—Treasa Ni Dhunlaing, Eamonn O Cuire, 70 p.c.

Craobh an Cheitinnigh—1st—Proinnsias O Riain; 2nd—Eilís Nic a Bhaire; 3rd—Diarmaid O Discin.

The Examinations are still proceeding.

## GET READY FOR 6th MAY.

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Cash with order.

Wesley S. D. Anderson, Irish Coal Importer,  
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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.]

### Parnell's Election Campaign of 1880.

To fight the General Election of 1880 Parnell had to hurry back from America where he was collecting funds for the victims of the famine in Ireland, and he had to fight without a campaign war-chest. Had he had time and money he could have wiped out nearly all the placehunters masquerading as "Liberals" and "Home Rulers." As it was, he was obliged to permit the return of many of them by default, and concentrate his resources on securing the election of a small band of men upon whom he could rely. Five years of a dreary Irish history might have been saved had Parnell had £30,000 at his disposal for the General Election of 1880 and two months' time to use it. On his arrival in Cork from America, his first action was to denounce the "Freeman's Journal" and the "Cork Examiner"—for John Francis Maguire died in 1872 and his spirit was gone from its pages—as "miserable and servile Irish journals" that had striven to hamper him in America and treacherously stabbed him in Ireland. He stood for Cork and Mayo, in addition to Meath, and in both places his candidature was opposed by the Whig Bishops. "I have come to Cork," he said, "to prevent the repetition of 1852." "In 1852 an Independent Irish Party was formed, and then undoubtedly Ireland had the same chance as she has to-day. The circumstances were very similar. The Tories were in office in the previous Parliament, and so long as the Tories were in office the Independent Irish Party held together, but no sooner did the Whigs come back to office than the Independent Irish Party was split into two sections. The Whig members of the Party took sides with the Whig Government; Judge Keogh and others who had sworn they would never take office took office from the Government and betrayed the interests of the farmers of Ireland, and it is to prevent a repetition of such conduct I have come to Cork." Cork elected him in the teeth of the opposition of the "Cork Examiner" and the Bishop; and "Place-hunting Nick Dan," as Nicholas Daniel Murphy was styled on election posters, disappeared from Irish public life. In fact, with three exceptions—Andrew Kettle in Cork Co., Edward Sheil in Athlone, and Isaac Nelson in Leitrim—all Parnell's candidates were returned, although the "Freeman's Journal" offered opposition, in the name of Home Rule, to many of them—backed Whigs like O'Connor Don, declared one of Parnell's candidates crazy; another, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a person who betrayed his employers, suggested that Joseph Gillis Biggar was "preposterous," referred to Mr. T. P. O'Connor as a person who described himself as a journalist, and informed the Irish electors as a whole that it was a matter of no importance whether the candidate they supported was a follower of Parnell or a

follower of Shaw—the leader of the section whom Gladstone had dubbed "Nominal Home Rulers." A generation has grown up in the light of the greatness of Parnell, which has come to believe that when he appeared and showed the way the country rallied to him instantly. But Parnell's fight against the Placehunters in Irish politics extended over eight years before he wiped them out—for the remainder of his lifetime—from the Irish representation, and he had to fight the election of 1880 against the Whig and the Placehunter with small support in the Press and active hostility from many of the bishops. In Cork County no less than four bishops combined to oppose his candidate and support the "Nominal Home Ruler." In Ennis the Bishop there threw his strength on the side of Mr. O'Brien, Q.C., against Parnell's candidate, Lysaght Finigan. Mr. O'Brien in his election address declared he would strenuously support the principle of Home Rule "on which the Premier cast down his haughty challenge to the Irish nation," and he would "promise faithfully to act as a true and independent Irishman unswayed by any personal object." Mr. O'Brien was defeated, but within a couple of years this gentleman, who pledged himself under a Bishop's auspices to oppose the Premier and maintain himself independent of the Government, had sought and received a judgeship from the Premier and that Government. In Wexford, where a Whig, Keyes O'Clery, posed as a Home Ruler, Parnell was assailed by a mob, which struck and tore the clothes from his body when he appeared to oppose the candidate who basked in the episcopal favour. Wexford redeemed itself by kicking out O'Clery by 8 votes to 1. These were but incidents of his whirlwind campaign during which Parnell is said to have had practically no sleep for ten days. At the end of the election he had a band of 20 to 30 reliable followers. But there were 30 or 40 others returned as Home Rulers, whom he had no means of opposing, most of whom were not reliable, and most of whom were to hang on his flank, partially nullifying his efforts during the next five years in expectation of Government favours and rewards. "A worse thing," said Parnell to the people of Cork, when the usual Whig howl was set up that by a Nationalist standing "a Tory might be let in"—"A worse thing may happen than the return of a Tory—the return of a Government hack." Whenever, he remarked, the people in Irish constituencies misrepresented by Whigs were urged to take the bull by the horns and eject Whiggery they were stopped by the cry of letting the Tory in. "Cast this ignoble timidity from you," he cried, "vindicate your principles and have no fear. Remember the history of Sadlier and Keogh." All apologies and defences for placehunting he dismissed in one sentence: "The man who in Parliament or out of Parliament seeks to obtain from the Government any situation cannot possibly remain independent of that Government."

Five years were yet to elapse before the placehunter was driven out of Irish politics, but the General Election of 1880, for the first time in Irish history since the Act of Union, sent a body of men bound in bonds of iron discipline to a leader abler than any contemporary English politician and impervious to cajolery, intimidation, or corruption into the English Parliament. Year by year under Butt's leadership every feeble measure of Land Reform proposed by the Home Rule Party had been voted down contemptuously by allied Whig and Tory. Now Mr. Gladstone hurried to appease the menace of a Party above placehunting and backed by an organised people by enacting land legislation beyond the wildest dreams of the Tenant League which had been sold by the placehunters of 1854.

### LEADAR NA N-OILITREAC B'POLANNAIC. XII.

15. Sibre go léir, roir ós ir c'lonna, cairto czamara an éirigce amac, óir ir raiçoiuirí ríð go léir von acapra ina héirge amac. Anoir, ir czamara a tugtar, i b'polannair, ar an abibó a cuircear ar uime 7 é ag out cum dáir.

16. Agus cá a lán agaidre a geobair dáir in abibó an éirigce amac. Agus báð cóir dáoid uile beir ullam ar dáir ofagáil.

17. Cé ná haitneocair, fé abibó an éirigce amac, an cupad vo ruz buard ag dáber, 7 an cupad vo ruz buard ag Stoczek, 7 an ceann feadna vo feol an r'luag éarnair ón lituáin, 7 an fear vo bí i zceannair peirimeint Wolhynie, 7 an laoc aoubairt in ainpír an éirigce amac: A feara óga, veinir vo péir bur ruin, imtigró 7 compacaro; 7 na fir óga ir cuirce cuirpó ruaz ar an ociofánac, 7 an fear ir cuirce glaoofair: Sior le nioclár veró a n-ainmneaca ran i mbuailt feara an uomain.

18. Aet cé vó zupb eol ead ir ainm vo pí náirle nó vo pí Sarpunia, ríú ir go b'fuit an corcar aca vó caiteam? Cé aise go b'fuit fíor ainmneaca na mac ríog acá i ociofáit eile nó fíor ainmneaca na marapcal 7 na ríge féinne go b'fuit cuaitl ceannair 7 r'luigce aca? Mí heol v'aoinne don ni ina v'caob.

19. Agus an eúte eile aca, aicnigcear a n-ainmneaca cuirce a cuirpceact 7 a buairt acá, fé mar aicnigcear, ra c'p'p'ru-baile beag, ainm an mórfogluirde bócair nó an z'auirde móir nó an éleapuirde móir nó an buocáin a r'ndigceann trío na r'p'p'v'ceannair 7 a cuirceann na uoaine ag z'áirí uime.

20. Agus ríne agaid z'luirce an czar nioclár 7 an czarin Don Miguel 7 czarin illoéne 7 morán ríge 7 minirpír ir eol dáoid.

21. Uime rín cuirpó umaib czamara an éirigce amac.

22. An té go v'ceap'raigeann, eulair níor uoairpe uair 7 go b'fuit an zupcal aise cuirce veinead fé mar r'eo: mar veic z'copóinneaca veir ar an z'culair, capéir vó an eulair vo ceannac r'áob fé veic z'copóinneaca eile ina uaird cum na hacapra vó élvac. Agus veinir an ní ceuona i v'caob bró 7 luirpín, neice báð cóir a veit mar a bionn báð 7 luirpín an t'raizoiura; má céisio ríad éairp rín, r'ágar r'uo éisín in bur noiaró go ronnmar.

23. Agus ran am z'ceuona ná cuirpó ríum i mbíad ná in euváizid ná i luirpín na cová eile. Tuzaró aise dáoid féin amáin; mar ir cum zupb uraive dáoid b'p'ic vó b'p'ic, ní har uoaine eile aet oraid féin, vo cuircear níor an comáirce rín tuar.

24. Dúiró bog le uoaine eile 7 c'p'uaró oraid féin. Agus mar a veupfard ríð b'p'ic ar uoaine eile rín mar a veupfard b'p'ic oraid.

25. Veinir maectnam r'p' ar an m'p'céir r'eo:

26. An té a veupfard b'p'ic r'p' uoair ar a comaprain mar zeall ar loct ar bíc, pé aca meactact nó r'ailige nó z'agact é, ir veinir vó féin tuicim ra loct ran, 7 veir uoaine eile ina mb'p'ceannair ar.

27. Agus rín m'p'céir zup leiz v'ia a rún le polannac c'p'áib'ceac 7 vo noct r'ep'ean uoairpe e.

28. Na r'p' meacta, iríad ir neap'c'p'air éirigceann i z'coinnib an éir meacta 7 na z'auairde i z'coinnib an z'auirde, 7 na hamaváin iríad ir aoirpe z'coinn m'agair féin amaváin.

29. An fear a bionn ciallmair c'p'óda labrann pé v'p'ocalaid bóga ceannra; aet mar z'auirceac nó b'p'iceam é, 7 go r'cuagann an pobal an c'lardeam ina lám vó, ainp'an bionn pé c'p'uaró, 7 beirceann pé b'p'ic ar uoaine 7 cuirceann pionór orpa vo péir a com'p'air, mar ir é an pobal go léir a beirceann a mb'p'ic tré n-a beul 7 irí lám an pobail a cuirceann uoaine cum dáir lena c'lardeam.

30. Aet an fear baot, labrann pé v'p'ocalaid c'p'uaoda borpa 7 zan ann aet uime ven éit'ceannact; 7 an cuirce ina v'p'ineann Sinp'ear 7 b'p'iceam ar an b'p'ocal ve, t'ep'p'annann fé zup uime zan máit é, óir bionn pé imeaglac, élaon, 7 ní bío a b'p'ea vó péir c'p'óirde an pobail, aet vo péir an z'p'áda nó an r'uaca bionn aise vo uoaine fé leir.

31. Má veineann tu euzc'p'ir ar uime, z'á r'ú: ir feallaire é, nó má ab'p'ann tu go heuzc'p'ac; ir r'p'iaúoir é; vein veinir ve go b'fuit an ní ceuona ran v'p'ead ag uoaine eile vó r'ú nó v' caob-ra an neomac ceuona ran.

32. Ná veinir éirip'cealugá eap'raib féin, z'á r'ú: ven t'p'ean-buróin m'p'ir 7 ven buróin nua c'p'ra; biop-ra ag z'p'ochob 7 ag Orp'olencia, 7 ní r'abair-re aet ag Orp'olencia amáin; ba r'áizoiuir m'p'ir 7 ba uime ven éirge amac c'p'ra; lituáinac m'p'ir 7 Marobíánac c'p'ra.

33. Na uoaine labrann mar rín, léig'p'ir ar'p' ra t'p'oirceul an papabail i v'caob an luect oib'p'e éainiz go v'ci an fionz'p'ic, cuir aca ar maróin, 7 cuir aca i lár an lae, 7 zup tuzaró an t-aon tuap'p'cal amáin vóib go léir. Na uoaine ir cuirce éainiz, bí r'p'p'arv aca leir na uoaine éainiz ní ba veunáige, 7 v'ubairt an máiz'p'ic: A luect an r'p'p'arv, cav é rín uoairpe é, aet go b'p'uzead ríð bur v'cuap'p'cal?

34. Zeobair ríð mópán uoaine élaonne le r'áizoiuirí imearpe na z'coiz'p'ic; aet élaon an éirigce amac, ir agaid féin amáin acáro ríad. LIAM Ó RINN.

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1 SCUIRINE

Ó DRÓIM. 1 SCUIRINE ANTIOPHIA SEORATH UÍ DRÓIM.

BYRNE.—In loving memory of my dear husband, Andrew Joseph Byrne, late 62½ Townsend Street, Dublin, who died on 28th April, 1916, at Boland's Bakery, Grand Canal Street, Dublin. Inserted by his loving wife.

Ó COIRNÉILL. SEORATH ANAM ÉIRÍ UÍ COIRNÉILL.

COYLE.—In loving memory of my dear husband, Harry, late of 32 Leinster Avenue, North Strand, member of the I.L.A., who was killed on 28th April, 1916, in Moore Lane, Dublin. Inserted by his loving wife.

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## NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28th, 1917.

### POLAND AND IRELAND.

The Government of England has congratulated the Russian Provisional Government on its decision to acknowledge the independence of Poland. The Government of England declares that it is anxious that the public opinion of the world and the people of Poland should know that it is in accord with Russia—that it—this English Government—

"Sees in this decision of Russia the triumph of the principles of liberty which are those of modern States."

Three years ago Poland had no National Government, no Parliament, no free political institutions. The Russian bureaucrats governed Poland from the Castle at Warsaw, by edict, by order-in-council, by proclamation. The Polish language was banned and the Polish past ignored in the teaching of the schools. Save that the Russian Government in Poland did not diminish the Polish population by artificial famine and destroy Poland's industries in the interest of the Russian manufacturers it would be possible to believe that Poland was an island in the Atlantic Ocean.

And now Poland is free. Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria have recognised the ancient Kingdom of Poland as a Sovereign Independent State. Russia has hurried to outbid them by recognising not only the ancient Kingdom of Poland—but recognising the ancient Polish conquered territory of Galicia and Posen as appertaining to the new kingdom. France, Italy, Belgium, Japan—none of whom lifted a finger or cared a jot about Poland three years ago—hasten to salute the new nation. And England—liberty-loving England—"desires to affirm" its "accord with Russia" in acknowledging Polish independence, and Mr. Lloyd-George and Sir Ed. Carson unite in writing that they see in this decision of Russia the triumph of the principles of liberty which are those of modern states.

Poland, without ever firing a shot on her own behalf, has been within three years re-

stored to her full nationhood and acknowledged by all the Powers—because Poland has made herself an international problem.

And with this example of Poland staring us in the face, there are still some in Ireland blind to the fact that Ireland's opportunity has come, that that opportunity is the Peace Conference, which must formally ratify Poland as a recognised Independent State in the Tribunal to which Ireland can carry her claim and before which her case must be argued. The recognition of Poland ensures a hearing to the case of Ireland—for in International Law Poland and Ireland stood on the same plane at the outbreak of this war, and the fact accomplished in the case of Poland does not alter the principles of International Law.

There is but one argument by which England can prevent the Peace Conference listening to Ireland's claim for equal treatment with Poland. There is but one safeguard England now has against Ireland becoming an International question, as Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, and Poland all in turn became questions of International import, and thus re-acquired their freedom. England's argument and safeguard is the Irish Parliamentary Party. If it can secure the return of that Party in the General Election, which is all but certain to precede the Peace Conference, it can point to that Party as the authentic voice of the Irish people. It can tell the Peace Conference that that Party makes no claim to Independence for Ireland, but agrees that the issues between Ireland and England are domestic, and thus and thus only can it prevent Ireland's case being heard and considered by a Jury that England cannot pack, and Judgment delivered by a Tribunal that England cannot intimidate.

But, on the other hand, if Ireland at the General Election replaces the representatives who betray her interests and her honour at Westminster by men who will proceed to the meeting-place of the most momentous World Council ever assembled in history, and there, the authorised and indubitable spokesmen of Ireland, claim for Ireland the same justice meted out to Poland, then in that hour Ireland will become a question of paramount International concern—a question which England can never again hide from the world as she has succeeded in hiding Ireland from the world for the past 117 years.

The way to the Peace Conference is through the Elections for Irish Constituencies. England can deny other evidences of what Ireland seeks, but she cannot contest the deliberate vote of the Electorate. That will be a fact patent to all Europe. To prepare to seize the first opportunity in every constituency to replace a Provincialist by a Nationalist is the urgent practical duty. The issue is whether Ireland shall vainly continue to appeal to England for a paltry measure of Home Rule or whether she shall claim from Europe an equal independence to that which Europe has conferred on Ireland's sister-nation Poland.

The despised and rejected Sinn Fein policy is now in the ascendant in Ireland, but the strength of the Party which for years misled the Irish People and taught them to believe that Sinn Fein merely meant physical force, and that organised corruption was Constitutionalism is not to be underrated. They are dining the same old falsehoods to-day in the nation's ears. Choose, they say, between us and hopeless appeal to insurrection. Choose, we say, between appeal to the perjured British Parliament for a title of justice and claim before the Court of Europe for the full right of our nation. That is the issue that this generation has lived to see a practical issue—an issue within its grasp. The "Independent" timidly thinks that the Sinn Fein policy is unconstitutional. Where is the constitution? The Castle journal professes not to understand what the Sinn Fein policy is. We shall enlighten it. It is the policy by which Francis Deak—when his country, Hungary, had been crushed

in arms and lay under martial law—won back for Hungary in 19 years all and more than all she had lost. Twelve years ago when we first put this policy before Ireland, we said it aimed to "Bring Ireland out of the corner and make her assert her existence to the world." Ireland is now out of the corner and it remains for Ireland to assert before the Peace Conference her national right to a place in the sun.

## LONGFORD!

Joseph MacGuinness is the Man for Longford. His candidature sweeps triumphantly through the constituency. The enemies of the Irish Prisoners of War—the Party which while it affected to deplore the treatment of our fellow-countrymen as common convicts yet opposes Joseph MacGuinness's candidature—have tried to delay the election. Confident in the beginning that in Longford, at all events, they would hold their own, they are now in panic for the result; and all the animated corruption of West Belfast is on its way to Leinster in a last effort to avert a catastrophe.

Three weeks have passed since the late member died and the Parliamentary Party have blocked the issue of the writ for the new election. A couple of days ago, therefore, Mr. Ginnell gave notice to the Speaker of the British House of Commons that he would move the issue of the writ—which it is competent for any member to do. The Speaker—acting in the interest of John Redmond—refused to accept the notice—an action without precedent in the history of the British Parliament. Mr. Ginnell will again move for the writ in a few days, and we shall see whether the Speaker of the English House of Commons will continue to throw his shield over the panic-stricken Redmondites.

And while the Parliamentary Party struggles desperately to defeat the Man in Lewes Jail, news come to us from that institution, that one of Joseph MacGuinness's fellow-prisoners has been released. The prison doors have been opened to let Councillor Partridge free. But they have been only opened when Councillor Partridge has come to the point of death, and so the released prisoner is carried from an English Jail to an English Hospital.

Inside the prison other men are ill, and Ireland looks to Longford to call the attention of Europe to the fact that Irish political prisoners are treated as common convicts England looks to Devlin and Redmond to keep Longford from so doing.

We do not doubt Longford. It will answer the men who support in the British House of Commons the Government that treats Joseph MacGuinness and his colleagues as it treats the burglar and the thief by electing Joseph MacGuinness as its representative. But let there be no slackness, because victory seems assured. **Ever, Veto Counts.** We want Jos. MacGuinness not only elected but elected by a majority worthy of the Man and the Cause. Be it the pride of the voters to pile up the majority, so that under its weight the imposers who so long posed as Nationalist representatives to the Irish people will be crushed to the earth never to rise again.

Elsewhere we describe how Tipperary in 1869 by electing O'Donovan Rossa forced the release of the Fenian leaders. Longford, by electing MacGuinness will make impossible the continuance of the present treatment of Madame Markievicz and the men in Lewes as ordinary convicts.

The assembly convened by Count Plunkett, attended by delegates from 70 public bodies, nearly 150 clergymen, and 1,000 delegates from National associations and prominent Nationalists, put the Peace Conference in the forefront of the National programme. Ireland must seek representation there and Ireland must claim from that assembly complete Independence. Other and serious questions concern us now in Ireland—the question of food-

supply and taxation, for instance. But the question of Ireland at the Peace Conference is the main political question before us.

The assembly—representative of Ireland from Antrim to Kerry and Dublin to Galway, was the most important held in Ireland since November, 1905, when Sinn Fein was established. A Committee of ten was appointed by the Assembly to organise a National unity of various National organisations. The Committee will meet next week. Meanwhile let the existing organisations which look to the Peace Conference as the political objective take steps to strengthen and extend their branches. Ireland must back by the deliberate test of the vote the claim for Irish Independence and reference to the Peace Conference. We may have a General Election sprung upon us at any time. Our candidates must be ready to challenge it. And if we are not permitted a General Election before the Peace Conference, then we must, of ourselves, secure a referendum of the people. It is a time for work; for when we go to the Peace Conference we must go with the claim for Independence, not from a minority of the people of Ireland, nor from a section or sections, but endorsed by a vast majority vote of the whole people. Elsewhere we deal with this matter.

The following letter written by a Dublin Priest to a friend has been sent to us for publication:—

"Dear Antony,—The Convention is over, and about its absolute success no one has the slightest doubt. The huge Round Room in the Mansion House was filled and many had to be satisfied with room in the adjoining places, folding doors being thrown open. One fact I noticed from the very beginning—the dominant note in the expression of all present was—intelligence. Not one face there had the remotest approach to a vacuous expression.

"I have been present at ordinations—my own of course pre-eminently giving plenty of food for reflection—I have been there when big city congregations were closing with almost fanatic fervour well made retreats—I have taken part in the big mass meetings in those days when we all united to a man in guarding against North of Ireland bullying and in checking incidents like the Curragh revolt and the Bachelors' Walk murders—all these impressed me—but yesterday in tenseness of feeling, high resolution and a magnetic air of reverence of being about a great high and holy work—yesterday excelled all my experiences or I dare say of any man, old or young, in the hall.

"No words could adequately paint the scene—it was simply marvellous. It was as though every individual in that vast multitude had come there keyed up to do great things and bear great sorrows if necessary.

"I could well imagine every man there having made due provision for disposing of his little property in case anything untoward should occur—and anything untoward might have occurred—having made due provision to face if necessary the inevitable end of all mortals—and bear anything this world could mass together in hostile fashion—anything or everything rather than yield one iota of his high and holy resolution.

"Don't tell me—watching as I was the fleeting expressions of many faces—don't tell me that the age of a chivalrous and disinterested love of fatherland is over.

"Let corruption walk abroad, its hands weighed with gifts to buy men's honour, men's souls—the filth of the twentieth century preached from the housetops, practised in the highways and the bye ways, in the holy places as well as in the unholy—don't tell me it has stifled all honour and chivalry, all love of the fatherland in dear old Ireland. I shall say to the Englishman who tells me we are venal and may all be bought for a price—I say, No!

"It's a hellish lie. Truth and honour and the clear thinking in the wake of truth and honour still hold sway in the hearts of Irishmen—that they do is a stupendous miracle—but it is a patent fact clear as God's own sunshine.

"I came back from that glorious gathering a better priest and a better Irishman—I came back with a mind broadened not merely by the words which I heard nor by the glorious ideas I received, but also by the transcendent spirit which seemed to hang in the air communing with all present and uniting and ennobling them."

A wire, despatched on behalf of those "Ballycastle Nationalists whose champion-

ship of the rights of Small Nations admits no exception" and signed on their behalf by Father Lynch and Mr. Louis J. Walsh, was read at the Conference in the Mansion House, and had the unfortunate effect of putting an ex-policeman, named Hugh McGill, who like most members of that loyal force is a tried and true supporter of the great Imperial Statesman, Mr. John E. Redmond, into a splutter. Wherefore sat he down and penned this indignant repudiation to Mr. Devlin's "Irish News":—"I see in to-day's 'Irish News' of the receipt of a telegram from the Ballycastle Nationalists to the so-called Sinn Feiners' Convention. I wish to brand this as a deliberate falsehood. Prior to Easter Week there were five professing Sinn Feiners in Ballycastle; of that number only one was belonging to Ballycastle; the rest were imported. From that date there has not been one professing the cult in Ballycastle." It is not quite clear from this epistle who exactly has been guilty of "the deliberate falsehood." But whether the immaculate organ of Devlinism was telling the truth or not in its account of the contents of the wire, Mr. Gill need not be alarmed. We are sure that those who sent the message would never think of including him amongst those Irish Nationalists to whom the rights of Ireland are as important as those of Jugo-Slavia or gallant little Belgium. We are also glad to know that our friends in Ballycastle are not in the habit of making professions of their National Faith or of pouring their political confidences in the sympathetic ears of an ex-Constabularyman.

At the recent meetings of the National Council of Sinn Fein the Hon. Secs. were able to report encouraging progress in the number of clubs affiliated. At last Monday's meeting Mr. Arthur Griffith presided and correspondence was submitted from the following centres and the necessary action taken. Moylough, Derry, Bangor, Co. Down; Hospital, Co. Limerick; Paulstown, Co. Kilkenny; Granard, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary; Achonry, Co. Sligo; Ballybofey, Sion Mills, Co. Tyrone, etc., etc.

Details of organisation were discussed, and arrangements made for the organising of further clubs and dealing with the numerous applications from various centres.

The affiliation fee is £1 per annum, and secretaries of clubs recently established who have not yet communicated with the National Council are asked to write to the Hon. Secs., National Council, 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin, immediately. Club secretaries may secure membership cards at a cheap rate.

The following clubs were affiliated at the last meeting—"Seumas O Conghaile," Glasgow; Goresbridge, Co. Kilkenny; Moortown, Co. Tyrone; Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow; Mountmellick, Castlepollard, Co. Westmeath; Arigna, Carrick-on-Shannon; Tralee, Co. Kerry; Tullamore; "Sean Mac Diarmada," Belfast; Rahan, Tullamore; Kinvara, Galway; Manchester; Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim; Navan; "Thomas Davis" (Trinity and South Dock Wards, Dublin); Central, Dublin.

At a general meeting of the McHale Branch of the Gaelic League, held at 26 Upper Blessington Street, on Friday evening last, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"Noting that our Vice-President, Seosamh Mac Aonghusa, is a candidate for the representation of South Longford, and knowing his zeal and worth as a Gael—as student, teacher, member of Committee and Vice-President of this Craobh—we unhesitatingly recommend him to the Gaelic Leaguers of Longford as a fit and proper person to champion their views in all circumstances."

The Gift Sale in support of the National Aid Fund held in the Mansion House on Friday, Saturday and Monday was one of the most interesting and remarkable ever held in Ireland. As a result of it the National Aid Fund has reaped a very handsome addition to its funds—something like £800 exclusive of the four blank canvasses which will probably bring the total up to nearly £2,000.

## SOUTH LONGFORD.

As we go to Press we learn that the Parliamentary Party has decided to spend an enormous sum of money to defeat the National Candidate in South Longford. This will throw a great strain upon our financial resources, and we therefore invite subscriptions to the Longford National Election Fund.

## HOW TIPPERARY ELECTED A PRISONER.

In 1868 when the Fenian leaders were in the British Jails and the Dublin Castle hacks in the British Parliament, John Mitchel suggested that the nomination of a Castle lawyer or a Placehunter for any Irish constituency should be met with the nomination of some imprisoned Nationalist against him. Thus would the world be shown who were the true representatives of the Irish Nation and an unwilling England be forced to open the dungeon doors to save that hypocritical face down which the ready tears had coursed for the woes of Hungarian and Italian.

Mitchel's suggestion though he repeated it again and again was not acted upon, though a great deal of talk of putting it into action was indulged in in Ireland, and boasts were made in Waterford, Queen's County and elsewhere, when elections occurred that some or other of the men in prison would be nominated and elected. But when the day of nomination came the boasts were proven hollow. Late in 1869 a vacancy occurred in the representation of Tipperary. Mr. Denis Caulfield Heron, who had been Law Adviser to the Castle in 1866 appeared as a Liberal Candidate. He was welcomed and supported by those who looked to Gladstone's Government for a Catholic University as well as for the Disestablishment of the Episcopalian Church. The usual vague talk of running one of the political prisoners was heard in the constituency, but nobody paid it serious attention. Heron was formally adopted as the Man for Tipperary and his election seemed assured. After the approval of his candidature he addressed a public meeting in which he pledged himself to Amnesty—"The heart of the great English Democracy," so he said, "beat in unison with the heart of Ireland, and six months would not elapse before the prisoners would be released." The meeting contained a great number of farmers, and these Mr. Heron assured of his devotion to their interests. They must have Fixity of Tenure and compensation for their improvements. "There must," he declared, "be an end to all pottering with the Land Question—it must be broadly and fully settled," and his election would lead to its settlement. He was pathetic and indignant over the wrongs and persecution the Irish farmers had suffered and he conjured up a picture of the "Atlantic Cable supported by the bones of Irish emigrants." The manner in which he proposed to secure Amnesty for the prisoners, was by "giving independent support to the Party of Progress," i.e., the existing Liberal Government. His audience not only swallowed this transparent humbug but applauded it, and Mr. Denis Caulfield Heron was as sure of election for Tipperary at the beginning of November, 1869, as man could be.

### Denis Caulfield Heron.

Heron was no worse than the usual political Catholic lawyer of his time, and not so cold-blooded as some of them. This type of man their colleague at the Bar but not in character Edmond Mahony, described in his famous brochure, "The Irish Bar Sinister," as "An Adventurer by Profession, of a recognised and fashionable type—a man who takes up with a party and adopts its creed for the transparent purpose of achieving any prize in the law and in the world avowedly and openly—the leader of a gang of unrecognised and unseen, and because unseen, less reputable adventurers, who are following in the same track, whose fortunes tacked on to his tail are to be advanced through his influence." The secret of the power wielded by the political barrister in Irish constituencies, Mahony thus explained—"In Ireland a number of very important persons are always wanting very small places from the Castle or from the Minister, and the Castle and the Minister are prudent enough to keep a good supply of requisite small wants and favours on hands for frequent distribution among those exacting friends. It is understood that political services, great and small, shall be requited with payments of certain coveted small change of pensions and honours. Ever since the Union inaugurated this practice it has been persevered in with commercial regularity and the English Minister contemptuously supplies an annual budget of trinkets for the Irish market as traders of the Gold Coast do bales of spangles and glass beads to tempt the cupidity or gratify the barbarous fancy of the native savages. Accordingly the average public man finds his time occupied in applying or intriguing for favours for

friends—and supporters. . . . The readiest way of obtaining favours from the Castle is to employ the advocacy of an influential barrister—who has been duly entered for promotion and who holds a seat in the House. Hence the popular desire that men of the 'right stamp' should be furnished with seats when an opportunity offers. . . . The return of the influential person is everyone's affair. . . .

It is like the starting of a thoroughbred for a heavy purse. Every assistant of the stable, every tout and hanger-on obtains a small share of the spoils in the case of the candidate's success. The legal candidate enters the field, therefore with many advantages already gained, and swelling the clamour raised in his favour comes in the huge auxiliary forces which the Bar itself supplies. It is recruited from the hungry lower ranks of the learned profession, composed of ornamental members, of honest dunderheads, of men who never attempted to seek business or ever desire to get it—but who fully desire and intend to be third-class Chairmen, Crown Prosecutors, Registrars, Petty Commissioners, counsel to official departments, secretaries or clerks in the Superior Courts—in fact whose whole arrangement for the future is a Castle windfall—to come in for an allotment of the patronage which their Chief when Attorney-General may have to distribute among his friends. The Irish legal system abounds with the supply of these small but comfortable places designed for the support of the great unemployed division. It is a gentlemanly species of outdoor relief, which a wise Government has organised for the endowment and maintenance of all incompetent members of a petted profession."

In his scathing pamphlet Mahony described the various types of Placehunting lawyer—Mr. Stephens Green, who devotes himself to billiards while waiting for a seat in Parliament and, prepared to enter either as an Orange or Catholic Champion, "lives in a state of political irreligion like those princesses of certain German royal houses who cannot make up their minds to be either Protestant or Catholic until they receive a proposal from a heterodox or a true believing prince"; "Mr. Dangle," the elegant and fashionable barrister without brains or knowledge, but with a strong family interest, which, though it is difficult for that interest to have Dangle made a judge—"enriches the happy gentleman with such a fine bunch of small offices that their aggregate salaries will not be much under the income of a puisne Judge; "Mr. Delper," the man who devotes himself to his profession in the antediluvian belief that in that way the Bench is to be gained and sees "Stephen's Green" and "Dangle" pass him by. "Mr. Vapid," who invested in the barrister's gown because it was the uniform in which his interests could be best advanced by very fortunate legal connections, and who by cultivating the clergy is "thrust into Parliament on the votes of a subservient constituency and his fortunes made at a stroke," and ascends in due course the Bench "beside his well-pensioned relatives, for in Ireland judge-ships invariably run in families or in sets, the members of which inarch upon the others, and in that scientific way lend each other support. But, distinct from these, Mahony, taking Heron as the type described him thus under the name of "Mr. Mulligan, Q.C.":—

### "Mulligan, Q.C."

"Mr. Vapid is a silent unobtrusive individual, who, conscious of many personal deficiencies, desires to slide upwards to the Bench without making any noise, and if possible without causing scandal. He is by nature diffident and retiring, and except when necessity compels, never emerges from the obscurity which becomes him best, and which he loves. He aims at being nothing but another man's shadow, and certainly has not the demerit of being sullen with self-conceit. But the Mulligan is a florid impostor who does not care how much noise or scandal he creates—is indeed never easy unless when attracting public attention or tumbling before an audience. His position with the Castle is probably a good one; many of his kindred may be in positions of dignity and influence there, yet it does not prevent him from seeking to stand well with the popular Party also. He is an intemperate spouter, and quite as vain as ambitious. To swagger in country quarters on circuit, as a tribune of the people, successor of 'The Liberator,' and saviour of his bleeding country is ticklesome to the Mulligan vanity. He assumes to be a strong Nationalist which in Ireland is always a strong term. When a vacancy occurs, he appears to the scene as

candidate for the Great Blunderbuss County and makes ranting gunpowder speeches from the hustings there—talks plain cannon fire and smoke and bounce—slips a green scarf over his silk gown, toasts and cheers those victims of British law and English tyranny—the convicted Fenians or other political martyrs—uses languages which just skims the brink of treason and as a consequence becomes extremely popular.

"Instances have been known where mountebanks of this class have performed their part so cleverly as even to beat authentic Fenians and Nationalists out of the field in electioneering contests. . . .

"When Mulligan appears in the House, he will have to tender some apology at first for the discreditable artifices he has practised to get in there but the best excuse or justification will be for him that he is an Irish Barrister, and that he has been successful; these attributes will ministerialise any degree of vulgar extravagance. We imagine a learned gentleman entering Parliament after having managed, say, to rescue the representation of a great county from the hold of a rebellious mob, damaged perchance in some degree by the necessary wear and tear of a plebeian contest—by the rough ordeal of buffoonery through which he had to pass—we can suppose that on account of this, or rather in deference to English opinion, the sensitive Mr. Gladstone, the prudish Irish Secretary, even the decorous Mr. Fortescue, may have to look grave for a session or so, to keep their eyes averted in dignified reserve—*Tantaene animis coelestibus irae*—but it is plain that Time, the peacemaker, will do its kindly office for the delinquent Irishman in the end; and that the Mulligan need never despair of seeing these severe official visages ultimately relax into smiles and forgiving welcome. The substantial services which at a critical juncture he had rendered, will be counted up with interest: the sin he committed on the hustings or the platform shall be condoned or gradually forgotten, and the Mulligan will blossom out in due season a staunch Government man in full enjoyment of the confidence of his Party leader. He will electroplate the native brogue with an English accent of newest pattern, and stand forth heir-presumptive or apparent to the Solicitor-General—a judge in petto—Chief-Justice perhaps—Lord Chancellor not impossible; for according to the judicial standard which prevails at the Irish Bar in modern times, any advancement is possible in professional mediocrity."

### The Election.

The gentleman whom Mahony here described appeared in the courthouse at Clonmel on the nomination day confidently expecting a walk-over. To his astonishment, and the astonishment of his supporters, he was greeted with a cry of "No more lawyers for Tipperary," and two of the electors, Patrick Mackay, of Templemore, and Michael Carroll, of Borrisoleigh, proposed and seconded O'Donovan Rossa as member for Tipperary. Of all the political prisoners none had been treated so cruelly as Rossa and in the effort to break his indomitable spirit the jailors had even removed the winter flannels from his body one Christmas Eve and left him to perish for months thereafter in a flagged cell. A fellow-prisoner named Lynch was similarly treated and died of exposure, but Rossa's iron constitution matched his iron spirit and he survived even this atrocity, for which neither the prisons of Naples nor Austria against which England raised up her hypocritical voice furnished a parallel. Mr. Heron was proposed by a Father Cahill in a speech in which the reverend gentleman extolled the patriotism and character of the lawyer and expatriated on the sufferings of the tenant-farmers, which he suggested the election of Heron would put an end to—"We never hear," put in a listener, "anything about the tenants until the election comes round and then we hear plenty." Neither Mr. Heron nor his supporters up to this time believed that the nomination of Rossa was seriously intended, and the Liberal candidate who had been Adviser at the Castle in 1866 advanced to the front of the platform arrayed in a green scarf and called to the crowd below—"Give a cheer, boys, for the release of the political prisoners." "That," came back a voice from the crowd, "is all right, but will you oppose the Government?" Mr. Heron was not to be caught thus—"Give another cheer, boys," he called out, "for Fixity of Tenure." "Will you pledge yourself to serve seven years without taking office?" was the response. "A cheer for Liberty of

Education," continued Heron. "Take off that green scarf," roared the crowd. The placehunting lawyer did not take off the green scarf. Instead he inquired why he was being interrupted when "I agree with the political opinions of those who are interrupting me." "If so," said one of the interrupters, "resign your candidature, let Rossa be elected, and you will be the most honoured man in Ireland." Mr. Heron returned that he had been counsel for some of the Fenian prisoners and suggested it was base ingratitude to oppose his election. The most telling shot of all came in reply from one of the crowd—"Yes, you were defending them, your brother-in-law, Charles Barry, was prosecuting them, and your other brother-in-law, Judge Fitzgerald, was trying them, and begorra, it was no wonder they were convicted."

The career of Heron's brother-in-law, Barry, afterwards Judge Barry, was the normal one of the placehunting Catholic lawyer, but Fitzgerald's case was a blacker one—approximating to the blackness of Judge Keogh. When a young and rising barrister Fitzgerald created a sensation at a public banquet to the Lord Lieutenant by springing up in his place and delivering a strong and eloquent speech, after the customary platitudes had been droned out, in which he charged the Government with the misery of the country. The speech upset the Lord Lieutenant and scandalised the banqueters. "What a pity it is," said one of them, to his neighbour the witty and cynical Francis Stack Murphy, "that that young man has ruined himself." "Ruined himself," returned the shrewd Serjeant Murphy, "made himself you mean." And so it was. The Government took Fitzgerald's speech as an intimation that he could and would prove troublesome unless he were bought off, and it kept in touch with him. His outburst of patriotism helped him into Parliament as an Independent Oppositionist, and when he got there he promptly broke his pledges, deserted to the Government and in due course was made Attorney-General, elevated to the Bench, and finally died Baron Fitzgerald, Lord of Appeal. Beside his successful brothers-in-law Mr. Heron dreamed of reposing and regulating the fount of Justice. "Do you, farmers of Ireland," Heron inquired from the audience at the nomination, "wish the Land Question settled? That is the issue involved in the present election. . . . Disunion has been the curse of Ireland. Is it not exhibiting disunion in its worst form to oppose me—who am devoted to my religion and to Ireland?"

No Catholic placehunter has ever appeared in Ireland seeking election to the British Parliament who has not professed himself devoted to his religion and insinuated that in some way the cause of the Catholic religion is bound up in his return. If there be a worse form of blasphemy—a greater insult to Catholicity—than the use of its name by men whose object it is to sell the voters their appeal to, it is difficult to the lay Catholic mind to know what it can be. Next to his investment in religion the placehunter invests in patriotism—generally of the sunburst order, as most calculated to dazzle the eyes and blind the understanding of those whom he designs to barter to the Castle. "The Sunburst," wound up this Castle Law Adviser, "the sun shining on the green field is the ancient traditional banner of Ireland. A political sunburst is now beaming over the horizon with the name of Tenant-Right emblazoned thereon. Let not an angry division obscure the bright hopes of our country. Send me to Parliament to work for Ireland and for you!" Peter Gill, the erratic but shrewd "General" of Tipperary followed Mr. Heron on the platform. "Whenever an election is to take place for Tipperary," said Peter, "they found eloquent speakers, ambitious placemen, and aspiring barristers coming amongst them whom they had never seen before on the green hills of Tipperary. Wherever an emigrant ship was doomed, the sharks were seen following it—wherever there was slaughter on the battlefield the vultures and birds of prey hovered over the scenes, and whenever there was a vacancy in the representation of Tipperary the vultures of the law pounced down upon it. The road to preferment was by Parliamentary honours and it was as natural for a Q.C. to seek the representation of a borough or a county as it was for a husbandman to go out in the harvest season and seize the corn fit for the hook." "Would Mr. Heron," asked the "General" coaxingly, "sign a document there in the presence of the people that he would serve seven years faithfully

in the British Parliament for Tipperary without taking office under Government?" But Mr. Heron only responded by some reference to the glories of Fontenoy and an appeal to the men "with whose political views he was agreed" not to upset the settlement of the Land Question, the release of the prisoners, the sacred cause of religious equality in education "and the general advent of the Irish millennium by opposing his election."

However, Mr. Heron was disappointed. The proposers of Rossa persisted in going to the poll and a short, sharp struggle followed. The Government did not dream of the possibility of Rossa being elected, and omitted the precautions it took in the subsequent Kickham election. The case for Heron made amongst the electors was that it was impossible Rossa could get a majority, that if he did get a majority he would be immediately disqualified, and that—a piece of unconscious satire—"Mr. Heron's pledges on the leading questions are fully up to the mark." At the close of the poll Heron led in Nenagh by the enormous poll of 609 to 24, and in Clonmel by the great majority of 129 to 45, but Cashel, polled 142 for Rossa to 132 for Heron, Thurles 415 votes for Rossa to 152 for Heron, and Tipperary 497 for Rossa to 10 for Heron—a majority of 101 votes for the political prisoner over the political placehunter, and the Sheriff pronounced O'Donovan Rossa elected as member for Tipperary.

#### The Result of the Election.

The result of the election was received with joy in Ireland and with dismay in England. On receipt of the news Consols dropped on the London Stock Exchange and the Press of France, Germany, and Russia turned its attention for a space to events in Ireland. The lesson taught by this election to the British Minister, said Gill to the exultant crowds who celebrated the victory in Tipperary, "is that he cannot insult a nation with impunity and that Tipperary is not to be made the stepping-stone of Placehunters." The London "Times" warned the Government that the election was a shadow of coming trouble, that it might portend an agrarian war and that the way to meet it was to pass the Land Bill quickly and a Coercion Act at the same time—"grant relief with one hand and strike down treason with the other." The London correspondent of the Dublin "Daily Express" telegraphed that London was stricken with pain, anger, and disappointment. Another journal wrote—"Release us Barrabas"—this is the meaning of the votes recorded for O'Donovan Rossa in Tipperary." The suggestion that Mr. Denis Caulfield Heron stood in the position of Our Lord was perhaps the most sublimely blasphemous comment that ever appeared in the blasphemous Press that under the guise of religion supports the operations of perjuring oneself and selling the nation's interests—operations involved in the ancient villainy of placehunting in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone moved in the English Commons to annul the election and George Henry Moore opposed his motion, denying the competency of that body to declare the election invalid. He spoke of O'Donovan Rossa as "the hon. member for Tipperary," and the description evoked hooting and derisive laughter from the English legislators—"Yes," returned Moore, "he is member for Tipperary, at all events by one title which some members of this House cannot claim—by obtaining his seat without recourse to corrupt or dishonourable practices." Moore was supported by the lawyer, Henry Matthews, afterwards Lord Landaff, who asserted that there was no legal power in the House of Commons to annul Rossa's election. Rossa had not been attainted and his disqualification could only follow an attainder. This view was taken by two English members, Mr. Bouverie, and Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London. The leader of the Irish Orangemen, William Johnson, of Ballykilbeg, exasperated the English members by rising to support the election of Rossa. "Are we to listen to a defence of Fenianism in this House," demanded Sir George Jenkinson from the Speaker. Johnson retorted that he abhorred Fenianism, but the Fenians were his countrymen, and he believed that while they had been misguided they were honest men whose intention was to do good for Ireland. When the vote came only eight members were found to support the election—George Henry Moore himself, Henry Matthews, the two Englishmen (Bouverie and Gurney), the Orange Leader (Johnson), Captain Stackpoole (of Clare), and John Francis Maguire, and Patrick MacMahon

(two survivors of the Independent Oppositionist Party) sold by Sadlier and Keogh. 301 Whigs and Tories led by Gladstone voted the election void, and a new election was decreed. Charles Kickham was next nominated and Heron again opposed, securing election by the act of the Government which held up all telegrams from Kickham's agents on the day of the poll. Thus a majority of four votes was scored for the Placehunting Candidate, 1668 for Heron to 1664 for Kickham. "An Irish Nationalist," said the "Nation," commenting on the way in which the Government suppressed the telegrams in transit from Kickham's agents on the day of the poll, "might as well hand a political telegram in at the Detective Office in Exchange Court as in at the Telegraph Offices in this country."

#### The End of Heron.

Mr. Heron went to Parliament where he did not secure Amnesty, settle the Land Question, nor do anything else that he told the people of Tipperary he would do if they sent him there "to work for Ireland." Amnesty did come indeed, for after the Tipperary election European attention was fixed so much upon England's treatment of her political prisoners that she was compelled in a little while to open the prison-doors and let Rossa and the others go. But neither did Mr. Heron secure the distinction he fought for. Dowse, Palles, Naish, Johnston, and Law were all preferred before him—they were more serviceable though not more obedient hacks. When the General Election of 1874 came on Heron disappeared from Parliament—his Whiggery and hackery were too apparent for those who had put him in for Tipperary to attempt to stand with him before the electors. Again the 1874 election threw Gladstone out of power, and Heron's chances of promotion went with him. When Gladstone returned to power in 1880—Law, Naish and Johnston were still hungrily waiting to be provided for and all three were in front of Heron. But Heron was given the first vacancy of Serjeant-at-Law, and in January 1881 he appeared with the Attorney-General as chief counsel for the Crown to prosecute Parnell and the other traversers, before his brothers-in-law, Judge Barry and Judge Fitzgerald. The Mr. Heron who appealed to the electors of Tipperary to return him to settle the Land Question—not by any tinkering measure,—but "by rooting the people in the soil"—the exact phrase he used, produced this same phrase as seditiously used by Parnell and his colleagues. He tested Parnell's character in the light of O'Connell's wisdom and declared Parnell shown to be "the worst enemy of Ireland." The Land movement he described as "communism"—a "menace to the whole fabric of Christianity." "A conspiracy which struck at the roots of society," and he appealed to the Jury to recall at that sacred season—for it was at Christmas-tide the Government instituted the prosecution of the men who saved Ireland from another Government-made famine—"the holy voices of the children" singing the anthem of peace and goodwill, and by a verdict sending Parnell and his fellows to prison bring "peace in Ireland to men of goodwill." The Jury was imperfectly packed. By ten voices to two it favoured the acquittal of the prisoners and the Government was beaten. Serjeant Heron however had done his duty. He was promoted to be second Serjeant, and in due time would have reached the Bench had he not suddenly expired while engaged in the gentle occupation of salmon fishing.

He was merely a type of the common herd of Catholic Placehunters whom Parnell hunted out of the Irish representation. To him and such as he that representation existed only to benefit himself—religion and politics were things to be used as stepping-stones to the Bench. Ireland had grown so used to his type that it had ceased to feel indignation and astonishment at exhibitions of public perfidy on the part of men patronised by Governments and Bishops—the perjurer on the Bench trying the man who remained honest was an actual spectacle that did not move the people to rage and revolution. From that kind of thing Parnell rescued the country. If it forgets what he did and what he taught, it will never lack Serjeants Heron to tell it that thus it truly serves Faith and Fatherland.

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Ignoble and Debasing Character.—'There are those, and unhappily they form the great majority, who think there is something noble (morally as well as historically) in the exercise of command—in the forcing of others to abandon their own wills and fulfil the will of the commander. I am not about to contest this sentiment. I merely say that there are others, unhappily but few, who think it ignoble to bring their fellow-creatures into subjection, and who think the noble thing is not only to respect their freedom, but also to defend it. Leaving this matter undiscussed, my present purpose is to show those who lean towards Imperialism, that the exercise of mastery inevitably entails on the master himself some form of slavery, more or less pronounced.' Herbert Spencer, "Facts and Comments," p. 112.

Enslavement of Others entails Self-Enslavement.—'The instrumentalities by which the subordination of others is effected, themselves subordinate the victor, the master, or the ruler. . . . Subject races or subject societies do not voluntarily submit themselves to a ruling race or a ruling society: their subjection is nearly always the effect of coercion. . . . The individual Spartan, master as he was over slaves and semi-slaves (the Helots and the Peræci), was himself in bondage to the incorporated society of Spartans. Each led the life not which he himself chose, but the life dictated by the aggregate of which he formed one unit. And this life was a life of strenuous discipline, leaving no space for culture, or art, or poetry, or other source of pleasure. . . . If, instead of the small and simple community of Sparta, we take the vast and complex empire of Rome, we find this essential connexion between Imperialism and slavery even more conspicuous. I do not refer to the fact that three-fourths of those who peopled Italy in imperial days were slaves, chained in the fields when at work. . . . but I refer to the fact that the nominally free part of the community consisted of grades of bondmen. . . . 'Everyone treated in fact as a servant of the State.' . . . (says Gibbon). . . . the nature of each man's labour was permanently fixed for him.' The society was formed of fighting serfs, working serfs, cultivating serfs, official serfs. . . . Thus in a conspicuous manner Rome shows how, as in other cases, a society which enslaves other societies enslaves itself. . . . Gibbon writes:—'Augustus was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation that the senate and people would submit to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom.' 'Decline and Fall,' 68." Herbert Spencer, "Facts and Comments," pp.113-7.

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