

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

We have received from all quarters of Ireland accounts of meetings, processions and demonstrations of joy at the result of the Longford election. Our space is not equal to the occasion—the whole of this issue would not suffice to give even a small paragraph to each demonstration. We must, therefore, ask our friends to be content with the publication of the fact that from Bantry and Dingle to Derry, from Wexford to Donegal, from Dublin to Galway, and from Louth to Sligo, the country manifested its joy at the knock-out blow delivered in Longford to the Provincialists. No sight more picturesque and inspiring have we seen in Ireland for thirty years than the town of Ballymahon—the centre of a district where nearly four votes to one were polled for M'Guinness—on the night of the declaration of the poll. As those of us who came to thank the people in the various districts and congratulate them on a victory won over the combined forces of the British Government, the traitorous Irish Party, and the full strength of Longford Unionism, arrived at Ballymahon, late at night, we found the town thronged with people aflame with enthusiasm. The town shone like a fiery jewel on the dark breast of the countryside. Practically every house was illuminated, and the effect, as the traveller approached the town, was beautiful beyond exaggeration. Leaving Ballymahon and journeying the long miles back to Longford town, the night seemed pierced with tongues of flame—bonfires on the hills and at the cross-roads. Three old men who had voted for Mr. Mac Guinness at Ballymahon came proudly to us to boast that they had voted for John Martin 47 years ago. Then Martin and Ireland were defeated; but last week Longford wiped away for ever the stain of 1870, and wrote its name imperishably in Irish history.

Mr. Cox, the Secretary of the A.O.H. Co. Board for Longford, who supported Mr. Mac Guinness's candidature, has been suspended by Mr. J. D. Nugent, the person who for years has manipulated an organisation nominally Catholic and National, in the interest of Mr. John Redmond. We understand that the Hibernians of Ireland generally are making up their minds to get rid of the coterie who have for years misused the organisation, and Ireland will certainly be the cleaner when this is accomplished.

We observe that that guileless politician, Mr. S. W. Maddock, J.P., of the Unionist Alliance and the Dublin Recruiting Committee, prospective Unionist candidate for South County Dublin, who appeared in Longford on the Saturday before the election and spent a busy time there, is amazed that it should be suspected that he went down to persuade the Unionists to vote for Mr. M'Kenna in return for a promise of South County Dublin from the Redmondites. It is a censorious world which, knowing anything of Mr. Maddock's record for the past 25 years, would suspect him of being an intriguer. But so it is. By a remarkable coincidence the Unionists of Longford, who, before Mr. Maddock's arrival, loudly declared that they would abstain, as freely declared on the eve of the poll that they had changed their minds. And they came up with a vengeance on the polling day to vote for the Irish Parliamentary Party. With four exceptions, all the available Unionist voters in the Ballymahon district came to the poll; the last of them to arrive was a gentleman prominent in the Masonic Order from Westmeath, who came in a motor car adorned with the legend "Vote for M'Kenna." Had the Unionists of Longford remained neutral, as they said they would, before

Mr. Maddock casually dropped down from Dublin with no political intentions in the world Mr. M'Kenna would have polled 200 votes less. What we had to face in Longford was the united Parliamentary and Unionist vote—and we beat them both combined!

Nine years ago two members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, convinced that Parliamentarianism had become a danger to Ireland, and that only through the policy of Sinn Fein could the country be saved from disaster, resigned their seats in the English Parliament. Mr. James O'Mara, who represented Kilkenny County, retiring into private life, advised the nation to discard a policy that his experience had convinced him was useless and pregnant with danger; Mr. Charles Dolan, who represented North Leitrim, declared that the issue should be fought out at the polls as to whether Ireland should continue to look to the English Parliament, or, abandoning that institution, rely upon her own efforts for her salvation. The North Leitrim election followed—The first election fought in Ireland since the passage of the Act of Union on the clear and express issue of repudiating that Act and all right in the English Parliament to make laws to bind the Irish people.

Had the election been won the past nine years of Irish history would have been differently written; but it would have been a miracle had it been won. The Sinn Fein policy had only been a year or eighteen months launched. Outside a few large towns, it was little known, and scarcely anywhere understood. Nearly the whole Press of the country misrepresented it—partly through ignorance. In North Leitrim itself, Mr. Dolan's constituency, there were just six people who understood what Sinn Fein meant before Mr. Dolan resigned his seat and declared himself a Sinn Feiner. In the election that followed much propagandist work was done against the terrific opposition which had to be encountered. Manorhamilton itself and the surrounding district was won for Sinn Fein, but the mass of the county could not be reached. A hundred Parliamentary orators were flung into the constituency and swarmed across it, telling its honest but untutored people that Sinn Fein was a Unionist device—that it was subsidised by Castle gold—that it was anti-clerical—that it wished to destroy Home Rule, and so forth. The A.O.H. organisations then just beginning, and composed largely of sincere and enthusiastic young men, were informed by their Dublin leaders that the Sinn Feiners were men of infamous character; but the great card which was played against Sinn Fein was the card of a friendly Government. Within two years, the people of North Leitrim were told by a dozen M.P.'s. Home Rule would be an accomplished fact—an Irish Parliament would sit in College Green; and nothing but the election of a Sinn Feiner for North Leitrim would prevent this triumph.

To this, Charles Dolan and the Editor of this journal replied that instead of Home Rule coming into operation in two years, if the Parliamentary Party won North Leitrim, Home Rule would be postponed to Tibb's Eve; that the Irish Parliamentary Party had lost its independence; it could exert no force on English Governments, and that so long as it could keep Ireland quiet for England, so long would England play with the question of Home Rule. Speaking at the public meeting in support of Mr. Dolan in Manorhamilton on February 1st, 1908, the present writer said:—"Our opponents assure you that they will have Home Rule in operation in two years' time if you return their candidate. We tell you that not in two years' time, nor in ten years' time, will Ireland see Home Rule if Ireland continues to support a Party that has become altogether weak and

subservient to English Liberal Statesmen, and is rapidly becoming corrupt. We tell you that it is by the Irish constituencies turning their back on the English Parliament that the English Parliament will be forced to take the Irish question seriously. Ten years hence Ireland will be worse off than she is to-day, if Ireland continues to elect men to attend England's Parliament where England can, and will, seduce them from their allegiance to Ireland—ten years hence there will be no Home Rule if this policy be persisted in, but there will be a horde of new officials fattening on the country—a horde of friends and relatives of the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, provided with Government positions, and, in return for their pay, debauching the mind and betraying the ideals of the country; and ten years hence these same M.P.'s whom you heard in Manorhamilton last week telling you that the maintenance of a united Parliamentary Party would mean Home Rule in two years will be telling you the same story. There will be no Home Rule, but there will be ever promises of Home Rule; ever the carrot before the donkey. There will be no Home Rule, because no English Government will ever concede any form of real self-government to this country until it is faced by men who cannot be bribed and who cannot be intimidated. When you adopt in Ireland the policy Hungary adopted in its fight with Austria—when you refuse to send members to be outnumbered, to be outplayed, to be seduced in a foreign legislature—when you turn your back on England and your face to the world—when you call the world to witness that your fight with England is no domestic squabble, but the fight of nation with nation; when you elect your members as Hungary elected her members, to stay in the capital of their own country, and to treat with England, not as supplicants for concessions, but as representatives of a nation, then you will have England hastening to offer you Home Rule. If you elect Charles Dolan you will have taken the first step to convince the Government of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith that the Irish question is not to be solved by bribing Irish representatives in the English Parliament; if you reject Charles Dolan, then you will have years of promise and no performance before you. But in either case Sinn Fein will continue to go on. The members of Parliament here last week told you that by this election you would kill Sinn Fein. Elect Dolan and you make Sinn Fein victorious; reject Dolan and you defeat Sinn Fein; but it is strong enough to stand defeat, and defeat again, and it knows that the day will come when Ireland will realise that it is being betrayed by weak and cowardly men and by corrupt men. In that day Ireland will look to Sinn Fein—for Sinn Fein cannot be killed—and it will remember that the men of Manorhamilton and the men of Glenfarne and Glenade—the gallant glensmen of Leitrim, who never lost the continuity of their nationality, were the first, by their votes, to declare that the title of Ireland to be a nation was eternal, and that Sinn Fein was the policy by which Ireland, in the twentieth century, like Hungary in the nineteenth century, could regain her place in Europe."

Charles Dolan was defeated by some 3,000 votes to 1,200. But we held in Leitrim that to poll 1,200 votes for Sinn Fein was a victory. "No more English Parliament" was the legend on the streamer across the street of Manorhamilton, and our 1,200 supporters voted deliberately and of set purpose to end the whole policy of Parliamentarianism. But the defeat disheartened many throughout Ireland. The man who is moved by enthusiasm, rather than by fixed and considered principles, is apt in the hour of defeat to give way to despair. So it was with Sinn Fein. Its numbers dwindled; it soon became a bye-word; but the men who founded it kept its flag flying, knowing that time would vindicate it, as time has done.

Had Dolan been elected for Manorhamilton—had the Irish Party been repudiated after they contracted to barter Home Rule for the Councils Bill—the Government would have passed into law some measure of Home Rule for all Ireland, for Carson and his Covenanters, with their demand for partition were merely an after-effect of Redmond's subservient policy. It needed no political genius to see that Redmond would yield to any demand that left him the name of Home Rule—that he would barter at any time the substance for the shadow. The elections of 1909 gave Redmond the balance of power in the English Parliament, and, as Sinn Fein had foretold, he had not the courage to use it. And so England, looking forward as she was to war with Germany, was able to keep Ireland quiet and yield Ireland nothing. The nine years Ireland has lost are not irrevocably lost. If the policy that failed to carry Ireland in 1908, but is carrying Ireland to-day, prevails in the other constituencies as it has prevailed in Roscommon and Longford, before nine years hence the Irish question will be settled, as the Hungarian question was settled,—a baffled England, like a baffled Austria, will yield the full demand of an alert, awakened, and determined people.

The protest against the partition of Ireland, which has been signed by the great majority of the Catholic, and some of the Protestant, Bishops, came at a crucial moment. It was common knowledge that partition under the guise of "county option" was the latest nostrum of Lloyd-George, and that the so-called Irish Party was prepared to accept the thing, putting up a bogus protest, such as it put up against the payment of members, to save its face in Ireland. The Bishops' Manifesto and the Archbishop of Dublin's letter were bombs thrown into the camp of the place-jobbers, and the bitterness of the Castle organs against His Grace is the measure of the rage and disappointment felt by the place-hunters of the "Freeman's Journal." We read with interest the Editor of the "Freeman's" declaration of what he would say only that the Archbishop of Dublin is not a layman. And this miserable journal, now reeking with foul libels on Irish bishops and young Irish clergymen—kept alive only by the money the British Government handed it as "compensation"—is the organ that for years posed as Catholic and Nationalist, and imposed on thousands of people who lived unaware that the major part of the time of most of the "Freeman's Journal" staff was spent appealing to Dublin Castle for County Court Judgments and Local Government Board Inspectorships.

It is time that the people of Ireland were fully acquainted with the history and character of the "Freeman's Journal"—the most infamous history of any journal existing in Ireland. This is a busy period, but we shall spare time next week to trace the story of the "Freeman's Journal," from the day when, for the secret wages of Dublin Castle, it maligned Henry Grattan, down to to-day, when, with its "£63,000 compensation" through the same institution, it maligns the Archbishop of Dublin and the young priests of Longford. We have been asked whether there is any reason why our supporters should not subscribe to the Bishops' protest against partition. We can see none. The form before us reads:—"Anti-Partition.—We, the undersigned, heartily subscribe to the National Protest now being made against the partition of Ireland, temporary or permanent." All of us can subscribe to such a declaration, and we recommend Sinn Feiners everywhere to do so.

The following correspondence tells its own tale:—

Tachbrooke St., Westminster,
May 10th, 1917.

Dear Sir,—Believing that a crisis of extraordinary importance for the future of our race and country is now confronting us, and that every element of national sense and foresight should be combined and concentrated in a supreme effort to win advantage from opportunity, I addressed an enquiry to, amongst others, Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, T. P. O'Connor, and the General Sec. of the U.I.L. of Great Britain. The terms of my interrogation to each of the gentlemen mentioned were of similar import to those which appear in the enclosed correspondence.

Your readers will observe that, except for the minor objections which Mr. Dillon raises in his reply, there is no attempt made to answer the questions I submitted, while in the case of

Messrs. O'Connor and Crilly there is a deliberate attempt at evasion and an airy indifference towards the seriousness of the subject.

I am precluded from including Mr. Redmond's reply, as it is marked "private." But I may say that it is very brief and does not venture to discuss the matter.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

M. M'NAMARA.

Tachbrooke St., Westminster,
April 26th, 1917.

Dear Sir,—Do you not think that the time is opportune for the Irish Party to make clear in definite terms their objections to the Sinn Fein proposals for having Ireland directly and independently represented at the forthcoming Peace Conference?

As far as I am aware, the supporters of the U.I.L. have had no guidance by way of proof that these proposals are impolitic or impractical. My experience convinces me that, both here and at home, there is a steady and growing volume of opinion setting in in favour of this method. The people recognise that the opportunity is unique if it can be utilised. The development of events but enhance the claims made on its behalf. President Wilson's precise and emphatic definition of the Republic's aims, and his firm insistence of the recognition of complete national rights for the small nations, add strength and cogency to the Sinn Fein position. That position is further strengthened by the almost complete and justifiable mistrust in the promises and pledges of British Ministers, which are invariably disappointing and deceitful.

The people are now beginning to grasp the defective character of the "Home Rule Act," which, if it should come into operation in anything like its present form, would probably lead to utter social and political disaster.

In view of these obvious considerations what, may I ask, are the governing reasons which keep the Party in opposition to the Sinn Fein proposals? The arguments in favour, as they seem to me, are bold, convincing and patriotic, and they are in good accord with our sense of national dignity.—Yours faithfully,

M. M'NAMARA.

T. P. O'Connor, Esq., M.P.

5 Morpeth Mansions,
Victoria St., S.W.,
May 1st, 1917.

Dear Sir,—Thanks for your letter. We have met all these things over and over again, and if you read the Irish Nationalist papers—for example, the "Freeman's Journal"—you will there find the views of the Party set out.—Yours faithfully,

T. P. O'CONNOR.

Tachbrooke St., Westminster, S.W.,
May 3rd, 1917.

Dear Sir,—I thank you for your letter of the 1st inst.

I am reluctant to trespass upon your time, which, apart from your Parliamentary duties, is no doubt very fully occupied with your pressing cinema and social engagements; and these, as I am aware, are of great personal and pecuniary interest to you.

I am not unacquainted with what appears in such papers as you mention. I have, however, been unable to obtain any definite information therefrom respecting the points referred to my previous letter, nor have I read anything by yourself or any of your colleagues proving the alleged futility of having Ireland's claims presented by Irishmen before the prospective International Tribunal.

In my understanding of the matter, this question is of enormous importance, far transcending in possibilities of great achievement anything that has hitherto occurred in our relations with England. It should, therefore, be considered in an atmosphere of patriotic coolness, and not of partisanship and prejudice. Why cannot your Party show a lead?

Meanwhile, perhaps, you can refer me to some speech or writing which gives some substantial reasons for repudiating the Sinn Fein proposals, and showing them to be unwise and impractical.—Yours faithfully,

M. M'NAMARA.

T. P. O'Connor, Esq., M.P.

House of Commons, London,
May 2nd, 1917.

My Dear Sir,—I duly received your letter of 23rd April, and would have answered it before now, but I am overwhelmed with correspondence.

It is not possible to deal fully in a letter with this question of the claims of Ireland to be represented at the Peace Conference. Strictly

speaking, not being a belligerent power, Ireland would have no *locus standi*.

If it were decided to hear representatives of Poland, Ireland, and other oppressed nationalities, I am afraid the question as to who should select or nominate the representatives of Ireland, and what programme they should be instructed to place before the Peace Conference, would present insuperable difficulties.

The appearance of rival Irish delegations with conflicting programmes would hardly be calculated to serve the cause of Ireland.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN DILLON.

M. M'Namara, Esq.

Tachbrooke St., Westminster, S.W.,
May 3rd, 1917.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged for your letter of yesterday's date. While I appreciate the difficulties you mention, I feel they are very insignificant in view of the promise and possibilities that may reside in the advantage of direct representation at the Peace Conference.

The question of our "*locus standi*," as I see it, rests in our having the right to present our own case, rather than to take part in adjudicating thereon, that being the specific function of the International Tribunal, composed, as it may be, of the representatives of belligerent powers only.

Should the exigencies of party politics or personal aims deprive us of the chance of placing our feet on the threshold of an assured future independence—from which the instincts of the people have never been deflected—then Parliamentary politics and leading, as now understood, will be for ever hated and despised.

As I regard the matter, a great opportunity appears to await exploiting, and it is of such transcendent importance that it may be hoped that every patriotic Irishman will concentrate effort on it.—Yours faithfully,

M. M'NAMARA.

John Dillon, Esq., M.P.

Mr. M'Namara next tried the minor fry with much the same result. Like Messrs. O'Connor and Dillon, the General Secretary of the U.I.L. evaded the questions, but blundered out the implicit admission that his Party was opposed to Ireland going to the Peace Conference. This is where England's diplomacy went astray. When she bought up the Party and thought herself secure from being challenged on her "small nations" advocacy by Ireland at the Peace Conference she believed that T. P. O'Connor was still competent to deliver the goods—whereas he can no more barter Ireland to-day than he can barter Bulgaria or Poland.

On Sunday week a National Club was established in Drogheda, for the purpose of supporting the movement for Irish Independence through the medium of the Peace Conference. The Mayoralty House, where the meeting was held, was crowded to the doors, when Mr. P. Monahan took the chair, to outline the policy of the Club and the aims it had in view. They looked with confidence to the Peace Conference for the endorsement of their claim to independence, the Chairman stated. The President of the United States had given it as his opinion, and the opinion of his Government, that the peace of the world could only be secured by establishing in every land a system of government with the consent of the governed. It was for Ireland, therefore, to state what form of government she would be content to accept. They asked the country to declare for independence. A nation which had fought against England for over 700 years could accept no less. Their movement was no revolutionary one, as that word was commonly understood. If they asked was it a physical force movement, then he answered without hesitation, no. They did not contemplate any resort to armed force. The Redmondite Party sent tens of thousands to die in France and Flanders and had got nothing in return. Now, Mr. Dillon told his unfortunate dupes that he never asked anyone to join the British army. It was also said of their movement that it turned its back on Parnell and all that he stood for. That was a lie. It was Mr. Redmond and his Party who had turned their backs on Parnell when they accepted the present Home Rule Bill—what Mr. White, M.E.P., had described as "a miserable thing"—as a final settlement of Ireland's claim. Parnell said no man had the right to set the limit to the onward march of the nation. It was given to no man to say to his country: "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." They confronted the Parliamentary Party with these words.

The enrolment of members then took place, and the meeting adjourned for a fortnight.

MR. REDMOND IN 1902.

We make the following extracts from No. 2 of the United Irish League of Great Britain leaflets. It is a report of a speech delivered by Mr. John Redmond on August 9th, 1902, and it has been recently suppressed by Mr. Redmond's writ. The occasion was the coronation of Edward VII., and Mr. Redmond was addressing his Party. That Party now claims to be what it terms "constitutional," and it will be seen that Mr. Redmond declared there was no constitution in Ireland, and that Ireland never gained anything by purely constitutional methods. He said, among other things:

"The Skeleton at the Feast.

"The Monarch of this mighty Empire is being crowned, and there are assembled in London representatives from all parts of the Empire to acclaim Edward VII. as the Constitutional Monarch of these realms. There is only one absentee—Ireland. Gentlemen, in Ireland Edward VII. is not a Constitutional Monarch. No English Sovereign has been a Constitutional Monarch of Ireland since the Union, and to-day the Nationalist representatives of Ireland renew the protest—which has never been allowed to die for one hundred years—against the destruction of our Constitution and the usurpation of the government of our country by England.

We claim that Ireland is not bound, morally or legally, by any laws which are not made by the Sovereign, Lords and Commons of Ireland. We specifically deny the moral or legal and constitutional right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland. Upon what does this claim rest? The Irish Parliament—people certainly in England seem quite oblivious of the fact—the Irish Parliament was almost coeval with and absolutely co-ordinate with the Parliament of England, and the first Irish Parliament of which we have any authentic records sat in 1295, and from 1295 until 1495 that Parliament was absolutely supreme, a sovereign Parliament, and no law made in England was binding in Ireland, and although in 1495 what was known as Poyning's Law was passed, which provided that the heads of all Bills to be introduced into the Irish Parliament were first to be approved by the King and Privy Council of England, still that law was an Irish law passed by an Irish Parliament and did not sacrifice the independence of the Irish Parliament or recognise England's right to make laws for Ireland. It reserved a co-ordinate authority with the English Parliament, and this condition remained unbroken—aye, remained unquestioned—until the reign of George I., and then in 1719 an English Act was passed which enacted that the English Parliament had power of making laws for Ireland. Now, that clause was always resisted by this country. Ireland never for one hour ceased to protest against it, until at last, in 1782, the freedom of the Irish Parliament was obtained by the great measure which Grattan, backed by the Irish Volunteers, passed into law. The Act of George I. was repealed and the English Act of the 24th of George III., Chapter 28, solemnly declared as follows:—"Be it enacted that the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom in all cases whatsoever, shall be, and is hereby declared and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable." Well, we know that eighteen years after that solemn declaration it was disregarded, and the Irish Parliament, which lasted for five hundred years, was destroyed by the Act of Union. Gentlemen, the Act of Union was carried by force and fraud, by treachery and falsehood. Speaking to an ordinary Irish audience, it is unnecessary for me to labour these facts, but I hope you will forgive me if I attempt in a few observations to place our case upon record just as if we were making our case to England, and not speaking here upon Irish soil. Mr. Lecky in the second volume of his history says: "The sacrifice of Nationality was extorted by the most enormous corruption in the history of representative institutions. It was demanded by no considerable portion of the Irish people. It was effected without a dissolution, in opposition to the universal majority of the representatives of the counties and considerable towns, and to innumerable addresses from all parts of the country. The Union was a crime of the deepest turpitude, which, by imposing with every circumstance of infamy, a new form of government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion." Lord Grey, speaking after the Union in England, pointed out there were 300 members in the Irish Parliament. Of that

number 120 members strongly opposed the Union, and 162 voted in favour of it; and of those 162, 116 were placemen in the pay of the English Government. Now from that day to this

"Ireland has never Ceased to Protest"

against the usurpation of the Government of Ireland by the English Parliament. She has never ceased to protest according to the circumstances and the opportunities of the moment. She has protested by means of armed insurrections, and generation after generation has witnessed brave and gallant men sacrificing their lives in prison cell or on the scaffold in defence of Irish freedom. She has protested against it by agitation—never ceasing agitation—protested against it from generation to generation, on the floor of the foreign assembly to which the Irish representatives have been sent. . . . England thus destroyed our Constitution in 1800. What has she given us in return? Has she given us in return her own Constitution? Nothing of the kind. Never for one single hour since the Union was passed has Ireland been a constitutionally governed country. Never for one hour has the Sovereign of England been the Constitutional Sovereign of Ireland. Ireland, in effect, has since 1800 been governed as a Crown Colony, with certain empty forms and pretences of Constitutionalism. Never for one hour has the English Government of Ireland obtained the assent, or approval, or confidence of the people of Ireland. Never for one hour have the elected representatives of the majority of the Irish people had the control or even a potent voice in the government of this country. Never for one hour since then has the English Government of Ireland rested upon anything but naked force and unabashed corruption. Never for one hour has the British Constitution been in force in this country, whose own Constitution was destroyed. Why, the mere fact that in one hundred years eighty-seven Coercion Acts have been passed by the English Parliament for Ireland, in spite of Irish protest, is sufficient to establish the facts I have adduced. Martial law, suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, suspension of trial by jury, suppression of free speech—these have been the permanent blessings conferred on Ireland by the destruction of the Irish Constitution. No single reform, large or small, has ever been obtained by purely constitutional methods. Let any Englishman who questions that answer this question. Let him point to any single act of justice or reform which has not been extorted in one way or another from the British Parliament by force or by fear. Catholic Emancipation, falsely promised before the Union, granted, in the words of Wellington, to avoid civil war. The Church Act and the Land Act, produced by the influence of Fenianism.

"Having robbed us of our Constitution, England has given us none instead of it in Ireland. English rule to-day rests solely on force and corruption; and we, the Nationalist representatives of the people, decline to stultify ourselves or abate our principles by participating in the Coronation of King Edward VII., as a Constitutional Monarch.

"A Chastly Record.

"Allow me for one moment to turn to another aspect of our case. The suppression of the Constitution in Ireland has been followed by disasters unparalleled in the history of the world. Under English rule millions of our people have died by artificial famines, and hundreds of thousands of homes have been levelled by the crowbar brigade. People talk of the devastation in the Transvaal and Orange River Free State. Horrible, inhuman and disgraceful as that was, it was as nothing compared to what happened in Ireland under the so-called

Constitutional Rule of the English Parliament. The Transvaal was, after all, in a state of war. But in Ireland, in a state of peace, the homes of the people have been levelled, the population of our country has been largely exterminated or expatriated, and our fair and smiling fields have been laid waste and desolate. People sometimes speak of famine as an act of God—an impious phrase, in my opinion, never true in any time in our country; but in Ireland the phrase is an absolute blasphemy. The Irish famine has been the direct result of English misgovernment.

"Fraud, robbery and murder have characterised the English usurpation of the government of our country. Why, for the last fifty years we have been robbed in the matter of taxes of hundreds of millions. Just in a sentence let me point this out. The accusation is made against England that she is robbing this country by unjust taxation. A tribunal is appointed to consider the question. Appointed by whom? Appointed by the accused, packed by the accused, a tribunal with a majority of Britishers on it, appointed by the accused person, and when a verdict is brought in in favour of Ireland that verdict is thrown in the wastepaper basket, and the English Empire proceeds complacently along, piling up year after year the taxes of this country, until to-day it is absolutely true that Ireland's contribution towards the expenses of the Empire have been since that Commission sat increased by almost two million pounds a year. We pay for the navy, and we have no commerce for the navy to protect; we pay for the army, and we loathe and execrate the work upon which it has been engaged. And England, in the face of these facts, asks us—expects us—to join in the jubilation of the moment. No, Gentlemen, we submit to the English usurpation of the government of Ireland, but we do so because we have no adequate means of successful resistance; but we loathe English rule, and we will take no part in the jubilation of the Coronation.

"Why Ireland is not Loyal.

"And we hear English Statesmen asking us why Ireland is not loyal. Lord Rosbery the other day declared that if Ireland were only loyal he would be willing to confer upon her a Colonial Constitution. Loyal—loyal to what? Why, there is no race in the world which, I believe, by instinct, is more loyal is more inclined to sentiments of loyalty than the Irish. Why do not these English Statesmen give us something to be loyal to? What claim has such a system as that to loyalty? Grattan said that loyalty without liberty was corruption. What public liberty exists in Ireland to-day? The Constitution is suspended. The most trusted and honoured men throughout the length and breadth of Ireland are being sent as common criminals to English jails on vague charges of conspiracy, sent there by degraded tribunals consisting of paid and removable servants of the man who brings the accusation. In Ireland there is neither liberty, prosperity nor loyalty. There is oppression and poverty and misgovernment, and deep-seated and justifiable disloyalty."

This was Mr. Redmond fifteen years ago. When he spoke thus an English Tory Government was in power. Three years later an English Liberal Government came into power, and Mr. Redmond, swallowing all the brave things set out above, started to keep Ireland quiet for the Liberals, receiving in return payment of members and a lucrative position as chief jailor of Ireland for his son-in-law, Mr. Max Green. He spoke the truth in 1902. He has lived on political lies since 1905. And retribution has at last overtaken him for his apostasy and his falsehood to the country that honoured, trusted and rewarded him in the past.

A FAMOUS IRISH PICTURE

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.

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All literary communications should be addressed to the editor.

All business communications to the Manager,
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For Subscription and Advertising Rates, see p. 8.

NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, MAY 19th, 1917.

LONGFORD ELECTION.

The result of the Longford election is described by the soberest organ in the English Press—the "Manchester Guardian"—as equivalent to a serious defeat of the British army in the field. The description is not an exaggeration, for the election shatters the pretences on which England has posed as the champion of small nations. Ireland, she has insisted, is satisfied with her ruling, or at the most desires merely its re-adjustment; the question between Ireland and herself, she has protested, bears no likeness to the question between Poland and Russia—it is but a household question; Sinn Fein she has represented as but the ill-considered doctrine of a thoughtless minority, and the Insurrection of Easter Week, she has asserted, represented nothing but the actual insurgents. To prove the assertion she has pointed to Mr. Redmond and his Party as the accredited and authorised spokesmen of Ireland, and they have, at her bidding, clamoured that she was right—that Ireland made no claim to the status of a nation in Europe, and that Ireland claimed no hearing at that Peace Conference which will at the termination of this war deliberate and adjudge the future of Belgium and Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania and Poland—the small nations of the European world.

Longford has destroyed these pretences of England. Longford, by its vote, has declared to Europe that Ireland claims the right of a small nation to live its own life and carve its own destiny—the right that the United States has pledged itself to support—the right that has been conceded by all the belligerents to Poland. The verdict of Longford is, the people of Ireland know, the verdict of all Ireland; but it was won in the face of an opposition unparalleled in our memory in an Irish election. It was won against the combined forces of Lloyd-George's Government, the corrupt Parliamentary Party, the Unionists, and the influence of the Bishop. It was won in a con-

stituency where Sinn Fein had been until a little while ago anathema, because the local Press had lied and misrepresented Sinn Fein for years to the people; it was won on a register four years old—a register on which few but elderly men remained; it was won in a constituency where practically none of the men between 21 and 30 had a vote; it was won in the teeth of organised intimidation and bribery, open and unashamed; but it is to the imperishable honour of Longford that its voters—its people were four to one with us—victoriously returned as their representative a man who stood for an Independent Ireland, and whom England had cast into her prisons—it is to the eternal honour of Longford's artisans and business men, labourers and hard-working farmers, that, despising all intimidation and all bribes, they voted for Ireland at the Peace Conference.

Between Ireland and the presentation of her claim at that Conference—her claim to the same measure of restoration as Poland has received—there remains but one barrier. It calls itself the Irish Parliamentary Party—it has existed on the reputation of the leader whom it dethroned, while it prostitutes the policy for which he stood. It betrays the people and the nation to the English Government, and cries that it follows the policy of Parnell and Davitt. Not the policy of Parnell and Davitt, but the policy of Sadlier and Keogh, is the policy that traitorous Party has pursued for ten years past; and now, thank God! the country has realised the truth. Posing for years as the heir of Parnell and Davitt, it raised in Longford as its ensign the flag against which they fought—the ensign which Ireland first saw on the 1st January, 1801—the symbol of the villainous Act of Union—the Union Jack! At last discarding the trappings of Nationalism with which so long it deceived the people of Ireland, it boldly raised the Union Jack as its standard in Longford and rallied all Longford Unionism to its aid. And Longford Nationalism met and slew the Allies.

Between Ireland and the presentation of her case to the Peace Conference this traitorous Party stands. It is England's one hope. When Nationalist Ireland seeks admission England's one valid objection will be that the spokesmen of Ireland chosen by the Irish constituencies are on her side. It is this argument we must destroy. It was to destroy this argument we fought and won Roscommon and we fought and won Longford. It is for this reason we must eject the Irish slaves of England from every constituency, and replace them by men who will stand in the eyes of Europe for an Independent Irish Nation. The way of Ireland to the Peace Conference is through the constituencies—the ballot-boxes must accredit the representatives of the Irish Nation to that Congress which is pledged to regard the right of small nations to live in liberty and peace.

We are well on the road. The opportunity of a century is within our grasp. We have made Ireland a question of international concern, and Ireland has but to follow the headline of Longford to make the settlement of the Irish question a settlement not made in England, but in and by Europe and the United States. Sixty years ago there were 5 oppressed nations in Europe—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Ireland. To-day Ireland is the only one left in bondage. And to-day Ireland's opportunity begins, as it began in turn for the other nations.

The opportunity has come to Ireland to render the permanent settlement of Europe impossible after the war without a permanent settlement of Ireland. And to the constituencies in Ireland now we say: the issue upon which you must vote is whether Ireland accepts England's rule and whatever England may decree, or whether Ireland rejects that rule and claims from the Peace Conference the right that the Allies declare they stand for, the right that the United States declares it stands for—the right of Belgium, the right of Poland—the right of a nation to govern itself.

ENGLAND AND "THE EMPIRE."

The significance of the resolutions of the Imperial Conference in London has been glossed by the English Press and unnoticed in Ireland. They imply a revolution in the Government of what is called the British Empire, and the approximation, after the war, of its Government to the Government of the German Empire.

"The British Empire" has been and is at present but an alias for England. England made war; England made peace; England made policy. The function of what was called the Empire was to follow England. When England made war upon Germany she did not consult Canada, she did not consult Australia, she did not consult New Zealand, she did not consult South Africa, she did not consult India. She did not put the advisability or desirability of war to the test of the votes of Ireland and Scotland and Wales and India and Australia and Canada and New Zealand and South Africa. She decided on war in her own interest, and having decided on it, she told those nations and dominions and colonies that it was **their** war, and that they must aid her to win it.

Thus the "British Empire" showed itself to be a name and nothing more—a name—an alias for an autocratic England, and the dominions, having at last realised the fact, have resolved that the existing state of affairs must end with this war—that England must no longer rule "the British Empire," but take her place as a State within it; that war and peace must no longer be in the hands of England to make, but must be the joint concern of all the States within the Empire. That, in fact, England must be no more in "the British Empire" than Prussia is in the German Empire.

There is a grim humour in the fact that while England professed to be fighting "Prussianism," she has since the beginning of the war sat like a school child at Prussia's feet, trying to learn and apply the lesson of Prussian organisation and statecraft. Now she is told by her dominions that when the war is over she must cease to be the autocrat of the Empire, and become a State, like Prussia, in an Empire built upon the German model. That model is indeed not a new one. It was copied and adapted with success from the Celtic States of ancient Gaul. It is in essence the system of government that prevailed in Ireland before the English invasion—a system that combined the independence of the different parts with the unity of the whole against external enemies.

The German Empire consists of four independent Kingdoms, and a number of Prince-doms, Grand Duchies, Duchies and Republics, each self-governed, but united in a confederation of which the King of Prussia as German Emperor is the head. Each Republic, Duchy, Grand Duchy, Principality and Kingdom of Germany transacts its own internal business under direction of its own Parliament; but for the direction of affairs common to all German States—peace and war, for instance—the Bundesrath or Grand Council of the Federation exists—a supreme body over whose acts the German Emperor himself possesses no veto. In the Bundesrath every State of Germany is represented—the pettiest as well as the most powerful—and of the 63 members that compose it, Prussia, the most powerful of German States, is permitted but 17. Thus at any time a combination of the other States of Germany can outvote Prussia in the Bundesrath, and thus the great Germanic Confederation is secured against any one State infringing the rights of States weaker than itself, or playing the autocrat with the German Empire.

This is the future position the Imperial Conference designs for England. This is what its resolutions imply. After the war England's autocracy is to end, and England is to take a place in the Empire equivalent to that which Prussia occupies in Germany. She is no longer to play with the blood and fortunes of other States unchecked. In some kind of

"British" Bundesrath there is to be an England with less than a third of the voting power which will decide questions of "British" world policy. In a word, England is to be Prussianised, and the England that the world has known for two centuries as an arrogant and unfettered autocrat is to disappear for ever.

We do not marvel at the silence of the English Press, but we can almost hear the burly laughter of the Germany which England declared the enemy of freedom, and which England's Imperial Conference accepts as the model for a really free "British" Empire.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SINN FEIN.

The National Council met at 6 Harcourt St. last Monday night, and very encouraging progress was reported in the formation of clubs.

New clubs have been established in the following centres:—Queen's Co., Mountrath; Co. Meath, Athboy, Kells, Committee formed and Irish classes working; Drumbaragh, Ladies' Auxiliary established in connection with club; Co. Kildare, Organising Committee of prominent priests and laymen appointed. Arrangements made for delegation to attend from National Council. Co. Longford, Lanesborough. Co. Tipperary, Fethard, Nenagh. Public meeting held to organise constituency. Tipperary Town, New Birmingham, Clonmel. Arrangements made to organise surrounding districts. Co. Limerick, Monagea, Newcastle West, Ballysteen, Rathkeale, 80 members joined at first meeting. East Limerick, meeting held in Kilmallock to organise clubs in constituency. South Leitrim, Carrigallen, Ballinamore. Galway, Gort, local men arranging to organise surrounding districts. Roscommon, Castlerea. Sligo, Skreen, Tubbercurry, Dro-mod. Mayo, Westport. Cavan, Cootehill, Ballyjamesduff, Bruskey. Donegal, Glenties, Letterkenny. Monaghan, Ballybay.

From various centres reports are coming to hand of prominent officials of the U.I.L. and A.O.H. (B.O.E.) severing their connection with these organisations and applying for membership of Sinn Fein. The Associate Membership Scheme for individuals who cannot get in touch with clubs is proving a gratifying success. The Irish in Port Glasgow and London are organising into strong units of Sinn Fein.

Official instructions are being issued in leaflet form for the guidance of parties anxious to form clubs. Steps were taken for organising special districts, and satisfaction was expressed at the initiative taken in some counties for the establishing of local Organising Boards. It was decided to issue an appeal for funds for Sinn Fein propaganda.

SINN FEIN FUND.

The National Council at its meeting on Monday decided to open at once a fund for the organisation of Sinn Fein Clubs, in order to secure the return of Sinn Fein candidates at forthcoming elections. Subscriptions should be sent at once to the Hon. Treasurers, National Council of Sinn Fein, 6 Harcourt St., and will be acknowledged in "Nationality."

Arthur Griffith, President National Council of Sinn Fein.

Seán P. Campbell, Hon. Sec.

SINN FEIN CLUBS.

The Sinn Fein Clubs shall advocate the policy of Sinn Fein as laid down in the constitution of the National Council of Sinn Fein.

OBJECTS.

The immediate objects of the Sinn Fein Clubs is to influence and organise Irish public opinion with the least possible delay, so as to secure an overwhelming demand on the part of the people of Ireland for the presentation of Ireland's case for **Sovereign Independence** at the forthcoming **Peace Conference**.

The **Sinn Fein Clubs** shall work for the return, as members for Irish constituencies, of candidates pledged to **ignore the British Parliament, and aid in the presentation of Ireland's claim before the Peace Conference.**

ORGANISE NOW.

People in sympathy with this policy are asked to take united action without delay to organise their districts as units of the Sinn Fein Organisation. A meeting of such sympathisers should be called in each district at once and a committee of reliable persons formed to establish the local club on a secure basis. The affiliation fee is £1, and this sum should be forwarded to the National Council of Sinn Fein as soon as possible after the formation of

a club, together with the list of officers of the club. Membership cards will be supplied by the Honorary Secretaries, National Council, to affiliated clubs at the rate of 1s. per dozen.

Clubs should at once take steps to bring all possible influence to bear on members of public boards and other persons of importance in their districts, and on the local Press, to secure support for the policy of Sinn Fein.

A strong campaign on the questions of **Sovereign Independence, Peace Conference, and Abstention from the British Parliament**, must be immediately organised by clubs, either by lectures or other methods of propaganda.

As soon as each county has a sufficiently large number of clubs they will be asked to select a delegate to attend the quarterly and special meetings of the National Council, and to take steps for concerted action in the organising of the county.

In some counties Organising Committees are already at work. Arrangements can be made with the National Council for the attendance of an organiser at county organisation conferences. In view of the urgent necessity for immediate organisation, such committees are asked to take the initiative and an organiser will be sent at the first opportunity.

Clubs are asked to push the sale of "**Nationality**," edited by Arthur Griffith, to get local newsagents to stock it, or else take in weekly supplies themselves.

Address all inquiries to the Hon. Secs., National Council of Sinn Fein, 6 Harcourt St., Dublin.

Among the telegrams of congratulation received on the result of the election were telegrams from the Mayor of Sligo, the Priests of Ballyvore, Drumrainey Moyvore, Tang, the people of Cove, Oldcastle Sinn Feiners, people of North Galway, Ballaghaderreen, Drumlish, Limerick, Cork University Students, Alderman Meade, Louis Smyth, Magherafelt; Glasgow Sinn Feiners, Kilmallock, Ballinasloe, Armagh, Mohill, Belturbet, and Ballyconnell Nationalists; Tipperary Sinn Fein Club, Rathkeale Sinn Feiners (who thanked Longford for upholding the right of small nationalities against Irish Parliamentary opposition), Irish Volunteers, Limerick; Fr. Lavin, Roscommon; the Gaels of Dungannon, Fr. O'Grady, P.P., Keash; Drogheda National Club, people of Tubbercurry, Kilkenny, Messrs Curtin and Nolan, Irish Deportees; the Misses Sharkey, Irvinestown, Boyle, Martin O'Dwyer, Fermoy; West Belfast Nationalists, Westport, Tang Volunteers, Derry Comrades of Frank M'Guinness at Richmond and Wakefield; Derry Gaels, Fr. Delahunty, Callon; H. O'B. Moran, Limerick; Father Tallan, Ballintogher, Clonakilty; Ennistymon, "West Clare will follow the example;" Fr. O'Meehan, Kinvara; Strokestown, Kanturk Nationalists; Bawnboy, Westport, Donaghmore, Cork; Fintona, Tyrone; Bruree, Limerick, London, Listowel, "Congratulations on Ireland's victory. We await opportunity to do our duty," M'Kenna, Chairman Listowel U.D.C.; Walsh, Vice-Chairman, D. J. Flavin, James Lynch, M. O'Connor, Tralee; Past Members of Nugent's A. O. H., Thurles; Henry M'Grath, Co. C., Portaferry; Pintan Murphy, London; Fr. Matt Ryan, P.P., "Heartiest congratulations on Irish Ireland victory over her home and foreign foes;" An t-Athair Seumas, Sheerness; Falls Road, Belfast; Ennistymon Cuman na m-Ban; Nation League, Kildorrery; Thurlless Sinn Feiners; Portadown sympathisers, "Congratulations for saving Ireland on the eve of another great betrayal;" Killeely Irish Volunteers; Clydebank, Manchester Sinn Feiners, An Cratach, Sogart, Bristol; M'Carthy, Tralee; Kingscourt, Cavan, Kilkee, Clones; the people of Glenties, Fr. Ferris, Nationalists of Foxford, Ballina Sinn Feiners, Miss K. Kelly, London; the All-for-Ireland Club, Cork; Caherciveen Cuman na m-Ban, Millstreet; Registration Club, Tralee; Notting Hill, West Donegal, "Down with Partition!"

We are unable to deal with much of our correspondence in this issue. In our next the Editor will write on "The Sinn Fein Policy."

Monsignor Power, Dungarvan, writes to us:—"Dear Mr. Griffith,—Enclosed please find cheque for £1 towards the 'Longford Election Fund.' South Longford's choice of the prisoner in Lewes Jail is, in my opinion, the strongest protest yet made to the splitting up of the country, and a stunning blow to the Party who approved of it."

ERIU.

Eriu: The Journal of the School of Irish Learning, 122A St. Stephen's Green. Vol. viii., Part ii. 6/- nett.

Mr. Best, loyally assisted by Professor Osborne Bergin and Miss Eleanor Knott, is bravely continuing the publication of Eriu thro' days when contributions from such scholars as Kuno Meyer (sometime Freeman of the City of Dublin) and Carl Marstrander are impossible. The only difference is that publication has become more intermittent. Yet, despite the loss, the gain is considerable, since it drives Irish scholars more upon themselves; and it would be yet more considerable if it induced Professor Bergin, for instance, to fulfil, in matter of output, the high promise with which he begun, and other scholars to join steadily in the unlocking of the vast treasure-house of Early Irish and Middle Irish lore.

In the present number Josef Bandis writes upon "The Antiquity of the Kingship of Tara." The subject is a big one; it is fundamental to the understanding of Early Irish history; but Josef Bandis hardly touches on more than the fringe of it. His title is badly chosen. There was always a Kingship at Tara; but there was not always a national monarchy at Tara. The Ulster cycle knows nothing of it, and regards Tara only as the seat of Ailill, King of Leinster (or N. Leinster). We hear nothing of the monarchy there until Cormac Mac Airt established it after the Battle of Crinna. His grandfather Conn had wrested it from the Leinstermen, and had set Dessi about it as a garrison under his uncle. Thus began the monarchy. But then what of "Buidean Da Derga," which clearly assumes Conaire Mór in some monarchic capacity at Tara though his people are from Munster? Was there a monarchy at Tara prior to the Ulster Cycle; or was there a subsequent scribal confusion between Temair and Temair Luachra, the seat of the Kings of Munster?

With regard to the Ulster Cycle. Mr. Best adds further from the texts already available by editing and translating "The Battle of Airtech." Its place in the sequence is after "Bruidin Da Chocac," and carries forward the sequence that began, probably, with "Masca Ulad" and continues through "Tain Bo Cualinge" and "Cath Rins for Boinn." When the whole sequence is set out before us it will be possible more accurately to judge of the exact value of its historical background. All the more tantalising, therefore, is Miss Margaret Dobbs' "On Tain Bo Flidais." She gives only four addenda to the text as printed by Windisch in his "Irische Texte," and adds a very useful Index of Place Names. But Windisch's "Irische Texte" are inaccessible to most, both as to volumes and as to the texts themselves printed in these volumes. Would it not be a great deal better, and a great deal more useful to students in Ireland (for whom these texts are the staff of their history and not simply an academic pursuit) if Miss Dobbs were to print in "Eriu" the full "Tain Bo Flidais" with translation? We can assure both Miss Dobbs and the Editor that this would by no means be an idle duplication.

Miss Eleanor herself prints a poignant poem by a poet unknown on the "Flight of the Earls"; and Professor Plummer has some very interesting "Notes on Some Passages in the Brehon Laws." Such Notes are very necessary. The present six volumes of the Laws would not be nearly so unsatisfactory as they are if they had been completed by O'Donovan and O'Curry, or if the translations made by those scholars had been printed as they stood, instead of being left to the care of men who treated them from an English point of view.

Eochaidh.

A Galway priest sends us some lines on South Longford:

"GOD BLESS LONGFORD.

"God bless South Longford's sterling men, Who boldly stood for Ireland when A dastard crew would sell their land, And once again their nation band With rings of steel, as England's slave, Whose victims lie in 'Rebel' graves. Or Redmond's tools, 'mid war and wave— The pawns of hucksters, traitors knaves!"

The Treasurer of the Gaelic League has received a remittance of £23 7s. per An t-Athair M. S. MacAnchro, Ros Leithbhinn. Inis, proceeds of a collection and concert for the Language Fund in the parishes of Doora and Kilraghts, Co. Clare.

WHAT PARNELL SAID.

In the Rotunda on the 22nd October, 1878, Parnell said:—

The air of Westminster would demoralise anyone no matter how imperceptibly. As the air of London would eat away the stone walls of the House of Commons, so would the atmosphere of the House eat away the honour and honesty of the Irish members.

At Limerick on the 1st November, 1880, he said:—

I am not one of those who believe in the permanence of an Irish Party in the English Parliament. I feel convinced that sooner or later the influence which every English Government has at its command—the powerful and demoralising influence—sooner or later will sap the best party you can return to the House of Commons. I don't think we ought to rely too much on the permanent independence of an Irish Party sitting at a distance from their constituencies or legislating, or attempting to legislate, for Ireland in Westminster. But I think it possible to maintain the independence of our Party by great exertions and by great sacrifices on the part of the constituencies of Ireland while we are making a short, sharp, and I trust decisive struggle for restoration of our legislative independence.

In Dublin, City Hall, on the 16th August, 1882, he said:—

I have never believed in the possibility of maintaining an Independent Irish Party in the House of Commons for any length of time.

In Labouchere's Reminiscences it is recorded that Parnell refused to accept the Home Rule Bill of 1886 till a clause was inserted excluding Irish representatives from Westminster.

LEADAR NA n-OILTREAIC BPOLANNAIC.

XIII.

II. Tugann Dia an buad thinn tre tuar an ceur tuine, tre epodact an napa tuine, tre neart an epiomad tuine; act nuair a deineann an fear laoiu no an fear garta a compadairde lagoo caiteam riop in ionad e bpeit leir anairpe, cuireann re meapball 7 tre-celte ar a muinter fein 7 bpiucear oppa; 7, ma deineann re maordeam ar a sniomarca fein, cuireann re riol an eapantair.

XIV.

I. Tugad cad a talant uon ataroda, mar a cuirear deire i gairte na mboct, re celte, 7 gan a pad ca mero e. Tuocpar an t-am na mberu an airte lan 7 periodpar Dia ran airpeam ca mero oo cuip cad ann.

2. Act ma deineann tu maordeam ar an mero reo no ar an mero oo oo cur ann beir it' ceap magaro ag uoaine; aineodaro riad gur cum oo glolipe fein aham oo tugair uait oo talant.

3. Ir corpar le puor an treipbir a deincear uon ataroda.

4. An te a leatann an puor go forpleatan 7 a cuireann teine leir, ni beru aige act lafuir beas gan neart, gan pleurcad, gan eipeact.

5. Act an te a cuireann go uoiminn ra talam e 7 a cuireann teine leir, neuparod reipean an talam 7 an falla le uoiminn-cleap uoirpige; 7 uoeparo na uoaine: go uoiminn fein, bi moiran puor ann, biot na pad ann act beagan act gur cuiread go uoiminn e.

6. Ir mar rin uon treipbir a cuirear i bpolac uoiminn, neuparod ri lan de glolipe; 7, ma ceitcar i com mar ran na feicpar i ar an raogal ro corode, beru ri ar lafad ar fead na rioppardeacta, 7 beru a uoiminn-cleap gan epioenugad corode, 7 beru a glolipe riopparde, 7 maiprio a heipeact ar fead na raogal.

Liam O Rinn.

On Monday night next a meeting organised by Cumann na m-Ban in connection with the Irish Prisoners of War will be held in the Mansion House. On Tuesday evening, 22nd—not 21st, as incorrectly announced—Cumann Uí Dalaigh will hold its postponed concert.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

cumann uí Dalaigh Literary and Athletic Club.

First Annual Concert

In the Mansion House On Tuesday, 22nd May, at 8 p.m. Admission - 2/-, 1/, and 6d.

Deir éipe for ag Cúit ní Dúitir.

CRAOB UÍ SRÁINNA, I SCORCAIS.

First Seilg of the season on Sunday next, 13th inst., to Dripsey. Train at 10 a.m.

Le Spiorde Saoadaic!

Tickets from members of the Branch Committee.

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"Key of Heaven" (in Irish and English), 8d. and 1s. 4d., post free.

A Magnificent Picture entitled "The United Irish Patriots of 1798," 1s. 3d., post free.

A Beautiful Picture by James Walker, entitled "The Men of '88," 2s., post free.

"The Parliament of Ireland," painted by F. Wheatley, R.A. (with key), 1s. 3d., post free.

Ditto, in colours, 1s. 9d., post free.

"In Dark and Evil Days," by Sheehy-Skeffington, 3s. 11d., post free.

"Mitchel's Jail Journal" (paper cover), 1s. 4d., post free.

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DRÍAN Ó NUINNÍN,

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WEEK BY WEEK.

(Continued).

We have received the following resolution from the Trades Council—

Whereas there are in Lewes Jail a number of Irishmen, including many Trade Unionists, who were convicted by secret Courts-martial of participation in the Insurrection of Easter Week, 1916, and these men are deprived of the treatment usually accorded to those convicted of political offences which is recognised by all civilised governments, and instead are treated as common convicts:

And whereas the Countess Markievicz, who is imprisoned in Aylesbury Jail, is not alone subjected to the same harsh treatment, but in addition is deprived of the most important of the concessions granted to the men, namely, that of association for a short period each day with their fellow-prisoners, and is herded with the lowest criminals, who are her only companions:

And whereas the Vice-President of this Council, Councillor Partridge, Labour Member of the Dublin Corporation, has been released from Lewes Jail in a dying condition, due to the hardships endured by him in prison during the past twelve months, and that another prisoner has also been lately released in a similar condition, and that the health of very many of the others has broken down as a result of insufficient food and the rigorous confinement to which they are subjected:

Therefore be it resolved that this Dublin Trades Council places upon record its condemnation of the barbarous treatment of these prisoners of war, who are entitled by International Law to the consideration given to all prisoners taken in battle; and we call for the intervention of the European Powers and of America to secure justice for our suffering countrymen and women, whose "crime" is that they risked their lives to win for their native land that freedom from foreign rule which England professes to be endeavouring to secure for Belgium.

Proposed by James Byrne, National Union of Assurance Agents; seconded by William O'Brien, Amalgamated Society of Tailors, and unanimously adopted on May 7th, 1917.

Mr. Nathaniel O'Shannon of Belfast, who has been arrested and kept in custody for the past four weeks in, we believe, to be placed on trial to-day (Thursday) before a British Military Court-martial. What the charge preferred against Mr. O'Shannon may be we do not know, and Mr. O'Shannon was not acquainted with it a few days ago when he wrote to us.

Adherents of the Sinn Fein Policy from Tubbercurry, Mullinabreena, Keash, Moylough, Gurteen, Emlaghnaughton, Ballincarrow, Kilerreevan, and Killoran, met in the Town Hall, Tubbercurry, on Sunday the 29th April, with a view to welding the increasing numbers of Sinn Feiners in South Sligo into a solid organisation. Mr. Padraic O'Donnabháin presided. After an expression of views, the following points were agreed on:—"That Sinn Fein Branches and a Executive be established; that the affiliation fee of £1 per branch be handed in at next meeting, at which officers of the Executive will be appointed." The following resolutions were passed:—"That we call on all Irishmen to urge the claim of Ireland's independence at the Peace Congress; that representatives of the Irish Nation demand admittance thereto." "That we demand that the Countess Markievicz, who is imprisoned in Aylesbury, and the Irishmen who are in Lewes Jail be given the rights accorded to prisoners of war." "That we wish Mr. Joseph McGuinness success, and hope that the electors of South Loughfort will return him triumphantly at the head of the poll." Next meeting will be held on the last Sunday of this month.—A. Tansley, J. Marren, Secretaries to meeting.

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