

NATIONALITY

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SINN FEIN.

In 1907—two years after the foundation of the Sinn Fein movement—two members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, convinced by experience that Parliamentarianism was useless as a policy for achieving Irish Self-Government, and that Sinn Fein was the true weapon, resigned their seats. Mr. James O'Mara, who represented South Kilkenny, retired from public life; but Mr. Charles Dolan, who represented North Leitrim, decided to fight his constituency on the issue of Sinn Fein versus Parliamentarianism. North Leitrim was unfavourable ground, since Sinn Fein had not penetrated into the county, and at the outset of the election there were not half a dozen people who understood the Sinn Fein policy. In the end, however, the Manorhamilton district and the Glens were won for Sinn Fein. The election was fought on the direct issue of acceptance or rejection of the English Parliament, and Manorhamilton was spanned with streamers declaring for "No more London Parliament." Sinn Fein at the time had little money at its disposal, no Press except the weekly "Sinn Fein," and no electoral organisation of any kind. The Parliamentary Party invaded the constituency with all its force, expended its money lavishly, and denounced Sinn Fein to the people as subsidised by English Toryism to prevent Home Rule. Each member of the Party promised "Home Rule within a couple of years," if Sinn Fein were defeated. In the result of this—the first Sinn Fein election fought in Ireland—Mr. Dolan polled 1,200 votes, while the Party polled 3,000. Sinn Feiners claimed the result as a moral victory, and under the circumstances it was such. For the first time since the Act of Union Irishmen had been found deliberately to vote repudiation of the English Parliament. The fact that stood out clearly was that the claim of England to rule our country had been definitely challenged in an Irish constituency, and that 1,200 voters had declared, "She has none." We reprint to-day the Election Address issued by Mr. Charles Dolan and the letters addressed to the Men of Leitrim by Mr. Arthur Griffith during the contest. The arguments contained in them have been reinforced by the history of Ireland during the 9½ years that have elapsed since the issue between Sinn Fein and Parliamentarianism was first fought before the electors of Ireland.

MR. DOLAN'S ELECTION ADDRESS, 1908.

Fellow-Countrymen,

Two years ago you sent me to be your representative in the British House of Commons. You sent me to voice your demand for Self-Government, and you also gave me a mandate to strive for whatever remedial measures lay within our reach, and I went to the House of Commons determined to serve your interests and the interests of our country to the best of my ability. But I was not long there before I realised the truth of Michael Davitt's statement—that no Irish grievance, however genuine, would ever be remedied in that Assembly unless the Government had to choose between reform and martial law in Ireland. I found that English and Scotch members took no interest in the affairs of Ireland, that the speeches of Irish members were addressed to empty benches, and that we never received anything from the Government except assurances of sympathy and promises of reform—assurances that were hypocritical and promises that never led to anything. The day of Parnell, Davitt, and the Land League is over, and the voice of Ireland is drowned amidst the cries of contending English factions.

Although I felt that Irish members were wasting their time in the British House of Commons, I waited to see what the Liberals would do to redeem their pledges regarding Home Rule. These pledges had raised high hopes in the breasts of Irishmen, and many looked forward with confidence to the Council Bill, which was engaging the attention of the Government. The publication of the Bill destroyed whatever lingering belief I had in the sincerity of the Liberals. Henceforth I felt that if I continued to attend Westminster I would be deceiving my constituents, and betraying the cause of Irish Nationalism.

I have come home to tell you the truth, and to abide by the consequences; I have come home to tell you that the Irish members are helpless in the House of Commons, where they are outnumbered six to one,

and their speeches unheeded: that the proper place for the representatives of Ireland to meet is Dublin, not London; that the true field of action is Ireland, not England; that it is only by our efforts that Ireland can be raised to a position of prosperity and started on the path of national development; and that in appealing to Englishmen we are wasting our energies and demoralising our people.

Let me remind you of the sad condition of our country. Although our population has fallen during the last fifty years from more than eight million persons down to little over four millions, it is more difficult to earn a living in Ireland to-day than it was when the country had to support twice as many persons. We have few factories, and consequently employment is scarce and wages low, and the young and enterprising are emigrating in constantly increasing numbers.

The Parliamentary Party have been unable to check the national decay which has been steadily proceeding throughout the last fifty years. The British Parliament will not help us, but if we concentrate all the energies of the Irish nation on remedying the evil conditions that afflict the country, we shall not need to look to outside help. It is necessary to establish an Irish Council, such as was contemplated by O'Connell, to meet in Dublin and look after our industrial, agricultural, and financial interests. It would be the duty of such a Council to see that Irish money would be used for the benefit of the Irish nation, to hold out inducements to wealthy Irishmen to invest their money in developing the industrial resources of Ireland, and to take steps to persuade Irishmen that it would be to their advantage to give preference to the products of Irish industries. At present there is no adequate organisation for the establishment and protection of Irish industries, with the result that there are fifty million pounds of Irish money lying idle in the banks which might be used for the benefit of the Irish nation. Such a Council would supply the place of an Irish Parliament, and there is no law whereby the Government could suppress it. If the representatives selected by the Irish people resolve to meet in Dublin and form a Parliament, the Government cannot prevent them from doing so.

If I am elected by your votes I shall endeavour to aid in establishing a representative Irish Council to look after all Irish interests, and it shall be my particular duty, as your representative, to give attention to the needs of North Leitrim, and to do all I can for the development of its industrial resources.

As your representative, I shall take steps to direct the attention of our fellow-countrymen in America to the great mineral wealth of Leitrim, which offers a wide field for employment, and I shall do my utmost to obtain American assistance to enable us to establish suitable industries in our midst.

Whatever experience of land purchase transactions I have acquired during the two years that I have been your representative will be still at your service, and I shall be always ready to assist my constituents when it is in my power to do so.

There is no legal obligation on the Irish people to send representatives to the British Parliament. The Act of Union is a nullity which Lord Chancellor Plunket has declared no man in Ireland is bound to obey.

All men who live in Ireland, and who desire the welfare of their country, are Irishmen. Ireland does not need the assistance of any English Party, Liberal or Tory, but she needs the services of all her sons, Catholic and Protestant alike, and I am willing to co-operate with Irishmen of all creeds and classes in advancing the interests of our common motherland.

I stand for Ireland, Free, Self-Reliant, and Prosperous. I am confident that if you give me your support and loyal co-operation, we shall soon succeed in bringing about a change for the better in the condition of our country. Sinn Fein means the end of empty talk and humbug, and the beginning of genuine National work; it means more wealth, more employment, and better wages for the people; it heralds the dawn of a new era rich with promise for our long-suffering country, and as a believer in the policy of Sinn Fein, a believer in a self-reliant, self-supporting Ireland, I confidently solicit your support.

C. J. DOLAN.

LETTERS TO THE MEN OF LEITRIM, 1908

I.

Fellow-Countrymen,

The man you sent to seek Self-Government for Ireland from the British Parliament has returned and told you that it is not to be obtained from that Parliament by appeal addressed to its righteousness, argument addressed to its justice, or by any action in the power of 80 Irishmen in that hostile assembly to take against 570 foreigners. Because he has told you this you are exhorted to disown him, and declare that, although Leitrim's representative warns Leitrim not to trust the British Parliament, Leitrim will trust in that Parliament now and indefinitely.

Consider the matter: Is the man you chose to be your representative misleading you, or are those who counsel you against him misleading you? You know the man. He lives amongst you, and bears an honourable name. If he were a cheat he had but to keep silent—to refrain from telling you that action in the British Parliament is hopeless—and draw a salary out of the Parliamentary Funds. Consider

again: Who are the men who urge you to disown this man, who has told you the truth? Are they not the same men who have told you year by year since your old men were young men, and your young men were suckling—that Home Rule was at hand?

Where is this Home Rule they promised you?

Who deceives you—Charles Dolan, who returns to tell you to trust in yourselves, or the men who tell you in 1907, as they told you in 1897 and 1887, to trust in the British Parliament?

Behind these men is a Press controlled by their Party organisation. Each day and each week it cries out that Ireland is powerless in itself—that only by leave of the British Parliament can you exist upon your own soil and flourish in your own land—it whispers in your ear distrust of yourselves and craven fear of your enemies. It tells you that because you are weak you must acquiesce in wrong and cringe to tyranny. That you still believe in a just God is not the fault of the Press you read. Had you accepted all it teaches you would believe to-day that Fraud and Force are the Omnipotent Rulers of the world.

Your representative, Mr. Dolan, has embraced the Sinn Fein policy, and asks you to endorse it in his person. His opponents shudder at the phrase "Sinn Fein." They warn you to beware of it, for it bids you trust in yourselves, and not in a hostile Parliament. They tell you that this policy calls for the withdrawal of the Irish Parliamentary Party from the British Parliament. It does. It tells you that the presence of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the British Parliament is wrong in principle and disastrous to your interests in practice. You and I both deny that the British Parliament possesses any right or authority to legislate for Ireland. You will agree with me that it is inconsistent with that conviction to send Irishmen to sit in the English Parliament. But, you will plead, it is necessary to do so—in self-defence. The men who live by going there—and their Press, which tells you each succeeding year that the next will bring Home Rule—have told you so.

The contempt and scorn of these men of yours for this plank in the Sinn Fein platform—the only one they dare attack—is summed up in the phrase that it "is a new idea." Like the Chinese, they consider new ideas necessarily bad. But, men of Leitrim, it is a very old idea—older than the Christian era amongst you. It was the idea of the Irish Secretary of the great Whig Statesman, Charles James Fox, 103 years ago—it was the idea of Daniel O'Connell in 1843, it was the idea of Dr. Sigerson in 1858 and in 1876, and it was the idea of Charles Stewart Parnell in 1882. The first man had the idea rejected by men who trusted in the English Whigs. And now ask that Party where is this Home Rule the English Whigs promised you, if you would trust in and recognise the British Parliament.

Now, fellow-countrymen, you are not the only people in the world to whom this idea, at which every gentleman who lives on the Parliamentary Fund shudders, has been presented. The older men amongst you remember the days when Europe turned its eyes on the struggle between Hungary and Austria. Hungary, like Ireland, was held in bondage by a Power with which Hungary could not cope in physical force. But Hungary, unlike Ireland, did not assume that the alternative was to send men to their enemy's Parliament. Hungary denied the right of the Austrian Parliament to legislate for her. Hungary elected its members of Parliament, but kept them at home. Hungary's members of Parliament sat in the capital of their own country in conjunction with the representatives of the Hungarian County Councils, and devised schemes for the benefit of Hungary. They made for Hungary a foreign trade, recaptured for Hungarian industry the home market, reclaimed for Hungary her waste lands, built for Hungary a National University and a National Theatre, founded for Hungary a National Bank, revived for Hungary her national language, and inspired the creation in Hungary of a national literature. And when the Ruler of Austria summoned them to leave their own country and come to his—to "fight on the floor of the House"—they replied:—

We declare that we will not send any representatives to the Imperial Parliament, and further that any election by other instrumentality will be an attack on our constitution, and we declare that any person elected by such means cannot in any respect represent Hungary.

Now, what occurred? According to Irish Parliamentarianism, which teaches you that to be saved you must admit the right of a foreign Parliament to govern you, Hungary should be much worse off than Ireland is to-day. But, fellow-countrymen, Hungary is free and prosperous, and you are enslaved and poorer than before. You accepted Parliamentarianism and Hungary rejected it—you sent your members to a foreign Parliament—Hungary kept them at home to act as her own Parliament. In eighteen years Hungary, with the Sinn Fein policy, forced Austria to concede her a Sovereign Parliament. You, after 36 years of Parliamentarianism—now (1917) 46 years—are ignored by the English Parliament when you beg for "a subordinate legislature."

Men read to-day with astonishment of how whole nations are gulled by Charlatanism, of how John Law persuaded all France that paper was more valuable than gold; of how South-sea Companies persuaded all England that wealth costs nothing; of how the Dutch

tulip-growers persuaded all Holland that tulips were worth more than diamonds. But the coming generations will read with greater astonishment of how men persuaded a quick and spirited people that Irish independence and prosperity were to be secured by acknowledging the right of a country, inimical to both, to make our laws, and by sending 80 men to fight 570 in the arena and under the conditions chosen by the 570.

To you, men of Leitrim, the opportunity comes to dispel this illusion which poisons and palsies Irish national life and all Irish effort—to substitute for this insane policy of national disarmament and these counsels of despair which leave you naked to your enemies, the policy which made in our own days Hungary a free and prosperous nation.

You and I, fellow-countrymen, will consider together how this policy of despair which is labelled Parliamentarianism and has imposed for a generation has worked out.

II.

PARLIAMENTARIANISM—WHAT HAS IT DONE?

Fellow-Countrymen,

Let us consider how the policy of Parliamentarianism has worked out in practice. The men who founded it 36 years ago admitted it was wrong in principle, but they claimed it would work out well in practice. They declared that if the voters of Ireland elected a Parliamentary Party to the British Parliament that Party would be able to carry measures through that Parliament which would increase our prosperity, stop the decrease of our population, bring the waste and pasture land of Ireland into tillage, establish and endow a National University, and create in Dublin a legislative assembly with full power over what they called "domestic affairs."

Not one of these promises given you 36 years ago has been fulfilled.

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would be able by action in the British Parliament to stop emigration from Ireland.

Since that promise was made nearly a million men and more than a million women have emigrated from Ireland. From March 31st, 1871, to December 31st, 1907, 2,080,000 people emigrated from Ireland. [Between Dec. 31st, 1907, and Dec. 31st, 1915, 206,085 additional people emigrated].

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would by action in the British Parliament stop the decrease of our population.

There are over a million less people in Ireland now than when they made you that promise.

In 1871 there were 5,412,000 people in Ireland.

Last year the number of people in Ireland was 4,387,000. [Now (1917) 4,337,000].

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would by action in the British Parliament bring the waste and pasture land of Ireland into tillage.

There are nearly a million acres gone out of tillage since they made you that promise.

In 1871 there were 5,621,000 acres of land in tillage in Ireland.

Last year the number of acres of tilled land was 4,727,000. [Now (1915—latest available figures) 4,900,210].

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would by action in the British Parliament increase the prosperity of the country. Since that time the number of paupers in Ireland has been doubled, and the poor-rate is nearly twice what it was when they gave you that promise.

In 1871 there were 282,000 persons relieved by the Poor Law Unions in Ireland.

In 1905 there were 559,000 persons relieved by the Poor Law Unions in Ireland.

In 1871 the total poor-rate in Ireland was £685,688.

In 1905 the total poor-rate in Ireland was £1,066,733. [Now (1915—latest figures available) the poor-rate has risen to £1,073,626].

In 1871 the poor-rate in Ireland represented an annual tax per head roughly of 2/6. Now the poor-rate in Ireland represents an annual tax per head roughly of 5/-.

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would by action in the British Parliament secure you a reduction of the taxation imposed upon you by that Parliament.

In 1871 the taxation levied on Ireland by the British Parliament was £6,923,000.

Last year the taxation levied on Ireland by the British Parliament was £9,447,000. [By March 31st, 1916, this taxation had been increased to £17,929,000. By March 31st, 1918, it is estimated to increase to roughly £30,000,000].

In 1871 the British Parliament taxed the people of Ireland £1 5s. 7d. per head.

Last year the British Parliament taxed the people of Ireland £2 3s. 1d. per head. [In the financial year ending 31st March, 1916, the taxation per head of the Irish people had been increased to £4 2s. 8d. By the end of the present financial year (March 31st, 1918) it is estimated to approach £7 per head].

The Irish Parliamentary Party promised you in 1871 that it would in a couple of years come back with Home Rule.

Thirty-six years later it came back and offered you the degrading thing called the Irish Councils Bill.

Now, fellow-countrymen, the final test of a policy is whether it has fulfilled the promise it made. I have reminded you of what the policy of Parliamentarianism promised you, and I have shown you that not in a single instance has it performed its promise. If any of you, fellow-countrymen, entrusted you business to a man for thirty-six years, and at the end of the period found it weaker and poorer, you would put the bad manager aside and take the business into your own hands. Ireland has entrusted its business for 36 years to a bad manager, and Ireland at the end of the period is poorer and weaker, and the Sinn Féin policy asks you to do in the business of your country what you would do in the business of your house, your shop, or your farm—put the bad manager aside and take the direction of affairs into your own hands. This is what Mr. Dolan asks you to do, and this is why the Irish Parliamentary Party, which has promised you so much, exhorts you to drive him out of public life.

Last year the member of the Irish Parliamentary Party who is heading the attack on Mr. Dolan, Mr. MacHugh, of Sligo, made a speech in which he said: "No country in the civilised world had made so much

progress in the last 25 years as Ireland had." This is the kind of stuff which Parliamentarianism thinks you are ignorant enough to believe. Each year your population decreases and your taxation increases, each year you grow weaker and poorer, and each year the Parliamentary Party tell you you are going on splendidly.

Men of Leitrim, there are 65,000 people left to-day in your county. [Now (1917) 61,000]. There were 95,000 there when the Irish Parliamentary Party first went into the British Parliament. Men of Leitrim, there are but 77,000 acres of land under tillage in your county to-day. When the Irish Parliamentary Party went into the British Parliament there were 88,000 acres of tilled land. What do you think, as reasonable men, of the policy which calls this "progress?"

Now, fellow-countrymen, I have adduced facts to show you that the Irish Parliamentary Party is not only unable to procure good legislation for Ireland, but unable to prevent bad legislation. The Irish Party in the British Parliament is a mouse in a trap. At the present moment you are taxed nearly £3,000,000 a year in excess of what the British themselves admit to be just, but the Irish Parliamentary Party is as powerless to procure you redress as it is to have the Coercion Act repealed. You continue to pay one shilling and tenpence to the British Government for every shilling the man in England pays, and the Parliamentary Party continues to do nothing.

Fellow-countrymen, inside the British House of Commons you are powerless—on your own soil you can be irresistible. On your own soil you won Catholic Emancipation, abolished the tithes, and overthrew landlordism, and working on your own soil again you can build up agriculture and industry, and render impotent the power of a foreign legislature to retard our national destiny. Hungary did it forty years ago—Ireland can do it to-morrow. For this policy—the policy which made Hungary the free nation it is to-day, the policy of Sinn Féin, Mr. Dolan stands. For the policy to which you have given 36 years' trial and which has permitted England to turn one-fifth of your tilled land into pasture and decrease your population by over a million people—which has permitted England to double the number of paupers in Ireland and more than double the poor-rate, which has permitted England to increase your taxation from £1 5s. 7d. to £2 3s. 1d.—which has permitted England to make you pay 1/10 taxation for every 1/- the man in England pays—Mr. Dolan's opponents stand. Men of Leitrim, choose between them.

III.

THE "FLOOR OF THE HOUSE" HUMBUG.

Fellow-Countrymen,

One hundred and seven years ago England garrotted your Parliament—the Parliament that in eighteen years had converted Ireland from one of the poorest countries in Europe into one of the richest.

Sixteen years afterwards England seized your Exchequer—robbed your purse—and put your revenues in her pocket.

Eleven years later England evicted you from your Custom House, and placed her manufacturers in possession.

Nineteen years more and England opened your ports to the rich corn-growing countries in order to ruin your tillage, and compel you to convert your soil into a ranch to supply her with cheap meat.

Seven years later England added between two and three million pounds annually to your taxation.

Since then England has year by year increased your taxation and diminished your population. When you annoyed her by complaining she put you in prison.

That is the history of Ireland since England got her grip on your throat in 1800.

And since that year, fellow-countrymen, you have been sending 103 members to the British Parliament, and these 103 members have been telling you—"Live horse and you'll get grass."

They were not able to prevent England robbing your Exchequer—they were not able to prevent England seizing your Custom House—they were not able to prevent England destroying your tillage—they were not able to prevent England increasing your taxation year by year—they were not able to prevent England putting you in jail when you groaned under oppression. From the year 1801 to the year 1908 they have sat in the British Parliament, powerless to prevent your plunder and oppression, but by their presence lending the appearance of right and legality to that plunder and oppression. They are hypnotising a nation out of existence. While your eyes have been turned to the Parliament in which these men sit, your brain has ceased to scheme, and your hand to work for your own salvation. They have told you that your salvation is to come from the British Parliament—the deadly institution which has forged the fetters you wear—which has given you for a hundred years rags and workhouses, artificial famines, coffin-ships, and Coercion Acts, quenched hearthstones and desolated fields, as your share of the "Empire" into whose partnership William Pitt invited you and dragged you by force of arms.

William Pitt planned the Union and the Irish Parliamentary Party. "One hundred members from Ireland in the British Parliament cannot operate upon it," wrote Knox, Pitt's sub-conspirator, secretly, when the plot to destroy Ireland as a nation was being shaped to bring into the British Parliament a small body of Irishmen powerless "to operate upon it," but powerful to concentrate the hopes of the Irish people in it, and so gradually undermine all Irish self-reliance and leave the country naked of its natural defences, was Pitt's plan for perpetuating the Union. Ireland fell into the trap, and the grip of Pitt's fingers has grown tighter on her throat year by year.

Fellow-countrymen, I have shown you in what I have already written that the attendance of Irishmen in the British Parliament has been morally and materially disastrous to the country. Morally, because it has degraded Ireland from the position of a nation to the status of a province, and given legal sanction to every act which England has perpetrated against Ireland during the last century, and because it has given away the case of Ireland in the eyes of the world. "Ireland," said Count Beust, the great statesman who arranged the agreement between Austria and Hungary in 1867, "Ireland has given away her case by sending members to the British Parliament. By so doing she acknowledges the right of the British Parliament. If Hungary had acted as Ireland acts

Hungary would not have regained her independence." Materially, because the Irish members in the British Parliament have never been able to defeat a single measure against the interests of Ireland which that Parliament desired to pass, or to pass a single measure in favour of Ireland which that Parliament desired to reject.

The Irish people, operating from within Ireland, forced the British Parliament to pass Catholic Emancipation, abolish the tithes, and destroy landlordism. The Irish members in the British Parliament have, of themselves, never secured, and never can secure, any good thing from that Parliament for Ireland.

The enemies of Sinn Féin tell you, fellow-countrymen, that they have made Ireland "progress" in the last twenty-five years. Twenty-five years ago there were 714,000 more people in Ireland than there are at the present time; twenty-five years ago the taxation of the people was £1 9s. 5d. per head; last year it was £2 3s. 1d., and twenty-five years ago there was no perpetual Coercion Act. I will tell you, fellow-countrymen, what has occurred in Ireland during the last twenty-five years: the British Parliament has passed Coercion in perpetuity, has increased your taxation 45 per cent., has driven one person in every seven out of the country, and has plundered you of £70,000,000. Since 1882 the British Government, according to the report of its own Financial Commission, has taken out of Ireland £56,250,000, at the lowest estimate, in excess of what it was entitled to take. And you kept a Party of 80 men in the British Parliament all those years, who made rhetorical speeches while you perished. They meant well, but they could do nothing. And they come back to you to-day asking you to "go back to 1882," and begin another 25 years of the Do-Nothing policy. Parnell asked you to give Parliamentarianism a trial, and if it failed, he said, "I will return to Ireland, and in council with the people consider another policy." Parliamentarianism has had its trial and broken down beyond repair. But, unlike Parnell, the Parliamentarians of to-day will not return to Ireland and adopt another policy—the policy of Sinn Féin.

IV.

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

Fellow-Countrymen,

I have shown you that the Irish Parliamentary Party has not been equal to procuring good legislation, and powerless to prevent bad legislation from being enacted by the Parliament in which their "policy"—their only "policy"—is to bid you place your hope and trust. All that has been gained has been gained by yourselves operating on that Parliament by pressure from the outside. A Parliament is a registry office of a people's will. It is not moved from inside, but from outside. The Irish people forced the British Parliament in 1829 to enact the Emancipation Act, although that Parliament had a few months before rejected the Catholic Relief Bill with scorn, and the British Prime Minister had declared Catholic Emancipation to be unthinkable. There was no "Irish Parliamentary Party" in the British Parliament then, and if there had been there would have been no Catholic Emancipation, for these men would have taught your grandfathers to "rely on Parliamentary methods"—which means that the Irish people would have "kept quiet" at home while the Irish Parliamentarians made eloquent speeches from Session to Session on the justice of permitting the Catholic to stand on his feet, and the British battalions would have voted them down, as they have voted them down Session after Session on Home Rule. So, too, the English people in 1831 forced the British Parliament to pass the Reform Act, although that Parliament had pledged itself to die first. In proportion to the strength of the will and public spirit of the Irish people the British Parliament has yielded to Ireland, and will continue to yield to Ireland. You struck the fetters from the limbs of the Catholics when you "broke the law" in Clare in 1828—you wrote the epitaph of the tithe-proctor at Carrickshock, you loosened the stranglehold of landlordism at Ballycohey in 1870; and struck the Thug down when "you kept a firm grip on your homesteads" in the days of the Land League. You remember how England pledged its honour and strength to the support of Irish landlordism, and how the British Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, proclaimed to the revellers in the London Guildhall that "the resources of civilisation"—the whole strength of the British Empire—would be brought to bear against you. If you had been cowards then, you would be slaves in your homes to-day. If you are cowards to-day, your children will be the slaves of England, as you were the slaves of landlordism.

When the late Queen of England, fellow-countrymen, was celebrating the sixtieth year of her reign, the British Press ascribed to her the progress of the world during those 60 years. Everything, from the invention of the electric telegraph to the cure of pneumonia, was traced to the fact that an old woman existed as a figure-head to the British State. The Irish Parliamentarians have taken the hint. Everything that you have achieved in Ireland, everything that has benefitted Ireland, during the last 36 years, they claim to have done. And certainly they are as much entitled to claim what you have done as the British Press was to ascribe the progress of the world from 1837 to 1897 to Queen Victoria.

But I will tell you, men of Leitrim, what they have not done. They have not raised or attempted to raise a hand in that time to find work for your young men in their own land, and they have denounced in their Press as enemies to Ireland the men who did. It is four years ago, men of Leitrim, since the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party publicly condemned the industrial movement which the "United Irishman" had founded, and told the people of America, whom we were hopeful of interesting to the extent of investing capital in Irish Industrial Development, that the Irish Industrial Movement was unworthy of support. They have seen your population, men of Leitrim, reduced from 95,000 at the inception of the Parliamentary movement to 65,000 in the present year, and they see in your county the greatest iron-fields in Ireland, capable of producing an inexhaustible supply of the finest iron in Europe. Can you remember when the Irish Parliamentary Party troubled itself to raise a finger to secure the re-opening of the Leitrim iron-mines—to secure making Leitrim what it should be, the great mining centre of Ireland? Can you remember when the Irish Parliamentary Party troubled itself about the extension of a single in-

dustry in your county, or interested itself to establish a new one? Can you remember when the Irish Parliamentary Party troubled itself about the decrease of your people—about anything, in fact, except your subscriptions to the Party Fund, and your willingness to shout "Down with" whoever was troubling the Party by putting inconvenient questions to it at the time? The interest it has in you now is not about your unutilised wealth of natural resources, your diminishing population, your tilled land gone into pasture—not at all. It is that you should cry "Down with Dolan," because Dolan has told you the truth.

V.

HOW SINN FEIN WILL WORK.

Fellow-Countrymen,

I have shown you that the policy of Parliamentarianism has left you after 36 years of loyal support on your part infinitely poorer than it found you. I shall now show you what the policy of Sinn Fein can do and will do if you render it for a fourth of the period the same support you rendered its predecessor.

"What is the first step you propose to take when you have withdrawn the Irish members from the British Parliament and assembled them in Dublin in conjunction with representatives from the County and Urban Councils, Harbour and Poor Law Boards, representatives of the manufacturing and agricultural interests, forming a de facto Irish Parliament—a Council of Three Hundred?" The first step we propose to take is to establish an Irish Consular Service.

Two years ago Norway, at the risk of war, dissolved the connection subsisting between itself and her sister-Kingdom of Sweden, because Sweden insisted on keeping the Consular Service in its own control. Norway demanded separate and independent Consular representation as vital to her interests, and when Sweden refused to accede to the demand, cut the connection.

The importance of Consular representation to the nation may be thus apprehended by the Irish people. A country's consuls are its most valuable civil servants. The consul is appointed to advance his country's trade in the country of his residence by keeping his Government perfectly informed on all matters bearing on the commercial interests of the country he represents. It is his business to help in every way the extension of the trade of the country he represents with the trade of the country in which he resides, and for that purpose it is required of him to be conversant not only with the language, but with the municipal laws and customs and the character of the people amongst whom he is stationed. It is his business to compile and forward to his Government either quarterly or monthly an accurate account of the commerce, the markets, the course of exchange and so forth during each week, and annually to make out and transmit a return of the trade carried on at the ports of the country to which he is accredited. His primary duty is that of commercial agent, but he has a secondary duty, and one of vast import. It is to see that his country is not misrepresented or maligned unchallenged to the people of the country where he resides.

Ireland has no consular representatives in any part of the world, and so long as this remains the case Ireland cannot develop any considerable foreign trade. The British Consular Service is run solely in the interests of Britain, but Ireland is taxed to pay for its upkeep. The British Consul, of course, announces on his brass door-plate that he represents the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and this it is apparently which prevents the Irish taxpayer from kicking. The proportion he represents Great Britain and Ireland in the following facts show:

The British Consuls last year were asked to report on the proportion of Irish trade. Their reports have now appeared.

The British Consul at Barcelona, in Spain, reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to that country.

The British Consul at Bordeaux reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to France.

The British Consul-General in Italy reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Italy.

The British Consul-General in Portugal reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Portugal.

The British Consul-General in Russia reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Russia.

The British Consul in Denmark reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Denmark.

The British Consul-General in Norway reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Norway.

The British Consul-General in Turkey reports there is no direct export trade from Ireland to Turkey.

And so on throughout Europe and Asia.

Turn now to America. From South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Peru—the same tale comes. There is no direct export trade from Ireland to those countries.

Turn now to North America, and note well. Twenty-six years ago, in 1881, Ireland exported £12,600,000 worth of goods to America. In 1904—the latest year for which the figures are available—Ireland exported £2,400,000 worth. You have had your Parliamentary Party all this time, and you have lost £10,000,000 a year on your American trade alone. Can you tell me how you lost it? You have had a Parliamentary Party during all those years "fighting on the floor of the British House of Commons," and assuring you that that was the way to fight for Ireland. How did they fight to preserve your trade with America? How did they fight to preserve that £10,000,000 of annual trade for you? Not from the lips of your leaders did a word of warning come to tell you that while you were watching with admiration the histrionics of your members "on the floor of the House" England was undermining your American trade—the bulk of it is now in her hands. £12,000,000 represents the upkeep of half-a-million people in Ireland. It is more than three-fourths gone now, and your chief exports to America are emigrants. Now, I ask you as men of common sense, do you not think that if, instead of keeping your eyes on London, you had kept your eyes on your ports, on your fields, factories, and workshops, such a commercial calamity would have been impossible. If you had had your representative meetings in Dublin, do you not know that it is your own affairs—such as your American trade, not the affairs of British Whigs and British Tories—that would have occupied your thoughts all the time? If you had your Consuls at Washington and in New York attending to your interests as the British Consuls attend to

British interests, do you think what has taken place could have taken place?

Of course, you don't. As a matter of fact, you did not know what was taking place. You saw your factories and mills closing up and your cultivated land going out of tillage, but you did not know the reason why or take much notice. You were told that everything would come right—that if you kept quiet and voted and subscribed to the Parliamentary Fund, that the Parliamentary Party would get you "a Bill" to do this thing and a Bill to do that thing. You were fed on Bills and promises of Bills, and you were taught that "Bills" could do everything for you, and without a Bill you could do nothing. And so you have lost ten millions a year on your trade with North America alone. That is how your poor-houses are full, your poor-rate crushing, your artisans and labourers idle, and your home market, as well as your foreign market, diminished.

I now want your attention to some figures. The trade of "the United Kingdom" is officially calculated on the declared value of imports and exports, and the official figures for 1905—the last available—issued by the British Government are as follows:—

Total Value of Imports.

England	£511,294,000
Scotland	41,332,000
Ireland	12,394,000

Total Value of Exports.

England	£368,770,000
Scotland	36,932,000
Ireland	1,888,000

Total Trade.

England	£880,071,000
Scotland	78,264,000
Ireland	14,282,000*

Out of a total officially declared trade of £972,000,000 in 1905, Ireland's share was £14,000,000. And of the total export trade the share of Great Britain was 99½ and the share of Ireland ½. Out of the grand total of trade the share of Great Britain was 98½ and the share of Ireland 1½.

Now, fellow-countrymen, consider what this means. It means that of every £100 worth of trade done, England got £90 10s., Scotland got £8, and Ireland got thirty shillings. For every shilling you got, Great Britain got nearly seventy shillings. That is why you starve.

The remedy for this state of affairs is for Ireland to appoint her own Consuls—to send Irishmen to act as Consuls in foreign countries—instead of sending them to the British Parliament, and to devote a portion of the £25,000 she at present expends in keeping eighty Irishmen in London to keeping one-fourth that number of Irishmen stationed in the capitals and commercial centres of foreign countries, where a market may be found for Irish produce. At the present time Argentina procures one-third of her total imports from Great Britain, North America one-fifth, France one-seventh, Germany one-tenth, Spain, Russia and Japan one-fifth each, Scandinavia one-fourth, Holland one-tenth, Hungary one-twelfth, Belgium one-twelfth, Austria one-third, and South Africa and India two-thirds. In return for giving Great Britain so much trade, we in Ireland import from these countries and consume millions of pounds' worth of their goods. We propose that in return for our consumption of the goods of the countries named we should take our share in exporting goods to them.

For this purpose, then, the Council of Three Hundred should choose, and appoint from year to year competent men of business training, character, and linguistic knowledge, to form an Irish Consular Service, and to act in all respects—save those which require the special exequatur granted to Consuls of independent nations—as the consular servants of other countries do. The countries in which the appointment of Irish Consular Representatives would, in all reasonable probability, lead to the opening up of profitable and extensive markets for the Irish producer are Argentina and Chili in South America, the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Russia, Japan, Denmark, Italy, and Austro-Hungary. There are possible fields for the Irish producer in every one of the countries named. The total imports of these countries amount to about two thousand million pounds' worth of goods annually, and an efficient Irish Consular Service could procure at least one per cent. of that trade. One per cent. of that trade would mean an increased revenue of £20,000,000 annually, representing the maintenance of about a million persons, or employment for a quarter of a million heads of families for this country, and enable us to look forward to the near approach of a time when the population of Ireland would again reach the figure it stood at in 1845, when Ireland possessed a foreign trade, all of which has vanished. In that year Ireland had 700 ships trading directly with the world at large. I doubt if she has seven ships now. What little foreign trade we have left goes now through English hands and English ports. Those products of Ireland which reach the Continent go almost wholly through Liverpool, and pay practically as much to the English

* Latest available figures—1915—are:—

Total Value of Imports.

England	£776,665,000
Scotland	58,442,000
Ireland	16,774,000

Total Value of Exports.

England	£443,980,000
Scotland	39,685,000
Ireland	265,714

Total Trade.

England	£1,220,645,000
Scotland	98,127,000
Ireland	17,039,000

This means that out of every £100 of trade done by Great Britain and Ireland Great Britain takes £98 14s. and Ireland £1 6s. 0d. For every shilling we got Great Britain got 77 shillings.

middleman as to the Irish producer. Thus one of the heads of the Bon Marche in Paris showed me some years ago a receipt for 25,000 francs (£1,000) paid for Irish lace to an English firm. On inquiring in Ireland I found that the English firm had paid £550 in Ireland for the lace which it sold at double price to France. This kind of thing has been going on for a couple of generations, wiping us all out of existence—Unionist and Nationalist, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, merchant, artisan, shopkeeper, farmer and labourer. It is going on still, and if you continue to place your faith in the British Parliament and your trust in the men who tell you to hope in action in that Parliament, in another generation Ireland will be finally conquered.

The British Consular Service, which secures Great Britain £98 10s. out of every £100 worth of trade done for the United Kingdom, is composed of men whose average salary and expenses per annum run from £400 to £500. An Irish Consular Service of twenty men could be efficiently maintained by the country at an annual cost of under ten thousand pounds—or about one-third what it costs Ireland to keep up Parliamentarianism. With a Consular Service of twenty men Irish trade with North and South America, South Africa, France, and Germany, amongst others, could be enormously developed. At the present time, whilst we secure only thirty shillings out of every £100 worth of trade done, we pay £9 out of every £100 England expends on her Consular Service. With an efficient Consular Service in North America, for instance, and the powerful sympathy of America with us, it is possible to regain that annual £10,000,000 of trade we lost whilst we were watching the farce in Westminster. In woollens alone, America at the present time is importing nearly £2,500,000 worth from England—woollens inferior to our own. In Germany a similar field lies open to us.

The German Government has sent to one of the Irish woollen mills an order for cloth for the German army. If Ireland were commercially represented in Germany not one woollen mill, but a score, might receive Germany's orders. Fellow-countrymen, to bring Ireland into the world market is the first step we propose that a National Assembly sitting in Dublin should take. Is it commonsense?

VI.

SINN FEIN AT WORK—IRELAND'S TAXATION.

Fellow-Countrymen,

In addition to the nine and a half millions you are paying this year to the British Government to keep up the armed and unarmed forces that keep you down, you are paying six and a half million pounds, or over thirty-one shillings a head, in local taxation, making in all a taxation of £3 15s. per head, or, taking the family to consist of five persons, of £18 15s. per annum. Eighteen pounds fifteen shillings per annum is over seven shillings a week, and that is the average amount paid in taxation by each family in Ireland. It is paid in the tea and beer and whiskey you drink, in the tobacco you smoke, and even in the sweets your children eat. For under what is called "Free Trade" the British Government taxes your child's piece of sugarstick, your wife's cup of tea, your pint of porter and pipe of tobacco—having previously swept, under the name of "Free Trade," your native food supplies out of existence, and enthroned the bullock as lord of the soil. And you have been told in the last few months by the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party that if you had not sent members to the British Parliament Free Trade would never have been carried. And had Free Trade not been carried there would have possibly been 12,000,000 of you in Ireland to-day, crowding the bullocks off the soil and owning and guarding the country for yourselves. From such a fate the policy of sending members to the British Parliament has, according to Mr. John Redmond, preserved the Britons and the bullocks.

The six and a half millions annually raised in Ireland is composed of over £4,000,000 directly contributed by the people in Ireland, and two and a half millions grants-in-aid and loans. This gigantic sum is expended without any national superintendence. If it were expended on a uniform system, and expended solely with a view to the benefit of the country at large, the advantages to the country would be enormous. Instead, it is expended unsystematically and in dribbles. The local Board in one county and in one district neither knows nor cares how its neighbours are applying their funds. The resultant economic and national loss can be surmised. With a Council of Three Hundred sitting in Dublin, wisely directing the general expenditure of the local taxes of the country, it can be foreseen how great a saving would be effected for the ratepayer, and how enormously the financial credit, the industrial development, and the political position of the country would gain.

The total expenditure by the Poor Law Boards, Rural District Councils, and Committees of Lunatic Asylums during each year is about £2,300,000. Of this a vast proportion is expended on food, clothing, bedding, furniture, building materials, medicines, and medical appliances, etc. No public returns exist to show what proportion of this expenditure for food, clothing, bedding, furniture, building materials, medicines, and medical appliances is of Irish manufacture, but it is certain that although, almost without exception, every article required under these headings can be had of Irish produce or Irish manufacture, 50 per cent. of them are imported—meaning that roughly speaking a sum of £750,000 is annually lost to the country in these items alone. £750,000 expended annually in Ireland for Irish goods would mean the distribution of at least half a million annually in payments and wages to producers and manufacturing workers. Half a million pounds distributed thus annually in Ireland would mean provision for ten thousand heads of families, representing about fifty thousand people—or more than now emigrate from the country yearly. A National Council in Dublin, directing the expenditure of local taxation, can ensure this result being achieved.

So much for one mode in which the Irish finances could be directed by an Irish National Assembly, sitting in Dublin, to the preservation and strengthening of the Irish nation. I shall now instance another. Under the Local Government Act the County Councils can levy a penny in the £ for technical instruction, and demand and receive half as much again from the Board of Agriculture. The valuation of Ireland—the

(Continued on Page 5).

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6 Harcourt St., Dublin
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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JULY 14th, 1917.

TO THE MEN OF CLARE.

(Censored).

I republish to-day some letters I addressed to the men of Leitrim, where my friend Charles Dolan fought the first election for Sinn Fein. Nearly ten years have vanished since then, and I ask your attention to what has since happened in our country. We fought the same Party that now appeals to you to return Mr. Lynch—that talks to you of Home Rule—that bubbles what it falsely calls "Constitutionalism"—and that is consistent only in selling you and the rest of the people of Ireland. In Leitrim nearly ten years ago its members swore to the people from a dozen platforms that Home Rule was certain—that Home Rule would be gained within two years—if Leitrim rejected the Sinn Fein candidate. The men in Leitrim who voted against us were nearly all honest Irishmen. They believed that Home Rule was at hand, and they helped the Party back to power. You, men of Clare, have not the excuse they had for making a tragic mistake. For you have ten years' further experience of what it means to Ireland to keep a corrupt and cowardly Party in the English Parliament. Since the Party won at Leitrim in February, 1908,

- (1) The population of Ireland has been reduced by fifty thousand men and women.
- (2) The taxation of Ireland has been increased from 94 millions to nearly 30 millions annually.

These two facts I put against all the rhetoric and all the sophistry which seek to defend Parliamentaryism. Lumbago and ignorance speak to you of benefits to be gained and dangers to be averted by attending the English

Parliament. There is no danger to a country greater than the loss of its population—no benefit to compensate a dwindling people for the increase of their taxation. Ireland is being slain in the English Parliament. Ireland is being as deliberately destroyed by the operation of Parliamentaryism as our grandfathers were deliberately destroyed in 1846-7 by the operation of England's Corn Laws.

What are these men whom you send to the English Parliament doing there? In the ten years that have elapsed since I first met and fought them in Leitrim, 50,000 of our countrymen and countrywomen have been swept away from the country God gave them. In the same ten years England has increased her population by a million and a half. Did your Irish Party stand up on any one occasion in those ten years to point out the hideous fact that the Irish people were being exterminated from their own land by the operation of a Government under which the people of England waxed fat and multiplied? You know it did not. You know it supported during all those years that English Government, and that in return for its acquiescence in your destruction its members received salaries for themselves and a thousand places for their venal supporters in Ireland.

When we fought for Sinn Fein nine years ago in Leitrim the people of Ireland were taxed one and a half millions by that English Parliament to which they have so long elected members. In the intervening nine years that taxation has been trebled. You had Mr. Redmond and his Party "on the floor of the House" to defend, as you thought, your interests. Mr. Redmond and his Party voted every increase of taxation upon you. They voted each Budget that increased the burden you had to bear for England's sake. England paid them £400 a year each. They paid England by helping her to impose millions of taxation upon you.

No political party in Ireland's history has received more support from the people of Ireland than the party of Mr. Redmond, and none has had given it the same political opportunities. It betrayed its supporters and it harried its opportunities to its country's enemies.

And this man and his followers to-day attempt to pose before you as successors of Parnell's policy. What would Parnell have done had he lived to see Ireland's ancient enemy entangled in a serious war? In 1884, when England was apprehensive of a Franco-Russian alliance against her, "United Ireland" adumbrated Parnell's action. In the event of war, it suggested, Parnell would leave the English House of Commons with his party, return to Ireland . . . and wait for England to make overtures for an Irish alliance. What did Mr. Redmond do, with the opportunity thrown into his hands that Parnell had vainly hoped for? He betrayed, so far as it was in his power to betray, the historic right and the National Cause of Ireland, and if Ireland is not to-day denuded of her manhood and lost as a nation, it is not the fault of Mr. Redmond and his party.

Turn your eyes from the English Parliament, which ever saps and corrupts the Irishmen you send thither, and which yields to nothing but pressure from without. Elect your representatives to act for you in Ireland and to speak for you to the world. Repeat to yourselves the declaration of the representatives of Hungary when their country was crushed beneath an alien tyranny:

We shall devote our entire strength and all our capabilities that Hungary may remain Hungary. We shall take part neither in the Imperial Parliament nor in any other assembly whatsoever of the representatives of the Empire; and we shall not recognise the right of that Parliament to legislate on the affairs of our country.—Declaration of the Hungarian Representatives, July 5th, 1861.

Resolve, men of Clare, that we shall devote our strength and capabilities to make Ireland Ireland—no mean West Briton or bastard province in a British Empire. Resolve that the man you elect to represent you will speak for you in Ireland and at the Assembly of the Peace Conference, and claim in the name of Clare that the tribunal which restores their independence to Belgium and Serbia and Roumania and Poland shall equally restore independence to Ireland. The opportunity for Ireland has come to have her case heard and judged by the nations of the world. The opportunity comes to you, men of Clare, to demonstrate to the world by electing Eamonn De Valera that Clare is for an Ireland sovereign, free, and independent.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

SINN FEIN NATIONAL FUND.

A long list of subscriptions to this Fund is unavoidably crushed out of the present issue, owing to the necessity of giving all our space to the Clare Election.

SINN FEIN

(Continued from Page 3).

rateable valuation—is roughly £12,000,000, which would yield an annual grant for technical instruction of £50,000, plus £25,000 from the Department. The Councils have also the power, with the concurrence of the Rural Councils, to raise another penny in the £ for libraries, thus yielding another £50,000. Here, then, we have a total annual revenue of £125,000, which can be allocated, inside the limits prescribed by the Act, by direction of the Council of Three Hundred, to objects intended to strengthen and serve the country, and aid in bringing about the triumph of the policy.

Under the heading of Technical Instruction we can allocate money to train up the people in crafts useful to the country, and we can subsidise and offer bounties to new and struggling industries—this is of the utmost importance. Under the heading Libraries we can allocate money to the foundation of National Libraries throughout the country, the instruction of adults in national history and national subjects, the establishment of local national museums and gymnasia in which they may be physically trained. To illustrate. When the Council of Three Hundred meets in Dublin it is proposed, let us say, that a certain fixed sum be devoted in that year in every part of Ireland to, we shall say, the encouragement of a new and diffused industry approved by the Council of Three Hundred as sound. Whereupon every County Council in Ireland levies the rate and allocates the portion as directed. Thus, uniformity of action and work is attained, and without one iota infringing the British Law, the recommendation—all these resolutions or Acts of the Council go forth as recommendations—is given the force and status of law.

These are but some of the financial ways and means which are open to a Council of the Nation sitting in Dublin. I shall put before you how that Council can direct and control every department of Irish life in the following articles.

VII.

SINN FEIN AT WORK—THE POOR LAW.

Fellow-Countrymen,

I have dealt with local taxation in Ireland—a taxation which imposes £1 11s. per head or about £7 15s. per year on every family in Ireland. Of this amount close on one-half is devoted to the upkeep of the Poor Law system in Ireland, and the Poor Law system in Ireland is the most extravagant and demoralising Poor Law system in the world. You got it from the British Parliament, and it was accounted a great triumph of Parliamentarianism at the time. Almost as great a triumph as the Land Act, which has added 68½ per cent. to the landlord's price for his land, and which the Irish Parliamentary Party told you "was the greatest measure passed for Ireland since the Union," which is in that Party's opinion a very great measure, for, fellow-countrymen, the Irish Parliamentary Party has now discovered that Daniel O'Connell and all other opponents of the Union were wrong, that Ireland under Grattan's Parliament was very badly off, and that Home Rule, which means that you must pay for England's army, navy, and diplomatic service, and leave the control of your trade in England's hands, is very much better than Repeal of the Union, which means that you shall control everything in Ireland, including the soldier, the policeman, the Custom House officer—and leave England to pay for herself.

We have the Poor Law system now with us as a result of Irish Parliamentarianism, and the question before us is how to make it less hurtful than it was intended to be. Each year under the operation of this vile system the rating of the people is going up, and consequently the increase of pauperism.

Since you first returned the Irish Party to the British Parliament the number of paupers in Ireland has doubled—it has risen from 282,000 in 1871 to 550,000 last year—and your poor-rate has been likewise almost doubled. In the same period your population has fallen by a million. One in twenty was the proportion of pauper-relief in Ireland before you started to pay a number of men to go to England to fight your battles "on the floor of the House;" one in

eight is the proportion after 36 years of that political humbug. Your lunatic asylums have also nearly doubled their population, and another 20 years of the same policy will leave Ireland with a population of three and a quarter millions, of whom a million and a quarter will be supported on the rates levied on the remaining two millions. This, indeed, will be the Last Conquest of Ireland.

What can Ireland do to render the Poor Law system—a weapon forged to destroy her—innocuous, if not a weapon in her hand? She could do much if the Council of Three Hundred were sitting in Dublin directing her national affairs.

There are in all in Ireland 159 Poor Law Unions, controlled by 8,000 elected representatives, employing directly about 4,000 persons, and distributing annually about a million and a half of money. The million and a half of money does not go to relieve the poor. Nearly one-half of it goes to officialism and officialdom. Out of every £1 raised by the poor-rate 10/8 goes to relieve the poor, and 9/6 to permit the relief to reach them. Out of the money expended yearly on supplies for the workhouses, infirmaries, lunatic asylums, etc., a vast sum goes abroad, thus further impoverishing Ireland by depriving Irish artisans, farmers, and labourers of the work represented in the production and manufacture of the goods and articles needed. To illustrate, I shall quote here what I wrote some four years ago in the "United Irishman" (1904):—

"We suggest that the 159 Unions in Council shall draw up an official scale of union requirements, using uniform advertisements for goods of solely Irish material and manufacture, and print a scale of the numerous quantities requisite yearly for the collective unions. Take, for example, the number of surgical instruments required by the 800 medical officers of the unions of Ireland; the requirements also of bandages, trusses, belts, stockings, artificial limbs, crutches, etc., if made in Ireland would give employment to some hundreds of people, while clothing material, medicines, and food, bedding, printing, and paper would be the means of giving vast employment; while the material of building, of repairs, painting, tin, and metalware—why, they have the power of galvanising Irish industry into a new life. The action of the North Dublin Union in 1881 is an illustration of what could be done. In that year the Board decided to reverse the absurd 'as-good-and-as-cheap' policy which it had hitherto pursued to the national injury, and to procure all its requisites, even though it had to pay an enhanced price, of Irish manufacture. When it could not procure what it exactly required of Irish manufacture it procured something of Irish manufacture which might substitute it. The result was, of course, that increased employment was provided in the country, and in the end the ratepayers gained to the extent of £800 a year. At the present moment an attempt is being made by the Local Government Board—one of whose prime duties is to push the interests of the British manufacturer in Ireland—to bluff the Irish Boards of Guardians into acceptance of tenders for the supply of drugs sent in by an English ring of manufacturers, whose object it is to crush out the Irish druggists. In an excellent letter addressed to the Boards of Guardians, the Cork Chemical and Drug Co., Ltd., says:—

"It is a comparatively simple matter for English capitalists to crush out their Irish competitors, and we know that this has been too often the fate of Irishmen striving to promote the manufacture of the country, but once the obstacles are removed it is easy enough for them to advance prices, and thus obtain compensation for primary losses. It is to this system we, as Irish manufacturers and large employers of labour, object; but we are always ready to meet the ordinary competition of business, so long as this is conducted on fair lines. We trust, therefore, that in deciding the present contracts, a preference shall be given to Irish firms, who contribute to the rates and provide employment for the people."

Many of the Irish Boards of Guardians have responded to this letter, but unfortunately the bulk of the unions have fallen into the net spread by the English ring, and in consequence a very large sum of Irish money, not a penny of which need have passed out of the country, will find its way into England's pocket. Under the Sinn Fein policy such a deplorable error could not occur. The action of the Boards would, of course, be an united one, and no possibility would be left so far as they were concerned for a syndicate of unscrupulous English capitalists to crush out the home manufacturer and the home trader.

Now, fellow-countrymen, if Ireland possessed a National Council, sitting in Dublin, such as the Sinn Fein policy proposes to establish, a Council composed of the representatives of the Poor Law Unions, County Councils, and other representative bodies, and backed by the Irish people, the expenditure of the Poor Law would be confined to Ireland, and certainly directed to Ireland's interest. The union of powers would act as a subvention and encouragement to Irish industries, consequently gradually decreasing the total of pauperism, and enable changes to be made in the present Poor Law system which would rid it of its demoralising features and convert it into a weapon in Ireland's hand in place of what it is now—a weapon of her destruction.

Here are some of the things which the Poor Law Unions of Ireland could do by united action—and this united action would at once be secured by the establishment of the Council of Three Hundred in Dublin. The calculations are based on the official returns, and on information kindly supplied to me by many Poor Law officials.

1—FLOUR.

If the Irish Poor Law Unions combined to use none but Irish flour in the workhouses, etc., a number of the idle mills would again be in full work, and permanent employment be provided for about 2,000 persons.

2—SUGAR.

If the Irish Poor Law Unions continued to use none but Irish or Irish refined sugar, either the beet-sugar industry would be established in Ireland or the Irish sugar-refineries would be re-opened. If the beet-sugar industry were established in Ireland it would directly benefit all classes, particularly farmers, and probably eventually employ some 50,000 hands. If the sugar-refineries were re-opened immediate employ-

ment would be provided for some 1,500 persons, and within five years the number would be likely to be trebled.

3—CLOTHING.

If the Irish Poor Law Unions combined to use none but clothing of Irish material and workmanship (in this respect many unions already act properly) probably some 1,500 to 2,000 persons additional would find permanent employment.

4—OTHER SUPPLIES.

Furniture, machinery, surgical appliances, etc. If the Irish Unions combined to procure all these within Ireland, it is estimated some 2,000 to 3,000 persons would find permanent employment.

In all, fellow-countrymen, 10,000 men and women, who at present are unemployed, could be provided with employment by the mere combination of the Poor Law Unions to expend the poor-rate in the national interest—a combination which could exist actively and work smoothly under the direction of a Council of Three Hundred. But this is not the total of benefit. If Irish producers and manufacturers were encouraged so far by the Irish Unions, they would be enabled to extend their operations and compete more effectively in the open market with foreign rivals, thus increasing their output and the number of their employees. If the Poor Law Unions added 10,000 to the number of those employed in producing and manufacturing, the open market would in a few years add treble the number. The function of the Poor Law Union as a promoter of local industry is well understood in England. In that country not only will the vast bulk of the Unions not use foreign materials or foreign manufactured goods in the workhouses, hospitals, and other places under their charge, but they usually specify for all goods to be of local manufacture.

To reform the existing system of the Poor Law, by depriving it of its demoralising features and by directing it to the benefit instead of the impoverishment of the country is possible to such a body as the Council of Three Hundred. It is possible to make the following changes in the existing system:—

(1) To substitute outdoor relief to the infirm and aged, instead of the present system of huddling them in workhouses. The cost to the ratepayers would be reduced about 33 per cent., or 6/8 in the £; the comfort and liberty of those relieved would be assured, and the degradation and demoralisation of pauperism and workhouse life would be averted. (2) To provide for the able-bodied paid labour in the reclamation of waste lands, etc., on the Dutch, Belgian, and other Continental systems. This would spare able-bodied men and women willing to work the humiliation of being obliged to enter the workhouse and benefit the whole community by adding to the national wealth—reclaimed land, etc.

Fellow-countrymen, these are some of the things, in connection with the Poor Law system alone, which a Council of Three Hundred, sitting in Dublin, could do—which you yourselves have the power to do—and which the British Parliament, if you sat on its floor from this to the Judgment Day, will never willingly do for you. You could do for yourselves to-day one-half the things you have been led to believe could only be done for you by the British Parliament, and when you have done that one-half you will be strong enough to force the doing of the other half. The day you establish a de facto Parliament in Ireland—the Council of Three Hundred—will mark the beginning of the end of the pauperism and oppression which you suffer under.

VIII.

The Election interrupts the letters which I addressed to your commonsense and to your patriotism. I have tried to show you that in your own hands lies the power to make Ireland again a Nation. I think I have proved that you possess that power. When this election is over I shall continue to address and show you that in every department of national life you have the power to rebuild, and that the inspiration for the great work is self-reliance—Sinn Fein. Trust yourselves, believe in yourselves, and all the power of the British Empire is not strong enough to prevail against you. Distrust yourselves and a Birrell or a monkey may rule you. You trusted yourselves when you founded the Land League, and you won against the massed strength of England. You distrusted yourselves when you gave up the fight for Ireland on the soil of Ireland and exiled it to the British Parliament. Have faith again in yourselves as you had in 1878, and Dublin Castle will fall before Sinn Fein more easily than the old landlordism fell thirty years ago before the Land League.

We do not come to Leitrim with bribes and promises. We tell you that we can make Ireland free—but not by any magic. We can make it free by making your mind free from the delusion that has been fostered in you, that only through the British Parliament can any good thing come to Ireland. We tell you, instead, that the evils which afflict you come through that Parliament. We tell you that the emigrant ship and the poorhouse, and the prison and the lunatic asylum, and the ruined factory and the closed mine, and the anti-national school and the coercion court, and the armed constabularyman and the soldier, and the tax-gatherer and the cattle ranches where men and women once lived and thrived, are the things that have come to you during the years that you have been looking to that Parliament.

Let there stand up one man in the ranks of Parliamentarianism to deny this before you, and you will call him liar, for you know as well as I know that all these plagues have come on you from the British Parliament. It gave the beast your land and the Manchester manufacturer your factories to close up. It gave you the poorhouse, the lunatic asylum, and the jail. And it made you pay the cost of your own destruction. And when you kicked it called you turbulent, and your members of Parliament were told that you were turbulent, and told you they were vindicating your character. Why, if you were not turbulent when you were robbed and oppressed, you would be an insult to the God who made you. And the men who stood up in the British Parliament to declare that whilst you are being robbed and oppressed you are perfectly peaceable, are the men who are holding you up to the contempt of the world, and who connive at your extirpation.

I ask you, men of Leitrim, to end this reign of

humbly by casting your votes on Friday for Charles Dolan. The question is whether the British Parliament or the Irish people is the rightful ruler of your country. For the first time since England, in your hour of weakness, struck down your Parliament, you are asked to declare by your votes, not that the British Parliament ought to or should or might give you this or that, but that the British Parliament has no right or authority in this country—that you are the free citizens of an independent nation. That is the issue, and that issue the Irish Parliamentary Party and its kept Press shirks—for after a hundred years of Parliamentarianism there is still manhood in you, and the Parliamentarians who this week ran away from even asking the British House of Commons to pass a Home Rule Resolution, have no use for an Irish manhood. But it is because I knew that in my countrymen, under all the veneer, the hearts of brave men beat, that I burned my boats ten years ago and started on the fight to free Irish manhood from an evil spell, and raise it to combat the vampire Parliament of England. The fight has begun in Leitrim. Let Leitrim lead the van of National Independence.

Is mise le meas mor,

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

AFTER THE LEITRIM ELECTION.

(From "Sinn Fein," February 28th, 1908).

A political era has begun. Twelve hundred votes have been cast in an Irish constituency in denial of the claim of the Parliament of England to legislate for this country. Since the year 1800 no such event has occurred in our history. From the day the representatives of Ireland first crossed the sea to sit in an alien Parliament and lend its Acts sanction by their presence—the fatal 1st January, 1801—until Friday last, no vote had been cast at an election in Ireland in denial of the authority of that Parliament to rule Ireland. Irishmen had voted to ask that Parliament to restore them self-government in whole or part, but none had voted repudiation of its right and authority until 1,200 Leitrim men, on Friday last, cast their votes for Charles Dolan and the policy of Sinn Fein. The people of Ireland have not yet grasped the full meaning of the Leitrim Election, nor will they grasp it for some time. It spells a political revolution greater than that which followed the Clare Election of 1828. That election sounded the emancipation of a creed—this election heralds the emancipation of a nation. The twelve hundred voters of Leitrim have unmasked the imposture on which the government of Ireland by foreigners rests, and has rested for a hundred years. In the coming years England will be forced to the same alternative Hungary forced Austria to—to govern our country openly and nakedly by the sword or to loose it and let it go. Through the folly or timidity of Ireland's political leaders, and through her own subtle diplomacy, England has since the Union evaded the alternatives. She has governed Ireland secretly, indeed, by the sword, but openly by the forms of the constitution—and this she has been enabled to do solely by the acquiescence of the people whom she destroys. Without the presence of elected representatives from Ireland in Westminster, the English Government in Ireland could not endure for five years—unless by the support of the sword, and the argument of the sword cannot prevail against a nation united in passive resistance. Hungary taught Austria that lesson forty years ago. Roumania has taught it to Turkey, and Finland has taught it to Russia. Ireland alone of the oppressed nationalities of Europe seemed incapable of understanding that no nation can be constitutionally governed against its will. But we knew that Ireland was not incapable of understanding what Hungary, Roumania, and Finland had understood, and after ten years of struggle we have proved her capacity to understand and her courage to act upon that understanding. We have fixed for ever a line beyond which Irish Nationalism cannot be driven back. Until Friday last Irish Nationalism, when defeated in assault upon England, was liable to rout—defeated, it scattered into groups without cohesion and without power. Henceforward it can never be routed. Defeated, it falls back to the impregnable entrenchment which Leitrim has built for us, and rallies its forces. Never again can England drive Irish Nationalism back beyond the point of denial of England's right to rule this country. We have given Ireland what she never had since the Union, and the lack of which in 1843, in 1848, in 1868, and 1890, ruined her politically—a rallying base. Ten years ago, when we set out to do this, we had nothing to sustain us but faith in our countrymen. Our faith has been justified. We were madmen and fools to the practical politicians who have been killing our country body and soul for generations. To-day, in the teeth of their wealth, their Press, their organisation, and their friends in Dublin Castle, we have rallied three-fourths of the young men of Ireland and one-third of the Nationalist electorate of Ireland to our side. Ten years more and five-sixths of Ireland—Catholic and Protestant—will be banded together in National brotherhood, and the epitaph of foreign rule in this country will be in the graving. The Leitrim Election is the declaration of Irish Independence. The men of future generations will date Ireland's resurrection from the day when 1,200 Irishmen, in the poorest and most remote county in Ireland, voted for Sinn Fein.

Hungary and Ireland.

Forty years ago the representatives of Hungary assembled in the capital of the country, and with one voice adopted the following declaration:—

We shall devote our entire strength and all our capabilities that Hungary may remain Hungary. We declare that we will take part neither in the Imperial Parliament nor in any other assembly whatsoever of the representatives of the Empire; and further, that we cannot recognise the right of the said Imperial Parliament to legislate on the affairs of our country.

A year or two ago the men who believed that Ireland could be brought to act as brave and sensible a part were derided. Leitrim has shown how true their faith in their countrymen was. It is not tomorrow that the elected representatives of Ireland will assemble in Dublin to declare:—

We shall devote our entire strength and all our capabilities that Ireland may remain Ireland. We declare that we will take part neither in the Imperial Parliament nor in any other assembly whatsoever of the representatives of the Empire; and further, that we cannot recognise the right of the said Imperial Parliament to legislate on the affairs of our country.

But Leitrim has made it inevitable that they must do so. And when they have done so the people of Ireland will wonder how they ever came to cast their votes in support of a policy which recognised and sanctioned the right of a hostile legislature to destroy the Irish Nation.

The Central Branch.

"Do we look like defeated men?" asked Mr. Griffith at the meeting of the Central Branch of the National Council on Monday night, amidst cheers. "It was not we Sinn Feiners who walked out of Manorhamilton Courthouse on Saturday downcast and silent, and who slunk out of the town whilst the railway station re-echoed with the chorus of 'Sinn Fein Amhain!' They had gone down to Leitrim, the most isolated county in Ireland, and faced there the full strength of Irish Parliamentarianism—its powerful organisation, its abundant funds, its all-pervading Press—and after a fortnight's fight they had polled 1,200 votes for Ireland against recognition of the Parliament which these men loved, and to which they taught the people they must look for salvation instead of to their own hands and deeds. Leitrim had sounded the death-knell of Parliamentarianism—and not all the bullies from Belfast, hired out of the Parliamentary Fund at 10/- a day, could prevent its dissolution. The significance of the Leitrim Election was not yet grasped by the people of Ireland, nor would it be for some time. No election like it had been ever fought in Ireland. Not since England closed by force the Parliament House of Ireland had an Irishman gone to the poll to declare that the Parliament of England was a usurpation in this country—a foreign tyranny possessing no right and no claim over the Irish people, until Friday last, when 1,200 men in Leitrim knocked down the fetish which had been raised in Ireland—the fetish of English right and English authority in this country. England's authority has been defied by Ireland since the Union, but never until Friday last had it been solemnly repudiated. What had been done in Leitrim could never be undone. All the water in the ocean could not wash away this great fact they had now clearly established before the eyes of Irishmen—that the British Parliament was an assembly with no more right and no more recognition from Ireland than the Parliament of France, or Germany, or Spain. For ten years he had worked for this result, and now they had won. The battle had opened between two nations—it was no longer a row between England and one of her provinces. He would never forget the sturdy men of Leitrim, who had proclaimed their country's independence by the exercise of their own. They had lit a fire in Leitrim which would run through every county in Ireland, until it burned up the last vestige of the rule of the British Parliament, and restored to the Irish people an Ireland purified and rejuvenated, for them to have, to hold, and to guard until the end of time.

Messrs. Cuffe, Milroy, Lyons, O'Byrne and other gentlemen who had worked in the Leitrim Election, addressed the meeting, which terminated with cheers for Leitrim and its Sinn Fein representative, Mr. C. J. Dolan.

WEEK BY WEEK.

This issue of "Nationality" goes to press before the poll is taken in East Clare.

The Ennis Board of Guardians has called on the electors of Clare to return triumphantly Mr. De Valera.

The Junior Crown Prosecutor for Limerick, lately an ornament of the Dublin recruiting platform, has arrived in Clare to help the candidature of Senior Crown Prosecutor Lynch.

"Who's Who" is an English publication to which those who seek renown supply their claims to distinction. Here is Mr. Patrick Lynch's contribution in the current year's issue:—

Lynch, Patrick, K.C., Senior Crown Prosecutor, Co. Kerry, since 1908; Irish Bar, 1888; Inner Bar, 1906. Address, 2 Mount Street Crescent, Dublin.

Thus it is the man who now claims to be a Nationalist described his title to fame—a Senior Crown Prosecutor.

During the late election the Secretary of the Licensed Grocers and Vintners' Association hired motor cars in Dublin and sent them to the assistance of the Party candidate in Longford. The racing men and book-makers have

now been mobilised for motor car service for Mr. Lynch in Clare. Most of the former class are Unionists, and they are providing at their individual expense cars for the contest. Among those who are sending cars to help Mr. Lynch is Mr. Maxwell Arnott, director of the Unionist "Irish Times."

The supporters of Mr. Patrick Lynch in East Clare are going to go one better than their notorious anti-clerical placard, in which they declare that "Bishops and Priests should be silent on political issues." They are printing in Dublin at the present time a letter written by the Bishop of Limerick some time ago, in which he spoke well of Mr. Redmond. The Bishop of Limerick has publicly declared that at the time he wrote the letter he believed Mr. Redmond to be an Irishman, but that he has since discovered Mr. Redmond to be not even a man. The Redmondites are reprinting the letter with the intention of circulating it on the eve of the poll suggesting it as the present opinion of the Bishop of Limerick. To falsify fact and implicitly belie a Catholic Bishop is worthy of the "Bishops and Priests silent in politics" party. But perhaps Mr. Patrick Lynch has a theology of his own.

The following taxes are now being imposed upon the Irish farmers:—

Income Tax (under Schedule B.) 5/- in the £ on the farmer's valuation.

Excess Profits Tax—80 per cent. on the profits of Farmers' Co-operative Dairy Societies.

These taxes have been imposed with the aid of the vote and with the full assent of the Parliamentary Party.

The tax under Schedule B. was only one-third up to 1915-16. It is now paid on the full valuation.

The decrease of the population of Clare has been even greater than in most other Irish counties during the past 70 years. In 1841 there were 286,000 people in Clare. In 1871, when the Parliamentary movement started, it had fallen to 148,000. At the last census it was down to 104,000. Nearly two-thirds of the population of Clare has thus vanished under English rule between 1841 and 1917—a period of 76 years. Where in Europe is there a parallel? And all the time Clare was electing men to the English Parliament, where the legislation which thus destroyed her people came from.

South Dublin is the only constituency, outside Ulster, with a Unionist majority. There is at the present moment a Unionist majority of 1,200 on the register. Two-thirds of the non-Unionist voters are Sinn Feiners. The remnant support the Party.

After the death of Alderman Cotton a compact was entered into between the Unionists and the Redmondites to unite their forces against Sinn Fein. This is not remarkable. Everywhere Unionism unites with Redmondism against Sinn Fein. What is remarkable is that it was further agreed by the Unionists, with their majority on the register, to accept a Redmondite candidate. That is, the Unionists deliberately agreed to give the seat away.

An Independent candidate appeared—Sir John O'Connell, a man of Home Rule views, but with strong support among Unionists on account of his personal and professional standing. On the day before the election Sir John O'Connell's Unionist friends informed him that the leaders of their party had entered into the same compact against him they had entered into as against Sinn Fein, and that the Unionist vote was directed to be cast against him, and for the Redmondite candidate.

Here we have the prettiest example of intrigue between the Unionists and the Redmondites it is possible to see. The Unionists give away their only seat in Leinster to the Redmondites. Why? The Convention may supply the answer. We commend to East Clare the fact that Redmondism and Unionism in Ireland are now one and the same thing.

The latest English Government return on the yield of the sea-fisheries—for 1916—contains the following eloquent figures:—

Value of Yield of Sea-Fisheries, 1916.	
England	£7,223,000
Scotland	3,147,500
Ireland	421,000

Now, why should Ireland, which under its own Parliament had the most flourishing

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fisheries in Europe, have to-day but a paltry annual yield of £400,000, while Scotland has a yield of over £3,000,000? The answer is this. After England seized our Parliament and closed it down, she gradually withdrew all the grants and subsidies made by the Irish Parliament to the Irish fisheries, while she doubled, trebled, and quadrupled grants and subsidies to the English fisheries, and increased the grants to the Scotch fisheries. As a result of fostering the English fisheries they are now worth over £7,000,000 a year. As a result of allowing the Scotch fisheries to develop on their own lines—the Scotch fisheries are controlled directly by Scotland—those fisheries have risen from £200,000 a year to over three millions. As a result of robbing the Irish fisheries and keeping them under English Government control, their value has been reduced to almost nothing. The Irish fisheries to-day—if Ireland were a self-governed country—should yield some four millions a year. A National Council in Dublin would see to their development.

Ireland's share in what is called the "shipping of the United Kingdom" which we are taxed to pay the British Fleet for defending is as follows (according to the English Board of Trade Returns):—

Tonnage of Ships.	
English	8,716,000
Scotch	2,761,000
Irish	401,000

Thus our shipping, which a hundred years ago was vastly greater than the shipping of Scotland, and about a fourth as large as England's, has been practically wiped out during the generation Ireland continued sending men to the English Parliament, instead of looking after her own interests at home.

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A voice rings down the waiting years,
Its echoes comes thro' mists of tears;
It tells of hopes for freedom grand—
To lift thee up, dear Motherland—
Oft dashed to earth and tempest tost,
O'erborne by fate—but never lost.
And mid the strange and dreful rue
The voice rings out, loud, clear, and true:

"Faithful be to Erin ever—trust thy ancient
foeman never!
Shout from the hilltops—
Lift up thy heart, O Ireland!"

J. J. P. O'HEALY,
Advertisement Artist,

23 Bachelor's Walk, DUBLIN.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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At St. Enda's College, Oakley Road, Rathmines
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The following Artistes have kindly consented to appear:—

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Mrs. Cogley.	Sean O'Hea.
Miss Claire Arthurs.	J. and G. Nunn.
Miss Molly Dingle.	T. and C. Bevan.
Maire Nic Shiubhlaigh.	Wm. Bourke.
Miss Brennan (Belfast).	J. Begley.
Miss B. Nugent.	A. Dunne.
P. O'Sullivan.	J. Mulkearns.
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