

# NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. 1. No. 24. (New Series).

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

## WEEK BY WEEK.

The following order has been issued to the Irish Nation by the Government of England, now engaged in championing the freedom of small nations and upholding the concept of democracy against the principle of autocracy:—

"It shall not be lawful for any person in any newspaper, periodical, circular, or other printed publication, or in any public speech, to publish any report, or statement of, or to purport to describe or to refer to, any proceedings of the Convention assembled on the invitation of His Majesty's Government for the purpose of preparing a constitution for the future government of Ireland, or of any Committee of that Convention, except such report or statement thereof as may be officially authorised by the Chairman of the Convention.

"If any person contravenes any provision of this regulation he shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations."

The Irish Nation, it appears, will be sent to jail if it even refers to the proceedings of a body set up to "prepare a constitution for the future government of Ireland." This, however, is not autocracy. We have Lloyd George's word for it.

It would be difficult to beat this extract from the "Daily Independent" report of the Longford meeting:—

"Mr. A. Griffith declared that Sinn Fein would not attend the Convention. At the same time he denied that Sinn Feiners declined to go to the Convention."

Mr. A. Griffith stated that Sinn Fein would not decline a Convention whose members were freely elected by adult suffrage in Ireland, who were free to declare for the complete independence of their country, and whose majority decision England pledged herself beforehand to the United States and the nations of Europe to accept and ratify. That is the Sinn Fein position towards the Convention. England declines to permit the members to be chosen by the people of Ireland, declines to permit them to consider the complete independence of their country, and declines to pledge herself to accept a majority decision. Therefore, the Convention is a sham and humbug, and with sham and humbug Sinn Fein will have no dealings.

The English Premier met the editors of certain newspapers one day last week at Downing St., and discussed with them "matters of public importance." The editor of the "Cork Examiner" on Friday penned a leading article in which he declared that the Irish Party had "made blunders," and that the chief of them was due to their acceptance of Mr. Asquith's pronouncement "that the coercing of Ulster is unthinkable. Observe, it is Mr. Asquith, not Mr. Lloyd George, who misled the innocent Party." The editor of the "Cork Examiner" emphatically denies that "breakfast at the table of Lloyd George" had any influence on the Party. The editor of the "Cork Examiner," fresh from Downing St., declares (1) Ireland ought not to have fiscal autonomy; (2) Ireland must continue to buy coal from England, and since "it is not yet found in Ireland" must (we trust always) "rely on a cattle trade" as its mainstay; (4) Ireland was not injured by the notorious Lloyd-George Budget of 1909, which imposed an extra two million tax on Ireland. On the contrary, it increased Irish prosperity; (5) the "Cork Examiner" "will not cavil at the methods" taken by the Convention to arrive at a decision, and would suggest that if a Referendum be taken, "it be taken by provinces, or even by counties."

Now, if anybody imagines that this defence and eulogy of Lloyd George—this exhortation to Ireland to accept a Home Rule scheme without fiscal autonomy, this suggestion that Ulster or its counties may be accorded a Referendum on any Home Rule proposals, this reiteration that Ireland must be content to remain a grazing ranch and must on no account attempt to supply herself with coal of her own mining—if anybody imagines that because the editor of the "Cork Examiner" met Lloyd George in London on July 17th and the article was published in Cork three days later, that there was any connection between the two facts, he is mistaken; for the editor of the "Cork Examiner" will lay his hand on the place where his heart ought to be and declare that the only topics of discussion were two, and that they related not to Ireland, but to England and to Russia.

The English Government has refused passports to the representatives of the Irish Labour Party to attend the Stockholm Conference. England, it is to be remembered, is fighting for the rights of small nations and the principle of democracy.

Two Irish cities have complimented Madame Markievicz by adding her name to their roll of honorary citizens—Kilkenny and Sligo. Madame Markievicz's transparent sincerity and devotion to her country have not shielded her from the slanders of the blackguards who invented and spread through the country the slanders on Roger Casement, and on every man and woman of prominence in the National Movement; and we particularly rejoice in the honour Kilkenny and Sligo have done to our countrywoman.

The "Independent" reports that the Mayor of Sligo was assaulted by some of the harpies of that city on Sunday evening, and that the Constabulary, who witnessed the assault, instead of arresting the law-breakers, looked on and laughed.

The two Constabulary men against whom a coroner's jury has returned a verdict of "wilful murder" are still at large, still in the Government service, and still drawing pay from the Castle.

A meeting called to condemn the conduct of the Constabulary in Killaloe on the night of the Clare election, when, without provocation and without reading the Riot Act, they batoned the people and attempted a bayonet-charge, has been prohibited by Dublin Castle.

"Where is the recruiting-sergeant?" Mr. Matthew McCusker and the other publicans of Belfast, who refuse fair treatment to their assistants, want to know. The assistants have struck work, and Matthew and his colleagues have issued a leaflet bearing this legend. If the assistants won't work for the Belfast publicans on the Belfast publicans' terms, then the Belfast publicans declare it is the clear duty of the English Government to run them into the army. This is how Matthew argues:—

Beer is necessary to win the war.

Barmen are necessary to serve the beer.

If barmen shirk serving beer they are helping to lose the war.

Therefore, if barmen go on strike they should be forced into the army.

Isn't it clear? It appears that the barmen on strike are "as bad as the Germans;" they "consume the nation's food with no return." "This war must be won," declare the Belfast publicans, emphatically. "If it is lost it will only be through the shirkers"—i.e., the barmen on strike for better conditions of labour, which the Belfast publicans refuse to give.

The situation is serious, but the key of it is in the pockets of the Belfast publicans. They can get their barmen back to work by giving

them what they ask—even though it takes a small slice off their profits. Thus may the Empire be saved by the Matthew McCuskers of Belfast, who, far from the firing line, are making their bit out of the "munition-workers' beer," and righteously insist that their Empire exists on a Beer-Profit basis.

That eminent statesman Sir Edward Carson informed his Ulster supporters last week that Germany must withdraw her armies beyond the Rhine in order to discuss peace. For Germany to withdraw beyond the Rhine would be for Germany to yield up a huge piece of her territory; but Sir Edward Carson and his Unionist admirers were not aware of that. They took it for granted that the Rhine is the German frontier. And the Minister who made such an ignorant blunder has been just promoted to be a member of the Inner War Cabinet. When may we hope to hear this intelligent politician declare that peace will be made with Austria-Hungary when it retires behind the Vistula?

There was one small error in our article on "How Ireland is Taxed." We stated that margarine paid tax as "cocoa butter" or "copra." It is on cocoa-nut butter—the product of copra—the tax is paid. Margarine thus escapes the tax. Cocoa-nut butter is a fat obtained from the fruit of the cocoa-nut.

A reader is puzzled by the figures of Irish imports and exports (1915)—£17,039,000 in all. The figures quoted are the figures of the trade of Ireland with the world at large, outside Great Britain, not the figures of inter-trade between Ireland and Great Britain. The figure £1,220,645,000 for England is the figure of England's trade with the world, not the figure of her inter-trade with Scotland and Ireland.

Since we are on figures we may contrast the revenue of Ireland with that of other countries. Ireland's revenue for the current year will be £30,000,000. That sum is equal to the normal revenue of Belgium, which has a population nearly double ours to tax and provide for. It is £6,000,000 greater than the revenue of Roumania, £8,000,000 greater than the revenue of Sweden, and £11,000,000 greater than the revenue of Holland. It is equal to the combined revenues of Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, and Greece. It is thrice-and-a-half the revenue of Serbia, nearly thrice the revenue of Bulgaria, and nine times the revenue of Switzerland. Ireland raises the largest revenue of the small nations of Europe—and what does she get for it?

Holland, Sweden, and other countries obtain and maintain an army and fleet, a diplomatic and consular service, and administration of Dutch and Swedish affairs by Dutchmen and Swedes. Ireland gets none of these things. The thirty million goes to defray the expenses of the subjection of Ireland to English interests, and to put a handsome profit in England's pocket.

So much for revenue. Take population. In that particular Ireland, despite the artificial famine, and the steady exodus set up thereby, equals Serbia, almost equals Bulgaria, and exceeds Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland. In extent Ireland is nearly three times as large as Belgium, twice-and-a-half the size of Holland, more than double the size of Denmark or Switzerland, and almost equal to Serbia. Holland, Belgium and Montenegro combined are not so large as Ireland. Spain, the most powerful of the neutral countries, has a revenue only 25 per cent. greater than the revenue of Ireland. Out of that she administers the affairs of a population four-and-a-half times greater than our present popula-

tion, and keeps up a first-rate army and a second-rate fleet. Keep these facts in mind when humberg and ignorance prate of "Little Ireland."

It is impossible for the Sinn Fein Executive to supply speakers for all the meetings now being organised on Sundays in support of the Sinn Fein movement. At least three weeks' notice must henceforth be given to the Executive to enable it to provide speakers, and requests for speakers should be addressed to the Executive and not personally. It is only thus it can be hoped to cope with the pressing cry from North, South, East, and West.

Last week, for instance, outside Kilkenny, members of the Executive were engaged in addressing meetings in three provinces. Mr. De Valera, who has not rested since his election campaign, was at Longford on Sunday and proceeded thence to Sligo. Mr. Milroy addressed meetings on Thursday in Athy, on Friday in Carlow, on Sunday in Milltown (Westmeath), and on Monday in Sligo. Count Plunkett spoke at Longford on Sunday, Mr. Lennon at Dunmore in Galway, Dr. Dillon at Eyrecourt in Galway. Mr. Arthur Griffith spoke at Athy on Thursday, at Castlepollard on Sunday afternoon, at Longford later the same day, and again at Castlepollard at night. Others were engaged on Sunday in Kilkenny, Sligo, Dublin County, and other counties. Now it is evident that however willing members of the Executive may be they cannot subdivide themselves over all the meetings fixed for Sundays. The best effort will be made, but it is useless for those who arrange public meetings to expect to get speakers from the Executive at a couple of days' notice. If this be kept in mind, and reasonable notice given, it may be possible to overtake the enormous demand we are now seeking to satisfy.

How many men have been thrown out of employment by the needless tyranny of trade restrictions? We have been looking into the question and find that there is no Irish Labour Bureau, and therefore no means of finding out definitely. In a country with a Government this information would be carefully collected once a month and the position reviewed. It is one of the first duties of a Government to do this. Employment is the very health of a nation, but the alleged Government of Ireland is unable to say how many people are unemployed in Ireland at the present or any other moment. In Britain, of course, the figures are carefully kept, as they are in all countries possessing a genuine Government. The "Labour Gazette" is the monthly organ of the Ministry of Labour, and in addition to British statistics we find it gives the returns for Germany, the details of which are taken from the "Reichs-Arbeitsblatt" (the journal of the German Department of Labour Statistics), and from the "Deutscher Reichsanzeiger" (Prussian Official Gazette). It also gives returns from Holland, Canada, and United States, and much other information. But there is nothing in the form of an Irish return of an intelligible nature. There are only a few particulars given in relation to a few trades in which we enjoy the place of a district. We glean here and there a few facts. It should be stated first that the number of unemployed in what it calls the "United Kingdom" was never lower. There is not one in two hundred out of work. The few figures given for Ireland have, of course, no effect on the gross number returned; but by putting us into the tables without any discrimination the serious unemployment in Ireland is carefully hidden away, and a foreigner could not judge the disastrous havoc of the restrictions on our trade. A careful examination will, however, show that there is no justification for believing that we are in a satisfactory condition, as is pretended in the British House of Commons, where a member named Chancellor recently asked: "Are there any returns at all in Ireland?" Such is the effect of having questions answered by a Chief Prevaricator.

In coal-mining there are only 465 persons employed in the whole of Ireland. There is no reference to other mines in which there are operations, nor is there any mention of our quarries. In the engineering trades we are told that "these trades continued to be extremely busy during June, and a great amount of overtime was worked." When we look at the figures we find the number insured in these trades in Ireland was 23,000 out of 1,216,000—a proportion of less than one in fifty. The per-

centage of unemployment books lodged was only 0.65 for the "United Kingdom," but for Ireland it was 2.41. This means that the "out-of-works" were nearly four times as numerous in Ireland as the average for the three kingdoms in the engineering trades.

In the Irish Shipbuilding yards there were 17,000 insured persons, and of these 1.67 were out of work out of an average for the "U.K." of 0.35—that is, only one-fifth of the number.

In the linen trade there are no unemployment insurance returns. Apparently our principal industry is not protected against unemployment. We are told that the supply of labour was unequal to the demand in some parts of Ireland. A considerable amount of short time was worked in Belfast. The number employed increased by 2.4 per cent. in the past twelve months, according to the summary of the employers' making returns in Ireland, and the wages increased by 30 per cent. In "bleaching, dyeing, printing, and finishing" there was a decrease of 7.8 per cent. in the number of workpeople (684 persons).

In the boot and shoe trade there are 592 workpeople—an increase of 4.6 per cent. In the shirt and collar trade there are some three thousand persons employed in Ireland—half of them in Derry—according to these very incomplete returns. They are certainly many times this number, usually employed in Derry alone; but only a few employers make returns. There was a decline of 5.8 per cent. in Derry, 10.5 per cent. in Belfast, and an increase of 14.1 per cent. in the rest of Ireland.

In the important branch of building and construction of works there is absolutely no return at all for Ireland. There used to be figures given for each division of these trades in Ireland, but the Labour Bureau has recently closed down the figures, which can be taken from the insurance books. It is admitted, however, that the general percentage of unemployed men in the building trade in Ireland increased from 3.6 a year ago to 5.4 last month, and this increase in unemployment took place in June, the figure for May being 3.6, though the percentage for the "U.K." was only 0.80 in June. This means that the proportion out of work in Ireland is exactly seven times what it is in the whole average of Great Britain and Ireland. For London it was 1.4 compared with 1.8 a year ago, being a substantial reduction. For the remaining nine districts representing G.B., excluding London, the percentages unemployed were 0.6 or less in each case. This means that unemployment in the Irish building trade is about nine times greater than in Great Britain.

In the woodworking and furnishing trades we are given no figures, but are informed that cabinet makers continued well employed at the principal centres, with the exception of Belfast and Dublin, where employment was bad. Mill-sawing and machinery and coopers—"still bad at Belfast." We learn from the Furnishing Trades Association that there are hundreds of woodworkers idle in Dublin, while they cannot get enough cabinet makers for the aeroplane industry in England. We have no aeroplane making here, and we have to pay big taxes for the machines made in England, while our cabinet makers are starving. This is how the "partner" works. The only remedy is to set up the industry in this country and to secure a share in the enormous expansion of aerial traffic, which is rapidly becoming a regular industry of gigantic dimensions, and will continue after the war. It is a new industry of transportation, for which Irish linen is splendidly adapted.

In the printing trade the situation in Ireland is exceedingly serious. The Irish Trade Union returns 2,150 members, of which 7.0 per cent.—that is seven in every hundred—are out, or ten times more than in any other district. The average for the "U.K." is only six per thousand and unemployed. In London the percentage unemployed was 0.0—that is, none at all were out. Even a good deal of overtime was worked in the letterpress section.

It is not possible to extract any further information from these very incomplete and unsatisfactory returns. No mention of the brewing and distilling trades is made, and consequently we are without any information. Under "Agriculture" no reference whatever

is made to Ireland—a damning oversight. We are told the remarkable news that "some Irish migratory labourers have also taken up work in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire;" and under the head of "Scotland" that "a considerable number of Irish migratory labourers were reported to have come to Berwick." Meanwhile the "National Service Director" is addressing circulars to farmers to find out how many labourers they want, while the men are gone.

On Sunday next the Pilgrimage to the Reek, to Cruach Patrick, will take place. From the summit of this the Mount Horeb of Ireland, Fr. Corcoran of Ballina, will deliver a sermon in our own tongue to a multitude of pilgrims. On the day following (Monday) Fr. O'Flanagan will, in Westport, open the Mayo Feis, which during the week Eoin Mac Neill, Eamonn De Valera, and others, will attend. When Patrick climbed the mountain on the first pilgrimage it was in answer to a throbbing, fervid impulse which had seized upon him. He feared for Ireland. Wearied and oppressed by dark forebodings, he sought in panic the awful intimacy of God and His counsel. He went, as the chroniclers state, "le foireigin a deunaimh ar Fhlaitheas le na urnaighibh"—to do violence to Heaven by prayer; for "maidin agus oidhche is ar ar dtír bhíodh se ag smuaineamh"—day and night his thought was upon the fate of our country. Let those who on Sunday trace Patrick's footsteps up across the great mountain remember Ireland also in their prayers. But on Monday joy will be in Westport—the brave joy and proud pageantry of the Gael—for the Feis Mhuigheo will have opened. And the pilgrims will throng there, chastened, uplifted, armoured with new hope. Let Westport give them welcome. Special trains are running from all parts; the cheap fares are an inducement which begets a duty.

The "Kilkenny People" has been suppressed by the British Military Authorities in Ireland. The suppression took place on the morning of the Convention to select a Sinn Fein candidate for the City, over which Mr. E. T. Keane, editor and proprietor of the "People," presided.

The Westmeath County Council has made haste to disavow its Chairman (Mr. Coen's) impudent attempt to prevent the extension of the franchise in Ireland. Mr. Coen said that when he thus voted he never really voted against the extension of the franchise. Perhaps it is only a case for examination by a mental specialist.

Lanesboro' Aeridheacht, postponed from July 15th, will be held on August 5th.

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Messrs. John and Joseph MacDonagh wish to thank their friends for the kind messages of sympathy sent them on the death of Mrs. Thomas MacDonagh and to which they find it impossible at this time to reply individually.



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## NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, 1917.

### KILKENNY.

Kilkenny is the first city in Ireland to receive opportunity to endorse the choice made by the counties of Roscommon, Longford, and Clare. It has to decide whether Ireland is content to remain an impoverished and oppressed province of England, or whether, reclaiming its title to nationhood—still more ancient than that of Belgium or Serbia or Poland—it will, like them, deny the right of any foreign authority over it, and demand from that Peace Conference whose chief function, according to the declarations of the United States, Russia, France, and England, will be the re-construction of the map of the world on the basis of nationalities, that independence which is Ireland's right not less than it is the right of Poland.

Kilkenny City has to decide whether in its judgment the policy of recognising the English Parliament, of looking to that foreign and imperial institution for succour and strength, as a policy of good or a policy of ill. It has to decide it in the light of the fact that it itself has decayed in population from 24,000 to 10,000 in the memory of living men—it has to decide it in the light of the fact that Ireland as a whole has in the same period lost more than half her population—it has to decide it in the light of the fact that Ireland is the one country in the civilised world where population declines and taxation goes up. It has to decide it in the light of the fact that all the laws through the operation of which our people diminish and our taxation increase are made in the English Parliament with the apparent sanction of an Ireland which sends representatives thither.

Between that policy of national, economic, and political destruction, which centres Irish hope and faith in action in England's Parliament—where, as Daniel O'Connell said 50 years ago, even if the Irish members were irresponsible they would always be impotent—

the policy of Parliamentarianism—and the policy that preaches national, political and economic construction—the policy that centres Irish hope and faith and thought in Ireland itself—the policy that found the Melancthon and Wallachan slaves a hundred years ago and built them into the free nation of Romania—the policy that found the Bulgars a self-province 80 years ago and made them into the free and powerful Hungarian nation of to-day—the policy that found Hungary trampled under the military heel of Austria less than seventy years ago, and made it into the potent Hungary of to-day—the policy of Sinn Fein—it is between these two policies Kilkenny must cast its vote. Councillor Cosgrave upholds the banner of the Sinn Fein policy. He was one of its pioneers, and his public life is a record of unselfish and gallant devotion to his country.

As in Clare, the character of the man coincides with the nobility of the principle. In Councillor Cosgrave as its representative, Kilkenny will have a man of worth and ability to sustain the claim of Ireland to that freedom under which the City of the Confederation will recover its lost prosperity and become what it must be in an Ireland free to direct its own business—the hub of the industry, trade, and commerce of Central Ireland.

## THE ENGLISH POLICY IN IRELAND

The laws by which Irish industry and trade were restrained and prohibited in the interest of England actively operated from the beginning of the 17th century until the year 1822, with two brief interruptions. The Irish Parliament of 1629, besides decreeing the independence of Ireland, restored Ireland's freedom of trade and industry, but the triumph of the English in 1691 cancelled both. In consequence thereafter England destroyed, or attempted to destroy, the woollen, paper, glass and other manufactures, and by the rigorous application of her navigation laws drove us Irish out of the world market and confined us to her own.

This state of affairs endured until the revolution of 1782, when Ireland's sovereignty was nominally restored, and the power of Ireland to make peace and war, conclude treaties with other countries, establish and maintain an army and navy, protect its own industries and trade freely with the outside world, was acknowledged. William Pitt was inclined to accept the arrangement as final.

But Pitt, and all English Ministers since Pitt, are in the ultimate governed, as Lord Chief Justice Brough said, by the English mercantile interest. The advance of Ireland in manufacturing industry and in commerce was so vast in the first few years of legislative independence that the English shipping and mercantile interests menaced Pitt with political destruction unless he destroyed Ireland; and Pitt, yielding to the menace, decided on the destruction of Ireland politically and economically.

Pitt thereupon planned the Union, and eventually succeeded in carrying that infamous measure. In the year the Union was passed there was a deficit of 24 millions sterling in the English revenue—a deficit of 24 millions in the Irish revenue. In other words, the Irish had on the working of the country for the year a liability of 9/- each, while the English had a liability of some £2 16s. each. And the English were moreover accumulating a huge national debt, while the Irish had one of the smallest national debts in Europe.

By the imposition of the Act of Union Pitt (1) destroyed the national rallying centre; (2) took away the shield of Irish industry and commerce; (3) taxed and dissipated the political and economic thought in the country; (4) attracted the wealthy of Ireland to England; and (5) cleared the way for the re-imposition in fact of the oppressive code against Irish development which had kept Ireland crushed until the flash of the arms of the Volunteers of 1792 released her for a brief period from bondage.

The steps to this effect, following the Union, were as follows:

(1) The suppression of the separate Irish Exchequer (1816) by amalgamating it with the English Exchequer. Under this the Irish were made jointly liable for England's national

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debt, and the full control of finance and all accounts was placed in England's hands.

(2) The abolition of the separate Irish Customs. This placed Irish commerce and accounts in England's grip.

(3) The repeal of the Irish Corn Laws, under which the country had been turned back from pasture to tillage.

(4) The withdrawal of grants and bounties, made by the Irish Parliament to found, foster and encourage Irish industries.

(5) The withdrawal of the grants and encouragements made by the Irish Parliament to the Irish fisheries.

(6) The legislative prohibition of the Irish tobacco industry and other industries viewed with alarm by English capitalists.

(7) The abolition of the democratic franchise conferred on the Irish people by the Irish Parliament.

All these blows aimed at the destruction of Ireland politically and economically were delivered within a generation after the Act of Union became law. In the next few years a system designed to encourage pauperism, and a system designed to destroy national consciousness, were forced on the country under the guise of Poor Law and National Education. England thus regained in forty years after the Union power almost as absolute over Ireland as she had had in the days of Cromwell. She had our Exchequer, our Custom House, our agriculture, our manufactures, our commerce, our fisheries, and she diminished our franchise. Our commerce dwindled from the seas as it had dwindled under the Navigation Acts—we were driven out of the world-market and forced into England's alone. There we were forced, by the operation of the political economy of England, to sell our produce to her at her price, and buy her goods at her price. She had us down, and she stabbed us with impunity.

But despite this oppression the Irish increased and multiplied. The most virile and moral race in Europe could not be diminished by such means in a few decades. It was necessary to Pitt's policy, which his successors faithfully carried on, that the multiplication of the Irish should be checked, and it was necessary to the mercantile policy of England that the Irish should be converted into a nation of herdsmen. For England no longer needed grain from Ireland in large quantities; she could import it from elsewhere. But she needed cattle and sheep to cheaply feed her vast manufacturing population. Therefore, Ireland was turned into a cattle-ranch.

The population of England, compared with the population of Ireland, is now as 32 to 4. It was but as 15 to 8 when England started to reduce it by destroying Irish tillage. The first step—the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling holders, which led to their landlords having no further political use for them, and hence getting rid of them and "consolidating" their holdings—did not produce quick results. Then English policy invented a famine in a land which produced each alleged famine year food for twice and a half the number of people upon its soil, and a million people having been starved to death English statesmanship pointed a way out. The way out was the emigrant ship, and the stricken people rushed to it to escape the terrors of English policy. So that in the lifetime of the old men among us 4,500,000 people—more people than dwell in Ireland to-day—fled their country, and the cattle multiplied in their stead.

This is the modern political and economic history of Ireland. It has no parallel. While the raucous voice of the nineteenth century was uplifted in glorification of itself and mouthed of civilisation and progress, year by year the people of the most fertile country in Western Europe were being annihilated in a devilish pursuance of the policy of the man whom England worships as her greatest statesman. Year by year they diminished in number, and as they grew lesser England taxed them the more.

The people perish and the taxes multiply, and in the coming year, on a population of 4,500,000, England is imposing a taxation of thirty million pounds. In the history of political finance there is no parallel. And for the Budgets that have increased the taxation of the Irish threefold in four years the Redmondite Parliamentary Party has annually voted. It is a grim commentary on Parliamentarianism. In the year Mr. John Redmond was elected Chairman of the Parliamentary Party the taxation per head in Ireland was £1 18s. 2d. This year it will be £7.

Looking back on the last thirty years of Irish Parliamentarianism we find our population further decreased by 600,000 people—our

taxation increased 450 per cent. We find our trade with North America alone decreased by ten millions sterling annually, and if we look where that trade went to we find that the English stole most of it while we had our eyes fixed on Westminster. We see the annual value of our fisheries, which should exceed the annual value of the Scots fisheries, reduced to an eighth of the Scots value; and we see the English Government coming back on the Irish farmer, who imagined he had secured his holding, as his landlord.\* Shall the Irish continue to help England by recognising her Parliament, and remaining confined to her market? Her market, in which she regulates the price for our produce, and at the same time seizes our market and pours her wares into it. Let the Irish people grasp this fact—**Ireland is England's biggest customer.** Ireland annually buys from England more goods than any other country in the world. Not the United States of America, nor Germany before the war nor Russia, nor France, nor the Colonies, nor India, purchased as much from England as did Ireland. Ireland is England's best customer; Ireland is England's largest market. And if Ireland closed that market to her, England would suffer more than if the United States closed her market to England.

This is a fact scarcely known or realised, and a fact of enormous potential strength. When Ireland seeks alternative markets for her produce—Ireland will be in a position to share the richest market England now possesses with other countries, and to bring England to a sense of her position. We are weak in Ireland because we did not understand our strength. With our Irish representatives sitting in Ireland we can open for Ireland new markets and eject, so far as it suits our interests, England from our own.

### ARGUMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM WESTMINSTER.

(By L. de R.).

#### III.

What were the views of Mr. John Dillon regarding the Sinn Fein policy of passive resistance in October 1881? Did he believe that Parliamentarianism was "the only alternative to physical force" in that year? He signed the No-Rent Manifesto in that year. He accepted as a principle then—"Against the passive resistance of an entire population military power has no weapons." Did he trust in Parliamentary action alone? He joined with Parnell, A. J. Kettle, Michael Davitt, Thomas Brennan, Thomas Sexton, Patrick Egan, in giving such advice as the following to the Irish people:—"Do not suffer yourselves to be intimidated by threats of military violence. . . . Do not be wheedled into compromise of any sort by the dread of eviction. . . . You have to choose between throwing yourselves upon the mercy of England and taking your stand by the organisation which has once before proved too strong for English despotism. . . . Stand together in the face of the brutal and cowardly enemies of your race; pay no rents under any pretext; stand passively, firmly, fearlessly by while the armies of England may be engaged in their hopeless struggle against a spirit which their weapons cannot touch. . . . The Government . . . with its bayonets will learn in a single winter how powerless is armed force against the will of a united, determined, and self-reliant nation."

Will Mr. Dillon or any follower of Mr. Dillon's deny that it was the spirit and policy of that manifesto—Self-Reliance: Passive Resistance—won the Land Acts, and not the policy of Parliamentarianism? If they believed in the fine principles they enunciated, they are deceiving the Irish people now. If they now really believe that it was action in Westminster won the Land Acts, and that the only alternative to Parliamentarianism is "physical force," they were deceiving the Irish people thirty years ago. Let us hear Mr. A. M. Sullivan as to what the alternative between the futility of Parliamentarianism and armed revolution was in Land League days: "There was but one opinion; there could be but one decision—the people must be told to defend themselves. . . . Defend themselves? How? Alas!—it was here the awful responsibility of giving opinion or counsel arose. It could not be by armed resistance. . . ."

\* For example, the farmer who, say, owns a farm with a valuation of £90 and subject to a Land Commission annuity of £65, paid as income tax in 1903 £1 10s., is now paying £10 17s. 6d. His tax is thus increased over seven-fold.

And yet submission meant the triumph of a cruel policy—the clearance of whole districts. Was there no middle way of safety? Yes: **In the policy of Passive Resistance.**" And A. M. Sullivan tells in eloquent words how that policy won; in picturesque language he tells how the Queen, Lords, and Commons of England surrendered to a demand of the Irish Nation made in Ireland by the Irish people, after they had derided all demands made by Irish Parties in the English Parliament. And what, think you, was one of the things that helped to make the Land League a success and "made inevitable the revolution that was soon to astonish England and the world?" The influence of Irish members' oratory and Irish members' voting in Westminster? Not at all. "The scoffing hostility of Parliament, the failure of Mr. Butt's moderate policy in the House of Commons, and the rise of the Parnell Party, with its sterner purpose and more combative action." But was it even combative action in Parliament? Not so. It was due to the work, **In Ireland**, of "the most powerful political organisation Ireland has known for half a century;" an organisation that was "veiled Fenianism;" whose great advice was not "Trust the Party," "Don't smash the 'Constitutional' Movement;" but "Keep a firm grip of your homesteads." We could go on with quotations from the writings and speeches of advocates of Parliamentarianism to show that it was not the Party in Westminster, but "passive resistance" in Ireland that raised the Irish farmers from serfdom, that brought about "the fall of feudalism in Ireland," but we think enough has been quoted to prove our contention. On the 13th June, 1883, in Melbourne, Mr. John Redmond in a defence of the Land League showed as clearly as any advocate of abstention at the present day could show, how ineffective an Irish Party was in Westminster and how Ireland's only hope lay in the organisation of the Irish people in Ireland. How ironical his words and the words of the leaders of the so-called "Constitutional Movement" sound today when we see so many wild denunciations by the self-same men of the Sinn Fein policy of Self-Reliance and Passive Resistance.

The Local Government Act of 1898 marked quite a big change in the administration of local affairs in Ireland, and has placed a great deal of power in the hands of the Irish people. But was it the Irish Party in the English Parliament secured that measure? Let T. D. Sullivan answer. It "was devised and drafted by the Government, without giving any intimation to the Irish Party that they had such a measure in contemplation. . . . It came as a surprise, 'a bolt from the blue,' to the Irish people." In other words, it was immaterial whether there were Irish representatives at Westminster or not. English policy, not an Irish Party in Parliament, dictated that measure. And, passing strange in these days, that measure was opposed by Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P.; Mr. William Field, M.P., and Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P.!

The history of the Home Rule Movement since the 19th May, 1870, when the "Home Government Association of Ireland" was founded, is a long one. Its demands meant a lowering of the standard of Repeal of the Union. It was founded upon compromise, and has led to compromise ever since. It is a weary history, that of Irish Home Rule Bills in the English Parliament—full of lies, of hypocrisy, of meanness, of futile argument, of woeful waste of Irish national energy. And the last stage is worse than the first! After 44 years of pleading, a mean and paltry Home Rule Act reaches the famous Statute Book. And why? Because Ireland sends representatives to Westminster, an each? The world knows it is not. All but those Irishmen bewitched with the glamour of Westminsterism know that the real reason why the English Government appeared to accede to an Irish demand was because England was faced by the great European War, and her policy required an apparent tranquillity of Ireland, and because the English Government required Irish help in the war. And even now, April, 1917, before our eyes, do we not see that what is influencing the English Government regarding Home Rule is not what Irish representatives say in Parliament, but what the Irish people are doing in Ireland, and what effect that action is having upon the international situation. Even the London "Times" now wants "an Irish settlement." Is it because there is an Irish Party in the English Parliament? The "Cork Examiner"—the high-water mark of Parliamentarian orthodoxy—in its issue of April 27th, 1917, gives the answer. "President

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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Sunday, August 5th, to Friday, 10th.

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na fianna saoirse.  
AERIDEACT MÓR  
IN ST. ENDA'S, OAKLEY ROAD  
(Kindly granted by Mrs. Pearse),  
Postponed to Sunday, August 19th.  
FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS LATER.

GAELSI! GAELSI!

AERIDEACT MÓR  
AT TULLAMORE, on SUNDAY, 29th JULY.  
Commandant EAMONN De VALERA will deliver  
Opening Address.  
TALENT FROM THE FOUR PROVINCES.

DOCK WARD, LIMERICK.  
EDWARD O'DALY SINN FEIN CLUB.

This Club meets every Wednesday night at 9 o'clock  
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COMÓRTAIS ZAEBILZE  
NEWRY GAELIC FESTIVAL,  
Wednesday, 15th August  
(In Aid of the Newry Cathedral Bazaar).  
Competitions to suit all Gaels. Gaelic and  
Anglo-Irish Competitions for Seniors and Juniors,  
embracing Literature, History, Song and Elocu-  
tion. Pipe Band Contests, Instrumental Solos,  
Games, Feats, and Dancing.  
Special Sections for Primary and Intermediate  
Schools.  
Entries Close Friday, 10th August.  
Write for Syllabus (by post 1/4d.) to the Hon. Secs.—  
T. GLANCY and J. CONNELLAN, NEWRY.

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GAELSI! LOOK OUT FOR

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On SUNDAY, AUGUST 12th, 1917.

Deir Ceol, Rinne deur dhá dhá go leor deáinn.

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At the Lawn, Peter Place  
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In aid of the Special Fund to provide a Seaside  
Holiday for the Children of the Men who died in con-  
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Continuous Entertainment from 3 to 9 p.m.

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HALF-HOUR CONCERTS

By the Best Irish-Ireland Artists, including:-

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Singing, Dancing, Gaelic and Athletic events of sur-  
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ARGUMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF  
MEMBERS.

(Continued from p. 5).

Wilson is to make representations to the British  
Government as to the desirability of an Irish  
settlement. If that be the case, it is the  
pressure from without that is forcing the hands  
of the Government, and the appeal that the  
Irish Party made in the manifesto addressed to  
the men of Irish blood in the Dominions and in  
the United States of America, after the Nation-  
al Party withdrew in a body from the House  
of Commons, is having its effect." There is  
a clear admission of the futility of Parliamen-  
tary action to obtain even Home Rule, the  
meanest measure of Home Rule, for Ireland.  
Futile in practice indeed is the policy of send-  
ing Irish representatives to the English Par-  
liament.

(To be continued).

RIPAE ULTERIORIS AMORE.

They have lifted their moorings  
And sailed through the dusk of the seas.  
Have you seen the swift schooner  
That bore them away in the eve?

Ah! none have beheld it—  
Their eyes have seen it alone;  
There is no one to tell us  
Of all who have gone by the road.

There's a road to the harbour,  
A steep and impassable way,  
And the gateway is guarded  
By red-handed minions of fate.

They went down to the gateway  
And bowed to the vassals of doom;  
They went out where the waves lay  
That never reflected the moon.

And the gate-keepers asked them:  
Will you drink death's cup of despair,  
For none living can pass here,  
But only the desolate shades?

They replied: We will drink it  
That those who live after may know  
Of our day's high fulfilment,  
And the shame that our death-pangs atone.

They will know we are making  
Through gloom for the luminous isles;  
They will think of us sailing  
For lands where our brothers abide.

And say we have told them  
The deep disgrace of their youth;  
They will hear the dead groaning,  
With all the old sorrow renewed.

They will rise from the slumber,  
Where long they have slothfully lain;  
They will smite like the thunder,  
And shatter the bonds of the slave.

The dead will have joy then,  
And sit round the feast and the wine,  
And the long silent voices  
Recall the lost song of their pride.

Have you seen the swift schooner  
That bore them away in the eve,  
As they lifted their moorings  
And sailed through the dusk of the seas?

—P. B.

The London "Daily Mail" recently pub-  
lished two leading articles showing England  
how to win this war. The first article was  
headed "More Men," and the second "More  
Beer."

An aeridheacht under the auspices and in aid of the  
Clontarf Branch of the Gaelic League will be held in  
Croydon Park on Sunday 19th August. All Gaels  
are requested to note this date. Further particulars  
will be given later in the advertising columns.

A GRAND

# RECEPTION

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Will be held in honour of the returned Irish  
Prisoners of War of the old 4th Batt. I.V.  
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The largest wholesale house for Sinn Fein  
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LEADAR NA n-OILITREAC bPOLANNAC. (Continued).

- 3. Agus nuair a connacadar go radadar ar iocdar an puill... 4. Do cuirteadar ina fearam ar iocdar an puill... 5. Ag veunam an tpeimpe ar an gcuma ran... 6. Do mearadar for gur bfeair an t-eolurde... 7. Act ceana, tarair son eolurde an poll... 8. Bi eazla ar euro aca go brafad an t-eolurde... 9. I gcionn tamail bhig, oo puz an t-eolurde... 10. Tamail ina diaid rin do rcaradar le ceile... 11. Maoid leir an eolurde ipe iud doibairt... 12. Bi na daoine rin ina uorte o tuiteadar... 13. An bhlaodan ina diaid rin oo tuiteadar... 14. Act v'eiruz arghint eacoppa i tcaob ce... LIAM O RINN.

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SINN FEIN.

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The unopposed Liberals of Clonleigh have joined up at Strahane. Breafe Club has selected Wm. Dinney as President, D. Lavelle Vice-President, J. Cannon Treasurer, M. Cannon secretary. The following officers have been elected at Armagh Club—Pres. E. Donnelly, Vice-Pres. James Heilly, Treas. M. Short, Secs. F. Sheehy and E. Reilly. The present rate of progress of Sinn Fein must be very depressing to English statesmen fresh from a perusal of the Measúrta debate. Frango (Sligo) Club has appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs. J. Hennigan, Co. C., Pres. J. Kerins Vice-Pres. T. McCann, Treas. P. J. Donnelly Sec. Messrs. J. O'Leary, Kerins, (Kerry), Sec. M. McManis, R.D.C., Pres. H. McLaughlin, Vice-Pres. D. Coll Treas. and J. P. McManis Sec. as Provisional Committee. The O'Hanlin Club (Derryneely, Limerick), M. Drake, Pres., J. B. Hea Vice-Pres. J. Hennessy, Treasurer, and J. S. Hennessy Secretary. Considerable Committee report that ten branches have already formed in the county, whilst a number of others are in course of formation.

M. J. O'Connell, President, and Secretary, respectively, of Abington Club. Messrs. Keane, De Loughery, Maher and Johnson have established a Club at Freshford, an example which other well-organised cities might follow with example. Strake (Monaghan), Cork, has joined up for the final push—the victory push. Mr. J. W. Houshan presided at a meeting when Mr. Collins proposed and Mr. Moylan, R.D.C. seconded resolutions. Clere, and also drew attention to the hypocrisy of the "Government" which, while proclaiming an amnesty, takes in prison Messrs. Barry, Higgins, and Co. Fleming and others for actions, enfolded, except when committed by an Ulster Unionist. There is some well under way with local labour still behind the movement. The only obstacle to the Sinn Fein in the district is Mullry, M.P.E.P., but he is so busy attending to his own affairs, that he has not given up his estates so the Allies as yet, that we do not anticipate much trouble. Secretaries are so busy that nothing but a cursory note can be given in "Nationality" of branch reports. This journal cannot be increased in size. Accordingly, all our supporters should insist that their affairs receive prominent notice from local journals. We shall be glad to hear of editors who refuse proposals to members in districts where the movement is strong—that is, everywhere. Will Clubs please note that four weeks' clear notice must be given in advance for all notices; otherwise assurance is possible that requests

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