



NATIONALITY



Vol. 3. No. 21. (New Series.)

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Week by Week.

Peace was signed in Paris on Saturday, and President Wilson is now on his way to the United States where he will explain how the provisions of the Treaty square with the principles he laid down as the only basis for a world settlement. His explanation will be read with interest, and until it is made the statesman who undertook to "make the world safe for democracy" should not be judged. The British Government in Ireland celebrated Peace Day by sending its military and police forces to raid the Sinn Fein offices in Dublin. Copies of affidavits sworn in confirmation of the Report of the American Delegates on Irish Independence, and in reply to the British Chief Secretary's denials, were seized by that Chief Secretary's armed officers. The fact will be convincing to the American Government and people.

President Wilson, before he came under the influence of the Welsh Wizard, said: "A victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand." The casting aside of the Fourteen Points has left many stings.

Twenty years ago England made war upon the Boer Republics—a community of white men, women, and children equal in number to the population of Dublin within the City boundaries. The Boers happened to possess within their territory the richest gold mines in the world, and England, in making war upon these people, assured the world that "she sought no goldfields—she sought no territory." But when at the end of four years England succeeded in beating down the opposition of the Boers, she was compelled by the iron force of circumstances to take the goldfields and the territories she never sought. She could not escape the responsibility. Sadly she picked up the white man's burden and secured control of the chief gold supply of the world.

The same cruel destiny has pursued her in this war. She went to war to save little Belgium from the ruthless invader. This was all the nobler on her part when we remember that little Belgium was one of her severest commercial competitors on the Continent. The affection of England for Belgium and the Belgians moved a credulous world with emotion. No Englishman ever mentioned Belgium without using the most laudatory adjectives in his vocabulary. And the Belgians have proved, alas! unappreciative.

After the armistice the Belgians asked for money to set their industries—most of which compete with England—going. They did not get it. They asked England for raw materials and machinery. Neither did they get these. But they got, and generously, England's manufactured goods dumped in on them. The result has been, as the London "Weekly Despatch" states, the growth of anti-British feeling in Belgium. It is deplorable, but, alas! it is true. But there is consolation for England in the fact that there are "broad-minded" Belgians, who quite see the virtue and justice of England. They are—we quote the London "Weekly Despatch" writer—

The first to admit that Belgium, by opening her mouth too wide at the Peace Conference in the first instance, has been her own greatest enemy in the matter of her claims, and no one will ask that British interests should be sacrificed to exorbitant demands by a small power.

These broad-minded Belgians have first cousins in Ireland. They call themselves Unionists.

Mr. Malcolm Lyon feels hurt at our statement that Sir Horace Plunkett has succeeded to his vacant place. He writes to us to allow him to

state that "I have not financed, and should under no circumstances finance, the Plunkett programme, which is in conception amateur, in method grotesque, and in purpose futile." Mr. Lyon may be assured that his successor, although as plentifully supplied with money as he was himself, will meet the same fate in his effort to break the unity of the Irish Nation.

The London "Times" and its Irish allies are vexed at the stand taken by the Irish Hierarchy. The papers which went down on their knees along with Cardinal Mercier when he denounced the wrongs inflicted on his country by the invader raise their hands in holy horror at the sight of the Irish Hierarchy denouncing the wrongs inflicted on Ireland by a more brutal invader. The Irish Hierarchy have no more right than the Irish people themselves to question England's authority in Ireland—especially at such an awkward time: a time when all the resources of British civilisation are being employed to stifle the clear-toned demand made by the Irish Nation at the General Election of December last.

Why cannot the Irish people be reasonable? Why cannot they realise that if they will only be good all the blessings which flourish under the Union Jack will be theirs? Will they not accept a place within the Empire? These are the whining phrases which now fall from the lips and the pens of sanctimonious Englishmen and their tools in Ireland. A few years ago—before the Irish Nation regained national consciousness—these same pens and lips ridiculed the very idea of Ireland claiming even a place "within the Empire." To-day the Irish people ridicule the idea of a settlement "within the Empire." The hope cherished by Padraic Mac Piarais is cherished to-day by the whole Irish people all over the world—the hope of seeing our country freed for ever from the blighting influence of the English connection.

The Most Rev. Dr. Hartly, Archbishop of Cashel, speaking during Mass at the Cathedral, after referring to the death of District-Inspector Hunt, said that military force had supplanted government by consent of the people. "In a word," continued His Grace, "the action of the Government has been highly provocative of crime, and we have to thank Almighty God that so few acts of violence have been committed as a result." In fact more crimes have been committed in England in one week than have been committed in Ireland during a year of oppression. "Let the military domination of Ireland cease at once," added His Grace. "Let the people of Ireland choose for themselves the government under which they are to live. When Ireland is a free nation amongst the nations of the world, the reign of law will prevail."

We have not yet seen any leading article in a Dublin daily paper commenting on the following facts:—

- 1) Michael Walsh, fisherman, Ring, shot from inside the barracks by a constable.
- 2) Verdict by Coroner's Jury against the constable.
- 3) Formal arrest and release of the constable.
- 4) Restoration of the constable to his position.

In the case of Michael Walsh it was admitted that the unfortunate man approached the police barracks to get assistance to quell a row between naval men. For commenting on this case the R.I.C. of the City of Waterford suppressed the only daily paper published there. When a concert was organised to raise funds for the men thus thrown out of employment it was also suppressed.

The father of the boy, John McLoughlin, who was "kidnapped" for his own safety (according to Mr. Macpherson), was last week awarded £25 at the Westport Quarter Sessions for the wrongful arrest and detention of his son. The evidence submitted by

the boy clearly proved that Mr. Macpherson and his friends tried Star Chamber methods for the purpose of getting young John McLoughlin to become a tool of Dublin Castle.

The defenders of small nations increased their activities on the Irish front last week. In Waterford police with fixed bayonets charged a crowd of people who were holding a meeting to protest against the proclamation of a concert and lecture which had been arranged to take place in the Town Hall. A meeting in Grange, which was addressed by Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, T.D., and Father O'Flanagan, was broken up by military and police. Three motor waggon loads of military and police attended the annual meeting of the Altmore (Tyone) Co-operative Society for the purpose of preventing Father O'Flanagan from speaking thereat. Father O'Flanagan addressed the meeting all the same. In Dungannon a similar display was made by the forces of law and order in connection with another address delivered by Father O'Flanagan. A proclamation was issued on Friday by Brigadier-General Hackett-Pain forbidding the commemoration address which Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington was invited to deliver at the Shane O'Neill Cairn at Cushesdun. A largely-attended meeting was held at Ballycastle while the military and police were rushing through the glens of Antrim looking for the disturbers of the peace. Later in the day Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington and others arrived at the Cairn and delivered the commemoration address. On Sunday an armoured car and waggon-loads of military and police poured into Doon to prevent the holding of the local Feis. The Feis was held at midnight, and concluded at three o'clock the next morning. Later in the day the police batoned a number of people in the town.

Patrick Studdert was on Monday shot by a sentry. This unfortunate victim of Prussianism was looking over a fence into a field occupied by a detachment of the Scottish Horse when a bullet was sent through his head. Thus does the army of occupation protect this small nation!

Now that little Belgium, little Jugoslavland, little Czecholand, and other little places, have been rescued from the claws of tyranny, Lord French of Ypres evidently thinks that something should be done by the Irish people to commemorate the happy occasion. Now that every white race under the sun has been freed, more or less, from tyranny by the valour of the sons of the British Empire, Lord French intends to erect or have erected at the expense of the Irish people a temple in Dublin dedicated to the memory of the deeds which were performed by Irishmen in the recent war for small nations. Now that in every small nation (except their own) a reign of law based on the consent of the governed has been established, Lord French of Ypres considers it his duty to see that "a commodious edifice which would provide board, lodging, and entertainment" for British soldiers travelling through Ireland or garrisoned in it is established in Dublin. Not since the free gift of a free people pronouncement have the Irish people been offered such an alluring prospect. In the proposed commodious edifice we suppose lectures on the progress of the newly established small nations will be delivered to the Irishmen who helped to overthrow Prussianism in foreign lands.

A memorial was unveiled on Sunday last in Glasnevin Cemetery to the memory of Peadar Macken, who fell in Easter Week. A short oration was delivered at the graveside by Mr. Geo. A. Lyons, and prayers for the soul of this gallant Irishman were said by the large crowd which had assembled to honour his memory.

It is a pleasure to find an English newspaper that speaks well of an enemy. The "Globe" in its issue of Saturday—"Peace Day"—evidently filled with the spirit of the goodwill to

men doctrine, which a column of stuff about "The Masonic Celebration" probably gave it, tells us that the Turk is really a gentleman who was "undoubtedly driven to commit the folly of October, 1914, and all the subsequent crimes which he has perpetrated throughout the war by a force which he had no control," and asks Lloyd George to bear in mind the promise he made not to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, "which are predominantly Turkish in race." In case some of our readers might be disposed to think that the "Globe" had ulterior motives in its editorial cranium when it speaks so kindly of a fallen foe, we hasten to say that it quotes Macaulay's words to the effect that "the inviolability of the Briton's word is worth more to us in the preservation of our Indian Empire than all the successes ever achieved by British arms"; points out that the British Empire contains some 100,000,000 Mahomedans, and ends up thus: "At any rate, Great Britain must play the game with the Turk. If she does not so play the game there is endless trouble and hopeless misery ahead, not only for all Islam, but for practically the whole world." How considerate!

The United States was once a British Colony. The fact that it has ceased to be so is evidently not recognised in certain quarters yet. We read that the King of England has conferred a Knighthood of Michael and George on Lt.-Col. Lloyd-Griscom, an American liaison officer between Gen. Pershing and the British Government.

An American paper to hand states that a bitter trade war is expected between England and the United States, based on what England calls "Imperial Preference," and adds: "That means giving the preference to all manufacturers and farmers working on soil belonging to the British Empire. This would discriminate, of course, against products from this country. The United States could meet that in a friendly and efficient way by establishing as against the Imperial preference a Republican preference, giving preference with all our dealings with the Republics of the earth." The Irish Republic would readily fall in with America's wishes on this point.

An English financial syndicate has been privately formed for the purpose of securing control of the finances of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa. The syndicate has already been in operation in connection with Ireland, and is seeking at the present time to secure control of the Provincial Bank of Ireland. With control of the Banks of South Africa, Australasia, and Canada, England believes that she can in future control the policies of these Dominions. Barclays is the agent in the transaction, and the National Bank of New Zealand, the Bank of Australasia, and the Colonial Bank are now in process of being attacked, with a view to absorption. The Australasian and New Zealand Governments will need to look out.

The English view of Ireland never changes. Unconsciously the London "Times," in advocating what it calls "Home Rule," reveals the view that "it would not be surprising to find that the present membership of the Sinn Fein Clubs is in direct relationship with the numbers of those who would, in normal circumstances, have left the country during the past few years." To clear the young men out of the country has always been the English policy. It is necessary, from a "Dominion" point of view, to get rid of them. The young men and women are the wealth of the nation.

The National Health Insurance Commissioners are busy touting for investments in the English Government Funds. They have recently recommended to the North Tipperary N.H.I. Society that their surplus funds should be invested in what the English call their Victory Loan. It was, however, decided by the Society to invest their funds in Irish enter-

prises. The country is sufficiently assaulted, robbed, bled and taxed without the aid of the Commissioners.

In the course of its annual report, the Dublin Industrial Development Association points out that foreign trade is a matter of vital importance to all nations. The Association has been for the past few months engaged in most useful work, delegated to its Foreign Trade Committee, having for its object the establishment of direct relations between Ireland and the principal countries which are existing or prospective customers of ours.

The Dublin Industrial Association states that many products of Italian origin silk, motor cars, wine, oil, olives, fruit, and brush-making materials, to mention a few—are samples of what Italy trades to Ireland through English middlemen. We pay the extra cost of transhipment, railway freights, handling and storing, with long delays at English ports. It is probable that the Italian merchants do not know that Ireland buys these goods. In return we could send such goods as anthracite coal, soap, margarine, butter, and many varieties of manufactured goods. But direct shipping is necessary. Monthly consignments would be available in sufficient volume.

The great variety of French goods we use, and the market which France offers for many of our products—bacon, ham, other food-stuffs, linens, woollens—may be mentioned. They would provide freight for a regular direct service.

Industrial conditions in Europe are so bad as to menace revolution everywhere. This is the report of an American financial expert who arrived in England on February 1st, and found the country on the verge of revolution. "A responsible Minister of the British Government" said to him: "You must get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in time can make an effective demand upon the industries of England. The British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England, and nearer to the food supply."

Mr. Vanderlip is President of the National City Bank, New York, and it must be assumed that he has some knowledge of economic conditions, and when it is borne in mind that he has had direct access to the best sources of information and had conferences with leaders of finance and captains of industry and political personages, including Prime Ministers, it is plain that his statements must carry weight. Wall-street is not given to romancing.

The President of the New York City Bank visited virtually all the war-harrassed countries except Germany. He told the members of the American Economic Club that he believed it possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the great war. There is idleness all over France, just as you find in England; just as in Belgium, just as you find in Italy. Italy's great army is not disbanded—and they cannot disband it without disbanding it into idleness. She is afraid to disband it.

Where is the "Helga," asks Mr. Sean Logan. The "Helga" was provided by the Department of Agriculture for Irish fishery protection. She was a splendid boat for the business, and many a time her skipper caught the wily English and Scotch steam trawler fishing within the three-mile limit. Now there is no "Helga" and no three-mile limit. Consequently, as our fishermen put it, the English steam trawlers are simply tearing the very bottom out of our Bay, principally on the south-west and west coast. Therefore, we ask where is the "Helga" now? The last I heard of her was bombarding Liberty Hall, perhaps a more fitting occupation than protecting the interests of the poor poisonous insects who are cking out a livelihood on our western seaboard.

Taxation of Ireland—XIX.

There has been a large increase of land ownership in Ireland, and consequently Schedule A of the Income Tax is worth rather more attention than has been given to it. This section covers all lands, houses, tenements and buildings. The assessments are heavy, as we shall see. Last week we dealt with the gross income of lands and houses, showing the very low proportion of Irish housing compared with England and Scotland relatively to population. Ireland is one of the worst housed countries in the world. Instead of a growth of buildings, there has been a heavy destruction of home-lands.

We now come to the exemptions and allowances from the gross income, which for the purpose is taken from the yearly valuation as it stands. We are dealing with the assessments for 1916-17, the yield of which is collected later on. Exemptions are made from the gross income in respect of incomes not exceeding £130 a year. In other words, the owners of property valued at not more than that sum yearly were exempted. Further, the following list of property is exempted—Charities, Colleges, Hospitals, Schools, Friendly Societies, etc.

Schedule A.—Ownership of Lands and Houses.

Exemptions from Gross Income, 1916-1917. (b) In respect of incomes not exceeding £130 a year.

	Gross Income.	Exemptions.	Per cent. of Gross Income Exempted
England	244,772,000	24,959,000	10.20
Scotland	27,902,000	1,914,000	6.86
Ireland	15,267,000	6,029,000	39.45

(c) In respect of Charities, Colleges, Hospitals, Schools, Friendly Societies, etc.

	Gross Income.	Exemptions.	Per cent. of Gross Income Exempted
England	244,772,000	8,160,000	3.33
Scotland	27,902,000	907,000	3.25
Ireland	15,267,000	384,000	2.52

Nearly forty per cent. of the valuation of Irish lands and houses and buildings was exempted. In that year the annual value of Irish property was taken at fifteen millions, of which no less than six millions value was less than £131 yearly value. The percentage exempted was 39.45 per cent. in the case of England, and only six per cent. in the case of Scotland. There is a remarkable difference between the value of properties assessed in Ireland and those assessed in Britain. This can only be explained by the operation of the Land Purchase Acts. As a result of the transfer of ownership there is a very much greater distribution of property amongst small holders in Ireland than in England. The number of Scottish small landholders is very much less still. It should be borne in mind that the gross income includes the valuation of buildings, so that the proportion of Irish land exempted is much greater than is shown by the percentages.

In respect of Charities, Colleges, Hospitals, Schools and Friendly Societies the exemptions in Ireland are two and a half per cent., as against three and a third and three and a quarter in England and Scotland. The proportion of charitable and educational institutions, if calculated on buildings alone, as perhaps they ought to be, gives roughly an exemption of seven per cent. in the case of Ireland, as against four per cent. in England and a similar proportion in Scotland. The number of public institutions exempted is much greater for Ireland proportionately to the number of buildings. It would be a better sign of prosperity if there were more dwellings and less institutions.

Income Tax—Schedule A.

(c) Allowances on Repairs, Lands.

	Gross Income.	Allowances.	Per cent. of Income Allowed.
England	36,750,000	5,858,000	15.94
Scotland	5,595,000	1,053,000	18.82
Ireland	9,700,000	1,208,000	12.45

(c) Allowances on Repairs, Houses and Buildings.

	Gross Income.	Allowances.	Per cent. of Income Allowed.
England	207,187,000	32,905,000	15.88
Scotland	21,847,000	3,577,000	16.38
Ireland	5,566,000	237,000	4.26

We now turn to the table of allowances. These figures should be carefully studied, as they reveal important facts. Owners of land in Ireland are allowed twelve per cent., as against nearly sixteen in England and nineteen in Scotland. In the case of houses and buildings, Irish owners are allowed the very low abatement of four per cent., as against nearly sixteen in England and over it in Scotland. These are very remarkable figures. There is reason to believe that excessive income

taxes are collected in Ireland under Schedule A. It is clear that the allowance for repairs to houses and buildings in Ireland is only a fourth of the corresponding allowances in Britain. The Irish allowance appears to be very much less than is claimed successfully on the other side. The method of assessing income tax in Britain is quite different, being in the hands of locally-appointed Committees. Here in Ireland the officials of the income tax have the sole power of making assessments, and they can be trusted to shear the sheep into the skin. The Scots, on the other hand, appear to keep a good deal of their wool on. If the Irish allowances were in the same proportion it would mean six per cent., or over half a million, in the case of land, and twelve per cent., or over six hundred thousand, in the case of houses and buildings, a matter of considerably more than one million one hundred thousand. These assessments mean an excess tax of over a quarter of a million yearly.

Flag-Waggers and Tongue-Waggers!

President Wilson set out on his pilgrimage to Paris waving on high the banner of self-determination for all nations, large and small, even those against whom America was asked to take up arms. He is returning to the United States. He still carries the banner of self-determination, but it is at half-mast, and not so spotless as it was before he brought it into the dark room at Versailles. Contact with the Union Jack has left a few dirty smudges on the spotless banner of self-determination which he raised aloft at Washington's Tomb twelve months ago. To the people of America he will probably try to explain away the smudges. Ireland would like to have an explanation in regard to at least one of the dirty smudges. The saying that everything comes out in the washing will no doubt be brought home to President Wilson when the American people commence to wring the water out of the dirty Self-determination banner which they seem anxious to wash in the laundry of public opinion. Ireland at home awaits the washing process with interest. The Irish in America have everything ready to get on with the job. The results which that little job may entail are causing the British Government some perturbation.

Never in the history of Britain was it more imperative for her to have a wealthy nation as an ally in peace. As America saved Britain from utter destruction in the recent war, so Britain hopes to get America to save her from utter destruction in her present financial difficulties. All Britain's efforts are now directed towards a treaty of peace with America! America's knowledge of the bankrupt state of the good old Empire is a difficulty which Britain may surmount; but America's knowledge of the tyranny which Britain uses in Ireland will not be surmounted so easily. America is strong enough financially to take England out of her present difficulties, as she took her out of her recent ones, but the Irish in America are determined that England must pay her debts to Ireland before the Anglo-American Alliance—which England hopes to establish as a stepping-stone to a financial alliance—is even thought about. Ireland blocks the way to an Anglo-American Alliance. Ireland blocks the way to a proper understanding between "the English-speaking races," because the people of America know that England—the defender of small nations—is holding Ireland down by the very militarism which England appealed to them to crush out in Europe. When Mr. Lloyd George visits the United States in the autumn to cement "the English-speaking races" he will be asked to explain why God made little nations—that is, of course, provided he cannot "settle" Ireland in the meantime. There are a lot of other things about the freedom of small nations, the overthrow of might, the establishment of a reign of law based on the consent of the governed, of which he will be reminded. Taking all in all, the flag-waggers and the tongue-waggers will have an exciting time when they arrive in America. Compared with the "celebrations" which will take place when the champions of small nations and self-determination reach America, the "celebrations" which were held at the weekend in Dublin will be only in the ha'penny place. Americans will not be satisfied with flag-waggers with dirty flags, nor tongue-waggers (even of the most uncleanable variety). When an American pays for a thing he likes to get it. Flapdoodle aint much!

S. S. de B.

Boots.

Now that the war is said to be over and peace signed on paper, it is well to recall that English manufacturers have refused in many cases to fill orders for Irish firms on the ground of the refusal of Ireland to "participate" in the war; that is to say, to submit to conscription. We lately published correspondence showing that six manufacturing firms in England refused to take orders for Irish toys. We have received a copy of correspondence between a Western draper and Leicester boot manufacturers, in which the latter say (May, 1918) —

Sir—In reply to your letter to hand re war-time boots, we regret to say we cannot see our way, through various causes, to send any war-time boots into Ireland, we have so many customers at our doors that we must attend to. Ireland, not approving of England's attitude so far as war is concerned, can hardly expect to participate in war-time boots, which were purchased to help those helping to win the war, not to lose it.

The letter is signed by a firm of boot manufacturers in Leicester, England. The date of the letter corresponded with the time of the "German Plot," the conscription crisis, and the arrest and deportation of our leaders. There are four parties concerned in these affairs—the Irish drapers, the Irish customers, the English manufacturers, and the Irish manufacturers. Of these four, the last is perhaps the party whose failure to rise to the occasion is the most obvious. It is not the business of the English manufacturer to keep the Irish people shod, but it is the business of the Irish maker to do so, and he has hitherto failed most miserably to take advantage of an opportunity such as has never before fallen to any branch of industry in Ireland.

As an example of English enterprise in business affairs we may mention that a firm in the furnishing trade which has long had a branch in Grafton Street has closed its Dublin premises "in order to concentrate upon the extensive development of our London business, which was postponed upon the outbreak of the war." It has built up an extensive connection in Ireland after twenty-five years of residence, and it is now working to transfer its Irish business to London. It states—"After the closure of our Dublin Branch we trust we shall have the honour of your esteemed commands, as we feel assured that by the introduction of improvements in manufacture and methods of distribution we shall be able to serve you even more advantageously than hitherto." It would repay some of our manufacturers to give up pretending to make boots, and devote themselves to methods of distribution. With the best will in the world it is little use for them to make the goods unless they can get at the Irish market by an energetic and well-considered campaign of distribution.

Any fool could make a pair of boots, but it is a different thing to get there with the goods.

Some years ago we had a conversation with the representative of a foreign country very friendly to Ireland, a country which, in fact, owed its national independence to Irish leaders. It could not be said that he was prejudiced. He had made a great and sustained effort to build up trade between his own country and Ireland, but he had to criticise the lack of appreciation on this side. There can be no doubt that English shipping hostility had much to say to this failure; but Irish merchants did not play their part. He thought that Irishmen are good manufacturers, but bad merchants. It must be admitted that there is truth in this statement. How otherwise can it be explained that we rely on England to supply us with footwear and pay her two millions a year for the privilege of walking? No matter what may be done to promote Irish industries it will benefit us little if we leave the merchandising pass into English hands. The Englishman is essentially a merchant, and we have to compete with him and fight him as such. For this purpose it is necessary to encourage Irish selling organisations which would take over the marketing of Irish products, instead of letting them fall into the hands of London firms, as has occurred too largely in the meat trade, the linen industry, and many other branches of trade. Our freedom and independence must be fought and won in this field concurrently with the others. Without English monopoly of our trade it would not be profitable to England to keep an army of occupation in our land. It is advisable to make the occupation unprofitable. The English soldier is the English merchant's hireling.

The Irish Hierarchy.

Last week the Irish Hierarchy made a noteworthy pronouncement against English tyranny in Ireland. His Eminence Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, presided at the meeting, and the following Prelates attended:—

- Most Rev. Dr. Harty, Archbishop of Cashel.
- Most Rev. Dr. Gilmore, Archbishop of Tuam.
- Most Rev. Dr. Browning, Bishop of Ossory.
- Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe.
- Most Rev. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Cloyne.
- Most Rev. Dr. Hoare, Bishop of Ardagh.
- Most Rev. Dr. Foley, Bishop of Kildare.
- Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Ross.
- Most Rev. Dr. O'Dea, Bishop of Galway.
- Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killarney.
- Most Rev. Dr. Gaughran, Bishop of Meath.
- Most Rev. Dr. McHugh, Bishop of Derry.
- Most Rev. Dr. McKenna, Bishop of Clogher.
- Most Rev. Dr. Finnegan, Bishop of Kilmore.
- Most Rev. Dr. Morrisroe, Bishop of Achonry.
- Most Rev. Dr. Naughton, Bishop of Killala.
- Most Rev. Dr. Coyne, Bishop of Elphin.
- Most Rev. Dr. Cahalan, Bishop of Cork.
- Most Rev. Dr. McIlroy, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- Most Rev. Dr. Hackett, Bishop of Waterford.
- Most Rev. Dr. Mulhern, Bishop of Downmore.
- Most Rev. Dr. O'Sullivan, Bishop of Kerry.
- Most Rev. Dr. Codd, Bishop of Ferns.
- Most Rev. Dr. Hallinan, Bishop of Limerick.
- Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea.

The following indictment of English tyranny in Ireland was unanimously adopted by the meeting:—

"No body of Irishmen can be more profoundly interested than the Irish Bishops in any scheme that would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Ireland and bring peace and contentment to her people. The existing method of government cannot last. It substitutes government by constraint with all its evils for government by consent with all its blessings.

"At this fateful stage in the history of the human family, Congress in the United States of America, where our people always received a warm welcome, and soon learned to appreciate the advantages of the liberty denied to them at home, finds an unredressed wrong in Ireland that calls to it to speak out in the hearing of the world.

"As for us, we have the evils of military rule exhibited at our doors. In this ancient, civilising Nation the people are not permitted to rule themselves through men of their own choice. The work is done for them by some stranger without any knowledge of the country."

"It is the rule of the sword, utterly unsuited to a civilised nation, and supremely provocative of disorder and chronic rebellion. The acts of violence, which we have to deplore, since they are few, spring from this cause, and from this cause alone. For mere trifles, for what in any free country would be within the rights of all men, Irish people have been sent to gaol under savage sentences.

"Moreover, at the present time an enormous sum is raised here annually by over-taxation without any attempt being made beyond empty promises to promote suitable schemes of reconstruction and development in Ireland. Money is being poured out as water across the Channel. But if we ask back a little of the huge overcharge paid out of this country, to put life into our starved systems of education, the cry comes from the Castle that the remedy is to add to the rates.

"Every day the air is charged with rumours about unsettling such parts of the public administration as, after years of stagnation, have been brought somewhat into harmony with popular wishes; and our rulers latterly have been engaged in the apparently congenial task of transferring both the powers that were exercised by an unrepresentative authority and those that were to be entrusted to a representative Irish body, from the Capital of Ireland to the Capital of England.

"In the interests of peace and order, of morality, and of nationality, this aggressive domination should stop once for all. So long as it lasts our faithful people should not allow any provocation to move them to overstep the law of God. They have an inspiring example to guide them. When Belgium lay prostrate under the heel of oppression the Belgians in like trials listened to the counsel of Cardinal Mercier, and they have their reward. It shall be so, please God, with our people also.

"Ireland is a distinct and ancient Nation, and it is vain to hope that things will go well for Ireland or for England until Ireland's rights are fully recognised. She is fully entitled to a government that will be the free choice of all her people. Her right is to be the mistress of her own destiny. With the deepest affection for all her inhabitants of every persuasion, and in pursuance of the duties of our high trust in the interests of peace and religion, we desire to state with all the earnestness we can command that now is the time for doing justice to Ireland as a Nation.

"With that feeling in our minds, we cannot conclude this statement of our intense sympathy with our people without declaring our profound gratitude for the priceless service to Ireland and to civilisation rendered by the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Hierarchy, clergy, and people of every denomination in America, in so nobly espousing the cause of Ireland at this turning point in her history."

Ireland is the one taunt that stings, and will continue to sting, the self-styled protectors of small nations. It is indeed vain to hope that things will go well for Ireland or for England until Ireland's rights are duly recognised.

President De Valera addressed the Massachusetts Legislature on Monday last, and was enthusiastically received by a crowded House.

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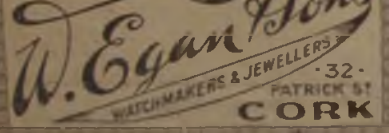
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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1919.

Ireland Erect.

But six months have passed since the historic day when Ireland withdrew for ever its recognition of England's Parliament, and assembled her elected representatives in the capital of their own country to proclaim their allegiance to their own nation. In that six months Ireland's voice has rung through the world, and Ireland's future has become a prime question of world-politics. For a hundred years the national existence of Ireland had been concealed from the world. What England did in Ireland was done in a corner. To-day what England does in Ireland has its reactions in four Continents. Ireland is out of the corner. England is in the dock. The magnitude of the achievement is too great for an immediate full realisation by many Irishmen. The paper wall is demolished. Ireland's name and cause are familiar to-day to the people of every civilised country, and England stands indicted before them for what she is. In the past four years Ireland has made a century's progress. Ireland is out of that obscurity her passive recognition of foreign authority and active recognition of a foreign Parliament had so long kept her in, and into the corner all the King's horses and all the King's men can drive her never again. The American Delegation on Irish Independence has left Paris for Washington, to which the centre of political gravity has now shifted, sending this message to the Irish people: "Be of good heart—the day of triumph is near." In America they will join the Irish Leader, whose arrival in the United States has swept that country

with a wave of enthusiasm so great that all the art of the British Press has been unable to conceal its significance. They will ask the American people to reply again to the question put to them by President Wilson:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

In September, 1918, the American people answered "No" to that question; and in July, 1919, they will not change their answer. Ireland, steadfast and serene, has nothing to fear from the future. She has trumped every trick her enemies have played against her in the last three years: she has baffled all their plots, and laughed at their impotent coercion. Ireland has reassumed the full moral status of independent nationhood; and the weaklings and the intriguers who speak to her of compromising her national demand speak in a language she has forgotten, and will never re-learn.

AN TOIREACTAIS.

Ariseim na fuil don tpeid ac a bfuil o' obair na deanaib i gcomcais i gcomra Oipeactar. Ta naoi gcomra de bpanama de beic aca agus ni cuirpar ar an aporan ac na cinn peapora na naireceoiri a deanaib go mar. Ta emni amam veinnigeac: beo piodpar na saeolise ar an seant aca mar ta an teanga na muneac go maic ina tan veina peoleanna i bpanameac na muhan agus ta garrpa tionnpar pen fainne ann. Ir beag peact-man na peicimio tuapire ar teigeact saeolise no ar puu eigin eite a beic na deanaib ag muncip ceapaise. Ir mo rope caite at a oppa. Mar noime mar a veapire ian eairi riao pial peactac apamac eapantacac spompar— an saot anoir no an ceapaiseac amap— act beim ar cuapir aca i mi na lusnara agus eipimio caite an rope ian. Ta neapc agus ipromac ionta ar son euma.

MAC LEISIM. An Uile Short Ni.

Ni fheadar an mo duine de lucht na Gaedhilge a leigh an cuntas at a ag Aodh de Blacain sa treas uimhir den "Irish Commonwealth" ar atnuachaint litriche na Fraince. Deir Aodh go raibh morsheisear fili sa bhFraince l ian na semhadh aoise deug agus nach nea-chosuil le hobair an Chonarthas so againe an obair a bh i siul acu san. Do shaothruighdar an Frainceis agus dheineadar teanga ana-liomtha dhi i gcoir litriche. Ni sa litriche bhlathmhara a thainig ar lorg an tsaothruchain is mo chuirfidh scribhneoiri Gaedhilge suim ach sa tsaothruchain fein—insna smaointe bunaidh a bh i gha stiuir agus insna modhaibh oibre a bhain leis.

Do reir dheabhraimh bh i an Frainceis an uair sin fe mar at a an Ghaedhilg san aimsir seo no geall leis do. Bh i ceist na dteurmai ar siul eatorra agus sidi comharle Ronsard agus Du Bellay, an bheir ba mho le radh den mhorsheisear, beirt a bh i abalta go maith ar litriche do mheas cho maith le filiocht do scriobhadh: gur cheaduithe do scribhneoiri turmai Laidne is Greigise do tharrac chueha agus aithris a dheanamh ar fhocail a tarraiceof as leabhair na u-ndar; gur cheart focail ghlan-Fhrainceise a chur i bhfeidhm go fuirseach, go mormoi focail as na seana-leabhair ach iad do thuir isteach go hoifruinach ealadhanta i georp na ndeantamhas nuaimseardha agus gan eagla bheith ar scribhneoiri focail as canamhainti na tuatha do shiuomh isteach sa bhFrainceis leigheanta. Chun nirt a chur sa chaint a bh i san le deunamh. Dubhradar fos nar mhiste dfilebh a bhfocail do shaibhril le focail a bhain leis na ceardaibh agus le gniothi ceirde, agus focail do chumadh agus d'athnuachaint, se sin, cuir i geas, briathar nua dheunamh d'ainmfhocail mharbh, agus mar sin. Taimid fein ag tosu ar an obair sin agus ta roinnt mhaith focal againe anois na raibh againe roinnt blian o shoin: oibreachas, eoluaicht, neoran (nerve), agus noran eile. Do lionfidh leabhran beag dena ach iad a bhailiu as na papair Ghaelacha: "An Fainne," "An Stoc," "An Lochraun," "An Crann," agus "An Branar." Ni do lom go mbeidh aon easba teurmat crainn mar taid siad da gceapadh no da dtogaint as teangacha inaachta go tigh o lo go lo. Ach mar sin fein nior mhiste dhium brostu. Teapnan ceapadh agus goid na dteurmai go bhfuil an Ghaedhilg beo agus ag fas ar nos gach teangan ach nior mhori dion deithneas a dheunamh mar ta rian meatha tri chuid blian le cur ar neamhni.

Do mhol Du Bellay ni hambain glacadh le focail Laidne ach aithris a dheunamh ar na seantdair Laidne is Greigise cho maith, chun crotha bhaint as an bhFrainceis agus i chur i dtaithi gach saghas oibre. Do mhol se, leis, saibreacha na seantdar bhFrainceach do leamh, ni chun aithris a dheunamh orra (mar choimeadfadh san an litriche agus an teanga fein ar an seana-rian) ach chun genius bunaidh na Frainceise do thuisgiunt—direach an rud adeurfadh Piaras Beaslai linn a dheunamh i dtaobh na Gaedhilge: dianstuideur ar Eoghan Ruadh, ar Aodhgan o Rathille, ar Dhath o Brudair, etc., se sin, ar na seant-arthaigne, sara dtugaimis fe arthaigne nua do dheunamh i gcoir fion na litriche at a ann riamh agus na bion nua i gceart choiche ach deabhramh nua a bheith air; ba choir duinn san a dheunamh i dtreo go mbeadh na nua-arthaigne (stieana agus meadaireacht nua) go Gaelach agus na cuirfidh deistean ar na seantdair da bhfeudaidis teacht ar an saol aris. Nior mhaith leis an udar bhFrainceach go ndeunfi dluthaithris ar nithibh seanda agus deir se nach mor danfhocail (epigrams) agus deuntamhaisi da samhail do sheachaint. Na bi ag gabhail don einni amhain i gcomhnuil, adeir se, ach tarraing as tobar na ceapadoireachta agus na glae eagla roime nithibh nua. Misneach agus seadradh leis an seantarian na nithe ba riachtanaighe san aimsir ud sa bhFraince, agus isiad is riachtanaighe dhuinne in Eirinn san aimsir seo.

Mas feidir Cumann na Scribhneoiri do chur ar bun go daingean agus go mbeidh ann an braithreachas agus an dul-ar-aghaidh agus an tsoirise ba mhairt leis an te do cheudchumhng air a bheith ann be se ina dirlis mhaith chun litriche na Gaedhilge do chur at cho-cheim agus ar aon dul le litriche-taibh mora an donhain. Is mor an trua gan Piaras Beaslai a bheith saor chun an seil do phle. Nil ionamsa ach sop stuch in ionad seuaibe. Bfeidir gur bh fearr gan tuirt fen gCumann do bhun go scaoilfar amach chugainn aris e, mar ta roinnt daoine ann agus is eagal lion na beadh sa chumann so dhoibh ach gleus chun letriu agus teurmai do shoerui, ni na fuil ann d'airrigh ach cuid ana-mhion den obair at a deunamh.

Liam o Rinn. Cajolery Plus Coercion.

Ireland stands to-day free in spirit. No web, no matter how tastefully arranged, will entice Ireland to enter the folds of the Union Jack. No trap, no matter how appetising the contents, will snare Ireland into the Empire. No hook, no matter how good the bait, will be able to catch Ireland for the table of Mr. Lloyd George or his colleagues in Downing Street and Dublin Castle. Ireland has done with the Empire, the Union Jack, and the breakfast-table. Colonial Home Rule, Dominion Home Rule, and Statute-Book Home Rule have no attractions for the awakened Nationalism of this the oldest of the small nations.

Germany, at the point of the bayonet, has signed a treaty. Ireland, at the point of the bayonet, refuses to sign any treaty with England. The people of Ireland do not fear the bayonet. They welcome it, because it serves as a reminder that the fight in which their forefathers fought is still going on. The German Empire has been overthrown—as all Empires have been overthrown in the past, and as the remaining Empire will be overthrown—by the spirit of Nationality—which, as Mr. Lloyd George himself admitted, is immortal. The sword is the weapon upon which an Empire is founded, but cajolery is the weapon by means of which an Empire is kept together. By the sword England has made Ireland a part of her Empire; by cajolery she hopes to "keep" Ireland within that Empire. At one time her cajolery might have succeeded. Her cajolery will not succeed now. The people of Ireland are wide awake. Neither Sir Horace Plunkett nor his first lieutenant, Lord French of Ypres, will succeed in blind-folding them. As a youthful pastime, the "shut your eyes and open your mouth" business was all very well, but the Irish people are grown up. No longer has England to deal with a country of shut-eyed and open-mouthed children anxious to see what the good old Empire will give them if they obey orders. However, as the game seems to amuse Sir Horace Plunkett in his second childhood, he is welcome to indulge in it to his heart's content, particularly as he is doing so at the expense of the Empire which is at present frantically appealing for funds to pay the debts contracted in its efforts to free small nations.

England the Debtor

The United States has succeeded the position England held in the since 1815—she has become the world creditor-nation. That is the result of the war—a result foreseen neither England nor by Germany; and in beginning not foreseen by the United States itself. Before the war England lent to all nations and borrowed from none. The interest on her loans and investments, and her semi-monopoly of the shipping trade of the world, constituted the wealth of England. As industrial power, England ranked below the United States or Germany and could not pay her way. Had the war ended in a twelvemonth England would still have retained most of her shipping trade and foreign investments. But it lasted four years.

As a result, England was forced to become a debtor-nation, and to lose her place in the world. More than a thousand millions sterling of English money was invested in the United States, yielding England an income of over 50 millions a year. That thousand millions is gone—gone back to America. England sold out to procure money to carry on the war against Germany, and America bought back. In addition, England raised a loan of a thousand millions from the United States, and is now a debtor in America's books. So is France; so is practically every other Allied country. Germany has lost the place she held in the world since 1871; England has lost the place she held in the world since 1815. America is to-day the world's financier; to-morrow she will be the world's greatest carrier. America has won the war.

The British Minister of Finance, Mr. Winston Churchill, says: "A fair arrangement among the Allies would be for America to forgive us our war debt to her, and for us to forgive France, Russia, and Italy an equal portion of the debts which they owe us." The fairness of this arrangement can be judged from the fact that Mr. Churchill admits that he is very doubtful whether the Allies he mentions will pay England with punctuality. A better way, adds Mr. Churchill, would be "for the Allies to recognise the principle of equality of sacrifice, and to strike a balance between the money spent and the casualties incurred, and to share the burden accordingly, after making an allowance for territories gained or indemnities received." We particularly admire this suggestion. The United States, having been the last to come into the war, has the smallest number of casualties, and England has a particularly high number. Every Australian, Canadian, South African, Irishman, and Indian whose life she offered up in her defence would under this arrangement have a cash value for her now at the cost of America. But, as Mr. Winston Churchill despondently adds,

"It is perhaps too much to hope that an ideal arrangement of this kind will be arrived at, and in its absence the carrying on of our foreign trade will be exposed to far greater difficulties than before the war."

We fear this British ideal must perish. England drew fifty million pounds a year from America before the war. America is now going to draw fifty millions a year from England.

The London "Financial Times," reviewing the situation, says:

"Not only is there no possibility of America advances to Europe being repaid within the present generation, but Europe, and more especially France, must look to the United States to become a very large investor in European Government Stocks, as well as in other European securities. Up to the outbreak of the European war America was a debtor to Europe. . . . The position is now reversed, and America has become the creditor and banker of Europe."

America thus slips into the place held for a hundred years by England, and England is henceforth mainly dependent on American goodwill for her existence as a Great Power.

Alliance with America—arrangement with America is no longer a mere point of British policy—it is a vital necessity. There are many obstacles to such an alliance or arrangement, but none so formidable as the obstacle of Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett and his Dominion League have been thrust forward by Mr. Lloyd George in the hope of dividing the Irish people and securing the only thing that can save the British Empire from bankruptcy and disruption—an alliance with the United States.

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Rathdrum, on Sunday, July 6th, 1919

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THE Joint Comhairle Ceannair of the County Kerry require the services of a Competent Person as Organiser for the County for a period of six months; must be Irish speaker; salary £1 per week. Apply D. O. Suillabháin, 4 Moyderwell, Tralee.

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WANTED, Lady Nurse for Two Small Children; must be healthy and really fond of children; Catholic and Irish speaker preferred. Apply, with references, and stating salary required, to Mrs. Petrie, Derrynane, near Waterville, Co. Kerry.

NOTICES. AIRD-CRAOBH SINN FEIN, 6 Harcourt St.—The Propaganda Lectures will be continued on next Monday evening at 8.15.

REPUBLICAN Sweep, Irish Derby.—Loch Lomond, 22781, John Kavanagh, 8 Birchfield, Manchester; Cheap Popularity, 26563, F. Lilly, Cross St., Enniskillen; Snow Maiden, 14171, Jas. Fennessy, 77 O'Connell St., Clonmel; Glanmerin, 32825: The Pascher, 513, Ballyeaston, 16383; King Ezer, 6586; Sir William, 887; Iron Hand, 9499; Young Brian, 12721; Grand Parade, 5419; Louvois Colt, 23110; Burnt Almend, 12989; Just for Luck, 31255; Irresistible, 22389; Dromio, 19153; Mosquito, 14675; St. Cole, 33667; San Raffail, 7358; Skyraker, 19331; Consey, 30968; Grand Almoner, 9741; Tangiers, 4280; Dinah Dear, 5398; Polygnosus, 12710; Liberty Bond, 16117; Bruff Bridge, 6226; Shiloh, 15770; The Regiment, 5222; Berwick, 17200; The Field, 5329; Coriolanus, 7147; Dolly Strong, 19077; St. Flora, 14590; Tiberia, c., 4622.

RESULT of Drawing in aid of South Kildare Election Fund.—1st prize, No. 135; 2nd, 2636; 3rd, 2687.

MISCELLANEOUS. ANY NAME (in Irish or English) made with Rolled Gold Wire on Mother-of-Pearl Tricolour Brooch, or Plain, 1/3 post free; on Superior Leaf Mother-of-Pearl, 1/6.—From EDWARD HEALY, Brooch Manufacturer, 128 Francis St., Dublin.

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IRISH-IRELANDERS visiting Strabane, Stay at Mrs. R. Gallagher's, 21 Main St., Strabane. Terms moderate. AM

THANKSGIVINGS. HEARTFELT Thanks to Our Lady of Lourdes, St. Patrick, and St. Bridget for favours received; publication promised. J.H.

HEARTFELT Thanks to the Sacred Heart for the recovery of my son from a most serious illness.—Grateful Father.

THANKSGIVING to Sacred Heart, Blessed Virgin, Little Flower, St. Anthony, and St. Joseph for great victory.—Unworthy.

THANKSGIVING to the Sacred Heart, Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, St. Joseph, and St. Francis for daughter's recovery; publication promised.—E.W.

REITH. MAC CABA—Meitheamh 23adh, 1919, ag 283 Bothar Rismuin, Baile Bocht, do bhroinn Dia mac ar Phroinsias S. Mac Caba agus ar Aine, a bhean. Phroinsias Sean Ulan a baisteadh air.

MacCABE—June 23rd, at 283 Richmond Rd., Fairview; to Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. MacCabe—a son.

JORDAN—June 13, 1919, at Market Square, Enniscorthy, to Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jordan—a daughter, Ellen Mary.

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