



Eamonn Ceannt

Commandant Batt. IV. of the Irish Volunteers, executed May 8th, 1916, wrote the inspiring words of

IRELAND OVER ALL

When four years ago, specially for the Irish Volunteers. The music is by one of the world's greatest composers, Haydn. The cover contains an original and genuine photo of Eamonn marching at the head of his company of Volunteers to Wolfe Tone's grave, saluting the Republican flag as he marches past. Price (complete) 1/1, post free. Trade discount.

JAMES CONNOLLY

Commandant of the Irish Citizen Army, executed May 12th, 1916, is the author of

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NATIONALITY. SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1918.

THE CONVENTION. It is now six months since Mr. Lloyd George's Convention assembled in Ireland. Let us recall its origin. In 1916 the English Government contracted with Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, Devlin, and O'Connor to partition Ireland, but this quartette failed to deliver the goods, in return for which they were to receive the patronage of Munster, Connacht, and Leinster. After the defeat of the Party which these men led, at the Resurrection Election, Mr. T. P. O'Connor appealed to Mr. Lloyd George to do something for them, and framed a motion about "free institutions," which he submitted to Mr. Lloyd George, and which Mr. Lloyd George accepted. In the meantime, however, Mr. Lloyd George's colleagues, or the majority of them, instructed him he must not promise anything beyond the Partition Scheme, and on the night of March 7th Mr. Lloyd George, after describing the Ulster Unionists as "Aliens to Ireland," and declaring that the "Invincible Fact" was "that Ireland is no more reconciled to British rule to-day than she was in the days of Cromwell," added: "Let me make again quite clear to my hon. friends from Ireland what is the position. Irishmen can at any time, with the substantial consent of all parties, secure self-government for that part of the country which demands it by an unmistakable voice. But no party will support a demand that Ulster shall be forced into a settlement. . . . That is the attitude I have always taken in regard to Ulster." (Hansard, 7th March, 1917; 461).

the question was again raised a few days later, and Major Hills asked his fellow-Englishmen to consider what might happen. Ho said: "The Prime Minister in his speech the other day was challenged with the position of Poland, and was asked how he could go to a Peace Conference and there defend the position of Ireland. He explained to the House that defence was easy. Nobody has a greater admiration for the intellectual ability and dialectical skill of the Premier than I have, but I think here he has taken a part beyond his powers. It is a question of plain fact. He can explain to the Conference, no doubt, that the Government in Ireland is a just and equitable Government. But Austria will say the same thing regarding Poland, and the question the right hon. gentleman will have to answer is, What is the Irish view of your Government. Has your Government the assent of the governed? There cannot be any question on that point. Suppose we go a step further. Suppose that at the Peace Conference we are met by a united and free Poland. I think even then the Prime Minister will admit that it is not a case for mere words, but that he will have to show something of the same sort in the case of Ireland." (Hansard, March 22nd, 1917).

Both politicians calculated that Sinn Fein must come in or refuse to come in. If it went in it was destroyed. If it refused, it could be represented to the world as a fiction that was afraid to discuss the future of Ireland with its own countrymen. In "Nationality" at the time we pointed out the trap laid for Sinn Fein, and Sinn Fein did not fall into it. It did not refuse to go into the Convention. It offered to do so, on four conditions. They were: (1) That the terms of reference left the Convention free to decree the complete independence of Ireland; (2) That the English Government publicly pledged itself to the United States and the Powers of Europe to ratify the decision of the majority of the Convention; (3) That the Convention consisted of none but persons freely elected by adult suffrage in Ireland; (4) That prisoner-of-war treatment was accorded to Irish prisoners at Lewes and Aylesbury. The trap was thus sprung upon the traitors. The British Government was made to publicly refuse to permit the Convention to be chosen by the people, to bind itself to ratify its majority decision, or to allow it freedom to recommend the complete independence of Ireland. Lloyd George, in his introductory speech, used the phrase "substantial agreement." What this doubtful phrase meant to him was disclosed a few days later: "Mr. MacNeill asked the Prime Minister whether his statement that in the event of the intended Irish Convention arriving at substantial agreement as to the character and scope of an Irish Constitution, the Government will introduce legislation to give effect to such substantial agreement, is to be taken as in any degree affecting his previous pledge that under no circumstances shall Ulster be coerced into submitting to the jurisdiction of an Irish Parliament?" "Mr. Bonar Law: There could not be substantial agreement in the circumstances suggested by my hon. friend's question." "Mr. Butcher asked whether the terms of the proposed reference to the Irish Convention will admit of schemes for the self-government of Ireland without any limitation, or only schemes for the self-government of Ireland within the Empire?" "Mr. Bonar Law: There can be no question of self-government except within the Empire." (Hansard, May 24th; 2474).

The British Government, it is thus seen, had contracted with the Ulster Unionists not to give legislative effect to any scheme adopted by the majority against their vote. What in fact the British Government planned was to set up a Convention in Ireland intended to misrepresent Ireland to Europe and destroy the Sinn Fein movement. The Convention was to mark time until the National Movement was disintegrated and the second Australian Referendum on Conscription had been taken. Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, assured the British Ministers last spring that he could win Australia to Conscription if they could "in any way settle the Irish difficulty." When these things had been done the majority report was to be rejected by the English Government on the plea that as the Ulster Unionists did not agree there was no substantial agreement.

Events have marched since the Convention was conceived by a juggling Minister and a corrupt party leader. A new offer is in contemplation—a new measure is dreamed of, which will march triumphantly to the Statute Book, and there be embalmied with the Home Rule Act. In plain language, a new scheme is afoot to side-track Ireland. "A settlement in Ireland," says the London "Times," "has become an essential war necessity." Ireland, it admits, has become a world-question. Therefore the Irish difficulty must be settled, and the Ulster Unionists are implored to agree. That is what the "Times" says. This is what the "Times" means: not them but agree to a measure to be introduced and passed in the British Parliament, but never to become operative, and the situation is saved. Ireland may be successfully deceived by a legislative trick until the Peace Conference has come and gone. Such is the Ministers' calculation.

We shall upset them, as we have upset the others. England has tried direct attack and failed, she has tried indirect attack and failed, she has tried the cajolery of the International Magna Charta and the abundant gold of the British Lion whom she sent prowling around the country four times last year seeking to raise cabals and intrigues against Sinn Fein. She is now going to play a new convention false card, in the hope of enjoining the Irish people away from the straight path on which their feet are now firm-set. Sinn Fein will trump it once more. To-day we repeat to our countrymen the words we wrote in "Nationality" on the morning of the election which made Mr. Lloyd George plan the Convention: "The opportunity has come to Ireland to render the permanent settlement of Europe impossible after the war without a permanent settlement of Ireland. And to the constituencies in Ireland now we say: The issue upon which you must vote is whether Ireland accepts England's rule

and whatever England may decree or whether Ireland rejects that rule and claims from the Peace Conference the right that the Allies declare they stand for, the right that the United States declares it stands for—the right of Belgium, the right of Poland—the right of a nation to govern itself."

GET READY FOR ELECTIONS

The hope of disrupting Sinn Féin, and once more defeating the Irish Nation, springs eternal in the breast of the "Daily Mail," the Dublin correspondent of which was furnished with the following sample of his imagination:

"The opening of the New Year in Ireland is marked as a dominating feature by the increasing weakness of Sinn Féin, against which the stars in their courses now appear to be fighting."

Those who find comfort in such paragraphs are in for a pretty alarming period of disillusion later on. When that time comes the operation of disillusion must be comprehensive, thorough, and decisive.

During the South Longford Election one of the Party declared that if they lost the election they could never again claim to represent the Irish people.

It is well that the Sinn Féin Clubs should realise fully the labour which will be involved in this work of National Service.

To come to details. Each Comhairle Ceannaithe ought to procure the Parliamentary Register for its Division, and allot to each Club that section of the register for the district where the Club operates.

When the time of election comes no Club should be in the sorry position of feeling that nothing has been done, that it does not know what should be done.

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more of its members to keep a close watch upon the activities of the Clubs and see that the work allotted to each is carried out efficiently. At Comhairle Ceannaithe meetings reports of the work done in each district should be submitted, and the weak parts in the Division ascertained, and ways and means devised and carried out to strengthen such weak places.

LE 2-ASAD NA NOISEOIR.

AN MÚINEOIR FIOSRÁC.

1. Are you the woman, and are you in the house? Is that the girl that is going out? Is that the boy, and is he on the bicycle? And is not James the man who is talking to him on the road?

TRANSLATION.

The Inquisitive Teacher.

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One of the most versatile of the younger school of writers who have written out of the fullness of their hearts' love for Ireland is Brian O'Higgins, and in the three books that have just been issued by Whelan and Son, Crumond Quay, Dublin, we have abundant evidence of that versatility.

The Keating Branch Classes resumed last week. The annual general meeting is fixed for Saturday, the 19th January, at 8 p.m.

The second list of subscriptions to the Ashe Memorial Fund appears in our advertising columns to-day. Our readers will be glad to notice that the fund has now reached a total of well over £1,000.

Owing to the shortage of paper supplies and the increased cost of production, "Nationality" will be strictly NON-RETURNABLE after the issue of 26th January. To avoid disappointment, readers should arrange to obtain their copies from the same newsagent every week.

CONRAD NA SAOIGE. CISCE CUIMNEACÁIN TOMÁS AGAS. (ASHE MEMORIAL FUND).

The Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League has decided to erect in Dublin a Memorial Hall, to be called Anas Tomás Agas, where the Irish ideals that were his will be promoted; the Irish Language and Irish Music will be taught; and where visitors in sympathy with his principles will be assured of an Irish welcome.

An opportunity to give practical effect to their sympathy is here presented to the tens of thousands who followed to Glasnevin the remains of Tomás Agas, as well as to the scattered hundreds of thousands who have since stood in spirit beside his grave.

The following subscriptions are acknowledged with thanks. Remittances sent to the Treasurer, Ashe Memorial Fund, 25 Capel Square, Dublin.

Table listing donors and amounts for the Ashe Memorial Fund. Includes entries like G. D. Cummins, Dublin (2 0 0), M. K. Walsh, Ballyvoren, Murroe (1 0 0), and many others.

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ARD Craibh, Sinn Fein, 6 Harcourt St.—  
Meeting on Monday, Jan. 21st, at 8 pm.  
Mr. Joseph M. Jolliffe will lecture. Ar-  
rangements will be made after meeting for  
taking Philanthropy.

**BALINASCLOE SINN FEIN CLUB.**—Stop  
Watch Competition. Closing date has  
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**GAELIC LEAGUE.**—Watch Race Com-  
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"Lament for Pearse" (Crofts), 1/1.  
"Our Latest Hero Dead" Ashe (Ryan  
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"Let Me Carry Your Cross" (Ashe), 1/7.  
"A Battle Hymn" (Countess Mar-  
kiewicz), 1/1.  
"Easter Week" (Crofts), 7d.  
"Dau Miled na Gaoidhe" (in Gaelic)  
(Robert O'Dwyer), 7d.  
"Ireland Over All" (Eamonn Ceannt),  
1/1.  
"The Flag of Freedom" (Stanley), 1/1.  
"Wap the Green Flag Round Me, Boys"  
(DeRielly), 1/1.

**BOOKS.**  
"The History of the Irish Rebellion of  
1916" (including Casement's complete  
speech from the dock), 1/6, post 1/9.  
"Facts of the Insurrection," 1/2.  
"Labour in Ireland" (by James Connolly),  
4/4; or in two parts, price 1/2 each part.  
"Memories of Mountjoy" (by Sean Mil-  
roy), 1/2.  
Write for Catalogue of Books by Irish  
Authors.  
"John Mitchell" (by P. S. O'Hagarty), 2/9.

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