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SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th, 1917.

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WEEK BY WEEK.

Mr. Llovd George's Convention met in Dublin last week. On the first day it elected a Chairman. On the second it adjourned for a fortnight. Its members are to receive a guinea a day. The Irish taxpayer will promide the many fortnight. Its guinea a day. vide the money.

Last week the London authorities introduced Secret Service men into the English Commons to coincide with Mr. Ginnell's arrival, and unofficially inspired the English Press to announce that "Sinn Feiners" contemplated making a "violent demonstration" from the galleries. Mr. Ginnell attended to move the writ for Kilkenny, and to give notice of his intention to move for the Independence of Ireland. By collusion between the Speaker and the Redmondites—whose agent on the occasion was the Dublin publican, Joseph Mooney, M.P. for Newry, who sat as Redmond's representative on the Advisory Committee and imprisoned at Frongoch and Reading 562 opponents of Redmondism—the writ was refused and later on Mr. Ginnell was suspended. Thus the motion for Irish Independence was shelved. The plot of which Mr. Ginnell was the victim was chiefly staged for the purpose of impressing the Russian delegates with the idea that Sinn Feiners are anarchists. They were impressed, but in another direction. They return to Russia with new light on the methods of English government in Ireland.

Mr. Robert Donovan, who combines the antagonistic posts of Professor of English Literature and Leader-writer for the "Freeman's Journal," is also, we believe, the "Dublin Correspondent" of the "Manchester Guardian." Mr. Donovan is pessimistic about Kilkenny. He fears his "Freeman" employers will not be able to retain it, so he writes an appeal for its disfranchisement. The reasons it should be disfranchised are that "the voters number less than a thousand, and it has been one of the centres of active Sinn Fein propaganda." Now, the voters number 1,700, a fact of which Mr. Donovan is aware, since it appears in the Directory upon his editorial table. Mr. Donovan believes that Kilkenny City has "no reason for existence as a constituency," nor would it have "even under any scheme of re-distribution within Ireland itself." If Kilkenny City were as false as the corruption which employs Mr. Donovan, Mr. Donovan would not suggest its disfranchisement. He would not venture to do so in the "Freeman's Journal," but in the "Manchester Guardian," where he exults in the apparent anonymity of "Our Dublin Correspondent," he does so. We learn from Mr. Donovan, who is a mere echo of the instructions given him by the leaders of the Parliamentary Party: "If re-distribution is necessary in equity to the Irish Unionists, let the seats assigned to Ireland by the Act of Union be re-distributed." Here we have part of the price the Party is paying for the Unionist vote in Longford, Clare, and Kilkenny. "Equity to the Irish Unionists" is a good phrase. The people of Kilkenny will be interested to know that the Party whose candidate now appeals to them desires their extinction as a constituency.

On Sunday last the Sinn Fein campaign was

On Sunday last the Sinn Fein campaign was carried on vigorously North, South, East, and West. Mr. De Valera addressed a vast meeting at Tullamore, Mr. Brown a Leitrim and Cavan hosting at Mohill, Mr. Griffith the largest gathering witnessed in Maryboro' for 20 years. Kilkenny held a series of meetings in connection with the election, which were addressed by Messrs. O'Mara, Cole, and other speakers from the Executive. At Bray in Wicklow Mr. J. K. O'Reilly was the principal

speaker, and Mr. Darrell Figgis continued his campaign through Mayo, and Mr. Collins spoke at a large gathering in Armagh.

That veteran of the Land League, Louis Smyth, of Magherafelt, presided at a great Sinn Fein meeting at Toomebridge, Antrim, on the 22nd, when contingents were present from all the adjoining parishes. Mr. Louis Walsh, solr., Ballycastle, and members of the Belfast Central Branch Propaganda Committee addressed the meeting, and it was arranged to form Clubs at Toome and Duneane, Newbridge Derryside, Gulladuff, Maghera, Largey, Rosharkin, Ballyscullion, and Cargin. The size, composition, intelligence, and enthusiasm of this meeting augurs well for the success of the National policy amongst all classes in Ulster, where a "big push" is just beginning.

The description of Mr. Redmond and his followers as "a deserving family" is a good disguise. Last week a lecture in aid of such a charitable object was advertised for the Foresters' Hall, Dungannon in the "Ulster Herald"—the lecturer being that amusing humbug, Mr. J. P. O'Kane, J.P., the author of the impudent series of falsehoods about the Home Rule Act recently published in the Sham Squire Journal under the non-de-plume of "Uladh." Twenty-five people attended the "lecture." which was a landation of the Sham Squire Journal under the non-de-plume of "Uladh." Twenty-five people attended the "lecture," which was a laudation of the Fartitionists, and a re-hash of the Castle slanders on Sinn Fein. It appears that the tickets, which were priced at one shilling, were offered in the end free to anyone who would accept them; but outside the local partitionists there were none taken. To such a pass has the traitorous Party come in Omagh that its name dare not be advertised in connection with a meeting. A Sinn Fein Club is about to be established in the town. established in the town.

The Limerick United Trade and Labour Council sends us the following resolution:—

"That in view of the impending changes in the government of this country, it is most desirable and equitable that the principles of the Representation of the People Bill be applied to Ireland." plied to Ireland.

plied to Ireland."

The resolution arises out of the attempt of the Redmondite Party to have Ireland excluded from the scope of the Bill. As the Bill was introduced into the English Parliament, it applied to Ireland. Under its provisions nearly all men and a considerable number of women in Ireland would be invested with votes. The Bill further provides for the simplification of elections—candidates, for instance, instead of having as at present to lodge indefinite sums as Sheriff's expenses are to lodge £150 each, which sum will be returned to the successful candidate, and to the unsuccessful candidate if he polls a certain percentage of the votes. The anxiety of the Redmondite Party to get Ireland excluded from the Bill is understand-Ireland excluded from the Bill is understand-

Mr. Trayers, Gort, recently wrote to the Constabulary authorities charging the Gort Constabulary with a brutal and wanton attack on some young boys in the town. Mr. Trayers and others have now been arrested on a charge of illegal drilling. The Messrs. Brennan of Meelick, whose efficient maintenance of the peace in Ennis during the election brought them the thanks of the local Constabulary officers, have been arrested on a similar charge.

Mr. Scanlon protested to McClelland, where-upon another Constabularyman struck him in the face.

Eventually the Bench convicted Harrington, fining him 5/- and costs. Kelly, the Resident Magistrate, late of the "Freeman" staff, dissented. In the course of the case Mr. Moran had to protest against the Chairman's attitude

Mr. Kelly was formerly editor of the Belfast edition of the 'Freeman's Journal.' He is now one of the Castle Removables for Clare at a salary of £800. Curiously enough the Co. Court Judge of Clare is Kelly's former colleague, Matthew Bodkin, chief leader-writer of the 'Freeman's Journal.' Mr. Bodkin's price was £1,400 a year. McElroy, another of the Clare Removables, is also one of the same gang. same gang.

Mr. John D. Nugent sent his henchman Mr. Bergin to Sligo last week for the purpose of getting the local Hibernians to endorse his action in suspending the Provincial Director of the Order for Connacht, Mr. Henry Monson, owing to the latter's adoption of the Sinn Fein policy. On Friday night Bergin attended a general meeting of the local Division, at which about two hundred members were present, including the Mayor of Sligo, Councillor Hanly. Nugent's emissary received a very stormy reception. The conclusion of the meeting was a unanimous endorsement of Mr. Monson's attitude. On the following day a meeting of the County Board was held and Mr. Bergin also attended. The County Board had been suspended about the same time as Mr. Monson without any reason being given. The re-election of Mr. Monson as County President was objected to by Mr. Bergin, but that gentleman's nominee, Mr. J. O'Hart, N.T., Collooney, was defeated, Mr. Monson being elected for the fourth year in succession. Thus Sligo town and county have shown their utter disregard for the dictatorial methods of the "Grand Suspender."

Mr. Thomas Ruane, Co. C., Galway, recently elected Chairman of the Galway District Council, has not accepted, and does not intend to accept, the J.P.-ship which some people add to

Councillor Partridge was, it appears, only released from Lewes Prison to die. Never a robust man, the prison treatment completely broke down his health, and undoubtedly shortened his life by years. It is some consolation that he died in his own country, in his native place, and surrounded by his own family. Councillor Partridge was a man whose honesty of purpose was transparent, and who worked tenaciously and courageously for the principles he advocated. Beannact De le h-Anam.

We have received the following resolution from the Kinsale Rural District Council, moved by Mr. Beechinor, seconded by Mr. Cooney, and unanimously resolved:— That we tender to the electors of East Clare our heartiest congratulations on the smashing blow struck for Irish Liberty by their action at the recent Parliamentary election, and thereby giving what is probably its death-blow to the greatest obstacle to Ireland's material and National interests—the Irish Parliamentary Party; and we trust that Kilkenny will follow the patriotic example set them by the electors of East Clare."

The Mountmellick Rural District Council sends us the following:—Proposed by Mr. M. P. Collier, seconded by Mr. E. J. Poole, Co. C., and resolved unanimously: "That we, the Mountmellick Rural District Council, tender our heartiest congratulations to Professor Ed-

ward De Valera on his election as Sinn Fein representative for East Clare, and we wish to thank the honest electors of the constituency for having returned him by such an overwhelming majority. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Professor E. De Valera, and to 'Nationality.'"

The "Clutching Hand" is out to capture our food. The latest and most menacing of the trade-killers calls himself "Rhondda," formerly well-known as Thomas, the proprietor of half a score of collieries in Wales. He is in fact the Coal Wizard. This latest bureaucrat was appointed in charge of what is called the "Ministry of Food." He has now proposed a scheme to limit the prices of meat in such a manner as will effectively perform this object by rendering it impossible to produce any supply of meat at all in Ireland next January. The County Westmeath Farmers' Association, amongst many others, are protesting against the Food Controller's interference with the free sale of cattle, holding that the scale of prices fixed will certainly cause a meat famine next spring. Their fears are but too well founded. The following prices have been fixed for live cattle for the British army:—

74/- per cwt. live weight 67/- do. 60/- do. September, Vovember, January,

Maximum meat prices are to be fixed on a corresponding scale for civilian consumption. In this way the net is carefully spread to cover the whole Irish trade, and the outlook for farmers is exceedingly threatening. The Irish trade is, of course, not considered as having any interest in the matter. The prices are thed without any regard to the fact that September is the cheapest month and Innervy the Exed without any regard to the fact that September is the cheapest month and January the dearest in the Irish trade. In the autumn end the grass lands are stripped and the Dublin market is glutted, while there is a scarcity later on. If the September prices are fair, then the prices in November, starting on the basis of 74/-, should be 81/-, and in January 88/-. That is to say, the scale should rise instead of falling to meet the peculiarities of the Irish trade. We should like to see Lord Rhondda dropping his coal prices from September to January; but, of course, the Coal Wizard will do just the opposite with his own trade. Why doesn't he arrange to bring down the price of coal, which he can control himself? He is the biggest colliery owner in England. Yet we find coal is already rising, and will certainly go up as quickly as he proposes to bring down the Irish meat.

If the proposal is intended to strip this country entirely of all meat this autumn it could not be more effectively designed. But it will do much worse. It will strip the country of grain as well. Instead of more food being available in the winter, there will probably be a strangled meat production, accompanied by a general clearance of food-stuffs. It is to be carefully borne in mind that the Food Controller has issued also a Crop Restriction Order, prohibiting all dealing without permit in wheat, barley, oats, or rye of the 1917 crop, or potatoes (except first or second earlies) grown in the "United Kingdom." All contracts for sale or disposition of any 1917 crops are cancelled. This Order should be read with the Meat Prices Scheme. It means that all farmers will be prevented from selling their crops except to the British Government, and if they try to evade this Order by stall-feeding them to stock they are faced with the threat that they will get only 60/- a cwt. for cattle in January, after three months' cost of stall-feeding, as compared with 74/- in September, when they come off the grass.

We referred in our issue of July 21st to the remarkable campaign of the Fibre Corporation (Ireland), Limited, to revive the growth of flax in the South of Ireland. The Chairman of the company (Mr. Stewart Cox, Baltic House, London) writes to us to put us right as to the details of the scheme. The price paid by the company is £15 per acre, with a bonus on the scale of 5/- to 30/- per acre according to Grade. Mr. Cox, however, does not tell us whether it is the seed or the flax or both is purchased for the £15. Certainly the scheme is one of great importance, and its value has been much increased by the necessity of saving Irish seed for flax. Hitherto the country depended entirely but not wisely on the importation of seed for our prime industrial crop, but it was only with very great difficulty that it was obtained at all this spring, and

much of it did not arrive till very late in the season for sowing. There is no possibility of getting any seed from Holland for next year, says Mr. Megaw, of the Department of Agriculture. With regard to Russia, "their experience of the last three months was that if they got any at all it was always at the last moment." With the unfortunate Russian merchants having to sell against an exchange depreciated in the proportion of 95 to 220, or nearly 60 per cent., it was not commercially possible to do any business. The two principal sources of supply were practically cut off, and the supply is not expected to exceed one-half of the requirements of Irish farmers next year.

Another factor of great importance in the situation is that practically nothing but Irish flax is now obtainable for the production of fine linen yarns. Mr Megaw tells us, "Flax is now really essential for military purposes, and Irish flax at that"—(address to Londonderry Co. Committee of Agriculture, Coleraine, July 14th). This fact is of enormous industrial importance in face of the colossal vote of the United States Congress of 125 millions sterling for aeroplanes. At £2,500 per machine, this works out 50,000 air machines. But where is the cloth to come from? From Ireland; because it so happens that flax cannot be successfully grown in the United States, at least not for fine linen. An effort was made some years ago to establish a rival to the Irish flax industry, but though highly protected by tariffs it failed completely. An attempt was also made in Argentina, and a flax colony was sent over there a few years ago, but it has not succeeded. The climate of our country is more suited than that of any other to flax, and it is an industry which cannot be taken from us. England did her heat to do it but failed more suited than that of any other to flax, and it is an industry which cannot be taken from us. England did her best to do it, but failed completely. Consequently there is an extraordinarily favourable opportunity not merely to hold it, but to extend it throughout the greater part of Ireland, and to cultivate it once more in the twenty-two counties where it once flourished.

The demand from the United States alone will require so great a quantity of Irish linen that if spread out like the wings of a gigantic albatross we must suppose its wings tipping both sides of the Atlantic at the same time. whether we can cut Uncle Sam his spread-eagle to this measure depends entirely on the quantity of seed which can be saved. There is a very large crop of flax set this year in Ireland—no less than 107,400 acres—an increase of 15,900 over last year. Farmers are required to save an eighth for seed. This means, according to the Department, that some thirteen thousand acres of flax will be lost, through holding the fibre over till the following year for the purpose of taking out the seed. At the present value, about £40 per acre, estimating a yield of 32 stones at 25/- per stone, this works out at a sacrifice of over half-a-million's worth of flax, a very serious matter for the farmers and the spinners, at a time when unprecedented demands will be made on the industry for aeroplane cloth, of which we have a monopoly. If we understand the scheme of the Fibre Corporation correctly, it would enable the seed to be taken off by a simple and effective machine, leaving the straw in a perfect condition of straightness for retting, which is very difficult to do by hand rippling. The utilisation of machinery would consequently enable the seed and bolls to be saved, instead of being thrown away and wasted in the retting pits. If this method, which we understand has already been adopted with great success in the South of Ireland, under the encouragement of the Fibre Corporation, be adopted generally throughout Ireland it would render this country entirely indepedent of foreign seed. The quantity of seed required for sowing purposes is estimated to cover a fourth of the area sown. This means that 27,000 acres are required to provide all the seed for 108,000 acres, and the balance of seed from the whole crop for finishing purposes, valued at about half-a-million. Such a scheme as this deserves the utmost publ

Of all the changes wrought by the war, the one which is likely to be the most permanent is the growth of aerial traffic. It has become a most practical reality from being a deadly sport. The great feature of the newest planes is their wonderful swiftness. A speed of 150 miles an hour is not uncommon. Unlike land transportation, speed in the air is neither limited nor dangerous. The great weakness of the flying machine is its liability to capsize, but this trouble is likely to be corrected in the course of time. At present the celebrated American inventor, Wright, is working on a self-righting machine, which will not overturn. The details are not yet known, but it is said he has discarded the gyroscope and is relying on an electrical apparatus controlling the levers, and operated by contact of mercury in a bath. It can easily be understood that if a machine sways the mercury will rise on one side, and by setting the levers going on that side will restore the balance of the machine. A somewhat similar principle is employed in firing sea mines, so that the idea of a self-balancing aeroplane is by no means impossible. It may confidently be assumed that flying across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to Ireland will take place soon. I'ew people have an idea how practicable it is or how short the time would be. It is only about 2,000 land miles from Galway to St. John's, and this distance could be covered in about thirteen hours, or, allowing for the sun and difference of time, it is quite possible to leave Galway by aeroplane after breakfast at nine o'clock in the morning and hail St. John's at six o'clock the same evening, just in time for a hurried dinner, replenishment of petrol, and the start for New York, arriving there in time to sup at midnight. This will be the greatest revolution effected by the war, and it will mean great wealth in the linen trade, as well as putting an end to our enforced isolation. Whatever happens the question of the freedom of the seas, the air at all he the greatest revolution effected by the war, and it will mean great wealth in the linen trade, as well as putting an end to our enforced isolation. Whatever happens the question of the freedom of the seas, the air at all events is free.

Fine linen makes fine birds of air. It requires

no less than one hundred and eighty yards of the very finest cambric to make the wings of one of the present types of war machines. For 50,000 of them no less than nine million yards —a length of over five thousand miles—are required, and this will give some idea of the unprecedented demand which is arising for aero cloth. And this quantity will be renewed after each dozen flights.

A delegate meeting of Sinn Fein Clubs held in Granard on Thursday last decided to form an Executive for North Longford. The first Executive meeting will be held at Buntaghy on August 12th at 4 p.m. The candidates for the Chairmanship of the Granard Rural District Council are requested to attend the Executive meeting and sign the Sinn Fein pledge.

The two Constabularymen, McAulev and Lyons, against whom a verdict of wilful murder was returned by a Coroner's Jury at Ballybunion, have not up to the time of going to Press been arrested.

The members of the Women's Branch, Gaelic League, Dungarvan, have arranged for Masses for the repose of the soul of Roger Casement. R.I.P. Masses to be offered at Mount Mellary. They had a Novena of Masses offered at Mount Mellary for those executed during May, 1916. R.I.P.

Mr. J. Sheehan of the "P.'s and C.'s" Concert Company forwards us a copy of an apology from Mr. Fred Leo, who withdraws the claim made in his advertisement in our issue of July 21st that he was the originator of the Company. The members of Frougoch and Stafford), Miss Sheehan, Mr. O'Brien and Miss Dene were, with the exception of Miss Dene, not members of the original "P.'s and C.'s Company, but they formed the majority of the "P.'s and C.'s" Company when it was assailed in Loughrea. They now torm the "We Six" Company, and we wish them, equally with the "P.'s and C.'s "Company, success.

an cumann 5000alac-oromconnrac The result of Watch Competition will appear in next week's issue of this paper.

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teabar na n-oititreac spolannac. (Continued).

15. Agur of eagla oppa so leip an t-eoluroe oo leigine uata, man nuain a diodan i breing teir man teall an an mbocún a bein ré bo tuzaban capcairne of 7 to buaileadap é; map rin de b'éizean od na mionna ouda a tabaire zo brillread re opps apir.

16. An curree 'na ocainis re amac oo maccnaim ré ina choide 7 oudaint leir réin: Cáro na vaoine reo 30 hole 7 taro riav as sup ap ote eisin room; 7 0 tapla na puil son iontaoib aca aram, rástao ra poul 140. Asur cuaro re A baile oo rein.

17. Agur bi an Luce airtin rin annyan an read point lactanta 7 an t-ochap at cup to olan oppa, go oci gun painig oo poinne vaoine beit ag Sabail an theo 7 Sup tappainseadan ar an opoll

18. An eigin a biodan ruarcailte nuain a teartait o curo aca cup cum botain apir 7 on Scuro eile aca an t-eoluide pealltad do duapoad 7 viosaltar vo veunam ain. V'einis eatoppa, man rin, 7 00 reapadan le céile.

19. An curo aca ba mo 50 paid buile oppa σ'imtigeadan teo η na mionna móna aca σά Cabaine 7 100 as basaine an an eolaide; 7 in

amiroeom a geuro atéum geaca nion bronn le naoinne eolar oo deunam ooid an on na an AIRSCAD.

20. Maioiji teir an eotaroe realtrac, vo deminis re 7 00 deapons nap dem re aon ni ar an rlige, gupb anitaro cuaran an luce carpert amuja uata rein; agur, cum a terpeaint so paid eolar na mbótap 50 mait aise oo said ré tena air eotar do deunam do daoine eite. Agur vo paints gup imit te an cubairce apir.

21. Di piop-aignear ap piudat ona ocuicim pa poll 50 ocl n-a bruarcaile.

I. Man a bi pobat De pan uaisnear Sainme, rin man atataoi-re an bun n-oilitheact an an ocalam jaracca.

2. An an oititheact baoib, reachard 7 na bid 45 Seapán ná as stuaipeán ná an uineara cheirim. Όθασαί ιγεαύ πα neite γin.

3. Ir eot baoib, nuair a bi pobat Dé as rillead tannair 30 tip a ringean, 30 oti an Tip Beannaiste, so pabadap an oilitheact ran uaisnear, 7 50 ocainis cuipre choide an a lan aca, 7 50 noubhadan: Fillimir 50 heiside apir. Deimir 1 ocip na vacipre annyan acc bero pluipre recla 7 inniún againn ann.

tiam o rinn.

aeproeact mon at Hospital

SUNDAY, AUGUST 26th, 1917.

Addresses will be delivered by Prominent Upholders of the Irish Nation, whose names will be announced later, with fuller particulars.

An Enjoyable Day in East Limerick Assured.

Seamur O manzain, Hon. Sec.

Sleann eroin sinn rein CLUB Achioeact mon

At LOUGH BAWN, On Sunday 12th August.

Gaels! come and enjoy a real Irish-Ireland day, and support the cause of Ireland a Nation.

eamonn ceannt sinn rein CLUB

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All business communications to the Manager, 6 Harcourt St., Dublin.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th, 1917,

TO THE ELECTORS, TRADERS. AND TAXPAYERS OF KILKENNY.

Consider the position of the trade and revenue of Ireland after a hundred years' experience of the policy of Irish Parliamentarianism -the policy which recognises the English Parliament as the source of lawful authority in Ireland, and exiles Irish political and economic thought and effort to Westminster.

"The Union," wrote Under-Secretary Cooke to Wm. Pitt in 1799, "is the only means of preventing Ireland from becoming too great and too powerful." By giving the Irish a hundred members in an assembly of 650, wrote Knox to Pitt, they will be impotent to operate upon that assembly, but it will be invested with Irish assent to its authority. The plotters of the Union relied upon the presence of an impotent Itish contingent in their Parliament to enable England to work its will against the national and material life of this country under an apparent legal and moral sanction. They reckoned well, for Ireland walked into the trap set for its feet, and for a century has acknowledged the right of England in Ireland by sending Irishmen to England's Parliament.

Consider the consequences. In the year of the Union the population of the two countries stood as follows:

Great Britain

Pop., 1801. 10.501.000 5.395,000

Thus Ireland had a population equal to more than half the combined population of England, Scotland, and Wales. Ireland had a population increasing in a higher ratio, and Ireland was more densely populated. That is, there were more people to the square mile in

Quiet, yet Central, for Business or Plessure: Ireland than there were in Great Britain. Both countries possessed a National Debt. The debts were as under:

National Debt, 1801. £450,505,000 England Ireland £28,288,000

Worked out per head of the population, the indebtedness in the year of the Union was:-Indebtedness per hd., 1801 People of Great Britain £43 18s. 0d.

People of Ireland £5 7s. 0d.

The Taxation per head was:-

Taxation per hd., 1801 £2 17s. 4d. £0 6s. 2d. People of Great Britain People of Ireland

Thus it will be seen that at the period of the Union the people of England owed a debt roundly eight times greater than ours, and were taxed nine times more heavily. Ircland was a solvent and prospering country. England trembled on the verge of bankruptcy.

Solvent Ireland was forced into union with insolvent England. At the end of the Napoleonic wars England seized complete control of Irish finances. What followed is unexampled in the history of fraudulent finance, By 1819 England had increased Irish taxation nearly twice-and-a-half what it had been in the year of the Union, but increased her own taxation by only one-quarter. By 1914-just before the outbreak of the present war-the taxation in England had been decreased 3/- per head, compared with the taxation per head of England in 1819, while the taxation in Ireland had been increased £1 9s, per head. That is, Great Britain had received roundly a 5 per cent. relief in taxation, while Ireland had been hurdened 200 per cent.

In 1914 Ireland, with a taxation per head of £2 3s. 4d., was declared by the English Parliament and Press to be insolvent-unable to pay its way. This declaration was made for the purpose of retaining, under the bogus Home Rule Act, complete control of Irish finances in England's hands. Then war broke out and England immediately voted an increase of Irish taxation to £4 4s. per head. She has now raised the taxation of this country to £7 per head, and on each occasion the Parliamentary Party, which looks for a new recruit from Kilkenny, has voted to impose the extra taxation on our country. This year we Irish are being taxed per head almost twenty-three times what we were taxed at the period of the Union, whereas the English are being taxed less than four times what they were taxed at the same period.

These are the main facts of taxation in Ireland-a system built up and designed to impoverish the country and destroy its enterprise in industry and trade. In one of the Reports of the Financial Relations Commission of 1896 -a Commission which reported that Ireland was annually overtaxed by three millions, and whose report the English Government ignored -signed by four Unionists and one Home Ruler, it is written :-

"We believe that a large proportion of the so-called local expenditure is due to Ireland's connection with Gt. Britain, and if the latter country crased to exist we see no reason for supposing that the revenue for carrying on the government of Ireland need exceed that, for instance, required in Sweden, where the population is about the same, and where the annual expenditure for all purposes is less than the local expenditure in Ireland."

Since the date of this report (1896) Sweden has increased her population to 5,600,000, while Ireland's population has decreased to 4,350,000. But another phenomenon has happened. Sweden's revenue stands at £22,000,000 while freland's has riseu to £30,000,00. That is, it is costing us £8,000,000 more to be governed by England than it costs Sweden to maintain herself as a second-rate Power.

So much for the plunder of Ireland under forms of law sanctioned and aided by the presence of Irish members in the English Parliament. Let us now consider how England deals with Irish trade. Prior to 1782 Ireland was practically confined by law to the English market. This embargo on Irish trade was lifted by the arms of the Volunteers. It has since been restored through the operation of the Union. Ireland has once again been forced into England's market and out of all others. In that market she is forced to sell at England's price, and to buy at England's price. England has secured a monopoly of the Irish market, and the monopoly of the Irish market is almost the richest thing in her possession.

In the last pre-war year (1914) we find that Irish shipping—once roughly in the proportion of 1 to 5 British—had sunk to 1 to 50 British, that Irish direct trade had been practically annihilated, 98.7 of "foreign trade" going to England as against 1.3 to Ireland. The figures of trade between England (Great Britain) and the chief countries of the world just before the war were returned officially as follows:—

1914-Value of Trade Between Gt. Britain and

- aD
6,000,000
7,000,000
12,500,000
21,000,000
21,000,000
24,000,000
32,000,000
38,000,000
63,000,000
70.000,000
135,000,000
173,000,000

It will be seen that, with the exception of the United States, England has no customer nearly as big as Ireland. The value of the Irish market to England is greater than the value of the combined markets of France and Germany -and greater than the value of any half-dozen other markets. England has had this market to herself for generations. Sinn Fein proposes that England should not continue to monopolise that market longer. Ireland has 150 million pounds worth of trade to do with the world each year, 135 million pounds' worth of which is restricted to England. In return for part of that trade the other countries of Europe would gladly give Ireland facilities in their markets, and Ireland would compel England to pay competitive prices. We ask the electors of Kilkenny to grasp well these facts (1) That Ireland is the most heavily-taxed country in Europe; (2) That Ireland possesses one of the richest markets in the world; (3) That Ireland is, with the exception of the United States, the largest market England possesses for her produce; (4) That the loss of the Irish market to England would be nearly equal to the loss of the combined markets of her Allies-Russia, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Portugal.

So long as Ireland sends members to the English Parliament and relies upon that institution, England will plunder Iroland's revenues and monopolise Ireland's trade at her own prices. When Ireland, abandoning that Parliament, convenes her representatives to meet in Ireland, and there, sustained by a combined and organised people, to think, plan, and direct the nation, the continuance of the oppression and restrictions under which Ireland economically labours will become impossible. Ireland will break the embargo on her trade and gain the world's market, and thus as surely and swiftly overthrow the Tax-racker as she overthrew the Rack-renter in the Land War. This is the policy for which Cosgrave The policy that has given the Irish stands. markets and Irish revenues to England's unrestricted control is the policy that his opponent supports. What man of commonsense -what trader, what taxpayer can hesitate between them?

INDEPENDENCE, RESTITUTION AND REPARATION.

In the wake of the economic decline which a country suffers under foreign rule there inevitably follows certain degenerating influences tending to demoralise the native virtues, to depreciate self-confidence, to confuse and finally to destroy the national sentiment. Against this insidious policy of disruption and debasement—the favourite weapon of modern Imperialism—there arises from the more intelligent of the oppressed a continual protest of indignation, occasionally spreading into national revolt, against the evils that menace the life of the nation. To the timid, the selfish, and the superficial, resistance seems vain and ineffectual against mighty odds. Such, however, is not the verdict of history. On the contrary, it is only by the persistent exercise of physical and moral forces that the highest and purest ideals of men and nations have been preserved, perpetuated, and wed to op-portunities of realisation. Involved in these considerations is the question of economics which, as between England and Ireland, deserves much more serious consideration than it usually receives in relation to our present conditions and our future plans.

During the passage of the last hundred years

During the passage of the last hundred years the economic and financial domination of Ireland by England exhibits a record of international plunder which can have no parallel in history. The extent of that plunder is partially set out in this article in as simple a form as possible, eliminating all unnecessary figure details, which so repel and confuse the

average man.

Upon the authority of an ex-Unionist M.P., Editor of the "Edinburgh Review," we are assured that the normal annual income of Britain is Three Thousand Millions Sterling. This gives roughly an average income per head of £75 per annum. (flancing back over the century we will observe a steady correspondence between the growth of wealth and population. This phenomenon is even more pronounced in the small free nations than in the large, as those of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark—all smaller and less favoured by nature than our own—clearly demonstrate. But these, unlike ours, have had no foreign shackles to impede their progress.

If we now take the lowest annual average population of Britain from 1817 to 1917 and put it at fifteen millions, and the lowest average income per head at £36 per annum (less than half that at which it now stands) we shall be safe in asserting that this represents the indisputable minimum. Given equal opportunities of freedom for the development of her latent resources, the expansion of her trade, and the unfettered development of her native institutions, Ireland's income per head of population should be approximately the same. In deference, however, to the British-made delusion about her inferior natural resources, and for the sake of argument, we will reduce the average income of the Irishman by one-third, and put it at £24 per year. Taking the average population of Ireland at the extremely low figure of six millions over the period, we have now all the requisite data to arrive at the irreducible minimum loss which Ireland has suffered from 1817 to 1917 by reason of British rule.

We know that the actual average annual income of the Irishman has been well below £20. But for convenience and clarity of demonstration we will adopt this figure.

Irishman's income under a native Government would be at least £24 per annum.

Ditto under British Government has been at most £20 per annum.

Resultant minimum loss due to foreign rule, £4 per head per annum.

This minimum average yearly loss per head for a population of six millions over a term of 100 years gives us the total minimum loss for that time, viz., 6,000,000 x 100 x £4, equal to £2,400,000,000,, total loss of income.

To this huge sum must be added the admitted over-taxation for the hundred years in question, £350,000,000.

Grand Total Minimum Loss, £2,750,000,000.

Thus we get Two Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Millions Sterling as the fabulous amount which by a foul and greed-guided policy England has, directly and otherwise, drained out of Ireland in a century. These figures, far from being exaggerated, err, if at all, on the side of moderation. A much higher total can be shown to result upon a closer examination of all the available data. My pur-

pose is not to give a complete analysis with an abundance of details, but rather to present the main essentials of the case which can be taken as reliable and readily understood. The results adduced should awaken the most thoughtless to a sense of shame for past indifference, and resentment for the continued wrongs. The understanding of these facts should bring the most apathetic into active contact with the causes that underlie the many dark schemes which have been directed towards our national destruction.

There are two other aspects of this subject which cannot, for want of space, he considered at present. These are (a) the contingent depreciation and stagnation of the actual and potential wealth which would, under a free State, have normally flourished through the channels of trade and industry within and without. The assets thus accruing to the nation, of which British rule has thus far denied us, would on the most modest reckoning of actuarial values represent an astounding figure; (b) the social, educational, and moral damage which we have suffered is of such a nature and magnitude as to elude all attempts at expression in terms of money values.

From the figures given we can, however, realise to some extent the degree of the positive and negative ruin which has been operating against every arm of our industry, and closing every avenue of our actual and possible progress; and while this has been, and is still, operative, and while the British Press and political machinery is persistently engaged in misrepresenting Irish character and capacity to the outside world, we have men whom England calls Irish Nationalists sitting in her I arliament in order to give colour and credence to her misrepresentations. Under such monstrous forms of iniquity—obvious and systematic as they are—it is almost impossible to conceive how men, other than paid traitors or satisfied slaves, can continue by their presence to give sanction to the authority of that Parliament.

In the demand for our independence before the European Conference we have the right and duty to claim reparation and restitution on grounds of justice and international right, grounds as strong and as well authenticated as those of Belgium, Servia, or Poland. Asking the British Government to undo its own depredations, to condemn its own designs, to pronounce its own guilt, is like asking a criminal to be his own policeman, judge, and jury. We have at last thrown off the party delusion that a phantom British democracy had arisen to become the champion and redeemer of our usurped liberties. Our experience has been that, with the growth of liberty in England, there has come to us a more fierce, subtle, and intense clutching of the old fiend of foreign rule.

M. MCNAMARA.

PARNELL AND PARLIAMENTARIANISM.

Recently an English Crown Prosecutor appealed to the people of Clare to elect him to the English Parliament. He stated "he stood for the policy of Parnell" and the Party which misrepresents Ireland in the English Parliament blessed and endorsed his claim. The Dalcassians disposed of it; but the same libel on a great Irish leader is revived by the place-hunters in a desperate effort to delude the electors of the City of the Confederation.

The objective of Parnell was Irish Independence. The pollcy of Parnell was directed towards paralysing English government in Ireland. The methods used by Parnell were (1) the organisation and combination of the country to oppose an effective moral or passive resistance the exercise of inimical British law, and (2) the obstruction of the business of the British Parliament.

The Land League, and later the National League, carried out the first part of this programme. Parnell himself, with Joseph Biggar and Frank Hugh O'Donnell, carried out the second part, until the British Government, by altering its rules of procedure, rendered the obstruction method impossible.

Parnell thereupon devised a new weapon—"The Balance of Power." He argued that if he could secure a fairly even balance between English Parties in the English Parliament he, by throwing the Irish vote indifferently on either side, could force one of two things—that one of the two English Parties, as the price of power, would be compelled to adopt and enact Home Rule, or that both Parties would coalesce to disfranchise Ireland. In either event he calculated to win. He

^{*}Until a year or two previously the United States trade with England was less than ours.

held that England could not openly and permanently attempt in the face of Europe and the United States to govern Ireland by naked fcrce, and he believed the combination of the people in the League was strong enough to render such an attempt futile.

In 1886 Parnell secured the balance-of-power, used it to force the Liberals to commit themselves to Home Rule, and to pledge them to keep Home Rule the first plank in their platform.

In 1891, following a revolt of his Party,

In 1891, following a revolt of his Party, Parnell died.

The Party remained, and the balance-of-power remained to them. In 1894 the Party surrendered that last weapon of Parliamentarianism, and agreed to support the Liberal Party in postponing Home Rule and proceeding with English legislation.

The record of the Party that audaciously claims to stand for Parnell's policy since then is one of abandonment of Parnell's policy in every particular. Parnell claimed—

(1) That the main fight should be carried on in Ireland itself, and that English government in all its departments in this country should be hampered and obstructed.

The "Party" gradually suppressed the National Organisation in Ireland.

(2) That the Liberal Party should not be supported or assisted unless it kept Home Rule the first plank in its plat-

The "Party" assented to the erasing of the very words "Home Rule" from the Liberal programme between the years 1896 and 1906.

(3) Parnell insisted that no member of the Party should solicit for himself or for others favours from the English Govern-

ment.
The "Party" accepted cheques from the English Liberal Funds, bartered Irish seats to the nominees of the English Liberal Government, and sought and accepted positions of emolument and distinction for their supporters.

and distinction for their supporters.

(4) Parnell insisted that no person holding a magistracy of any kind, or a Crown Prosecutorship, should be admitted to the National ranks.

The "Party" sought and procured J.P.-ships for their followers, and sought and procured Crown Prosecutorships and Solicitor-Generalships and Judgeships and Lord Chancellorships for their supporters. for their supporters.

Judgeships and Lord Chancellorships for their supporters.

In every particular the policy of Parnell had been betrayed by the Parliamentary Party. In 1906 they became more audacious. The English Tories, to cover up the mess in South Africa, had started the cry of "Tariff Reform." The English shipping interest thereupon took alarm. Tariff Reform, whether it were good for England or not, was calculated to lead to the diminution of English shippers' profits. Now, the English shipping interest is the most powerful of all English interests. It is ten times more powerful than the English agricultural interest, and twice as powerful as the English manufacturing interest. It threw the weight of its vast wealth and influence against the Tories and in favour of the Liberals, thus ensuring a great Liberal majority. A million sterling was handed to the Party Funds of the English Liberals in 1905 by the English shippers, and this was but a part of the contribution that huge combination made to the English Whigs, who shouted themselves hoarse in praise of "Free Trade"—meaning unrestricted profits for the Runcimans, Ellermans, and other English multimillionaires.

The Liberal victory at the polls in 1906 was

mans, Ellermans, and other English multimillionaires.

The Liberal victory at the polls in 1906 was
ensured. The traitcrous "Party" agreed to
the dropping at that election of Home Rule
from the Liberal programme.

A new election in 1909 restored the balanceof-power to the "Party." With this weapon
in its possession, it consented to the imposition
of new taxation on Ireland, and to English
legislation taking precedence of Irish legisletion. When a cattle embargo was placed
upon Ireland in the interest of the Runciman
shipping firm, which contributes huge sums to
the Liberal Party Funds, the "Party" was
asked to use its balance-of-power to throw the
Government out and it refused. It would never,
it said, put out the Liberals and put in the
Tories!

Thus the last weapon of Parliamentarianism
broke into fragments, and the "Party" that
Parnell founded became the most corrupt and
dangerous instrument in the hands of English

Liberalism against Irish Nationalism it was not until it attempted to sell the blood of the young men of Ireland to England in return for Parliamentary salaries and Government jobs that Ireland awakened to the fact that the man appropriate the fact that the man appropriate forms of the second of the seco that the men masquerading as followers of Parnell's policy were none but the callous traitors and base placehunters whom Parnell had crushed in his day.

had crushed in his day.

Parnell was not a Parliamentarian. I knew the man. He was a statesman and a leader, who utilised the means to his hand to advance his objective. He had little trust in action in the English Parliament, but all trust in what the Irish people would do of themselves. He believed that it was possible for a few years—but only for a few years—to keep an Irish Party uncorrupted in the English Parliament, and he believed that in that few years he might disorganise and demoralise English party politics there. But in Ireland, and by the direct action of the Irish people, he believed the battle might be won. "It is," said he, at the outset of the movement in 1881. said he, at the outset of the movement in 1881.

"It is no use relying on the Government; it is no use relying on the Irish members. It is no use relying on the House of Commons. You must rely on your own determination, and if you are determined I tell you you have the game in your own hands.

That is Sinn Fein. The thirty-six years that have passed since Parnell uttered these words have proved how useless it is to rely on Parliamentarianism. At Limerick in Nov., 1880, on the eve of the election which gave him a Parliamentary Party, Parpell said:—

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

of our legislative independence."

Almost ten years later to the day Parnell was carried to his grave. By "great exertions and by great sacrifices" the Parliamentary Party which he created had been kept straight for a few years, and then "the influence which every English Government has at its command" sapped and undermined its integrity. Parnell essayed the "short, sharp, and decisive struggle" with his Party, and in the moment of seeming victory the weapon broke in his hand. Where Parnell failed no other man can ever succeed. When Parnell failed Parliamentarianism as an effective weapon, or as any weapon at all, ceased for ever to exist in the struggle between Ireland and England.

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