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# NATIONALITY

Vol. 2. No. 45. (New Series).

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1918.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## Week by Week.

The most momentous General Election ever held in Ireland has also been one of the most dignified. Thanks to the splendid discipline of the Irish people as a whole, the mob outrages associated with other General Elections were absent—except in one or two places, where the little Union Jackites indulged in anti-Irish displays. In Waterford this anti-Irish feeling was displayed. The police, of course, helped the mob.

Nakedly and unblushingly, the Irish Parliamentary Party, for the first time even in the history of Parliamentarianism, have solicited the people of Ireland to accept less than the Independence of Ireland, and the Irish people have given their answer—the only answer which an unconquered and unconquerable people could give. The insult offered to this historic Nation has been flung back in the teeth of the Provincialists. The people of Ireland, in spite of the threats and taunts of the would-be betrayers, have remained steadfast in their demand. The leaders who sought to compromise the national claims of Ireland have received their reward. Ireland marches onward to the realisation of her destiny.

While we realise that on the determination of our people at home depends the fate of our country, we are glad to hear of our people in America, and wish them every good luck in their campaign. From all parts of the United States comes the news that the Irish over there are not forgetful of the small nationality about which they know so much in spite of the British agents and cables. The paper wall with which England has surrounded Ireland—on the outside of which she writes what she wants America to know of us, on the inside what she wants us to know of America—is falling to pieces. All goes well for Ireland in America.

Many of the organs of the British Government—besides the "Freeman's Journal"—are greatly perturbed at the thought of not having a big number of Irishmen on the floor to defend the interests of the Irish people against what Captain Redmond, of the British Army, has called "the rapacity of the British tax-gatherer." If there are no Irish members at Westminster—and the paper admits that there will be very few—to defeat the evil designs of its Government, the "Daily Telegraph" is greatly afraid that poor Ireland will suffer! "The farmer, the labourer, the trader, in the country town will realise then that in supporting the mad policy of isolation and abstention he has signed the death-warrant of his country's trade prosperity and hope," the Government organ sobs, which reminds one of Boner, the English correspondent in Hungary, who wept salt tears when the Hungarians refused to let in Austria's little parlour. "I cannot but deeply regret the determination of the Hungarians to have nothing to do with Parliament or office," sobbed Boner, and he added: "They, after all, are the greatest sufferers by it. But the Hungarians managed to survive!"

The correspondent who supplies the "Daily Mail" with all its information on Irish affairs made an astounding discovery on Friday last. At the beginning of a long despatch he refers to the fact that two years ago "Lord Northcliffe, in a speech at a St. Patrick's Day dinner, pointed out the great need for the development of Irish interests and for less politics," and goes on to say that "the opportunity for this development has suddenly come with the great scheme of reconstruction launched by the Government." This important discovery was made on the eve of the General Elec-

tion—Lord Northcliffe made his discovery when the "Irish Convention" was about to be rigged up! We wonder is it really "less politics" the "Daily Mail" wants—or does it want more of its own peculiar brand? "Meanwhile the very important work of development of Irish industrial affairs is at a standstill," says the heart-broken correspondent of the "Daily Mail."

Some months ago Mr. Bonar Law stated, in reply to a query put to him by one of the late Irish members of the British Government, that the policy of Self-determination, as enunciated by President Wilson, had been in force in Ireland for quite a long time, and in Glasgow on Saturday an inquisitive voice asked him, if the war was fought for the freedom of small nations, why an army of occupation was maintained in Ireland? Mr. Law did not answer that that army of occupation was to defend Belgium, etc.! He simply remarked that "the freest of all the nations on the globe during the war was Ireland." Now that the war is over, we might remind Mr. Law that we no longer require the protection of his army of freedom.

On last Friday morning British troops occupied the works of the "Galway Express," and looted the essential parts of the machinery. The country edition of the paper had been sent out on Thursday night in view of

only on the machine when the racing party arrived. Our weekly copy—minus the centre sheet—arrived on Monday morning. Needless to say, the "Galway Express" was one of the wretched little Sinn Fein rags!

The landing of the United States President on the soil of France is an event unique in history. Every move and every speech, even every step and every gesture, of the President is followed as closely as if the fate of the future world hangs on it. The great fact has emerged that President Wilson and the American Delegates are determined to stand by the Fourteen Points and the League of Nations. The United Press correspondent with President Wilson cables New York that "the fundamental contention of the American Peace Delegates is first that the League of Nations must be part of the Treaty itself, in order to protect a square deal which the Treaty settlements seek to obtain from all the peoples involved." According to a special representative of the Press Association at Brest, the President's attitude on the question of the freedom of the seas is governed by the view that the "seas ought to be guarded by the whole world rather than by any particular group of nations." This is a vital matter to us. As long as England dominates the seas so long will Ireland be closed to the world. The control of the trade routes on the seas carries with it the control of international relations. If international law is to be established at all it can only be established by one method, and that is clearly in the domain of the seas, which are the highways between nations. As long as England dominates the seas there can be no enforcement of international compacts or treaties without her consent. The establishment of international trade routes guarded by an international police force is the first step towards a League of Nations. The ocean is the real domain of international law. President Wilson clearly understands this fundamental principle, and, with his usual penetration of mind and decision of will, he has made it clear from the first moment of his historic landing at Brest that he has come to establish a League of Nations with jurisdiction over the seas. He also knows who is going to oppose him at the Peace Conference, and the reason why.

The establishment of a League of Nations is necessary to the conclusion

of peace between the belligerents. President Wilson has given it to be clearly understood that his coming to Europe would be useless unless such a League is formed to carry out the decisions of the peace itself.

The main questions will turn on the manner in which such a League can be formed, the personnel and voting power of the delegations, the nature and extent of its jurisdiction, the tribunals to be formed, and the places where they will sit. It is clear that a code of international law will be drawn up and submitted to the assembled delegations in the same manner as if each nation was a constituency returning members to an international Parliament. It is clear also that high courts will require to be appointed to try disputes between nations and to administer justice without fear, favour or prejudice. It is also clear that an international police force will require to be established on the high seas for the purpose of executing writs or warrants against defendant nations. International control of the high seas can be employed to regulate the passenger and freight services, mails, coaling stations, and cables in such a manner that judgment can be executed against the merchants and shipping companies of any nation, leaving the owners to seek compensation from their own Government if they can obtain it.

The question of Ireland's right to independence is attracting great attention in the Press of Canada at present. "Now that the nationalities of Europe are to give their aspirations for autonomy recognised, we wonder what the English are going to do about Ireland," says the "Catholic Register" (Toronto), and goes on to point out that if the war ends with Ireland's legitimate aspirations unfulfilled the question that it was a war for the freedom of small nations will have been proven to be "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

The ex-Irish members of the British Government seem to have copied at least one trick off their English colleagues. On Saturday Mr. Michael Johnston treated as a scrap of paper the treaty entered into by Eoin Mac Neill and Mr. John Dillon, whereby it was agreed that Cardinal Logue should be empowered to decide which of the eight Ulster seats would be contested by Sinn Fein, and which by Mr. Dillon's Party. East Down was one of the four seats allotted to Sinn Fein by Cardinal Logue. But Mr. Johnston does not mind little things like that. He went on with his candidature, and helped the official Unionist to get a seat.

Mr. Peter G. McKitterick writes to us from Kelly's Vale, Drummond, Magheracloone: "Of all the false pretences used by the Irish Party to forward their chances of retaining the £400 a year, never was there one more glaring than the audacious presumption of their supporters trying to make the voters believe that the Party got my wife reinstated in her father's farm (202 acres)." Mr. McKitterick states he had far more trouble "defeating the design of 39 Upper O'Connell St." than he had from all other sources. The family had to fight the case "till we were under the shadow of the gallows through the Party's attitude." He winds up with a prayer of thanksgiving—"Thanks be to God, this is the last time these — will have of earning money for claiming credit for what others did." The limit has been reached and passed.

Amongst the speakers at the Carnonagh meeting last Thursday was the Rev. Philip O'Doherty, P.P. V.F. We suppose Mr. Dillon would call him Philip O'Doherty, E.q., for the Reverend Pastor of Carnonagh effectively exposed Mr. John Dillon's par-

titution of Derry during the passage of the Local Government Act of 1898. Father Philip O'Doherty will be long and affectionately remembered in Dublin for the leading part he took at the great meeting in the Phoenix Park to denounce the partition of the Northern Counties in 1916. He was the first priest to break the long silence after the Rebellion. It was a glorious day in the summer of 1916. None knew what would happen at the meeting. Immense crowds thronged that afternoon to hear the new "Nation League." Those present will never forget the air of expectancy and bewilderment of the great crowds. It was a strange time. The Ireland that assembled there was a totally different country from the one we knew so long. The very atmosphere was charged with electricity. It was a revelation of totally unexpected springs of patriotism. The Irish Party had just committed themselves to partition at the Belfast Convention in June. The Sinn Fein leaders were either dead or deported. Ireland was at last a corpse apparently, and already the body was under post-mortem. But a voice spoke from Derry, and the corpse rose and walked off. That voice was the voice of Father Philip O'Doherty. He appealed to the men of Dublin as the recognised centre of Irish patriotism to save the North, and his appeal was not in vain. That great meeting responded to the appeals made to it, and the spirit of the Irish Nation proved its indestructible character once more. Amongst the speakers were Sir Peter O'Connell, of Belfast, and Mr. P. W. Kenny, Waterford. Public feeling began to stir throughout the land, and in a few short months became stronger and better organised than ever before in our history. The importance of the meeting lay in this fact, which, perhaps, has not been recognised even yet. The Parliamentary Party had made London the political capital of Ireland. The Rebellion transferred the political centre of Ireland back to Dublin. For the first time since the Union men came here and said, "We appeal to you." This was the significance of Father O'Doherty's speech. It was something new, which we had never heard before. And the appeal was heard. After that great meeting partition was dead, but Ireland was alive. The political centre of gravity was restored to our island. The pulse of Eire began to beat once more, and to grow stronger and more regular than it had done for many centuries. All honour to the Pastor of Carnonagh and the men of the North who came with him that day.

There is one aspect of the Peace Conference that has not received attention in Ireland. It is stated by the "National Food Journal" (issued by the British Ministry of Food) that: "It is hardly necessary to point out that the whole question of international food economy must enter into the deliberations of the Peace Conference." This is a most important matter in which Ireland as a nation is vitally interested as being the greatest food exporting country in Europe. We are at the present moment the only really important source of supplies of meat and dairy produce in the whole Continent. We can show to the assembled nations how we are hampered and restricted in the production of food stuffs, and how greatly we could increase our production and save a large part of Europe from famine, if we had control of our own country.

The cool manner in which the English Food Control treats our country for the convenience of England is well shown in the following paragraph, which we find in the "National Food Journal" of Dec. 11th:—

### "Irish Bacon for Great Britain."

"A limited number of Irish curers have been licensed by the Food Control Committee for Ireland to export their surplus to Great Britain. They consign it to their agents in this

country, who are permitted to distribute it to the wholesalers and retailers who deal directly in Irish bacon, either with the curers or the agents, under pre-control conditions. As a consequence of this temporary arrangement, a certain number of retailers will obtain part of their supplies in Irish bacon, and for the time being will require less from the wholesalers whom they had nominated under the bacon distribution scheme. No retailer on this account should, however, obtain permission to change his wholesaler in order to nominate one who has Irish bacon for disposal. Retailers must continue to be bound to their suppliers of American bacon for part of what they will need. As soon as the Irish bacon disappears they will again require a full allotment of American supplies."

Irish bacon, which we can ill afford to export, is to be permitted to be sent to England for John Bull's Christmas table. When the festive season is over Irish bacon is to be again barred out, and steps are taken to prevent retailers from nominating a wholesaler who has Irish bacon for disposal. The whole arrangement is delightfully John Bullish. John's inside is to be satisfied with its Christmas carolings, but he is to get no more Irish after the holidays. It simply means diverting our own incomparable bacon from Irish dinner tables for the nonce, but strict business is to be resumed when the joy-bells cease ringing and the poor Englishman must get back to plain American food. We don't count one way or the other, whether as producers or consumers.

The U.S. Food Administrator, Mr. Hoover, made a very important statement to the Federal Food Administrators on the eve of his departure for Europe. He said: "The vast purchases for export are now in the hands of Governments, many of them acting in common, and their powers in buying could, if misused, ruin our producers, or alternately do infinite harm to our consumers." We in Ireland can strongly support Mr. Hoover.

It is not likely that England's allies or co-belligerents have heard anything about the ten millions of acres held out of cultivation in Ireland and the causes which have turned the finest land in Europe into desert. England has not told her allies how she destroyed Ireland's power to produce food. She has not told them how she destroyed the cultivation of food in this great and fertile plain, and how she did it to destroy Irish man-power. It will form a very interesting chapter at the Peace Conference.

Mr. Hoover gives the following analysis of wheat prices, which we are sure will interest Irish farmers. We give the prices converted to Irish barrels (280lbs.)—

American Wheat—(Average Grades).		
	Per Quarter (140lbs.)	Per Irish Brl. (280lbs.)
American Farmers receive	10 0	40 3
American Railways receive	10 0	5 10
American Middlemen receive	4 0	2 4
British Ships—Freight	13 0	7 7
British Insurance on Hull and Cargo	11 0	6 6
Cost at English Ports	107 0	62 5

Thus a barrel of American wheat costs roughly 3 guineas alongside an English wharf. In comparing Irish with American wheat it is necessary to bear in mind that the extraction of flour is much less per cent. in our case. This, of course, can be worked out, and we shall feel obliged if an Irish milling expert can tell us how much 62s. 5d. per barrel of American wheat is equal to as compared with a barrel of Irish wheat. By the way, the American yield per acre is only half the British yield. Mr. Hoover tells us.



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M. de Buitlér	63
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ous, Ennis	91
Murphy, C.C., Chapeltown, Ennis	60
de, Glasgow, viz. J.F. and	
0; P.R., 100; H.B., 10;	
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## NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1918.

### The Voice of the People.

The most historic General Election in the history of our country has passed and the Irish people can await the declaration of the poll with perfect confidence of the result. That the people as a whole proved true to the cause of Irish Independence cannot be doubted, but until the ballot-boxes send forth their messages we cannot say to what extent our people have declared themselves true to the faith of Irish Nationality. That they have declared themselves true is manifest in the reports received from all over the country. On Saturday the 28th of December the message delivered by the people of Ireland will be made known to the world. That that message will proclaim aloud the indestructibility of Irish Nationality is beyond question.

The people of Ireland have never asked for less than the restitution of their national rights, and they never gave any man or body of men authority to ask for less. The most charitable thing we can say about the leaders who would have accepted less than the Sovereign Independence of the Irish Nation is that they did not understand the Irish people. Parnell and Davitt were sent to Westminster by the Irish people to secure the Independence of Ireland. John Redmond was sent to Westminster for the same purpose, and John Dillon was entrusted with a similar mission. The plea on which these men sought the confidence of the Irish people was that they would secure the restitution of Ireland's rights, and make "Ireland, long a province, a Nation once again." Parnell and Davitt remained true to the cause of Ireland a Nation—Redmond and Dillon proved false. The result of the apostasy of the latter is that the Irish people have repudiated them. "The Irish leader who would propose to compromise the National claims of Ireland, who would even incline for one second to accept as a settlement any concession short of the unquestioned recognition of that Nationality which has come down to us sanctified by the blood and tears of centuries, would be false to Ireland's history," as John Redmond said. The leaders who tried to compromise Ireland's claims to Sovereign Independence have now met their fate. The

people of Ireland have ignominiously flung them aside. Sinn Féin upholds the banner of Ireland, and the Irish people have come under that banner.

The downfall of what was once an Irish Party has been rapid. For years the cause of Ireland was upheld in the British House of Commons to the satisfaction of the vast majority of the Irish people, but "the influence which every English Government has at its command," as Parnell prophesied, sapped the Party; the atmosphere of Westminster "eat away the honour and honesty of the Irish members." The flag which the Irish members were entrusted to carry into the ranks of the enemy was dragged in the dust. The majority of the Irish people did not believe at the time that their "heaven-sent leaders" had fallen so low. Those who tried to tell the Irish people the truth were immediately denounced as cranks, factionists, soreheads, etc. The Nationalist papers were christened "wretched little rags." No word or phrase was too vile to apply to the men who discovered that the Irish Angels at Westminster had feet of clay. In other words, that the body which had been looked upon as National had for its support the cloven-hoof of Imperialism. The leaders whom the people had trusted for so many years could do no wrong! Were they not out for the Freedom of Ireland? Had they not over and over again proclaimed to the world how much they loved the Irish people and hated the monster of Imperialism which for centuries had ridden rough-shod over their country? Was it likely that such men could deceive the people? The patriotic professions of the "leaders" in the past saved them, but only for a time. Gradually the people of Ireland began to put the leaders' two and two together, and eventually made up their minds that the sum total did not come up to the national idea of arithmetic. Lip-service to the cause of Ireland was right enough for years, but when that lip-service might have been transformed into real service to the cause of Ireland the "leaders" offered themselves body and soul to the enemy. The Irish people wondered, and wandered on as in a dream. Easter Week woke them up, and to-day the Irish people, self-reliant and determined—above all conscious of their God-given rights—face the future with joy.

### Consent of the Governed.

President Wilson, in his reply to the Note sent to him in August, 1917, by His Holiness the Pope, speaking on behalf of the American people, used these words:—

They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world; the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality, and not seek domination.

From this it would hardly appear probable that the cry of "pro-Germanism" raised against us by the last leader of Provincialism in Ireland will antagonise the President to the demand which has now been made by the people of Ireland for the restitution of their indisputable rights. The only pretext which President Wilson could put forward for the non-appliance of his doctrine to the case of Ireland was that a body of Irishmen in the British House of Commons were seeking less than the restoration of Ireland's rights. That pretext exists no longer. The people of Ireland base their claims to Nationhood not on the good graces of this or that British Government—their claims to Nationhood are based on their distinct nationality; the people of Ireland base their claims to Nationhood not on the grounds that they are pro-German or pro-British—our claims to Sovereign Independence are based on the fact that Ireland is a Nation, not a province of Britain or Germany. Ireland was a Nation before either the German Empire or the British Empire entered the business of "protecting" small nations. Ireland was a Nation when America was a province of Britain—Ireland, in fact, helped America to become a Nation, and we are glad to see that our people in America are reminding the President of our rights.

Last January President Wilson declared himself again in favour of the weak as well as the strong, and he drove home his fourteen points into the heart of all tyrants. He did not make any geographical distinction! "Tyranny must cease everywhere" was, in brief, the message he sent broadcast round the world, and poor Mistress Bull moved uneasily on reading her morning newspapers. "We have spoken now, surely, in terms too

concrete to admit of any further doubt or question," wrote the President on that occasion, and the Bull family thought so too, but, nevertheless, Dr. Wilson added:—

An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle, and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honour, and everything that they possess.

No wonder the British Government made up its mind to introduce a Conscription Act with the amiable intention of settling the "Irish question" in a way that would save President Wilson the trouble of seeing that the principle of justice of which he spoke would not be necessary as far as this small nationality was concerned! However, the Irish people are still here—and their demand for "the right to live on equal terms" with every other Nation has not lessened in the slightest degree. In the words of President Wilson: "What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind." On Saturday last the foundation upon which can be built up a reign of law based upon the consent of the Irish people was laid, and as our sentiments are in keeping with the greatest organised opinion of mankind—that is, Republican opinion—we believe that our declaration for an Irish Republic will be sustained by the Peace Conference. If not! Well, the fight will go on until Ireland takes her place amongst the nations of the earth. To the Peace Conference the people of Ireland now look for justice, and we think they will not look in vain.

And in a speech delivered on the 27th September President Wilson asked and answered a few very pertinent questions:—

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? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights? No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

President Wilson has said much more on the subject of weak nations as well as strong, and we await with eagerness the time when, as a free Nation, we can oblige Mr. Dillon by hoisting the Stars and Stripes—alongside the flag of the Irish Republic.

### Historical Evils of Partition.

History supplies the gravest possible warnings against partition. Once territory is divided it is most difficult to restore it. Let us take a concrete example—for instance, a chair or a dish or any article of utility. Cut them in two, and they are practically useless. It is possible to mend them, but it is quite impossible to restore them to their former utility. They can only be patched together for a time. Still more is this true of a living organism. Sever a head or a leg, and it cannot possibly be replaced except by an artificial limb. Now, a nation is a living organism. It has life. It has a common circulation, a common pulse. Unity is one of the essential marks of nationhood. To break our national territory is to destroy our unity and our nationhood. There are many warnings against partition derived from the past experience of nations. The case of Slesvig is the most important. Slesvig belonged to Denmark. It was owned and peopled by Danes, and it was a part of Danish territory lying side by side without any natural frontier to divide Denmark from North Jutland. But it was gradually Germanised. A German colony was established. German speech and customs were introduced. German speculators came in and bought up land. The Danish Government was asleep. It let the Germans practically buy up the country. A time came, in 1864, when Prussia invaded the country and captured it. Denmark lost Slesvig. There was a treaty right granted to the people to determine whether they should belong to Denmark or Prussia. But the southern districts of Slesvig, being

thoroughly Germanised, are lost for ever to Denmark on the principle of Self-determination. Denmark can only recover the northern or adjoining districts of Slesvig. This is a warning to us which we cannot disregard. If Carson could capture a sufficient number of partitionist seats in Ulster he might set up a claim for Self-determination for Ulster, and this might have serious consequences later on.

The case of Poland is the cruellest of all. The Old Kingdom was divided up amongst three Empires. A distinguished Polish historian has written a centennial monograph on Rosciusko. This writer (Askenazy) tells us (page 25):—

Through the policy of the contemporary Government of Great Britain, and through the policy of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna, the cause of a real restitution of Poland was sacrificed in 1815.

Thus the policy of Asquith (who also failed to obtain restitution for Poland) had its counterpart a century ago. England also was responsible for the loss of Slesvig, whose integrity she had guaranteed. England has always sacrificed the interests of small nations. No nation should be so much distrusted by them as the English. Carson is now put up to propose a partition (which nobody wants) merely to ground a bogus case for Self-determination and to block Ireland at the Peace Conference.

The historical policy of the English Government towards the small nations is one which cannot inspire confidence. It is notorious that Castlereagh, Palmerston and Asquith, and now Lloyd George, were, and are, partitionist. They supported partition and refused restitution in the cases of Slesvig, Poland and Ireland. This policy of partition has been pursued in recent times by Lord Curzon, who, when he was Viceroy of India, carried through the partition of Bengal, which has roused the whole of India. Lord Curzon is a member of England's War Cabinet, and is personally responsible for the decisions of British foreign policy. England secretly plotted to bring about the partition of the United States during the Civil War. It ruins in the blood of English statesmen to work this old policy of "divide and rule." The Imperialist motto, "Divide et Impera," may be translated "Partition and govern."

There is one way to defeat the sinister and dangerous plot to partition Ireland, and that way is to claim independence and equal rights for the whole of Ireland. For us there are no provinces. We should like to see a map of Ireland without any other boundaries than those which are purely administrative, such as the counties. Provinces have no existence in fact or law. There are no mountains or river barriers to hem them in. There can be no practical national purpose served in using expressions which have not even a geographical meaning. Nobody cares a hawbee whether Clare is placed in Munster or Connaught, or where Leitrim is handed over. In the Journals of the Irish Parliament one seeks in vain for any reference to provinces. The true boundary of our country is the sea, and within its shores there is but one people, one race, one future, one aspiration, one civilisation, and one storied nation. Let us put a geasa on the provinces and abolish them altogether.

### Eoin MacNeill for the National University.

All graduates of the National University and graduates of the old Royal who have registered in the National are entitled to vote in the National University Election. Professor MacNeill is the ideal University representative. He is an eminent scholar, and all his life he has taken an active part in promoting national ideals in Irish education. He is in the forefront of the present struggle for Independence, and is the man who befits as truly "National" University.

Voting papers have already been sent out to each elector, and must be returned before 2 p.m. on Monday, 23rd inst. Graduates should sign their names precisely as they appear on the envelopes addressed to them by the University. Any voter who has not already received a voting paper should communicate immediately with Professor MacNeill's Election Agent, Mr. J. K. Woods, solicitor, 22 Eustace St., Dublin. Telegraphic address: "Swift-ness, Dublin."

"When will people realise," asks the "Times," "that Ireland is not a question of domestic politics only, but a permanent disturber of the compass of our foreign and Colonial policy too?" On the 28th of December,



## An T-aithrí do Bhuair.

Ba dheacair a rádh le cinnteacht ce'n rud is mó is cinnteach leis an t-aithrí inné atá tagtha ar Bireannaigh i geirsat poilitíochta. Mhuin moian d'imeachta an tsoghail ciall duinn. Do luigh an-smacht an Riaghaltas orainn agus do ghriusigh Acht na Presala go mór sinn. Do spreac eiseirge na geineacha ar fud na hEorpa sinn. ach bád é an tEirghe-amach is mó a shaghdh i n-aghaidh Gall sinn. Chuir an tEirghe-amach misneach ionainn agus ina theannta soin thug se leargus intinne dúinn. Shásóhadh roinnt bheag dar gceart an chuid is mó do mhuintir na tíre seo roimh an Eirghe-amach. Tuair mar radhair ar an saoirse le linn Seachtain na Casga agus, tá an léargus intinne ag dul i dtreise againn o shoin i leith. Ní shásóhadh an chaochuid anois sinn. Tá muintir Eireann ina nduiseacht. Tá an tionshuair curtha díobh aca, agus pé aca ga bh-fuil breis nirt aca nó nach bh-fuil, tá smacht ar a neart anois aca, rud nach raibh cheana aca. Nuair a bhí an tionshuair orainn bhí comhacht ar ár neart ag an naimh. Bhí sé i n-ann a rogha clis d'imirt orainn nach mór. Chuaidh a neart airm go mór i mead le linn an chogaidh, ach ná chuaidh fein chuaidh dá smacht ar aigne na n-Eireannach. Tá an draoidheacht tógtha dinn agus ní thiofaidh leis a rogha clis d'imirt orainn feasta mar nach mbeidh an tionshuair ag cuidiú leis an obair.

Níorhí éidir le finnean a t-aithrí atá tagtha ar Eirinn do leagan ar fad ar an Eirghe-amach, ná ar eiseirge na geineacha, ná ar imtheachta na n-aisiúin le linn an chogaidh. Bhí an siol curtha roimh an gceogadh agus muna bheadh an siol beag ud a cuireadh fadó bheadh Gaedhil gan fuinneamh, gan misneach, gan léargus intinne i geirsat poilitíochta idiu. Muna bheadh an siol úd ní bheadh an tEirghe-amach ann, ní bheadh eiseirge Gaedheil ann, nó ní mhuinfeadh imtheachta na n-aisiúin le linn an chogaidh ciall duinn. 'Se an léigheann duthchasach an siol a cuireadh. 'Se an léigheann a chonnuigh aigne Gaedheil agus a thug léargus roimh ré do'n dream beag, an léargus a tháinig go roighin agus go mall do'n choitiantacht. Tar eis tuigtear gach heart ag an gcoitiantacht. 'Se an fáidhe a thuigeann roimh ré é. Ní fhanfaidh an chiall ag an gcoitiantacht muna dtugtar an léigheann doibh. Muna dtugtar doibh an léigheann ceadluna a spreac na laochra gheohfadh an naimh greim ar a n-aigne arís, agus mífadh se arís faoi n-ár neart. Tá Seán Dioldin a rádh, agus tugann se sásamh mór dó, nach bh-fanfaidh an sluaigh againn muna dtigidh fann an Phoblacht a chur ar bun ar a bpoinnte. Tá euid de'n cheart aige. Bíonn an sluaigh de ghnáth gan a bheith foluinnach foighdeach. Bíonn an sluaigh mar sin i ngach tír. Ní mór duinn-ne feabhas a chur ar an sluaigh seo gainn-ne agus lucht leanamhna a dheanamh dhe nach raibh a leithéid ariamh ar dhruim talamh. Bád é an sean-taoghail o Chíchulann aniar a mbeabhaigh a gceart agus a nclúthchas do gach ghlin Gaedheil ariamh. An léigheann a bhaineas leis an taoghail úd—an Ghaedhil, an litríocht, an stair—sé ar gíath chosanta é. 'Se a bhuairnachas an t-aithrí atá tagtha ar Bireannaigh. Má buairtear an t-aithrí soin beidh linn, is cuma ce'n mhoill a cuirfear ar theacht na Poblachta. Na daoine atá i gceannas na ghuaiseachta faoi laithir tuigid go maith ceart is fíu an léigheann. Is maith is eol doibh an chaoi nar cuireadh an siol. Chuidtear doibh go geithfeir an t-aithrí a bhuair agus is leir doibh gur feidir a dheanamh. Na cumainn agus na coistí atá anois ar bun againn coimeachar ar bun iad Déanfar sgoltacha díobh agus leathóchar an léigheann ga dtí go mbeidh an sluaigh ina ndream tuigseach foghlumtha nach "udeargar" baoghail na buair ortha.

Messrs. Wilson, Hartnell and Co., Commercial Buildings, Dublin, are to be congratulated on their latest brilliant success, the Christmas Number of "The Lady of the House." Amongst the attractive features with which the journal is crowded is an article (from the pen of Crawford Hartnell) under the title "Cister, America, and Ireland." To appreciate the "Cister Question" in its true light, you should read this article. A splendid picture of the Dublin Custom House is given away with the journal. The price of the special double number of "The Lady of the House" is 1/11 post free, or 1/6 through your newsagent.

The Xmas Number of "Irish Fun," now on sale, establishes an irresistible claim for support. Full of genuine Irish drollery, wit, humour, and fun, it is a big budget of laughter from cover to cover. Our young folk should not miss the Xmas Number of "St. Enda's" now on sale. Special Xmas stories, sketches, games, competitions, poems, etc. We should like to see it in every home in the land.

## The Old Game.

The Viceregal Advisory Council on Reconstruction was appointed some weeks ago to give effect to a joint memorandum the product of Lord French and Mr. Shortt. This memorandum is now stated publicly to have recommended the following heads, among other subjects, to the War Cabinet (D.M., Dec. 13):—

1. The further development of agricultural production under all heads, to replace the reduced imports to be expected in the future from other countries.
2. Arterial drainage.
3. Attention to forestry.
4. Beet culture.
5. Increased fishery facilities—particularly on the West Coast—and the establishment of curing, canning, and icing stations and cold storage generally.
6. Development of bogs for the greater production of peat moss litter, alcohol for industrial purposes, etc.
7. Improvement of railway, canal, and road transit.
8. Attention to be given to harbours and piers for local and Transatlantic purposes.

There is no mention here of Irish minerals, no reference to the development of coalfields, iron mines, copper or lead or zinc deposits. As we warned our readers, the boom in Irish minerals has been quickly laid to rest. Lord French and Mr. Shortt have been muzzled with a special gag, despite all their brave talk and bluster. We indicated in this column the movements of the Clutching Hand, and we projected on the screen the various shadows which revealed its sinister presence to the minds trained for such work. The Advisory Council appointed by Lord French contained the names of Lord Londonderry, Sir Thomas Stafford, Mr. Frank Brooke, Lord Dunraven, Lord Granard, Mr. W. McMurrough Kavanagh, and Sir Stanley Harrington. The first-mentioned is an English coal magnate. It was not to be expected that the Irish coal mines would receive development from one who is the leading competitor of our collieries. We may also add that we are aware that the late Lord Londonderry intervened directly to stop the Department from carrying on peat trials which promised the successful development of turf bogs. This Advisory Council reports to the War Cabinet, including Mr. Bonar Law, the Scottish ironmaster. In face of the enemy, Lord French has effected one of his masterly retreats, and has evacuated the Irish coal and iron fields. The position, however, is not yet straightened out, and there are rumours that the Advisory Council will be abandoned.

It was recommended in the Viceregal memorandum to ask the British Treasury for two millions to be used "on commercial principles, as far as possible, grants only to be made in cases where it was an Imperial necessity."

It is clear that Ireland was only to obtain a loan of her own money, the free grant being for Imperial purposes—whatever that may mean. At all events that is not Irish Reconstruction. Of course, all kinds of difficulties have appeared. When it is a question of the British Treasury providing a little of our own money, the most astonishing difficulties grow like mushrooms. The members of the Council belong to the landed classes. They have no commercial experience whatever. They are all members of a famous aristocratic club in Dublin. Such a body must be completely out of sympathy with the great bulk of the people of Ireland. Political and religious differences could not be kept in the background. Such are the difficulties which are said to have arisen. The only thing that is certain is that there is no sign of the two millions.

The Advisory Committee marks a new departure in the history of Castle government in Ireland. Ireland has many boards. They deal with all sorts of things, from drainage to lunatic asylums—everything except trade. Apparently the work of demobilisation and reconstruction has thrown a formidable burthen on the British Government Boards, and the War Cabinet

## National University Election.

CONWAY

MacNEILL

Voting Papers must reach the Returning Officer, 49 Merrion Square, Dublin before 2 p.m. on Monday 23rd December.

DELAYS ARE DANGEROUS.

Published by J. K. Woods, Solicitor, 22 Eustace Street, Dublin, Agent for John MacNeill.

has apparently decided to throw the burthen on Dublin Castle to find employment for vast numbers of Irish workers, both men and women, thrown out by the cessation of munitions. A deputation from the All-Ireland Munition and Government Supplies Committee waited (Nov. 29) on Sir James Stevenson in London. The latter is the Chairman of the Demobilisation Board. He told them that the proper authority to which to put their representations is the Irish Executive. They stated to him that the Irish Executive can do nothing—they are entirely in your hands. There the question of Irish Reconstruction stands and stops and halts, and there it is likely to remain enshrined in the Statute Book.

We draw attention to these facts, not because we wish to indulge in idle criticism, but because it is necessary to examine what has been done in order to draw the correct lesson from it when the time comes to deal with it. It is also well to ascertain the causes of so many failures in the past. The main reason for non-success of industrial development or economic reconstruction under the present regime appears to issue from one single point—that a man cannot serve two nations. There is a conflict of interests which can never be solved by the most acute brains or the wisest commercial ability. Under no circumstances could industry be carried on successfully except under unity of control and there can be no unity where the executive authority is divided between Dublin Castle and Westminster.

## Sir Edward Grey on the Rights of Small Nations.

The following assertion of the principle of Self-determination is from a speech of Sir Edward Grey:

"Now, what is the issue for which we are fighting? In due time the terms of peace will be put forward by our Allies in concert with us—in accordance with the alliance that exists between us—and published to the world. One essential condition must be the restoration to Belgium of her independence, national life, and free possession of her territory, and reparation to her, as far as reparation is possible, for the cruel wrong done to her. That is part of the great issue for which we, with our Allies, are contending. We wish the nations of Europe to be free to live their independent lives, working out their own form of government for themselves, and their own national development, whether they be great nations or small States, in full liberty. This is our ideal. The German ideal—we have had it poured out by German professors and publicists since the war began—is that of the Germans as a superior people, to whom all things are lawful in the securing of their own power, against whom resistance of any sort is unlawful—a people establishing a domination over the nations of the Continent, imposing a peace which is not to be liberty for every nation, but subservience to Germany. I would rather perish, or leave the Continent altogether, than live in it under such conditions."

"After this war, we and the other nations of Europe must be free to live, not menaced continually by talk of 'supreme war lords' and 'shining armour,' and the sword continually 'rattled in the scabbard,' and Heaven continually invoked as the accomplice of Germany, and not having our policy dictated and our national destinies and activities controlled by the military caste of Prussia."

"We claim for ourselves, and our Allies claim for themselves, and together we will secure for Europe, the right of independent sovereignty for the different nations, the right to pursue a national existence, not in the light of Prussian hegemony and supremacy, but in the light of equal liberty."

—Sir Edward Grey at the Bechstein Hall, London, March 22, 1915.

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The Board of Guardians of this Union will, on Friday, the 27th day of December, 1918,

receive proposals for supplying the under-mentioned Articles at the Workhouse of the Union (free of expense), viz:—

For Three Months to 31st March, 1919, Bread, Butter, Eggs, Fish, Oatmeal, Onions; and

For Six Months to 28th June, 1919, Prime Beef and Mutton.

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Forms of Tender, and particulars, can be ascertained on application at my Office.

By Order,

WILLIAM HENRY SPILLER,

Clerk of Union.

Dated 16th December, 1918.

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CUMANN NA mBAN COLUMBKILLE.—Drawing postponed to Jan. 12th. Result in "Nationality" Jan. 18th, 1919.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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## THANKSGIVINGS.

GRATEFUL THANKS to Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Rosche for recovery of family from influenza and recovery of child from sudden attack—Ballyglavin.

GRATEFUL THANKS to Little Flower of Jesus for many favours received; publication promised.—H. McG.

GRATEFUL THANKS to Sacred Heart, Blessed Virgin, St. Peter of Alcantara, and St. Anthony, for many favours.—P. O'D.

IN GRATEFUL THANKSGIVING to St. Anthony for favour received; publication promised.—A Poor Sinner.

## St. Andrew's Catholic Club.

## Xmas Drawing

On Saturday, 21st December.

At 9 O'clock p.m.,

By which time all Duplicates and Cash should be in the hands of the Secretary, at 144 Gt. Brunswick Street, Dublin.