

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Vol. I. No. 33. (New Series.)

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

Four issues of "Nationality" would not suffice to contain even brief reports of all the meetings held on Sunday last to endorse the policy of Sinn Féin and call the attention of the world to the treatment of Irish political prisoners as common criminals. In Dublin the principal speakers were Messrs. De Valera, Brugha, and the Countess Marekiewicz; in Cork City—where over 30,000 people were addressed from three platforms, Messrs. Eoin MacNeill, Arthur Griffith and Count Plunkett spoke. At Tuam Mr. Ginnell and Mr. Darrell Figgis Reports of other meetings at Newmarket, Manorbhanish, Athboy, Mountrath, Grauard, Ennisceorthy, Nenagh, Dunboyne, Cashedall, Knockavilla, Mountrath, Eslin Bridge, Golden, and Westport have reached us, amongst the speakers being Messrs. McGuinness, M.I.P.; Cosgrave, M.I.P.; Sean Milroy, Philip Cosgrave, Michael Lennou, Harry Boland, M. Collins, John Clarke, Joseph Connolly, P. J. Moloney, Alderman Kelly, Professor O'Neill, Padraic O'Maille, J. Shoultice, etc.

Manorbhanish, the first town in Ireland to vote for Sinn Féin—the first town in Ireland which spanned its streets ten years ago with the motto, "No English Parliament"—had an enthusiastic meeting on Sunday, addressed by Mr. James Dolan, brother of Mr. Charles Dolan, the first man to fight an election for Sinn Féin, and Messrs. Lynnot, of Manorbhanish, and Timoney, of Drumohaire.

Mr. John Dillon performed at Ballyboro' on Sunday last after a two months' preparation to gather a meeting together to listen to him. Mr. Dillon modestly refrained from stating what policy he has to offer to the Irish people, but instead expressed an ardent desire to know what the Sinn Féin policy is—which later on he stated he had been reading for the past twenty years, being just seven years before it was propounded. Mr. Dillon was, we observe, humiliated at the time he was asked to give a speech. It appears, however, that he appears, in his usual manner, and on the platform crying "Bear, hear," to Mr. Dillon were Messrs. J. D. Nugent, J. P. Hayden, and other libellers of Irishmen and women, the foul-tongued secret slanderers of Roger Casement and other men, and the vile open and secret slanderers of nearly every prominent man and woman in the Sinn Féin movement.

Where is there a career more disastrous in Irish politics than Mr. Dillon's? In 1878 he told the Irish people that Isaac Butt was a "traitor"—a man who had betrayed them in their hour of trial. In 1890 he told the Irish people the same thing about Parnell. In 1894 he told them that those who would not trust Lord Rosebery were "traitors," and from 1894 to 1916 he called "Traitor" to every Irishman who refused to trust the Liberal Minister in power. It was he who, when the Parnell Split was being healed at Boulogne, on the basis of Mr. William O'Brien temporarily taking Parnell's place, interfered to upset the arrangement, and plunged Ireland for years into interminable strife. Parnell, cognisant as he was of Mr. Dillon's perpetual secret intrigues against him, once pleasantly described Mr. Dillon as "the leader killer." Since Parnell's death Mr. Dillon has been trying to play the role of "nation killer"—it was he who told William Rooney in 1899, when Rooney dared to criticise the Parliamentary Party for its neglect of the Irish language, that he (John Dillon) would crush the Gaelic League. The Gaelic League still survives—Ireland is still alive—and Mr. John Dillon is known to-day to Ireland to be what Parnell described him to be—a man with the vanity of a peacock and half its brains.

Yet there was a time when Mr. Dillon spoke Sinn Féin or something very near it. It was in 1881, when he said—

We know that an oppression not less intolerable than the oppression of landlordism was broken into shivers by the Irish people without leaders—the oppression of the tithes—that, on the battlefield of Irish soil, and casting Parliamentary representation back into the littleness which it deserved, the manhood of Ireland arose and broke the tyranny of tithes in Ireland. How was the victory of the people lost? It was lost when O'Connell and the Parliamentary men accepted in the British Parliament a Bill which they thought would save the people, and it superimposed the burden upon them, and to-day the Irish people are paying for the ignominious truce that was made with the latter.

Yes, Ireland has lost in the English Parliament again and again what Ireland had won by her own determination on her own soil, but Ireland has at length awakened to the fact that it is not on the ground chosen by her enemy she must play the game of freedom. Thirty-six years after Mr. John Dillon told the Irish people the essential truth of Sinn Féin he re-appears to tell the same people that Sinn Féin is the enemy. Mr. Dillon struck down Butt at 66; he struck down Parnell at 46; he is now as old himself as poor Butt was when he stabbed him with his venomous tongue and falsely accused that honest Irishman of caring more for the British Empire than for Ireland. The robust Nationalist of 1878 who called Butt "Imperialist" and "Traitor" is the English

Imperialist of 1917. Mr. Dillon will not strike down Sinn Féin and bury it in the grave with Parnell. His power for evil is over, and he lags superfluous on the stage.

Note the following in the translation of the German reply to the Pope, and disseminated to the English Press by that secret department of English government—"Reuter's Agency"—

"They will also succeed in settling individual points of conflict which are still undecided."

And the following in the correct version of the reply—

"They will succeed in regularising the few open points still in dispute."

This is a fundamental difference. To falsify the text by translating "few" as "individual" is audacious, but it was necessary, presumably, to commit the falsification in order to conceal the fact a little longer that secret negotiations for peace have been actively going on and are approaching a conclusion.

Our prediction in regard to the "Cattle Prices Order" has, unfortunately, been fulfilled. Of course, the Irish trade representatives were totally ignored by the "Grand Infiator." Despite the unanimous condemnation of every organisation connected with agricultural industry, the Food Controller has persisted with his policy of destructive regulations. The Dublin market on Thursday was glutted with immature beasts. The numbers reached the record of 7,780—an enormous market. The Government buyers only bought about a thousand, in spite of the fact that the market was arranged for them. No doubt they bought all they could, as the requirements for military purposes are 5,000 per week on the basis of the amount allocated to Ireland, and as the total exports from all Ireland are not more than sixteen thousand (they are now probably less), it is evident that at least 2,500 would be Dublin's weekly proportion. The proportion brought to market in a condition for the butcher was estimated by us to be but one-third of the offering. So if the Government bought 12 per cent, and this confirms our view. The requirements of the City we estimate at about 500 per week. The rest is made up of cattle for export as distinct from the meat trade. There is unfortunately a very small meat trade in Ireland. It is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and it is much aggravated and worsened by the action of the Food Controller. A sound agricultural policy for Ireland must be based on the production of cattle of prime quality and condition. This aim can only be achieved by stall-feeding and tillage. Under present conditions no farmer can be expected to meet these conditions. Tillage cannot be made profitable without stall-feeding, and it is purely destructive to agriculture to force a glut of immature beasts in immense numbers on the market. Many were unsold, and some even could not get room to enter the market. As Lord Chaplin, a former President of the English Board of Agriculture, stated to Yorkshire farmers last week: "It is a lunatic policy, which would result in the loss of nearly 30,000 tons of meat by the slaughter of a quarter of a million of immature cattle at a time when there never was more grass in the country." But the Grand Luminic won't let the cattle grow. Later on a meat famine is bound to follow the glut.

With a view to frightening the Irish farmers and cattle traders, and for the purpose of heading off or stemming the agitation, the English Board of Agriculture has just made a revelation. At the Imperial Conference held last March the President of the Board of Agriculture said: "So far as the English Board is concerned, I can assure you we are in favour of the removal of the embargo (on Canadian cattle). I am afraid I ought to consult the Irish Department, because they may make difficulties, but I do not think they will." It is coolly assumed that Ireland has no voice at all in a matter that vitally concerns her largest export trade. It will be noticed that Ireland was not represented at the Imperial Conference. Our interests were not even considered. We are not surprised at this, nor do we complain of it. For trade purposes we are always regarded as a foreign country by English Ministers. We are only united for the purpose of taxation. What is required is that our relations should be put on a regular footing as a foreign country.

The President of the Board of Agriculture, who spoke in reply to a request from Mr. Rogers, one of the Canadian representatives for the raising of the embargo, went on to state that it would not conflict with Irish interests. This Englishman, with the usual assumption, pretends in fact that it would benefit Ireland by favouring the break-up of the Irish ranches for fattening purposes. But he ignores altogether the agricultural policy forced on us. We cannot possibly abandon the store trade under the conditions imposed on us. The cost of food stuffs is too great, and we have no assurance that we can hold the relatively small proportion grown. There are many questions involved in the admission of Canadian stores. It is significant that with the greatest beef market in the world on its borders Canada should nevertheless seek a British market for stores. There are other countries involved in this question, notably Argentina. It is a very important international matter, and we ought to be slow in rushing into

disputation, until we see our way ahead clearly. If Canada finds it necessary to get a British market in competition with the American, we, too, should get a competitive market somewhere else. It is really a matter mainly between Ireland and Canada, assuming that the shortage of supplies will compel England to open her ports. We owe Mr. Prothero a debt of obligation for disclosing his doubts on the case of alleged pleuro-pneumonia in Canadian cattle. We had the same doubts about the foot-and-mouth disease. It is clear now who would keep out both the Canadian and the Irish cattle. Of course, it was convenient to pretend that it was Ireland that kept out the Canadians, thus masking the meat ring and its clever but unscrupulous agents, who are expert at doping cattle. Mr. Prothero, dear in noent man, hints that Ireland is likely to make trouble, but the unsuspecting soul will probably reach salvation before the meat ring permits Canadian stores to low in the paddocks of Norfolk. Irish interests are very seriously affected by the proposal, but if it led to the opening of other markets we could find important compensation. It is true that under present conditions we are limited to the British market, and for this reason alone our interests are opposed for the moment to those of Canada. But we are not responsible for these conditions, and there is not a farmer nor a man in the cattle trade who does not desire to see them changed, and our freedom to sell in other markets secured. We presume that Canada is seeking means to fight the meat ring. She will certainly have to do so, and now is her opportunity. In this fight our interests are the same as hers.

We learn that on October 7th, by order of the Arch-Suspender, John D. Nugent, Sinn Féin members of the A.O.H. are to be expelled throughout the country. Now, Sinn Féin actually holds, of course, a majority in most of the A.O.H. branches. We therefore suggest that the majorities take common action and eject the minorities (in a very proper and orderly retaliation), taking control of the premises, books, and funds.

Now we recall the late Bishop Fogarty's panegyric on the late Bishop of Limerick that it was nobly worthy of the subject. "Never," said Dr. Fogarty truly, "was Ireland in a more hopeless or critical condition than she was on the day when the intrepid Bishop ran to her rescue. Her national life was almost submerged, almost unrecognisable, with the green flag turned red in the hands of her so-called leaders. But his powerful trumpet from the walls of Limerick roused her to life again, and rather his courageous voice, like the creative spirit of Genesis, broke up the waste of waters, called Young Ireland from the abyss, and gave her the life, shape, and independent movement that she has to-day."

The Government-subsidised "Freeman" attacked the memory of the dead Bishop and the truth of the living one. To be censured and labelled by the "Freeman's Journal" is the best certificate of honest character an Irishman could possess. But while that foul journal, which at the present time is being run at a loss of £100 a week, the loss being covered out of the English Government £63,000 subsidy, may insult and malign the memory or character of certain Irish Bishops, its supporters are secretly endeavouring at the present time to get priests punished who stand by the Gaelic League against the latest attempt of the Devlin gang to destroy that institution.

We recently had a letter from Cardinal Logue declaring that the Gaelic League had become a political organisation. Those who respectfully differed from His Eminence, who did not state any ground for his assertions, are being accused of disrespect. When Cardinal Logue two days ago allowed his name to be printed on a recruiting poster, of which 50,000 were posted throughout Ireland, urging Irishmen in the Cardinal's name to join the British army, he became a politician, but nobody identified his British-Imperialistic politics with his name. Gaelic Leaguers are individually politicians, but their politics are not identified with their Gaelic Leagueism. The statement that the Gaelic League is political is unfounded. The Gaelic League is now, as it ever was, open to those who desire to revive the Irish language, whatever their political views be. Colonel Moore was no less than Cardinal Logue an advocate of Irish enlistment in the English army, but Colonel Moore was not on that account excluded from the League. The inspiration of the present attack on the Gaelic League does not interest us particularly, but the fact that pressure is being brought to bear on priests to refrain from supporting the League does.

At the concert of the Colmeille Branch of the Gaelic League Fr. Augustine, O.S.F.C., President of the Branch, very clearly pointed out the national position of the Gaelic League. With all that he said in his address we agree, and the courteous manner in which he spoke of the two distinguished personages to whom he referred was a striking contrast to the manner in which the "Freeman's Journal" recently referred to the venerated Archbishop of Dublin and the noble Bishop who sleeps in the Cathedral of Limerick. Only a few weeks ago the vile evening offshoot of the "Freeman" spoke of the great Bishop of Limerick as the "Rev. Edward Thomas." And the hooligan who thus wrote, and his Castle-paid colleagues, are the creatures who to-day profess concern at the

fact that Irish priests respectfully decline to agree with Cardinal Logue's present view of the Gaelic League.

We asked last week what is the influence that Mr. William O'Malley, M.P., for Connemara, wields that enables him to have young priests who venture to criticise his public utterances banished from the mainland and to use Catholic Church grounds for his political meetings and the steps of the Temple of God for his platform. There is no reply, nor did we expect one; but we are determined that the people of Ireland generally shall not remain in ignorance of the character of this man.

William O'Malley owes his seat in the English Parliament to his relative, P. P. O'Connor. The possession of the seat has made him a useful dummy duck for the London fraternity of company promoters. His first appearance was as a speaker at a dinner given by the promoters of a London "Window Cleaning Company, Ltd." O'Malley was ostensibly present as representing the "Press of London"—not had progress for a man who had just left a situation as an elementary schoolmaster—and in a speech declared—

The Syndicate had not come before the public with something that had not been tried, but the evidence placed before the meeting had proved that the invention had been very severely tested by the users, and he believed that it would do away with all the accidents in connection with window cleaning and at the same time make their houses far more comfortable than at present.

The Window Cleaning Company died, but Mr. O'Malley was no loser. He next turned up in connection with the Automatic Omnibus and Tramcar Cigarette Company, Ltd.

The "London Daily Graphic" dated 1st March, 1899, gives the following report of proceedings in connection with this Company in the Bankruptcy Court—

"A PENNY IN THE SLOT."

In reply to Mr. Wheeler, the Official Receiver, Mr. Louis Coen, the vendor and promoter, said one of his colleagues undertook to get a Member of Parliament to become identified with the Company, and introduced Mr. William O'Malley, M.P., who was given a thousand one pound shares to qualify him for a seat on the Board.

Mr. Coen thought this good business, as Mr. O'Malley's position as a Member of Parliament and "Pressman" was likely to be productive of much benefit to the Company. When Mr. O'Malley suggested, according to Mr. Coen, the payment to the "Press" for advertisements the sum of £450 the enterprising Chairman of the "Penny in the Slot" Company agreed, and paid over a cheque to this sum to the Member for Connemara. Small wonder in face of these substantial pools of the pecuniary advantages of being a Member of Parliament that Mr. O'Malley should still seek desperately to retain his public position of emolument!

After the above revelations we hear nothing of Mr. O'Malley, M.P., until March, 1913, when he figured largely in the "Amazing Rubber Case," as reported in the columns of the "London Daily Chronicle" of that date. "The Essequibo Rubber and Estates Company, Ltd.," was one of the most scandalous daylight swindles ever perpetrated on the public. In the Press reports of the inquiry into this wild-cat scheme Mr. O'Malley figures prominently. At the time when all England went raving mad over rubber, and speculated more recklessly than over the South Sea bubble, a man named Joseph Chansay started the Essequibo Rubber Co., Ltd., and succeeded in getting from the gullible public the enormous sum of £49,000. When the affair was wound up the assets were only £4,650. Chansay, according to the official report, got away with most of the money. What was Mr. O'Malley's connection with the Essequibo Rubber Co., Ltd.? He joined the Board at the invitation of Mr. Joseph Chansay and was a member of the Company from start to finish. Questioned in the Bankruptcy Court at the winding-up proceedings, Mr. O'Malley explained that he and his friends, including Chansay, had suppressed certain cables and letters because, said the Member for Connemara in his evidence, "sometimes it was not advisable to let shareholders know everything." The dopes who lost £90,000 and the man who to-day addresses Irish meetings in Catholic Chapel grounds, and is able to have Catholic Curates banished, deliberately connived, according to his own words, at the suppression of information which might have averted the loss of at least part of this enormous sum of money!

That Mr. William O'Malley is no worse than many of his colleagues who make money on the strength of their M.P.-ships similarly in London we admit. What we want to know about this creature is how it has come that such a man can have the liberty of Catholic priests interfered with, and the steps of a Catholic Church converted into a platform for himself?

We notice that an "official explanation" has been issued by the City Life over the signature of its Chairman, Mr. S. S. Seal. Our statements are not refuted. It is not denied that the statements made as to the resources of the City Life are totally misleading. Mr. Seal carefully refrains from

alleging that the recalled capital of the company is £392,000 when it is really only a twentieth of this sum. Two thousand per cent. exaggerations are difficult to sustain. The next item we challenged was the allegation that the "invested funds" of the City Life amounted to £814,000. Mr. Seal retorts to these as "assets," and he merely quotes the balance sheet, to which he still adheres. But he does not deal with our criticism of that balance sheet, nor does he establish the character of the assets. He makes no defence against our statements that the two items "Purchase of Shares" and "Purchase of Business and Extension Expenses," amounting to £127,503, were perfectly worthless assets.

The only item he seeks to defend in the mortgages and loans, amounting to £618,000 in round numbers. The question we asked was this—Are these assets available for the discharge of obligations taken over from the Irish United? This is a vital matter to policy-holders of the Irish Society. They will get no information on this point from the Chairman of the City Life. He avoids answering this straight question. He merely remarks, in an evasive fashion, if this amount is not available for discharging the liabilities of the Irish United that "if that be so it would not be available for meeting its own liabilities, a manifest absurdity." This is up answer. It is not even an "official explanation." We will now ask Mr. Seal another. Will he give the Irish United a charge on the mortgages for the protection of the policy-holders transferred? Another question we feel bound to ask is this: Are there any charges or prior claims on the property of the City Life? So much for the question of availability. There remains the question whether a Mortgage Redemption Policy is a liquid asset, that is, if it can be converted into cash. So far as we know there is no market for assets of that character. The Chairman gives no information on this matter. If a mortgage cannot be realised it is worthless as a security.

We next notice that the Chairman quotes from himself a list of figures, in which he states that in 1916 the "accumulated funds" were £758,209. A reference to the balance sheet shows that the Funds appear amongst the "Liabilities." These funds have no existence except in so far as they are covered by real assets on the credit side of the balance sheet. To parade them as evidence of financial strength is to play upon the incapacity of the public to understand the purely technical sense in which the word "Funds" is used. We have shown that these funds are by no means covered by real assets, much less by liquid assets, capable of being converted into cash.

The City Life gives its "general expense ratio" last year as 37 per cent. We observe the word "general." It includes, of course, the House Purchase expense ratio, a very different business from insurance. By combining the ratio of a mortgage and an insurance agent the figure is very much reduced. We find, according to the Chairman's statement, that the premium income of the company last year was £112,511. We look up the balance sheet and find that the premium income of the Life and Industrial business of the City Life was £112,440, and that to get this business it cost £57,249 in commission and management expenses. This is a ratio of 49 per cent., a very different figure from the Chairman's 37 per cent.

We next come to the extraordinary statement of the Chairman of the City Life, that "the members of the Irish United will retain their present policies, without the slightest change or alteration of premium or face value." This is quite a different proposal from the resolution which was submitted to the policy-holders at the Irish United meeting of September 4th, which runs: "That the City Life Assurance Company, Limited, should, by a special resolution, to issue to every policy-holder in the Society, in lieu of the policy or policies held by him or her, a similar policy issued by the said Company." It will be noted that this is a vital change in the proposal alleged to have been made. Moreover, the Form of Consent which the policy-holders were invited to sign also contains the proposal that "in lieu and instead of their policies in the said Society" the City Life was to issue policies of the same amount and value.

The statements of the Chairman of the City Life being entirely at variance with the Form of Consent, it is evident that those who have signed that document were unaware of the proposal now put forward, and we strongly advise them to find out what is the real nature of the agreement made by the Committee of Management with the City Life. The Irish United being a mutual friendly society, the policy-holders are the real owners and they are, according to the constitution of such societies, the only persons who have power to dispose of the money, funds, and property of the Society. Before deciding what to do they are entitled to have the real position of affairs put before them, and also to have a definite proposal put before them by the City Life directors. Neither of these things has yet been done. The policy-holders have been left entirely in the dark, and do not know what is being done with their property.

Book Lovers.

Mitchell's "Jail Journal"—Author's Edition—well bound in cloth—320 pages. Post Free, 1/8.
"History of the Irish Rebellion of 1816," over 270 pages—Casement's Complete Speech from the Deck. Post Free, 1/8.
P. H. Pearse's Works (1st volume) now ready, containing Plays, Poems and Stories (in English). Price 7/6, by post 7/11.
Sketch of P. H. Pearse's Life. Post Free, 3/4.
Memories of the Dead, or short sketches of the executed leaders. 4d.; by post, 5d.
James Connolly, a study of his work and worth. Post Free, 5d.
The Graves of Kilmorna—a study of '67 by Canon Sheehan. Post Free, 5/5.
AT THE HILL O' THE ROAD—Songs and Poems. Post Free, 7d.
A BUNCH OF WILD FLOWERS—Poems on Religious Subjects. Post Free, 7d.
Glor na hOige—By Brian na Banban. A beautiful Rhyme Book for Children. Verses in the simplest of Irish, and delightful pictures by Michael O Riada. 1/-; by post 1/2.
A Rosary of Song—A beautiful book of devotional Poems, by Brian O'Higgins, with 50 full-page Pictures on art paper—Preface by Cardinal Logue—very pretty blue cloth binding—2/6; by post 2/10.
SIOI NA SAORISE—Ampan a Sur O'anta Saenige Brian na Banban. 6d., by post 7d.
The Party—Who they are and what they have done. By William O'Brien, M.P. Post Free, 1/4. Wholesale to the Trade.
The Poetical Works of Thomas MacDonagh, M.A. (executed at Kilmainham Jail, May, 1916.) Post Free, 4/6.
The Poems of Joseph Mary Plunkett (executed at Kilmainham Jail, May, 1916.) Post Free, 3/10.
Literature in Ireland—By Thomas MacDonagh, M.A. Post Free, 6/4.
Thomas Campion and the Art of Poetry—By Thomas MacDonagh. Post Free, 1/3.
In Dark and Evil Days (Story of '95)—By Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A. Post Free, 3/10.
Canon Sheehan's famous novels—Luke Delmege, Glanacarr, Lisheen, The Queen's Fillet, Miriam Lucas, The Blindness of Dr. Gray, Geoffrey Austin (Student), The Triumph of Failura—all one price. Each, post free, 2/10.
Knocknagow—By C. J. Kieckham. Post Free, 4/4.
O'Loughlin of Clare (Mulholland). Post Free, 3/10.
The Tragedy of Chris—Story of a Dublin Flower Girl. Post Free, 2/10.
Father Tim—An Irish tale by Lady Gillart. Post Free, 2/10.
Insurrection of '98 (Har's). Post Free, 2/10.
Fate of Father Sheehy. Post Free, 1/2.
"Acts and Principles of Irish Nationality." Post Free, 8d.
"The Gray Feet of the Wind"—Poems by Cathal O'Byrne. Post Free, 2/10.
"A Chronicle of Jails"—By Figgis. Post Free, 1/2.
"A Munster Twilight"—By D. Corkery. Post Free, 1/3.
Madden's "Robert Emmet." Post Free, 8d.
Madden's "Antrim and Down in '98." Post Free, 8d.
"Gaels of Moondharrig." Post Free, 8d.
"A Sower of the Wind." Post Free, 8d.
"Thomas Davis—Prose and Poetry." Post Free, 3/4.
The Soldier's Song—Full Musical Score and Pianoforte Accompaniment. Correct and original version of both words and music. 1/-; by post 1/1.
New Humorous Song, by the author of the "Soldier's Song," entitled "Whack Fol the Diddis." Full Musical Score and Pianoforte Accompaniment. Words and Music, post free, 1/1.

Whelan & Son, 17 Up, Ormond Quay, Dublin. "THE OLD SINN FEIN SHOP."

MISS E. MACHUGH, 63 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN. Bicycles, Repairs, Accessories, Prams, Gramophones, Repaired.

Quiet, yet Central, for Business or Pleasure. FLEMING'S HOTEL, 32 GARDINER'S PLACE, DUBLIN. Two minutes' walk from Gardiner St. Chapel or Trams. SELECT. MODERATE. CONVENIENT.

The O'Hanrahans "The Graves at Kilmorna," by Canon Sheehan, 5/-; post free, 5/5. Works of P. H. Pearse, 7/6; post free, 7/11. "A Swordsman of the Brigade," by Mical O'Hanrahan, 3/6; post free, 3/10. "The Felon's Track," by M. Doherty, 3/6; post free, 3/11. "In Dark and Evil Days," by Sheehy-Skeffington, 3/6; post free, 3/10. "Gill's Irish Reciter," 4/-; post free, 4/4. "Rambles in Eirinn," Wm. Bulfin, 4/-; post free, 4/5. "In Sarsfield's Days," by L. McManus, 2/6; post free, 2/10. "For the Old Land," by C. J. Kieckham, 3/6; post free, 3/11. "Land and Liberty," by Laurence Ginnell, 2/-; post free, 2/4. 384 N.C.R., and 1 Goldsmith St., Dublin

The P's & O's

Require Short Humorous Sketches, Burlesques, and Topical Acting "Gags"; Really Humorous Songs; Really Funny Sketches or Farces for not more than five persons, and not to play more than 20 minutes.

All must be Irish and as original as possible.

GOOD PRICES FOR ACCEPTED MATERIAL.

All communications to be addressed this week to

MR. JACK O'SHEEHAN, Town Hall, Ennistymon, Co. Clare.

Permanent Address:—Town Hall, Galway.

BOOTS

ALL IRISH. ALL SIZES. ALL LEATHER. ALL ONE PRICE. 22'6"—BOX CALF.

T. J. LOUGHLIN, Headquarters, Parliament St., Dublin.

Smokers—Fill your Pipe with Irish-Grown Tobacco. Mild, Medium, or Full, 3/- Quarter lb., post free.

W. J. GLOVER & CO., Royal Avenue and North St., Belfast.

A. S. CLARKIN

COAL MERCHANT, 208 Gt. Brunswick Street, Dublin. Telephone 2769.

An Clárdeam Soluip

is now under the Editorship of PIARAS BEASLAÍ.

Look out for STRIKING AND ATTRACTIVE NEW FEATURES.

Language Movement Doings. Crisp Comments on Current Events. Interviews, Biographical Sketches. Book Reviews, Notes, etc., etc.

EVERY THURSDAY.....1d.

An á-ro-sgoil ultao

THE COLLEGE THAT HAS MADE IRISH SPEAKERS.

BEGINNERS TAUGHT ON FR. TOAL'S FAMOUS "PHRASE METHOD."

No Reading or "Grammar" till Students can Speak Irish. Ard-Sgoil Students are at home when conversing with Native Speakers.

Certificates Recognised by National Board. President, FR. FULLERTON, B.D. Principal, an tOscar ua Cuatáil.

CLASSES MONDAYS & FRIDAYS at 7.30 p.m.

Apply for Prospectus to—SEAN MAC MAOLAIN, 9 College Square, N., Belfast.

Coláiríde na múman.

WINTER SESSION, 1917-18.

Opens in CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, St. Patrick's Place, Cork,

Tuesday, 25th September.

Classes to suit all grades of Students.

Fee for Session—Teachers 10/8; Non-Teachers, 21 1s.

Secretary—Liam de Roiste, 27 Grand Parade, Cork.

SAVE money by having your soiled suits or costumes dry-cleaned or dyed in the Eustace way. Almost equal to new, at a fraction of the cost. All suits tailor pressed. Carriage paid one way on country orders. Price List Free. EUSTACE BROS., 110 and 111 Cork Street and 16 Blessington Street, Dublin. Phone 1108.

cumann na hóglac

64 PARNELL SQUARE.

An Irish Class for Beginners.

WEDNESDAY, 8 to 9 p.m.

IRISH DANCING, 9 to 10 p.m.

JOIN NOW AND GUARD THE "BEARNA BEAL."

Sinn Fein Clubs.

Progressive Sinn Fein Clubs are forming Libraries for the convenience and instruction of their members.

WE are supplying their Needs as regards

BOOKS

And Stationery and all other Club Requirements.

Complete Lists of Cheap and Useful Books and Quotations for Irish-made Writing Paper with Printed Addresses, etc., etc., may be had on application to

THE IRISH BOOK SHOP

50 LR. BACOT STREET, DUBLIN.

An t-ion Stopa amháin i mDaite Áta Cliaé Sur éigin do ádúine fan oifis colar do beic aige an tEangais na hEireann.

ARREST

Your Attention. Carrol's SILK CUT CIGARETTES

are made in Dundalk. They're of better quality than any others.

TRIAL?

You'll give them a TRIAL? Thank you. 10 for 4½d., 20 for 8½d., 50 for 1/9½, 1/- per oz.

F. J. CARROLL & CO., LTD., DUNDALK. All literary communications should be addressed to the Editor. All business communications to the Manager, 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin.

ADVERTISING RATES. Single Insertion 3s. 6d. per inch. 6 Insertions 3s. 3d. per inch. 12 Insertions 3s. 0d. per inch. 18 Insertions 2s. 9d. per inch. 22 Insertions 2s. 6d. per inch. (Larger Spaces pro rata.)

All advertisements must reach us by mid-day on Mondays to ensure publication in the coming issue. Small prepaid advertisements will in future be charged at the rate of 1d. per word. Minimum charge, one shilling. Advertisements announcing concerts, etc., must be paid for in advance.

NATIONALITY. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1917.

IRELAND AND ITALY

In a recent issue of the "Civita Cattolica" there appeared an account of the present state of the Irish question, which is represented as being "no longer purely local and Irish in character, but of national and even international concern." As this account appears in the course of a correspondence from London, it would seem from the writer's use of the word "national" in the passage just quoted that in his mind there is no such thing as a separate Irish nationality apart from that of England—that England is the nation and Ireland merely a province of that nation. The point, however, is by the way, and does not directly concern us just now. What is of concern is that the writer, after having given some account of the debate in the House of Commons (March 7) on Mr. T. P. O'Connor's small nation motion and of the partition proposal renewed on that occasion by Mr. Lloyd George, concludes as follows: "Mr. Redmond refused the proposal as put forward, but declared himself ready to accept the suggestion of a Conference provided representatives of all creeds were to take part in it. The Conference was convoked, and for the first time the care of Irish affairs began to be entrusted to Ireland." The "Civita Cattolica," now in its 68th year, is the foremost Catholic periodical in

Italy, if not in the whole world, and ever since its foundation it has never ceased to wield immense influence on the Catholic mind of the country, particularly in the higher ecclesiastical spheres, where it is regarded as the almost inspired champion of the Catholic cause. Conducted by a specially-selected managing board of some half dozen Jesuit Fathers, it is issued once a fortnight; and in addition to the scientific discussion of all questions of interest to Catholics, such as one might expect to find in a periodical of its high standing, it usually devotes a score of pages to semi-political topics, part of which deals with aspects of public opinion in Italy and part with those of the outside world. The latter usually appears in the form of unsigned correspondence; but an appended note reminds the reader that, while the editor places confidence in the trustworthiness of his correspondents and gives them perfect freedom in expressing their opinions, he leaves to them all responsibility for the news and views they send him.

One may question the regularity of publishing unsigned articles and at the same time disclaiming all editorial responsibility for them. But be this as it may, the very least to be expected in the circumstances is that every care be taken to secure really trustworthy correspondents, that the least possible amount of scope be given to an anonymous correspondent to convey inaccurate or unfair impressions in the course of an article for which no one can be held responsible, neither editor nor correspondent, and that an offence in this direction should not happen a second time with regard to any one country.

That sufficient care has been always taken in this respect will be more than doubtful to all who cherish the memory of the attitude of the "Civita Cattolica" correspondents towards Ireland during the past thirty years.

Take the passage above quoted, for instance. The writer's object evidently is to convey that the Convention is a really representative one, that the settlement is in Ireland's own hands, and that if success is not achieved, and Ireland's aspirations not satisfied, the fault is Ireland's own this time. There is not as much as a hint to indicate that even if three-fourths of the country should agree in formulating their wants and wishes they still find themselves confronted by the declaration of the Government's spokesmen that the other fourth are free to dissent, and that no one is going to compel them if they refuse. Nor was there any indication that in accepting the Convention Mr. Redmond had anything at all but reason to believe that he really represented the wishes of his fellow-countrymen. And much less could any Italian reader conclude from the correspondence in question that the Conference is composed of men selected on principles that would be accepted by no democratic system of government in the world.

Were this a solitary instance of inaccuracy, or worse, we could afford to let it pass. But unfortunately the "Civita Cattolica" for thirty years has been none too successful in the selection of correspondents who supplied information about Ireland. As a general rule their attitude has been either unsympathetic or hostile. Of course, the "Civita" will answer that it is not responsible for what its correspondents send it. But does this relieve the editor of all responsibility? Is he quite justified in printing and publishing without any responsibility anything and everything his correspondents may care to write? Can the "Civita" shelter itself behind this irresponsibility for whatever they write? If it claims the right of accepting and publishing without control whatever it thus receives, the very least that may be claimed is that it should be equally ready to comply with the obvious correlative duty of accepting from the misrepresented a refutation of the misrepresentation. Is it prepared to do this? If its object is the truth pure and simple it cannot set aside this duty; and if it does cast it aside it must not be too ready to come down on the misrepresented if they have recourse to other ways of setting it right; not take it ill if told that such methods cannot be allowed to go on indefinitely. Even the worm will turn some day.

Time was when one could understand Italian Catholic writers standing in perpetual awe of English power and English wealth, or impressed by English tolerance and English hypocrisy, or afraid of English bigotry and English vengeance, to such an extent as to sacrifice the weak or look with unsympathetic eye on the efforts of helpless nations struggling to be free against mighty odds. But the day is now gone for ever when wise champions of the Catholic Church in any land need feel constrained to take English statesmen as infallible, or English power as omnipotent, or English vengeance as all-embracing, or English truth as inspired, or English agencies as oracles, or even the English "Times" as of greater weight than the gospel of right and freedom and truth.

On Thursday night Mr. Arthur Griffith lectured in Oldcastle, Co. Meath, on "Two Centuries of Irish Economic History," the Rev. Father Barry, P.P., presiding over an assembly which thronged the hall. The lecturer, after briefly describing the economic revolution wrought in Ireland by the disintegration of the Gaelic polity following the fatal Battle of Kinsale, said the marvellous

resilience of the Irish nation manifested itself within half a century, when, having gone through a devastating war and being apparently destroyed by the merciless sword of Cromwell, yet within a decade of Cromwell's campaign Ireland's economic strength excited the jealousy of England, which in 1660 began its long series of Penal Laws against Irish trade, industry and commerce, which had no parallel in the economic history of civilisation, and which in effect still prevailed.

Mr. Griffith then dealt in detail with the English legislation of Charles II., which prohibited the English market to Irish cattle, sheep, swine, beef, pork, bacon, mutton, leather, butter, cheese, etc. This legislation was designed to crush Ireland finally, but owing to the enterprising and spirit of the Irish people it had the contrary effect. Debarred from the English market, the Irish fattened their own cattle, acquired and built ships, and opened direct trade with Flanders, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the American Colonies. Their butter beat the English butter in the Continental market, and everywhere in that market they successfully competed with the English in all branches of the provision trade. In the American colonies they beat England, and foreign ships trading with England found it to their advantage to come to Ireland to victual. Nantes, La Rochelle, and Ostend were busy ports of commerce with Ireland, and an English writer of the time stated that the port of Dunkirk was seldom to be seen with less than a score of Irish ships in it. In return for the goods and produce the Continent and the American Colonies purchased from Ireland, Ireland transferred her purchases from England to the Continent. In 1663, when England began her series of repressive laws against Irish trade and industry, Ireland purchased 75 per cent. of all her imports from England. By 1672 Ireland was purchasing 75 per cent. of all her imports from France and Spain and Flanders and Portugal and America.

England was thrown into alarm. She had lost her most profitable customer, and she was losing to Ireland a great proportion of her trade. She struck at Ireland by a Navigation Act, practically interdicting Irish trade with the Colonies. Ireland retorted by opening a trade with the French Colonies. Just at this time the Jacobite war intervened, and as a result Ireland was again politically reduced and laid at the feet of England, which thereupon deliberately set out to crush Irish trade and industry beyond hope of resurrection.

Mr. Griffith then described the series of English enactments under which the Irish mercantile marine was destroyed and the cotton, glass, sail-cloth, and numerous other industries were crushed. He traced the persistent attempt of England to kill the linen industry—Ireland's most ancient and famous manufacture, falsely described in the Irish history written for Unionist consumption as introduced by an English Viceroy and fostered by the English Government—and the manner in which the people of Ireland for 70 years submitted to be taxed to aid that industry to hold its place. After dealing with the influence of the economic forces on the Irish political movements of the eighteenth century, the lecturer described the industrial emancipation achieved by the Volunteers of 1782.

When the Volunteers paraded in College Green in 1782 with labels on their cannon-mouths—"Free Trade or This"—they did not mean by Free Trade the English meaning which now attaches to it—they meant the liberty of Ireland to trade direct with the world. The lecturer described the rapid and unparalleled rise of Irish commerce after the winning of Free Trade for Ireland, the agitation raised by the English manufacturers to secure the same position in effect the Navigation Acts against Ireland had formerly given them, or to force Ireland into an Incorporating Union; the attempt of England by the Order propositions to regain control over Irish trade, the rejection of this proposition by the Irish Parliament, and the plot thereafter of the English statesmen to rid their masters, the English manufacturers, of Irish competition by destroying the Irish Parliament. He sketched briefly the economic work which in the few years of the real independence of the Irish Parliament caused Ireland to prosper more rapidly than any other country in the world. The Irish fisheries—reduced by the seventh decade of the eighteenth century to no more than 40 boats—expanded to a fishery of 3,000 boats in the next decade. The Irish herring fishery became the most famous in the world, and Irish fishermen were besought by Newfoundland and sent to Newfoundland to teach it the best methods. The glass, cotton, and other industries formerly crushed out by England were revived and brought to a height of prosperity such as they had never experienced. Brooke's cotton factory in Prosperous, Co. Kildare, employed no less than 7,000 hands. Irish coal was mined with energy, Dublin alone taking 10,000 tons from Kilkenny, and out of an import duty levied on English coal the present Parliament Street in Dublin was built. Foster's famous Corn Laws, under which duties were imposed on the entry of foreign corn, and bounties were granted to farmers on the export of Irish corn, while prices in Ireland were regulated to prevent any profiteering at the expense of the Irish people, turned the country in half-a-dozen years into one of the greatest corn-producing and exporting countries in Europe.

Mr. Griffith then described the steps taken by England after the Union had been imposed upon this country to destroy it as an economic force—the seizure of the Irish Exchequer, the suppression of the Irish Custom House, the stoppage of the grants and subsidies made by the Irish Parliament for the encouragement and development of Ireland's fisheries and trade, the prohibition of the Irish tobacco industry, and eventually the destruction of Ireland's corn trade by the English Free Trade legislation, which aimed successfully at destroying Ireland as a manufacturing power and turning it into a cattle ranch to provide England with cheap meat.

As a result, Ireland had become as completely cut off from trade with the world as she had been by Statute before 1782. The Navigation Laws were as effective in force in Ireland to-day as if they were still on the celebrated Statute Book. Ireland was England's economic prisoner, confined to England's market. Ireland, the lecturer said, must break the boom and get out again

