

NATIONALITY

EDITED BY ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WEEK BY WEEK.

Last week Mr. De Valera and Mr. J. J. Walsh addressed great public meetings throughout Cork County; Messrs. Milroy and Cole attended meetings in Carlow and Ballinrobe; Mr. MacDonagh spoke in Tipperary, and Mr. Lennon in Bohola, while Prof. Eoin MacNeill lectured in Mullingar, and Mr. Darrell Figgis in Ballinamore. Despite the terrible weather, the meetings on Sunday were most successful.

The General Council of County Councils has repudiated the resolution passed by the Executive of that body informing the English Government that it was "undesirable" to let Irishmen and Irishwomen have votes under the new Franchise. The resolution of the Executive was designed to help Mr. Redmond and his Party to maintain some of their seats. It was done without notice to all the members, and without the knowledge of the Irish people, and had it not been that we discovered the plot the "Irish Party" would have produced the resolution in the English House of Commons as the authentic voice of the Irish people. The General Council of County Councils has now repudiated the resolution passed in their name. What are they going to do with the men who conspired to pass it?

These men include P. J. O'Neill of the Dublin Co. Council, whom Mr. Redmond provided with the sinecure job of Director of National Service in Ireland; J. Bolger of the Wexford Co. Council, Mr. Redmond's factotum in Wexford; John Cullinane, M.E.P.; J. P. Dolan, Mr. Redmond's maid-of-all-work in Louth; J. J. Cogan, ex-M.E.P., and Mr. J. Minch, Director of the "Freeman's Journal." Together with Messrs. J. J. Coen of Westmeath, M. J. Nolan of Kerry, and T. J. Clarke of Dublin, the above list of Redmond's supporters are the men who strove to keep the franchise from 600,000 Irishmen and Irishwomen. Are they to remain an "Executive Council of the County Councils"? The "Irish Party" is still secretly working to have Ireland excluded from the measure. Let the people keep their eyes well fixed on the "Conferencé."

The Editor of the "Irish Times"—a civilian of military age, and determined to remain a civilian—having been warned off by the Canadians and Australians from telling them what their duty was, as this person views it, has now turned his undivided attention to Ireland. He is anxious that the English Government should save the "honour" of Ireland by conscripting Irishmen. The Editor of the "Irish Times" may be assured that if any English Government ever attempts to force Irishmen to participate in an English war, the honour of Ireland will be vigorously upheld. There is no strength in any Government, however powerful, to force a determined people into conscription against their will. This the Premier of Quebec, Sir Lorrier Gouin, has impressed upon the people of Canada. In its account of the great meeting at Quebec on November 10, the "Montreal Star" reports the Premier as saying—"There is no power here, there is no power in the world," he said, "that is able to impose conscription on the Canadian people against their will. There is no man strong enough to impose this measure upon us if we do not want it." Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the ex-Premier of Canada, at the same meeting described how the Conscriptionist Government was attempting to prevent the people from voting its doom. It had manufactured a new electorate; in enfranchising women it had only enfranchised those who had relatives in the army; in five provinces where the women were hostile it had disfranchised them; it had disfranchised Canadian citizens of fifteen years' standing on the ground that they were of "hostile origin." The Borden Government in Canada has little to learn from the Government in England in means of destroying the power of the electorate.

Some little time since the "Irish Times" and the English Press were engaged in giving bullying advice to the Australian and Canadian soldiers in reference to their votes on the question of conscription in those countries. Recently—and quite suddenly—the advice ceased. On Sunday last one of the English papers explained the reason. The Australian and Canadian soldiers resented so emphatically the attempt of the English to dictate to them as to how they should vote on a question concerning Australia and Canada that they declared, if the violent propaganda were continued, they would vote solidly against conscription, whereupon the order went forth to the English and pro-English Press not to further interfere in this Australian and Canadian question, and all was silence.

There is the British army, the British navy, the British Government and the British flag. Mr. John Dillon speaks of them as "our" army, "our" navy, "our" Government, and "our" flag. There are other people in Ireland who, like Mr. Dillon, try to think themselves British—the commercial men of the North particularly. So long as these people support the army, the navy, the Government, and the flag, the Briton smiles indulgently when they call themselves Britons—but when they attempt to get a quid pro quo, then the Briton reminds them that they are no more country

men of his than Germans, Russians, Frenchmen, or Turks—which is the cold fact.

There is a paper devoted to British trade published in England under the title of "System." It has touted amongst Irish manufacturers and business men for subscriptions and got a large number. Recently it established a "Free Export Trade for 'System' Readers." This service was designed to help Irish manufacturers to improve and extend their foreign trade. An Irish manufacturer sent its name on to the Bureau, and received this reply—

"Dear Sirs,
"We have the Foreign Trade Form cut from November 'System,' which you have filled in, but regret that we are unable to insert an amount on your behalf, as Ireland does not come within the activities of the Foreign Trade Bureau. The Bureau is for all Foreign and Colonial Agents and British Manufacturers.
"Yours faithfully,
"A. W. Shaw Company, Ltd."

The Shaw Company is quite right. It is our ignorant or slavish business men who are quite wrong. England's business is now and always has been to prevent Irish foreign trade.

Two months ago certain of the Redmondites and Carsonites of Enniskillen procured from Sir Bryan Mahon, British Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, an armed force of Enniskillen Dragoons and a couple of hundred R.I.C. men to prevent a Sinn Fein meeting being held in the town. What happened is present to our readers' minds. Later on these Enniskillen Dragoons (1) broke into the Town Hall and destroyed some of the property of the townspeople, and (2) later on again they amused themselves by parading the town, shouting "To hell with the Pope." Archdeacon Keown wrote to Sir Bryan Mahon on the matter, and that gentleman replied that the Archdeacon is mistaken. The Enniskillen Dragoons did not publicly and emphatically consign the Pope to hell.

We are sure the Pope is not perturbed, but the fact remains that on the pretext of maintaining order, these men were allowed to swagger with naked swords in their hands through the town of Enniskillen for a whole day. We were there, and we saw them. Since then their conduct has driven the Town Council and the Catholic priests to complaints, but the British Commander-in-Chief gives no redress. The war, be it recollected, is being waged by England to crush "militarism." We hope the followers of John Redmond in Enniskillen who secretly wrote to the British Commander-in-Chief asking him to proclaim the Sinn Fein meeting, and thus gave the excuse for what has taken place, are feeling happy and triumphant.

The Pope, we fear, is increasingly unpopular in certain English sections. Mr. Lloyd George had a fling at him last week. "Austria says it—Germany says it—the Pope says it—therefore it must be true." The "Daily Mail," which a year ago published a cartoon representing the Pope as the Door-keeper of the Robbers' Cave—the Robbers being represented as Germany and Austria—this week publishes a photograph of "A Hun Priest's Vestments" captured by the British army. Perhaps it will capture a "Hun" Challice or a "Hun" Mass Book later.

Father Barry, P.P., Aldcastle, who presided at the recent lectures delivered there by Mr. Arthur Griffith and Mr. Darrell Figgis, is taking practical steps to conserve the local food supply for food requirements. Mr. Barry attended the last meeting of the Oldcastle Rural Council and pointed out that persons were going around the country buying up foodstuffs and exporting them, not from any "imperial" necessity, but for individual profiteering. The complete stoppage of exports was not intended, but for valuable products leaving the country they should get an equivalent of necessities. Bank notes were not a proper return for food consignments. The Council decided to hold a special meeting to assist in forming a co-operative society to conserve the food supply.

Last year, acting on the advice of Sinn Fein priests, a great number of small farmers in the West sowed wheat to provide for their own requirements, and are now, so far as their own families are concerned, well supplied with flour until the coming summer. We are glad to hear that in many parts of the West they are busy now sowing winter wheat. If this were done generally through the country there should be no fear of a flour shortage next year. Two cwt. of wheat, costing 52s., will sow an English statute acre of land, from which practically a ton of milled flour can be obtained. This amount of flour will satisfy the ordinary requirements of an ordinary family consisting of two parents and five children for at least six months. At present the labour of ploughing and preparing the ground (one acre) would not cost any more than 13s., so that for practically £3 10s. at the very outside an ordinary family can guarantee itself from starvation for at least six months. This presupposes that the family itself cannot supply the labour. If it could, only 32s. would be required.

Here is a good suggestion in connection with the conservation of food, from Roscommon—"The revival of an old Irish cus-

tom may be helpful in the matter. Every man over fifty years of age remembers the fact that in every parish in Ireland—in the rural districts at least—there were a number of men who annually purchased a quantity of oats, dressed it, and sold it at a reasonable remuneration the following summer. It would be easy to revive this custom, seeing that hundreds, if not thousands, of living men were once engaged in this trade. By this means the difficulty of storage is got over—each man storing his own. The difficulty, moreover, of getting societies together and putting them into harness is surmounted. I commend the idea to your consideration." It is a good one.

Sinn Fein in Ennis has a project in hand for supplying potatoes and turf to the poor of the town at cost price. This week it distributed a ton of potatoes at 6d. a stone—hitherto the poor were paying 10d. to 1s.

We are faced with a butter famine. At this time of year the Irish creameries draw on their cold storage to supply the Irish trade, but the country is over-run by hands of furtive Englishmen in search of butter and bacon. We have received information showing that these buyers are evading the prices fixed, and are giving very much above the Controller's allowances. The method used is simply a secret commission paid separately from the invoices. Such a system could not occur if the Controller in England enforced the retail prices which he has fixed. We are informed that English buyers are paying as much as 240s.—250s., though the controlled price is only 224s. The police are very active in following up the sales of butter here in Dublin. The purchase is wired up by the country police, and the boxes are traced and the prices watched. But no such precautions are taken in regard to English buyers. The police know very well what is going on, but they are entirely inactive in the matter, having evidently received the hint not to stop any butter leaving the country. It is necessary, if any butter at all is to be left, that the export should be stopped at once until the end of March.

The Irish distilleries are still closed. The excuse given last week by Mr. Clynnes was that the release of additional quantities for the manufacture of whiskey was out of the question in view of the actual and prospective stocks of grain. This is a totally different excuse from the one given previously by the same official, with whom we dealt last week in reference to the exports of malt and barley. Why should 100,000 barrels of this year's barley have been permitted to leave Ireland already "in view of the actual and prospective stocks of grain"? Last week the excuse for stopping distilling was the comparative value of whiskey and beer with bread and milk, a truly absurd comparison. The distilling of grain in Ireland is a national necessity to provide milk, for which there is no substitute in the kingdom of nature.

"The price of coal has risen 2s. 6d. a ton in Dublin and Cork." This means more money for Lord Rhonda, "the Food Controller," and Lord Londonderry, the Convention fakir. A return of the profits made by these two persons out of coal since the beginning of the war would be of particular interest. The coal that is now being sold to the people in Ireland at prices more than double pre-war prices is costing the coal lords less than 50 per cent. of an increase. The remainder is going into these men's pockets as extra profit. If Londonderry renounced his royalties on coal imported into Ireland the price of coal to the poor here would be reduced. Instead he is anxious to get Irishmen to go out and fight for the better protection of his royalties on coal.

Ireland, of course, has plenty of coal, but the working of coal in Ireland has been obstructed in every way by the English Government, which is largely the tool of the English shipping, coal and iron rings. There is enough coal in Ireland to supply the needs of the country for the next two or three centuries, but the development of this coal would lose a particularly rich market to the Rhondas and Londonderrys. We are glad to see that at Ballycastle, in the North of Ireland, an effort is being made to re-work the collieries. But our Northern friends had better look out for the descendant of Castlereagh. If Ireland burned its own coal, Lord Londonderry's income would be reduced by the decrease of his royalties.

Each time Ireland had an independent Parliament, that Parliament attempted to develop Irish coal mines. The National Parliament of 1889 had set out to develop the coal regions of Killybegny. The Parliament of 1892 did develop Irish coal-mining. Irish coal was then brought cheaply to Dublin, and English coal was taxed a shilling a ton coming into Dublin. Out of that tax the present Parliament Street was erected. The Irish Parliament, however, took good care that in protecting an Irish industry it was not helping the profiteer. Retail prices inside Ireland were regulated, and stocks of Irish coal were kept in Dublin and sold by the authorities to the poor at a fixed price on any occasion when the ordinary dealers attempted to unfairly increase prices. If Ireland were working its coal mines to-day, Lord Rhonda and Lord Londonderry would, so far as Ireland is concerned, be whistling for their excess profits. The reason we are paying England £2 10s. per ton for coal,

which we could raise and sell at a profit in Ireland at a guinea a ton is foreign government.

There is certain to be a great cutting of ash trees throughout Ireland, as very remunerative prices are being given, namely, 4s. 6d. the cubic foot. Enormous quantities are required for the manufacture of aeroplanes. In England the Aerial League has arranged to plant two saplings for each tree cut down. No effort has been made to require the same to be done in Ireland. We stand in danger of losing all our woods if steps are not taken at once to have a general system of re-planting made compulsory on all vendors. The destruction is appalling.

Once more the subject of a Receiving Depot for military contracts has reached a fresh promissory stage. According to the War Office Financial Secretary, "instructions will be given at once to carry out the decision to establish a Depot in an existing building altered or adapted for the purpose. Hitherto no Irish manufactures could be received in Ireland, the British Army contractor taking care that Ireland should be handicapped in every possible manner. All Irish goods had to be sent to England before being accepted. This practically barred out Irish manufactures from being used by the British Army in Ireland, or anywhere else. It will be interesting to watch what becomes of the Depot when, and if, it is established. If the intentions of the War Office are genuine, after twenty years of evasion and pussy-footing, it portends some new move. Either the war is approaching an end and there will be no more war contracts, or else a move is to be made in the direction of extending war services to Ireland in some new shape. The War Office has so long and so persistently boycotted Irish industries that it is not likely to have been moved by sympathy or public pressure. The granting of a Depot after twenty years of agitation, and at this late stage of the war, has something more in it than appears on the surface, and will be found to harmonise with new military plans of a far-reaching character."

The Joint Committee on Native Materials have presented an important preliminary report. The members are drawn from the Irish Institute of Architects and the Dublin Industrial Development Association. It was formed on October 30, 1916, and during its twelve months' existence it has held twenty-three meetings, and has closely investigated one of the most important industrial questions. The failure to employ native building materials is perhaps the most remarkable feature of the passion for importation which has so long dominated our country and brought its commercial progress to a halt. Everywhere we cast an eye round, no matter what part of Ireland we visit, we behold evidences of the neglect of the use of native building materials, interior fittings, and decoration. Everything except the stone walls are usually imported; and if the building is of brick it may safely be presumed that the whole of the money spent has left the country for materials. Yet there is no lack of abundance of a great variety of Irish stone, marble and slates. In manufactures such as bricks, tiles, cement, fire-clay goods, glass, paints, steel-work, joinery and fittings the volume of importation is enormous. There is also a very large employment of foreign art products used for decorative purposes. During the past seventy years there is hardly a parish in Ireland where a church has not been built. There are at least two thousand churches, and they are nearly all monuments of importation. The exceptions are remarkable for their artistic decoration. The most beautiful basilica effects are to be obtained from the use of Irish marble. Yet it has been almost wholly neglected except in the case of University Church, St. Stephen's Green, designed and built by Cardinal Newman, who insisted on having Irish materials used throughout. The result was a masterpiece which is justly admired as the most perfect example of its kind in Northern Europe.

The story of a nation can be traced in its buildings. The architecture of a country is the best index of its progress or decay. The building industry has been kept back by causes which are historic, and which have not yet entirely disappeared. A revival of Irish architecture and the arts and manufactures connected with the industries of construction is the most important visible change of the times. It has been progressing, despite the great difficulties the nature of which is revealed by the Report of the Joint Committee charged to find out what steps can be taken to develop and encourage the use of native materials in the construction and equipment of Irish buildings, to tabulate a comprehensive list of quarry-owners, manufacturers, artists and craftsmen, to advise by what means architects and builders may be brought into closer touch with them, to ascertain whether such manufacturers and others can more closely study and provide for the special requirements of architects.

The Committee commenced by establishing a permanent exhibition of native building materials and of all classes of work produced in Ireland and capable of use in the construction and decoration of buildings. This exhibition is situated in the Industrial Annex of the National Museum, and is under the care of the Department, which aided in its establishment. The exhibition,

though as yet in a small stage, is well worth a visit. The Committee, in consultation with Mr. Lyburn, the Economic Commissioner at the Department, arranged the following classes of materials, manufactures and art objects suitable to the exhibition—

- A.—Building Materials—Limestones, granite, sandstone, marble, slate.
- B.—Manufactures—Bricks, tiles, drain-pipes, terra-cotta, freestone, glass, stoneware, cement, glass points, roofing, fibrous plaster, cast-iron goods, wrought-iron goods, constructive steel work, lead-work, architectural furniture and fittings for joinery work, shop fittings.
- C.—Art Products used in the decoration of buildings, such as stained glass, wrought-ironwork, ornamental plaster, carved wood and stone, art objects, etc.

The list embraces a wide group of important industries, and should attract business from all over the country. Yet the manufacturers have not responded except in two instances. Surely there are more than two manufacturers in Class C, yet this is the number of the exhibitors. The others are making an effort "to secure to Ireland a reasonable share of the business which is passing to other countries." In Class A, however, the quarry-owners have at last responded with the semblance of activity, and have formed a Committee to deal with "the same problems confronting the stone trade in Ireland."

The Committee, under the guidance of Mr. Kave-Parry, has already reached two important conclusions. It holds that the present system of education wholly fails to furnish for better business, scientific, and artistic training for trade apprentices. They are also of opinion that to grant development grants to be looked for until the establishment of some Irish State organisation charged with the special duty of investigation, research, and the fostering care and development of Irish industries, arts, and sciences.

In the course of their Report the Committee mentions a number of buildings of interest, and in the Department which it has failed to mention. Space forbids its dealing with these very interesting buildings, but we shall return to them later.

Mr. Brownstein of Chapel Street, Dublin, who informs us he is of Rumanian birth, writes to point out that the name of Professor Basilevici, from whose article describing how the Entente Powers treated Rumania into the war we quoted last week, should be correctly spelled Vasilevici.

The sympathy and fidelity of the Allies to Rumania was voiced, on behalf of the British Government, a few days ago by Sir Edward Carson. On the same day the Russian Government was making public certain documents relative to the Allies and Rumania and other countries. One of them was in connection with an offer made in September last by an English diplomat to a Bulgarian representative. The English diplomat informed the Bulgarian that the Allies were prepared "not to insist on the removal of Ferdinand from the throne, and would offer the Dobruja end." Here we repeat, which appears in the "Manchester Guardian," breaks off. The Dobruja is that part of the littoral of Rumania at present occupied by the Bulgars.

Mr. Hulzen, of Manchester, in reply to Lord Northcliffe, the largest publisher of newspapers and magazines in England and the English Empire, among his publications are the "Daily Sketch" and the "Daily Dispatch." In the issue of the latter paper dated December 7th Mr. Hulzen has a leading article on the capture of German armies engaged in one of the recent raids on England. This is what Mr. Hulzen, in his leading article, advises—

They should be quietly hanged. Their fall might have killed them, and we could say it did.

Here is England!

A campaign is now afoot for the release of Captain Bowen-Colthurst from Brixton Prison. It will be recalled that this person was declared to be insane by his brother officers who tried him on a charge of murdering three civilians. Captain Bowen-Colthurst's friends, not desiring he is sane. We quite agree. He never was otherwise. As, owing to his crime, he has been attached to a very odd Cork family, the Colthursts, we are asked by representatives of that family to say that he is not a member of the genuine Colthurst family. His real name is Bowen, the Colthurst having been added.

Professor Eoin MacNeill will deliver a series of twelve lectures at the Malvern Hall, Malvernworth St., Dublin, on Irish history from its dawn to the fusion of the Gael and the Anglo-Norman. The lectures will be given each Thursday from the 10th of January to the 28th of March, and the tickets for the entire course, seats numbered and reserved, will be 10s. There are few men so qualified as Eoin MacNeill to deal with the period of our history, and the lectures will afford an education in Irish history to those who attend them.

Owing to the Christmas holiday arrangements, the next issue of "Nationality" will be published on Friday, 22nd inst.

all peoples, without exception, lying within the Russian Empire, the right of self-determination, including complete

these for union, and continuance for the future, and with its separate territory, a society which,

imports of barley into Belfast? It can hardly be for brewing or distilling. At all events

had to depend on wheat, we should have had a dangerous position. It was not to depend on potatoes to the extent we do. The exten-

North Frederick St., and a large influx of new members is expected for the session now commencing.

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1917. THE POPE, THE PRESIDENT, AND PEACE

The United States is the one Power among the enemies of Germany and Austro-Hungary which replied to the proposals for peace made by the Pope in August last. The reason for the silence of the other Powers has been explained by the Russian Government's publication of the secret treaty entered into between England, France, and Russia with Italy, by which it was provided:

"France, Great Britain, and Russia take it upon themselves to support Italy in her not allowing representatives of the Holy See to take any diplomatic steps for the conclusion of Peace or in regard to matters pertaining to the present War."

Comparing the reply of the United States to His Holiness in August and the address recently of President Wilson to Congress, we find that the United States has not receded from Peace. In August the United States declared for—

- 1.—No Indemnities. 2.—German territory to remain intact. 3.—The integrity of Austro-Hungary. 4.—No economic war against the Central Powers after the war. 5.—Territorial adjustments, the reconstruction of Small Nations, agreements for disarmament, and a Court of International Arbitration to be the subject of treaties. 6.—The Freedom of the Seas.

In the address to Congress there is no essential departure from these proposals. President Wilson, while declaring war on Austro-Hungary, declares that the integrity of Austro-Hungary must be respected. Against the German Empire there is "no wrong intended"—there is to be "no interference with German internal affairs"—there is to be no war after the war against Germany—German enterprise and German independence are not to be threatened—there are to be no punitive indemnities—and the "war is not to end in vindictive action of any kind." From this it appears that the United States will not help M. Clemenceau to seize

Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine and incorporate them in France. From the references to the Balkan States and Turkey it is equally clear that the United States does not acknowledge the Secret Treaty just published by the Russian Government, which partitioned the Turkish Empire between England, France, and Russia. "We shall hope," says President Wilson, "to secure for the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire their own life safe, and to make their own fortunes secure against oppression and injustice; free from the dictation of foreign courts or parties." By the Secret Treaty of February 21st, 1917, recently published by the Russian Government, Turkey was to have been dismembered, England securing, among other things, Lower Mesopotamia and an overlordship of the Syrian ports of Jaffa and Haifa, while Russia was to secure Armenia, one of the small nations whom the Allies professed to be fighting to liberate. From President Wilson's address it is clear the United States will not support this arrangement.

M. Clemenceau's repudiation of President Wilson's proposal of a League of Nations is not now inexplicable in view of the attitude the United States has taken up towards the Chauvinistic plans for the mutilation of Germany and the dismemberment of Turkey. M. Clemenceau is feeling sore. For Ireland the most important passage in President Wilson's address relates to the Freedom of the Seas. "When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled, not only to free pathways on the sea, but also to assured and unobstructed access to those pathways," said President Wilson, "I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient."

"Assured and unobstructed access" to the free pathways of the seas governs, among other matters, the discussion of the position of Ireland, for Ireland is the key of the Atlantic. Friedrich List, "the Economic Teacher of the Nations," wrote seventy years ago—

England has got into her possession the keys of every sea, and placed a sentry over every nation. Over the Germans, Heligoland; over the French, Guernsey and Jersey; over the inhabitants of North America, Nova Scotia and the Bermudas; over Central America, the island of Jamaica; over all countries bordering on the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Islands. She possesses every important strategic position on both the routes to India with the exception of the Isthmus of Suez, which she is striving to acquire; she dominates the Mediterranean by means of Gibraltar, the Red Sea by Aden, and the Persian Gulf by Bushire and Karack. She needs only the further acquisition of the Darlanelles, the Sound, and the Isthmus of Suez and Panama in order to be able to open and close at her pleasure every sea and every maritime highway.

Since List wrote England has lost Heligoland and gained Suez. When she lost Heligoland she lost her "sentry over Germany," and Germany sprang into maritime strength. But her control of the Narrow Seas still hampers German maritime development. Exactly, however, in the same way as England's geographical position commands Germany on the seas, Ireland's geographical position commands England on the seas. The secret of Irish oppression by England is neither racial nor religious. It is political and economic. Ireland is more advantageously situated for commerce than England. Her position in connection with the natural trade routes is so much superior to that of England that a free Ireland would divert a vast amount of the trade that now passes through England to her hands, and Ireland's political importance would rival, if it did not surpass, that of England itself. This was what Elizabeth saw, what Cromwell understood, what Pitt realised; and the massacres, confiscations, embargoes, Penal Laws, Acts of Union, clearances, artificial famines and so forth had their root in the fear of Ireland's potentialities. If Ireland had been a naturally poor country, without greater possibilities than Scotland, England would have treated Ireland as she has treated Scotland, which can never pretend to rival her.

"The supremacy of right once established," says the Pope, "let every obstacle be removed from the channels of communication between peoples by ensuring, under rules likewise to be laid down, the true freedom and enjoyment of the seas." In this matter Germany, Austria-Hungary and the United States of America are in agreement with his Holiness. There must be, says Germany, "definite rules and certain safeguards" to ensure the "true freedom and community of the high seas." The Peace Agreement must, says Austria-Hungary, arrange that "the high seas, which rightly belong to all the nations of the earth, must be freed from domination and paramountcy, and be open equally to the use of all." "All the paths of the seas," says President Wilson, "must alike in law and in fact be free. The Freedom of the Seas is the sine qua

non of peace, equality and co-operation." There can be no Freedom of the Seas while Ireland occupies her present position. Europe, said Bismarck once, is an armed camp because England controls the seas, and holds half the world in bond. England was only enabled to do this because she held Ireland—the key of the Atlantic—in her grasp. The seas have been under England's dominion for three hundred years—under her rule for a hundred years. For a longer space the roads of Europe were under the control of the robber barons, and Europe was a welter of war. The alliance of the kings and the people against the feudal aristocrats freed the roads of Europe and gave the world comparative peace. But the seas of the world up to the twentieth century were as firmly held by England against the freedom of mankind as the roads were held by the feudalists who established their Gibraltar and Aden in the shape of grim castles, and permitted intercourse and trade only by their leave. With the establishment of the free right of all the peoples to use the seas equally in time of war as in time of peace, with the abolition of England's control of the coaling stations of the world, an era of peace may indeed dawn upon the earth. There can be no permanent peace otherwise. The existence of the British fleet imposes the necessity of navalism on every maritime country, and navalism imposes a corresponding militarism. President Wilson declares he is "seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world." Until the freedom of the seas, to which he has pledged America, be established there can be no possibility of permanent peace; and the freedom of the seas can never be established while Ireland, the key of the Atlantic, exists in its present servitude to a great maritime Power.

Since the check to the advance of the English Third Army at Cambrai there have not been any very notable operations in France. Reports are rife of great German reinforcements and an impending offensive; but this is scarcely likely to materialise all at once. Most likely the Germans in France have received considerable additions of strength from the East, and this process will continue through the winter; but men are not "flung" or "hurled" across Europe by the half-million. After a time the Germans will be able to make a big attack in the West—for the first time in two years. But winter weather and short days would militate against such at the moment. This, however, by no means precludes the launching of quite large local attacks at any time.

In Italy, though, attacks seem to be impending—this time just to the east of the last, between the Brenta and the Piave. This sector is at the angle where the line leaves the Piave and bends westward; the Monte Grappa is the main natural feature, filling the ten-mile space between the rivers. On the southern slopes of Grappa—the Asolo Hills—stands Asola, an important road centre linking the valleys of the two rivers by Bassano and Cornuda. From Asolo good roads also run to Cittadella and Treviso. The Austro-German attack a week ago in the Seven Communes aimed at clearing the Brenta Valley from the west, and partly did so. The new operations, if successful, will clear the valley from the east. The immediate objective is the town of Valstagna, a few miles north of Bassano, into which shells have been falling—Valstagna would be an important stopping-stone to Bassano. On the Piave, Segusino and Cornuda would similarly mark the progress of an attack from the northward. Italian naval units have been active in the Gulf of Trieste—the old warship "Wien" having been torpedoed in harbour. On the Piave front in the plain there have been minor encounters and considerable Austrian troop movements are reported. It would be a serious mistake to suppose that the Austro-Germans will experience much difficulty with their communications in winter. There are plenty of roads in this theatre of operations, and they are practically uniformly excellent. In addition, there are three main lines of rail and several branch lines. For the Central Powers, Northern Italy is an easier winter theatre than Rumania, and infinitely easier than Serbia.

In both the Asiatic theatres of war activity has revived of late. In Mesopotamia the British have carried out operations in the Hamran Hills north-east of Bagdad, with a view to safeguarding their right flank against a turning movement along the Persian frontier. On this flank, too, covering forces for Bagdad must be pushed well out, from the nature of the country, which is unsuitable for a closer defensive method. In Palestine, General Allenby has been able to bring up reinforcements in sufficient numbers to occupy Jerusalem. How much further he will seek to go is not easy to determine—he will presumably aim at securing a strong defensive line covering the Holy Land; an advance on Damascus, 140 miles from Jerusalem as the crow flies, is not likely. But to occupy Samaria—the strip west of the Jordan up to the Sea of Galilee—would give Haifa, which is not a bad port as they go in the Levant, and the Palestine railways. Moreover, this area, from Mount Carmel over to the Sea of Galilee, and thence down the Jordan, is well-defined and comparatively defensible. After that, much would depend on the Turkish power of reinforcement.

The Turkish troops on the Caucasus front will, after a time, practically all become available for service in Palestine and Mesopotamia, with the exception of some garrison troops and the Kurdish irregulars. Communications, of course, are not very highly developed in this region; but there are sufficient facilities to make considerable troop movements possible at all times. Thus, at the Turkish left—the sector towards Trebizond-Erzincan—the troops can be marched to the coast and embarked at Trabizond, and hostilities ceased in the Black Sea. The Turks have plenty of idle shipping to transport them to Panama and Santos on the Sea of Meruara, from which points a few days' walk would enable them to reach Aleppo, via the

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junction at Afium-Karabissar. The troops in the centre can march down the Tigris by Kharput and Djibek to Mosul. Those on the right around Mush, Bitlis and Van can cross the Armenian Taurus into the Tigris Valley, and so march to Mosul. If Russia made peace about the New Year the other Turkish fronts would begin to receive the reinforcements by February 1st at latest, and by the end of February the great bulk of the troop transfers would be complete.

The great explosion at Halifax is a serious inconvenience to the Entente even in the strict military sense—quite apart from the actual loss of two ships and a large quantity of munitions. The disaster was so considerable as to probably render Halifax a negligible quantity for some time. Halifax was a city of 50,000, and the only Canadian ice-free port in winter. It was also the terminus of the Inter-Colonial Railway and an important Atlantic naval station. Even assuming that the harbour works did not suffer vitally, the confusion and destruction of other property will militate against the transport service from Canada for a while. Boston will probably be requisitioned for this purpose until the damage at Halifax is made good.

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Table listing donors and amounts for the Sinn Fein National Fund. Includes names like Charles C.S.F., Ballyheigue C.S.F., and various individuals with their respective contributions in pounds and pence.

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