



NATIONALITY



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Week by Week.

President De Valera and Mr. Frank P. Walsh will, according to present arrangements, undertake, beginning next month, a tour of the United States, visiting every city and town of importance, and presenting to their people the case of Ireland. A great organisation of all Americans favourable to Irish Independence—which means three-fourths of all Americans—will be completed throughout the United States in connection with this tour, and simultaneously the Loan of 25 million dollars to Ireland will be launched and carried through.

In an interview with American pressmen Mr. De Valera pointed out that the Franco-American treaty indicated that France had no confidence in the League of Nations as a preserver of peace. "Since the year 1300," he said, "the League of Nations idea has been put forward, but never has succeeded. The big nations never have been willing to give back what they have grabbed. My own impression—gathered principally on this trip—is that the people of America would be in favour of a real League of Nations, but that they are not in favour of the one proposed. If America led the way in establishing a real democratic League of Nations no Government in Europe would oppose it. If they tried to oppose it they would be thrown out of office. All nations, including the neutrals, would desire admission to such a League. Suppose England, Japan, and France held out, their peoples would soon overcome the opposition of their governments. Lloyd George would be turned out of office quickly if he tried to oppose the establishment of such a League. But better no League of Nations at all than one founded on injustice. I have no confidence in the one proposed, and if England had, would she be building up a big navy and army? Would France be seeking an alliance in addition to the League? I am perfectly convinced that the great majority of the American people are entirely in sympathy with the demands of the Irish people to have the right to choose their own government. Even the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" in a hostile article a week or two ago admitted that if a plebiscite of the American people was taken the vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of Ireland. My first step is to show, in a way that cannot fail to be convincing, that this sympathy actually exists. When that is done I believe that the American people will want to give practical effect to their sympathies. The opportunity is given them by our claim for recognition of the Republic. Not to recognise the Republic is to deny the Irish people the right to choose the government under which they should live, and therefore to deny the principle that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Irish question is now a test question of America's attitude toward the world question of whether a new order is to be set up in which lasting peace is to be secured by building on a foundation of justice.

The Ven. Archdeacon Grattan Mythen, a well-known American Protestant clergyman of Irish blood, was one of the speakers at President De Valera's meeting in San Francisco. Dr. Mythen has been touring America lecturing on "The Irish Protestant in the History of the Revolution."

We inquired about Mr. Gordon Styles last week. Mr. Styles cabled from the United States to Dublin to the former brains-carrier of Irish Parliamentarianism, stating that an "Anti-Sinn Féin campaign in America" was imperative, and suggesting that "Dillon, Devlin, Plunkett, and O'Connor" should be mobilised for the purpose. Mr. Styles is an American journalist who during the war was associated with the Northcliffe Press, and now represents an American press syndicate. Styles joined the English Air Force some time before America entered the war. After the armistice he travelled in Germany. He is at present appar-

ently acting in connection with the English propaganda in the States.

Under the title of "Ireland's Fight for Freedom," Harper Brothers, of New York, have published in book form the powerful series of articles recently contributed to the American Press. Mr. Creel, who was head of the American Publicity Department during the war, visited Ireland last year to study the situation. He remained here for some months, and the articles are the result of his investigation and experience. They have helped profoundly to educate American opinion.

Since we wrote last week as to the treatment of Mr. Pierce Beasley, T.D., he has been removed from the English prison where he was treated as a criminal to the other English prison where his colleagues in the representation of the Irish people, Messrs. Stack and Lynch, were, with their comrades, confined as political prisoners. Immediately after the arrival of Messrs. Beasley, T.D., and Walsh, Mr. Finian Lynch was released. He returned to Ireland on Thursday evening last, and was accorded a reception by his colleagues at Fleming's Hotel, Dublin, prior to his departure for home.

Last December Mr. Paul Galligan was unanimously elected by the people of West Cavan at the General Election as their representative. On the night of the 14th July last he was arrested by a section of the English armed forces in Ireland and brought to the Victoria Military Barracks at Belfast; thence he was carried to Belfast Jail, where he was kept for ten days, and then again brought to the Victoria Military Barracks, where he was arraigned in secret before a tribunal composed of English military officers. He was brought back again to Belfast Jail, and a fortnight later, on Friday, August 8th, informed that the secret court-martial had awarded him twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. After this he was placed in a flagged basement cell, and kept there for a week. At the end of the week—on Lady Day—the Prison Governor told him he was to be treated as a criminal, not as a political prisoner. On the evening of Lady Day he was changed to the criminal wing, where, at the time of his writing, he was imprisoned, determined under no circumstances to submit to criminal treatment.

Mr. Galligan's case is one that will yet make a stir in the civilised world. Here is an elected representative of the people arrested, refused the right—for long—to see his friends or relatives, and tried and condemned before a court-martial. No news of what had happened to the Irish representative reached the Irish people till a fortnight ago the brief announcement was made in the Press that he had been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. There is, so far as we are aware, no precedent in any civilised country for such a proceeding. If the elected representatives of a country are liable to secret military trial and condemnation, it is obvious that all law is at an end.

Another court-martial has sentenced Mr. P. J. Berrill, of Dundalk, to a similar sentence under the following circumstances, as set forth in the "Dundalk Examiner":—"Mr. Berrill was arrested in May, 1918, in connection with Mr. Shortt's German Plot. On that occasion there were found in his possession certain documents which, the police alleged, related to Ballyedmond Castle, where the arms of the Ulster Volunteers were illegally stored. These documents were seized, and still remain in police custody. Mr. Berrill was released in March, 1919, with the other Irish prisoners. No prosecution was brought against him in connection with these documents. For over two months he was permitted to pursue his ordinary avocations without hindrance by the police. In May last a raid took place upon Ballyedmond Castle according (as the police

allege) to the plans then in their hands. Certain arms were seized belonging to the Ulster Volunteer Force. Next morning Mr. Berrill was arrested while returning from Mass. No charge was preferred against him. For two months he was imprisoned without trial. In the eighth week he was charged with being in possession of the plans (which were also in the possession of the police at the time) on which the Ballyedmond raid was carried out. And for this offence—an offence which was only charged after four months' deliberation and cogitation—a respectable citizen has been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour."

Mr. Berrill, after being kept 10 months in jail, and then released, is re-arrested two months later for having in his possession a document at the time of his first arrest. Every English newspaper, in reporting this case, falsifies it, all of them alleging that Mr. Berrill was sentenced for an attack on Ballyedmond Castle.

On Friday last the coroner's jury at Ennistymon, investigating the murder of Francis Murphy, returned the following unanimous verdict:

Francis Murphy, of Glauon, Ennistymon, was unlawfully and wilfully murdered at Glauon on August 14th by a bullet unlawfully and wilfully fired by members of the military unknown to us, into the house of his father, John Murphy, which bullet caused immediate death.

The sympathy of every decent man and woman in Ireland will be with the family of the little Irish boy who was so wantonly assassinated. In the bitter hour of his parents' grief, Mr. J. L. Garvin, of the London "Observer," allowed a hireling to suggest that the poor lad had been murdered as an informer. Such an act of malicious journalistic blackguardism it would be impossible to surpass.

Last week we referred to the inauguration of a direct service from New York to Dublin by Messrs. Moore and McCormack of 5 Broadway, N.Y. The American Consul was advised by cable on July 23 that the Corapeak would open the service, and was then loading up a cargo for our port. Some delay has apparently occurred, due probably to the strike of longshoremen; but it is expected that the Corapeak will arrive this month.

It was also stated at the same time that the SS. Lakeside had loaded for Belfast, and would proceed to that port as soon as the strike was over. It has since arrived with a general cargo, and is to be followed by the SS. Lake Gretna.

We may expect to see this week the restoration of the shipping relations which existed formerly between the cities of New York and Dublin. On enquiry at the American Consulate it was stated that no agent has yet been appointed, but it is expected that one will be immediately appointed to work up the export business from this side.

This new service between Ireland and America is to be an American Government service operated by Messrs. Moore, McCormack and Co., owners of the Commercial Baltic Line. It is to be carried on under the auspices of the American Shipping Board.

Mr. Geo. Van Dyne, of the American Consulate in Dublin, is specially charged by the State Department at Washington to prepare a list of exporters of Irish goods to the United States. He is at present engaged on the compilation of that list, which the Department of State will circularise through the Department of Commerce and Labour. It is hoped in this way to reach the American buyer with information of the products which Ireland is able to trade. All exporters of Irish merchandise or produce should send their addresses to the American Consulate, with a description of the goods they are in a position to export. It is not necessary at this stage to quote prices, but it is advisable where pos-

sible to indicate the quantities available for export.

The Dublin and Cork Industrial Development Associations have offered their services in directing the attention of possible exporters to the unique opportunities provided for placing their goods on the American markets under favourable circumstances.

On September 1st the present restrictions on the imports of American goods will cease, and it is certain that there will be a heavy importation of goods of all descriptions from the United States. With the result that the exchanges will probably exhibit a further fall in sterling. This serious difficulty can be met most effectively by shipping goods to reduce the trade balance and make it turn more in our favour. The policy of the American Government is to encourage importation into the United States, partly to maintain the numerous freight lines recently established, and partly to stabilise the exchanges.

The effect of the low price of sterling in New York is to put the price of the dollar to a corresponding premium at this side. The exporter who can ship goods to the United States will get nearly five shillings for every dollar's worth he sells. Thus the course of the exchanges favours the exporter at the expense of the importer, who suffers a loss corresponding to the former's gain.

The Liverpool "Echo" states that the announcement of the contemplated direct service of freight steamers between Dublin and New York has aroused interest in Liverpool, which has hitherto been the ground of transshipment for traffic between Dublin and New York, both ways. It is stated by this organ that, in the absence of definite details of the scheme, which has its genesis in America, Liverpool, and Ireland, shipping companies adopt an attitude of curious expectancy governed by reticence as to the possible effect upon their business.

The "Echo" asks what Ireland can produce of manufactures which will fill the steamers of the new American service on their return voyages to New York. That is the question which has now to be answered in practical question, and the Liverpool journal will receive enlightenment shortly.

So far as we can judge Liverpool commercial opinion from the "Echo," it is admitted that "as an abstract theory" a direct line of freight steamers between America and Ireland offers a prospect which, if it could only be brought to the point of materialising, would represent one of the best things which have happened for Ireland in an industrial and commercial sense for generations past. The "Echo" points out that the advantages of such a service would be priceless. The most important phase would be the saving of time now lost owing to dock and other congestion associated with the process of transshipment at Liverpool.

Hitherto, it continues, Dublin merchants have bought American and Canadian bacon, cheese, and other products through Liverpool importers. The aspiration of these merchants, which lies behind the American scheme, is to deal direct with overseas producers. It is admitted to be a laudable ambition, and Liverpool importers and shipping coteries are represented as awaiting developments with an "interest something more than lukewarm."

"P.A.R." writing from Cork, Aug. 21, asserts that, properly understood, the Butter Control Order had no such purpose as stated in our article last week. He argues:

The reason that the 30s. per cwt. increase was made retrospective from 28th to the 24th July was to prevent a complete stoppage of butter shipments to England over that period. Nothing can be gained by seeking a malicious motive in what, under the circumstances, was a reasonable safeguard to the butter trade. It is beyond our comprehension to

understand how a retrospective price could prevent a stoppage of shipments over that period. The effect of such an unprecedented action was to throw the Irish wholesale and retail trade into confusion and to suspend all local supplies for the time being. It had the effect of compelling a complete stoppage in Dublin supplies. The exact effect of the Order can be traced in the actual records of shipments, which we give elsewhere.

The English Government Pool has bought a considerable quantity of Irish butter as low as 2s. 14d. (not 3s. 14d., as stated) per lb. Huge stocks are known to have passed into cold storage, and it is, of course, a question how much butter now produced will be sold in the winter, when it is released. Our correspondent should know that butter is now plentiful and comparatively cheap, and that the present price of butter to the English consumer is by no means the price he will pay for the Irish butter when it is released. It is plain that Irish butter has been cornered because it is now available at its best condition with the highest percentage of fat.

The price of 2s. 9d. per lb., referred to by our correspondent, is the retail equivalent of the old control of 280s. (wholesale), with bonus and freight, which brought it up to 288s. The arithmetical equivalent of 2s. 9d. is, of course, 308s., as our correspondent states, but he has apparently confused the retail with the wholesale control prices. It is plain that the Butter Order was specially and skilfully devised to corner the Irish butter supply, and it achieved its object with the aid of the Irish Butter Export Committee.

A remnant of Mr. Devlin's Hibernianism exists in Derry, and it held a meeting and passed resolutions the other day. The wag who composed them is not named, but they were proposed by a medical doctor. No. 1 declared: "We pledge ourselves to uphold and fight for the principle of absolute freedom for our native land." No. 2 declared they would fight for "Dominion Home Rule." No. 3 declared they would fight for self-determination. After thus, in three separate resolutions, pledging themselves to fight for Separation, Home Rule, and Self-determination, they passed yet another resolution, declaring they would never relax their efforts "until Ireland has taken her rightful place as a free and independent nation among the free and independent nations of the world." The gathering of Eloquent Dumpsies then delighted itself with a resolution declaring Mr. Joseph Devlin "the valiant and invincible Napoleon of Ireland."

Mr. Sean MacEntee, T.D., has begun practice as a consulting electrical engineer, with offices at 89 King St., Belfast. Mr. MacEntee was for a number of years on the staff of the Belfast Electricity Department (one of the foremost undertakings of its kind in Great Britain and Ireland), while from 1914 to "Easter Week" he acted as Chief Assistant Electrical Engineer to the Urban District Council of Dundalk. He is thus well qualified to advise on all classes of electrical work, particularly so in connection with electric light and power schemes which so many of the progressive towns in Ireland are now likely to take up. The success of such schemes depends so greatly on competent planning and advice at their inception that we feel sure Mr. MacEntee's services will be in great demand.

An English intrigue, directed by Mr. Balfour, is just now hard at work to induce America to accept a "mandate" for Armenia. England cannot carry her possessions in the East herself, and she hopes that if America once gets into Armenia she will involve America in a common Eastern policy, and thus secure her own possessions.

The Kinawley Pierce McCan Sinn Féin Club, at a special meeting, expressed its deep regret at the departure of Fr. Patrick McPhillips, "our beloved and esteemed C.C."

Dail Eireann

Dail Eireann met in private session on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week to receive the reports of the Committees appointed at the June session to submit the schemes ordered to be prepared in connection with the Constructive Programme, and to receive reports. The scheme of the Committee appointed to deal with the establishment of Arbitration Courts was examined and passed. The scheme of the Committee on Fisheries was approved. The scheme of the Committee on Forestry was adopted. The scheme of the Committee on Agriculture and an Agricultural Loan Bank was discussed favourably and the Committee directed to proceed with the elaboration of the scheme on the lines laid down and present a final report to the next meeting of the Dail. The report of the Department of Industries, Trade, and Commerce was unanimously adopted, the report of the Sub-Committee on the Commission of Enquiry into Irish Resources and Industries being approved. An application from the President, Mr. De Valera, for power to increase the amount of the Loan to be floated in America to 25 million dollars was received and acceded to by unanimous vote. The case of Mr. Paul Galignan, representative in the Dail for West Cavan, was considered, and an official communication on the subject despatched abroad. The Mayor of Limerick was received by the Dail in connection with the present position of Limerick Technical Schools. In closing the session the Acting-President stated that the Commission of Enquiry into Irish Resources and Industries was now complete as to its personnel, and would assemble next month.

The following members were present at the session:—Sean O Ceallaigh (Louth), Speaker; Arthur Griffith (East Cavan and North-West Tyrone), Cathal Brugha (Waterford County), Michael Collins (South Cork), Count Plunkett (North Roscommon), W. T. Cosgrave (Kilkenny City), Alderman Thomas Kelly (Stephen's Green), Robert Barton (West Wicklow), Sean Etchingham (East Wicklow), Dr. Ryan (South Wexford), Roger Sweetman (North Wexford), Brian O'Higgins (West Clare), Richard Mulcahy (Clontarf), Liam de Roiste (Cork City), Terence MacSwiney (Mid. Cork), Thomas Hunter (North-East Cork), Sean Hayes (West Cork), Joseph O'Doherty (North Donegal), J. Sweeney (West Donegal), Frank Lawless (North Co. Dublin), John O'Mahony (South Fermanagh), Dr. Cusack (North Galway), Frank Fahy, M.A. (South Galway), P. Shanahan (Dublin Harbour), Ari O'Connor, B.L. (North Kildare), James Dolan (Leitrim), Dr. Hayes (East Limerick), Con. Collins (West Limerick), Joseph McGuinness (Longford), William Sears (South Mayo), Joseph MacBride (West Mayo), Eamonn Duggan (Sth. Meath), Sean MacEntee (South Monaghan), Ernest Blythe (North Monaghan), Desmond Fitzgerald (Pembroke), Alexander McCabe (South Sligo), Joseph McGrath (St. James's, Dublin), Michl. Staines (St. Michan's, Dublin), Joseph MacDonagh (North Tipperary), P. J. Moloney (South Tipperary), Padraic O'Keeffe (North Cork), David Kent East Cork), Donal O'Buckley (North Kildare). The following members were absent in prison:—Paul Galignan (West Cavan), Finian Lynch (South Kerry), Austin Stack (West Kerry), J. J. Clancy (North Sligo), J. Lennon (Carlow), Pierce Beasley (East Kerry). The following members were absent on national work abroad:—Sean T. O Ceallaigh (College Green), Gavan Duffy (South Co. Dublin), Harry Boland (South Roscommon), Liam Mellows (North Meath and East Galway), Diarmuid Lynch (South-East Cork), Dr. MacCartan (Offaly), and Eamonn De Valera (East Clare and East Mayo). The following members were absent with permission, and on business:—P. J. Ward (South Donegal), Professor MacNeill (Derry City and National University), James O'Mara (South Kilkenny), Padraic O'Maille (Connemara), Kevin O'Higgins (Leix), J. J. Walsh (Cork City). Dead:—Pierce McCan (Tipperary E.).

The session of Dail Eireann closed on Wednesday evening, and on Thursday morning the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Fein met in the Mansion House, Mr. Arthur Griffith, Vice-President, presiding.

Sinn Fein.

Mr. Arthur Griffith, T.D., Acting President, presided at the meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle held in the Mansion House on Thursday.

Delegates were present from:—Antrim S., Armagh North Mid. and South, Belfast City, Carlow, Cavan West, Clare West, Clare East, Cork East, North-East, South, West, City (2), Donegal East and West, Down South, East, Dublin North and South, Clontarf, Rathmines, St. Michan's, St. Patrick's, St. Stephen's Green, Galway East and West, Kerry South and West, Offaly, Leitrim, Limerick East and West, Louth, Leix, Mayo, Roscommon North, Sligo South, Tipperary East, Tyrone North-East and North-West, Westmeath, Wicklow East and West. Delegates were also present from Scotland and England. Several members of Dail Eireann were also in attendance.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from Rev. M. O'Flanagan, C.C., Vice-President, and Rev. Matt. Ryan, P.P., Knockavilla.

Mrs. Skeffington's Injury.

Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington wrote:—"I regret very much that I am unable to be present at this meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle, as I am confined to bed by my doctor's orders. I have been suffering from concussion and septic poisoning as a result of a wound in the head received whilst I was speaking at a S.F. meeting at Kilbeggan on Sunday, 10th inst. The wound still gives me a great deal of pain, and I will not be able to resume duty until the end of the month."

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of sympathy with Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington was unanimously passed.

Report of Honorary Secretaries.

Alderman Kelly read the report of the Hon. Secretaries as follows:—

"As Dail Eireann is directing most of the activities hitherto controlled by the Sinn Fein organisation, there remain only the following Departments now worked by the latter body:—

Propaganda: Mr. Robert Brennan; Elections: Mr. J. MacGuinness, T.D.

Organisation: Mr. Sean Milroy, whose Directors will each submit a report on his Department.

"Our activities, however, though apparently curtailed, are needed more than ever to carry out the decrees of Dail Eireann. To this end we would invite the more active co-operation of Comhairli Ceanntair who, for some time past have not been displaying the energy required for the arduous work before us.

"On the whole the state of organisation is very fair. We have now 1,822 Cumainn, for the future development and efficiency of which we look to the Comhairli Ceanntair; 60 per cent. of these Cumainn have affiliated, but not even 4 per cent. have yet paid membership fees for the current year. This is again a matter for the Comhairli Ceanntair.

Civil Service, Afforestation, Fisheries.

"In view of the fact that the Dail has appropriated sums of money for the purposes (1) National Civil Service Scheme, applying to the offices in the gift of the local authorities; (2) carrying out a scheme of Afforestation, and (3) aiding and advising on the development of Fisheries, and that the active co-operation and support of the local authorities is essential to the success of these schemes, it is obvious that the Sinn Fein Organisation must exert all its efforts to secure that the personnel of the local Boards will reflect the will and purpose of the people, and that they may be depended upon to use their machinery for the national good.

"Instructions with regard to these elections have already been circulated throughout the country, and the Director of Elections will deal with this matter in his Report to-day.

"Dail Eireann intends to hold an Arbour Day in the near future. We would ask the Comhairli Ceanntair delegates to make all the necessary preparations. Instructions will be sent out in the course of the next month.

"It is essential to our progress that all classes should be in harmony, consequently the Labour troubles give much concern. Every effort should be made to prevent strikes, lock-outs, etc., and, when these cannot be prevented, persevering efforts should be made to bring about settlement and reconciliation.

"It is well to mention here that the food problem will be very acute this winter, and we ask the delegates to see to it that in their constituencies enough food is conserved to tide over

the coming winter and spring. No doubt Dail Eireann is taking proper measures, but a reminder here will not be amiss.

Republican Loan.

Upon this loan the whole constructive policy of Dail Eireann depends. Its success in America has already been assured, and it only remains for our country to co-operate with equal enthusiasm. Copies of the prospectus will be distributed amongst the delegates, and their loyal co-operation is earnestly requested. As already instructed by Dail Eireann, the most prominent supporters of Sinn Fein in each constituency will be asked to form a central committee, presided over by the Teacta, who will proceed to make arrangements for forming a collecting and advertising committee in every parish, and, if necessary, in every half-parish throughout the constituency. Leaflets explaining the intentions of the loan and the need for the money will be issued shortly.

Republican Mission to America.

President De Valera's mission to America has been a colossal success, the labours and triumphs of which are shared by Mr. H. Boland, our absent Hon. Secretary, whose progress we watch with pride and pleasure. The enthusiasm which has greeted them and our representatives already there should be very helpful. The splendid Press support which they receive is effective in breaking down the paper wall which England has built about Ireland, and the interest in Ireland which they have awakened in the States should react very favourably upon our trade relations with America.

Mr. Stack's Imprisonment.

In conclusion, we are mindful of the fact that our other Hon. Sec., Mr. Austin Stack, is still in an English jail, and to him and his comrades we send our best wishes for their health and appreciation of the great fight they have made.

The report was adopted, on the motion of Mr. G. Murnaghan, solicitor, seconded by Rev. P. F. Moran, P.P.

Unaffiliated Clubs.

Arising out of the report of the Hon. Treasurers, Mrs. Wyse Power and Mr. Eamonn Duggan, T.D., Father Moran pointed out that of 1,822 clubs only 1,140 had affiliated to date. On those figures there would be 682 clubs not entitled to representation at the Ard-Fheis. It was decided to extend the time for affiliation to Sept. 25th.

Dail Eireann Loan.

Mr. M. Collins, Dail Eireann, submitted a statement in detail on the launching of the scheme for the loan. The purposes of the loan were:—

To finance a Consular Service, for which £10,000 has been voted by An Dail for one year. To develop and encourage Irish sea fisheries, for which £10,000 has been voted by An Dail. To develop and encourage the reafforestation of the country. Under this £1,000 has been voted as a preliminary amount to help the project. To develop and encourage Irish industrial effort. With a view to doing this effectively a Commission has been set up to inquire into and report on the industrial resources and possibilities of this country. Under this head £5,000 has been voted by An Dail. To establish a National Civil Service. In order to pursue a preliminary investigation on this subject An Dail has voted £500. To establish National Arbitration Courts.

Meetings in Support of Loan.

The Dail had further decided to devote £1,000 to the work of saving the language in the Gaeltacht, and a further sum was proposed to be allotted to saving the Limerick Technical Schools, the existence of which was threatened by the anti-Irish attitude of the so-called Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Continuing, Mr. Collins said that even if nothing came of this movement—which was impossible—the loan would be redeemed by the next Irish Government, even as they were to-day redeeming the Fenian Bonds. Meetings were to be held all over the country in aid of the loan. At the meeting which he had held in his constituency on Sunday last £400 had been subscribed at once, though there were only 25 people present, and he was told by those present that the constituency was good for £4,000. If every constituency did nearly as well the loan would be over-subscribed, and the more it was over-subscribed the more healthy the country would be. The success of the loan

in Ireland would indicate to America and the outside world generally that the Irish people meant what they said.

He had no doubt that the people who gave their votes would give their money also. Where there was no club they could have groups of people brought together who would put together 1s. per week, and so such people could buy a share per week. This scheme was a bigger thing than met the eye.

Untenanted Land.

If it was the success they hoped for, the people of this country would never again think of Westminster. The national position would have been solidified for all time when the Irish people had invested their money in the Irish Nation. Proposals were being considered at the moment for the establishment of a land mortgage bank to provide money to buy the land for the people in the case of the untenanted tracts. The proposal was that the Dail should guarantee such a bank by lending a sum of £250,000. The Land Guarantee Society, consisting of groups of landless men, would put up 25 per cent. of the purchase price; the bank would provide the remaining 75 per cent., and the bank would further issue bonds for purchase by the public.

Labour Difficulty.

The scheme, in his opinion, would get rid of a great deal of the agricultural labour difficulty, because the real way out was to make these landless men owners themselves of land. An indication of the state of feeling in America might be gauged from the fact that the President, who was authorised to raise 1,250,000 dollars for the loan, had since asked permission to have this amount increased to 25,000,000 dollars, and Mr. De Valera was not a man to make miscalculations. He would not ask for permission to have the amount so largely increased unless he had good reasons for believing he would get the money (applause).

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Sean MacCaoille, the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That we, the delegates of the Ard-Chomhairle, take the opportunity of welcoming the loan about to be issued by Dail Eireann, and we pledge ourselves to support it, to do all in our power to push it amongst the Cumainn and generally in every way to help to make it a success."

Report on Organisation.

Mr. Sean Milroy, Director of Organisation, reported as follows: Membership and affiliation fees for period January 1st to August 15th—No. of Cumainn on Register, 1,822; do., affiliated, 1919, 1,117, or 61.3 per cent.; do., paid membership fee for 1919, 63, or 3.5 per cent. In a large number of cases membership fees for 1918 have not yet been paid.

For the past few months the active energies of the various clubs have been largely devoted to organisation work, with the result that there is an apparent slackness in other respects. This is, however, more apparent than real. The work of registration was of vital importance, and necessitated a very considerable amount of work. Reports received at headquarters indicate that, on the whole, this work has been efficiently discharged. Our organisation staff has been considerably increased since last Ard Chomhairle. Mr. Donnelly, in charge of Ulster, has five sub-organisers working under his supervision; Mr. Sheamus Doyle, in charge of Leinster, has three sub-organisers working under his supervision; Mr. P. C. O'Mahony, in charge of Munster, has five sub-organisers working under his supervision; Mr. P. Ryan, in charge of Connaught, has five sub-organisers under him.

There are a number of districts which are still backward in the matter of organisation or in which, from various causes, the organisation has weakened, but these are having the special attention of the organisation department, and now that the stress of registration work has ceased to some extent the general lines of propaganda and organisation activity will have greater scope, and larger results may be expected.

The co-operation of all who are in a position to assist in this work is earnestly requested. We have been seriously handicapped for some time past by lack of speakers to attend meetings and gatherings where beneficial results might be achieved by the intelligent explanation of Sinn Fein ideas.

The organisation of and propaganda in Ulster is receiving special attention, and investigations have been set on foot to discover what is the most effective

means of overcoming antagonism to the Nationalist idea where such exists in that province.

In England, Wales and Scotland also, the work of the organisation of the Irish residents there has received during the past few months a renewed stimulus. In Scotland the Sinn Fein organisation has been reorganised, and a considerable growth of clubs is anticipated. In England and Wales the S.F. clubs and the Irish S.D. League are making great headway, and large assistance to the movement from these quarters may be looked forward to shortly.

Director of Organisation.

The report was adopted, on the motion of Rev. Father Roche, seconded by Mr. W. Monahan.

Local Boards Representation.

Mr. Sean O'Kelly, North Offaly, proposed the following resolution: "That no member of a Sinn Fein club who holds office on any public board shall be an officer of a club or a member of the committee of his club or represent his club on the Comhairle Ceanntair except co-opted by the Comhairle Ceanntair."

Mr. O'Kelly said that the object of the resolution was to prevent the S.F. clubs from being machined as were the branches of the U.I.L.

On the suggestion of the Chairman, the resolution was referred to the Ard-Fheis.

Report of Director of Elections.

Mr. Joseph MacGuinness, T.D., Director of Elections, submitted the following report:—The Election Department was reorganised at the end of April, and a Committee was formed, consisting of J. Mooney, Nolan Whelan, J. V. Lawless, M. Conon, J. McGrath, T.D.; John McDonagh, Dan McCarthy (Election Agent), and Sean Milroy (Director of Organisation) who attend all meetings. Sean Noonan, Secretary to the Committee, was transferred to President De Valera's staff, and Frank Kelly was appointed instead. The Committee chiefly devoted their attention to the work of registration. Detailed instructions and claim and objection forms were supplied to all constituencies. Legal and other inquiries were invited from the different Directors, and such as reached headquarters received prompt attention. Mr. Nolan Whelan, assisted by Dan McCarthy, devoted a deal of time and attention to the work of the Committee. An effort was made to find out the financial position of each constituency (with special regard to the expenses incurred at the last General Election); the manner in which the present revision was being conducted. It was the intention of the Committee to place a full report on the above subjects before the Ard Chomhairle, and with this object in view a circular was sent to all constituency Directors or Secretaries of Comhairle Ceanntair. This circular was sent out on the 5th of August, but up to date only 40 replies were received, many of which did not contain the full information asked for. The non-receipt of replies to communications sent out by headquarters makes it impossible for my Committee to efficiently transact their business.

Revision.

This is the first year that headquarters have seriously attended to the work of revision. Several constituencies have devoted considerable time and attention to this work, but on the whole, so far as my Committee can gather from all the meagre reports to hand, the work has not got the attention its importance demands. My Committee are of opinion that the position of Sinn Fein will be considerably improved as compared with the old register.

Organisation.

My Committee are of the opinion that the Director of Organisation and Staff should be amalgamated with the present Election Committee, as both departments deal with the machinery of elections, and the work of the departments mentioned very often overlaps and leads to inefficiency.

The report was adopted.

Propaganda Report.

Mr. R. Brennan, Director of Propaganda, submitted the following report, which was adopted:—"The following pamphlets are now in stock or being printed: 1. 'Two Years' Atrocities'; 2. 'Colonial Home Rule'; 3. 'The Case of Ireland' (with coloured map); 4. 'England's Goodwill'; 5. 'The Authority of Dail Eireann'; 6. 'Irish Bishops on English Rule'; 7. 'To Rebuild the Nation'; 8. 'Can Ireland Stand Alone?'; 9. 'Presidential Statement of Policy'; 10. 'The Ulster Difficulty'; 11. 'Can Ireland Pay Her Way?'; 12. 'England's Fair Words and Ireland';

13. 'John Redmond Accuses England'; 14. 'The Cost of Slavery.' Several other pamphlets are projected, covering various points in Ireland's case for freedom. These pamphlets are being circulated in Ireland, Great Britain, America, Australia, France, and as far as possible in other European countries. The weekly column of Sinn Féin notes is published in about forty Irish provincial papers, and a weekly list of acts on the part of the army of occupation is circulated in Great Britain, France, Italy, America, and Australia, through various channels. The Irish-American Delegation's report on conditions in Ireland, and Macpherson's reply gave an opportunity of publishing letters from all parts of the country from people who were victims of the militarist system. All typed copies were sent to America and France for publication in these centres. Copies were also supplied to a number of American, Belgian, English and Colonial journalists. It is requested that members of the Ard-Comhairle and S.F. clubs should take a more active part in supplying information on local happenings to the deputation. There are many incidents connected with the military occupation of the country which do not find publication in the Press. Reports of these should be at once forwarded to headquarters, with full and accurate particulars.

American Coal.

A resolution from Cumann Thomas Davis, South Dock Ward, Dublin, to the effect that public bodies should be communicated with to ascertain the total amount of coal required by them collectively, so that same might be ordered from America, was passed.

Commission on Industries.

Arising out of a proposition by Mr. M. O'Connell, solicitor, that an Irish Economic Council be formed, the Chairman said that Dail Eireann had already set up a commission of inquiry into the resources and industries of Ireland. They had invited about 40 Irishmen who were well known for their work in the industrial, scientific and labour world in Ireland. This Commission, unlike the English Commission on Irish Industries of '85, the evidence at which was very valuable, would be in earnest in its work. The Commission would sit in Dublin about the end of September and take evidence from people all over the country on the nation's industries and resources. The Commission would also hold sittings in various parts of the country, and at the conclusion of its sittings issue reports which would indicate the lines on which industrial reconstruction in the country should proceed. The Ard-Comhairle adjourned.

The Dublin Society's Early Days

After an interval of years the glories of Ballsbridge can again find chroniclers. This is a departure over which Antrim is as likely to grow enthusiastic as Kerry. For the moment outside agencies have rendered discordant the family orchestra. But when once the horse is mentioned we are again of a harmony about what, with the dog, is man's most faithful friend.

Darker Skies than Now.

To even scan the origin of that Society which has given us our superb Show is to appreciate that amongst Irishmen the seeds for combination can always be discovered. The close of the sixteenth century shows a period as painful for our dear land as any may be brought to mind. The Boyne's decision dissipated the strength of the native race and many of the older English settlements. Now a caste was created which was encouraged to view with contempt those racial and religious characteristics that had been generally esteemed. The pampered were persuaded, according to Edmund Burke, that they could look "to the irresistible power of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water (in England) with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries only served to augment their torture. . . . Indeed, at that time in England the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists—it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious—shut up the hearts of everyone against them."

After Limerick's lamentation those

who still clung to Ireland dwelt in the house of bondage. Practically what survived of the national army passed away with Sarsfield. Weary years were to be consumed before onslaughts against France's and Ireland's enemy were to weaken the infamous Penal Code. Of course, amongst our hills a few dare-devils clutched cover. When the dragon dozed they rushed forth in quest of quarry. All was awesome in a land laid desolate. Yet again, though no larger than a man's hand, the red-dening glow was in our skies.

Champions of the Colonists.

In Peter Street there is a mansion, long fallen into decay. Under the Salvation Army, the old building now serves, in Corporation parlance, as "a nightly common lodging house" for the broken in fortune and spirit. In former days the pile was the home of the Molyneux family. To a scion of this family we owe a revival of the fires of patriotism. William Molyneux was own brother of Thomas, who wrote learnedly of the Irish wolf-dog, elk, and ancient monuments for Dublin institutions which were the precursors of the present Royal Irish Academy and Royal Dublin Society. The father of the brothers was a citizen of ours, Captain Samuel Molyneux, who held positions as a Master of Ordnance and an officer of the Irish Exchequer. The Captain's parent had been Ulster-King-at-Arms. A distinction of the entire family was their aptitude for speculative studies. Indeed, in the cases of the brothers, their communications on philosophical subjects were general with those whose reputations were accredited. But what concerns us is how, shortly after the joy of the Bells for William's victories, the spirit of Irish discontent was to be once more aroused. And that this blessed work was to be pursued by a scholar who had been fed on the paps of bigotry is all the more providential. What brooks it that the vision of William Molyneux could not embrace his whole Irish kind? Those in more enlightened days who so carp very often disturb their own outlook with the most illiberal prejudices. The sweetest fact to note is that in a year of fanaticism such as 1698, a member of Trinity College, being then but 42 years of age, could pen such a treatise as his "Case of Ireland, being Bound by Acts of Parliament made in England, Stated." The contention that "Ireland was not conquered by England—that it was annexed by compact with the native princes—that it has not ceased to be a nation, and that no Legislature but its own can legally make its laws," was confusing to the English mentality. In those days, as now, Georgian statesmen cursed the thought that Irishmen should ever grow to know each other as the brothers they are. So the decree went forth "that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the Crown and people of England, by denying the power of the King and Parliament of England to bind the King and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of England." The book was doomed to "penal fire" at the hands of England's hangman. But a few years later and the Irish and English Houses of Peers struggled for the right to settle the case between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley. Feuds between the home and foreign Legislature over money Bills began to be of recurrence. British Viceroy and Prelates were posted through whatever channels of corruption to poison the well-springs of Irish unity. With Swift for the first time the term of "patriots" came to be applied to a political party in Ireland. As M. B. Drapier, the great Dean of St. Patrick's was to pen, as a supposed merchant of St. Francis Street, his rousing appeals "to the whole people of Ireland." Amongst other home truths, he was to tell them, "in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England."

Since its inception the Dublin Society has had different habitations. From Trinity College to Shaw's Court, off Dame Street, thence to 114 Grafton Street, from there to a building on the site of the present Theatre Royal, and afterwards to Leinster House, it has migrated. All of those places have their stories, were the opportunity at hand, that would be worth the telling. The recollections of the family mansion of the Geraldines and Lord Edward and the Volunteers are still vivid. Of the museum and art school, which produced Barry, the curious may find an interesting account in Carr's "Stranger in Ireland," published in 1805. The Science and Art Museum, National Library and Botanic Gardens, we enjoy, are growths of a movement modestly inaugurated. From the old paths the work of the Society has deflected. Now the Horse Show marks its greatest achievement. Started in 1868 in Kildare Street with 368 horses, the exhibition was held there until its removal to Ballsbridge in 1881. The epitomisation of the whole recital is that Irishmen left to themselves can achieve what is humanly possible.

The Dublin Society.

Through the years indicated the promptings of the national conscience were variously expressed. In the mind of a man of independent character named Mr. Thomas Prior the scope of the Dublin Society found first conception. He was the owner of Rathdown and other lands in the Queen's County. The nucleus of the institution lay in a gathering of fourteen gentlemen on

June the 25th, 1731, in Trinity College, with the intention of considering how they could best "promote improvements of all kinds." At the meeting of the Committee held on the next 1st of July. Prior proposed "rules for the government of the Society." It was agreed that the President should be chosen annually, the officers and members be selected by ballot, and that the subscription be fixed at a yearly sum of thirty shillings. "Husbandry, manufactures, and other useful arts and sciences" were to be fostered. As interesting as the formation of an Irish Cabinet is it to learn, amongst other offices, of Dr. Stephens and Mr. Prior being respectively assigned to the secretarial charge of home and foreign affairs. Comprehensive as was the Sinn Féin Year Book, we note the Society's members discuss gardening, agriculture, natural history, husbandry, drainage, brewing, dyeing, and a wide range of topics. When he actively associated himself, about 1739, Dr. Samuel Madden became a most useful worker. A graduate of Trinity College and a citizen of Dublin, his mother was Mary, the sister of our celebrated William Molyneux. Religiously narrow in the letter of his day, Madden was broad in his view of Irish development. From his own purse he gave special premiums for growing hops, curing fish, manufacturing cloth, paper, improving the breed of cattle, sculptures in metal or stone, inventions in agriculture, etc. So we find Messrs. Wilson, Sharp and Company, of Belfast, being rewarded for making 450 tons of salt fit for curing fish, or Anne Casey, of Plunkett Street, Dublin, for the best piece of bone lace. On its own account the Dublin Society must have shocked the Prohibitionists of 1771 by offering a premium of 4s. per barrel for the first 1,000 barrels brewed in a new brewery and sold at 30s. each. So was laid the reputation of our brewing trade. Thenceforward might beautify and enhance our bogs, mountains, plains, rivers and seas was considered. For delvers beneath the earth's surface gifts were given to such as could produce fuller's earth or discover beds of fireclay and lead mines. Lest charges of exclusion should be made, the manufacture of wool combs, stocking frames, felt hats, knitting, pearl barley, broad-cloths, tanning, and the production of small and salt-petre were encouraged. Limited though it was in several respects, an Irish Parliament looked kindly on those enterprises. Then, that individual effort should not be over-taxed, it started an annual subsidy to the Society of £2,000 in 1761, which it increased to £15,500 by the year of the "Union."

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NATIONALITY.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1919.

Ireland a World Power

The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States has decided to hear the views of the representatives of the Small Nations on the Peace Treaty and the proposed League of Nations. Thus the conspiracy of the Imperialists of the world against the freedom of nations is being foiled. For this fact the world owes acknowledgment to Ireland. Ireland has insisted on keeping herself the "acid test" of the truth of those who inveigled hundreds of thousands of men to the battlefield in the belief that they were fighting for the right of every nation to be mistress at her own fireside, and Ireland has led, and is leading, the peoples of the world in the demand that the principles upon which the war was ostensibly waged by the Allied and Associated Powers shall be honoured. The London "Times" confesses so much. "The Irish seem," it writes, "to have been accorded the lead in the campaign against the League in general and British policy in particular. Not only have Chinese agitators shown sympathy with Mr. De Valera, but during his visit to San Francisco he was presented with a sword by some Hindus." "The campaign against the League" which Ireland leads is not a campaign against a League of Nations—it is a campaign against a League of Imperialists, who smugly guarantee to each other the possession of all the lands they at present possess—whether they acquired them by force or by fraud, whether they rule them well or ill, whether their peoples protest or do not protest. Never was such an imposture

attempted on mankind as the Despots' Trust which impudently styled itself "The League of Nations."

President Wilson went to Paris with a scheme for a more or less genuine League of Nations. England forced her scheme for a League of Great Powers upon him. And Ireland to-day is leading the freedom-seeking peoples of the world in the fight to destroy a greater menace to human liberty and national rights than ever was the Holy Alliance.

Ireland stands in America to-day for a true League of Nations. A League in which all nations shall be joined—a League which is not an alliance, but a union to preserve the peace of the world. Ireland has no navy on the sea—no material empire; but to-day she is a world-power. She is leading the wronged peoples of the world—she has given them new courage and new hope. Her voice is convincing the greatest of Powers—America—a Power that retains its idealism and its love for justice—that the League made in England must go, and be substituted by a true League of Nations. The Ireland that England stifled and hid away in its Parliament for a century has burst from that prison and leaped into a world-leadership—the leadership of the weak, the wronged, the oppressed nations and peoples. And so to-day, from Esthonia to Egypt, the name of Ireland is saluted and the name of Irishman, long made by English propaganda a synonym of inferiority, has become a title of honour.

Our Country's Resources

The forthcoming National Commission of Enquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland is designed to elicit reliable, accurate, and unbiased information on the real capacity of our country, to provide a sure foundation for industrial development. It is the first step in the erection of an Irish State. Hitherto we have had various and numerous societies of a commercial, agricultural, and financial character engaged in laudable efforts to promote an economic revival. But, without adequate and complete information, they were unable to lay the foundation of a single national industry. We do not disparage their patriotic work, which even yet will bear fruit. In the nature of circumstances success was impossible. Such a work requires a combined and sustained national effort such as can only be directed by the representatives of the Irish Nation, acting for and on behalf of the Irish people.

During the Elections last December the Dublin Industrial Development Association put forward an Industrial Programme to be submitted for signature to each candidate for an Irish seat. It is well to recall that programme. It is as follows:

1. A complete geological survey of Ireland, so that we may be made aware of the full resources of the country in the way of coal, metal, and minerals.
2. The development, under Irish control, of the natural resources of Ireland—turf, water-power, etc.—the working of coal and other mineral deposits; re-afforestation; the utilisation of raw materials for manufacturing purposes within Ireland; the establishment of such suitable industries as a dead meat trade, tanning and subsidiary trades, beet-growing and sugar refining, canning of fish, fruit, and vegetables, margarine manufacture, Portland cement making, etc., etc.
3. The organisation of Irish capital for Irish industrial undertakings.
4. Extension of credit-banking facilities for those engaged in productive industry.
5. The keeping in touch of the representatives of Irish constituencies with the local industrial bodies on all subjects of industrial interest, and the formation of ad hoc committees within the Party to which I belong to deal with such subjects.
6. Improvement in and co-ordination of transport facilities—road, rail, canal, and river—and the revision of freights, etc., so as to encourage trade within Ireland; control of cross-Channel freights to prevent discrimination against Irish industrial and commercial interests.
7. The creation of direct trade with foreign countries by the establishment of regular lines of steamers and the improvement of ports and the linking up of railway, etc., systems necessary to facilitate such trade.
8. The organised and consistent support of Irish-manufactured goods by all public boards and institutions and by the Irish public generally.
9. The fostering of friendly relations between employers and employed in all spheres of industry in Ireland.

At the time we wrote, endorsing this programme, in the following words:

This is a programme every paragraph of which we thoroughly support. When the representatives of our country assemble in Ireland there will not, so far as Sinn Féin is successful at the polls, be any danger of their running away from their constituencies under paragraph five. They will stay at home and carry out this programme to the letter, and, with the full weight of the Irish Nation behind them, they will guarantee its fulfilment. The Industrial Associations are doing work of essential importance, and when the poison fog of Parliamentaryism lifts, the programme of industrial development will take first place in the minds and hearts of our people, and a Nation shall rise on its foundations.

The time has now arrived for the fulfilment of these promises. The first item of the Industrial Programme calls for an inquiry so that we may be made aware of the full resources of the country in the way of coals, metals and minerals. It includes a National Commission, which will accordingly sit to determine these preliminary questions. The fact that an industrial association has been working in this field for twelve years, and finds it necessary to be made aware of the full resources of the country, provides an irresistible argument, if one be needed, in favour of the projected inquiry.

In 1885 an English Parliamentary Committee sat on Irish Industries, and took a considerable amount of evidence. But it suspended its sittings indefinitely, and never made even a report nor a recommendation to be consigned to that limbo from which no proposals have ever returned.

But this inquiry is the first to be held in Ireland for more than a hundred years under the auspices of the Irish Nation. It must from its scope be a national inquiry made with a view to laying the foundations of an economic policy which the Irish people can and will carry out, not in the interest of any political party, but in their own interest, and for their own salvation.

The whole world is ringing with schemes of reconstruction. The fabric on which the commerce, industries, agriculture, and finances of Europe rested for ages has vanished in the smoke and wreck of war. Ireland, too, has suffered, not to-day nor yesterday, but for a century and more, from a silent, secret, relentless war which has left her a struggling mass of wreckage. In common with other nations, and in comity with them, she faces the task of rebuilding her industries from the foundation up. It is a great and difficult task, but not more so than the other nations have to handle. In many respects we are favoured. We have no mighty load of debt to shoulder. We have, perhaps, a more abundant supply of food and material than the others in proportion to population. We have not the same degree of unrest nor the same degree of industrial disorder. But we have difficulties peculiar to our isolated position. There are no difficulties which cannot be overcome with the same dauntless determination and tenacity of purpose which our people have ever shown when roused.

The economic test of a nation is, perhaps, more severe than the military one for a people so highly strung as the Irish are. In the moment of battle the thrill of ardour carries away the sense of danger. But in the slow, steady, laborious tug-of-war on the field of industry it is quite a different quality which wins. It is perseverance, skill, trained intelligence, and, above all, courage, tenacity, and that doggedness which never quits. It is this quality which will now be tested, and which will, in reality, decide our position amongst the nations.

Our Butter Exports

We dealt with the butter exports recently, and dealt with the manoeuvres by which the English Pool contrived to cover the butter supply by stripping our markets. This has been done by using the Butter Export Committee, the Irish Food Control, and the Department of Agriculture in a simultaneous operation the details of which we explained on August 16. The dates are important. On July 28 the price of Irish butter for export was suddenly raised at the creameries from 260s. to 290s. This price was issued from the English Food Controller; that is to say, the English Government, operating for and on behalf of the English Pool. The price was made to date back to July 24, plainly for the purpose of intercepting the supplies already ordered or in course of transmission to the Irish home markets in Dublin and other

cities. Meanwhile the maximum for the Irish wholesale was kept down to 280s., or 16s. less than the export. This maximum was now revoked until August 1st, thus giving a full seven days during which all the creamery butter in transit was intercepted, diverted from the home market, and exported.

The result of these manoeuvres are plainly seen in the excellent weekly returns lately presented by the Statistical Branch of the Department.

Week ending	Butter.		Margarine.	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
July 5	17,319	—	2,315	1,985
12	15,209	—	1,721	2,562
19	8,894	—	1,979	2,239
26	8,682	1	1,087	1,801
Aug. 2	18,127	119	1,964	1,974
9	17,729	—	1,268	1,840

In the week ending July 19 there was a sudden fall in the exports, which alarmed the English Pool. Irish butter supplies fell to one-half of what they were a fortnight previously. The next week (July 26) revealed the same astonishing diminution. The imports of foreign butter into England were, we believe, similarly affected. Various reasons are attributed, the prolonged drought and other causes.

But on August 2 the Irish exports suddenly rose to their former level. On August 9 the weekly contribution to the Pool was maintained. This, of course, was the result of the manoeuvre. The Butter Export Committee was able to secure practically all available supplies, as it was able to outbid the Irish wholesaler by sixteen shillings. Now that margin has disappeared. The wholesaler has the privilege of paying the difference, and the Irish consumer is permitted to recoup him by paying 2d. a pound more for it.

The effect on the margarine trade can be compared alongside on the table above. The exports and imports of margarine do not appear to have been influenced to any marked degree, contrary to the general opinion. It is probable, however, that more Irish margarine is being consumed in the country. Of this we have no figures. But the tendency appears to be towards reduced exports if one can judge from the short period covered. The imports of English margarine appear to have somewhat declined, no doubt being retained for consumption in England as a result of the failure of the butter supplies. At all events, there is no sign as yet that English margarine has taken the place of Irish butter on the breakfast table, as was feared would be the case. It is understood that margarine has been substituted to the extent of about one-third for butter since July, as a result of the operations of the Pool in drawing upon Ireland to make good the English shortage. If that is the case the Irish margarine manufacturers must have seized the opportunity. They are an enterprising body, and have well advertised their products, so that they desire to reap the benefit of the turn in the market. If one cannot get Irish butter, there is an excellent substitute in Irish margarine.

At the same time, butter is an indispensable commodity for certain purposes, and it is essential that this important dairy industry should be preserved. For some years now it has been declining, and it is still vanishing. The Irish Butter Export Committee has made it known that the Irish trade with Great Britain has already fallen from forty thousand tons in 1916 to twenty thousand in 1918. It is not expected to exceed fourteen thousand tons this year. This falling off is a serious matter. It is idle and worse than futile to pretend that the advance in the export price will save it. It is due mainly to the decline in the dairy herds, a very large proportion of them having been exported in recent years. The Department of Agriculture has long and frequently been warned of the result of permitting the export of milch cows; but it was held back by the English buyers until very heavy and continuous drafts had been made on the herds. Month after month our port was filled with them passing out in thousands every week. Yet this export was permitted to go on unchecked. When the milk crisis became acute last year something was done to check the exports, but it is not sufficient to stop them. It is necessary to replace them, if possible by importation. Measures have been taken to increase the yield of the herds by means of testing societies and weeding out of bad milchers. But as long as English dealers were allowed to come over here and pick the best of the hunch, these measures were of little use, and they have not been made compulsory, nor have they been widely adopted.

If our herds had been preserved and protected, and the breeding improved, we should now be in a good position to supply both England and France with large quantities of butter, and to relieve their famine. The Department has been lately engaged in organising the supply of Irish dairy cattle to France. This is a magnificent example of killing the goose. The French should get a percentage of our butter, but our milk cattle can be of little use in relieving a famine so acute as now prevails in France. The result of such a policy of breaking-up our already depleted herds will be to promote a complete famine in Ireland and everywhere else. It is only by increasing the milk yield and consolidating, and not dispersing, our herds that a famine in Ireland can be averted.

To plant more men on the land and to place them in possession of good milcheries is essential to the future. It will help to ensure the prosperity of the country, as well as to provide a good living for those who are now landless, and it will help to sustain our export trade and to ward off famine at home and relieve it abroad.

Our Banks

There have been rumours that the big English banking combines had their eyes on the Provincial Bank of Ireland. We are glad, however, to observe that the chairman (Lord Plunkett) disposed of the rumour, and laid it to rest for the present at any rate. He declared that the absorption of the Belfast and Ulster Banks by English institutions had not done any harm to the Provincial Bank, which was "absolutely free and independent, and was not going to be amalgamated with any other." This, at least, is the robust declaration. On August 17th of last year appeared our examination of the Provincial's accounts, and we recall them now for comparison with the analysis of the current report.

Provincial Bank.			
Assets at June 30.			
(In Thousand £.)			
	1919.		1918.
	000£ p.c.		000£ p.c.
Loans	6,257 37.8		6,385 47.9
Cash	3,336 20.1		2,819 17.4
Investments	6,866 41.5		4,509 33.9
Premises...	101 0.6		101 0.2
	16,560 100.0		13,814 100.0

The funds of the bank have swollen by £3,246,000. But the discounts and advances comprised under "Loans" have not risen. They are down by £128,000. No satisfactory explanation for this shrinkage was forthcoming from the directors. It is foolish to describe it as a "small fluctuation on this considerable amount," as the chairman did. Seeing that all the other banks in Ireland have extended their accommodation, some of them by over a million, it surely requires more explanation. There must be some exceptional cause for this "fluctuation," which in reality indicates a fall from 47.9 to 37.8 in the percentage of loans to funds available for lending purposes. A fall of ten per cent. is not a small but a very big fluctuation in the composition of the bank's assets. It is probable that this bank includes Treasury Bills under the heading of discounts, and as all the banks have converted their Treasury Bills to a considerable extent into War Loan, it is to this source that "fluctuation" of loans may be attributed.

The cash increased by a million, of which more than a quarter stands covered by excess notes issued during the year, leaving the net increase of cash £736,000. This, of course, was received from depositors. We are quite unable to analyse the position, because cash nowadays in a bank report might mean anything except cash in its proper sense of coin. The most remarkable feature of the Provincial is the prodigality with which it invests money in the securities of the English Government. The investments stand now at £6,866,000, a very large sum for a commercial bank which, according to its own report, can only find £6,257,000 for its other customers. The bank seems to exist, not for commercial or financial purposes so much as for investing money on the Stock Exchange. We shall not be surprised if the next strike is the brokers or the bankers, as the latter seem to have taken the business out of the hands of the former in the Government market. We append the figures for the past three years.

Investments at June 30.		
£		Per cent. of Funds.
1917	2,346,000	24.04
1918	4,509,000	33.9
1919	6,866,000	41.5

The Provincial Bank, that "absolu-

tely free and independent" institution of finance, has handed the English Treasury four and a-half millions in two years. Its investments are placed in what it calls "British Government and Colonial Stocks, Indian Railways, and Bank of England and other Stocks." It does not appear to have invested much of its Irish depositors' money in Ireland. They are so rich and prosperous that they can afford, not merely to finance the Imperial Government and build railways for the people of India, but even to do their bit in keeping up the Bank of England.

Liabilities, June 30.			
(In Thousand £.)			
	1919.		1918.
	000£ p.c.		000£ p.c.
Capital and Reserves	975 5.9		940 7.0
Undivided Profits	45 0.3		43 0.3
Notes	2,246 13.5		1,965 14.2
Deposits...	13,294 80.3		10,866 77.9
	16,560 100.0		13,814 100.0

The reserves have increased by £35,000, a slight improvement in the financial position of the bank. Last year it increased its dividend from 12½ to 13½ per cent. without any justification. We condemned this policy last year, and we are justified, because the profits are lower than they were in 1918. In any case the policy of the bank is to be condemned from a financial point of view, because, if there is a margin of profit for distribution, it should be applied to paying the dividends on increased capital. The paid-up capital is only £540,000, a sum not adequate to the size of its growing deposits. Ten per cent. would more nearly correspond to the dividend which this bank could pay with ease and security. There appears to be a dividend competition amongst the banks. Unless this competition can be stopped, there is a serious danger involved in this form of enterprise.

The note issue has increased by £281,000. There is an explanation wanted as to why a bank whose loans are down by £128,000 finds it necessary to manufacture more paper. It appears, on the surface at all events, that these notes have not been issued to customers on foot of loans. Its cash on hand at head office, branches and in London increased by £730,000, so that it is difficult to understand that there was a shortage of paper, requiring a heavy batch of notes to be engraved. It is generally thought that there is a sufficiency of currency notes and Bradburys in circulation. The presumption is that bank paper is used to inflate the currency, and that it is put into circulation as the result of a certain policy not financial in its character. It is probable that an inquiry into the meaning of the phrase in the report, "and in London," might throw some light on the reasons which prompted an "absolutely free and independent" institution like the Provincial Bank of Ireland to receive from the public deposits amounting to £2,928,000, to lend none of it to the public, and yet to be forced to issue paper and more paper, not counting the Bradburys.

The Horse Show

The Dublin Horse Show is now styled by the Press "a national institution." We do not undervalue it. But it is not a national institution, and will not be until it weighs more the general interest of the nation and becomes less obsessed with the special interests of a class.

Practically speaking, as we pointed out years ago, the Horse Show ignores every class of horse but two—the hunter and the carriage horse. The agricultural horse, in this land of agriculture, gets small attention. As a show of hunter horses, there is nothing in Europe to equal Ballsbridge. In fostering a hunter-horse-breeding industry the Society has done good work. But hunter-horses and carriage-horses are not the most useful horses in this country. In a land of half a million farmers the farm horse, for instance, is ignored by the Horse Show which aspires to be a national institution.

For practical purposes the Horse Show is nothing but a hunter show. Only one class of horse is encouraged by it, and the others are neglected. To fulfil the duties of a national institution, it should be representative of all breeds of Irish horses. At present its challenge cups and medals go four-fifths to hunter horses and one-fifth to harness horses. Years ago we suggested that it should re-distribute some of

the cups and medals amongst the following:—

- Best Irish brood mare for light draught.
- Best Irish brood mare for heavy draught.
- Best pair of Irish-bred plough horses.

More might be added. But if these classes were taken up the benefit to the country generally, and to the farmer particularly, would be quickly appreciable. The Horse Show is a useful institution as it stands, but it serves and subserves now the interests of but one class. To be the national institution it is claimed to be, it must serve the nation as a whole. There is no difficulty in its way to do so. There is nothing to prevent it offering encouragement through next year's show for the classes of horses we have suggested.

Looking Forward

Food will be scarcer and dearer this winter and spring than it has ever been.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, the American Food Supplies Expert, has summed up the European food situation in the following alarming statement:—"The population of Europe is at least 100,000,000 greater than can be supported without imports." Again:—"A decrease of 20 per cent. of Western Hemisphere wheat would starve Europe."

The truth of the matter is that if all the food supplies of Europe were pooled and distributed equally amongst the inhabitants, there would not be enough to support the population.

Let us face facts and prepare to meet the situation. We have already had experience of the fact that English merchants and exporters will take advantage of scarcity, and turn it to their own profit. These English merchants, and the English Government, will buy food supplies in Ireland now, store them in their granaries and cold storage depots, and sell them back to us later at 100 per cent. profit, or sell them in Europe if the profit is 101 per cent. there.

The exchange value of English money is falling daily, and must continue to fall. Every fall in the value of English money increases the cost of such imports as Ireland secures from foreign countries through the medium of English exchange, for we have no currency or credit of our own. Wheat, bacon, hams, fruit, and all other food-stuffs imported from U.S.A. have increased 14 per cent. in cost since the exchange value of the English pound fell to its present level in that country. The danger we face is that Irish farmers, tempted by high prices, will sell their good Irish food supplies this autumn to English merchants for English money. In the winter and spring they will find that this English money will buy for them only a very small quantity of good or indifferent American food. Oats sold to-day to English merchants will have to be re-purchased later as oatmeal. The price of that oatmeal will be fixed by the cost of American oatmeal, and 20s. of English money will buy only 16s. worth or less of American oatmeal next winter.

Every Irish family should make provision to store and preserve a goodly supply of food, including wheat, oats, bacon, eggs, and butter. We cannot eat money, and it will be food to eat the people will require next winter and spring.

Our advice to the Irish people is: **Save now, lest you starve later.**

English Tolls on Irish Trade

Throughout the first half of the last century the foreign trade of Ireland was burdened with an illegal tax for the upkeep of an English harbour. At length a Dublin merchant with a bent for research spent some spare hours investigating the subject. He found it to be a fraudulent exaction. The Dublin Chamber of Commerce took the matter in hand; but sooner than face exposure in the courts the harbour authorities concerned, after some preliminary bluffing, decided to discontinue their dishonest levy. The facts are curious and interesting, and shed a vivid light on some of the vexatious conditions against which the shipping trade of this country had to contend in the past.

From the passing of the Act of Union down to the year 1846 the Commission-

ers of Ramsgate Harbour of Refuge exacted a toll of twopenny per ton on all shipping merely passing the harbour en route to any port in Ireland. This charge was enforced at the Custom Houses here, and clearances were refused to ships until the amount was paid. Thus the unjust dues were levied with the approval of the Government. But on whose authority was the claim of Ramsgate based? On that of an obscure local Act of George III. passed in 1792, at a time when the statutes of the British Parliament did not bind in Ireland. And so little public was it that, though the trade of Ireland was taxed under it, not a law library in Dublin possessed a copy of the measure! Such a copy was, however, at length unearthed; and, upon a case being submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland, the opinion was obtained that the exaction was illegal. This fact was thereupon brought to the notice of the Ramsgate Harbour Board in the hope that they would promptly discontinue their outrageous toll. But they wouldn't. Instead they prepared to brazen it out by submitting a case on their own behalf to the Attorney-General of England.

The Ramsgate case was framed so cunningly that the English law officer could only give misleading answers. For instance, one of the queries was: "Whether the Commissioners might appoint collectors in Ireland?" The answer was that they might; and so might they appoint collectors in any part of Europe, further replied the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. But a very different question was whether these collectors could board and hold up a vessel in an Irish port until the toll was paid. Another of the Ramsgate queries was: "Whether they could sue in the Irish Law Courts for tolls due to them?" Counsel told them they might, and the Chamber of Commerce added that so could anyone else, provided they could prove a debt legally due. Finding eventually that they had not a leg to stand upon, the Commissioners magnanimously withdrew their collectors from the ports of Ireland, having for half a century drawn from Irish trade a tax to a single halfpenny of which they were not entitled!

When Anne was Queen she granted a patent to William Trench, one of her English subjects, to build a lighthouse on Skerries Rock, off the Welsh coast, and to levy tolls on ships passing by or near the rock. Owing to certain flaws in the patent, however, William discovered, to his disgust, that the vessels trading with Irish ports would escape his tax. So he pulled the wires, and at length contrived to do by English statute what he could not do by English charter.

The Westminster Parliament, sympathising with his motive, passed a Bill enacting that the dues granted by the patent should continue in force till the end of time, and that in future dues should be paid by ships trading to or from particular ports in Ireland. That was all the English owner of the Welsh lighthouse required. Armed with an Act of Parliament, he had now Irish shipping as much at his mercy as that of Great Britain, and the scrupulous exactitude with which he levied his tolls may be gathered from the fact that he derived from the foreign trade of Dublin alone an annual income of £5,000. Skerries Rock stands off Holyhead, but the lighthouse dues were demanded from vessels that did not pass by, or near, or even within sight of that part of the Cambrian coast, whether loaded or in ballast. Moreover, such dues were always at least four times as heavy as the tax fixed by the Irish Lighthouse Board for any lighthouse on the coast of Ireland!

Like the Ramsay Harbour Commissioners, the Skerries lighthouse owner had the English Customs officers at his back. In fact, in this case they were the actual collectors of the tolls, and as they worked on a commission basis, and would give no clearance until the tax was paid, masters of vessels had no alternative. Eighty years ago, however, the shipping companies of Dublin combined to test the legality of the exaction. Bringing an action in the name of one of their members against the then owner of the Skerries lighthouse, they obtained a verdict that the tolls were illegal on the ground that at the establishment of the Legislative Independence of 1782, it was conceded that English laws did not bind Ireland, and the Skerries Lighthouse Act, having been passed in England anterior to 1782, had therefore no force. It was a notable victory, although not achieved until a private English enterprise had succeeded in illegally drawing some hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling out of Irish trade and commerce.

T. O'H.

An Uile Short Ni

Chúig bliana ó shoin, nuair a bhí Connradh na Gaedhilge ad iarraidh bheith beo agus gur ar éigin fhead se e, dá geintí an cheist chun muintir na hÉireann: "A bhfuil sibh fabhrúil don Ghaedhilg? Ar mhaith i dhifanúint againn?"—dearfadh a bhfuirfear go rabhdar ar aon intinn leis an gConnradh i dtaobh na Gaedhilge, ach ina dhiadh san is uile bhí an Ghaedhilg a meath go tigh agus bhí staid an Chonnartha chéile san gur cheap a lan daoine gur saol gearridh nea-shuire a bhí i ndán do. Tá an Connradh beo fós agus é a dul i bhfeabhas in aghaidh an lae agus tá an Ghaedhilg a toigint a cinn arís ins gach aon bliadh agus ní hamháin go bhfuil na Gaedhilgeoirí dachais a claoi léi ar chuma ná deimidis fiche bliain, ná de'ch bliana féin, ó shoin, ach dá fhoghlóin agus dá cleachtadh ar fuaid na Gaillidh. Biodh a bhaochas san ar na fearaibh a thuit sa choinmheas sa bhliain 1916 agus ar na buidheanta beaga thall is i bhfuil ar fuaid na tíre do choimeád bratach na Gaedhilge anáirde nuair ba dhoirehe agus ba dhuibhe bhí an saol aici. Ce go bhfuil morán le deanamh fós sara mbeidh buadh iomlán ag an seanathéangain ar theangain na nGall tá an Ghaedhilg ina daiseacht dáriribh againn agus i ag gluaiseacht ar aghaidh go breá agus áireachadh lian sa deire ach leanúint ar an obair go dian i gcoinbhúil.

Fé mar a bhí an Ghaedhilg agus eúis na Gaedhilge in Éirinn chúig bliana ó shoin is mar sin atá eúis Home Rule in Albain fe lathair do reir na haiste atá ag "One of the Onlookers" sa "Scottish Review." Tá nachmor gachéinne in Albain ar aon intinn ina thaobh ach ina dhiadh san is beag gleo atá dhá dtheangain ina thaobh. O tharla gur leanbh le gachéinne é is docha nach leanbh le héinne e. Níl faic a dheanamh ar a shon. Níl éinne ar buile chun Home Rule thall agus níl aon dream a cur ina choinbhúil. Na taoisig fé ndear cuid mhór de sin. Níl puinn mathasa ionta ach tá na daoine coitianta go maith, níos fearr go mór ná mar is dó linne anso in Éirinn iad a bheith. Cuimhnighid siad ar Shearlas agus ar Fhlora níe Dhomhnaill agus a na fearaibh a dhein troid ar son a dtíre sa tsean aimsir agus is suarach an driuch atá ar Home Rule in aice na nithe sin, dar leo. Is cuimhin leo, leis, gurb é rud a theastuig an dream a bhí a troid fadó i bParliament Shasana na deire do chur le Lacht na hAondachta, a cuireadh ar bun cupla céad bliain ó shoin le gach saghas fill agus alaoise. Mar sin ní mor le rídh Home Rule, dar leo, i geomortas leis na nithe sin. Rud gan fuil ann isea é agus ní mharbhóch éinne é féin ar son a litheid.

O tharla go bhfuil san mar sin nár choir des na daoine a thuigean an seál rud eigin go bhfuil fuil ann agus feoil air do thespaint dosna daoine? Maran miste le Gaedhil cheannasacha na hAlban éisteacht le comhairle óm litheid-se dearfann leo gur cheart doibh buidhean bheag a thabhairt le chéile agus é bheith mar chuspóir aca républic a chur ar bun in Albain ar pé cuma inar bhfeidir é, le neart nó le gastacht, le cam nó le díreach. Níl aon dabht ná go bhfuighdis cabhair san obair ósna na hÉireannaig atá in Albain agus maidir liine anso in Éirinn bheadh áthas orainn ar mbeannacht a thabhairt doibh agus eúamh. leis, dá bhfeadainis é. Dfeadfais an tír go léir a shídh agus na daoine do theagosc agus mórbh fhada go mbeadh na daoine leo más fíor a ndéir "Onlooker" ina dtaobh. Ní bheadh aca ansan ach na feisiri a thabhairt abhaile, Dáil Alban a chur ar bun, an républic dfgairt, agus a rídh leis na Gaill glannadh amach as an dtír. Níor mhiste dhoibh, leis, a n-uachtarán do chur anonn go hAmérica agus ba threiside an dá chúis (eúis na hÉireann agus eúis na hAlban) a chéile sa tír sin. Maidir leis an gcuid eile níor gha dhoibh ach páipéir nuachta na hÉireann do léigh-eamh agus aithris a dheanamh ar gach a ndéantar sa tír seo: rídh gearálta agus ifríonn i gcoilchinné a chur ar siúl. Ní fada a bheidis a déanamh aithris orainne go mbeadh feabhas curtha ar ár bplean na aca. I gceann cupla bliain bheadh "seanfhoceal" nua ag na Sasanaig: an diabhal anfos, an fhearhainn anuas, an Éireannach ariar, an tAlbannach a dtuaidh.

Ní fheadar cad déarfadh Ruairidh Arasain is Mháirr leis an méid sin. Thuigean seisean ar aon chuma nách ar chaint, ná ar phrogramana na buidhne seo ná na buidhne úd, a mhairid náisiúin. Ar ghníomhartha a mhairid siad agus le gníomhartha a tógat sues iad.

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II.

The passing of strictures by Spenser was not the only effort made to wean the people, both the nobles and commonalty, from the use of their native garments. Sir John Perrott, Deputy, made presents of cloaks cut in the English fashion to the various Irish and Anglo-Irish lords—but, though they accepted them, they still continued the use of their own long-flowing mantles, while the country people clung to their warm friezes. In the reign of James I. attempt was made to damn the glibbe, which Spenser had also anathematised as a mark for all kinds of villainy. Sir John Davies, writing in 1613, rejoices that the enactments of James have "reclaimed the Irish from their wildness, caused them to cut off their glibbes and long haire, to convert their mantles into cloaks, to conform themselves to the manner of England in all their behaviour and outward forms," so that he hopes "the next generation will in tongue, and heart, and every-way else become English; so as there will be no difference or distinction but the Irish Sea betwixt us." Despite innovations, however, the women continued spinning, dyeing, and weaving the wool, and cutting the clothes of the nation after the fashion of their ancestors. We know that practically all the towns were then, and for many centuries previous, occupied by the English, and that trade corporations, composed almost exclusively of Englishmen, or men of English descent, existed in them. But the fairs, at which the greater portion of the commerce of the country was transacted, were controlled by the Irish, and there the clothing commodities sold consisted exclusively of fabrics made by the people of the materials grown by themselves, and of clothes fashioned after the styles of their ancestors. We find the merchants of France, Brabant and Flanders with agencies in Youghal, Waterford, Cork and elsewhere, for the exportation of Irish wool and woollen goods; and Captain, the Jesuit, describes Waterford and Dungarvan as full of traffic with England, France and Spain. Galway everyone knows to have been a famous trading port with the south of Europe; and Irish fabrics were held in such esteem abroad that in Catalonia, in Northern Spain, the inhabitants, taking advantage of the prevailing taste, supplied France with serges of their own make which they passed off as Irish.

All this industrial activity finding an outlet for its production as far away as Florence had been in existence for ages before the Earls sailed from Lough Swilly and the planters came to the North to steal the fields and uplands from the gallant children of the Hi Niall. Yet people quote Froude to justify them in attributing the commencement of manufacture of any kind in Ireland to the advent of the gentry sent over here by the Companies of Skinners, Fishmongers, Haberdashers,

Vintners, etc. Mr. Froude says they "came over to earn a living by labour in the land which had produced little but banditti," and that "for the first time the natural wealth of Ireland began to reveal itself, commerce sprang up, busy fingers were set to work on loom and spinning wheel, fields fenced and drained grew yellow with rolling corn, and the vast herds and flocks which had wandered at will on hill and valley were turned to profitable account." Yet, as Mrs. Sarah Atkinson points out, in this very reign, in the year 1622, to be exact, it was proposed to put a restraint on Irish wools and woollens, the exportation of which was calculated to interfere prejudicially with England's foreign trade. In the succeeding reign we find Ireland engaged in a great trade with Spain and Portugal in "hides, wool, yarn, rugs, blankets, and sheepskins with the wool." To meet this, Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Charles's Deputy, proposed to levy a tax on bees, to secure for the Castle Government a monopoly of salt and of tobacco, and, by imposing exorbitant rates on raw wool and manufactured woollens, compel the people to purchase their clothes from England. The Irish were to be prevented from weaving or spinning their own wool, but this same wool was first to be taken to England, where it was to pay a heavy import duty, and when turned into cloth carried back to Ireland, where another import duty was to be levied. However, the turn of politics in England put an effective end to Strafford's plotting. "The Tour of the French traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644," edited by Crofton Croker for the Antiquarian Society, gives us an idea of the Irish dress of the middle 17th century. "Their breeches are a pantaloen of white frieze, which they call trousers, and for mantles they have five or six yards of frieze drawn round the neck, the body, and over the head. The women wear a very large mantle, the cape being made of coarse woollen frieze, in the manner of the women of Lower Normandy. They (the Irish) import wine and salt from France and sell their frieze cloths at good prices." Father Meehan, in his "Irish Hierarchy in the 17th Century," quotes the reference of Rinuccini's Secretary to "the sheep of the country, from which fine wool is made." Sir William Petty, ancestor of the Marquis of Lansdowne, writing in 1672 of the dress of the Irish peasantry, says "their clothing is far better than that of the French peasants, or the poor of most countries, which advantage they have from their wool, whereof twelve sheep furnish a competency to one of these families, which wool and the cloth made of it doth cost these poor people no less than £50,000 per annum for the dyeing of it, a trade exercised by the women of the country." And again, "the diet, housing and clothing of the 16,000 families who are computed to have more than one chimney in their houses is much the same as in England; nor is French elegance unknown in many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues; the latter thereof is very frequent among the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin." For a long time previous to this an extensive cattle and live-stock trade had been carried on with England, but in 1663 an Act of the English Parliament was passed prohibiting the importation from Ireland of cattle (dead or alive), sheep or swine, beef, pork, or bacon. Three years later the importation of horses was prohibited, along with cheese and butter, so that consternation seized the English element in Ireland, who had been mainly depending on their foreign markets for existence. The crisis decided the great Duke of Ormonde to fall back on the woollen trade, until then absolutely monopolised by the Catholic Celts; and, having succeeded in getting the restraints upon the exportation of commodities of Irish growth and manufacture to foreign countries removed, he brought over several colonies of woollen weavers, who started woollen factories in Clonmel, Kilkenny and Carrick; other colonies gathered round Limerick, Waterford, Kinsale and Cork, and business flourished remarkably well until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1688, whereby the plantations were smashed up, and the manufactures practically extinguished. With the fall of James the colonists getting the upper hand again revived the woollen trade. Gradually Catholic artisans and wool-growers began to gather strength in the trade; France, the old friend, provided them with a ready market for any surplus that remained after supplying the home demand; and so strong did they become that it was feared the estates of the Protestants would ultimately fall into

their hands by purchase. "The peasantry," says Matthew O'Connor in his "History of the Irish Catholics," "thus acquired valuable interests, and became a rich, a sturdy, and an independent yeomanry; even that miserable race known by the name of cut-throats, the working slaves of the Irish gentry, were in a more thriving and prosperous condition in those days than at any subsequent period. Most of them were in possession of a cow, two goats, and six or seven sheep." But the nation which had broken the Articles of Limerick was not likely to allow much latitude, even to men of their own kindred settled elsewhere, and accordingly the English Parliament and the English King, William III., bowed to the wishes of the English people, and by the 10th and 11th Act of William III. suppressed the manufacture of Irish woollens in toto. The extent to which the trade had grown may be gauged from the articles enumerated in the statute—wool, woollens, worsted, wool flocks, woollen yarn, cloth, serges, shalloons, cloth, serge, bays, kerseys and days, friezes, druggets, etc. A fine of £40 was threatened on the master and every sailor of a vessel carrying such goods abroad, and the vessel itself was to be forfeited, and, further, in order effectually to stop the exportation, two ships of the fifth-rate, two of the sixth-rate, and eight armed sloops were appointed to constantly cruise between Ireland and Scotland with power to board and search any vessel supposed to contain the prohibited goods. The result was immediate destitution among artisans, and the commencement of emigration to America. Several families of Catholic artisans removed to the north of Spain and to France, and there started manufactures which eventually ousted English traders in woollen textiles from the markets of the Continent. It was against this outrageous legislation that William Molyneux rose, and Swift wrote his inimitable pamphlets. But it has to be pointed out that the only people who suffered by the enactments of the English King and Parliament were the very men who, themselves or their fathers, had been imported into Ireland to make it an English colony. The Catholic population bothered little about English kings or their enactments. "The Wild Geese," flying to join the armies of France, Spain and Austria, opened up markets for the wool which their kindred at home continued to grow, and the trade of the natives with the Continent increased in spite of armed cruisers and revenue men. All along the West and South, and indeed from every little port and inlet around the island, barques sped to France bearing fleeces and wool for the manufactories of Rouen, Abbeville, Amiens, Beauvais, etc. I may mention here a custom of those days which still survives in Fingal—that portion of Dublin extending from the Tolka north to the Delvin River, and from the sea west to the borders of Meath. The people of this district have got the reputation of niggardliness and inhospitality, because their doors are always shut during mealtime. This custom arises not, however, from an un-English niggardliness, but is a lingering custom of those wool-smuggling days when the household, gathering around the table at meal-times to discuss the various ramifications of the trade in which they were engaged, naturally bolted the door against interlopers. Eventually the men engaged in the traffic became so fearless that they ventured boldly into such ports as Cork, Waterford, and Wexford, and shipped their goods under the noses of the soldiers sent to prevent them. Other means, too, were adopted: the wool being combed, put into butter firkins or provision-barrels, and sent through the Custom House as salt provisions. Well-known merchants of Wexford, Waterford and Youghal brought their ships into Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo and Bordeaux, and disposed of their cargoes there in full view of the English who frequented these places. Froude throws rather a luminous light on this period—"The entire nation, high and low, was enlisted in an organised confederacy against the law. Distinctions of creed were obliterated, and resistance to law became a bond of union between Catholic and Protestant, Irish Celt and English Colonist, from the great landlord, whose sheep roamed in thousands over the Cork mountains, to the gauger who, with conveniently blinded eyes, passed the wool-packs through the Custom House as butter-barrels; from the magistrate, whose cellars were filled with claret on the return voyage of the smuggling craft, to the judge on the bench, who dismissed as frivolous and vexatious the various cases which came before the court to be tried.

(To be continued).

* A lecture delivered by William Rooney before the Celtic Literary Society, Dublin, 4th January, 1901.

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£20,000 Invested in Irish Trustee Stocks as Security for the Life Policyholders.
All funds will be invested in Ireland and the Company's assets used to help Irish Enterprise.
A few additional Representatives wanted.
LAWRENCE CASEY, Managing Director.

SEA FOOD. PICKLED HERRINGS.

I am now offering large lot splendid gutted "full" Dublin Bay Herrings to Irish Fish Dealers and to the Shop Trade, part of Fancy Cure made up for American Market.

HARP BRAND.

In whole barrels of 250lbs. and half barrels of 125lbs., net weight. Latter Great Value for Farmers to lay aside for Winter use.

NO ORDER TOO LARGE.

NO ORDER TOO SMALL.

Price List on application. Correspondence invited.

MAURICE WARD, WHOLESALE FISH CURER, HOWTH

"ULCERINE" THE HEALER

Cures Bad Legs, Varicose Ulcers, Piles, and Indolent and Suppurating Sores of all Kinds.
Dear Sir—I received the "ULCERINE" all right, thanks ever so much for sending it. The woman I got it for has been in hospital for the past twelve months, and the leg has been bad for three years. I need not tell you your Ointment is doing a fine old work, and I am delighted with it. Please send on three more boxes—Yours truly, M. STACK.
1/PER POT. F.D.SMYTH, Chemist
POST 3d EXTRA 43, GREAT BRUNSWICK ST., DUBLIN.

City of Dublin Assurance Society

(Cumann Urradair Caipac Baile-Átha Cliath)
Claims Paid Promptly.
Liberal terms offered to Irish Irelanders (Ladies and Gentlemen) willing to act as agents.
All Funds Invested in Irish Securities.
G. W. Guest, Gen. Manager and Sec. Head Offices, D'Usher Chambers, Dublin

SEND US YOUR PRESCRIPTIONS

Your Orders for Family Medicines, Veterinary Preparations, and Toilet Requisites.

We send per return Post Free.
Whelan & French,
MANUFACTURING CHEMISTS,
60 PATRICK ST., CORK.

W. K. CAHILL
(Late of Cahill, Optician to His Holiness the Pope)

22 Dawson Street, Dublin.

DWYER & CO., Cycle Agents,
4 Arran Quay.

500 SECONDHAND BICYCLES (Ladies' and Gents'), prices £4 10s., £5 10s., £6 10s., £7 10s., to £8 10s., carriage paid. Also 500 Stove-Enamelled Frames, all sizes, Ladies' and Gents'; trade supplied. Also New Covers from 6s. 6d. to 18s. Tubes from 3s. 6d. to 6s. 9d., carriage paid. Also New Machines from 11 to 15 guineas; Dunlop Tyres and Brooks' Saddles.

NO SHORTAGE OF ANYTHING.
All Gaels will get the right hand of good fellowship at

DEERE'S HOTEL,
Gooldscross, Tipperary,
Central for Rock of Cashel, Holycross Abbey, Thomastown Castle (Home of Fr. Mathew). Good Fishing River Snir, one mile, Livery Stables, etc.

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!
Gaels: Call on us or send to us for any Books you require. Any Book not in stock procured and forwarded with the utmost despatch.
We buy Books too. Highest cash prices given for them.
O'Donnell & MacDonogh
(Dowling and McGuinness),
1 NORTH FREDERICK ST., DUBLIN.

SKIN FREE FROM BLEMISH

For instant relief and speedy cure of all kinds of Skin Trouble there is nothing to equal the magical healing and soothing of this great Irish Remedy.
A box should be kept handy in every Irish Household—it banishes Skin Trouble from the home.
Gibsol
The Irish Household Ointment
Of all Chemists 1/3 or post free from The Makers, J. Gibson & Co., Clare Lane, Dublin

ARD CRAOBH SINN FEIN, 6 HARCOURT STREET,

Will hold the Greatest Aeridheacht of the Season at
THE LAWN, PETER'S PLACE,
ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th.
ADMISSION SIXPENCE.
AN IRISH INDUSTRIAL AND HOME PRODUCE STALL
will be held in connection with above. The Ard-Craobh will be glad to receive Presents in Money or Goods for this Stall. Persons willing to contribute to this Stall will kindly write Secretary of above Branch.
Irish Manufacturers should not miss this opportunity for publicity.

O'NEILL'S

For Value in
IRISH BUTTER, BACON AND HAMS
Note ...
60 UPPER DORSET STREET,
DUBLIN. MacD.A.A.

DON'T PAY INCOME TAX

WITHOUT CONSULTING ME.
Since last February I have reduced the British Revenue from Ireland by over
£13,000
Abatements, Accounts, Repayments,
Joseph MacDonagh, 58 Dame St., Dublin.

PIANOS.

If you Want a good new Piano, Want a good second-hand Piano, Want to exchange an old Piano, Want any make of Piano repaired or tuned, write or call to
The Progressive Irish Firm,
QUINN & CO., 29 UP. ABBEY ST., Dublin.
We Publish and Sell Irish Music.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Advertisements under this head are charged at the rate of 1d. per word; minimum, 1/-.

SITUATIONS VACANT.
IRISH NATIONAL ASSURANCE COY. requires additional agents in Louth, Meath, Carlow, Wicklow, and Queen's Co. good terms and prospects. Apply to Divisional Manager, 2 St. Andrew St., Dublin.
WANTED, Irish-speaking General Maid or Mother's Help. 3 Belgrave Square, Rathmines.
WANTED for City, middle September, fully trained general maid; wages £20; some help given; family two; Irish speaker preferred. Apply F. 10, "Nationality." AO
WANTED—Two artists to take part in a country aeridheacht. Apply, stating terms, to "Ignorant," "Nationality" Office.

SITUATIONS WANTED.
DISMISSED Civil Servant—Oath of Allegiance Victim—is prepared to take up position as a farmer's labourer; near an Irish-speaking district preferred. Will some Sinn Féin farmer oblige? Apply D 7, "Nationality." EN
SHORTLY disengaged, thoroughly competent Accountant; experience all counting-house work; lodgers, correspondence, cash-books, cash, etc.; young man, T.T.; well educated, honours certificates, highest references. Apply F. 9, "Nationality." YOUNG Man, at present employed on a farm, would like to go as Apprentice to a Bootmaker; state terms. Apply D 8, "Nationality."

NOTICES.
ARD-CRAOBH Sinn Féin, 6 Harcourt St. Tenth Propaganda Lecture will be delivered at above on Monday next at 8.30 p.m. by Michael O'Loaigh.
SOUTH ANTRIM Comhairle Ceanntair—Result of Ballot for £1 Note: Winning Number, 1872.
STOP WATCH Competition, Dr. O'Dwyer S.F. Club, Wexford. Results will be announced in "Nationality," Sept. 27th.

MISCELLANEOUS.
ANY Name in Irish or English made with Rolled Gold Wire on Plain Mother-of-Pearl or Tricolour Brooch, 1/4; on Superior Leaf Pearl, 1/6; Wholesale Price List Post Free. From Edward Healy, Brooch Manufacturer, 128 Francis St., Dublin.
A SLENDID ART PICTURE—"Trial of Roger Casement, 1/-; Republican Badges 1d. to 3d. Brooches and Republican Souvenirs Postcards, etc. Wholesale Trial Order, 2/6, or Price List sent free.—Irish Supply Depot, 1st floor, 20 Redmond's Hill, Dublin.
COATES' Embrocation (Irish-Made), invaluable for Rheumatism, Muscle Strain, Chest Complaints, etc. AO
DONEGAL and KERRY TWEEDS—Suit Lengths, 50/-; Costumes, 65/-. Also other Stock Tweeds and Overcoatings. Send 3d. patterns, Bantry Woollen Mills, Co., Bantry, Co. Cork.

FIREWOOD and TURF for sale; delivered at any railway station in lots of 2 tons and upwards; turf perfectly dry, and timber cut in lengths of 12 or 14 inches. Apply T. P. Stapleton, Friar St., Thurles.
"IRISH LACE," half price.—Gordon's Pioneer Lace Depot, 44 Mary Street, Dublin.
TRICOLOUR Tara Brooches, 1/8, 2/-, 2/8; also small sizes, mounted on tie, safety and hat pins, 1/8 each; Matchbox Cases, with photos Pearse, MacDermott, Dr. O'Dwyer, Connolly, De Valera, 1/2 each; Traders, send 5/- for samples of quick selling lines. Farrell, Manufacturer, Publisher and Wholesaler, Roscommon. CO

HOTELS.
IRISH-IRELANDERS visiting Sixmilecross, stay at Rodgers Bros., "Tourists' Rest," Sixmilecross; terms moderate; 3 miles from Altamuskil Post Office.

APARTMENTS.
MYRTLEVILLE, Ardmore, Youghal. Select Furnished Apartments, with attendance; native Irish-speaking district; historic ruins; beautiful strand; unrivalled headland. AO

THANKSGIVINGS.
BUIACHAS le Croidhe Naomhtha Iosa ina dhéan Dé orm.—L.

HOME HAPPINESS GOES



WITH
MAGEE'S
Provisions & Groceries
WM. MAGEE & CO., Rathmines,
TERENURE & BLACROCK, Co. DUBLIN.

FISH.

I am now open to supply
FISHDEALERS
all over Ireland with
FRESH AND CURED HERRINGS.
All Orders promptly attended to.
Write or Wire—

JOHN HAUCHEY, HOWTH.

WHOLESALE AGENTS.

Dublin—Messrs. Eason and Son, Gt. Brunswick St., and Belfast.
Messrs. Dawson and Son, 5 and 6 Molesworth Place, Molesworth St.
Liam Pedlar, 68 Capel St.
Cork—Messrs. Seán O'Cuill and Co., 95 Patrick St.
Messrs. News Bros., 20 Bowling Green St.
Belfast—Messrs. Porter and Co., 123 Old Lodge Road.

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