

LOCAL ELECTIONS

WILL TAKE PLACE

ON

15 JANUARY, 1920

Éire Óg YOUNG IRELAND

VOTE

FOR

OUR

CANDIDATES.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

Current Comments

On his return to New York recently, after his record-breaking tour of the United States, Mr. De Valera was enthusiastically welcomed by an assembly which was only surpassed in numbers by the monster gathering which had filled Madison Square Gardens to hear him previous to his departure on his long journey. Although only a few hours' notice of his coming had been received, thousands of cheering people, carrying the Irish and American flags, thronged the Pennsylvania station to greet Ireland's representative. Another magnificent welcome was given to Mr. De Valera at the New York State Convention of the Friends of Irish Freedom, which was held on the following day. More than a thousand delegates from all parts of the country cheered themselves hoarse for twenty minutes before they gave him a chance to speak," says an American exchange.

Judge Coghlan, in a speech to the Convention, said in part: "What consummate masters of hypocrisy are the British governing classes! They have deceived the world for generations, and because of their success in the past they hope to be able to continue to deceive the world. Yesterday Lord Carson struck the latest variation of English Imperialism when he declared that England remains in Egypt, forsooth, because the Egyptians are not capable of maintaining a stable government among themselves, or a government that would withstand aggression from without. The same thing has been said about India, about Ireland, and much of mankind, because of the constant reiteration of these statements, has come to regard British Imperialism as almost an essential condition of world-peace, instead of which it is one of the few remaining causes of further wars." Continuing, Judge Coghlan pointed out that England had no right in Egypt, nor in India, nor in Ireland, and declared that before final peace came to the world England would be compelled to retire from these countries, and leave them to be governed by their own people in their own way.

"We have just broken down militarism after four years of dreadful war, in which millions of people have gone down to their death and billions of treasure have been squandered. We are now sitting idly by and permitting England to strengthen and extend her system of navalism, which is a greater menace to the liberties of mankind than was militarism in its palmy days. By reason of the extraordinary growth of our industrial system, we produce in 8 months all that we can consume in a year, and are therefore dependent upon the markets of the world for 4 months of every year in order to keep our industries going and our people employed," he added. "To reach these markets it is necessary to cross the seas, and England is every day increasing her power upon the seas, so that she may, at any time that it serves her interest or suits the temper of her governing classes, be able to say to us that we cannot use the seas and must confine American business and American commerce to our own country."

The Irish Leader, Dr. MacCartan (representative for King's County), and Mr. Burke-Cockran also addressed the Convention.

During his recent tour Mr. De Valera visited Medford, where he was enthusiastically received. A belated report of his visit to that city records that the Rev. John Powers travelled three hundred miles the previous week to meet and greet the Irish Leader at Vancouver, Washington. In response to the cordial invitation of the Rev. John Powers, Mr. De Valera agreed to visit Medford. On his arrival he was met by Mayor Gates, Colonel George Mims, and other distinguished citizens. After a brief stay in the city, the Committee invited Mr. De Valera to visit Ashland,

but as the Irish Leader was timed to reach San Francisco the next day he said he would not be able to accept the invitation. Mayor Gates assured him that there was no danger of his being late, and good humouredly promised to procure, if need be, an aeroplane to ensure Mr. De Valera's timely arrival in San Francisco. In the circumstances Mr. De Valera consented to motor to Ashland, Mayor Gates acting as chauffeur. The Most Rev. Archbishop A. Christie, who was in Ashland administering Confirmation on the day in question; Father Lane, Father Conaty, and Father Meagher went to the station to bid farewell and God-speed to the Irish Leader as he entrained for San Francisco.

When the Anti-Irish Mission, led by Mr. Cooze, arrived in America the representative of Ireland greeted it with a friendly challenge to debate the case of Ireland before an American audience. Although we may assume that Mr. Cooze and his colleagues did not travel thousands of miles without putting their heads together and drafting a case, if indeed they had not been supplied with one by their legal advisers before they embarked, they have so far refrained from accepting the challenge made by Mr. De Valera. The Irish Leader suggested that a wholly Protestant American Commission be appointed to investigate and report on the truth or otherwise of Ireland's claims, but as Mr. Cooze and his colleagues had evidently been "instructed" to stick to the well-beaten tracks of the English propagandists, they contented themselves with serving out the usual anti-Irish jargon to the American Press.

In reply to the prepared statement issued by the Anti-Irish Mission, Mr. De Valera issued a declaration which, as far as an Irish paper published in Ireland may reproduce it, reads:—

"The morning papers report the arrival of members of the Ulster Unionist Council. They are the representatives of a political party in Ireland which, at the General Elections held a year ago under British supervision, and according to British ballot law, secured only 308,713 votes out of a total of 1,616,779 votes cast, i.e., they are the representatives of a minority political party that secured the votes of only some 23 per cent. of the Irish electors. They say they are come to America 'in the interests of law and order, of truth and honesty, of fair play and principle.' Nothing could be better; we, too, are here in the interest of these self-same principles, so that we start on common ground. We are certain the American public will judge between us on these as a basis. Let the question at issue between us then be argued out logically and calmly on a basis of facts, without the introduction of epithets which are simply abusive, or assertions which are without foundation. . . ."

The declaration goes on to propound nine questions, which Mr. De Valera says "it would be well if the delegation would answer" for the American public. We set out these questions in part:—

1. What right has the British Government to rule in Ireland?
2. How does it maintain its rule there to-day? How has it maintained its rule there in the past?
3. Why should not the majority of the people of the Irish Nation determine the government of Ireland, as is done in all free national states?
4. Is the Irish question not in truth a very simple one, very easy to understand, very easy to find a solution for? Is it not simply a question of domination of one nation by another, militarily the stronger, and the unwillingness of that stronger nation, by reason of its selfish interest, to allow the weaker 'to choose its own way of life and obedience'?
5. Is it not true that Irishmen and Irishwomen who are striving to secure for their country the same inde-

pendence that Washington and Jefferson and their comrades secured for the United States are persecuted by the Government that wishes to keep their country in dependence and servitude, and that the people of Ireland are suffering to-day practically from all the grievances against which the United Colonies revolted here in 1776?

"6. Is it not a fact that British rule in Ireland is at present a military regime, a regime of an army of occupation comparable to the German regime in Belgium when the Germans entered into effective control of Belgian territory?"

"7. Is it not a fact that Ireland is suffering from the consequences that naturally follow in the train of the military occupation of any country—denial of the right of public assembly; suppression of free speech on platform and in press; suppression of the people's Parliament; imprisonment of the people's Parliamentary representatives; denial of the right of trial by jury, and of the other safeguards to individual liberty which customarily obtain in civilised communities; violent acts of aggression, . . ."

"8. Is it not a fact that history shows that whenever nations were struggling for their freedom against the rule of the foreigner there was always a section of the people who supported the foreigner—for example, the Loyalists and Tories in Washington's day? Is it right that such a minority section should impose its veto on the will of the majority?"

"9. Is it not a fact that the movement for Irish Independence has had for its most distinguished leaders during the past century and a half Irishmen who were not of the Catholic faith—for example, Grattan and Flood, Wolfe Tone, the father of the present republican movement; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmet, Mitchel, Davis, Smith O'Brien, Butt and Parnell? Almost conclusive evidence in itself that the sectional division in Ireland is not on the basis of religious belief."

"These questions can all be readily answered," concluded Mr. De Valera. "They are questions of fact. The American people need to be enlightened on these facts if they are to come to a true judgment. If there is any difference of opinion between us as to facts we can arrange a commission of investigation. . . . we are ready to support and to give every possible facility for such a commission. It could be composed, say, of two clergymen nominated by us, two nominated by the Ulster Unionist delegation, and a chairman on whom we could mutually agree, all to be Americans and Protestants. This commission could report to the American people with authority. . . . We trust that the delegation will debate this question with us freely and frankly before the American public. We are ready to meet them anywhere on any common platform."

The following letter was also sent to Mr. Cooze and his colleagues:—

"Gentlemen,—Noting your arrival in America, we, the Protestant Friends of Ireland, gladly welcome you. The Irish issue is one which must be solved, and the interests of fair play and veracity demand that all who have information be heard. A question which cannot stand upon discussion is one which is basically wrong, and so we desire to co-operate with you in every effort to bring your message before the people of America in the best possible way. We hereby extend to you an invitation to be our guests at a public meeting in the Carnegie Hall, where the entire question may be fairly presented. We are sure you will agree with us, that it is highly desirable that this political question be not made a matter of bitter religious controversy. Your acceptance of this invitation will help to assure the public that the

time is past when a question of political self-determination can be made dependent on religious faith. You will, of course, understand that in the meeting we propose we desire opportunity to express our own point of view as well as to afford your representatives ample opportunity to express the message which has brought them to America. All arrangements as to chairman, date, and conduct of the meeting we should desire to determine in conference with you.—We are fraternally yours,

"The Protestant Friends of Ireland."
(Rev.) James Grattan Mythen
(Chairman of Executive Committee)

Mr. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the American Commission on Irish Independence, sent a cable to Lord French on the 5th of December, in which he pointed out that Mr. William Cooze, of the Anti-Irish Mission to America, had given a typewritten statement to the American Press containing "the direct implication that the report of former Governor Dunne of Illinois and myself on British atrocities in Ireland, made to the President and Congress of the United States under date June 3rd, 1919, insofar as it made charges against the British Government as to brutality, domination, and subjection of and towards the people of Ireland, was false." Mr. Walsh declares that the charges of brutality, domination, and subjection contained in the report were direct and specific, and contends that, if these charges should turn out to be false, he has "strociously libelled" Lord French. However, Mr. Walsh is prepared to take the consequences of an impartial trial.

"This is to notify you," he writes to the person whom, if the charges are unfounded, has been atrociously libelled, "that I am personally responsible for the charges made against yourself and your Government in this report, and am financially able to respond to any judgment for damages which might be rendered against me. I now offer to enter my appearance in any libel suit you may desire to bring in any court of competent jurisdiction in Dublin, New York, or London, with the understanding that a commission be forthwith issued by said court for the taking of testimony, and that I be permitted in person or by counsel to take the testimony of the witnesses, so that the charges may be proven or disproven with all possible speed; it being, of course, understood that you shall have the full right of cross-examination and privilege to introduce any testimony you may have to refute the charges."

A similar message was sent to Mr. Ian Macpherson. We doubt, however, if the individuals in question will be overjoyed to recognise a court constituted as Mr. Walsh suggests.

On the same day Mr. Walsh sent a letter to Mr. William Cooze informing that gentleman of the inaccuracies contained in the written statement which he had supplied to the American Press, and advising him that any charge of falsehood imputed to Governor Dunne or himself with respect to the acts of brutality mentioned in the American Commission on Irish Independence would be considered slanderous in their nature, and after that notification would be taken, if thereafter made, as uttered with express malice. The Irish people await with interest the further antics of the Anti-Irish Mission, led by the arch-bigot Cooze.

"When Sir Edward Carson first learned that Eamonn De Valera had reached America he knew that the truth about Ireland would be brought home to the people of this country," says an American paper. "The news of the triumphant tour of De Valera and the tremendous ovations tendered to him throughout the United States was a bitter dose to Carson, the mouthpiece of the British Government. At the outset Carson announced that he would

come to the States himself, to tell the liberty-loving people of this great Republic why the people of Ireland should remain in slavery. Upon sober second thought, however, Carson changed his mind. Instead he sent over a delegation of Ulster Presbyterians with instructions to create a religious war in America if possible, in order to blind the people to the real issue in Ireland."

"Prior to the departure of this delegation," continues the paper, "the mayors of the leading cities in the United States received a bundle of clippings from English newspapers, enclosed in a neat envelope of English manufacture, addressed to 'His Honour the Mayor.' These clippings, thus mailed anonymously from Belfast, consisted of a choice selection of British propaganda in which the members of the Sinn Fein organisation and the vast majority of the people of Ireland who had declared themselves in favour of a Republic were branded as murderers, rowdies, and highwaymen. This material was the advance notice of the Ulster gaug. Most of it was consigned to the waste paper basket, together with the usual scurrilous communications that reach public officials un-sighed, and a great many were sent to this office."

As already stated in these columns, the "Los Angeles Times" is a notoriously pro-English sheet. For days previous to his arrival in Los Angeles it carried on a violent campaign of vituperation against the Irish Leader. The day after Mr. De Valera had addressed the mighty gathering of 25,000 citizens at the Ball Park the "Times" admitted the failure of its campaign in a manner worthy of Irish namesake. "Mr. De Valera's reception was entirely partisan, and was not marred by any open expression of unfriendliness. He spoke from a stand erected between home plate and second base, facing the grand stand. His voice was carried to every part of the Ball Park by an electrically operated mechanism that magnified it manifold. The speaker's stand was draped in red, white and blue bunting and flags, and had a sash of the green, white and orange of the Irish Republic. There was a band composed of uniformed men, who played national airs and Irish melodies, and the meeting was opened and closed with the playing of the 'Star-Spangled Banner.' A uniformed escort, made up of men in soldiers' and sailors' uniforms, carried Mr. De Valera on their shoulders from the limousine to the stand. The crowd was in a happy mood, and the 100 policemen, under the command of Captain Heath of the University Station, and the carload of detectives had an easy afternoon."

"Everything English in America is now hired for English propaganda," said an American visitor to us this week—"actors, prize-fighters, dancers, preachers—every single thing." But we observe that Lord Dunsany has quitted and gone to Canada, and that Viscount Grey has booked his passage home to England.

Mr. P. W. Wilson, who fills the dual role of English propagandist and London "Daily News" correspondent in New York, has cabled to that paper his charming opinion that if England only gets into operation some kind of Home Rule, America wouldn't mind her continuing to coerce Ireland—it is coercion without Home Rule, pace Wilson—she is opposed to. And "The Friend of Ireland" prints it—a revelation of its own mind as well as of its correspondent's malignant stupidity.

The veritable words of the "Daily News's" own correspondent deserve record. They are: "If Parliaments are established, any further coercion will more easily be defended here. It is coercion without Home Rule that Americans dislike."

Our thoroughly English contemporary's comment on the slaying of an inoffensive civilian by English soldiers in the Phoenix Park last week is up to its best standard. These soldiers admitted that after they shot down the man they shot him again when he attempted to crawl to the road, and again shot him—although undoubtedly the unfortunate man was dead—just before the arrival of the ambulance. Hearken to the organ of English Liberalism: "No fair-minded man will condemn the soldiers with undue severity. The men were frightened and not responsible for their actions." So fright excuses all things in the English soldier. But let us contemplate "German Atrocities."

Speaking recently at Middle Brighton, Australia, the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix dealt with the reports of crime in Ireland which have been cabled to the Australian Press as part of the English propaganda campaign against the Irish Nation. He referred to a question asked in the English House of Commons by an English representative as to what action his Government proposed to take regarding a murder, alleged to be political, in Ireland, and to a supplementary question put by an Irish member of that House as to what action the English Government would take in connection with the 27 murders committed in England in the previous month. The English Minister's reply, said Dr. Mannix, was that there was no parallel between the two cases—that the murders in England were of quite a different character! That luminous reply, continued Dr. Mannix, accounts for the fact that the one deplorable murder in Ireland was cabled out to Australia, while they never would have heard of the 27 murders in England if he had not told them of them.

"The hour is nigh when the final clash will be produced, wherever the word of Christ is despised, between transitory Force and eternal Justice," writes M. Georges Charance in "La Gazette Franco-Britannique." "The spectacle of Germany conquered, but not sufficiently punished, should inspire with wholesome reflections the masters of a distracted world, where far too many victims await their revenge by a rebellion against iniquitous laws imposed on them by fire and sword. It is necessary to be reconciled to and respect divine law, which is the foundation of concord and relative happiness on this earth, soaked in blood as it is by the folly of tyrants of every description and of every race. A few weeks ago De Valera and the King of the Belgians, guests of the United States of America, met at Minneapolis. The valiant chief of the Irish and the noble sovereign of Belgium were received like heroes of their respective countries. But the affection of America went out to De Valera. The crowd, in a frenzy of delight, carried in triumph the champion of Irish Liberty, which is trampled under foot by England. Unprecedented manifestations took the town by storm. All the newspapers were printed in green, the Irish national colour. And that is how the country of Justice and Liberty treats the martyrs of Force and Iniquity! England, our friend and ally, is riding for a fall. Does she realise the danger that is undermining her?"

The appointment of the Rev. Dr. O'Hagan as Rector of the Irish College at Rome, in succession to the late Monsignor O'Riordan, will gratify patriotic Irishmen and Irishwomen of all creeds. No Irishman in Rome has worked harder for the cause of his country, and with more brilliant success, than Dr. O'Hagan. He met and countered the full force of English propaganda against Ireland at the Vatican, dragged it into the light, and overthrew it. Since the Rectorship of the Irish College became vacant the full force of English intrigue was directed to prevent the appointment of Dr. O'Hagan. Once again it has been defeated, and Ireland has triumphed.

Wicklow can proudly claim Dr. O'Hagan. He was born in Ovoca, ordained at Rome, and served as a curate in Maynooth, Ballymore, and North Anne Street, Dublin, before his appointment, on the recommendation of the Irish Catholic hierarchy, as Vice-Rector of the Irish College in 1904. Dr. O'Hagan is a profound writer on theological subjects, and one of the most brilliant intellects in the Catholic Church. The service he rendered to his country in Rome will ever endear him to its memory.

Speaking after his consecration at Sydney Cathedral as Coadjutor-Archbishop of Hobart, Most Rev. Dr. Barry, as reported in the Sydney "Freeman," said there never was a time when Ireland more urgently needed the moral

support of her sons than to-day, for while the dawn of a new freedom was being celebrated all over the world, Ireland was encompassed in injustice. These outrages on Ireland and on the public opinion of the world could not continue, and then Ireland, the last to be redeemed of the nations of the world, would salute the new dawn of her ancient greatness and glory.

The writings of the patriots who fought and won the revolutionary war and contributed mainly to the establishment of the United States of America, says an American Exchange, are being brought to present-day attention by the scholars and public men who have taken upon themselves the reading of memoirs, correspondence, and other data pertaining to the activities and views of those who worked with Washington to free America from British control. The following is a letter written by General John Stark, of New Hampshire, under date of January 21, 1810, and addressed to President James Madison:—

Derryfield, Jan. 21, 1810.
Sir,—I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving an address from the First Magistrate of the only Republic on earth. This letter compliments me highly on my services as a soldier and praises my patriotism. It is true, I love the country of my birth; for it is not only the land which I would choose before all others, but it is the only spot where I could wear out the remnant of my days with any satisfaction.

Twice has my country been invaded by foreign enemies, and twice I went out with her citizens to obtain a peace; when that object was attained I returned to my farm, and my original occupation. I have ever valued peace so highly that I would not sacrifice it for anything but freedom, yet submission to insult I never thought the way to obtain or support either.

I was pleased with your dismissal of the man sent by England to insult us, because she will ascertain by the experiment that we are the same nation that we were in '76, grown stronger by age, and having gained wisdom by experience. If the enemy of the British is to be feared, their allegiance is still more dangerous. I have fought by their side (7 years' war) and against them, and have found them to be treacherous and ungenerous as friends and dishonourable as enemies. I have also tried the French, first as enemies and since as friends, and although all the strong prejudices of my youth were against them, still I have formed a more favourable opinion of them than of the English. Let us watch even them. But of all the dangers from which I apprehend the most serious evil to my country and our Republican institutions, none requires a more watchful eye than our internal British Faction.

If the communication of the result of my experience can be of service in the approaching storm, or if any benefit can be derived from any example of mine, my strongest wish will be gratified.

The few days or weeks of the remainder of my life will be in friendship with James Madison.
(Signed) John Stark.

To James Madison,
President of the United States.

The following is a quotation from a letter written by General John Stark in reply to an invitation to attend the 1809 celebration of the Battle of Bennington. The invitation was signed by Gideon Olin, Jonathan Robinson, and David Fay:—

At my Quarters (then Derryfield—now Manchester, N.H.)
Derryfield, 31st July, 1807
(1809).

My Friend and Fellow Soldiers,
I received yours of the 23rd inst. . . . In case of my not being able to attend, you wish my sentiments. These you shall have as free as the air we breathe. As I was then I am now, the friend of the equal rights of men, of representative democracy, of republicanism, and the Declaration of Independence, the great charter of our national rights, and, of course, a friend to the indissoluble union and the constitution of the States. I am the enemy of all foreign influence, for all foreign influence is the influence of tyranny. This is the only chosen spot of Liberty, this is the only Republic on earth.

You know well, gentlemen, that at the time of the event you celebrate, there was a powerful British faction in this country (called Tories), a

material part of the force we contended with. This faction was ranking in our councils, till it had laid a foundation for the subversion of our liberties. But by having good sentinels at our outposts, we were apprised of our danger; the sons of freedom beat the alarm, and as at Bennington, they came, they saw, they conquered.

These are my orders now, and will be my last orders to all my volunteers, to look to their sentinels; for there is a dangerous British party in the country lurking in their hiding places more dangerous than all our foreign enemies; and whenever they shall openly appear, let them render the same account of them as was given at Bennington, let them assume what name they will.
(Signed) John Stark.

The Co-operative Fishing Society in Dingle opened the organising campaign on Sunday week. A large and representative meeting of the fishermen, presided over by Rev. J. Griffin, P.P., took place after first Mass in Ballyferrier. After Owen O'Sullivan had given details of the large amount already subscribed by the fishermen of Dingle, Mr. Frank Fahy, T.D.; Mr. C. Riddall, N. O'Brien, I.A.O.S., and Muiris O Cathain addressed the meeting. Another meeting was held outside the chapel at Carrig, presided over by Rev. Fr. McGrath, C.C., and was addressed by the same speakers. In the evening the speakers again addressed a meeting in Dingle, at which Rev. Fr. Maher, C.C., strongly approved of the starting of the Co-operative Fishing Society, pointing out that unless this method is adopted, they can never expect to be independent. A very large number of shares were taken after each meeting, and a committee was elected at each fishing port to carry on the organising. Muiris O Cathain was appointed organiser to collect the shares from the different centres. It was decided to name the society the West Kerry Co-operative Fishing Society, and make Dingle its headquarters. At the conclusion the Secretary informed the meeting that he had received private communications from different sources, and expected strong financial aid. Anyone wishing to invest shares in West Kerry Fishing Co-operative Society can now do so through Muiris O Cathain or Eoghan O Sulleabhain, Fishing Co-op., Dingle.

Messrs. Dowdall, O'Mahoney and Co., Ltd., of Union Quay, Cork, have been appointed agents for the Moore, McCormack Shipping Co.'s service to Cork. The other agents who have already been appointed are Messrs. John Weatherill and Sons, Ltd., D'Olier St., Dublin, and Messrs. John Burke and Co., Corporation St., Belfast. Applications for space and freight rates should be made to the agents, who have been authorised to book return general cargo.

So far as shipping services are concerned, the organisation of direct trade between America and Ireland may now be said to have entered its first stage. There is at all times a flow of traffic from Ireland to the United States. The dimensions of this traffic could not be ascertained with accuracy, as much of it was consigned through British ports. There is also a quantity of Irish goods sold to British merchants and subsequently re-sold to the United States. It is of interest to Irish exporters to have their goods in future tendered to the agents of the Moore, McCormack Line, and to get into direct touch with buyers in the United States. Importers from New York would do well to contract for delivery of their goods f.o.b. Moore, McCormack vessel, New York, or c.i.f. Dublin Quay. This will save the payment of double freight, double dues, double cartage, and double handling charges.

News has arrived from New York that Messrs. Moore and McCormack have loaded their own steamer, ss. "Delco" (tonnage 6,000) with a general cargo for Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. The "Delco" was due to leave New York on Dec. 23, and will arrive next week. This marks the inauguration of a full direct service both ways between Ireland and America. Hitherto no Irish cargo has been shipped on account of various unexpected difficulties. The "Lake Greta" and the "Lake Grafon" have in practice not been able to take cargo back from Ireland. They are coal-burning vessels that had to bunker at a Welsh port, and have been loaded there with coal for South European ports. These vessels are owned by the American Shipping Board, and appear to be worked under the directions of the American marine representative in London. Oil-burning vessels, however, will not be under complaint

to English coal exporters for the provision of bunkers, and accordingly will be free to load return cargo at Irish ports. Two other vessels, the ss. "Castle Point" and the ss. "Callabases," are now loading at New York for Ireland, and it is hoped that they, too, will be available to take return cargo.

The Port and Docks Board elections are now taking place. There are, we believe, only six candidates. The commercial public takes no interest in this vital matter, because we have a system so complicated that nobody except a constitutional lawyer can understand it. There are, we believe, six hundred electors empanelled under a system which may be called unproportional voting. There is a special franchise provided for shipping agents and managers of shipping companies not registered at the port. This enables the English ship grabbers to practically grab the port. The voting for the trading section is cumulative and plural, and so arranged that a few importers of bulky articles like coal and timber and grain can aid the foreigners in keeping the port for their benefit. The only public representatives are those appointed by the Corporation. The municipal section has done its best to promote the development of the port, but it constitutes a minority. It is surprising that England's Local Government Board in Ireland has not developed a passion for the application of its model proportional representation system to the Port and Docks Board. The single transferable vote would be most useful in finding out the preference for members suitable for ruling our port and fostering its trade. At present this Public Trust is nearly a self-constituted and self-elected Board. Foreign shipping agents and importers are all for self-determination—on the Harbour Board.

The recent discussion on the attempt of those who hold Irish political prisoners in custody to divest themselves of responsibility for their deaths, if they occur through hunger-strike or otherwise, has caused an Irish lawyer to send us the following note on the English law governing the responsibility of prison governors and others:—

Leigh v. Gladstone and Others (26 T.L.R. 139). Before Lord Alverstone, Chief Justice, and Special Jury. Action—Trespass to Person: Forcible Feeding of Prisoner. Head Note—It is the duty of prison officials to preserve the health of prisoners in their custody and a fortiori to preserve their lives. It is for the jury to say whether the means adopted by those officials—for example, the feeding of a prisoner by force,—are necessary for that purpose. This was an action claiming damages for assault and for an injunction to restrain a repetition of the acts complained of—forcible feeding. Defence—That the acts complained of were necessary in order to save the plaintiff's life, and that the minimum of force necessary was used. Duke, K.C., Henlé and Prufumo, for plaintiff; Att.-General (Sir W. Robson, K.C.), and Rowlatt, for defendant. Evidence produced for plaintiff and defendant. Lord Chief Justice said (during the hearing of the evidence) that he should rule, as a matter of law, that it was the duty of the prison officials to preserve the health of the prisoners and a fortiori to preserve their lives, and that he should ask the jury whether the means adopted were proper for this purpose. Lord Chief Justice (summing up): They (the jury) must take the law from him. It was the duty, both under the rules (prison) and apart from the rules, of the officials to preserve the health and lives of the prisoners who were in the custody of the Crown. If they forcibly fed the plaintiff when it was not necessary, the defendant ought to pay damages. The plaintiff did not complain—and it did her credit—of any undue violence being used towards her. The medical evidence was that at the time she was first fed it had become dangerous to allow her to abstain from food any longer. His Lordship dealt with the evidence in detail. If Dr. Helby had allowed the plaintiff to fast for a few days longer, and she had died in consequence, what answer could he have made? It was said that the treatment had failed. That had nothing to do with the case, for there was evidence that it had been successfully continued in some cases for 24 years, and they had heard that two other ladies who were also guilty of this wicked folly had completed their full sentence, although fed by force. If they thought this poor woman had been improperly treated, in the interests of justice they must not hesitate to say so. Verdict for defendant. The position is thus: If a prisoner is permitted to die in consequence of hunger-strike, the prison authorities are liable—owing to neglect

of duty. If prisoner dies owing to being forcibly fed (the evidence in the Ashe case showed this possibility), the authorities might be liable—the facts in the specific case would determine that issue.

English Propaganda in America

In an effort to mislead the American public into the belief that British propaganda in this country is about to be discontinued, announcement was made a few days ago in many of the daily papers that the British Bureau of Information was packing up its books, papers, and photographs, and this was described as a sign that the bureau was about to "close down" (says an American paper).

As a matter of fact, new batches of British propagandists are arriving on every ship which reaches the port of New York. The British Government is in a desperate situation. Although it scored a diplomatic triumph at the Peace Conference, where its representatives succeeded in grabbing nearly everything worth taking, still the difficulty of holding the old and the new British possessions without outside help, coupled with the dangerous condition of British Government finance, makes the position of British Ministers desperate.

If the League of Nations could only be started working, with the United States in the League, pledged to preserve the territorial integrity of the British Empire and give England and the other Entente Allies the financial and military support which would enable them to regain their equilibrium, shrewd British statesmen realise that English domination of the world would be ensured.

The aim of British propagandists, therefore, is to mould public opinion in the United States in favour of a coalition with the so-called "Mother Country," either through partnership in the Godless League of Nations or in an open alliance between the two countries. If America could be enticed into a combination of Powers which would result in a Super-Government being placed over the Government established by Washington and saved by Lincoln, the British Empire would be secure and the United States would, to all intents and purposes, become re-united to England, in a union such as Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie planned to accomplish. The "Reunited States of the British-American Union," Carnegie's title for reconquered America, would not at first be as closely bound to England as her other colonies, but the bonds would be tightened gradually, and American liberty sapped by degrees.

In addition to the attempt to undermine American independence, the British propagandists are busy trying to dispute or disprove Ireland's claims to Nationhood. They realise the Irish question has become an international question, in spite of British efforts to becloud the issue and outlaw Ireland's case.

Standing on the brink of financial ruin—and nobody knows so well as British statesmen that the British Empire's political existence depends upon the maintenance of British credit—the invading army of British propagandists are playing a desperate game, and playing it with a cunning born of long experience in the arts of double-dealing and organised chicanery.

In short, then, the purpose of British propaganda in the United States is to create conditions here which would make possible the use of the United States in the furtherance of the schemes of British Imperial Despotism, and which would prevent support or recognition of a Government established in Ireland in accordance with the American principle of Self-Determination.

The British propagandists are the most cunning disseminators of coloured "information" on earth, but occasionally one of them makes admissions which reveal part of their schemes. Before the United States entered the war there was a big array of those unscrupulous agents here violating American neutrality and plotting to drag the United States into the great world conflict.

Sir Gilbert Parker, who was for a time in charge of the British Battalion of Falsehood, was so elated when America entered the war that he boasted in an article in "Harper's Magazine" of March, 1918, of the methods adopted by himself and his co-conspirators.

Not since the publication of Parker's boastful admissions has any statement been given out by British agents in this country to compare in interest with the interview with Louis Tracy, the British novelist, published in the New

York "Evening Sun" of November 10. Tracy was about to go back to England, and he could not resist the temptation to get some free personal advertising and toss some nice verbal bouquets to himself, via the columns of the "Sun."

One outstanding feature of the British propaganda in the United States is the selection of fiction writers for the job of publicity stimulators—and it is not necessary to remind those who have studied the activities of those men who have stood ready to prostitute their talents that they continued to write fiction and sent it out disguised in the garb of fact to further the interests of British Imperial Autocracy.

One admission by Tracy corroborates certain statements made by Sir Gilbert Parker in his article in "Harper's Magazine" of March, 1918. Tracy states in his interview that Americans were used extensively in British propaganda, before the United States entered the war. Tracy says, boastfully:

"One thing most Americans did not realise is that the British Bureau of Information sent over from England and the front, before this country came into the war, as many, if not more, Americans than the English who came over here."

Tracy says the Bureau never bothered with the news. British propagandists and British censorship on the other side of the Atlantic presumably took care of that.

The "Evening Sun," in its introduction to the interview with the British Director of Propaganda, explains that he (Tracy) has been in charge of the press section of the British Bureau of Information from the beginning, and head of the entire Bureau for the past year.

The office of the Bureau, the "Sun" says, used to be downtown, at 511 Fifth Avenue; but in the course of the past summer it was moved to 105 West Fifty-fourth Street, where it was installed in the very English study of Mr. Tracy's apartment. There are letter files against every wall, and hanging over them several pictures of Lord Northcliffe and the prints of familiar British war posters: all the tools and the instruments of the job of information. But it took more than mere posters and exhibits and typewriters to maintain the Bureau as a truly serviceable institution.

The manifold queries and demands that came into the Bureau of Information during Mr. Tracy's directorship did not confine themselves solely to the matters that went on at the front. "From the very first day upon which this Bureau started to diffuse information," said Mr. Tracy to a representative of the "Evening Sun," "I made it a tenet of our policy that we should never turn anyone away unanswered or undirected."

The great part of my work, of course, was the Press. We began that during the first winter of the war, and it covered every phase of magazine and newspaper publication. We didn't attempt to cover any series of newspapers regularly, or to issue any stated news service; rather we tried to organise this Bureau as a smoothly functioning office where a writer or a journalist might obtain the facts and the material about any phase of the British campaign. We never bothered with news, because the wire services naturally took better care of that than we ever could; but we had at our disposal the services of writers and scholars who made it possible for us to find out, at any particular moment or crisis, special informational articles about any event, place, or person. That perhaps was the best and most comprehensive and steadiest service we were able to render."

The growth of the work of the British Bureau of Information may be estimated by the fact that the working force grew from a mere nine at the time of Mr. Balfour's installation of the office to fifty-four at the end of the war. "And there was nothing that any of us didn't become accustomed to doing," said Mr. Tracy. "And it probably is harder on me as the director. I haven't written a story or a novel since the war began; but there is nothing very much else that I haven't written by the column. And in such a position you are called upon to do almost anything; I dropped everything one Fourth of July, when you New Yorkers put on a big patriotic parade, to prepare the floats for the British representation. I never thought I should find myself getting up a section of a parade, but I did it, and everyone says very well. That was but one small venture; there were the exhibits of war posters which went all over the country, and which are still going; there were the writers, the journalists, and the authors, the dramatists and poets, who turned over to us special articles or descriptions or pieces of art,

to be relayed to the periodicals. And there was also, perhaps most in the public eye, the almost endless chain of Englishmen and women who came over during the war to speak under the auspices of the British Government upon different aspects of the war. These did not include the speakers and writers who came over here upon their own initiative and for pecuniary profit. We were not responsible for them. But we did look after and make arrangements for all the speakers who were sent over by the Government. And they were legion.

"One thing most Americans did not realise is that the British Bureau of Information sent over from England and the front—before this country came into the war—as many, if not more, Americans than the English who came over here. There was, therefore, before you came in, and before your own Committee of Public Information in Washington took over these activities for you, a great many people, journalists, men of business and finance, chosen from every section of the States, and business and professional group, who had seen the war and realised what the Allies were up against. That sort of interpretation and revelation was necessary if these two eventually co-operating Allies were to know each what the other was competing for and against."

The extracts which follow, taken from an article by Sir Gilbert Parker in "Harper's Magazine" for March, 1918, will give some idea of the extent of British propaganda conducted for the purpose of inveigling the United States into the war. Parker's statements show the wide scope of British publicity and what important aid England received from the Press, professors in colleges, religious and social organisations, and people in various other positions and callings, at a time when the United States was considered neutral.

Describing his work as chief British propagandist in the United States, before this country entered the war, Parker wrote:

"Perhaps here I may be permitted to say a few words concerning my own work at the beginning of the war. It is in a way a story by itself, but I feel justified in writing one or two paragraphs about it. Practically since the day war broke out between England and the Central Powers I became responsible for American publicity. I need hardly say that the scope of my department was very extensive and its activities widely ranged. Among the activities was a weekly report to the British Cabinet on the state of American opinion, and constant touch with the permanent correspondents of American newspapers in England. I also frequently arranged for important public men in England to act for us by interviews in American newspapers; and among these distinguished people were Mr. Lloyd George (the present Prime Minister), Viscount Grey, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Walter Runciman (the Lord Chancellor), Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cromer, Will Crooks, Lord Curzon, Lord Gladstone, Lord Haldane, Mr. Henry James, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Selfridge, Mr. Zangwill, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and fully a hundred others.

"Among other things, we supplied three hundred and sixty newspapers in the smaller States of the United States with an English newspaper, which gives a weekly review and comment of the affairs of the war. We established connection with the man in the street through cinema pictures of the army and navy, as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc., and by letters in reply to individual American critics, which were printed in the chief newspaper of the State in which they lived, and were copied in newspapers of other and neighbouring States.

"We advised and stimulated many people to write articles; we utilised the friendly services and assistance of confidential friends; we had reports from important Americans constantly, and established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population. We asked our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches, debates, and lectures by American citizens, but we did not encourage Britishers to go to America and preach the doctrine of entrance into the war. Besides an immense private correspondence with individuals, we had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y.M.C.A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs, and newspapers."

Another Secret Agreement?

[We reprint the following article from "New Europe," an English review. It gives a measure of the truth of English Ministers' statements and pledges.]

There must be many readers of "The New Europe" who, like the present writer, were astonished to read in the "Times" of 18th December a telegram from their own correspondent in Paris disclosing, for the first time, the existence of a pledge given by Great Britain to France with regard to economic policy after the war. I give the telegram in its entirety:—

The visit of M. Clemenceau to London has, as we all know by now, had favourable results for both France and Great Britain, although the exact decisions of our Prime Ministers on the great questions of economic importance are not yet public information. Certain circles here wonder if the principal question before them has not been the interpretation of the letter addressed by the British Government to the French Government, dated 28th May, 1918. This letter, which has never been published, runs roughly as follows:—

"The British Government begs to assure the French Government that, when once the needs of Great Britain have been met, the resources in raw materials of the British Empire will be placed at the disposal of France and Great Britain's other Allies. Only after the Allies have obtained what they require for their economic development will the resources of our Empire be offered to the neutral Powers, and, lastly, to the countries with whom we are at war."

The very wide terms in which the pledge is drawn will be noted. Great Britain is first to satisfy her own "needs"; the Allies are then to obtain "what they require for their economic development," and only then will neutral and enemy Powers be enabled to draw upon the raw material resources of the British Empire. Strictly or narrowly interpreted, the pledge may be taken to bind us, first to an Imperial, and then to an Allied economic bloc, to the practical exclusion of the rest of the world. It is, in fact, a re-affirmation of the policy of the Paris Resolutions without their limiting preamble, which, as Mr. Asquith has lately reminded us, was expressly inserted to make it clear that the Resolutions were designed to be contingent upon the continuance of an aggressive economic policy by the "Central Empires."

Two questions arise with regard to this pledge, on both of which, in the interests of the democratic control of foreign policy, further enlightenment is required. First: What is its present significance? Second: What was its significance in May, 1918?

Our existing commitments in regard to economic policy are a tangle of contradictions, of which the newly-disclosed pledge is only a last and most extreme example.

We were committed during the war to the Paris Resolutions of June, 1916; but, on the collapse of the Mittleuropa scheme and the acceptance by Germany of the Fourteen Points, the Paris Resolutions automatically lapsed.

Our next commitment was the acceptance by the British and other Allied Governments of the Fourteen Points (minus two reservations) as the basis of the peace with Germany. This was communicated by President Wilson, through the Swiss Minister at Washington, to the German Government in a letter dated 5th November, 1918, and formed the basis of the solemn contract under which the Germans accepted the armistice and disarmed. Among the Fourteen Points was one dealing with economic policy, on which the Germans laid great stress: "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

The Allies also specifically defined the limits within which reparation might be claimed in the following terms: "By it (reparation) they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air."

The Allies therefore pledged themselves to do their best to provide equality of trade conditions to the enemy, and a fortiori by implication to the neutrals, subject to the provision by Germany of compensation for damage done, which Mr. J. M. Keynes, a high authority, in his recent book ("The Economic Consequences of the War") estimates at £2,120,000,000.

This solemn contract runs counter to the pledge now disclosed, and might well be held to annul it. No doubt the French Government would claim that a pledge can only be annulled by consent on both sides. But the French Government was, equally with the British Government, a party to the agreement communicated to Germany on 5th November, 1918, in which previous commitments incompatible with its loyal observance were implicitly overridden. It will, indeed, remain one of the mysteries of history why President Wilson, having secured the assent of the principal Allies to the Fourteen Points, did not drive his policy home by pointing out the implications of their action, and challenging them to dispute his reading of it. Had he done so, many of the detailed disputes which wasted his strength and undermined his policy during the Paris Conference would have been avoided, and the Allied public would have learned in November, rather than in the spring, that, alone among the Allies, Italy had placed on record a reservation against the whole Wilson policy as unacceptable to her in regard to the treaty with Austria. This Italian action, it should be stated, was strictly in order, although why it was not made public at the same time as the other reservations has never been made clear.

In any case, the agreement of 5th November, 1918, still stands. It is clear that, in the opinion of everyone but President Wilson, it has subsequently been violated in many particulars, especially in the economic sphere, and that "equality of trade conditions" and the agreed definition of reparation are, as Mr. Keynes points out in detail, not to be discovered in the voluminous economic details of the Treaty of Versailles. But the fact that the economic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, as was pointed out in this journal when the summary of its draft terms was first published, are a monument at once of folly and of bad faith, affords no reason why the November agreement should be violated in yet further particulars. Having appended our national signature to the Treaty of Versailles, we must honour its provisions, however odious we may regard them. We can only be released from them by the action of all the signatory Powers. But with regard to this new agreement our hands are free. There is no reason at all why the British people should regard themselves as bound to the exclusive economic policy to which they were committed on 28th May, 1918, rather than to the liberal economic policy to which they were committed by the same statesmen on 5th November, 1918. This should be made clear in and outside Parliament at the earliest possible moment by those who wish to save what still can be saved from the wreck of the Wilson policy and of European prosperity, and to promote the recuperation of the Continent by international action on broad and co-operative lines.

Finally, a word on the significance of the pledge in view of the situation at the time. Readers of "The New Europe" will remember that stress was often laid in this journal on the importance of the "economic weapon" in the strategy of the war. It was pointed out that the Allies held the industrial life, and indeed the future civilisation of Germany, in their hands, and that this was our strongest leverage for securing her surrender on reasonable terms. Over and over again—let the reader but refer to the Prime Minister's full-dress declaration of policy to the Trade Unions on 8th January, 1918,—we had informed the enemy that we were waging a war against militarism and autocracy, and not against the life and prosperity of the German people. It was in this spirit that the policy of the economic weapon was conceived and was commended to readers of "The New Europe" by the present writer and others. We now learn that, by an agreement concluded in May, 1918, the whole basis of this policy was undermined; for what leverage remained for using the economic weapon when the raw materials on which Germany's recuperation depended were indefinitely withheld from her? The war, it has truly been said, was a Siege of Europe; and what besieged city ever surrendered without some prospect of relief when the siege was raised? A liberal economic policy which, whilst making due allowance for reparation—first to our sorely stricken Allies, and next to

ourselves,—should make the recuperation of Europe as a whole its dominant object, was the thought in the minds of all those of us who preached the doctrine of the economic weapon; and the present state of Europe is surely evidence that our point of view was not misplaced. We now discover that such arguments were regarded by the supreme director or directors of British policy as matter purely for propaganda, and that engagements wholly incompatible with them had simultaneously been entered into; in other words, that what might—had the situation been really so grave as most people then supposed—have been the one powerful reserve weapon left in our armoury had been quietly abstracted without the knowledge, still less the agreement, of the public and of Parliament. It would be interesting to know whether those who gave the pledge of 28th May, 1918, were aware of its far-reaching implications, both as regards the conduct of the war and the settlement of Europe. If they were, it is difficult to acquit them of double-dealing. If they were not, the least that can be said is that it is one more argument for a reform and simplification of the methods by which our foreign policy is carried on.

Lloyd George's Latest Scheme.

In an interview given to several pressmen, Mr. Arthur Griffith made the following comments on Mr. Lloyd George's latest scheme:—

"There is nothing for Irishmen to discuss in the English Premier's latest proposal. They are not intended to be operative: they are made in order to affect and mislead opinion in America. "On February 13th, 1918, according to Sir Horace Plunkett's confidential report, page 84, the English Premier said to the representatives from his Irish Convention: 'It is idle to propose partition now. You must accept the unity of Ireland as a whole. Anything else would lead to failure.' In the light of this America can understand how insincere are the present proposals.

"Sir Horace Plunkett, in the same confidential document, states (page 3) that President Wilson sent a personal message 'assuring me of his deep concern for the success of the Convention and asking me to keep him privately informed of its progress.' The Convention which President Wilson was deceived into believing genuine has since been described by the present English Lord Chancellor as a device of Mr. Lloyd George's Government 'to keep the Irish talking' until American aid was assured to England.

"The English Premier is again to-day in need of American aid. Since the end of the war his Government in Ireland has acted as Russia never acted in Poland. It has declared that the duly elected representatives of Ireland form an illegal body, and it has arrested and imprisoned the majority of them. It has declared illegal every national and cultural organisation. It has suppressed public meeting and the press, and has made the collection of money for national purposes, the holding of classes for the study of the Irish language, the investigation of Irish resources, and even the exhibition of Irish industries, offences punishable with imprisonment.

"In the whole year 1917 there were a total of 719 acts of aggression against the Irish people; in the past six weeks of the present year there was a total of 3,187 such acts. These included 2,829 militaristic raids on private houses, 162 arrests, 126 sentences of imprisonment by paid magistrates and courts-martial, 27 armed militaristic attacks on peaceful gatherings, 39 proclamations and suppressions, and 4 deportations without charge or trial. This shows the intensified provocative manner in which Mr. Lloyd George's Government is treating the country which it seeks to make America believe it is anxious to conciliate.

"While the English Government thus seeks to pose before America its halloos in its dogs in Ireland. The British Premier falsely suggests his proposals would give Ireland the rights of an American State, and that Irish Independence is equivalent to American cessation. The relations of Ireland and England are not the relations of Illinois or California with Washington. They are fundamentally the former relations of Finland and Poland with Russia, of Bohemia with Austria, of Cuba with Spain. If Mr. Lloyd George and his Government desired a settlement with Ireland they could have it in the manner suggested by Ireland's leader, Mr. De Valera, when he stated that he was willing to leave it to the arbitration of the United States."

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EIRE O'S YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1920.

WORK AND PRAY

The Irish Leader last week cabled a Christmas message to Mr. Arthur Griffith, with greetings to the people of Ireland. We learn the fact from the English papers. The English Government did not permit the cablegram to be delivered to Mr. Griffith, but it permitted the cablegram and the fact that it had been sent to Mr. Griffith to be published in the English Press. There is nothing equal to the English Government.

"Endure," says Ireland's Leader to Ireland's people, "yet a little longer, and you will be sustained. . . . Work and pray."

Let this be Ireland's motto in the New Year. Work and pray. What force can prevail against the people of a nation who work for their country's freedom and pray for the blessing of God on their work?

It is a watchword for the world—if the world be sane enough to grasp work and pray. There lies the way of salvation for a civilisation brought to death's door by the base Materialism that has masqueraded for generations on this earth as Progress and Enlightenment.

A civilisation that has come to a point when it disdains to pray, continues its erratic course until it disdains to work. Then it falls asunder. This is what is threatening civilisation in Europe to-day. Work and pray is the only cure for it.

Ireland did not fall in in that Grand March of Progress which led men from the contemplation of themselves as children of God to the worship of themselves as super-animals. She remained unenlightened. What the world called Progress she termed Retgression—for it seemed to the Irish intelligence that Man progressed from the animal to the realisation of himself as a being

with a soul, and therefore the Irish intelligence regarded what the modern world termed Progress as Retgression, and what that world, led by Baconian England, hailed as Enlightenment the Irish intelligence recognised as the Darkening of the Mind.

This Irish intelligence considerably annoyed and considerably amused much of the modern world. It undoubtedly proved to the English mind the incapacity of the Irish to govern themselves. For could a people who firmly believe in God, and who will not allow that Progress is a method of walking backwards, be trusted to levy and collect their taxes and defend themselves?

Work and Pray. There is in this noblest and truest of watchwords a reminiscence of Irish justice and Irish fraternity. When in the free Gaelic Ireland the workman finished a task for his employer and the employer requited him justly, the workman prayed for a blessing on the result of his work. Where the recompense was unjust the workman refused his blessing, and the people looked askance and said: "There is no blessing on the work."

And so it was that the employer not only sought the work of his employe, but his goodwill, and the cement of the social fabric in the free Ireland was justice and prayer. The Ireland of the 10th century we cannot reproduce in its details in a free Ireland of the 20th century. But we can reproduce it in its spirit—if we work and pray.

Ireland has endured, and Ireland can continue to endure. She is conscious of her strength of soul and convinced of her destiny. Her's is not the destiny of vulgar Empires and Powers built upon the spoliation and slaughter of peoples. Her destiny lies, in realising her freedom, to show to all the peoples that the way of Life and Progress and Peace is to Work and Pray.

The Urban Elections

Monday next is nomination day for the candidates for the Dublin Municipal Council and for the candidates in most Urban areas throughout Ireland. The pollings are fixed for the 15th. Electors in voting under the newly-applied system of Proportional Representation have but to remember that they should place the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate they prefer most, 2 opposite the name of the candidate they next prefer, and so on. The intricacies of proportional representation are not in the voting, but in the counting of the votes. Let us suppose there are seven candidates and three seats to be filled. The candidates are named, we shall say, Brennan, Carmody, Dunne, Foley, Gannon, O'Brien, and O'Neill. Foley, Carmody, and O'Neill hold, we shall assume, the views of "Young Ireland." Our readers wish to vote for them. They thus mark the ballot paper:—

Brennan.
2 Carmody.
Dunne.
1 Foley.
Gannon.
O'Brien.
3 O'Neill.

The Irish Representatives

One nation alone put to the test of the vote of its electorate the principle of self-determination. Ireland was that nation. Just twelve months have passed since, by a vote of nearly three to one, carried out under the forms prescribed by the occupying Power, the Irish electorate declared for an independent Irish Government. Out of 115 representatives the Irish electors returned 73 members on the issue of independence—a greater majority than any other country in the circumstances of Ireland could have produced.

Of the representatives thus elected, four, Messrs. De Valera (East Clare and East Mayo), Griffith (East Cavan and North-West Tyrone), MacNeill (National University and Derry City), and Mellows (East Galway and North

Meath) were returned for two constituencies each. Of the 69 gentlemen thus returned for 73 constituencies, over 30 were at the time in English jails, where they had been imprisoned for more than seven months without any specific charge or trial, and three were in America.

It was not until three months after their election that the Irish representatives referred to were released from prison. Some time later three-fourths of the Irish members were proclaimed an "illegal assembly." A number of them were arrested and imprisoned on such charges as advocating a National Loan, and one member was arrested and deported to England, where he is imprisoned without charge or trial.

The following is a list of the Irish representatives arrested and imprisoned since the late General Election:—Countess Marckiewicz (St. Patrick's Division of Dublin), Mr. Paul Galligan (West Cavan), Mr. Padraic O'Keefe (North Cork), Mr. Sean Hayes (West Cork), Mr. Frank Lawless (North Dublin), Mr. John O'Mahony (South Fermanagh), Mr. Pierce Beasley (East Kerry), Mr. James Dolan (Leitrim), Mr. William Sears (South Mayo), Mr. Ernest Blythe (North Monaghan), Mr. Alexander MacCabe (North Sligo), Mr. J. J. Clancy (North Sligo), Alderman Thomas Kelly (Stephen's Green Division of Dublin), Mr. Laurence Ginnell (Westmeath), and Mr. R. C. Barton (West Wicklow). Unsuccessful attempts were also made to arrest and imprison Mr. Padraic O'Maille (Conemaught), Mr. J. J. Walsh (Cork City), Mr. Michael Collins (South Cork), Mr. Joseph O'Doherty (North Donegal), Mr. J. Sweeney (West Donegal), Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (Queen's County), Mr. J. A. Burke (Mid. Tipperary), Mr. Cathal Brugha (Waterford County), and Mr. Sean Etchingham (East Wicklow). During the year five of the Irish representatives escaped from jail—Messrs. Barton, Beasley, J. McGrath, J. J. Walsh, and Stack.

When we take the number of Irish representatives imprisoned at various times during the year 1919 the result is astounding—it has had no parallel in any country. The list is as follows:—

Carlow	James Lennan
Cavan E. and Tyrone	N.-W. Arthur Griffith
Cavan W.	Paul Galligan
Clare E. and Mayo E.	Eamonn De Valera
Clare West	Brian O'Higgins
Cork City	J. J. Walsh
Cork North	P. O'Keefe
Cork North-East	Thomas Hunter
Cork West	Sean Hayes
Dublin North	Frank Lawless
Dublin (St. James's)	J. McGrath
Dublin (St. Patrick's Green)	Countess Marckiewicz
Dublin (St. Stephen's Green)	Ald. T. Kelly
Dublin (Pembroke)	Desmond Fitzgerald
Fermanagh, South	John O'Mahony
Galway North	Dr. Cusack
Galway, South	Frank Fahy
Kerry, East	P. Beasley
Kerry, North	J. Crowley
Kerry, West	Austin Stack
Kerry, South	Finian Lynch
Kildare, South	Art O'Connor
Kilkeenny, North	William Cosgrave
Leitrim	James Dolan
Limerick City	M. P. Colivet
Limerick, East	Dr. Hayes
Longford	Joe. McGinness
Mayo, South	William Sears
Mayo, West	Joseph McBride
Monaghan, North	Ernest Blythe
Monaghan, South	Sean McEntee
Queen's County	Kevin O'Higgins
Roscommon, North	Count Plunkett
Sligo, South	Alex. McCabe
Sligo, North	J. J. Clancy
Tipperary, East	Pierce McCann
Tipperary, North	Joseph MacDonagh
Westmeath	Laurence Ginnell
Wicklow, East	Sean Etchingham
Wicklow, West	R. C. Barton

Forty out of sixty-nine Irish members, representing 73 constituencies, were thus imprisoned last year—and attempts were made to imprison eight others. Of the 21 left, nearly all had been previously imprisoned. Eight are now in America and two in France, attending to Irish interests.

Mr. Piersie McCan, the member for East Tipperary, died in March, 1919, during the period of his imprisonment in Gloucester. Mr. McCan, who was a Tipperary landed proprietor, was a man of fine physique—a great athlete, a well-known huntsman, and a powerful swimmer, who had distinguished himself by gallantly saving three lives. His constitution was undermined by his imprisonment, and he died as a result.

The Irish members thus imprisoned represent every class of business and profession—artisans, clerks, shopkeepers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, landlords, doctors, solicitors, barristers, editors, college professors, public officials, and men of letters. They represent also both creeds in Ireland—Catholic and Protestant.

England's Stranglehold on Irish Commerce

We have related at some length the long series of the Commercial Restrictions of the period commencing with the English Tariff of 1660, which closed the English markets to Irish manufacturers, and continuing, with various additions, until 1780, when Ireland's trade was liberated from the iron mask for a few short years. Before we pass from the Commercial Restraints it is well to bear in mind the peculiar importance of this period of Irish history, which explains the position of our country to-day. The following is a list of the industries which were restricted and which were ruined by the Commercial Restraints of the 18th century:—

- List of Irish Industries Discouraged and Ruined by Commercial Restraints. (1660-1780).**
- 1600—Irish Forests systematically destroyed. Ruined the Lumber Trade and Shipbuilding.
- 1660—English markets closed to Irish manufacturers by a Prohibitive Tariff.
- 1663—the Navigation Act. Ruined Irish Commerce with America. Ruined Irish Shipping.
- 1666—the Cattle Acts. Ruined the Irish Graziers.
- 1699—Total Prohibition of the Export of Woollen Goods from Ireland. Ruined Ireland's European Commerce.
- 1710—Forbidden the Importation of Hops into Ireland from any country except Great Britain, and withheld the drawback of duty granted on export from England to foreign countries. This provision operated to discourage brewing.
- 1733—Prevented Raw Sugar from being imported direct from the Plantations into Ireland. Handicapped the Irish Refineries.
- 1746—Export of Glass from Ireland prohibited.
- 1774—Tobacco grown or manufactured in Ireland was forbidden to be exported to any part of the world except Great Britain.
- 1776—No Provisions of any kind to be exported from any Irish port except beef, pork, butter and bacon to Great Britain.
- 1778—No Provisions of any kind to be exported to any port. General Embargo on all ships in Irish ports. Complete blockade of Ireland.

England crippled and ruined in turn every industry for which the Irish people showed any aptitude. Any manufacture for which the country was suited by nature, such as woollens, provisions, and glass manufactures, was singled out for special prohibitions. But it should never be forgotten that the Navigation Acts constituted a general restraint on all forms of enterprise in Ireland. Benjamin Franklin wrote in his Address to "The Good People of Ireland" in 1778 (Hibernian Journal, Nov. 2-4):—

"The Navigation Act, which had been framed for the sole purpose of securing to British subjects all the advantages to be derived from the commerce of their own settlements, has by subsequent Acts been framed into the most odious and impolitic monopoly that could be devised, creating local distinctions and commercial schisms, giving privileges to one set of subjects to the injury of others and operating on all the interdicted provinces as an oppressive tax, comprehending all the taxes of Britain, however variously modified or compounded. And we wish to have it for ever fixed on your minds that by a monopoly of trade every pretence to internal taxation is given up; for were you even without a constitution of your own, and as dependent as usurpation has endeavoured to make you, the monopoly of your trade is more than a full and equitable compensation for all other taxes. . . ."

The latter point is a very important matter, and has a bearing on the financial position of our country to-day, when England is again moving in the direction of the Navigation Acts.

The history of the Commercial Restraints gives the key to the political relations of England with Ireland. It reveals the persistent and determined character of the assault on our commerce. A long succession of measures, extending over a period of one hundred and twenty years, amounted to a persistent trade war levied on the Irish Nation. In that war the colony which England planted in Ireland was not spared. The historic effects of this hostile trade policy were visible in the welding of all classes of men and wo-

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Current Comments

Owing to the National Holiday falling on Wednesday this week, we go to press a day earlier than usual.

On his recent visit to New Bedford the Irish Leader received a rousing reception. Addressing a great and enthusiastic gathering, Mr. De Valera, after outlining the principles upon which are based Ireland's claim to recognition as an Independent State, said: "Why should I have to prove in any place where even the elements of democracy are understood that the consent of the people governed is the one legitimate basis upon which the government of any nation can be founded? Why, above all should I have to prove it—place of all places—in the United States of America, and—time of all times—at the very moment when your representatives—your Congress and your Executive—are considering the final act of a great and bloody war waged by America avowedly for these very principles?"

"Were I addressing the British or the citizens of some country where imperialism and not democracy is the actual rule of their national life," declared the representative of Ireland; "I would feel perhaps called upon to establish these foundations. To dwell upon them here would seem almost an implied insult to you, for the foundations on which we rely could be denied by Americans only if they had forgotten all they gave assent to for the past four years, if they had never read their Declaration of Independence and were ignorant of the fact that these principles were the very mainsprings of all your institutions."

Continuing, Mr. De Valera said: "Ireland is a Nation, judged by every accepted general criterion of nationhood, admittedly so even by the enemy statesmen of Britain—not two nations (as the present British Premier would like you to believe), but one nation, with a unity and continuity of national life proceeding unbroken from the past back further than any existing European nation except Greece, and with an intensity of national consciousness among its people. If nations in general are entitled to the right of national self-determination some good reason should be brought forward by those who deny that right to the Nation of Ireland. I ask everyone here to reflect for a moment and to ask himself if he knows of any, even a single, good reason, for the denial of Ireland of a right which America is willing to concede as the general right of all nations."

"Taking into account the assiduity of our opponents, I think their failure to discover a good argument might in itself be taken as fair proof that no such argument exists," Mr. De Valera resumed. "When one has good arguments on one's side one does not usually reject them and rely, instead, on mis-statements, misrepresentations, baseless assertions and abuse. I would like to know if anyone can suggest a reason which seems to them good enough to justify the exclusion of the nation of Ireland from national self-determination—conceded to be a general right of all nations. I mean this as a genuine challenge and not as a rhetorical question."

"Is it," asked the Irish Leader, "that the Irish nation is not a nation at all? History, as I have said, and present-day facts, which are there for every one to investigate, are against those who would hold such a view. I am content to leave this to every fair-minded person to examine for himself or herself, confident that no objections can be raised to Ireland's claim on the ground of nationality. Is it that the Irish nation has sold her birthright and by some contract or other has put itself outside the pale of free national choice and national independence? History has no record of any such transaction,

Refusal to sell her birthright; refusal to allow their distinct national individuality to be annihilated or submerged by the people of Ireland seven hundred and fifty years of blood and agony. The British Government no doubt claims that Ireland has made such a surrender, that she is indissolubly bound in a partnership with Britain. But the Irish people have never admitted or accepted any such partnership; they have, on the contrary, repudiated and refused it and have fought constantly against it to the utmost of their power. Their record in this respect is, in fact, in itself ample evidence of the hollowness of Britain's claim."

Dealing with England's propaganda against Ireland in the United States and elsewhere, Mr. De Valera said: "Those who would prejudice Ireland's case in the eyes of Americans talk of Ireland's 'attempt at secession.' There can be no secession where there has been no union; no divorce where there has been no marriage. England's act of 'union' enacted against the will of the Irish people by a body legally incompetent to enact it (a body that was not elected by the people—a body bribed to surrender what was not theirs to surrender) enacted, too, only eighteen years after Britain's Parliament had itself, by a solemn act of renunciation, abandoned its pretences to rule Ireland and recognised as 'forever hereafter unquestionable' Ireland's sovereign parliamentary right—this is the only basis that can be shown for England's so-called contract—an Act which Gladstone said had originated in 'some states so foul and vile' that it had 'no moral title to existence whatever.'"

Alluding to the manner in which the "friendly relations" between Ireland and England has been maintained since the "Union," the Irish Leader added: "Eighty-six coercion acts, that practically deprived the Irish people of all civil liberty, show how England maintained this 'voluntary union' during the first eighty-seven years of its existence. A further coercion act, passed in the eighty-seventh year of its existence, made perpetual, and actively in force at this very moment, giving to the British Government in Ireland powers over the individual Irishman and Irishwoman in excess of those it possesses in virtue of the wartime regulations, an act that substitutes the arbitrary rule of Britain's military satraps for properly constituted civil authority, and deprives the Irish citizens of all the safeguards to individual rights that obtain among civilized people—shows how England maintains her so-called 'union' to-day and how she has maintained it for the past thirty-two years. 'Secession,' indeed! 'Divorce,' indeed! It would be about as just to hurl these at a girl who was struggling to win her freedom from a brigand who had carried her off and who was keeping her by force, as to hurl them at Ireland in her struggles for freedom from Britain."

The penultimate act of a farce was played in Belfast last week, when the Partition Bill was "accepted" by the "Ulster" Council. This body, directed and financed from England for years past, was responsible for "a solemn covenant" under which the Unionists of Ulster were supposed to pledge "their lives and property" to each other to fight to the last ditch against "a Dublin Parliament" ruling them. It was, they explained, their "holy religion" they feared would suffer under such a Parliament. This game has been played by the "Ulster" humbugs in every generation for a hundred years. In 1828 they pledged themselves to die ere they acquiesced in Catholic Emancipation; in 1868 they again resolved to die rather than let the Protestant Church be disestablished. In 1879 they once again decided to die rather than that landlordism should perish. But these things came to pass, and no "Ulster" Unionist died or attempted to die. They used the same bluff in 1886

against Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, and again in 1911. English politicians on the latter occasion solemnly declared that the "Ulster" Unionists were in earnest, and now we see these humbugs tearing up their "solemn covenant," and admitting, by throwing over the Unionists of Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal, that they were grinning up their sleeve when they pretended that they feared religious persecution from an Irish Parliament."

The following appeared in the English humorist periodical, "Punch," on May 29th, 1886:—

THE ARRANGING OF THE ORANGE.

(Specially arranged for those who are asking "Whether Ulster will fight?")

In your thousands, my boys, ye will muster.
 "In your thousands"—observe you the brag—
 For it's big that ye'll talk, ay, and bluster,
 If you mean to be serving the flag.
 Ye must pile up your story with slaughter,
 Tell the deeds that ye've done in your night,
 Sing your song to the tune of "Boyne Water"
 And just you're a divil for fight.
 Ay, blow your own trumpet, my boys; that's the way
 To show them you're wearing the Orange to-day.

And ye'll shout, my boys, louder and louder.
 Till they think that ye'll give it them hot.
 Though it may be ye've run out of powder,
 And never meant firing a shot.
 But no matter, keep up agitation,
 While ye boast ye're defending the Crown.
 And, though only a fifth of a nation,
 Swear ye'll hold all the rest of it down.
 Ay, plenty of bounce, boys—and sure that's the way
 To prove that you're wearing the Orange to-day.

But if Parliament press on the measure
 Till it comes to be law of the land,
 Say, my boys, will it suit your good pleasure
 That the dastardly outrage shall stand?
 Well, bodad, though you're ripe for all treason
 And will threaten your country and Queen,
 I suppose that ye'll listen to reason,
 And be wise, as ye always have been!
 Perhaps, on the whole, 'tis the pleasantest way
 To show how you're wearing the Orange to-day.

"Punch" at the same period published the following epigram on the "unselfish" Belfast Imperialists:—

Loyal? Nay, "Ulster," you, for very shame,
 Should cease your long monopoly of that name.
 Loyal to whom—to what? To power, to pelf,
 To place, to privilege—in a word, to self.
 They who assume, absorb, control, enjoy all,
 Must find it vastly pleasant to be "loyal."

At the first meeting, in February, of the new Blackrock (Co. Dublin) Urban Council, a resolution came up from the Gaelic League Schools' Committee regarding the teaching of Irish in the schools. The Chairman (Mr. Frank Stokes, J.P.) placed that resolution as the last item on the agenda. When asked for the reason of his action, he stated that it was because that resolution "had nothing to do with the business of the Council." At the second February meeting Councillor J. P. O'Keefe gave notice that, at the following meeting, he would move this resolution:—

That, particularly because the National and Local Development of our Irish Industries tends to relieve the pressing burthen of Municipal rates, this Council welcomes the efforts of the Dublin Industrial Development Association and the Gaelic League to develop those industries by organising the "Irish Week" Display of Irish Goods.

This resolution was ruled out of order by the Chairman, despite the protests of nine members of a Council of twenty-four. It should also be mentioned that the mover of the resolution is a member of the Dublin Industrial Development

Association, and considered it his duty to raise the question. It may interest the people of Dublin, and the manufacturers of the city, that Mr. Frank Stokes, who has so strong an objection to the commercial development of Blackrock, is the principal in the firm of Messrs. Richard Stokes and Co., Land and House Agents, Dawson St. Perhaps he wants to keep Blackrock as a purely residential preserve, a place of rest and refreshment for the weary and the retired, and a half-way house or hole-in-the-wall for old fogeys. Nevertheless, in spite of the barnacles, a local committee set to work to encourage a display of Irish goods during Irish Week, and offered a prize for a window-dressing competition.

At the Annual Congress of the Farmers' Union many matters of the first importance to the economic development of our country were considered. Mr. Fahy, who was a delegate from Cork to the great meeting in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, moved a resolution calling for the immediate decontrol of the 1919 flax crop. Although it is free everywhere else in the world, flax fibre is still controlled in Ireland, and is selling at one-half, and in some cases at one-third, of its market value. He contended that the profits of the spinners were not limited, and that the producers and the public did not benefit. Mr. King, a representative from Down, in seconding, made the shrewd point that the English Government had never controlled anything in expectation of there being a loss on it, and, in some cases, they gained considerably. He expressed his pleasure at the co-operation of men from the different parts of Ireland with them, and said they in Belfast were very glad to have the support of the South and West in this matter. They asked everyone to hold up flax until they got an open market. If the market were open today they would be getting £800 for what they were now getting £300. Rev. Father Ward (of Mid-Ulster Farmers' Union) said Irish farmers were compelled to sell at £308; English and Scotch, of an inferior quality, brought £600 a ton; while foreign flax sold at £6 a stone, and in some cases it went to £1200.

If we turn to the Linen Thread Company's meeting, no light is thrown on the future prospects of the Irish flax industry. The Chairman stated that instead of there being any superfluity, the present condition of the linen trade, from raw materials to finished goods, was that of great scarcity, owing to the very grave dearth of raw materials, the prices of which were rising to extravagant prices. In order to safeguard employment in the home weaving trade, spinners had recently voluntarily pledged themselves for a period not to produce or sell for export more than 10 per cent. of their authorised production, which had previously been restricted to the equivalent of 30 hours per week, and still later to 25 hours per week.

This is a very unsatisfactory, even a perilous, outlook for the Irish linen manufacture. Mr. J. Milne Barbour gave a wide survey of the flax industry in France, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Canada, and even Japan, but it did not at all appear to him that flax could be grown in Ireland to meet the wants of the linen trade. He seems to have thought that it was a generous act for the spinners to guarantee five millions worth of orders to the Flax Control Board, but it does not appear to have struck him that the failure to permit the Ulster farmers to sell in an open market, without the guarantee, is responsible in a large measure for the famine in flax, and for the short time worked in the mills. The flax-growers of Ireland will be somewhat astonished to hear of the generosity of the spinners, who do not disclose the prices paid by them to the Control. Somebody must be making immense profits

at the expense of the flax-growers. In the long run, the linen industry threatens to become as scarce in the North as it is in the South, unless the area of Irish flax is extended throughout the greater part of Ireland.

During the war practically all the looms were taken over for the manufacture of airtight. But when the war ended the greater portion had to be sold off, and since then the English have lost all interest in promoting the linen manufacture in Ireland, and are doing their best to ruin it. Even the Germans, despite the most difficult economic and financial conditions, have recently set aside two million marks (nominally one hundred thousand pounds) to encourage the restoration of flax-growing in their country, and Germany is rapidly recovering the large pre-war acreage under flax.

A prospectus has been issued by the British and Irish Steam Packet Company, Limited. The information given in the prospectus throws some light on the absorption of our coasting traffic. The company was established 84 years ago, in 1836, by Deeds of Settlement, and registered as a Limited Company in 1879. Since its foundation the company has carried on regular services of first-class steamers, carrying passengers and cargo between Dublin and London, calling at the principal ports on the South Coast of England. According to the statement in the prospectus, "This company recently acquired on favourable terms certain steamers and the trades between Dublin and Liverpool and Manchester formerly carried on by the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company and Tedcastle, McCormick and Co., Ltd., and the steamers and assets so purchased now form part of the assets of the British and Irish Steam Packet Company, Ltd. The company also owns the major part of the share capital of the following companies:—City of Cork Steam Packet Company, Ltd., Belfast Steamship Company, Ltd., and through the latter company the Belfast and Manchester Steamship Co., Ltd." Such is the statement of the Directors. But it is not mentioned in the prospectus that the original British and Irish Steam Packet Co. was sold some years ago to an English shipping company, which promptly transferred the shares to an English syndicate known as Coast Lines, Ltd., a holding company which was formed by a combination or merging of the directorates of a large number of the English overseas shipping companies.

The chairmanship of the B. and I. is held by Sir Owen Phillips, one of the prime movers in Coast Lines, Limited. There are some remarkable features in this issue. The capital authorised is £2,500,000, of which the capital paid up is £1,000,000, consisting of one million ordinary paid shares fully paid up. We are further told that 890,000 ordinary shares were issued in 1919, and have all been allotted and paid up in full in cash. It is not explained what became of the balance of 110,000 ordinary shares; apparently they were allotted in consideration of services rendered. At all events none of them are now offered to the public. The present issue consists entirely of the balance of capital unissued, namely the Preference shares to the nominal value of £1,500,000 in £1 shares. It is provided in the prospectus that "The Preference Shares shall not confer upon the holders thereof the right to receive notice of or to attend or vote at any General Meeting," except in a certain contingency affecting the interests of the preference holders exclusively. The effect of this provision is that the control of the company is kept exclusively vested in the Ordinary Shareholders, apparently the English Syndicate which arranged the campaign of absorption. Not a single share with a vote attached to it has been issued to the public.

The reason why the sole control is kept vested in these "Ordinary Shareholders" is quite simple. It is ex-

plained by the following paragraphs in the prospectus—

Public attention has recently been drawn to the great national importance of the coasting trade, and the urgency of the question has been recognised by the Ministry of Transport, which has adopted measures for its encouragement.

Recent years have brought great agricultural and industrial prosperity to Ireland, and the time is ripe for the further development of passenger and cargo traffic between Ireland and Great Britain.

The modern tendency of ocean shipping is towards big ships using large harbours and ports, relying on the coasting steamers as the collecting and distributing agency for imports and exports, and it should be remembered that more than half the population of England and Scotland and Wales live in or within fifteen miles of port towns.

Such is the policy of the English syndicate which controls, and intends to keep control of, the B. and L. and its numerous affiliations. In effect it means converting Dublin into a coasting town. The object of this syndicate is merely to use our expensive harbour as a collecting station to feed the overseas traffic of the large English ports. If this policy could succeed it would mean the extinction of our foreign trade. But fortunately it has been proved that direct foreign imports and exports are very much cheaper than indirect routes through English ports. Moreover, the tendency of the Channel freights is to rise, while the Atlantic rates on goods are in some cases little more than the cost of carriage across the Irish Sea. The policy of indirect trading has little to be said for it, and we doubt if it can be made a success. It is contrary to economic principles and to the sound business maxim of getting as near to your market as you can. There is plenty of room for the extension of our Channel trade on its own merits without regard to the Continental or overseas markets.

As it is, there are very poor shipping services between Ireland and Britain, and perishable goods, such as fish, are frequently delivered so slowly as to be condemned on their arrival. The complaints as to lack of Channel tonnage are notorious. For instance, many Irish manufacturers find their business crippled because of the long delays in finding accommodation for returned empties. On this side it is impossible to find room for goods outshipped from the port. Last week there were only twelve wagon loads shipped out of 32 offered for transit in the case of one shipping company. There were twenty wagon loads of perishable goods, principally eggs, left standing behind. According to particulars given of one week there were sixty wagon loads left behind from one hundred and thirty offered by one railway company. Between all the railways there were hundreds of wagons left unshipped during the month of February. The difficulty of getting room for shipments of live stock has been equally notorious. In view of these facts, there is plenty of room for new shipping enterprises, but the manoeuvres of English syndicates, the formation of holding companies, which exist only on paper, for the purpose of share juggling and manipulation of stocks, do not provide any substitute for genuine enterprise. They only lead to monopoly and a restriction of traffic. It is idle, under these circumstances, for the "British and Irish Steam Packet Company" to talk of the development of Irish overseas trade. The only effect of these manoeuvres is to induce a few Dublin exporters to join in a flotation which can only injure the port by diverting trade into indirect, and therefore unprofitable, channels.

The only other features in this remarkable prospectus to be noticed are two in number: It does not give any information as to the earnings of its steamers, nor does it give any idea of its future turnover. There is no financial information contained therein. It is a manifesto rather than a prospectus. The remaining feature is that its registered office is in Ireland, at 27 Sir John Rogerson's Quay, Dublin. The retention of its port of registry in this country is an interesting fact. The directorate is composed of Sir Owen Phillips (Chairman), Sir Alfred Read (Director of the City of Cork Steam Packet Co., Ltd.); Managing Director, Lord Pirrie (Chairman of Harland and Wolff), Geo. N. Jacob, J.P. (Director of W. and R. Jacob), and Captain Nutting (Director of E. and J. Burke, Ltd.). These facts are for future reference.

Two and a half millions for the 13 steamers of the B. and L. and the City of Dublin Liverpool service appears to

be excessive capitalisation, but the company controls the wharves and customs of the trades between Dublin on the one hand and London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Belfast on the other; and between Cork on one hand and Plymouth, Southampton, London, Fishguard, Bristol Channel, Liverpool and Manchester on the other; and also the trade of Belfast and Derry with Liverpool and Manchester. This is virtually an attempt to secure the monopoly of our coasting trade, and through it of our foreign indirect trade.

A significant chapter in the history of the relations between England and Ireland is summarised in the following paragraph from the London "Times": "An Order in Council, dated March 2, further extends by six months the period of suspension during which the Irish Home Rule Act of 1914 is prevented from coming into operation. On September 14, 1915, the Act was suspended for 18 months, and successive Orders since then have suspended it for eight periods of six months. The last of these Orders brought the period of suspension down to March 18, and the present Order prolongs it therefore to Sept. 18th next, a full six years from the original date of the passing of the Act."

Dualla (says the "Nationalist" of last week) was a place of pilgrimage on Sunday, when thousands visited the now famous churchyard where lie the remains of Mr. Pierce McCann, T.D. for East Tipperary, and whose tragic death in Gloucester Jail roused the whole nation to extraordinary indignation and sympathy. Motors flocked from all over the Premier County and the neighbouring counties. The late esteemed gentleman deserved the unstinted admiration of all, and even those who did not see eye to eye with him politically held him in the highest respect, for not one person could question the sincerity or unselfishness of his patriotism. The Rosary was recited on several occasions in Irish, and also in English, and devout crowds knelt down on the cold, snow-clad ground to join in heartfelt prayers for the soul of the deceased. A number of artistic floral tributes were placed on the grave.

News from New Georgia!

New Georgia, Thursday.

Feeling rather run down as a result of my strenuous efforts to keep a record of the crimes committed in England, and being advised by my doctor to seek amusement, I left London at the beginning of the week for the purpose of attending the opening ceremonies in connection with the New Georgian legislature, which I understand, has been established as a memorial to those who might have died in "The Last Ditch"—wherever that may be!—had not that motherly dame commonly known as Britannia decided, in the interests of small nationalities, to grant a full Imperial measure of Home Rule to the would-be suicides to slake their thirst for blood. Having explained my change of address, I will get to business. Owing to the unavoidable absence of a proper scribe—a scribe suitable for the magnificent affair—a Y.M.C.A. Hall, duly disguised as a House of Deputies or Representatives or Lords or Commons (I have not been able to find what particular term the New Georgian Legislature intends to adopt), was hired for the occasion. In addition to myself and a few other commoners, there were present, when King Carson ascended the throne, the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Ranfurly, the Earl of Leitrim, the Earl and Countess of Clanwilliam, the Earl and Countess of Roden, the Countess of Dartrey, Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, Lord Farnham, the Hon. Cecil Lowry-Corry, Lady Managhten, Sir James Johnston, Sir Crawford McCullagh, Sir Robert Anderson, Major-General Montgomery, Brigadier-General Ricardo, Colonel Percival Maxwell, Lieut.-Col. John Dunville, Sir James Craig, M.P., and the other New Georgian members of the Old Georgian Assembly. Of course, I didn't recognise all the "nobs," as the saying is, but as the chap from the "Morning Post" did, I got a copy of Thursday's issue of that highly democratic organ of English public opinion, in order to conceal my deplorable ignorance. The entire proceedings in connection with the State opening of the New Georgian Legislature were, as the "Morning Post" affirms, "on a very high level,

quite in keeping with the importance and gravity of the occasion." Personally, I have no hesitation in declaring that nothing like the whole business has happened, or is likely to happen, in any civilised country, or in any portion of any civilised country. When King Carson rose to address the meeting, I pardon my forgetfulness; I had forgotten that anything I write now may be taken in evidence against King Carson by future generations of historians who may seek "copy" in these columns. I should have said: When King Carson rose to deliver his oration—the address from the throne, I should say—his frenzied—possibly I could find a nicer word, but that one fits—subjects, standing on one another's feet, sang with great feeling and deep understanding the new New Georgian National Anthem, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." While the uproar was in progress I had time to study the King. He was visibly moved—to the chair; I mean the throne. As he sat, I, gazing at the wonderful contour of his massive head, gazing at the snarling expression of his lips, gazing at the square jaw of the born fighter, could not help thinking that if I ever felt like wanting a king to look after my interests, here was the very sort of a bucko I'd choose for the job. So lost was I in these reflections, among others, that I didn't realise that the great noise had subsided until the King, wagging a blackthorn in his right hand, began to speak with his left, as another stage-Irishman in the audience remarked. Sez he, as Mick McQuaid might have said in similar circumstances: "I know what the enthusiasm of your reception means to-night. You still have confidence in me," sez he. As you may observe, I am making full use of the report published in the "Morning Post" the morning after. Here it might be injudicious to ask why the King should have found it necessary to assure his subjects that they still had confidence in him. Maybe the results of the "P.R." elections were worrying him! But I do not wish to write in any spirit of carping criticism. I will dig once more into Hansard—I mean the "Morning Post." After the sentences quoted above come the words: "Loud Applause," and the official report of the King's speech proceeds thus: "You still believe that throughout the anxious times we are now passing through I am doing my best (applause). You know that I have been with you in bright days and in dark days." Flipping a snout out of the corner of his left eye with the aid of his blackthorn (some observers assert that it was a tear), King Carson proceeded—I quote partly from memory and partly from the "Morning Post"—"When I started the war for small nations at Craigavon, now nearly nine or ten years ago, I said that in the dark days of 1888 Derry was the key of the situation, but in these days, owing to the secession of Derry, Belfast (the capital of New Georgia) will turn out to be the key of the situation, unless, of course, we refuse to make the best of a bad job and accept the legislature which has been flung at us by our over-generous ally, Britain, who in our struggles for self-determination has nobly stood by us. You, my brethren, I need hardly tell you, must accept the new legislature which we are opening to-day, lest perchance worse befall you. That is my opinion, after fighting this battle for the freedom of New Georgia for between thirty and forty years, and that is the opinion which I will assert when I go back to my masters in Westminster (applause). But, of course, the opening of this legislature does not settle the whole question, and if we had our way we would not allow the Union of Hearts to be tampered with one iota (hear, hear). And I say this most solemnly to our other Majesty's Government, and may I say it also to the English and the Scotch and the Welsh people, and to the rest of our kith and kin in our Overseas Dominions, and to our friends in Westmoreland Street and Rathmines, that in the matter of tampering with the North Irish Union, and in results that may follow from tampering with it, even to the smallest degree, whatever be the outcome, we have warned our ally, Britannia, that we can take no responsibility in the matter of governing ourselves, and that if disaster comes from trusting us with a legislature of our own the whole responsibility must rest upon the Government of our ally—if the Act ever becomes a Fact. If the Bill is carried on the second reading, we will do, as it is our duty as loyal citizens of New Georgia to do, our best to improve it in the best interests of New Georgia. It is all very well to say: 'Why don't you go on fighting as you did before?' Has the disgruntled crank who asked that question considered that such an attitude would endanger the safety of our glori-

ous Empire? What am I to fight for? To dismember the Empire which we helped to join together in the bonds of brotherly love and affection? Never! Is it not enough that I have succeeded in dismembering the one bright spot? Can I fight for more than the freeing of New Georgia from the shackles of an alien Parliament in Dublin? I set out to do that, and if this Bill does it, we have won a glorious and immortal victory (loud applause). Do not let us imagine that because we have not been able, after seven hundred and fifty years, to capture the other 28 counties: do not imagine that because of this we have done nothing. There were a number of people disappointed when the armistice came that terminated the recent bloody war for the freedom of small nations. That is invariably the way. They said: 'Why didn't they march on another week until they got to Berlin? Yes! March on after you have been offered complete terms of surrender—a very brave thing to suggest for those who were at home and not-marching on. Oh, yes! a very brave thing; but think of the lives that would have been lost, of the men who have gone through the whole of that war and brought it to a successful conclusion. No, that is the outcry of thoughtless bravado, not of the policy of the real humane statesman. And so I will say to those who may be inclined to say: 'Why don't you go on and fight as you were doing before the war?' why we don't—because we are getting everything that we could have got even if we had won in the fight. Oh, yes! But they say: 'What good will this legislature in New Georgia be to us? I have not got such a poor opinion of New Georgia that she cannot run a Government of her own.' There was some consternation at this observation from the throne, in view of the fact that his Majesty had previously refused to accept any responsibility in regard to self-government. Continuing, the King said: "On one thing we are absolutely unanimous, and that is that nobody yet has presented or invented any settlement of the New Georgian question which was equal to the settlement of Pitt when he brought about the Union of Hearts between England and New Georgia. But, after all, in spite of our new legislature, New Georgia remains the same. We shall still retain the privileges that made us great. We shall have the same loyalty, the same attachment to England, the same pride in our Empire, the same advantages in our English Law Courts as ever we had. Of all the insane and ridiculous policies I have ever read of in history it is the policy of Sinn Fein. Now, just imagine what that policy would mean to me personally. I would have no glory of protection from our splendid navy, and I would not be admissible to England's army." (Loud and prolonged wailing of watery eyes followed this heart-breaking remark). "I would," continued the King, "have nothing to do in the English Divorce Courts, and would no longer hold the English Cabinet in the hollow of my hands. And why? I would be a poor, miserable shorn lamb—(laughter)—trying to browse about on pastures which I would have to steal in the dark in order that I might be able to sustain my alien body. Of all the ridiculous, farcical humbugs, never was there one to equal Sinn Fein." Here the assembled multitude retired to the Y.M.C.A. buffet for refreshments. "What do you get out of it?" asked King Carson when the multitude had re-assembled. "Beer and porter," shouted an overenthusiastic supporter. When order had been restored his Majesty continued: "Tear yourself asunder from England. The inhabitants of the realm adjacent to New Georgia say: Don't touch the wealth of England; keep yourself poor but honest. Do not touch the riches of England. Don't buy, they say, now that the New Georgian Legislature has been established, don't buy New Georgian linen. They would not touch a pound that came from a New Georgian bank (laughter). No, but they would take it on the highway from the manager if they could (laughter). What a farce it all is!" The second verse of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" was sung at this period. When quiet had been restored, his Majesty, saluting with his blackthorn, broke forth anew: "We had to-day the greatest controversy which statesmen have ever been called on to decide. The question of protecting the Armenians from the blood-thirsty Turk; the question of saving poor Russia from Bolshevism; the question of territories over which we have no right to dominate; these questions were not in it with the question of the inclusion of only six as against the nine counties which by right of plantation belong to my kingdom. As the father of a very small family, you may understand how anxious I was to be in a position to hand down to my

heir—who, as the son of a Dublin father and an English mother, will naturally become even as great a New Georgian as I—the entire territory over which I ruled until recently. But I must bow down to circumstances over which I have no control. I must relinquish one-third of the territory which a wise Britain bequeathed to me. I must take six counties now, lest, perchance, later on the march of events may still further whittle away my heritage. What is the use of pretending that I could govern Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan, if it is not true? I could talk as pathetically as I feel about men abandoned in these three counties, and in the other twenty-three counties over the border, but— One of the members of the New Georgian Cabinet here enquired if it were his Majesty's intention to march on Cork at a not far distant date, but his Majesty's reply was inaudible in the Press Gallery. Resuming, the King said: "What would be the good of a weak and tottering New Georgia? A strong New Georgia of six counties on the borders of these other counties can do far more, believe me, to help them than a weak and tottering fabric of the whole nine counties in the province." A voice: "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right!" "No, don't be led away by cries. Don't be led away by claptrap," implored his Majesty. "I want to go away from this Legislature not feeling that I have been absolutely right, because you cannot feel that you have been absolutely right in complex circumstances, such as we have had to deal with (hear, hear). I want to go away with the knowledge that you feel I am as good a fighting man as ever." In conclusion, his Majesty said:— "I hope you will always think of me, whatever way it turns out, whatever comes of it, think of me, and this is all I ask, as a man who undertook a duty and tried to see it through to the end." Loud applause broke out as his Majesty resumed his seat. The National Anthem of New Georgia ("For He's a Jolly Good Fellow") brought to a close the very pleasant ceremonies in connection with the opening of the New Georgian Legislature!

What "Ulster" Unionists Said

The following are not extracts from the speeches of the Irish Unionist leaders to-day—They are extracts from the speeches of their predecessors of 60 years ago. The Irish Unionist humbugs of to-day copy the speeches of their predecessors, the humbugs of 1868, these, in their turn, copied the speeches of their preceding Unionist humbugs of 1828, who solemnly "Covenanted" to die in the last ditch—were tolerating that the Catholics should be emancipated. The Unionist Ulster humbug is unique among humbugs—it has been played five times in a hundred years—and is still solemnly presented by English propaganda to the world as being quite serious.—

Rev. John Planagan, at a meeting at Newbliss, Co. Monaghan, on 20th March, 1868; said, according to the "Northern Whig" of 21st March— "If they ever dare to lay unholly hands upon the Church, 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it shall never be. Protestant loyalty must make itself understood. People will say, Oh, your loyalty is conditional. I say it is conditional, and it must be explained as such. Will you, Orangemen of Ireland, endorse the doctrine of unconditional loyalty? Repeated cries of 'No, never.' It appears wonderful that there is one thing upon which we can confidently throw ourselves, and which has been overlooked by nearly all speakers—I mean the Queen's Coronation oath. She should be reminded that one of her ancestors, who swore to maintain the Protestant religion, forgot his oath. His crown was kicked into the Boyne. He then read the oath, and the questions put to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the Coronation). Will any Minister dare to ask the Queen to perjure herself? Will any Minister come and ask us to surrender our rights? We must tell our Gracious Queen that if she breaks her oath, she has no longer any claim to the Crown. Let us not put any trust in man, but trust in God and ourselves—

Put your trust in God, my boys, And keep your powder dry."

Rev. W. H. Ferrar, F.T.C.D., on March 6th, 1868, speaking at Rathmines, said, as reported in the "Freeman's Journal" (in the presence of Sir

the emigrant ships was terrible; and, whatever the cause, the deaths in British ships enormously exceeded those in the ships of any other country, according to the report of the Commissioners of Emigration for the State of New York. The "Erin Queen" sailed with 493 passengers, of whom 136 died on the voyage, amidst scenes which could hardly have been surpassed in a crowded and sickly slaver on the African Coast. It appears, writes Dr. Stratton, in the "Edinburgh Medical Journal," that out of 552 passengers who sailed in the "Avon," 246 died, and amongst 476 on board another ship, the "Virginus," not less than 267 deaths took place; of 440 on the "Larch," 108 died and 150 were seriously diseased. The then Chief Secretary for Ireland reported, with regard to the 89,783 persons who embarked for Canada in 1847, that 6,100 perished on the voyage; 4,100 on their arrival; 5,200 in hospital; 1,900 in towns to which they repaired. How some of these unhappy cargoes of humanity were made up has been explained by an English gentleman employed as a conducting engineer of Public Works in Ireland, during the famine. Mr. Wm. Henry Smith, C.E., who, referring to the part of Connaught in which he was stationed at the time, writes thus:—

"Hundreds, it is said, had been compelled to emigrate by ill-usage (on the part of the landlords), and in one vessel containing 600, not one hundred survived."

The Irish exodus had one awful result, which, in the Irish recollections of that time, fills nearly as large a space as the famine itself. The people flying from fever-tainted hovel and workhouse, carried the plague with them on board ship. Each vessel became a floating charnel-house. Day by day the American public was thrilled by the ghastly tale of ships arriving off their harbours reeking with typhus and cholera; the track they had followed across the ocean, strewn with the corpses flung overboard on the way. The official report of the Montreal Emigrant Society for 1847 contains the following pathetic passage descriptive of the last scene of all:—

"From Grosse Island, the great charnel-house of victimised humanity, up to Port Sarina, and along the borders of our magnificent river; upon the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie—wherever the tide of emigration has extended, are to be found the final resting places of the sons and daughters of Erin, one unbroken chain of graves, where repose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, in one conmingled heap, without a tear bedewing the soil or a stone marking the spot. Twenty thousand and upwards have thus gone down to their graves."

In all the great parts of America and Canada huge quarantine hospitals had to be hastily erected. Into these every day newly arriving plague-ships poured what survived of their human freight, for whom room was as rapidly made in those wards by the havoc of death. Whole families disappeared between land and land, as sailors say. Frequently the adults were swept away, the children alone surviving. It was impossible in every case to ascertain the names of the sufferers, and often all clue to identification was lost. The public authorities, or the noble humane organisations that had established those lazaretto-houses, found themselves towards the close of their labours in charge of hundreds of orphan children, of whom name and parents alike were now impossible to be traced.

The author of "The Parnell Movement" observes:—

"Ireland to-day bears the still fresh scars of the terrible sufferings of the years I am describing and the years which immediately preceded them. The most prominent, the most frequent, the ever-recurring feature of the Irish landscape is the unroofed cottage. There are many parts of the country where these skeleton walls stare at one with a persistency and a ghastly iteration that convey the idea of passing through a land which had been swept by rapidly successive and frequent waves of foreign invasion—by war, and slaughter, and the universal break-up of national life. Or shall I rather say that Ireland conveys the idea, not of a nation still young in hope, and daily increasing in wealth and in possibilities, but rather the image of one of those Oriental nations whose history and empire, wealth and hopes, belong to the irretrievable past. There are several counties where one can pass for miles without catching sight of a house or of any human face but that of the shepherd, almost as isolated as his helpless brother in the stretching plains of California."

Something of the same idea occurs to Mr. Bright, who, in the course of a speech on the Regium Donum, in the English House of Commons, on the 8th

July, 1854, spoke of "those western counties (of Ireland) in which no man can travel without feeling that some enormous crime has been committed by the Government under which that people live."

As to the pernicious results of Irish emigration, surely nearly all sensible men are now agreed. Here is how the evil appeared in the eyes of a statesman a century ago. The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, speaking in the Irish House of Commons on the 2nd of April, 1784, observed as follows, on the subject:—

"England from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Irish manufacturers in the reign of King William III. is not the only instance that has taught that nation of the ruinous effects of restrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furnished a sad instance of the truth of this assertion furnished it in the American war. America was lost by Irish emigrants. These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this House; and when the unhappy differences took place (between England and America), I am assured from the best authority that the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valour determined the conquest; so that England not only lost a principal protection of her woollen trade, but also had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants." ("Irish Debates," Vol. III., p. 180).

Waterton, the distinguished English naturalist, in the course of his "Wanderings," thus describes a familiar scene on board an American steambot. There were above 500 Irish emigrants on their way between Quebec and Montreal:—

"They were going, they hardly knew whither, far away from dear Ireland. It made one's heart ache to see them all huddled together, without any expectation of ever revisiting their native soil. We feared that the sorrow of leaving home for ever, the miserable accommodation on board the ship which had brought them away, and the tossing of the angry ocean, in a long and dreary voyage, would have rendered them callous to good behaviour. But it was quite otherwise. They conducted themselves with great propriety. Every American on board seemed to feel for them. And then, they were so full of wretchedness. Need and oppression stared within their eyes upon their black lung ragged misery. The world was not their friend. 'Poop, dear Ireland,' exclaimed an aged female, as I was talking to her, 'I shall never see it any more!'"

Upon this, in the course of an article in the "Edinburgh Review," Sydney Smith makes the following reflection:—

"And thus it is in every region of the earth. There is no country where an Englishman can set his foot, that he does not meet these miserable victims of English cruelty and oppression—banished from their country by the stupidity, bigotry, and meanness of the English people, who trample on their liberty and conscience, because each man is afraid, in another reign, of being out of favour, and losing his share in the spoil." ("Works," Longman's Edition, pp. 512-13).

If this movement continue, said the "Times" in a remarkable article, savouring of the prophetic spirit, on the 4th of May, 1860:—

"Ireland will become altogether English, and the United States Republic altogether Irish. Yes, the time may come when Ireland will be no more Celtic than the Lowlands of Scotland are Saxon, the Eastern Counties Danish, Cornwall Phœnician, or Ireland itself Milesian or Spanish."

There will then be again an Ireland, but a colossal Ireland, and an Ireland placed in the New World. We shall only have pushed the Celt westwards;—coasting for the future to be imprisoned between the Liffey and the Shannon, he will spread from New York to San Francisco.

We must gird our loins to encounter the Nemesis of seven centuries of misgovernment. To the end of time a hundred millions of people, spread over the largest habitable area of the world, and confronting us everywhere by sea and by land, will remember that their forefathers paid tithe to the Protestant clergy, rent to absentee landlords, and a forced obedience to the laws which these had made. . . . And even though the rancorous Celt were to forget and forgive, that will not prevent the sure development of an intractable race, and the introduction of intractable elements into the character of the great American nation. It will be more than half Celtic. Doubtless the Saxon, Danish, French, German, African, and other races besides will be found in it; but the preponderating race of all will be that one which has attained the climax of its perfection and its glory on the banks of the Seine, and which has been precipitated

into the deepest abysses of degradation and despair on the western shores of Ireland. So shall we have nourished and brought up, by us, at home, a power which is called to rule the New World, to extend its influence over both the oceans, and to become the master of an entire hemisphere. This New World is the last and final home of the Celtic race."

Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his "Principles of Political Economy," says:—

"The land of Ireland, like the land of every other country, belongs to the people which inhabit it. The Legislature (England) should have looked with a different eye upon the forced expatriation of so many millions of men; and when the inhabitants of a country leave it en masse, because Government does not leave them room to live, that Government is already judged and condemned."

And it was once declared by Mr. Richard Cobden that when emigration arises from the necessity of fleeing legal famine, it is no longer Emigration but Transportation. Lord Devon's Commission calculated that the emigration of one hundred thousand persons per annum, if effected at the public expense, and putting that expense at the moderate amount of six pounds sterling for each person, would cost £600,000 a year—a sum which, annually applied to the purchase and improvement of unproductive lands, would undoubtedly permit the Irish to live at home, and rescue them from the necessity for going into exile to save their lives. And this was the opinion of the late Mr. Isaac Butt, M.P., who is to-day so frequently quoted as an exponent of the moderate school of Irish politicians:—

"English statesmen ought to ask themselves whether the British Empire can afford to lose the hardy and bold population, a portion of which is every year transferring itself to the other side of the Atlantic. They should seriously reflect on the danger which arises from sending a hostile and embittered Irish colony to the American continent. All the emigrants who are now leaving the country, carry with them the most determined hatred of British power. Those whom they leave behind sympathise with them, and whenever the opportunity occurs, the Irish abroad, as well as a large portion of the Irish at home, will be ready to aid any attempt to strike a blow at that power."

Mr. Disraeli, in an election speech on July 13th, 1866, upon his accepting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, observes:—

"When I observe year after year the vast emigration from Ireland, I feel that it is impossible to conceal the fact that we are experiencing a great social and political calamity. I acknowledge that under some conditions, and even under general conditions, emigration is the safety valve of a people. But there is a difference between blood-letting and hæmorrhage."

Sir W. Harcourt observed in 1886:—

"I have no sympathy with a policy which improves a country by getting rid of its people. It is the policy of despair. It is like the theory of Dr. Sangrado, of Gil Blas fame, for the curing of disease by blood-letting, the life of the body; I cannot accept the policy of making a solitude and calling it political economy. I am entirely against pressing people out of their own country."

Professor Sigerson, the distinguished scientist, after quoting several authorities to show that the native-born white population of the United States steadily decreases from year to year, while the Irish element is prolific—children in the proportion of at least 3 to 1, proceeds to give utterance to the following pathetic reflections on the subject:—

"The Irish in America bid fair to outnumber their kindred in the old land, whilst there also the worn and harassed Irish race appears to have renewed its youth, and to have risen into prosperity, power, and influence. As Ossian in the 'Lend of Youth' remembered his former friends his comrades in battle and chase, and could not resist returning to share his good fortune with them, so likewise it would appear do the Irish in America dream incessantly of their friends and fellows in the old places of their birth home. So, likewise apparently, do they feel at unrest and as sojourners in the land, because their joy is incomplete and their content marred by the memory that what is the past for them is for their kindred in the East not a past, but a sad and persistent present. These are the feelings which are evident in their poetical effusions, and which are as clearly manifested in their prose literature, in their social actions, and in their political aspirations." ("Modern Ireland," Longman's, 1899, pp. 271-2).

Is it an unnatural supposition that the sons and daughters of those banished must still look across the wide ocean, to traverse, in spirit, again those loved Irish fields, now consolidated, and with clenched fist, set teeth, and heaving bosoms, register a vow that, one day or other, they, the children of the cruelly disinherited, shall tread that soil once more? How truly does Mr. John Morley, M.P., depict the situation as regards the newly founded power for mischief against England of the Irish race beyond the seas, in the following retort upon a "Unionist" speaker in the course of a debate in the English House of Commons:—

"Where you had in O'Connell's time a constituency of 150,000 and a population of 5,000,000 you have now nearly 750,000 voters in a population of less than 5,000,000. O'Connell died in 1847. That was the era of the famine. The famine was followed by the great emigration and the wholesale eviction—a chapter of which we have not yet come to the last page. That was a dismemberment and a dispersion which planted in every quarter of the globe an enemy to your rule. That is the most important of all the changes because the growth of an Ireland across the seas has given the Irish at home a self-confidence and a moral power, and a command of material resources of which O'Connell never dreamed." (See "Times" Report, June 4th, 1886).

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De Valera's Important Message
IN A LETTER TO THE IRISH PEOPLE A YEAR AGO EAMONN DE VALERA SAID:—
" . . . To save the National Language is the especial duty of this generation. The ultimate winning back of our Statehood is not in doubt. Sooner or later Ireland will recover the Sovereign Independence she once enjoyed. Should we fail, a future generation will succeed. But the Language—that must be saved by us, or it is lost for ever."
" . . . Let the men and women, the boys and girls of Ireland to-day only will it strongly enough, and our National Language can be made as safe as our Nationhood."
"The Language is dying. To-morrow it will be too late. Shall we not save it to-day when we may?"
" . . . Are we, who are ready to make sacrifices that the future generations may be free, going to rob these generations of that they would most fondly cherish—of that they would be proudest of as the very crown of their freedom? Are we going to doom them to bemoan for ever that which they themselves can never by any means restore—their own distinctive, their own traditional—their own beautiful Irish tongue?"
THIS WEEK IS
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SAEUILZE
SUBSCRIBE GENEROUSLY
CUR AN T-AMHÉAD AS TUAL AP AN EIRIOM, 25
CEARNÓS DÁRMAN, ÁT CLUAT.

NOTAI

Tá dhá shaghas eolach ann, an mhuintir ahaotruair amuich féin spéir agus an mhuintir a dhinean a gcuid oibre istig.

Speisialt isea tugtar ar aire iomlán do thúirt d'aon mhion-chuid amháin de bhra-ínse ar bhith; agus bíodh gur mór an duí ar aghaidh atá deunta san eoluacht dá bharr.

Dá leithead scóip na heoluachta agus dá iongantaigh an t-eolas atá againn dá berr, ná dearmhadán ná treabhan eolais.

Sara ndéanfadh an t-eolach ploc ní foláir dó credeamh a bheith aige, sé sin, ní foláir dó a chredidúint gur nithe réalta (nithe atá ann dáríribh) na nithe atá le scrúid aige.

Ní nach iongna ní dheanfadh sé an gnó don fhear eoluachta géille don thealsún-acht san, agus tá an ceart aige. Tugaid dochtúirí druga na n-ádhocair ar fúis an domhain agus dínid na druga na nithe áirithe ar an diaobh istig desna doine.

TADHG O CIANAIN.

England's Stranglehold on Irish Commerce

The independence of the Irish Parliament during its short period of glory, had its origin in the fight for Free Trade and for the abolition of the Commercial Restraints. The privileges of Independence were exercised visibly in the domain of commerce.

The next head is the commercial advantages which Ireland is to derive from a Union. His Lordship has talked much of the encouragement afforded by England to the linen trade of Ireland.

The noble Lord has been pleased to say that all the duties affecting the Channel Trade will be mutually settled—those differences I will tell the noble Lord are but trifles—but such as they are, why not place them on a just, a friendly, and equitable basis without a Union?

As to the export trade, the position advanced is curious indeed, and we are gravely told that the English merchant will quit his establishment—his warehouses—his residence—his valuable and extensive conveniences—and make this island the emporium of his trade.

There was no reply to this withering sarcasm by the "noble Lord." It was to reply to speeches like this that the duelling and drinking club was established on the premises of College Green by Castlereagh

himself. Later on in his speech Ponsonby said to Castlereagh: "I hope, sir, I shall never be an Irish Peer." But Castlereagh did not accept the covert challenge.

The vivid speech on this occasion was made by Mr. J. C. Beresford. He mentioned a great deal of contemporary facts that have escaped the attention of historians.

We consider our Parliament as the guardians of our trade and commerce, and all our dearest rights and interests, and we do not wish to part with it for the sake of remedying a few inconveniences which England suffers from our enjoying it.

Sir, the noble Lord is very anxious to know how the Parliament would be deprived, in case of a Union, of managing our local affairs. I dare say, sir, if the noble Lord means Turnpike Bills and Canal Bills by local affairs, that the English members will not be very likely to interfere with us on these subjects.

He then instances how the English contrived to force Scotland to send her raw material (the malt) up to London to be manufactured into spirits. He then proceeds:

But, sir, to put the Irish nation out of all doubts as to the feelings of the English Government towards her—she has, in recent instance, shown us by anticipation, what we are to expect from her when in her power.

I will mention this instance that gentlemen may see her disposition towards us in such matters. Our linen trade has of late on several accounts fallen off very considerably.

These different circumstances contribute to arise the exchange to three or four per cent. above its usual rate, which acted as a sort of premium on our exports, and was the only recompense our Linen Merchants enjoyed for the loss of their trade.

Such were the views of an Irish Banker on the proposed "Union." As far as we know history doth not record the incident related by Beresford. But its significance was fully understood by every merchant exporter, by the whole linen trade, and by the Irish Bankers.

Possibilities of Franco-Irish Commerce

[Lecture recently delivered before a distinguished audience at the Commercial Club, Paris, by M. Y. T. Coblet.]

One of the greatest of our present day preoccupations is the reorganisation of our economic relations with foreign countries, we shall therefore carefully examine the possibilities of commercial development not only with our old markets but also with countries which we have hitherto somewhat neglected.

At the present moment, at least, Ireland is scarcely mentioned save as a country that is agitated by politics which is extremely regrettable. The political situation of that country is not my subject to-night, nevertheless, I deem it my duty to advise you to accept with circumspection the sensational and often tainted news we see concerning Irish affairs.

For about a quarter of a century Ireland has followed the same evolution which is characteristic of those countries where economic questions precede political ones. She has developed and organised her agriculture; she has taken steps to revive her ancient industries and establish new ones, and the Sinn Féin Party which has had its origin in the anxiety to give Ireland a more intense economic life.

Table with 4 columns: Imports, From foreign countries, Exports, To foreign countries. Rows for years 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918.

These figures taken from the English Blue Books show that the foreign trade of Ireland has doubled during the last five years; but we must not forget that this increase is in price only, seeing that the value has more than doubled also.

is declining so far as imports are concerned, but there is a slight increase in the exports. On the other hand one is struck by the insignificance of the direct trade with abroad. Four-fifths of the goods imported come from (Great Britain, whereas the exports to foreign countries, other than England, are infinitesimal.

Before we can enter into any study of the possibilities of Irish commerce, we must dissipate the prejudice about the poverty of the Irish soil. From an agricultural point of view Ireland is very fertile. It was the artificial famines and the evictions of the 18th and early 19th century that created the legend that Ireland was naturally poor.

Ireland could therefore export from the start agricultural produce, most of which is of the highest importance to France to-day. Her live stock could furnish us with the beasts so necessary to the reconstruction of our devastated regions.

Ireland is principally an exporter of agricultural produce and raw materials, it is because her old industries have been destroyed as we have explained. To-day she finds herself in the paradoxical position of exporting raw materials for the fabrication of articles which she purchases abroad; thus she sells corn and buys flour, she exports unwhewn timber and imports deals and planks.

By her economic efforts Ireland becomes not only a producer but still more, a common consumer whose capacity for absorption increases continually; and amongst the foreign goods necessary to her needs, many of them figure on the traditional list of French manufacturers.

In the first place France may furnish Ireland with agricultural products which the soil of Ireland does not produce; the wines of France and Algeria,

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Current Comments

On St. Patrick's Day the Irish Leader issued the following message to the scattered children of the Gael—

"Some of our children of the Gael, wherever you be to-day, in the name of the Motherland, greeting! What ever flag be the flag you guard and cherish, it is consistent with your highest duty to band yourselves together to use your united strength to help to break the chains that bind our sweet, sad mother. And never before have the scattered children of Éire had such an opportunity for public service. To-day you can serve not only Ireland, but the world."

"A cruel war, and a more cruel peace, have shattered the generous of souls. Apathy mocks the high-minded and heartless cynicism points the way to selfishness. We, the children of a race that has never ceased to strive; that endured for ages the blights of war and the disappointments of peace, who have had the cup of the fruition of hope dashed from our lips in every decade and have not despaired, and whose temper has never soured, but who have always looked forward for the good in to-morrow—the world needs what we can give it to-day."

"Once before our people gave their soul to a barbarian Continent, and led brute materialism to an understanding of higher things. It is still our mission to show the world the might of moral beauty; to teach mankind peace and happiness in keeping the law of love, doing to our neighbours what we would have our neighbours do to us. We are the spear-points of the hosts in political slavery—we can be the shafts of dawn for the despairing and the wretched everywhere."

"And those of our race who are citizens of this mighty land of America, whose thoughts will help to mould the policy of the leader among the nations—how much the world looks to you this St. Patrick's Day, hopes in you, trusts in you. You can so easily accomplish that which is needed. You have only to have the will, the way is so clear."

"What would not the people in the old land give for the power which is yours. May God and St. Patrick inspire you to use it, and to use it well."

A message from New York, which appeared in the Daily Press on Friday last, says: "Despite showers, Mr. De Valera, the Sinn Féin leader, reviewed a St. Patrick's Day Parade from the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, between the twin spires of which floated side by side the American flag and the Irish tricolour. The parade is said to have numbered 25,000, including 1,000 natives of India. The soldiers in the procession wore the same equipment as in France, including helmets. Wounded soldiers rode in motor cars. Every Irish-American organisation in New York was represented in the procession, in which the Irish Republican flag and the Stars and Stripes predominated. Among the distinguished people in the reviewing stand were Mr. Smith, Governor of New York State; Mr. Hylan, Mayor of New York, and Archbishop Hayes."

The 165th New York Regiment, known as the 69th Regiment before taking part in the war in France, led the parade, wearing the equipment with which it fought for the protection of small nations."

In a message from Chicago on Monday, Reuter says:—"Speaking here yesterday, Mr. De Valera declared that his Mission to the United States had been crowned with success, and asserted that recognition had been given to the Irish Republic by the people, Government, and Legislatures. And now, he added, we have the implied recognition of both Houses of Congress. Nothing remains to get from you now except the formal act of your nation's Chief Executive. You have indicated by every means within your people's power that you do not recognise the

Irish question as a domestic question of Great Britain's."

Speaking to a Press representative in reference to the Reservation in favour of Ireland which the Senate of the United States adopted last week, Mr. Arthur Griffith said: "In the late war most of the Allied Powers implicitly professed to be fighting to assert the right of all nations—small or great—to enjoy an independent existence. England explicitly made this declaration. Throughout the war she proclaimed, officially—through the mouth of her Premiers, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George; through her Parliament, and through her Press—that her sole reason for entering the war, and for continuing in it, was to assert the sanctity of treaties, and the right of every nation to choose its own Government. Her propaganda throughout Europe and America, on which she spent scores of millions of pounds, undoubtedly created in many European countries, and in America itself, a public opinion favourable to her as a champion of the rights of small nations, and hostile to the Central Powers as an enemy to those rights."

"It is quite certain," continued Mr. Griffith, "that America would never have entered the war and won it for the Allies were it not that a majority of the American people were convinced, after years of English propaganda in the States, that the English Government was, for the first occasion, fighting for righteousness and liberty. The principles laid down by America on entering the war were officially accepted by the Allies. These principles specifically declared it to be the right of every people to choose their own government, and not to be fettered in their independence by the alleged interests of any Great Power." It was on these principles, Mr. Griffith declared, that the war was fought and won by America.

"The so-called Peace Treaty negated all these principles," asserted Mr. Griffith. "The Treaty of Versailles was a more outrageous denial of the rights of nations than Castlereagh's and Metternich's Treaty of Vienna—the parent of all the European revolutions and three-fourths of the European wars in the 19th century. Imbedded in it was an Article—Article Ten—which guaranteed to each of the members of the League of Nations it proposed to create the assistance of each other to preserve its territorial integrity." Under the Article, which was drafted by England, America would become a guarantor of England's possession of Ireland, and would have been bound to come to England's aid to keep Ireland enslaved, in the event of any nation—great or small—extending assistance to Ireland in her efforts to re-establish her freedom. It was vital to Ireland that Article Ten should go, and it was vital to England that it should be retained. It has gone, and the Treaty has gone along with it. The Treaty of Versailles is dead—killed by Ireland."

"It was Ireland that opened America's eyes to the trap that England had laid for her," added Mr. Griffith. "America has slain the Treaty on American grounds, because it is false to the principles on which America fought the war; but it was the warning voice of Ireland, and the example the English government provided day by day in Ireland, that convinced America of the true meaning of this infamous Treaty. Ireland, under Mr. De Valera's leadership, has won her greatest diplomatic victory, and she has also saved the freedom of the world. The Treaty of Versailles is dead, because tanks and letters-de-cachet are used to suppress the right of the people of Ireland to choose their own government. The Senate of the greatest Power in the world has now officially recognised Ireland as a nation, with an equal right of membership in any League of Nations to be hereafter established. That is the death of England's attempt to persuade the dominant Power that the question of Ireland's freedom is a 'domestic one.'"

"Ireland's freedom is now a world question," concluded Mr. Griffith, "and the denial of that freedom, and the atrocious attempt to choke Ireland's claim by throttling her elected representatives and dragging her people, has instead made Ireland politically a world-power, because it has slain the English-made Treaty of Versailles. Every good Irishman and Irishwoman, whatever their creed, will on next Sunday offer up thanks to God in their respective churches for the victory that has been won for Ireland's future, and for the cause of the liberation of nations everywhere."

Mr. Griffith also stated he had not received the cablegram stated to have been despatched to him by Mr. De Valera. For the last six months, indeed, he had not received delivery of cablegrams despatched to him from America.

"Do you think De Valera will return shortly to Ireland?" asked the Pressman. In reply, Mr. Griffith said: "I believe De Valera will remain in America for the present to consolidate the victory."

Referring to Ireland's claim for complete separation from England, and the establishment of a Government in accordance with the wishes of the governed, the "Bridgeport Telegram" says: "The real demand for Irish freedom, as evidenced in the continuous agitation on this subject (it has continued for 750 years), and as shown by the results of all recent elections, is something that cannot be ignored or explained away. The world's attention is attracted by the problems of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Finno, but these questions are minor and immaterial as compared with the problem of Ireland."

In the course of an article dealing with the mission of the Irish Leader to America, the "Bridgeport Times" likens De Valera to Kossuth, whose release from a Turkish prison the American Government effected. Kossuth was received, says the writer, with tremendous ovations on his arrival in America, "just as De Valera is greeted now, except that the reception to De Valera is a much larger affair." As a parting shot the "Bridgeport Times" reminds England of an event which even Mr. Lloyd George, although he poses as a regular Statute Book on American history, seems to have forgotten—i.e., the period of the Civil War, when England kept open house for the American "partitionists," and went to the point of recognising the belligerency of the South, for which, after the war was over, the disinterested champion of a disunited America had to pay the American Government 15 million dollars "as indemnity for aid illegally given to the rebels."

Dealing with the Irish Leader's mission to America, the "Hartford Courant" (Conn.) says, "as for the cause which De Valera has come to this country to promote, it may be said, without any risk of denial, that it is a cause that has found a favourable soil for development in the American love of fair play, sympathy for the dog that seems at the time to be underneath, and a disposition to encourage all who are struggling for a greater degree of freedom."

One of the most severe attacks upon the Carsonite delegation that has come from the pen of an American Protestant editor, says the Washington correspondent of the "Catholic Herald," was published in "Brann's Iconoclast" (Chicago). We quote in part from the extracts which the correspondent sent across to his paper: "Five Irish traitors from Ulster spoke at the Medinay Temple, Chicago. They came to this country on a mission of hatred, for the British Government. . . . Think of attacking the right of self-determination to the tune of 'The Star Spangled Banner.' Imagine men extolling the Union Jack to the tune of 'America'—land where my fathers died—died fighting that self-same black emblem of British des-

potism! Conceive if you can the unspeakable hypocrisy of people who damn patriotic Irishmen because they demand independence and freedom for Ireland, singing:

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees,
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Then when the patriots of Egypt, India and Ireland offer to accept the invitation—when they attempt to partake—England not only denies them their God-given share of Freedom, but sends them a General Dyer or a General French to answer their prayers with galling guns. . . . Belgium suffered, to be sure, the horrors of war, for four long years, but her oppressors did not commit one infringement of liberty, nor perpetrate a single atrocity, that is not paralleled in the story of British rule in Ireland. But instead of four years, or even four centuries, Ireland has suffered this Hunnish treatment for seven hundred years. The Ulster traitors want America to help England to make it eternal! What Ireland has suffered at the hands of Great Britain cannot be told in human speech. To find terms that would fully express the agony of Erin, one would have to descend into Hell, and bring from the lips of fire words born of unutterable woe—expressions fashioned in the red forge of ultimate damnation, and these might do justice to British brutality, but I doubt it. Still, the Irish traitors from Ulster sang:—

From every mountain side
Let freedom ring."

Sir Auckland Geddes, like Mr. Ian Macpherson and Mr. Henry Lauder, has a pretty Scotch wit. Mr. Henry Lauder dispenses his on the music-halls, Mr. Ian Macpherson in other places, and Sir Auckland Geddes is about to try his luck in America as England's Ambassador. Last week, at a farewell banquet held in London, he gave a dress rehearsal. Whether his style of humour will, or will not, appeal to America remains to be seen. The following is the sample he handed out at the banquet in question:—"I have tried honestly, and without fear, to look into the heart of history, and find there that, in spite of blunders, in spite of difficulties, sometimes faltering, sometimes almost fainting, the Anglo-Scottish-Welsh partners of Britain, with, in the main, the closest co-operation of Ireland, have held high the torch of civilisation, have cleared the seven seas of pirates and sea raiders, have destroyed slavery wherever they found it, and where they have passed have at last ended rapine and murders, torture, and the grosser forms of injustice, and with a corporal's guard imposed the Pax Britannica." America will, perhaps, appreciate Sir Auckland's humour."

The London "Daily Mail" of Tuesday says that the New York "Sun" prints a dispatch from its Paris correspondent to the effect that the League is in desperate straits through the failure of a number of nations to pay their subscriptions, and is kept going only through the willingness of British bankers to advance funds for reasons of national policy.

New Zealand is a long way off. However, she is "connected" with England, and naturally enjoys the advantages which such a connection carries with it: that is to say, she receives ready-made "news" through the cables which England controls. Unfortunately for England's fair fame and honour, the truth has an awkward way of sometimes dribbling through other channels even to far-off New Zealand. And, better still, there are in New Zealand "uncontrolled" by England,

journalists who are not afraid to publish the truth when it reaches them. A copy of the "Tablet," New Zealand, which has just come to hand, contains an article entitled "Poor Old England," from which we quote the following:—"England has a way of setting standards for others which she has no notion of applying to herself. Thus, during the late war, her alleged statesmen—Orange, German, Jew, or Welsh—laid it down that self-determination was a right of all nations, and that it was criminal to oppress and persecute a defenceless people. While professing such noble doctrines, the same statesmen were actively engaged in out-Hunning the Hun in Ireland."

"Again," continues the writer, "English statesmen lay it down that if a few crimes are committed in a country, and if the whole population is not entirely unanimous as to the form of government, such a country is unfit for self-government. Judged by their own standard, England ought to be deprived of the right to govern herself at once. Even the British Press admits that a wave of crime is sweeping over the land, and that murder, robbery, arson, and sexual crimes are deplorably common. And on the other hand almost every by-election goes to show that the people of England do not want the present Government or its Welsh head. . . . Such is the unanimity and such the crimelessness of poor old England whose brave generals are at present engaged in fighting a congenial fight against a very small and very defenceless people in a country called Ireland. . . . Judged by England's own standards, which she professes to hold, England is a bad way owing to oppression from outside; but England is in a far worse way owing to rottenness within."

In an editorial the same journal, after referring to the present regime in this country, says:—"But Ireland stands erect and undaunted, and marches through the dark night of her agony to a future that must bring her victory, if right is not always to be crushed and trampled down by might in this world. Ireland is suffering. Ireland is persecuted, but suffering is not new to her, and persecution has been the food of her soul for centuries. Why does she suffer, and why is she persecuted? The answer is because England went to war to end Prussianism and to win for all small nations the right to govern themselves, and because Ireland takes England at her word and asks as much and will have no less. Of course, it is plain to the world that England never meant a word of what she said when she called on the Colonies to help her to attain her lofty aims; England has become a by-word for hypocrisy and deceit, and her honour is as low to-day as her credit."

On Monday night in Dublin two citizens were slain and a number wounded by English soldiers, who fired upon the unarmed people. On that morning at the precise time when Mass was being celebrated in Cork for the repose of the soul of the murdered Lord Mayor a body of English military marched through some of the streets of Dublin to raid a Dublin merchant's factory, preceded—according to the daily papers—"by a band." On the same Monday one Edwards, a handyman of the English Government, was put up in the House of Commons to ask "a question" devised to pretend that Ireland was going to "rise in insurrection" at Easter, and that the Irish in England were going to do the same.

This is what is described in the cant of political scoundrelism as "creating an atmosphere." The people of Ireland have had experience of it before; and the people of Ireland, by their calmness and restraint, dispelled the "atmosphere."

tion bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpent's teeth; they have sprung up as armed men." ("Macnevin's Volunteers," p. 117).

In the following passage Mr. Lecky gives particulars of the destruction of the linen industry:—

"The main industry of Ireland has been deliberately destroyed because it had so prospered that English manufacturers had begun to regard it as a competitor with their own. It is true, indeed, that a promise was made that the linen and hempen manufacture should be encouraged as a compensation, but even if it had been a just principle that a nation should be restricted by force of law to one or two forms of industry, there was no proportion between that which was destroyed and that which was to be favoured, and no real reciprocity established between the two countries."

After stating the antiquity of the linen industry and its vicissitudes in Ireland, and having mentioned that "in 1700 the value of the export of Irish linen amounted to little more than £14,000," Mr. Lecky proceeds:—

"The English utterly suppressed the existing woollen manufacture in Ireland in order to reserve that industry entirely to themselves, but the English and Scotch continued, as usual, their manufacture of linen. The Irish trade was ruined in 1699, but no legislative encouragement was given to the Irish linen manufacture till 1706, when, at the urgent petition of the Irish Parliament, the Irish were allowed to export their white and brown linens, but these only to the British Colonies, and they were not permitted to bring any Colonial goods in return. The Irish linen manufacture was undoubtedly encouraged by bounties, but not until 1743, when the country had sunk into a condition of appalling wretchedness. In spite of the compact of 1698, the hempen manufacture was so discouraged that it positively ceased. Disabling duties were imposed on Irish sail-cloth imported into England. Irish checked, striped, and dyed linens were absolutely excluded from the Colonies. They were virtually excluded from England by the imposition of a duty of 30 per cent., and Ireland was not allowed to participate in the bounties granted for the exportation of these descriptions of linen from Great Britain to foreign countries."

Further he observes:—

"No country has exercised a more complete control over the destinies of another than did England over those of Ireland, for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution. No serious resistance of any kind was attempted. The nation was as passive as clay in the hands of the potter, and it is a circumstance of peculiar aggravation that a large part of the legislation I have recounted was a distinct violation of a solemn treaty. The commercial legislation which ruined Irish industry, the confiscation of Irish land, which demoralised and impoverished the nation, were all directly due to the English Government, and the English Parliament. ("Eighteenth Century," Vol. II., pp. 211, 212, 256).

Mr. Fraude, the English historian, in his "English in Ireland," wrote:—

"England governed for what she deemed her own interest, making her calculation on the gross balance of her trade ledgers, and leaving her moral obligations to accumulate, as if right and wrong had been sifted out of the Statute-book of the universe. . . . The English deliberately determined to keep Ireland poor and miserable, as the readiest means to prevent it being troublesome. They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufactures by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on its wretched agriculture, for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmer."

He further observes:—

"With their shipping destroyed by the Navigation Act, their woollen manufactures taken from them, their trade in all its branches crippled and confined, the single resource left to those of the Irish who still nourished dreams of improving their unfortunate country was agriculture. The soil was at least their own, which needed only to be drained, cleared of weeds, and manured, to produce grass crops and corn crops as rich as the best in England. Here was employment for a population three times more numerous than as yet existed. Here was a prospect, if not of commercial wealth, yet of substantial comfort and material abundance. . . . The tenants were forbidden in their leases to break or plough the soil. The people no longer employed were driven away into holes and corners, and eked out a wretched subsistence by potato gardens, or by keeping starving cattle of their own on the neglected bogs. . . . The disgrace of allowing a nation of human beings to subsist upon such conditions, forced itself at last on the conscience of the Irish Parliament, and though composed of landowners, the House of Commons, in

1716, resolved unanimously to make an effort for a general change of system, with a view no longer to discourage agriculture. They passed a vote that covenants which prohibited the breaking soil with the plough were impolitic, and should have no binding force. They passed heads of a Bill, which they recommended with the utmost carelessness to the consideration of the English Council, enjoining that for every hundred acres which any tenant held he should break up and cultivate five, and, as a further encouragement, that a trifling bounty should be granted by the Government on corn grown for exportation."

"And what did England answer? . . . The bounty system might or might not have been well calculated to produce the effect which Ireland desired. It was the system which England herself practised with every industry which she wished to encourage, and it was not on economic grounds that the Privy Council rejected a Bill which they ought rather to have thrust of their own accord on Irish acceptance. The real motive was probably the same which had led to the suppression of the manufactures—the detestable opinion that to govern Ireland conveniently, Ireland must be kept weak. Although the corn consumed in Ireland had been for many years imported, the English farmers were haunted with a terror of being undersold in their own and foreign markets by a country where labour was cheap. A motive so iniquitous could not be confessed, but the objections which the Council were not ashamed to allege were scarcely less disgraceful to them. The English manufacturers having secured, as they supposed, the monopoly of Irish wool on their own terms, conceived that the whole soil of Ireland ought to be devoted to growing it." ("English in Ireland," Vol. I., pp. 439, 441-42). . . . "If the high persons at the head of the great British Empire had deliberately considered by what means they could condemn Ireland to remain the scandal of their rule, they could have chosen no measures better suited to their end than those which they pursued unrelentingly through three-quarters of a century."

In a pamphlet published in 1867, Lord Dufferin wrote:—

"From Queen Elizabeth's reign until the Union the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through disuse. The owners of England's pastures had the honour of opening the campaign. As early as the commencement of the 16th century the heaves of Roscommon, Tipperary, and Queen's County undersold the produce of the English grass counties in their own market. By an Act of Parliament Irish cattle were declared 'a nuisance,' and their importation prohibited. Forbidden to send our beasts alive across the Channel, we killed them at home, and began to supply the sister country with cured provisions. . . . A second Act of Parliament imposed prohibitory duties on salted meats. The hides of the animals still remained, but the same influence put a stop to the importation of leather. Our cattle trade abolished, we tried sheep-farming. The sheep breeders of England immediately took alarm, and Irish wool was declared contraband (by Parliament). Handed in this direction, we tried to work up the raw material at home; but this created the greatest outcry of all. Every maker of tustins, flannel, and broad-cloth in the country rose up in arms, and by an Act of William III. the woollen industry of Ireland was extinguished, and 20,000 manufacturers left the island. The easiness of the Irish labour market, and the cheapness of provisions still giving us an advantage, even though we had to import our materials, we next made a dash at the silk business; but the English silk manufacturer, the sugar refiner, the soap and candle maker (who especially dreaded the abundance of our help), and every other trade or interest that thought it worth its while to petition, was received by Parliament with the same partial cordiality, until the most searching scrutiny failed to detect a single vent through which it was possible for the hated industry of Ireland to breathe. But although excluded from the markets of Great Britain, a hundred harbours gave her access to the universal sea. Alas! a rival commerce on her own element was still less welcome to England, and as early as the reign of Charles II. the Levant, the ports of Europe and the oceans beyond the Cape of Good Hope were forbidden to the flag of Ireland. The Colonial trade alone was in a manner open, if that can be called an open trade which for a long time precluded all exports whatever, and excluded from direct importation to Ireland such important articles as sugar, cotton, and tobacco. What has been the consequence of such a system, pursued with relentless pertinacity for 250 years? This—that, debarred from every other trade and industry, the entire nation flung itself back upon the land, with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and down the valley it once fertilised."

The Talking Shop.

A FIRST IMPRESSION.

My many English friends invariably expressed great surprise on hearing that in spite of my many years in London, and also considering my reputation, as they termed it, for being such a fierce "politician," that I had never troubled to be present at a sitting in the House of Commons. Of course, I might have replied that "I was not a politician," but deemed it futile to do so, and resolved to pay a visit.

On entering the hall I asked for the "Strangers' Gallery," but was promptly "pulled up" by a policeman, who enquired for my ticket. This I could not produce, but he, realising by my anxious look that I desired very much to watch the destiny of the nation being decided, told me that he would pass me before 40 other people if I would follow his instructions. His instructions were as follows: "When I say 'go,' open that door and cross the hall to the left, past my colleague." The latter word is, by the way, the usual manner in which the London "bobby" refers to his fellow. Having obeyed his instructions, I received a ticket on which I signed my name and put my address, pledging myself "neither to interrupt nor take part in the proceedings, as such would be out of order, and would be treated as such" by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The phrase is in itself Parliamentary, and means that should you interrupt you will, in plain language, be kicked out and charged at the police court with unseemly conduct. On passing a second barrier and again signing my name, this time in a book, I entered the "Mother of Parliaments."

The Shop.

The inside of the shop is very lofty, with a large gallery running the whole way round, the Strangers' Gallery being at the near end and the Ladies' Gallery at the far end of the House. The House bears a very old and serious look, not at all in keeping with the petty twaddle that reaches one's ears from the representatives of the British people. The windows being hung with heavy red curtains, in order to shut out the dancing sunbeams, which, of course, do not respect the dignity of the House. The dimly lighted place, with sombre shadows, and the wiggled Speaker, with his wiggled clerks, seemed strangely out of keeping with the general remarks of the occupants of the Benches, of a place which resembles in no small way a "Mothers' Meeting" of very, very polite men.

The Talk.

The talk was not very interesting, being a discussion of Section V., subsection X. of D.O.R.A., which refers to the special constables. The Solicitor-General moved the acceptance in a hesitating, affected voice. In fact, all the members who spoke, with one exception, were, to use a paradox, "too affected to speak." The Hoo's and the Haw's, and the usual compliments and modes of address, such as, "My Honourable, or I should say My Right Honourable and Gallant Friend, the member for—," lulled us gently to sleep. At length we were awakened by a manly voice, who, in spite of using the usual mode of address, spoke without affectation. The expression "It sounds strange to me, an Irishman," made me listen attentively, and a uniformed Australian winked over at me, seeing, perhaps, in my face the animation peculiar to Irishmen when excited, and not present on the faces of my fellow-listeners. The speaker was Captain Wm. Redmond, and he challenged his opponent to prove such and such a thing. His voice was strong and powerful, but on resuming his seat he wore the expression of one who knew what the answer would be, cared less, and felt bored with the whole proceedings. His opponent took up the challenge, "haw

having" several times, and said "he knew his Honourable Friend would, to use the words of a popular song, tell me the old, old story."

The Ushers.

The best dressed and most imposing men in the building are "The Ushers," who, dressed in evening attire, with heavy gold chains round their necks, keep, with wonderful effect, the dignity the House desires. They pilot visitors to their seats, give information in undertones to awe-stricken inquirers, make jokes, at which we were expected to laugh and sleep, when rocked there by one of the polite men of the Mothers' Meeting.

A Contrast.

After having slept for some two hours, I decided to take some fresh air, and leaving the Gallery made my way down to the Hall near the Lobby; here I saw the eminent literateur who edits a paper typical of English thought, and closely resembles the caricature of a man and bulldog on the front of the paper he edits, receiving a deputation of ladies; here was that sterling Irishman and extremist, T. P. O'Connor, reverently kissing the rings of two Eastern Bishops, who he had been conducting over the House; here also was Mr. Joe Devlin, small, happy, and "at home."

Then I thought of a certain gallant Irish Protestant Gentleman and patriot, in convict clothes, in Portland Prison, and beginning a sentence of 3 years' penal servitude, and the thought struck me, that honesty and truth were chained there in the person of Mr. Robert Barton, and all that is untrue, nonsensical and dishonest is let loose in the "Talking Shop."

Leonard MacArthur.

What "Ulster" Unionists Said

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Ossory, at a Conference of the Diocese of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, April 1st, 1869 (see "Express" report):—

"The 'Times' sneered, and said they would soon submit. The 'Times' knew nothing of Irish Protestants, and might be excused, so far, for judging them from the experience of a craze few who would accept any terms."

Mr. Plunkett, K.C., afterwards M.P. for Dublin University, said at a Diocesan Conference, held in the Chapter Room of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on March 31st, 1869 (see "Express"):

"We appeal to our brother Protestants in England, Scotland and Wales, to stand by us in this last awful hour of our fortunes. . . . We call upon them not to allow those provisions to be made law, which are calculated to hamper and injure our organisation in the future, and we call upon them not to drive us again to that old kind of material, physical resistance, which accompanied the first protesting of our forefathers three centuries ago. . . . and was a protest in act and word, which they were willing to seal with their blood in martyrdom and battle, if need be, to protest against the oppression and the slavery of a system which they could not, and should not, and which their descendants never will submit to."

Mr. D. M'Causland, Q.C., at a meeting in the Exhibition Place, Dublin, June 14th, 1868 (see "Express"):

"A million and a half of Protestants, of all denominations; were ready in that country to oppose them, not like a rebel horde, acting according to the command of a priest or a demagogue, but as men who thought for themselves, having the feeling strongly within them that what had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors should be retained, even at the expense of their own, if necessary."

Richard Lloyd, D.G.M., Co. Tyrone, June 7th, 1869, at Tannamore Hill (see "Express"):

"They had met to protect the Bible, they had met not to allow Gladstone to seal that book, not to allow Paul Cullen to substitute another for it; their fathers had marched to the Boyne and bled for their country. Their blood still run in the veins of those whom he addressed. They were as many and as ready, at the beat of the drum, to go out and take their rifles, and march to that river, as their fathers did before them."

Capt. W. Wolsley Madden, D.G.M., on April 8th, 1869, said:—

"That while we are, and always have been, distinguished by our unwavering loyalty to the Crown and Government of England, in the face of long-continued and studied neglect and coldness on their part towards the Protestants of Ireland, and while we are, and always have been, since its formation, the chief support of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and desire to remain so as long as the international compact is respected and held inviolable by the British Parliament, we declare that we shall regard the Union as virtually dissolved in the event of Mr. Gladstone's Church Bill becoming law."

John Thompson, the High Sheriff of the Co. of Antrim, March 31st, 1869, said in the Ulster Hall, Belfast:—

"Should the Fifth Article of the Treaty of the Union—which is expressed to be essential, fundamental, and perpetual—be repealed, we shall be forced to regard the Union as virtually dissolved."

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Current Comments

"Ireland has a right to look to the people of the United States for help," declared Eamon de Valera, speaking to a crowded mass meeting at the Academy of Music, Lynchburg, Virginia, says the "Washington Times." "Every time in the last hundred years that the American flag has been in danger, true sons of Ireland have been among the first to defend it. Irish blood has flowed in every battle that America ever fought," declared Ireland's spokesman. Continuing, De Valera said: "We shall win, for we are the only white nation on earth still in the bonds of slavery. We shall win even though we have to wait the downfall of Britain for our freedom. For as Assyria died, as Rome died, and as other Empires died, Britain will die—and that soon." The Irish Leader (concludes the dispatch) received a splendid reception, the meeting being one of the most enthusiastic he has addressed.

Ex-Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi, who is also former Governor of that State, having heard the address of President De Valera at Jackson, was so moved by the Irish Leader's appeal, that he wrote in an editorial in his weekly paper: "If this war was fought to make the world safe for democracy, the man who opposes the Irish cause is a traitor to the cause of the pretended purpose of the war. There is not an instance in the history of the world where a strong government such as Great Britain has so shamefully and brutally oppressed a weak nation as England has opposed and outraged Ireland."

When the Charlotte (North Carolina) newspapers refused to give any space to advance notices of the De Valera meeting, and believed this un-American boycott would make the meeting a failure, they underestimated the Celtic resourcefulness, says the Washington correspondent of the "Catholic Herald," and adds: "Charles P. Sweeney, who travels with De Valera, hastened to Charlotte, and within twenty-four hours wrote, edited, and published ten thousand copies of a special four-page edition of an up-to-date daily. A score of members distributed the paper through Charlotte. The new daily made a big hit; the meeting was a huge success; the Charlotte editors were dumfounded; and President De Valera was received into the hearts of the independent citizens of Charlotte. Congratulations to enterprising Mr. Sweeney! He saved the day at Charlotte—the city where the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence was announced to the world. If they were able to speak to-day, those immortal men who signed that declaration of right to freedom and liberty for America would condemn the intolerant editors who refused to give a hearing to another nation seeking to throw off Britain's shackles."

Justice F. C. Eschweiler, of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, speaking recently before a large audience in Milwaukee, said: "For almost ten centuries Ireland's history has been the story of her wrongs; and the list of wrongs committed against her is as long as the list of blessings conferred is short. For a period over five times longer than the national existence of this our people, Ireland has appealed in the name of justice but for, and only for, that which is now declared to be the elemental and fundamental right inherent in a people as such—self-determination. Is her cry that has come down the long line of suffering centuries still—and now in these days of all days—remain unheeded?"

It is refreshing, says the "News-Letter," of Washington, to find here and there among those of English blood who come to this country, one who is not a protagonist of imperialism. Dr. Charles F. Aked, formerly

the pastor of a church in Liverpool, England, is already well known in this country as a lecturer with enlightened ideas and as the pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York, who was brought to this country chiefly through the instrumentality of John D. Rockefeller. In a sermon recently at the First Congregational Church, Kansas City, Mo., this clergyman of English blood pronounced as bitter an arraignment of English oppression in Ireland as has been heard for many a day. Dr. Aked denounced artificially engendered religious intolerance and, as what he characterized as his Christian duty, quoted President Wilson on the rights of small nations and demanded the fulfilment of the war-time pledges of the Allies.

Mr. Daniel T. O'Connell, Director of Friends of Irish Freedom National Bureau of Information, speaking to a Pressman on the action of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, said: "The vote is a big victory for Ireland. The resolution will be adopted by both branches of Congress."

Recent testimony before the U.S. Senate Naval Committee has on more than one point supported the position taken by this Bureau, says the "News-Letter," when, through its Director, it charged Admiral Sims with being pro-British in the extreme. It was interesting to observe that Admiral Benson did not disavow the charge of Admiral Sims that Benson had said: "Don't let the British pull the wool over your eyes." Before the Senate Committee Admiral Benson testified that while he could not recall his exact words, he was willing to allow Sims' version of the incident to stand as the expression of his sentiments. Testimony after testimony brought out at this hearing is branding Sims before the world as pro-British in all his views. The inspiration of his attacks upon Ireland is now clearly revealed. The country as a whole has at last been able to verify all that the Director of this Bureau so strongly asserted months ago. The extreme British sympathies of Admiral Sims are to be regretted by all sincere Americans. Secretary Daniels himself, in his testimony before the Senate Committee has given open expression to his regret. He said: "Sims genuflected to British Admiralty ideas and accepted British views so fully and courted British honours so earnestly that he came to regard as anti-British such a rugged American as Admiral Benson who is 'All American'; neither 'pro' nor 'anti' with reference to any other country. . . . If I had known that he proposed, under the permission granted him to tell the story of what the Navy had done overseas, to denounce the Irish people as he did in his articles in 'World's Work,' the permission would not have been granted."

Reports to hand of a great meeting held recently in Brisbane show that the cause of Irish Liberty is still going ahead in Australia. Archbishop Duhig, who presided, delivered a splendid address, and the Rev. Fr. O'Flynn, Dr. Morgan Lane, and Mr. T. J. Ryan, M.H.R., also spoke. At the close of the meetings the Most Rev. Dr. Duhig announced that Mr. J. Fihelly (the Acting-Premier) was to have spoken in support of the motion affirming the right of Ireland to self-determination, but had been detained elsewhere by another important engagement, and forwarded a cheque for fifty guineas towards the Irish Victory Fund.

In the course of an eloquent address, Archbishop Duhig said if they were assembled to further self-determination of any small nation without the British Empire they would be applauded from end to end of the Empire. But, seeing that they were assembled to urge the granting of self-determination to a small nation "within the Empire," they must be prepared to meet both opposition and criticism. The Irish

question was now a question of world-wide import and interest. They already had the declared sympathy of the great Republic of America. It was frequently asked, "Why not let these contending Irish parties fight it out among themselves?" Were they asked that question when the self-determination of Belgium and Montenegro and Serbia were involved? The answer to that question had been recently given in Melbourne when 10,000 returned soldiers, led by 14 V.C. heroes, headed an Irish procession. It was time that minority rule in Ireland was ended, and that Ireland should be permitted to work out her own destiny.

Mr. T. W. Ryan, in moving a resolution endorsing the resolutions passed by the Irish Race Convention held in Melbourne last November, affirming the right of Ireland to complete separation, said the views expressed in the Melbourne resolutions expressed the views of the Irish race throughout the world—nay, the views of democracy throughout the world. They stood for majority rule and for self-determination—now approved throughout the civilized world. Was there any reason why they in Australia should be afraid to stand up for the eternal principles of justice? It had been his privilege to twice visit Ireland during the war in 1916 and in 1919. He did not know how serious a crime he had committed until he returned to Australia. He had visited De Valera at his home. While he was in Ireland the view was universally held that the form of the government of Ireland should be left to the people of Ireland themselves. In America he found the spirit of democracy to be the same. De Valera's visit to the United States had been triumphantly successful. Speaking of the Treaty of Versailles, De Valera had said: "Sign that treaty as it stands and you enslave my country!" And the great United States had not yet signed that treaty. It would appear that the rule of self-determination should operate only without the British Empire and not within it. At the conference at Amsterdam, which he had attended, the workers of the whole world had passed a resolution approving of self-determination being granted to Ireland. The cause of Ireland was the cause of liberty. He did not ask for any injustice to be done anyone else, but merely that justice should be extended to her.

The right of self-determination, continued Mr. Ryan, had been conceded to the Germans in the Valley of the Saar, yet the same right was denied Ireland! It was only when Ireland was concerned that there was any suggestion made that the unity of the British Empire was endangered. Ireland merely claimed the right of self-government, of self-determination, and it was their duty to do what they could to have that principle applied to Ireland. They must rely on public opinion among the democratic, and the lovers of liberty the world over, and they could not finally fail to achieve for Ireland what she was asking for. He hoped it would be their privilege to see a United Ireland bound together by common interests that could no more be severed, a United Ireland, one and indivisible as she came from the hands of Almighty God.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Morgan Lane. Ireland's claim to self-determination, he said, was a just claim according to every principle of justice and democracy. At the beginning of the great world war the Irish were led to believe that the principle of self-determination would be applied to all small nations. Yet, though that principle had been extended to the Czechs and Jugo-Slavs, it was not yet extended to Ireland. Ireland, for the sake of the principle of nationality, had refused to bow her neck to the yoke of a stranger. For 700 years Ireland had fought for her

national existence. She was still fighting, and would continue to fight till their liberty was achieved. No fair-minded man could justly refuse to Ireland the right to self-determination. Who was responsible for the tragic position of Ireland to-day? The British Government, not the Irish people. The present anomalous government of Ireland should be wiped out in favour of the self-government and self-determination that she was legitimately seeking to-day. No palliatives would now suffice. Intolerance was foreign to the Irish nation, and under self-determination there would be no favouritism of class or creed. The dawn of Ireland's freedom was at hand; all fair-minded men already acclaimed it.

The motion was forcibly and humorously supported by Rev. Father O'Flynn, who said the Irish question was a question of justice and right, the justice and right that the civilized world had been fighting for during the past five years. The victory of the Allies had made the Irish question the question of the hour, for had they not declared that they were fighting to "make the world safe for democracy," and to bring about the downfall of Prussianism. But what had Ireland gained as an outcome of that victory? The Irish people to-day were treated in their own native land as outlaws and criminals. Lord Byron had aptly described the Union of England and Ireland as the union of a shark and its prey. What De Valera wanted was that the free nations of the world to-day should recognise that an Irish Republic had been established by the overwhelming will of the Irish people. He wanted Ireland for the Irish. The application of the universal principle of self-determination was the only cure for the present condition of affairs in Ireland. Ireland to-day was young and vigorous, and self-reliant, determined no longer to be trampled on. Sinn Fein was no idle movement, but a policy inaugurated by men who represented the faith and brains of the Irish race.

The "Rand Daily Mail," of Johannesburg, of May 24th, contains a report of a meeting of a branch in Pretoria of the Transvaal Irish National Association, at which delegates were present from the parent body in Johannesburg. The air was cleared, says the paper, by a query addressed to the chairman whether the Association stood for an Irish Republic, separation or Dominion Home Rule? The chairman replied they would labour to achieve self-determination for Ireland. They were not there to dictate a policy for Ireland, but to support any policy adopted by the majority of the people of Ireland, and that policy had been shown by the overwhelming returns of certain representatives at the last general election. Self-determination meant the determination of the people of Ireland. The chairman's views, or the views of any particular individual, did not matter. All that the people of the Irish Race outside of Ireland could say was that, whatever be the decision of the people of Ireland in Ireland, they would support it.

Mr. A. E. O'Flaherty (Johannesburg) proposed that "We Irishmen and Irishwomen, whether by birth or descent, assembled in Pretoria, affirm the right of the people of Ireland to choose their own form of Government and without interference from any other nation; we endorse Ireland's appeal to the nations for international recognition, and pledge our support to Ireland's chosen leader, E. de Valera."

During the course of his speech, Mr. O'Flaherty unfurled the Republican flag, which, he said, he had been authorised to present to the branch on behalf of a lady. Messrs. Scanlan, Burgess, Beggs, and McDonald supported the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

The chairman referred to the inauguration in Dublin, of which the fourth anniversary was at hand, and touched on the shooting of the leaders, Pearse, Clarke, and McDonagh, to whose memory a silent vote was passed.

On Sunday last St. Patrick's Hall, Manchester, was packed by an enthusiastic gathering of Irishmen, who were addressed by Messrs. W. Sears, T.D., and Sean Milroy. Mr. Milroy, in the course of his speech, said they hoped to convert many Unionists, and the others would receive the attention accorded to minorities in other countries. Mr. Sears said Sir James Greenwood appeared to be as ignorant of Canadian history as he was of Irish history, otherwise he would not be supporting the Partition Bill. British militarism trampled on Canadian freedom 80 years ago, and England tried partition and imposed sham Home Rule. The result was an Easter week rising, followed by executions, arrests, and deportations, and the Mayor of Toronto had an experience similar to that of Ald. Tom Kelly. And when the Greenwoods and Frenchs of that time failed Canadian secured what they fought for.

Among the remarkable results of the elections in the North-East corner are the capture of such Councils as Magherafelt (Derry) and Downpatrick (Down) from the Unionists, and the election of Sinn Fein in the County of many Sinn Fein. In Antrim, the hub of Unionism, Mr. Louis J. Walsh (S.F.) has been returned at the head of the poll for the County Council. In another Antrim division Mr. John Clarke (S.F.) was only defeated by a couple of votes. In the Shankhill Division of Belfast, the former centre of Orange strength, Mr. M. Carolan (S.F.) has been returned at the head of the poll, and in the Falls Division, which Mr. Devlin retained at the last general election, Sinn Fein had a decisive victory, the result being the election of Messrs. Savage and McCullough (S.F.) and Mr. Kennedy (U.I.L.). Mr. Savage headed the poll with 2,305 votes.

Two days after the eighth verdict of murder—since the beginning of the year—had been returned by a Coroner's Jury against members of the R.I.C., a Minister of the English Government stood up in the English House of Commons and said that "He was glad to say that the police had shot with extremely good effect, and he only hoped they would do it again." In the case that immediately occurred before the English House of Commons cheered this statement, the victim was James Saunders, an ex-soldier who had fought for England. The same English Minister who made the statement we quote uttered the falsehood that ex-service men were hounded out of Ireland by Sinn Fein. When ex-service men are shot in cold blood as poor Saunders was by officers of the English Government, the English House of Commons cheers.

Some matters in dispute between bakers and van-drivers were last week referred to a Court presided over by the Lord Mayor of Cork (Albermarle Terence McSwiney), and the parties concerned expressed their entire satisfaction at the findings of the Court.

Eight men were arrested in Kilkenny by Irish Volunteers last week in connection with the breaking of fences, gates, piers, and windows belonging to Protestant residents in the district of Gurteen, near Castlecomer. On being charged before the Court, which was comprised of three judges and advocates for the prosecution and defence, seven of the prisoners pleaded guilty. Six of them were fined £1 each, and the other £5s., which they readily paid, at the same time expressing regret for the offence. The eighth prisoner pleaded not guilty. Evidence having been given on his behalf, the Court upheld his plea, and

Flax Growing

(From "Leabhar na h-Eireann," 1909).

Flax is a crop which has played an important part in Irish agriculture as far back as the memory of man can go.

Before 1860, the acreage under flax was usually about 120,000 acres. It rose in 1864 to 301,693 acres.

Not only has there been a decline in acreage, but also there has been a decline in quality.

As to the cause of this depreciation, it is difficult to assign a reason.

In Russia the seed is huckstered about like eggs from dealer to dealer, a method which is inimical to the best interests of the Irish grower.

There is no doubt that this question of seed supply merits a closer attention than it has hitherto received.

Flax is a crop which requires the closest attention from the moment of buying the seed until the time that it is ready for the market.

Generally speaking, there are two rotations for flax—one called the "Awell Lee," usually adopted on heavy, sharp soils which are pretty free from weeds.

Recent experience has shown that the application to the land, either in winter or at the time of sowing, of manure of potash or of kainit has a beneficial effect.

The right moment for pulling flax must be very carefully judged, and the pulling itself must be very skilfully done.

The flax, when pulled, is then steeped in water, and this, perhaps, is

the most crucial part of the whole process. It must be steeped just the right length of time, neither too long nor too little.

This steeping or retting process is a most interesting triumph for natural bacteriological processes as against artificial processes, and it tends to strengthen disbelief in the efficacy of organic chemistry.

After the flax has been retted, it is spread or gaited to enable it to dry. When dried, it is taken to the scutch mill, where it is treated with beaters to separate the woody core from the fibre.

In scutching a considerable number of improvements have taken place. At one time the flax used to be rolled with stones, and a girl would beat the flax with a kind of stick called a wiper, by which means she would succeed in treating about a stone a day.

Owing in a large measure to the diversity of interest between the growers and these proprietors, many complaints were made by the grower as to the quality of the scutching, and a special grievance was that the hands employed in the mill were paid by piece instead of by the time.

Many persons have advocated the Belgian and Dutch systems of buying the flax on foot or in straw from the grower. Such a system is possible in Belgium and Holland, where the soil is fairly uniform.

The seasons of 1907-8 and 1908-9 have been disastrous for the grower owing to the bad season in 1907; the flax, on the whole, was of inferior quality, and as the seed was also saved under difficulties the flax of 1908 has proved to be worse again.

to this the flax-spinning industry, which was experiencing an unprecedented boom, has been under a great cloud since the American financial crisis.

CONCILIATION.

(Continued from page 3.)

Armed Assault:—The windows of the premises of Mr. J. D. O'Connell, Solicitor, and Mr. Eamonn O'Connor, Nelson Street, Tralee, Co. Kerry, were smashed in by police during the night.

The plate glass window of the residence of Mr. Thomas Dennehy of the same town, was also broken in by police. Mr. Dennehy has recently been elected member of the Tralee Urban Council in the Sinn Fein interest.

Murder:—Mr. Aidan Redmond, Cadogan Road, Fairview, Dublin, died in the Mater Hospital, Dublin, from appendicitis following on ten days' hunger-strike in Mountjoy jail.

TUESDAY, MAY 11th, 1920.

Raids:—At Timoleague, Co. Cork, military and police raided upwards of 70 private houses.

In the course of a military swoop on Gould's Cross, Co. Tipperary, police and military forcibly entered and raided all the farmers' houses in the locality. In all, about 140 houses were broken into and searched.

Arrests:—A man whose name has not transpired was arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Sentences:—Messrs. Roger Mannion, John Concannon, Thomas Collins, James Burke, Michael O'Neill and Thomas Graham were sentenced to two months' imprisonment each on a charge of "unlawful assembly" in connection with land agitation.

Armed Assault:—Mr. Thomas Garvey, a teacher of Irish, residing at The Milestone, Co. Tipperary, was attacked by police who fired their rifles at him. Mr. Garvey managed to escape by taking refuge in a house. This is the second attempt which has recently been made by police on his life.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12th 1920.

Raids:—Police and military forcibly entered and raided 35 private houses at Santry, Co. Dublin.

Arrests:—Eight men, whose names did not appear in the Press, were arrested at Dunmore, Co. Galway, on a charge of "unlawful assembly" in connection with land agitation.

At Athlone, Co. Westmeath, Messrs. P. O'Connell, Thomas Murray, John Ledwith and Brian Costello were arrested on the same charge.

Nine persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Murder:—During the inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Mr. John Breen, of Kilmihill, Co. Clare, who was shot dead by police on April 13th, the solicitor for the next-of-kin stated that he was unable to produce detailed evidence of the tragedy, as

since it occurred police and military had gone through the town threatening the lives of townspeople who intended to give evidence.

Mr. John McMahon, Greygrove, Kilmihill, and Mr. T. Fitzpatrick, swore that they were threatened by British soldiery that if they gave evidence at the inquest they would be shot dead.

Several other witnesses described the state of military and police terrorism which existed in the district before and since John Breen was shot. Mr. Denis Breen, publican, stated that two months previous to the shooting he heard a policeman say, "The first chance I get at John Breen I will shoot him dead."

Mr. Michael Breen, father of the deceased, stated that when he heard the shots he came out of his house and saw his son lying on the ground. He ran to him, but he was ordered back into his house by police, who threatened that if he did not go back they would "blow his brains out, too."

THURSDAY, MAY 13th, 1920.

Raids:—Military and police raided upwards of eighty farmers' houses at Hollyford, Co. Tipperary.

At Ellis, Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick, police and military raided upwards of 40 private houses, which they forcibly entered and searched.

Armed Assault:—Police stationed at Cork invaded the streets in the dead of the night, firing their rifles at the windows of shops and residences. The firing extended over a wide area and lasted for some hours. No provocation was given them.

Murder:—At the inquest on the body of Mr. John Breen, who was killed by police at Kilmihill, Co. Clare, the Coroner's Jury found

"That John Breen died from shock and hemorrhage caused by a bullet wound inflicted by Constable Martin, while John Breen was fighting for the freedom of his country."

The Jury added:—"From the evidence before us we desire to say that the present system of government in Ireland is as barbarous and uncivilised as the authority on which that government is founded is immoral and unjust, and that that government is, and it always has been, destructive of material prosperity and intellectual development. The way—the only way to secure peace and prosperity to Ireland is to allow the Irish people to choose their own form of government. We respectfully ask the civilised nations of the world to aid us in this choice."

(To be Continued.)

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

TRANSPORT OF WAR MUNITIONS.—APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

THE decision of the Workers at the Docks and on the railways to refuse to handle munitions of war brought from England for use by the Army of Occupation in pursuance of the new offensive against the Irish nation has the whole-hearted moral support of all loyal Irishmen.

As a result of this decision several hundreds of men have already for over a week been deprived of employment at their ordinary occupation, that is, the transport of commercial traffic, by the London and North Western Railway steamers, which sail from the North Wall.

It is not in their own interests alone, but on behalf of the whole nation, that these men have been willing to risk their means of livelihood. It is but an accident that they should have been on duty at the point where action was called for. The duty of refusing to become accessories in the crime of "Dying" their kith and kin might have devolved, instead of upon these men, upon any other body of citizens loyal to their country's cause.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us that our moral support should be supplemented immediately by generous financial support, so that they and their wives and families shall not be made to shoulder an undue share of the burden which all are equally called upon to bear.

We appeal to all Trade Unionists and to the Irish people in general to subscribe liberally to the fund which is now open to ensure that the men who have stood in the breach shall be generously provided for.

All remittances should be sent to the Treasurer (Thomas Johnson), 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin, marked, "Munitions of War."

On behalf of the National Executive, THOMAS FARRER, Chairman. WM. O'BRIEN, Secretary. J. C. O'CONNOR, Vice-Chairman. THOMAS JOHNSON, Treas. and Acting Sec. 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin, June 1st, 1920.

poile móir na nGaeleal.

OIREACTAS

1920.

i mbaile áta cliaic

luznara iad la 30 luznara 7ad la.

Croke Park, University College, Mansion House, Rotunda.

60 COMORTAS.

Cleapa lú. tománuideact. Peil. Camós.

Orámuide. Ceol. Rinncé.

ENTRIES CLOSE JUNE 20th.

Céiróte. Turap.

Art Exhibition. :: All Ireland Athletic Sports

Hurling and Football Contests.

BAND COMPETITIONS

ÁRD-PEIS MÓIR.

A leiceid o'oireactar ní paid fóp ann!

Sac eolar o'n Rúnaide, 25 Ceapnós Párpail, Át Cliaic.

WHY SUPPORT THE FOREIGNER?

YOU CAN OBTAIN

A WATERPOOF MADE IN IRELAND

BETTER THAN MANY AND EQUAL TO ANY.

Support Home Industries and Stop Emigration

FRANCIS CASEY & SONS,

CHARLEMONT, MOY, CO. TYRONE.

cigarettes in packets (which total 80 per cent of the entire tobacco consumption) makes one feel very sad. There seems to be a craze abroad for one particular brand of English Combine manufacture, which is retailed at 6d. per packet. This also applies to the packet retailed at two for 4d. To say they are either better manufactured, better packed, or contain better tobacco is untrue, as anyone in the trade knows.

There is no excuse either in reality for the consumer who glibly states he has got used to them, for two reasons: the first is, the change in tobacco is naturally quite frequent, as the tobacco market is so short that no manufacturer can keep the one blend for any length of time, and, in any event, when either a strike or a war shortage occurs, what one is used to no longer counts for anything. During the war period this craze started, and the difficulty of inducing a customer to take any other brand was lamentable. When they were satisfied they were unprocurable, they chose in the way that had been customary.

Now, I ask all your readers who use tobacco to consider this position. Is it not bad enough to be subscribing to import John Bull's soldiers and machines of war, without also giving him all the employment (which is more considerable to the amount of money invested in the tobacco trade than in many more) to the enemy. The consumer of alcohol has this in his favour, that they usually buy drink manufactured in Ireland. The smoker, on the contrary, buys English and in nearly every case English Combine goods.

A girl can make one thousand cigarettes by hand in a day. The average smoker smokes twenty cigarettes by day, so, should he now take a pledge to smoke Irish cigarettes from this date, he will give a girl one day's employment every 50 days; if fifty smokers buy their cigarettes in one shop that makes its own cigarettes, they will secure her one day's employment. No one would credit the amount of employment that could be given in Ireland if every smoker bought his cigarettes of Irish manufacture. This will also give packers, labellers, advertising departments, railways, etc., greater employment.

The tobacco trade to-day pays the English Government the greatest amount of revenue: it heads the list. Roughly, last year, it amounted to £42,000,000. This would mean about £75,000,000 in retailing. At least £20,000,000 of this is collected in Ireland, of which, roughly, £11,000,000 is at present from raw leaf to the actual article sold, whether as cigarettes, tobacco or cigars, packed or loose.

At present the raw leaf goes to Liverpool or London, and then back to Dublin, Belfast, Cork, etc. But if we consumed only what we manufactured, thanks to the direct shipping now established, the MacCormack Line could bring this direct at a considerable saving, which, of itself, would give increased employment at Custom House, and would probably necessitate extensions of warehousing, as tobacco leaf is very bulky material, being packed in large casks.

The Irish manufacturers are quite as up-to-date with machinery, staffs, advertising, etc., as their capital will admit, and are the equal of all manufacturers outside the English Combine; but when I mention that the Imperial Tobacco Combine has a capital of £42,000,000 (42 millions), and has already closed up a considerable number of factories in England and Scotland, it is really wonderful to relate that our Irish factories have, up to now, not alone survived, but, while losing trade in Ireland, where they should have a monopoly, they have made considerable headway in England and Scotland, the home of the Combine. We have had two factories closed in Dublin during twenty years—Kennedy's and Lundy Foot's Foot's. We ought now to decide to bring a big push on the tobacco front. Keep all our factories working overtime, and induce manufacturers to build additional factories, and new ones will surely follow.

I am informed that the Northern factories' representatives are not being as well received throughout Ireland as in previous years, but if this does not mean the trade passing to the other Irish factories, this gains nothing for Ireland. I trust all readers will start from this edition of "Eire Og," and work and be propagandists for all Irish-Irelanders to use only Irish-manufactured tobacco articles, including pipes, the only Irish firm, Peterson's, being a credit to any country. Then another double victory will be won, and the danger of emigration lessened to the extent of the large additional employment that will accrue.

Conciliation

III.

Sixteen persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m., without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

A man whose name has not transpired was arrested by police at Belturbet, for participation in a public welcome given to released Sinn Fein prisoners.

Sentences:—Messrs. T. Hessian, John Toole, P. McTigue, Martin Dwane, and P. Ronayne, of Irish-town, Claremorris, Co. Mayo, were sentenced to one month's imprisonment each on a charge of "unlawful assembly" in connection with land agitation.

Armed Assault:—In Derry City a party of armed police fired on a crowd of townspeople, many of whom were injured, including an ex-soldier, who was seriously wounded. Mr. J. Ramsay, another ex-soldier, of Long Tower Street, Derry, stated to the Press that he was present at the wake of his son who had died on Saturday. On hearing the sound of shots he opened his door and looked out. He was immediately set upon and knocked down by policemen, who threatened to smash in his head with a stick.

Military paraded the streets of Limerick City at about midnight and fired volleys of shots at townspeople who were passing to their homes.

To celebrate the release from jail of prominent local Republicans, the people of Belturbet, Co. Cavan, organised a welcome for them on their arrival in the town. As the bands paraded the streets they were charged by police, who assaulted and injured several civilians.

TUESDAY, MAY 4th, 1920.

Raids:—Police and military raided the house of Mr. Michael Murphy, Milcove, Castletownbere, Co. Cork, and made a thorough search of the premises.

Arrests:—Mr. Thomas K. Walsh, chief reporter on the "Anglo-Celt," Cavan, a Nationalist newspaper, was arrested at Cavan by military and police. No charge was brought against him.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5th, 1920.

Raids:—Military and police raided upwards of 200 houses in and around Gale Bridge, Listowel, Co. Kerry.

A large party of police and military visited, for the third time in a fortnight, the residence of Mr. J. J. Laying, Dundalk, Co. Louth. An exhaustive search was made, which lasted 14 hours.

Arrests:—Two men, whose names have not transpired, were arrested at Tuam, Co. Galway.

Sentences:—Mr. Timothy Noonan, Gortboy, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, was sentenced by district courtmartial, held at Cork on April 22nd, to six months' imprisonment on a charge of having a shot-gun in his possession.

Mr. John Fitzpatrick, Carrogue, Co. Tipperary, was sentenced by same courtmartial to six months' imprisonment for refusing to obey an order of the British Military Authority prohibiting him from residing within the province of Munster, where his home is situated.

Armed Assault:—Two men—Messrs. Long and Callanan—were fired upon by armed police as they were passing near Dovea police barracks, Thurles, Co. Tipperary. Mr. Long recognised their assailants, who, he says, fired on Mr. Callanan, because the latter gave evidence at The Ragg inquest in the circumstances of the shooting of Mr. Thomas Dwyer, his cousin, in regard to whose death the Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against unknown members of the R.I.C.

Murder:—At the inquest into the circumstances of the death of Mr. Philip Dowling, who was shot dead in the streets of Arklow, Co. Wicklow, by riotous British troops, the Jury found that the deceased met his death "from bullet wounds fired by the military without justification, and that there was gross lack of discipline on behalf of the military authorities in allowing the men to break barracks a second time."

Deportations:—A Sinn Fein prisoner was deported from Kingstown Harbour under an armed police and military guard. His destination and identity have not been disclosed by the British Military Authorities.

THURSDAY, MAY 6th, 1920.

Raids:—Police and military carried out midnight raids in the district of Templetoohy, Co. Tipperary. In all,

some forty houses were forcibly entered and searched.

Arrests:—Two persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Treatment of Prisoners:—Ald. J. MacDonagh, M.P. for North Tipperary, released from Wormwood Scrubs Prison on the point of collapse as a result of a prolonged hunger-strike, makes the following statements in a letter to Mr. Shortt, the English Home Secretary:—

"A large body of the Coldstream Guards was mobilised in the 'B' wing of the prison, and all the prisoners on 'B2' and 'B3' landings were removed by warders to 'B1' and a few to 'B4.' The prisoners on their feet walked, but those too weak to do so were not so fortunate in their removal. In my own case I was dragged out of bed and roughly hustled to the head of the stairs. Here one of the warders took me on his back, and by the time I got to the bottom I had become unconscious, and did not recover for over an hour. . . . Another man (Hynes) was dragged out of bed by four warders, and, as he lay on the ground, beaten by them. Another (Collins), while being carried down stairs in a very weak condition, heard one warder urge the others to 'Drop the . . .'"

"I presume you are already aware of the fact that one man (Crowley), while lying in bed, was sat on by a warder, his artificial teeth broken in his mouth, and portion of the plate driven down his throat. This happened on Tuesday at noon, but no doctor visited this man, who had been so forcibly fed, with his own teeth, until the next day. A colleague of Crowley's (Cahill), who went to his assistance when assaulted in the cell, received a black eye, and was knocked down by another warder. Altogether there were eight warders in the cell, while a Guardsman with fixed bayonet stood at the door to protect them from the three prisoners, who had then completed six days on hunger-strike.

"You are also probably aware that in almost every case three men were locked into each cell, though I understand, the cubical content of a cell is only calculated to supply oxygen enough for one."

Mr. Hayes, Murroe, brother of Rev. J. Hayes, Liverpool, said the warders went about taunting men almost too weak to retort, making

such remarks as "You'll want a big coffin." Some prisoners were told that the others were taking food, with the hope that, in this way, the strike would end.

FRIDAY, MAY 7th, 1920.

Arrests:—Two persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Sentences:—Mr. Oliver Mason, Whitefield, Co. Kerry, was sentenced by courtmartial at Cork to 14 days' imprisonment on a charge of having in his possession a shotgun and cartridges.

Court-martial:—Mr. Michael Condon was tried by courtmartial at Cork, on a charge of having taken part in an attempt to capture Aghern Barracks, Co. Cork, during last February. Mr. Condon stated in court that the police offered bribes to him to reveal the identity of his companions, and that they also threatened to take his life if he would not give the information required. Sentence has not yet been promulgated.

Mr. Joseph McGinnity, Ballymacdermott, Co. Armagh, was tried by courtmartial at Belfast on a charge of having in his possession arms and ammunition. Sentence has not yet been promulgated.

Armed Assault:—As a crowd of boys were returning from a football practice match at Wexford, they were overtaken by a motor car containing policemen in uniform. One of the men stood up in the car as it passed the boys and fired his revolver at them, although no provocation whatever was given them.

Murder:—At the inquiry into the circumstances of the deaths of the three men who were shot by military and police at Miltown-Malbay, Co. Clare, the Jury returned the following verdict, and the Coroner issued warrants against those charged with the murders:—

"We find that John O'Loughlin, Patrick Hennessy, and Thomas O'Leary died as a result of shock and hemorrhage caused by bullet wounds, on the night of April 14th, inflicted by members of the patrol consisting of Sergeant J. Hampson, Constables T. O'Connor and T. Keenan, R.I.C., and Lance-Corporal K. McLeod and Ptes. W. Kilgore, J. McEvan, P. McLoughlin, and R. Bunting and E. Adams, all of the Highland Light Infantry.

"We find that each of the above-named members of the patrol was guilty of wilful murder, without

any provocation, and we also condemn all the other members of the patrol for their action in trying to shield by their evidence those who committed the murders, and we tender our sympathy to the widows and orphans of the murdered men."

SATURDAY, MAY 8th, 1920.

Raids:—The houses of Messrs. P. Collins, B. O'Grady, T. Carmody, all of Ballylongford, Co. Kerry, were raided by military and police.

A military and police raid also took place on the house of Mr. T. Ryan, Ahanagragh, Co. Kerry.

A large force of police raided Carrucrin National School, Co. Monaghan. In forcing an entrance they smashed in the roof and doors.

Arrests:—Mr. Henry Miller was arrested on a charge of being "abroad" on the streets of Dublin at 1.15 a.m., without the permission of the British Military Authorities. Evidence was given proving that Mr. Miller had not been "abroad" at the time of his arrest, as he had been arrested in a restaurant by a police and military patrol.

MONDAY, MAY 10th, 1920.

Raids:—At Cloyne, Co. Cork, police and military raided upwards of 200 private houses. Whilst the raids were in progress aeroplanes circled over the houses.

Police and military infested the town of Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh, forcibly entering and raiding some eighty dwellinghouses.

The steamship, "Tashmoo," belonging to Messrs. Moore and MacCormack, an Irish-American Steamship Company, was raided by police and military on its arrival at Cork Harbour on a voyage from the United States.

Arrests:—Twenty-seven persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 5 a.m., without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Eleven persons, whose names did not transpire, were arrested at Roscommon by military and police on a charge of "unlawful assembly" in connection with land agitation.

Sentences:—Messrs. John Egan, Michael Hanlon, Thomas Prehill, Thomas Hurley and John Kilkenny, of Kiltomer, Co. Galway, were each sentenced to two months' imprisonment on a charge of "unlawful assembly" in connection with land agitation.

Messrs. P. Curley, John Shiel and J. Staunton, of Galway, were sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment each on the same charge.

(Continued on page 7.)

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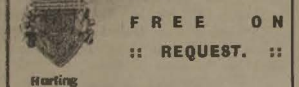
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ÉIRE ÓS YOUNG IRELAND SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1920.

The Voice of the Nation

The following is the result of the County Council Elections—the first held for six years. The former political complexion of the bodies is shown in parenthesis:—

CONNACHT. Galway (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Leitrim (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Sligo (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Mayo (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Roscommon (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein

LEINSTER. Carlow (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Dublin (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Kildare (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Kilkenny (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein King's (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Longford (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Louth (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Meath (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Queen's (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Westmeath (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Wexford (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Wicklow (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein

MUNSTER. Clare (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Cork (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Kerry (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Limerick (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein Tipperary N. (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Tipperary S. (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Waterford (Sinn Fein) ... Sinn Fein

ULSTER. Antrim (Unionist) ... Unionist Armagh (Unionist) ... Unionist Cavan (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Donegal (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Down (Unionist) ... Unionist Fermanagh (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Derry (Unionist) ... Unionist Monaghan (Home Rule) ... Sinn Fein Tyrone (Unionist) ... Sinn Fein

Practically every Poor-Law Board and Rural District Council in Connaught, Leinster, Munster, and in the Ulster Counties of Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan has been won by Sinn Fein—a majority of these bodies have been won in Fermanagh and Tyrone, and several in the other four counties.

* In Fermanagh and Tyrone Sinn Feiners and Parliamentarians united to defeat the Unionists. In both County Councils the Sinn Feiners are now the stronger in numbers; the absolute majority over the Unionists comprises, however, the Home Rulers.

Quis Separabit

For twenty years past the Tyrone County Council has been in the hands of a minority, which, to the full extent of its powers, denied the majority public rights, and proclaimed to the world that Tyrone was a "Unionist County."

Dublin Castle was requested to arrest and imprison Mr. Murnaghan, solicitor, who had charge of the election for the people. Dublin Castle, of course, did so, and, in addition, seized his marked registers. The election is now over, and Dublin Castle and its agents in Tyrone are vanquished.

America and Ireland

Last week the "Daily Independent" and the "Freeman's Journal" published the following piece of British propaganda cabled from the United States:—

By ten votes to nine the House Foreign Affairs Committee rejected a resolution expressing the belief of Congress that, in the interest of world peace, Ireland should have a Government of her own choice.

The resolution adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives reads as follows:—

"Whereas the American people have always sympathized with the aspirations of every people seeking political freedom, and

"Whereas the people of Ireland have shown unmistakably their desire to govern themselves, and

"Whereas the conditions in Ireland, to-day, endanger world peace, and,

"Whereas, in particular, the unrest caused by these conditions is inevitably reflected in these United States of America, tending to weaken the bonds of amity and the ancient ties of kinship which bind so many of our people to the people of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Therefore, in the interest of world peace and international good will, be it resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) that

"The Congress of the United States views with concern and solicitude these conditions, and expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice."

The two papers we mention published the falsehood because it came to them from an English press-agency. The greatest campaign on Ireland's behalf ever carried on abroad is being carried on in America, and neither the "Daily Independent," nor the "Freeman" took the obvious course of securing an independent correspondent to follow its fortunes.

The Pope and the Nations

Last week the Pope issued an encyclical in which he urged the nations to join fraternally together to reduce, if it were not possible to eliminate, expenditure on war measures and material. His Holiness expressed the wish that independence and territorial integrity within its just frontiers would be assured to every nation, and added that the Church would co-operate with the peoples to these ends.

progress for months past in Rome. As the culmination, Mr. Arthur Balfour arrived at the Vatican with a glittering bribe and a concealed threat. He was heard and courteously dismissed. The Vatican refused to be misled into becoming a tool of English policy in Ireland.

The declaration of the Pope that independence and territorial integrity within its just frontiers should be ensured to every nation, and that the Catholic Church will co-operate with the peoples to this end, is a momentous one. It is the assertion, in the name of the greatest of Christian Churches, of the principle which Ireland defends. Ireland asserts her independence and territorial integrity within her just frontier—a frontier the hand of man can never alter, for it was traced in the sea by the finger of God.

Not one section, but all sections of the people of England are engaged in the futile attempt to murder the Irish nation. So far as Ireland is concerned, the labels of Liberal, Tory and Labour which Englishmen wear are labels—no more. The English people elect the Government of England—the English people are responsible for the acts of that Government, and those who seek to differentiate between Englishmen—pretending that "English Labour" is not responsible—are knaves when they are not dupes.

War on the Irish Language

The method of killing a nation by obliterating its language is as old, in its quasi-scientific aspect, as the Romans. In modern times, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Roumania, and Bulgaria have been, to a greater or less extent, the battlegrounds of an Imperialism seeking to destroy a nationalism working to conserve a language.

In Bohemia, Hungary and Poland the fight was different. The Austrians in the first two countries did work hard to drive the Czech and Magyar languages out of the use and knowledge of the people. They did not, however, make it a penal or punishable offence to study or to use them.

Here the essential inferiority of the Russian to the Englishman is manifest. Take the case of Carrigaholt College of Irish Teaching. The College has been erected and maintained by the private monies of Irish people. In a few days it was to have reopened its sessions, and commit the act of teaching the Irish language in Ireland to Irish people.

The English soldiers, with their loaded rifles, stationed at the windows of the violated College, are a sign and a symbol to the world; but on another side they recall Mrs. Partington. She, good woman, thought to sweep out the Atlantic Ocean with a broom. The political Mrs. Partingtons believe they can kill the Irish language with rifle bullets.

France and Ireland.

Paris, Friday. The reinforcement of the English army of occupation in Ireland has attracted the attention of war critics who enjoy an international reputation. In a recent issue of "La République Française," Commandant de Civrieux tells how "Ireland was trampled under foot by Cromwell and since then maintained in subjection by force. Louis XIV. and afterwards the French Directory vainly endeavoured to emancipate her, but now she has adopted the principle, proclaimed from the house tops during the late war, that peoples possess the primordial right of disposing of their destinies.

"The situation in Ireland," "La Dépeche de Toulouse" maintains, "should attract greater attention in this country. Not only does Ireland dominate all the internal politics of Great Britain, not only has she a constant influence on the relations between the different parts of the Empire, not only are Anglo-American relations singularly complicated by the delays in solving the Irish question, but the future economical relations between France and Ireland—which could be very important—depend to a great extent on the temporary or definite regulation of the Anglo-Irish conflict which has now reached such a bitter stage."

After describing the success of De Valera's campaign in America, "L'Avenir du Chatillonais," asserts that "in a short time England will repent because she did not profit by the remaking of the map of Europe in order to give Ireland her independence. Wilson alleged one hundred times during the war that peoples had the right to determine their destiny, but the Irish people were excluded from this right. The power of England, however, is undermined both at home and abroad. The British Empire is evidently in extremis. M. Millerand is perfectly aware of this and need no longer allow himself to be trailed behind England. Lloyd George henceforth had better cease addressing his domineering and highflutin remarks to us. Ireland will help us. Vive l'Irlande."

"If the partitions of Poland has formerly been the 'sin' of Europe," says "Le Courrier de Geneve," "Ireland is and has been the 'sin' of England. On the 21st January, 1841, Montalembert dealing with the Polish question gave expression to the following words which are equally applicable to Ireland to-day. 'Whenever it was sought to destroy a nation that nation became the scourge of its would be destructor and attached itself like an avenging sore that is always open, always piercing to the flank of its oppressor.' That is the history of the hour and for centuries back there has been an Irish question because, England, instead of treating Ireland on an equal footing, has always two objects in view—to deprive her of her independence and her faith. Ireland faithful to herself, was condemned to a regime of spoliation and oppression. In the middle of the last century notwithstanding the natural richness of her soil, tens of thousands of her people died of hunger, and hundreds of thousands of others, to avoid the same fate, were forced to emigrate. The descendants of those emigrants are a force in the new world to-day. In common with the rest of the Irish race they insist on self determination for their motherland. Ireland refuses the laws of the British Parliament. She spurns the offer of Home Rule which, even if honestly made, is bound to fail. England is on the horns of a dilemma. She must either acknowledge the Republic of Ireland or endeavour to reconquer the country. We hope that for the honour of England, for the honour of humanity, she will do the former."

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1920.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

Current Comments

The Fund for the relief of the men driven out of work in Belfast has been opened with subscriptions of £100 each from the Bishop of Down and Connor and Messrs. Bernard Hughes. Subscriptions may be sent to the Treasurers—his Lordship, the Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. O'Doherty, and Mr. P. J. Finnegan.

The intervention of English armed forces of the Crown to prevent an arbitration court from hearing cases in the City Hall, Cork, has had a remarkable sequel. The Lord Mayor was arrested with the parties and witnesses. He has now been court-martialled alone, without the witnesses, on four charges which have no connection with the question of Arbitration Courts. If the English public learned the subject of the arbitration they would receive as rude a shock as the military personages who found out who the plaintiffs were.

Last week in Tralee the guardians of law and order and the protectors of private property, according to themselves, set fire to the large printing offices of Messrs. Quinnell and Sons, Protestants and hitherto Unionists, who ventured in one of their newspapers to write favourably on the Arbitration Courts. The police were strategically placed to prevent aid being rendered by the Volunteers, who endeavoured to reach the front of the buildings and to check the flames. The burning of Quinnell's follows shortly after the burning of Bigges of Waterford.

Dublin Castle has founded a new organ, but it will blush to find it fame. The organ, the first number of which appeared secretly on Saturday, is printed by Messrs. Alexander Thom and Co., English Government Publishers, Dublin. The title of this production is "The Weekly Summary." This "Weekly Summary" consists principally of the falsehoods first sent out from Dublin Castle to the English press, and here republished as guaranteed by these papers. A column is given to Sir Hamar Greenwood's "Statement," and the lie that Archbishop Mannix refused to honour the American National Anthem is repeated under the heading, "Archbishop Mannix insults both flags." President De Valera is referred to as "A Carolina Mongrel," Catholics are mentioned as "Romanists," and the general trend of the production is inimitable to the armed forces of the English Crown. A significant lie is that R.I.C. men who have resigned are persecuted by the people. The contrary is, of course, the case, but the object of Dublin Castle is transparent.

Dublin Castle has always had its organs in the press; but this, we think, is the first direct publication. Its spiritual father was James Birch's "World," published in Dublin during the 'Forties and early 'Fifties of the nineteenth century. Birch was a scoundrel who had served terms of imprisonment for blackmail. In 1848 Dublin Castle hired him to attack the National Movement and the private and public character of its leaders. The English Secret Service Fund paid for the free distribution of the convicted felon's vile newspaper. He received £7,000 from the English Government for his work, and demanded more. When the English Government demurred, he foolishly for himself instituted an action, in the course of which the English Lord Lieutenant and the Dublin Castle Secretary, Sir William Somerville, admitted they had hired and paid the blackmailer to defame the country and its leaders. Birch was subsequently again sent to prison for attempted blackmail of a Dublin lady. And of such is Dublin Castle and its revived "World"—"The Weekly Sum-

mary"—which, however, as it is, we believe, to be circulated among the R.I.C. barracks, is a little stupid about the "Romanist." Perhaps the English administration will appoint a brighter editor.

The English Government is defraying the expenses of a series of pamphlets to prove that "Sinn Fein in Ireland is Bolshevism pure and simple." The first of the series is entitled "Ireland and the International Revolution." It bears no publisher's name, and solemnly announces that the Bolsheviks paid out for the month of February 500 million roubles to Sinn Fein. Copies of the pamphlet we refer to were found the other day by English Civil Service officials on their desks in the various departments of the British Government in London—a hint to them to spread the lies therein contained if they desired to escape annoyance from their Government employers.

The East Galway Arbitration Court has given judgment in the cases heard on July 15, the most important of which was Smyth v. Flannery and others. Plaintiff holds lands at Colmanstown consisting of 380 Irish acres. The defendants (Flannery and Co.) claimed portion to enlarge economic holdings, to provide for landless men, etc. The Court ordered (1) that Smyth maintain 100 Irish acres of upland around his residence, together with 50 Irish acres of bottom land; (2) that the remaining 230 acres be sold to the defendants; (3) that purchase price be fixed by Court officers; (4) costs to be borne equally by all parties and remain in undisturbed possession.

Mr. Kevin O'Shiel presided at a Republican Land Commission Court at Roscommon on Friday under the Department of Agriculture of the Irish Republic. This was the tenth day of the sitting, and the great public interest continued to be manifested in the proceedings. Many counsel and solicitors were present, and amongst the clergymen were Rev. Fr. O'Flanagan, C.C., Roscommon. Two R.I.C. men were also present.

Mr. M. Staunton, Castlereagh, for the claimants, and Mr. Wm. D. Coyne, B.A., M.C.C., Ballyhaunis, for the other side. This was a case in which one group, namely, John Dillon, M. Hand, M. Cuttle, T. McNulty, N. Quinn, John Duffy, T. Mulrennan, Fitzpatrick and others, sought by several threats and interferences to force another group of tenants, namely Rafferty, Morris, Casey, Moloney and Weir, who held 21 years leases from Lord De Freyne to surrender their holding on the ground that they were equally entitled to a share. The lessees held the lands for about 30 years on the 11 months' system prior to their grants some two years ago. The last drive took place in April, 1920, when the parties were brought to a British court, where they gave bail for their future good behaviour. Since that time, notwithstanding the bails, the lands are idle. After hearing the evidence the Judge announced that he would reserve his decision. Mr. Coyne asked for an order to entitle lessees to resume the lawful use of their lands pending the final decision, and his request was granted, the Judge remarking that in all cases that come before his court he is under strict orders to require that matters shall remain in statu quo until the court finally disposes of them. Mr. Staunton expressed his opinion that his tenants were acting in accordance with that order, but Mr. Coyne maintained that the statu quo was, of course, a statu quo, and he was upheld by the Judge. The lessees are therefore now entitled to the enjoyment of their lands. In the case of Bryan Lavan's farm, Anghamora, Ballyhaunis, heard by Mr. Shiel in Ballyhaunis some time ago, and in which he reserved his decision, the Judge now appointed a Receiver over the lands pending the giving of

his decision. Mr. Wm. D. Coyne, with Mr. Conor A. Maguire, Claremorris, appeared for one body of claimants, and Mr. Thomas Campbell, Swinford, for another on the occasion of the Ballyhaunis hearing.

A Sinn Fein Parish Arbitration Court was held in Killawalla on Tuesday, 10th inst. There were two cases listed for hearing, one for illegal pouncing of cattle which was dismissed, and the other for the stoppage of a water course which the arbitrators might have an opportunity of inspecting the place in dispute before giving their decision.

In the early hours of Friday morning a robbery was perpetrated a short distance from Clonmelmacross, when the house of a man named Owen McCabe, of Magheratoy, was entered and a sum of money forcibly taken, as well as a gold watch, but portion of the money has since been recovered by the Volunteers.

At a Convention of eighty delegates held in Dundalk, Arbitrators have been appointed and Courts established in each parish of North Down.

The traders of Shercock, at a meeting on August 6th, unanimously pledged themselves as follows: "That we, the traders of Shercock, on account of the victimisation of our Catholic fellow-countrymen, and the orgy of destruction of Catholic property, and on account of the irreconcilable attitude of Belfast Orangemen, do hereby bind ourselves to cease trading with Belfast firms until such time as the Catholic workers are reinstated, their property restored, and until no longer stands in the way of Irish Independence."

A few days ago a man in the Glenmore district of Co. Waterford was arrested by the Irish Volunteers. He was tried by court-martial, being charged with the larceny of money from his employer, and the Court ordered that he repay it by weekly instalments.

Wexford Borough Arbitration Court—Man charged with stealing a bottle of whiskey—sentence, to pay in three weekly instalments. Four young men charged with maliciously injuring the property of a Protestant lady living in Killurin district—sentence to make good the damage and to apologise. A charge against a Protestant living in the same district for assaulting a Catholic was dismissed. Intricate dispute about a farm in Ballymitty settled to the satisfaction of both parties concerned. Cobbler charged before Arbitration Court for refusing to pay debt of £6 13s. Od. due to Wexford Co-operative Society, Ltd., for goods supplied—decision, to pay in weekly instalments. A dispute about possession of a bicycle was settled satisfactorily out of Court. Before the Regulations for the control of the drink traffic were issued, certain publicans in Wexford town and district used to sell intoxicating drink until after 12 o'clock every night and all day on Sundays. This abuse has now practically ceased and every publican observes the new Regulations.

The following cases have just been dealt with by the Republican Police in Wexford:—A youth, charged with ill-treating his mother—sentence to find work within a month and severely cautioned. Ex-soldier arrested for being drunk and disorderly—kept in the lock-up until he became sober. Two youths arrested for robbing an orchard, their first offence—severely cautioned and made apologise to the owner of the orchard. Greengrocer arrested for refusing to pay balance of £8 due to James Howlin, Bellefield, Ennisorthy, for vegetables supplied. The prisoner was sentenced to pay his debt in weekly instalments and also to pay 10/- costs, and on signing an agreement to do so, was released.

The French Ministries of Foreign Affairs and War have issued a long printed statement on the affairs of Ireland. It includes a history of the Lloyd George Convention, a very full account of the proceedings of Dail Eireann, the memorandum presented by MM. O'Kelly and Gavin Duffy, envoys to Paris for the Elected Government of the Irish Republic, and the Report of the American Delegation to Ireland.

In the course of his reply to an invitation from the Irish Self-Determination League to a demonstration there, the Bishop of Middlesbrough (England) writes: "Though I am not in the least a politician, and have no desire to obtrude my views upon others, I hope I am not so dull as not to see that the Coalition Government now in power has irrevocably committed itself to the principle of self-determination for small and struggling nationalities, and it is well to keep reminding them lest they forget. It was on this principle they smashed up the venerable Austrian Empire, which in times past had saved Christendom from the hated tyranny of the Turk. In face of the German peril—in their panic it would seem—they swallowed the Wilson pill, which has produced an acute attack of indigestion from which they are not likely to recover for a very long time. Sir Edward Carson and his friends prescribe an emetic, but the remedy comes too late and may prove worse than the disease. Why not try for a change honesty and fair-dealing all round?"

Mr. Hughes of Australia who suggested across the cable that he, not Archbishop Mannix, was the true inter-preter of Australian opinion, says: "I have an unusual idea of what a man expresses itself in his favour. The 'Sun' of Sydney—a Tory newspaper—describes Mr. Hughes as being hooted every time he made a public appearance in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit owing to his strong public resentment against his actions."

Last week the Irish College at Dungloe closed for the season, over thirty of the students having remained till the end of the session. During the session, Father Toal taught a children's class in the evening. Fifteen local teachers attended and took great interest in the phrase method. To teachers who had been used to teaching Irish on the translation method, we are assured that it was nothing short of a miracle to hear the children of Dungloe conversing freely in Irish to one another after a month at Father Toal's class. Everyone connected with the work of the College was greatly pleased at the amount of work done. The whole course was oral. Conversation was the one thing the College aimed at teaching. Father Toal's idea is, after all, simple enough. He maintains that the native speaker has the grammaire in his head unknown to himself, and he further contends that the proper thing to aim at is to get the language into your head first of all, and then decline and conjugate afterwards if you are inclined that way. But very few are prepared to take up that side of a language, compared to the millions who are interested in it as an instrument for expressing thought. This idea, Father Toal and his staff of assistants put in practice during the season. Books, grammar, phonetics and the rest of the "Bruitin-Gogain" were banned from the beginning, and a complete oral course taught along the phrase-method principles. Two very enjoyable ceilidhe were held in a hall kindly lent for the occasion by Paddy-the-Cope. And one of the most popular features of the college was the Sunday "Turas" to the various Gaelic-speaking districts.

A few months ago the Organising Committee of the First Irish National Pilgrimage presented an address to Monsieur Schaeffer, Bishop of Tarbes

and Lourdes, who was so kind to the Irish pilgrims of 1913. An illuminated copy of this address will be on exhibition in the window of Messrs. Pigott and Co., of Grafton Street from Friday next, and we trust that all our readers that possible can will avail themselves of this opportunity of seeing such a unique production of Irish art. Framed in oak of exquisite design, the whole looks strikingly large. The actual illuminating covers a space of two and a half by three and a half feet, and is, we are credibly informed, the largest and most elaborate piece of Celtic ornamentation of its kind ever produced. The talented artist, Mr. J. E. Maxwell, has spared no pains in making this appropriate gift from the heart of Ireland worthy of the land which it is leaving and of the shrine to which it is going. Almost every feature challenges special attention, but apart altogether from the beautiful scroll work, the rich colours and the harmonious contrasts, we were specially delighted to see that some of the panels are reminiscent not merely of the treasured glory of Lourdes, but also of the bright and happy days of Ireland's golden prime. We trust that this rich product of the ripe genius of an Irishman will serve as a new link between the Republic of France and the Republic of Ireland, and that it will be suggestive to all that behold it of the generous encouragement which will be gladly given to Irish artists in the coming days of the unfettered freedom of our country.

The stoppage of emigration from our country is a matter which is now engaging much attention. The public demonstrations of those to whom England denied the occupation of our country opened the eyes of our people wider than, perhaps, was intended. It is part of the system of the English occupation that the Irish should be made as scarce as possible in their own country. This has always been a fundamental part of English statecraft. Under that system the promotion and encouragement of emigration have formed the deliberate object of the occupation. From an English point of view the presence of the Irish people in large numbers in their own country is undesirable.

It is necessary, however, to look a little closer beneath the surface. The policy of emigration took a definite shape in the second quarter of the last century. The destruction of Irish industries during the first quarter, as a result of the "Union" led to a great mass of unemployed persons, the children of weavers, whose occupation was ruined by the English occupation. The destruction of the cotton, woollen, silk and linen industries went on apace in the first 25 years of the "Union" with the English. This was followed in the second quarter by the destruction of tillage, consequent on the repeal of the Irish and English corn laws and the introduction of free trade, which meant to Ireland the loss of a preferential and protected corn market in Britain.

The English remedy for this state of affairs was emigration. Those who were too old to emigrate were driven into poorhouses. From an early period of the last century ships were encouraged and subsidized to carry the people of Ireland to Canada. It is for this reason that emigration did not set in in large volume towards the United States until the great English-made famine, when the emigrants would no longer "follow the flag," and when, indeed, emigration became free because there was no necessity to subsidize or direct it. At later periods, when business grew slack, it was again State-aided and encouraged.

The main cause of emigration was the destruction of Irish manufactures. It is well not to lose sight of that fact. The various commissions and select committees England set up to investigate the state of the poor in Ireland

invariably recommended emigration as the best cure for the condition of the people. It is doubtful if any other country can show the adoption of emigration as a public policy. The English Government instigated and welcomed it. In course of time the "excess population" has been worked off and transplanted, but still emigration persisted as a kind of habit fatally planted in the minds of our people. But the closing of our ports for the five years of war kept at home those who, in the ordinary course, would have emigrated, to quote a present English official. From the alien point of view, the country suffered a loss by the presence of a hundred and fifty thousand sons and daughters, who remained at home. But Ireland has gained at the expense of English occupation. The warming power of young blood is manifest to-day in the heart of our country. The driving force of youth is pushing her ahead in every department of national life, and it will continue to do so with increasing momentum, until every spare acre of arable land is taken up.

But there remains the question of industries. It follows from what we have said that the whole of English policy in Ireland must be reversed. To do this we must go back to the beginning and deal with the causes of emigration. A prohibition to stop emigration and keep our young people at home requires to be balanced by a campaign to restore our manufacturing arm, to extend the existing industries, to promote new and suitable ones, and to save those threatened by undue and unfair foreign competition. Such a campaign means the beginning of the real work of an independent nation, to which all other operations are contributory.

Hitherto the industrial movement has been restricted to a confined and narrow groove. Excellent pioneer work for manufacturers has been done in Dublin and Cork. But the country, as a whole, was hardly touched by it. There was no general support behind it, and it had neither the funds nor membership to achieve results proportioned to the immense amount of work performed. The times were not favourable to industrial organisation. The country has been so long engaged in the fight for land and freedom that it has become pre-occupied by political questions affecting ownership and control, rather than organisation and development. Now the time has arrived for the bending of the nation's energies to the dual work of stopping emigration, and promoting, safeguarding and developing industries.

Granted that all are agreed on the subject of industrial development, there remains the question how it is to be approached. Hitherto the movement appears to have been approached mainly from the city or townsman's point of view. The country, as a whole, was not interested, and in particular urban interests were considered with little regard to the aspect of rural industry. For a dozen years the question of wages has occupied the stage. The first result of the industrial movement was not to stimulate manufactures so much as to stimulate wages. The Irish people were not long engaged in inquiries for home manufacture before it was strongly and quite properly, indeed irresistibly, brought home to them that in many Irish industries the wages paid were low, particularly in Dublin and Belfast. It was contended, on the other hand, that the industrial conditions of foreign competition and the lack of demand kept down wages. This was due largely and we believe mainly to the decay of tillage, and the filling of the towns with unemployed, and, from the townsman's view, unskilled labour.

The labour, which, if held in the rural districts, would have been skilled labour, drifted into the towns, where it immediately degenerated into unskilled labour, and kept wages at a miserable level, while in the meantime foreign food came in to feed those who should have been producing it in the country. Thus Ireland passed into a very unhealthy economic state. The manufacturers, realising these facts, perhaps unconsciously, kept aloof from the industrial movement on the whole. While the towns supported the demand for home manufacture, the rural districts held aloof and indifferent. The emigration movement was not stopped at its source. It was merely interrupted, and the country labourers who, twenty-five years ago, thronged the churches after last Mass, disappeared into the towns, and after a few years of misery found their way via Cogh or Liverpool to America.

It is a strange fact that the industrial movement aided and encouraged emigration from Ireland, because after learning their trade the hands emigrated and used the knowledge acquired here for the benefit of the English and Americans. Many industries in both countries owe their origin and prosperity to the migration of skilled Irish labour. Twenty years ago the factories of Ireland were, in effect, technical schools for American manufacturers. One famous example was that of Blarney mills. So many girls left it and went to New York that an American got them together and started "Blarney No. 2." This was, no doubt, an extreme case, but it is beyond doubt that if the pay-sheets of any Irish factory are examined, for a long period, it will be found that very few employees die in Ireland. Most of them left the country as soon as they were skilled and had saved enough money to buy clothes for the voyage. Consequently, it is not merely true that a campaign of industry must accompany a stoppage of emigration, but it is equally true that emigration must be stopped in order to make it worth while developing manufactures.

Since the war the whole question has changed again. The enforced stoppage of emigration has retained a large reservoir of labour in both town and country. The industrial question has become one of wages, food, and fuel. The future of Irish manufacture depends more on the solution of these three questions than on any other features. Whoever settles the wages difficulty will do more to solve the industrial problem and to protect and safeguard our manufactures than any other individual. The aspect presented most forcibly to all concerned is how to produce goods at all at a reasonable cost and pay wages which will keep the working population in comfort. It is, above all, most important that wages should be permanently fixed at levels which will remain steady.

This brings us to the next question, that of food. Wages depend on the price of food to a great extent. As long as the price of bread, meat, vegetables, eggs, potatoes, are constantly rising, it follows that workers must clamour for higher wages. They could not, in fact, live at all without a corresponding rise. It is evident that there must be something wrong with rural organisation and industry if it cannot keep pace with industry in the cities. This, we believe, is an aspect of the question which requires looking after. The development of industries in urban areas will not create prosperity unless there is a corresponding development of rural industry. The town and the country are necessary to each other. Both must advance hand in hand together. It is no use producing more home manufacture and to have less in the larger as a result. The increase of wages in the cities is of no advantage if less food is to be obtained for the same money. In reality, it is food that pays for manufactures, and there must be something wrong with an industrial system which does not supply food in proportion to the production of manufactured goods. On the other hand, it is evident that it must be an excellent system that builds up the countryside and creates a market for manufactures in exchange for food. If we had more industry in the production of food in the country, we should certainly be better off. At all events, there ought to be some balance between rural and urban industry, and it is probably the lack of this balance that continually upsets the rates of wages in the labour world.

The range of rural industries is very wide. In the first place there is the dairy industry, on which both tillage and cattle raising so much depend. Nobody can assert that it is in a prosperous condition. We are faced with the fact that the production of milk or butter has decreased, thus keeping back tillage and preventing an increase in the production of all kinds of food. Fisheries, forestry and mining are great public industries which are allied to rural industry, and depend on the rural population for development. The production of flax, wool hides, oats, barley and wheat are also rural industries which support the structure of industry in the town. There is also the meat industry, which is the production of a hundred others. The raising of building stone, marble and slate, of bricks and cement and fire-clay and granite is an important branch of the rural industry. Our quarries are in a lamentable condition. It may be admitted almost that there is no rural development; Ireland has

a fair share of manufactures, but some more enterprise is required to develop our industries in the country, and to strengthen the rural arm before we can progress with our native manufactures.

The Dublin Horse Show was attended by forty-seven thousand visitors as compared with fifty-two thousand last year. The year before the war (1913) the attendance was forty-nine thousand. It is evident that despite the changes of the times the fixture at Ballsbridge still retains its popularity. This time the foreign element, particularly the French and English, were hardly noticeable. The cosmopolitan character has disappeared in large measure. It was an Irish Horse Show supported principally from the City and the Provinces. The entries surpassed all records in numbers and we believe were of good quality. The display of hunters was as wonderful as ever.

The Art Industries Exhibition held in conjunction with the Show fulfils a very useful purpose and drew a large share of interest and attention from the visitors. The prize list is large and covers a wide range of artistic handicrafts, including lace, embroidery, tapestry, carpets, wood-carving, wood inlay, violin making, metal work, artistic enamelling, leather work, book-binding, illuminating, stained-glass, pottery and ceramic ware, ornamental plaster-work, mosaic work, gesso, toy-making and designs. There were in all eighty-seven classes and six hundred and twenty entries, so that handicrafts are well represented. The exhibition was interesting, particularly in the lace section, but the full prizes appear to have been won and merited by a rare artistic panel "The Wise Men of the East," by John F. Hunter, and some excellent ecclesiastical stained-glass work in which Irish artists are making an international reputation. The toy-making section attracted a good deal of competition. The work of the Metropolitan School of Art was marked, of course, "not for sale," but the other exhibits were priced and many of them were sold on the spot.

The artistic leather work, such as book covers, or any other form of ornamental leather work, contained forty-seven entries, which is remarkable in a country which has no light leather industry (except book-binding). The description of goods exhibited included handbags, leather wallets, pocket books, leather bags, cigar-cases, card-cases, blotters, book holders, writing-cases, cigarette-cases, dressing-cases, and a variety of articles of a useful character in universal demand. There is here apparently an industrial opening which has been given to the foreigner. A dozen of the exhibits came from the Metropolitan School, whose pupils are not allowed to sell their goods. This is a most unfair handicap and a positive discouragement of an important craft. The regulation cannot be intended to prevent competition with any Irish industry, but is probably imposed to protect English manufacture.

Mr. M. Sweeney, M.Inst.C.E., and Assistant Surveyor, contributes to the "Galway Express" an estimate of what it would cost to erect and equip a Yarn Mill:

When the late Father Dooley started the woollen enterprise in Galway he had, I understand, only a single carding set. To-day the City Woollen Mills is a first-class going concern, and indeed, a fitting monument to his patriotism and energy. Let us, therefore, talk about the motive power required to run a small yarn mill, and what it would cost to erect the buildings and install the machines ready for work. The power required to run the machines in a small yarn mill, plus a dynamo for lighting purposes, would be, approximately 18 brake horse power. Let us assume that the prime mover would be either a turbine, a low breast shot wheel of the Poucelet type, or a gas engine and suction gas plant. Taking the last first, a gas engine and suction gas plant of the NA type National Gas would cost, when erected, about £20 per horse power, and an engine of this type working under full load would use one pound of coal (anthracite) and at least one gallon of water per brake horse power per hour.

For low falls and large volumes of water there is no hydraulic power-unit equal to the turbine. It has a high efficiency and requires very little attention. For instance, a 54-inch American Turgo Turbine, working under a 3-foot fall and utilizing 113 cubic feet of water per second, would develop 30 horse power and turn over 45 times per minute. The speed of the shafting in a woollen mill for carding engines

varies between 90 and 100 revolutions per minute, so that with the aid of a little gearing the turbine would give a sweet direct drive. A turbine of the type referred to would cost about £12 per horse power, but now that we have a direct service between Dublin and New York the price would be much lower, considering that the Englishman's profit and the cross-Channel freight would be eliminated.

There is another type of prime mover, old-fashioned, perhaps, but nevertheless, efficient. I refer to the undershot wheel of the Poucelet type. This wheel was originally designed by Poucelet, a very distinguished French engineer, and when carefully constructed it has a 60 per cent. efficiency. In other words, it will develop twice the power of the old undershot wheels common in the corn mills in East and South Galway, using only the same quantity of water. I need hardly say that a wheel of this type requires very little attention, and it can be made at home out of Irish oak, ash, or elm for about one-fourth of the cost of a gas engine and plant of the same rating. Let us, therefore, not be misled too much by advertisements setting forth the wonderful efficiency of engines made in England. There is a lot yet to be said for the things which grow at home.

So much for the motive power. And, now, let us deal with the woollen machines. The least number of machines that one could have in a small yarn mill with a show of efficiency would be (1) a tender-hook willy, (2) a single carding set, consisting of a scribbler, intermediate and carder, (3) a condenser and self-acting mule, with 350 spindles. With these machines one could make yarn, and the cost of them free on rail would be £3,072 0s. 0d. Of course, it may be possible to get second-hand machines, just as it is possible to get second-hand motor-cars, but the life of every engine is N revolutions, and there are many delicate parts in woollen machinery.

The next important item is the buildings. A building a 100 feet long, 40ft. wide, and 12 ft. high to the eaves would be large enough for the machines, and a similar building divided into sections would be required for a wool store, drying kiln, oil store, wash-house, workshop for repairs, and an office. Now it is well to remember that a costly form of construction is not necessary for a woollen mill. What is wanted is a substantial workshop with ample floor space and plenty of light. A framed structure, therefore, formed out of red larch or silver fir and covered on the outside with galvanised iron, and internally with matchboard sheeting would be a first-class workshop. The floor would be formed of concrete, and the roof a series of wooden lattice girders sheeted and covered with felt.

These buildings, including the construction of drying kiln, shafting, pulleys and concrete tanks, would cost £8,000. The capital, therefore, required to fit up a small yarn mill, including the cost of new buildings, would be approximately £7,000. To this amount has to be added, say, £2,000 for the purchase of wool, incidentals and wages. Total, £9,000. Now, in nearly all our towns there is a workhouse, and these buildings, with slight alterations, are suitable for either a woollen mill, a boot, shirt, or carpet factory. These institutions have cost a lot of money, and it certainly would be a happy change and a sound investment to convert them into bright, airy workshops.

Truth versus Tyranny

Truth is most unpleasant to those statesmen whose sole claim to statesmanship is their ability to lie. Hence the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, in telling the truth, gained for himself the enmity of Messrs. Lloyd George and Company, who, in turn, gained for themselves the ridicule of the world. The great Archbishop of Melbourne, by his very un-English method of speech, has earned the hatred of English Ministers, it is true, but he has gained the applause and love of the "common people" of two continents and the justice-loving people of all nations. Last week we published a vivid description of the enthusiastic nature of the monster meeting held in New York to welcome the Archbishop of Melbourne. In the course of his speech, Dr. Mannix said:

My Lord Archbishop, My Lord, Very Reverend Fathers and Friends of Ireland, it is a long way from Melbourne to New York, but if it were ten times as long I would have travelled every step of it in order to have the opportunity of looking upon this magnificent assembly and witnessing the demonstration of love and affection that you have made for the President of the Irish Republic.

Ireland is a small nation, but it has a very long arm. Evidently it reaches to New York, and I can assure you that it reaches to Melbourne also; and though you have given so warm a welcome to the President of the Irish Republic, I can assure him from my own knowledge that your welcome is not more enthusiastic or more warm than the welcome he will get in Melbourne if he ever reaches there.

Ireland has a long arm, as I say, but so has England. She has here amongst you her English propagandists, and she herself has her ear to the ground in London. I hope they have heard your cheers already.

Now, I should be hard to please if I were not proud of the reception that I have got to-night in the Metropolis of the United States of America. I have been welcomed warmly by your beloved Archbishop, and though I have not been personally acquainted with him for long, I can say that Ireland has no more loyal son than Archbishop Hayes of New York. He was good enough to say that he hoped I would go away with the impression that I should have been a fortunate man if I were Archbishop of New York. Now, I am a man of small ambitions. I have no intention of trying to land on British soil. I am going to land on the soil of the Irish Republic.

But if by any chance I were unable to land there and unwilling to land or remain on British soil, then possibly I may make my way back to New York, and if the Archbishop, by reason of his promotion or other cause, requires an assistant Bishop, I will try to co-operate with you in getting him all the help that we can.

WELCOMED BY TWO REPUBLICS.

But I have not merely been welcomed by your Archbishop and by the clergy, but I feel also that I have the welcome here of two Republics. No doubt, I have got no welcome from the President of the United States, but I have got a welcome from those who made him President, and who may make him President again. Then I have got a welcome also from another Republic, and I have got it from one who certainly is entitled to give it, and that is President De Valera, President of the Irish Republic. This welcome has come to me in New York as a fitting answer to those who thought that I should not land in the United States. I hope that some of their representatives are here to-night. They have got for me in my progress from the Golden Gate in San Francisco over here, they have obtained for me what is a veritable triumphal march through the United States of America. I am, therefore, thankful to them and publicly make my acknowledgments.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, President De Valera told you that your welcome to him was not to be taken as a personal welcome; I feel equally that your welcome to me is not a personal welcome, but rather, as he rightly said, the welcome given to him and to me is given to him because he is the chosen leader of the Irish people, and to me because I have said a word in season to help the Irish.

You and I, ladies and gentlemen, are not here because we are the enemies of any people or the enemies of any nation. We are not here by reason of any hate that we bear to the British people. No; we are here not from hate; we are here from love of Ireland. We are here because we love freedom and we hate oppression. We are here because we are not hypocrites who say one thing and mean another. We are here because you and I believe in the principles so nobly enunciated by the President of the United States because we sincerely held these principles and because we are consistent. We are here because we have no favourites amongst the tyrants of the world. And because, as a consequence, we want to apply President Wilson's principles to England and Ireland as well as to Germany and Belgium.

You have not forgotten why it was that you went into the war. You have not forgotten what it was that your brave American soldiers died for. You are not unmindful of what these men fought for who have come home crippled and maimed, to spend the remnant of their lives in homes that might have been so happy. You remember that these boys died and that other boys risked their lives in order that there should be an end of all wars, in order that the world should be free for democracy, not for hypocrisy, as somebody said. You fought in order that there should be a reduction of armaments over the world, that there should be open diplomacy,

and that the nations, great and small, should every one of them be allowed to carve out its own destiny and shape its own fate.

AMERICA'S NOBLE IDEALS.

There were the principles for which America went into the war. You did not go into the war for more trade, as some people did, probably. You did not go into the war for more territory or for annexations. You had, I hope, no secret treaties to try and get fulfilled. No, the American people went into the war for noble ideals. They went into it with clean hands. They came out of it with a victory that other people were not able to achieve. And now, when the war is over, in parts, that is to say, when the war is over, there are people who expect President De Valera and you and me to forget the lofty principles nobly expressed during the war when there were people with their backs to the wall who were calling for America's men to help them.

I do not say that the President of America has forgotten his principles. Far be it from me to say anything disparaging of him. I shall always honour the President of America. Although his achievement fell far short of what I should like, the words that he spoke when the whole world listened to him were words that enshrined great eternal principles, and they were nobly expressed by him. Therefore, I honour the President of America.

But if he has forgotten his principles and his words, and if America has forgotten them, President De Valera remembers them and so does Ireland. It was your own President who said—and I have taken down his words, because I am anxious to do him no injustice—it was he who said, "We are fighting, you and those associated with you, were fighting that there should be the reign of law based everywhere upon the consent of the governed." That is an eternal principle that was not invented by President Wilson, though he put it in terse and beautiful language. No, it is an eternal principle founded on God's law and enshrined as well in your own Declaration of Independence.

On the Fourth of July I had an opportunity of hearing that Declaration of Independence read, and the following words, I thought, were very pertinent to the Irish cause. Those who put their names to that Declaration said: "We hold that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among those rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure those rights governments are instituted, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed." President Wilson, therefore, was on very safe ground. He based himself upon the Declaration of Independence, and upon the eternal law of God himself. Whoever else forgets the eternal law we are not amongst them, and whoever could forget the Declaration of Independence, American citizens will never forget. But these principles were not merely the principles of President Wilson. They were accepted, all his fourteen points were accepted by all the belligerents on your side, because at the time they wanted your help, and they had no notion then of abiding by the principles. But whatever their intention was they accepted the fourteen principles, and they would have at the time accepted four hundred principles. It is late in the day for them now to think of throwing all these fine principles overboard.

IRELAND'S RIGHT TO NATIONHOOD.

Ireland bases her claim also upon these same principles enunciated by President Wilson. President Wilson did not give Ireland her right to be free. No! Ireland was a nation before President Wilson was ever heard of. (Cries of "Long live the Irish Republic!"). Ireland did not get her right to nationhood either at Paris or at Washington, and it is not in the power either of Washington or Paris to take it away.

But I often have cause to regret that Ireland, instead of having to fight for her liberty against England, had not to fight for it against Germany. I wish—it may seem a strange thing to say—but I wish the invader had been the German invader. And I will tell you why—not that I wanted any invader, but if there were to be an invader, I think I might have chosen the German, and I will tell you why.

Not exactly because under German rule Ireland might have increased in population and in trade, as Alsace-Lorraine did under German rule.

That, however, is not the reason. But if only our enemy had been Germany, then Ireland at the present moment would have her freedom acknowledged before all the nations of the world.

(Here Dr. Mannix repeated his reference to the unanimity with which the "Peace" Conference would have granted Ireland her liberation were her representatives in a position to accuse Germany of the outrages committed on their motherland—by England).

(To be concluded.)

Conciliation

XII.

At Clondulane, in the same neighbourhood, British troops raided several houses, including those of Messrs. A. Hallinan, J. Leahy, T. Swayne, and J. O'Mara. When the military had left, a gold watch and chain, silver cigarette case, and several sums of money were missing. (See Armed Assaults).

Arrests:—Mr. J. Dillon, Dundrum, Co. Dublin, was arrested at midnight by a British military patrol whilst on his way home along Churchtown Road, Dundrum. Although Dundrum is two miles outside the Dublin Metropolitan area, and consequently not subject to the Curfew restrictions, Mr. Dillon was arrested under this law, the military officer in charge explaining that they (the military) "carried Curfew with them." In a subsequent raid on Mr. Dillon's house, a next door neighbour was arrested, together with a passing cyclist who was attracted to the door by curiosity. Mr. Brady, who lives in the same street, was also arrested. All the prisoners were placed in a military lorry and taken to an unknown destination.

A boy named Hayes, Laurencetown, Co. Down, was arrested in bed by a party of British military. No charge was made against him.

Mr. James Langford, Vice-Chairman of the Cork Board of Guardians, was arrested by British military and police. No charge was made against him.

Sentences:—Mr. John F. Feeney, Claremorris, Co. Mayo, who was tried by Courtmartial at Dublin on June 16th, 1920, was sentenced by the Court to one year's imprisonment on a charge of endeavouring to purchase arms.

Mr. James Torney, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, who was tried by Courtmartial at Dublin on June 21st, 1920, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of having arms in his possession.

Mr. Wm. Murray, Mullingar, who was tried by the same Court, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of having arms in his possession.

Armed Assaults:—At Limerick City, British troops and police invaded the streets after midnight and fired many volleys into residences and business premises of prominent Republicans.

At Kilmomney, Co. Tipperary, British troops and police attacked the residences of prominent Republicans, surrounding the houses and firing, in one case, fifty rounds into them. Women and children in the houses narrowly escaped death.

At Ballynulty, British troops and police "shot-up" the village.

At Katesbridge, Co. Down, a party of young men who were returning from a sports meeting, which had been postponed, were held up by a British military patrol who searched them, during which search a machine-gun was trained on them.

Dr. Magnier and Rev. Fr. Moore, C.C., were motoring in Cork when they were held up at the point of the bayonet and searched by a British military patrol near Fermoy.

After the British military raid on the house of Mr. G. Power, Republican member of the Fermoy District Council, the military pickets fired through the windows when driving past the house.

During the British military raid on the premises of Mr. E. J. Rice, Straxhall House, Fermoy, the raiders thrust out of the house Mrs. Power, her mother, seven children and two maids—all barefooted, and in their night attire. The men of the household were told to line up to be shot. The military then placed straw in all the rooms, saturated it with petrol, and set it on fire. Hand grenades were placed in one room, and boxes of gun-cotton were placed about. The interior of the house was completely destroyed by fire. Next day the troops again raided the house, and

took away with them all traces of explosives used by the military party of the night before.

During the British military riots in Fermoy, Co. Cork, the troops hung arsenic powder and other poisonous substances on the foods in the confectioners' shops.

The house of Mr. Hallinan, Clondulane, Co. Cork, was entered by armed British military and police. The occupants were taken from their beds and made stand on the roadside. The soldiers and police then set fire to the beds. Mr. Hallinan's mother, an old woman too feeble to be moved, was nearly burned to death.

Podestrians at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, were held up at the point of the bayonet and searched by British military.

Militarism:—British military seized Shillelagh Fever Hospital, Co. Wicklow. The hospital authorities are thereby prevented from nursing fever cases.

Mounted troops now patrol the Dublin mountains almost every night.

The s.s. Snowden arrived at the North Wall, Dublin, yesterday with 300 to 400 of the Duke of Wellington's W.R. Regiment, who marched to Gormanstown.

A detachment of 25 marines landed at Puncheen Harbour, Keel, Achill, and occupied the local coast-guard station.

A detachment of the East Lancashire Regiment have seized and occupied Kenmare Workhouse Fever Hospital, Co. Kerry.

A military officer, accompanied by a police sergeant, has informed Mr. M. Higgins, R.D.C., Killeagh, Youghal, that the "competent military authority" has ordered Mr. Higgins to leave his residence.—Irish Daily Press.

THURSDAY, JULY 1st, 1920.

Raids:—At Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, British police raided the residence of Mr. James Ryan, a newly-elected Republican member of the Roscommon County Council.

British military raided the Fianna Hall, Limerick; it has been used for public entertainments.

Arrests:—Mr. J. Healy, ex-soldier, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, was arrested by British military and police on a charge of having a revolver in his possession. Mr. Michael Tracy, a companion of Mr. Healy's, was later arrested on the same charge.

Militarism:—The 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade arrived at Belfast on board the s.s. Duke of Cornwall.

A detachment of the Devon Regiment has taken possession of Wexford Courthouse.

The military took possession of a hotel and a shop which were situated at either side of the police barrack at Roscrea, and gave the occupants 24 hours' notice to remove their property.

British military searched every vehicle arriving in the town of Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and detained many motorists until the police of the district to which they belonged had been communicated with.

FRIDAY, JULY 2nd, 1920.

No newspapers were published in Dublin on this date, and there are consequently no reports of acts of aggression.

SATURDAY, JULY 3rd, 1920.

Raids:—A large force of British military, divided into parties and headed by local members of the British police force, attempted a general round-up of Republicans in Youghal, Co. Cork. Some forty houses were raided, including those of the following:—Messrs. J. Hassett, Ed. Green, Chairman of the Youghal Board of Guardians; M. Kelleher, junior; W. J. Bland, M. A. Walsh, Vice-Chairman of the Youghal District Council; P. Magner, member of the Youghal District Council; P. Power, J. Millerick, and J. Brade.

The residence of Mr. A. McCabe, Ballymote, Co. Sligo, Republican Member of Parliament for North Sligo, was raided by British police, who thoroughly searched the premises.

At Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim, British military raided upwards of a dozen residences of prominent Republicans.

A large party of British military and police raided and searched Blair's Castle, Cork. In Cork City the residences of Mr. T. McKernan, St. Luke's, and Mr. Donovan, Ballyhooley Road, were also forcibly entered and raided by British military and police.

Arrests:—Mr. Hassett was arrested at midnight at his residence in Youghal, Co. Cork, by a raiding party of British military. No charge was made against him.

Mr. James Reynolds, Clonmoghagh, Johnston's Bridge, Co. Leitrim, was arrested by British military on a charge of having arms in his possession.

Mr. T. McKernan, St. Luke's, Cork, and Mr. Donovan, Ballyhooley Road, Cork, were arrested by a raiding party of British military. No charge was made against them.

(To be continued.)

Poems and Ballads

Seed Time and Harvest. By "Rory of the Hill" (Rory MacDermott). 5/- net.

In this little book is enshrined a true man's love for his native land; a true appreciation of those who through the centuries have given their lives for Ireland, a true conception of the motives which have ever inspired those who labour for the liberation of their country. The Spirit of Nationality breathes through the pages of "Seed Time and Harvest." Dealing with most of the outstanding events and personalities in Irish history from the time of Red Hugh O'Neill to the Rising of '16, Rory MacDermott's book may be classed as a miniature ballad-history of Ireland. The sentiments which inspired the author to write: "Who Dies if Ireland Live?" are expressed in every line of "Seed Time and Harvest." To my mind "Who Dies if Ireland Live?" is the finest poem in the book. There are persons capable of labelling it "Sedition," but—well the atmosphere of Dublin Castle is not conducive to a correct perspective of Irish mentality. The second verse of "Who Dies if Ireland Live?" runs:

"Who dies if Ireland live," is called
Our fathers' hearts of old;
Are we of weaker faith than they,
Are we of softer mould.
Thy answer ye, "Our land is poor,
Yet all we have is here,
To guide her through the wiles of peace
As e'en the clash of wars."

The volume is divided into two parts: "Seed Time" and "Harvest." Most of the poems in the first part were published in "the wretched little rags" previous to the Rising, the remainder were written after '16—many of them in captivity. "Killiney, O Killiney!" is one of those written in Knutsford Military Prison, May 1916, and in spite of the "love-interest" in the second verse I will quote it:

"Killiney, dear Killiney,
'Tis long since I crossed
The brown-eyed collier of my heart
As we climbed thy crest.
'Tis long since in thy fairy woods,
I wiled the hour away,
And kissed the roses from her lips
And blessed the Summer's day."

There are in all about thirty poems and ballads in this little volume, and they are all worth reading—many worth re-reading. A few titles will suffice to indicate the nature of the poems: "Not Dead," "Mother of Martyrs," "The Fenian," "The Martyr," "Resurrection" (in the second part of volume); "Red Hugh's March Third Connacht," "The Coming of Eoghan Rua," "After Aughrim," "The Maid of Enniscorthy 1981," "John Mitchel," and "The Spirit of the Past" (in first part).

J.J.B.

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