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## Current Comments

Over five thousand people were present at a meeting held recently in the Scenic Theatre, Pawtucket, R.I., in furtherance of the "Bond Drive" of the Irish Republic in the Blackstone Valley. Senator David J. Walsh addressed the meeting. In the course of his speech Senator Walsh said: "The Irish question is a question of liberty. It is not, it never can be, and never will be, a religious question. The Irish Protestants in Ireland will never be free so long as the Irish Catholics are slaves, and the Irish Catholics in Ireland will never be free so long as the Irish Protestants are slaves." Other speakers also spoke at the meeting, at the conclusion of which the Chairman, Mr. John J. Fitzgerald, announced that subscriptions amounting to \$4,720 dollars had been received from the different parishes in the district.

The "News Letter," published by the Friends of Irish Freedom, Washington, says that the Senate of Kentucky recently passed the following resolution:—"Therefore be it resolved by the Senate of Kentucky that we now express our sympathy for Ireland in its efforts to attain its long-cherished desire to enjoy the liberties we enjoy here, and it would not be in keeping with the principles and the boasts of the greatest republic in the world to withhold its sympathy from a people who have contributed so much to America in peace and in war."

In an editorial comment on the sensational stories sent out by British authorities in London and Dublin, for the purpose of discrediting the Sinn Féin organisation, the "Lowell (Mass.) Sun," has this to say: "Where British gubnats cover every Irish harbour, and the Government controls the Post Office and the Telegraph, it is difficult to see how anyone in Ireland could negotiate with Germans in Berlin for a consignment of arms and ammunition." And, concludes this paper: "The British Government is arresting every Irishman supposed to be active in support of the Republic, believing that thus the aspirations of the people will be stifled. Meanwhile the propagandists over here are asking, 'Where is the Irish Republic?' It is not all in British dungeons."

The propaganda of lies directed against the Irish nation from Dublin Castle has failed to impress the public opinion of the world with the morality of those who, in the words of the Bishop of Cork in his letter to the London "Times," attempt to govern Ireland "by imprisonment, by despotism, by arson, by murder." They have, therefore, addressed the following threat to the Irish newspapers which reported the burning down of creameries and the shooting down of civilians, and the other outrages committed by their armed forces:—

Sir,—The attention of the Irish Government has been called to the increasing frequency with which misleading statements, often untrue, and in any case calculated to aggravate disorder and disaffection, have appeared in the columns of certain newspapers, and I am directed by the Lords Justices to call the attention of the Press of Ireland to the obligations and responsibilities which are imposed by law upon those responsible for the publication of such statements.

While they have no desire to place obstacles in the way of legitimate expression of political opinion, or of fair comment upon current events, their Excellencies desire it to be clearly understood that a grave view is taken of the repeated breaches of the law which have been committed by certain newspapers with, they must assume, the knowledge of their Editors and Managers.

If such breaches continue, the Government will not hesitate to deal

with the newspaper companies and the individuals concerned as drastically as the circumstances warrant.

**JOHN ANDERSON,**  
 Chief Secretary's Office,  
 Dublin Castle, Aug. 27.

We have italicised five words. They call attention to the fact that the threat is made not against the publication of untrue statements only but true statements. We direct particular attention to the threat against individual journalists. We presume the Irish Journalists' Association will take appropriate action to deal with the threat of "drastic" treatment of members of the Press.

While the authors of this threat to Irish journalists vainly seek to prevent knowledge of the doings of their armed forces reaching the outside world, we observe that in the current issue of the secret organ which under the title of "The Weekly Summary" they circulate to the Constabulary they glorify the "Black and Tans," who—they announce—are undaunted. They "will go on with their job." The patrons and members of these Black and Tans are, however, quite obviously nervous about Irish Constabularymen. They explain that the "Special Auxiliary Division" of the R.I.C.—the super-Black and Tans—will cease to exist when the "emergency" is past and the ordinary R.I.C. man is not to be afraid that these "temporary" units are out to pilfer promotion. "It is urged," writes the obtuse editor of the secret organ, "that the new pound-a-day Sergeants—as the members of the auxiliary division have been called—are Englishmen. It is true. Many of them are and the more credit to them." The intelligence of the English propagandist who, while assuring Irish Constabularymen that the new Special Auxiliaries are not intended to be preferred above them, calmly declares there is more credit to a member of the force if he be an Englishman is characteristic.

Not content with the many "advantages" which is conferred on them by the "Restoration of Order in Ireland Act," the armed forces of England in Ireland continue to "do their bit" from day to day. Our paper is not large enough to catalogue in detail the outrages committed against the Irish people. The special correspondent of the "Daily News," in a message from Hospital, County Limerick, published in his paper on Wednesday (August 25th) says: "Close upon the burning of a creamery came the murder of a harness-maker named Lynch—and here the evidence against the military would be sufficient to convict, I think, in any impartial court. Lynch was taken from his bed and out of the house, and a little later his body was brought back. There is every reason to believe that he was killed in mistake for another man of the same name notoriously connected with the physical force movement who left the district some time ago. The murdered man had the reputation of being a particularly inoffensive fellow, slaving at his trade to support not only himself but his old father and three maiden sisters."

At the resumed inquest held on Monday last, the Coroner's Jury which investigated the shooting of poor Lynch returned the following verdict:—

"Patrick Lynch was unlawfully brought from his home on the night of August 4 by military, then stationed in Hospital, and taken about 200 yards to the south side and there wilfully and brutally murdered by the said military. Death was due to shock and hemorrhage caused by bullet wounds."

The following report was published in the Daily Press on Monday. The report runs:—Two brothers, Sean and

Bartholomew Buckley, aged 26 and 21, respectively, were early on Friday placed under arrest at Ballyedmund. They were conveyed to Midleton and detained in the barracks until about 6 o'clock, when they were placed in a military lorry, under a heavy military guard, and sent to Cork. On the journey a revolver bullet was discharged through John Buckley's heart, killing him instantly, and entered the body of his brother, who was dangerously wounded. Subsequently a piece of paper was handed to the parents of the boys, which said:—"Your son John, in trying to escape from military custody to-day on the way to Cork, was shot. He died from wounds. Patrick (this should be Bartholomew) is also wounded in the shoulder. Inquire at Military Hospital, Cork."

At the adjourned inquest on Messrs. P. Clancy and J. O'Connell, officers of the Irish Volunteers, at Kanturk, the jury returned the following verdict:—

"The jury have unanimously agreed that John O'Connell was brutally and deliberately murdered by the military, accompanied by police, at Derrygallon, on Monday, August 16, 1920. In the case of Patrick Clancy, death was caused by a bayonet thrust, as described by the doctors. We strongly condemn the action of the military, more especially as they could have taken deceased alive if they so wanted, and more especially still as there was no evidence produced by the Crown or any other one to support the theory that there was an attack on the military by deceased. General Macready said that reprisals are murder. We call upon that officer, Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Anthony Carroll—the Crown Solicitor who was afraid to face a public inquiry notwithstanding the fact that an adjournment was granted at his request to enable the military and police to be present—we call on these gentlemen to bring the perpetrators of these foul murders to justice. It has been proved to the satisfaction of the jury by the evidence at the inquest that the bullets used by the murderers at Derrygallon were flat-nosed, which is an infringement of International Law."

An interesting sidelight on the working of the "Restoration of Order in Ireland Act" is given in the following paragraph, which we clip from "The Kerryman" of Saturday last:—"Following the search of Mr. Jas. O'Donnell's house, Camp, Castlegregory, when Miss O'Donnell states she saw a soldier taking the cash box from which a sum of £80 was afterwards missed, the next day the military again searched the house. Before leaving, the officer in charge inquired if Miss O'Donnell could identify the man alleged to have looted the money. She replied in the affirmative, and looking at the men present, remarked that he was not amongst them. Soon afterwards, however, another soldier put in an appearance. Miss O'Donnell at once said, 'There is the man who took the money.' The soldier is alleged to have threatened to shoot her for accusing him, and her reply was, 'You may shoot me if you wish, but you are the man I saw with the cash box.' It is freely rumoured that the soldiers, on their return to Dingle after the first raid, were searched and the money found."

A further sidelight on the working of the "Act" is contained in the following:—Joseph Cunningham, President of the Mount Temple Sinn Féin Club, and one of the presiding officers at the local Republican Tribunal, while returning from the supervision of a publichouse at Mount Temple to his residence in the vicinity, was set upon by what are described as four tall men in slouch hats, knocked down, kicked in the spine, and left unconscious on the roadside. It is stated he has received permanent spinal injury. Some of the customers in a publichouse

which Mr. Cunningham, as a Volunteer officer, directed to be closed, were members of the R.I.C., who at first refused to leave, and left only after very pressing persuasion.

The Mayor of Limerick has written to General Sir Neville Macready, Commander of the English Army of Occupation in Ireland, a letter in which he describes the conduct of the armed forces in that city:—"I have read with much interest your routine order issued to the troops under your command: I do not wish to be needlessly offensive, but must question the candour and sincerity of this order. Inferentially it suggests that looting, retaliation, and reprisals have marked the conduct of your armed forces, but to such a slight extent that you are not definitely aware of any such conduct grave enough for specific attention." His worship then describes the conduct of the "Black and Tans," and concludes:—"As I know that your military authorities have more than once proved that they are the supreme authority, you will not allege that this is a matter for the police authorities, and that you are not responsible. I wish to make it clear that I make no appeal, and do not ask for interference. I simply wish to ensure that you will not be able to plead ignorance of what is taking place."

The Trillick Republican Court sat at six o'clock on Monday evening, but adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Patk. Kennedy, who was shot dead by English military at Annascull.

At a Republican Court held last week in Clonakilty Mr. and Mrs. Tobin, Cahirlarig, claimed £100 from Mr. and Mrs. Holland, Muckross, in respect of slanderous statements uttered on the 25th of June last. Mr. P. W. O'Donovan appeared for the plaintiffs, and Mr. P. J. O'Driscoll for defendants. The evidence was very fully gone into, and the Court, after carefully considering the case, gave the following decision:—"We decide that no slander was uttered on that occasion. As regards the charge of the 4th July we find that the slander was proved against Mrs. Hannah Holland on that date. We assess the damage at £2 and we order and direct that the £2 lodged in court by James Holland be paid over to Stephen Tobin's solicitor as damages for such slander, said money to be handed to Stephen Tobin if no appeal be lodged within 7 days from date of this order, and we do further order that each party do abide their own costs in this case."

Many cases were disposed of at the Republican Sessions, which sat last week in Ballyhaunis. At the opening of the Court Mr. Coyne drew attention to the case of Patrick Preeley and James Keegan for alleged assault. This case had been adjourned from a previous sitting at which the parties were fined 5/- each for non-appearance. He (Mr. Coyne), who was solicitor for the complainant, said that from enquiries he had since made he had learned that there was no attempt to show any disrespect to the Court, and he now asked the Court to remit the fines then imposed for Contempt of Court. The President, after consultation with his colleagues on the Bench, agreed to remit the fines imposed in this case at the last Court. The hearing of this and the other cases was then proceeded with. All the cases listed were satisfactorily settled by the Court.

At the Republican District Court held in the New Hall, Ballyhaunis, on Monday week several cases were also disposed of.

At a Republican Court held last week in The Rower district (New Ross), a woman brought an action against her son-in-law, who had, she alleged, caused her, by his threats, to leave the house where they both lived,

and which belonged to her. The defendant denied that she had any claim on the house. The Court decided that the complainant could not claim the house as her property; that she was entitled only to support. At another Court in the same district a case of assault was heard, and the defendant was fined 5s. and bound over to keep the peace.

Before a New Ross District Arbitration Court on Thursday week, at which five Republican magistrates presided, the New Ross branch of the I. N. Foresters sent C. F. Cooney, former secretary of the branch, for possession of premises in Mary Street, New Ross, and asked that certain bills brought by Cooney against the Society be declared not legal. After a full hearing of the case, the Court found that defendant had not been a tenant of the premises, as he claimed, and that he was not entitled to compensation for rent, etc., during the lapse of the branch from 1918 to 1920, as he had been amply compensated by being allowed to live on the premises during that time. A number of cases were adjourned.

We had to report last week, says the "Dundalk Examiner" of Saturday, that the house of a man near Ballytrain had been broken into during Mess and a sum of £40 stolen. Through the agency of the local Volunteers, this money has been recovered and restored to the owner. The quiet and effective way in which the Volunteers did their work has produced an excellent impression.

In the case of an inmate who gave birth to an illegitimate child in the Galway Workhouse, Mr. Cremin at the last meeting of the Galway Guardians mentioned that he reported the matter to the Volunteers, who had since traced the father and had got an assurance from him that he would pay for the weekly maintenance of the mother and child.

At the last Republican Court held at Killanin 35 parents were fined from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 6d. for not sending their children regularly to school. Two defaulters were fined 5s. extra for contempt of court. One of the latter remarked that he was five times in the British Courts and he had not been fined that sum, but the reply from one of the adjudicating justices was: "If you come five times before this Court, you stand a good chance of being fined 25s."

On Saturday, says "The Galway Express," the first Republican Court in the district was held at Billaun before the parish magistrates. A large gathering attended the proceedings, and order was kept by the Republican police.

Martin Nevis, Benmore, summoned Patk. Brophy, Gurnahooker, for larceny of turf on the 30th inst. Complainant swore he saw Patk. Brophy take two armfuls of turf from his clamp. Previous to this he had been missing turf from time to time.

Defendant swore that the turf was not for himself, but for Michael Brophy, to whom Nevin gave permission to take some till his own turf was dry.

Michael Brophy stated that he did not tell the defendant to take the turf for him. The Court imposed a fine of 5s. on the defendant.

Ellen Daniels, Ballyara, summoned John Ward, of the same place, for alleged assault on the 29th July. Complainant swore that the defendant struck her with a stone. Defendant was fined 10s.

Patk. Daniels, Ballyara, summoned T. Sweeney for the alleged larceny of turf on the 15th August. Defendant pleaded guilty to taking ten sods, and said it was too bad after his year's hard work, spreading and cutting the turf, that he could not now get as much turf for himself as would boil his dinner. Defendant was fined 7s. 6d.

Quite a sensational affair occurred in Galway on Tuesday week when a man named O'Grady, a native of Carrara, Connemara, who had been "on the run" for a month evading Republican justice, was arrested by the Volunteers. It appears that the prisoner—who had been removed to the unknown destination pending trial—is charged with complicity in the robbery of a sum of £60 from an old man in Carrara. It further appears that some time ago O'Grady became the self-created captain of twenty men, but as official recognition was not forthcoming from the military authorities of the Republic, the company resolved itself into a band of freebooters. Some five weeks ago two of O'Grady's associates were arrested, and after pressure made a confession involving twenty others who are now "wanted," if they have not already been apprehended by the Republic.

The Killdavin Volunteers were most active for the past week in putting a stop to the distillation of poteen, and compelling the local publicans to close up and clear their shops at the appointed time.

At the Galway Arbitration Court on Friday, Michael Bermingham, Ballindookey, on behalf of his mother, Mrs. Ellen Bermingham, claimed the restoration of a holding of land, now in possession of Michael Casserley, Ballindookey, from which she was evicted 25 years ago. Mr. R. J. Kelly, solicitor, appeared for the Berminghams, and Mr. L. E. O'Dea, solicitor, represented Mr. Casserley.

Mrs. Bermingham, in answer to Mr. Kelly, stated that she was in possession of the holding in question during thirty years, and was evicted twenty years ago.

Cross-examined by Mr. O'Dea, witness denied surrendering the holding to Mr. Toole, the land agent, but she received a process for two years' rent due, and was evicted by the sheriff.

Michael Bermingham, in reply to Mr. Kelly, solicitor, stated that he remembered the time his mother was in possession of the land now occupied by Casserley. Casserley had up to 70 acres in all. Their only means of living were supplying milk to the town.

Mr. O'Dea said the applicants admitted that they were out of possession of the lands for the last twenty years, and according to the decree of Dail Eirinn no person had a right to claim land which they had been deprived for over twenty years, and the decree was strictly adhered to in Galway and Loughrea. Judgment was reserved.

John Dooley and John Shaughnessy, for whom Mr. G. Nicoll, B.A., solicitor, appeared, sued Michael Keavy and Thomas Lardner, who were represented by Messrs. O'Dea and Conroy, solicitors, in respect of land situated at Caherlea, Currandulla.

John Dooley, in answer to Mr. Nicoll, said he had nine acres of land, a large portion of which was unfit for tillage, and was mainly comprised of rock and swamp, so that he was obliged to go four or five miles every year to till concrete. He was satisfied to leave the matter to a parish committee, but the other parties refused.

In cross-examination by Mr. O'Dea, witness stated he was asked to go on a deputation with outsiders to Mrs. Blake, for the purpose of getting land, but refused to go, as the claimants were not tenants.

John Shaughnessy told Mr. Nicoll that he was willing to abide by the decision of the parish committee.

Mr. O'Dea said that in that case he acted on the decree of Dail Eirinn. He dated say the arbitrators would give judgment until they got the views in Court. However, case came out the decree, that was one.

Nicoll said although he heard this decree of An Dail quoted, he never saw it. The reason Dooley did not get the land was because he was loyal to the tenants and did not join in with outsiders.

Mr. O'Dea pointed out the absurdity of dividing the lands occupied by Lardner and Keavy.

Mr. Conroy stated that he was representing Mrs. Blake, who had given all her lands for division among the tenants, with the exception of the demesne, which she needed for her steward and herd, who had been in her employment for a number of years. They had salaries as caretaker and steward, but now they had lost those positions as Mrs. Blake had no land. Judgment was reserved.

At an Arbitration Court held in Gort the following decrees were given:

Thomas Back, Crow Street, v. Thos. Conroy.—The judgment of the Court was that Rooney mismanaged his

business from start to finish; that Mr. Rock was justified in purchasing the second farm even in his own defence at a fair price, and has a right to enjoy undisputed possession of the said farm.

Peter Howley v. Mrs. Kelleher.—The Court decided that Mrs. Kelleher was the rightful owner of the land in dispute (Limepark North). Should Mr. Howley be not satisfied with the decision of that Court, he was granted the right to appeal to a higher Court, but in the meantime Mrs. Kelleher was to enjoy the free use of the land without any interference whatever.

Thomas Forde v. Michael and Catherine Mullins.—The Court decided to uphold the validity of the sale of the land in dispute to Thomas Forde, and we order that he be allowed to enjoy same without any interference.

An injunction was granted to Florence McCarthy, Killeacanty.—The Court made the injunction that F. McCarthy be not interfered with, and that no injury be done to his house, property, or trade, pending the investigation and hearing of the case.

The case of J. J. Coen and Mrs. K. O'Dwyer were dismissed on the merits.

The case of Thomas Nestor, Gort, v. J. Leech, Gort, was ruled out of Court owing to the antiquity of the claims.

The case of Mary Kennedy v. John Coen was remanded to a higher Court. The following injunction was granted to Miss Agnes Glynn.—We allow her to use her land in whatsoever way she wishes, and must not be interfered with in any way in the disposal of it.

The Court also ordered that Mr. Devany be not interfered with in the use of the lands he holds from Mrs. Gregory pending trial before the Court.

Mary Green v. others.—The Court ordered that Mrs. Green's walls be forthwith rebuilt by the young men of Ballindereen and Kinvarys.

In the case of William Keane, Gort, v. Jas. Burke, Gort, the decision of the Court was that the property mentioned in the deed in which was the stable in dispute, belonged to Mr. Keane, in which he is entitled to be left in undisputed possession. There was no proof that Burke was guilty of damage.

On Wednesday last Mr. Arthur Griffith, P.M., sent the following message to the President, Kings and other heads of States throughout the world:

25th August, 1920.

"I inform your Majesty that the Lord Mayor of Cork and duly elected Deputy for Cork County, Ireland, was recently seized by the armed forces of England, arraigned before English military officers, and forcibly deported from this country in an English war vessel, and he is now in imminent danger of death in Brixton Prison, London.

"I recall to your Majesty the declarations made by the heads of the Allied and neutral States when the Burgomaster of Brussels was treated with a lesser indignity and harshness.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH, Acting President, Republic of Ireland.

We have come across a copy of "One hundred reasons against Home Rule" issued in 1914 on behalf of the Ulster Covenanters. We find in it some amusing examples of "loyalty" as it was understood by men who had sworn allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.

Having "made up their mind" to resist an Act of the British Parliament signed by the English monarch they declared that:

"In the event of force being used to compel them to do so, then they will bear force by force by whomsoever applied, whether by Nationalists, by Irish Constabulary or by British soldiery."

The "men of Ulster do not shrink from civil war," we are told. "The reply to the charge of creating a revolutionary example is that their armed organisation is not for purposes of attack but for defence"—against an Act of the English Parliament and crown to which they professed allegiance. "It seems scarcely credible" they say, "that in this twentieth century there are thousands of voluntary drilled civilians in Ulster prepared to resist the British army. It is nevertheless true. And the persons who wrote and signed this in 1914 before the war are the persons who, with the connivance of the English Government, instigated the pogrom which has been proceeding for weeks in Belfast in the name of 'loyalty to his Majesty King George V.'"

A recently-formed British propaganda organisation in the United States—"The Loyal Coalition"—may be obliged to us for the following extracts from "Laudable of European History" by one MacDuggall, which is to be found in English public libraries and other essential institutions of England. As the "Loyal Coalition" is concerned that England should be allowed the fullest freedom to assassinate Ireland and is also concerned to "win back" America to the British Empire, the dissemination of the truth about the dismal men who freed America should do much to help them. Here is the English writer's account of the foul and notorious manner in which America acquired independence:

"England had emerged from her victorious war in 1783 saddled with a heavy debt and it was reasonably thought that the American colonies might contribute some share towards the cost of Imperial defence in America."

"At Boston there began a reign of terror which resulted in a conflict between the people and the troops. From this time matters went from bad to worse."

"Insubordination was spreading and several serious outrages on revenue officers occurred."

"The British Government seeking to make the tax-gate reality tried to force taxable tea on the Americans, but a band of disguised rioters boarded the ships upon arrival and hurled the cargo into the sea."

"To punish Massachusetts for this outrage the Government adopted coercive measures. The harbour of Boston was ordered to be closed and the constitution of the colony cancelled."

Americans will learn from this that the English historians of the 20th century holds them to have been unreasonable in objecting to pay for England's wars; that their forefathers inaugurated a reign of terror and committed serious outrages; that one of these outrages was the famous casting of the taxed tea into Boston Harbour and that the people who did this were rioters—and moreover—a reflection on their courage—disguised. Now is it not time for an America that has honoured their brave forefathers and heroes in the annals of the country for nearly a century and a half learned to blush for them and beg to be taken back to Britannia's bosom? "The Loyal Coalition" will see to it.

The English Press is still agitating itself over the proper application of the doctrine of Self-determination—as far away as Poland! Overlooking the fact that England's Prime Minister has changed his attitude towards Poland a dozen times in as many months, the "Daily Dispatch" last week, under the heading, "Poland's Robber Policy," writes:—"Mr. Lloyd George was perfectly right when he condemned the aggressive policy of Poland, as appears from the fact that in the Government to which she lays claim the Poles form only 7.3 per cent. of the total population. Her claim, therefore, is diametrically opposed to the principle of the Self-determination, to which, nevertheless, she pays lip-service." As a commentary on this it is only necessary to say that the pro-Britishism of 7.3 per cent. of the total population of Ireland is, according to the same Mr. Lloyd George and his English Press, sufficient to warrant England's aggressive policy in Ireland, and to justify the abrogation of "the principle of the self-determination," to safeguard which "the Empire" frantically appealed to America a few short years ago!

The decree recently issued that the imposition of religious and political tests in relation to industrial employment is illegal and, arising out of that, the decision of the Sinn Fein Executive that all trading with such firms which impose these tests is to cease, requires obedience on the part of the Irish people, says the "Dundalk Examiner." But great caution must be exercised that the object of this cessation of trading is not misunderstood. It is not because the Belfast employers are of a different religion from the majority of the people that the boycott is begun. It is only because they are doing an illegal act. Any Catholic employer who imposes similar tests is similarly subject to boycott. This must never be lost sight of. The authority which issued the decree cannot, and does not, recognise religious distinction among its citizens. All are citizens of an Independent Ireland and have the

same rights. There, then, can be no decree issued by that authority which does not apply to the whole nation and apply equally to every individual in it. It is urgently necessary that this be explained carefully to all who refuse to trade with the Belfast firms in question. There is no sectarian purpose in this decree. It is merely the declaration of an unjust act as an illegality. And the methods taken to enforce it are taken to enforce the law, not to penalise Protestants.

That is the exact position. If Nationalist firms in Cork, Limerick, or Dublin proposed to penalise their employees if they happened to be Unionist they would be equally guilty and be equally dealt with. But no such case has ever occurred.

According to the special correspondent of the "Times" in Belfast it is reported that one bank in Belfast had, during the week ending August 21st, only one-half its normal turnover, that credit was being seriously interfered with, and that the boycott was spreading.

During the month of July 2,090 emigrants (natives of Ireland) left Irish ports. Of these, 175 left Limerick, 779 Munster, 570 Ulster, and 566 Connaught. The countries to which they went and the numbers of them were 1,718 to the U.S., 277 to Canada, 1 to South Africa, 7 to Australia, 13 to New Zealand, 4 to other countries overseas. To Great Britain went 69, and to Scotland just one individual.

For the past seven months (to July 31) the total number of emigrants is 8,230 as compared with 1,351 during the first seven months of last year. Emigration is higher by 6,879, so that it may be said that there has been an active resumption of the business of removing the young people, particularly from Ulster. If we examine the source of origin of these 8,230 emigrants of this year we find that Ulster, that is to say, the nine Northern counties, provided 2,942, while Leinster gave 979, Munster 1,994, and Connaught 2,315. So that the number of emigrants leaving Ulster is very much greater than those leaving the other parts of Ireland.

Of the total 8,230 emigrants who left these shores in the first seven months of this year no less than 6,106 sought the United States. Canada comes next as a field to attract emigrants with 1,422 to her credit. The rest are practically nowhere. South Africa received 48, Australia 134, New Zealand 85, other countries (overseas) 44, England and Wales 312, and Scotland 79. It will be seen that the emigration is seven-eighths of it to the United States and Canada.

The following shows the monthly totals of emigration for the past seven months:

Table with 2 columns: Month and Number of emigrants. January: 332, February: 369, March: 714, April: 882, May: 1,539, June: 2,304, July: 2,090. Total: 8,230.

Most of this emigration is from Ulster and Connaught.

The Rev. P. A. Sharkey, Liscannor, Co. Clare, who lived in America, writes as follows to an American paper:

"Will you kindly use your journal to inform those who are responsible for the disastrous work of bleeding Ireland to death through the arteries of emigration that the man or woman who sends a temptation in the shape of a passage ticket to America is treacherously assisting in carrying out the ukase of Lord French that 200,000 Irishmen be driven or duped away from Ireland.

"Irishmen have awakened to the fact that desertion of their motherland in this her hour of agony is cowardice and not worthy of true children of Mother Machree. There is plenty of work for all who are willing to work, and the wages at the present moment, while not ideal, are as satisfactory as the times permit. Labourers receive £1 per week with board and lodging. No greater insult can be offered to an Irishman than to send him a ticket and an invitation to desert his mother while hundreds of her sons are facing the terrible martyrdom inflicted by those who are making their last diabolical effort to destroy the Irish race.

"When France was in danger her sons came from the uttermost ends of the earth that they might be with their land in its gallant struggle

against invasion. Thank God Irishmen are awake at last to the terrible crime of deserting their mother when she most needs their aid. Kindly tell your readers that true Irishmen tear to pieces the insult that comes from a friend of England's study in the shape of a 'Passage Paid.' Our poor children have temptations enough before them in this terribly stressful hour without having their kith and kin add insult to injury to drag or dupe brothers and sisters away from the firing line of holy freedom.

"In the dark and deadly dungeons of the tyrant men are taking away everything that life holds dear rather than eat the dole of dishonour flung to them by those who have invaded and attempted to appropriate the possessions given to the Irish race in the House of Nations by God Himself. Man does not live by bread alone, God is sustenance. His faithful children in bondage.

On July 4th English sailors in Bermuda hauled down the American flag and trampled upon it. Now the State Department at Washington is advised by the American Consulate at Bermuda that the English officials there have expressed regret for the insult offered to the American flag, and that the sailors who trampled upon the stars and stripes have been heavily fined and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Thus the English maintain discipline in Bermuda. They are not prepared to give the United States a good excuse to take possession of an important naval base, and one, moreover, which they have openly expressed a desire to possess. Bermuda lies about eight hundred miles out from the American coast in the centre of the mid-Atlantic trade routes, and is probably the most important naval base on the Panama Canal route. Hence its importance to England.

The haste with which the English authorities take action in Bermuda is a remarkable contrast to the attitude of those responsible for maintaining an army of occupation in Ireland. Not a single soldier or policeman has been punished for the numerous murders, pillage, arson, and insult daily committed by the armed and uniformed forces of the English in Ireland.

The Danish schooner "Mária," which arrived at the Caheriveen Pier some time ago with a cargo of salt, consigned to Mr. Timothy O'Connell, fish merchant, Caheriveen, has duly discharged her cargo and left for a destination in America on Thursday, 12th inst., with a consignment of 300 barrels of Irish-cured mackerel, Mr. T. W. O'Connell being the consignee, thus establishing direct trade with America. This mackerel (says "The Kerryman"), has been caught, cured, and saved at Valentia Harbour during the early part of the year, and speaks well for the industry of the fishermen and fish merchants of Caheriveen and Valentia. Formerly it was the practice to ship consignments of cured fish from Valentia Harbour to agents in Liverpool, or other English ports, for shipment to America.

There were some light catches of mackerel at Valentia Harbour during the week. The prices ranged from 9s. to 10s. per 100. The Autumn or Fall Season is now commencing, and curing operations have also commenced. Needless to say, this industry is a great boon to the working class, especially to the people of Caheriveen, who have no other industry to fall back on. Hundreds flock to Valentia Harbour during the curing season every year, where they have little difficulty in securing employment. They often earn from £1 to 30s. per day during the rush.

The manner in which the representatives of colonial and foreign butter interests bargain with the English Ministry of Food is shown by the Secretary of the Butter and Cheese Producers' Committee of New Zealand who, on August 27, stated:—"The Ministry of Food has not been very successful in its efforts to arrange a further butter contract with Denmark. The Danes ask 335s. per cwt., c.i.f. London, but in the meantime the Ministry declines to buy at this price. In Holland they refuse to sell any butter to England until the Ministry is prepared to pay the market price. The New Zealand producers have been offered 280s. per cwt. for their butter up to the end of January. That offer is now being considered in New Zealand, but the London representatives of the producers think that it is not likely that they will sell for the period suggested. Although Australian butter has been

**Conciliation**

XIV.

**Murder:**—Mr. James Dunne of Ballintrae, Courtown Harbour, Co. Wexford, was shot dead on the streets of Ferns by a British policeman on the evening of July 5th. Dunne had called at a Ferns publichouse for a drink. Two policemen who were in the bar asked him to drink with them. His refusal infuriated them and they immediately drew their revolvers and started firing in the shop. To avoid a quarrel Dunne left his drink and went outside. He was followed by one of the policemen (Constable Lenihan) who continued to annoy him. Dunne endeavoured to get away, but the policeman caught him round the neck and deliberately fired four revolver shots into his body. Dunne died in a few minutes.

Patrick Kelly, his companion, ran to his assistance and was fired at by the other policeman.

Dunne had no political associations. **Militarism:**—At Clonakilty Workhouse, Co. Cork, old and infirm patients were removed from their beds to make further room for the British military already in occupation of the Workhouse.

British military passing through Youngal Workhouse grounds seized and carried away a Republican flag which had been hoisted over the main entrance by order of the Guardians.

British military commandeered the Grosvenor Hotel, MacCurtain Street, Cork.

A Battalion of the Bedfordshire Regiment arrived in Belfast from England.

**THURSDAY, JULY 8th.**

**Raids:**—Extensive searches by British police and military were conducted all over Ulster in the search for Sergeant Reilly, of the British police force, who disappeared at Armagh on the 6th inst. The number of raids carried out is estimated at over 1,000.

British police and military raided the houses of Messrs. T. O'Keefe and M. Hang, Limerick City.

At Spiddal, Co. Galway, British military raided the residence of Mr. J. Thornton. At Oranmore, in the same county, the house of Mr. John O'Rourke was also raided and searched by British military.

**Arrests:**—Messrs. James and Joseph Thornton, Spiddal, Co. Galway, were arrested by British military on a charge of having in their possession ammunition and a uniform of the Irish Republican Army.

Mr. John O'Rourke, Maree, Oranmore, Co. Galway, was arrested by British military on a charge of having in his possession arms and ammunition.

**Court-martial:**—Mr. James Worth, Manager of the Tivoli Cinema Theatre, Tipperary, was tried by Court-martial at Cork on a charge of endeavouring to purchase arms.

**Armed Assaults:**—A circus caravan was fired on by a British military patrol whilst travelling along a Wicklow road.

A British military patrol passing through Loughrea, Co. Galway, fired at pedestrians.

At Youghal, Co. Cork, British police and military searched all vehicles entering the town. The drivers were held up at the point of the bayonet.

At Waterford similar searches were carried out.

**Militarism:**—British military erected barricades on the bridges leading to Tullamore, Offaly.

Mrs. J. M. O'Grady, Merchant, Adare, Co. Limerick, was informed by a British military officer and a British police officer that he house and premises must be vacated immediately, as they had been commandeered by the military forces.

**FRIDAY, JULY 9th.**

**Raids:**—British military raided Kilsheena House, Cashel, Co. Tipperary, the residence of Mr. Eamon O'Dwyer, Manager of the Irish National Assurance Co. Clarenorris Railway Station, Co. Mayo, was invested by a large body of British military, who made an exhaustive search of all incoming and outgoing trains. Passengers, officials, drivers and guards were all personally searched at the point of the bayonet.

**Arrests:**—Mr. G. Doherty, Derry, was arrested at Belfast by British police on a charge of collecting funds for the Irish Republican Loan.

Mr. T. Dunleavy, Ballaghaderreen, was arrested by British police on a charge of having firearms in his possession.

**Armed Assaults:—Attempted Murder:**—Mr. Thomas Meagher, Cangort Park, Shinrone, Co. Tipperary, left his house at 11.20 p.m. on the 6th inst. to bring in his bicycle from the yard. At his door he was met by a British military patrol, which fired at him without warning. When his brother went to get the bicycle to go for a priest the military turned him back threatening to shoot him if he stirred. Meagher is seriously wounded.

Mr. T. Dunleavy, Ballaghaderreen, Co. Mayo, was knocked unconscious from his bicycle by a blow of a policeman's rifle.

British police attempted to blow up the house of the Brennan, Rock Street, Tralee, Co. Kerry, by placing an explosive bomb at his door.

**Militarism:**—Extensive British military atrocities are in progress all over Ireland, and barricades have been erected on all the roads leading to Dublin. All vehicles and travellers are being held at the bayonet point and searched. Similar military atrocities are reported from Belfast, Nenagh, Midleton, Fermoy, etc.—(Irish Daily Press.)

Clonakilty Urban Council, Co. Cork, protested against the inhuman action of British military in evicting the aged patients from the workhouse to make room for the troops. Some who were crippled and blind, it is stated had to be wheeled out on wheelbarrows.—(Irish Daily Press.)

**SATURDAY, JULY 10th.**

**Raids:**—British police and military raided fifteen houses at Ballycommoon, near Tullamore, Offaly.

In Cork, British police and military raided upwards of 20 houses in Magazine and College Roads.

**Arrests:**—Two young men whose names did not appear in the Press were arrested at Newbridge, Co. Kildare, on a charge of endeavouring to obtain arms.

Mr. Patrick Kelly was arrested at Limerick by British police on a charge of endeavouring to obtain arms.

One person was arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 3 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

Messrs. C. Neenan and Charles Murray were arrested at Cork by British military. No charge made against them.

**Court-martial:**—Mr. Francis Wharton of Limerick and his son Gerald, were tried by military court-martial at Cork on a charge of having in their possession firearms and military equipment. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

Mr. Michael Conway, Patrick Square, Limerick, was tried by the same Court on a charge of having in possession a "seditious" document. Sentence not yet promulgated.

Mr. Edward O'Flaherty, Charleville, Co. Cork, was tried by the same Court on a charge of having in his possession an unloaded revolver. Mr. O'Flaherty who is a Member of the Irish Republican Police Force, was arrested in the act of protecting a shop from a crowd of looters during a labour strike in Cork.

**Armed Assaults:**—A young man at Murroe, Co. Limerick, was set upon by five British policemen on the night of the 7th inst. The policemen wore their civilian clothes and were armed with rifles. They tied the man to a gate, tore his clothes to shreds, and beat him to unconsciousness with their rifle butts.

Rev. J. Doherty, C.C., was held up by a British military patrol whilst on his way to celebrate Mass at Highpark Convent, Drumcondra, Dublin. A soldier held a revolver to his head whilst questioning his authority to be "abroad."

The premises of Mr. James Roche, Torenure Road, Dublin, were fired into by a British military patrol who drove by the door in a motor lorry. The only reason Mr. Roche can assign for the attack is that his name is written in Irish over the shop door.

**Murder:**—Mr. Thomas Feery, aged 70, was shot dead by British military in his own home at Ballycommoon, Tullamore, Offaly, on the evening of the 8th inst. The military, who were stationed in the vicinity of Feery's house, knocked at his door demanding admission. As the old man was about to open the door they fired a volley from their rifles riddling his body with bullets.

**Militarism:**—"Practically no one can get out of or into Dublin by the ordinary roads without being held up and searched by military parties, who have erected formidable barbed wire barricades all round the city."

Three school buildings in Dublin have been seized by military for their accommodation—Ballymun N.S., Inchicore Model Schools, and the school connected with the Methodist Church at Inchicore.

British police called at the houses of Professor Stockley, Sinn Fein Alderman in the Cork Corporation, and Miss MacSwiney, sister of the Lord Mayor of Cork, and threatened to commandeer their houses.—(Irish Daily Press.)

**MONDAY, JULY 12th.**

**Raids:**—British military and police scoured the district around Rathduff, Co. Westmeath, raiding and searching upwards of forty houses.

Bellewstown Catholic Church was forcibly entered and raided by British military on the 8th inst.

On the same day hundreds of British troops raided the Bellewstown race course whilst a race meeting was in progress.

At Castletownroche, Co. Cork, British military made a midnight sortie, forcibly entering and searching the residences of the following Republicans:—Messrs. D. Shinnick, M. O'Farrell, D. J. O'Sullivan, M. O'Sullivan, W. Brown and M. Hogan. The military burned pictures of Republican leaders which they found in these houses.

At Wicklow town British police and military raided the business premises of Messrs. Hasking Brothers, prominent Unionists.

At Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, British military search all incoming and outgoing trains.

The residence of Mr. Brady, Killyhegs, Co. Donegal, was forcibly entered and raided by British military during his absence from home.

British military conducted an unsuccessful search on the house of Mr. D. O'Rourke, National Teacher, Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon.

A British military patrol held up and searched a railway train travelling between Cahill and Bansha, Co. Tipperary.

**Arrests:**—A young man named MacCarthy, of Rathduff, Co. Westmeath, was arrested by British police and military. No charge was made against him.

Mr. William MacDonnell, Cork, was arrested by a British military patrol near Killarney.

Thirty persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 3 a.m. without the permission of the British Military Authorities.

**Court-martial:**—Mr. Bernard McAlister, Bearerstown, Donabate, Co. Dublin, was tried by military court-martial on a charge of having in his possession a shot gun of antique pattern. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

**Armed Assaults:**—Mr. William MacDonnell, Cork, was shot at by a British military patrol while motorcycling to Killarney, Co. Kerry. He had not been challenged or warned.

During the raid on the residence of Mr. O'Neill, Castletownroche, Co. Cork, the troops placed Mr. O'Neill's three sons against a wall and threatened to shoot them.

Motorists passing through Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, are being held up by British military and searched at the point of the bayonet.

LORETO CONVENT, MULLINGAR. BOARDING SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES. SCHOOL RE-OPENS WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th. For Terms apply to: SUPERIORESS.



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**IRELAND'S GREATEST NATIONAL CHARITY.**

Full particulars later.

REMEMBER, 1921 IS THE MATER DATE.

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'Tis camouflage to wear an Irish Costume made of English Material. English laws forbade the wearing of Costumes after the Irish fashion in order to substitute English goods. In the revival, despite camouflage. M. A. RYAN, CORK and COVE, will not make Irish Costumes of English material. Kilts, Gown and Brat made to order. All work Irish and all are proud of it.

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**ST. KIERAN'S COLLEGE, KILKENNY.**

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The College is situated three miles from Carlow on a richly wooded site overlooking the Barrow. It is furnished with all modern equipment. At the Intermediate Examinations, 1919, this College obtained first places in Ireland in Irish, in Irish Composition and Applied Mathematics, as well as getting two First and a Second in County Council University Scholarships.

COLLEGE RE-OPENS SEPTEMBER 7. Examination for Entrance Scholarships, varying in value from £10 to £40, on September 8th.

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COUNTY OF CORK.

**Urban District of Cobh**

(Formerly Urban District of Queenstown).

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF NAME.

WHEREAS at a duly convened Meeting of the Council of the Urban District of Queenstown held on the 23rd day of July, 1920, a Resolution was passed that the Queenstown Urban District Council change their name and style and the name of their district to the Cobh Urban District Council and the Cobh Urban District respectively.

AND WHEREAS at a Meeting of the Cork County Council held on the 5th day of August, 1920, the proposed changes of the names of the said Urban District Council and Urban District respectively were duly sanctioned by the said County Council.

NOW NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the names heretofore borne by the said Urban District Council and Urban District respectively shall be abandoned and that the said Urban District Council and Urban District shall from henceforth be known as and called by the names of the Cobh Urban District Council and the Cobh Urban District respectively.

Dated the 6th day of August, 1920.

A. P. UA RAGHALLAIGH, Town Clerk.

Town Hall, Cobh, Co. Cork.

**National Land Bank, Ltd.,**

AN IRISH BANK WITH AN IRISH PURPOSE.

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Few people in Ireland realise that this colossal amount of money is lying on deposit in the various Irish Joint Stock Banks and Post Office Savings Banks. It represents the hard-earned savings of Irish industry and agriculture. It is earning low rates of interest and is largely used to finance competitors of the people who earned it.

Hundreds of our young men and women are leaving Ireland weekly. Help to establish them on the land at home by depositing your savings in the National Land Bank.

**Current Rates of Interest.**

Office:	Current Accounts .....	2%	Secretary and
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68 Lr. Leeson St.,	" One year .....	4%	Lionel Smith-Gordon
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**WHY SUPPORT THE FOREIGNER? YOU CAN OBTAIN**

**A WATERPROOF MADE IN IRELAND**

BETTER THAN MANY AND EQUAL TO ANY.

Support Home Industries and Stop Emigration

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CHARLEMONT, MOY, CO TYRONE.

the kindly feeling of the Irish towards them and their cause is evident from their address to the people of Ireland dated Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. The following are a few excerpts from it:

"Friends and fellow subjects,  
"As the important contest into which we have been driven has now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British Empire, we feel it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are particularly desirous of furnishing you with a true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision."

"(This was necessary, for the motives and conduct of the American patriots were impugned then, as are the motives and conduct of the Irish patriots today.)"

"Attempts have been made, under cover of parliamentary authority, to seize Americans and carry them to Britain to be tried."

"(This is precisely true of the British authority in Ireland in the year 1920.)"

"You have been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that the Irish nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America."

"Our peaceable assemblies, for the purpose of consulting with respect to the common safety, were declared seditious."

"The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness were solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet against us."

"Accept our most grateful acknowledgment for the friendly disposition you have always shown towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress."

#### Irish Patriots.

It is quite evident that this appeal for sympathy was not misplaced from the part taken by the Irish in winning the War of Independence.

We find that the first act of war, antedating even Lexington, was committed by the son of a County Limerick Irishman, John Sullivan, one of the representatives of the 1764 Continental Congress. Sullivan, with a number of companions from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on December 11, 1774, surprised Fort William and Mary at New Castle, made prisoners of the soldiers who guarded it, and carried off the military stores which it contained. These munitions proved a valuable acquisition to the men who, half a year later, fought at Bunker Hill. This exploit is regarded by the best authorities as the first act of war against England.

The first stroke against British sea forces was delivered by Jeremiah O'Brien, a native of Cork, in Machias Bay, off the coast of Maine, early in May, 1775. British ships had been sent to lay waste the coast in revenge for the defeat of the army at Concord. One of these—the *Margaretta*—put into the bay. O'Brien, with his five stalwart sons, all haters of tyranny, summoned their fellow citizens, and, boarding a sloop, captured the British vessel. Three of the O'Briens, Jeremiah, John and William, continued in the naval service of the Republic until the close of the war.

In speaking of naval battles the name of "Saucy Jack" Barry, father of the American navy, must not be omitted. Born in Wexford, Ireland, he followed the profession of the sea from his youth. In February, 1775, he left the Capes of Delaware on his first cruise as an officer of the American navy. This was the first armed continental ship that went to sea. On April 17 he fell in with the British ship *Edwards*, which he captured after a sharp action. Victory coming after victory, the British commander caused an offer to be made him of twenty thousand guineas and the command of a British ship of the line, if he would abandon the revolutionary cause. But the faithful Irishman spurned the proposal, indignantly replying: "I have devoted myself to the cause of my country, and not the value or command of the whole British fleet could seduce me from it." After having been appointed to the command of the *Alliance*, the finest frigate in the service of the Republic, he encountered a British ship whose commander hailed him with the question: "What ship is that?" Immediately came the reply: "The United States Ship *Alliance*." "Saucy Jack" Barry, half Irish, half Yankee—who the — are you?" Barry continued

as senior officer at the head of the navy until his death.

Many of those who signed the immortal Declaration of Independence had Irish blood coursing in their veins. John Hancock, the illustrious "first signer," was of Irish descent. William Whipple, of New Hampshire, was of Irish parentage. Matthew Thornton, also of New Hampshire, was born in Limerick, Ireland, in 1774. Robert Treat Paine, of Massachusetts, was a lineal descendant of Shane O'Neill, the Proud, of Ulster. James Smith, of Pennsylvania, was born in Ireland in 1713; George Taylor, of Pennsylvania, was born in Ireland in 1716; George Read, of Delaware, was the son of John Read, born in Dublin, Ireland; Thomas McKean, of Delaware, was a son of a native of Ireland; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was the grandson of Charles Carroll, of King's County, Ireland; Thomas Nelson, of Virginia, was the grandson of a native of Tyrone, Ireland. The father of Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, was a native of Ireland. The grandfather of Thomas Lynch, of South Carolina, came from the West of Ireland, and Charles Thompson, the "perpetual secretary" of the Continental Congress, was born in Derry, Ireland.

Among the military officers of the American Army, many of Irish birth or blood were among the most prominent. John Routledge, William Thomson, John Sullivan, William Jasper, Griffin, Green, Knox, Ewing, Hand, McGaw, Kelly, Fitzgerald, "Mad Anthony" Wayne, Reed, Clinton, Poor, Conway, Stark, Nixon, Morgan, Maxwell, Stewart, Moylan, Pickens, Dooly, Gibbons, Murphy, Butler, Montgomery, Brown, and a host of others.

Even before the advent of the French fleet, some of the Irish who fought under the fleur-de-lys came to America to aid the patriotic colonists. Lieutenant General Count Arthur Dillon, commander of the Irish brigade, addressed a petition to the French war office on behalf of all the Irish soldiers in France who were desirous of fighting for American freedom. He stated that the Irish regiments in the English wars had always claimed the privilege of marching foremost against the troops of that nation. It was owing to this principle that the Irish troops under Dillon demanded and obtained the right of serving in America.

In the navy, too, the Irish were no less prominent and intrepid. The O'Briens and Jack Barry have already been alluded to. Others who signally distinguished themselves in the service were: Burke, Dunn, Fanning, Murphy, Stacy, Read, Simmons, McGee, Mease, McNeill, the Barrons, Mullosney, Ross, McElroy, McRea, O'Driscoll, Byron, Somers, McCutcheon, McClelland, the McDonoughs, Roach, Carroll, McGrath, Fleming, Hartigan, Hennessy, Walsh, Blakely, the Moores, Rossiter, Blake, McConnell, Kearney and Casey, all of whom were Irish either by birth or parentage.

The names of the Irish who fought and bled for American independence could be multiplied, if necessary, for testimony of the most convincing kind establishes the fact that without Ireland's sons the struggle for liberty would have been a disastrous failure. Joseph Galloway, an uncompromising loyalist, in his examination before a select committee of the House of Commons in London, June 6, 1779, was asked: "What were the troops in the service of congress chiefly composed of? Were they natives of America, or were the greatest part of them English, Scotch, or Irish?" Galloway replied: "I can answer that question with precision. There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America, about one-half Irish, the other one-fourth English and Scotch."

Major General Robertson was asked: "How are the principal corps composed? Are they mostly native Americans or emigrants from various nations of Europe?" He replied: "Some of the corps consist mostly of natives; others, I believe the greater number, are enlisted from such people as can be got in the country, and many of them may be emigrants. I remember General Lee telling me that half the rebel army were from Ireland."

Plowden says "that most of the early successes of the patriots in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and the prowess of the Irish emigrants who bore arms in that cause." Froude, one of the bitterest of anti-Irish historians, is compelled to admit, that according to all evidence the foremost, the most irreplaceable, the most determined in punishing the quarrel to the last extremity, were those evicted tenants whom the Anglican bishops and Lord

Donegal & Co. had been pleased to drive out of Ulster.

Lord Mountjoy solemnly asserted in the British House of Commons, "You have lost America through the Irish." True, many of them were only raw Irishmen, who scarcely knew how to load a musket, yet, these men, untrained and undisciplined, fought with cold steel and clubbed muskets to the death.

Perhaps the greatest and most reliable authority on this matter was George Washington Parks Curtis, the adopted son of the "Father of his Country," who writes: "Of the operations of the war—I mean the soldiers—up to the coming of the French, Ireland had furnished in the ratio of one hundred for one of any other nation whatever. Then honoured by the aid and good services of the Sons of Erin in the War of Independence, Americans, recall to your mind the recollection of this heroic time when Irishmen were your friends, and when in the whole world we had not a friend beside. The rank grass had grown over the grave of many a poor Irishman who had died for America, ere the Flag of the Lillies floated in the field by the Star Spangled Banner. Let truth and justice guiding the pen of history describe on the leaflets of America's remembrance, eternal gratitude to Irishmen."

"The circumstances surrounding the incident gave it great prominence. On June 20 the Argentine Republic paid homage to the memory of its great patriot, General Belgrano, one of the heroes of Argentine Independence, celebrating the centenary of the "father of the flag" with great pomp at Buenos Ayres in the presence of the President and Ministers of the Republic."

## Argentina Greet Irish Republic

We have received a copy of "La Union," Buenos Ayres. The Argentine journal, which is dated June 21, gives an interesting description of the celebrated incident of the Irish Republican flag. The circumstances surrounding the incident gave it great prominence. On June 20 the Argentine Republic paid homage to the memory of its great patriot, General Belgrano, one of the heroes of Argentine Independence, celebrating the centenary of the "father of the flag" with great pomp at Buenos Ayres in the presence of the President and Ministers of the Republic.

Ireland's tricolour was carried through the streets of Buenos Ayres for the first time by the *Circulo Irlandés*. The "Southern Cross" says that the cry "Viva Irlanda Libre" rang in the air, and all along the route the ladies in the balconies applauded unceasingly. Although the Irish flag was new the legions of people had no difficulty in learning what it represented, for it was accompanied by three large placards, the first of which stated in Spanish that "the Irish Republic salutes the Argentine Republic, from which so many of its sons have received peace, liberty, and a second country." Significant was the applause from the balcony of the Casa Rosada, the official residence of the President of the Republic.

The English Colony in Buenos Ayres could not, of course, keep themselves quiet while the Argentine nation was hailing the Irish tricolour. The following is the incident as related by the Argentine journal, "La Union":

"During the great civic march-past of yesterday a small incident is to be lamented that, fortunately, had no serious consequences, thanks to the temperate attitude of the assembled Irish citizens, who gave a high proof of culture."

"The event which was provoked by the use of the Irish Republican flag was produced in the following manner according to a statement made to us by Senor Guillermo A. Lasserre, General Secretary of the Union of Argentine Youth for Irish Liberty:—

"When the column of more than 300 yards in length formed by the Irish Associations and delegations from Arrecifes, Carmen de Arco, Pergamino, Rosario, and La Plata, carrying the Argentine and Irish Republican flags, a placard nearly five yards long and two others alluding to the act of homage came in front of the Progressive Club, Dr. Luis A. Perazzo Naon, Commissary General of the Manifestation, advanced, accompanied

by two other gentlemen, and enquiring for the Chief Commissary of the Irish Section, ordered the withdrawal of the placard on which was inscribed

"The Irish Republic salutes the Argentine Republic where so many of its sons found peace, liberty, and a second Fatherland," stating that "he did not know of any Irish Republic, and that this was offensive to the British residents. This caused an interchange of arguments with the authorities of the Irish Association, its Chief Commissary, and Senor Naon. The latter insisted on the withdrawal of the placard of the Irish flag, and the Irish authorities were about to accede to the ridiculous injunction, not alone to avoid the incident assuming greater proportions, but also to maintain tranquility to the memory of Belgrano, reserving to themselves the corresponding protest and the right to take legal action before the Competent Authority, when a numerous group of gentlemen and youths who were stationed on the footpath and in the centre of the avenue broke through the police cordon and advanced, in the midst of joyful applause and cheers for the liberties that our laws hold sacred, and to the independence of our country which always rejects foreign impositions, and demanding the continuance of the demonstration with the Irish flag held conspicuously aloft, they surrounded Dr. Perazzo Naon in such a manner amidst the frantic applause of the spectators, who incorporated themselves with the Irish Association as a demonstration of sympathy, clearing gleefully the Irish Republic and its representatives, that they compelled the Commissary General Senor Naon to withdraw crestfallen accompanied by the good-humoured comments of all those who witnessed the incident."

"Arriving at the Triumphant Arch the Irish column defiled in a compact manner, and the Irish flag inclined itself in a graceful salute, as far as the pavement in homage to her elder sister, the national flag of the Argentine Republic."

"By the public, the students on the grand official stand, from the balconies of the Cabildo, Municipality, and the Palace of the Archbishop, in presence of this act of sincere and expressive homage, the Irish Republican flag had been once more applauded with greater frenzy, and the column in the Section corresponding to the Irish, now swelled out by the Argentine public, who applauded without ceasing, arrived in that manner, now enlarged to about 500 yards in length, at the Mausoleum in Santo Domingo, where the flags, placards, and authorities were assembled alongside the steps, the matrons and young ladies who in a compact group accompanied the Irish flag in its first triumphal passage through the streets of the metropolis, now placed themselves in the front row, and the bands played the national hymn, which was accompanied by over 5,000 voices with indescribable enthusiasm."

"This being concluded, Senor Guillermo A. Lasserre delivered a short address, saying that, with truth could it be affirmed that the Argentine people had this day recognised the Irish Republic, inasmuch as they had applauded frantically its name, its flag, and its sons, and they have gracefully disposed of the unusual pretension of weak spirits who attempted to suffocate the outburst of popular enthusiasm that realised such a beautiful demonstration of Argentine-Irish brotherhood. He concluded with a triumphal cheer for the flag and the new nation that had arisen, glorious and free, on the face of the Republican earth."

"The friendship of the Argentine nation for the Irish people, of which a remarkable testimony was given at the Belgrano Centenary, has its roots far back in the struggle for independence. The names of Brown, Miller, Sandes, O'Brien and O'Higgins were inscribed on the Irish banner saluting the memory of General Belgrano. The many Irishmen who fought in the South American wars of independence a hundred years ago have left an imperishable memory. Their descendants who settled in South America have distinguished themselves in many paths. In Buenos Ayres the grateful citizens have perpetuated their memory by naming their streets after O'Brien, O'Gorman, Cullen, Admiral Brown, O'Higgins, King Coghlan, and Lynch, and probably others."

## Ancient Irish Art

(Concluded.)

In the splendid Folio copy of the Gospels at Copenhagen of the tenth century, supposed to have been brought to Denmark by King Canute, the figure of St. Matthew seated, while another saint draws back a curtain, is copied from the Gospels of Lindisfarne, while the border is in the tenth century style. The Gospels of St. Chad, now in Lichfield Library, are in the Irish style of the eighth century, and are very noticeable as having marginal notes in Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and ancient British; the latter being the oldest specimen of the ancient British language now in existence. The illuminations are also copied from the Lindisfarne book. St. Chad, it is known, was educated in Ireland, in the School of St. Finian. There are Irish Gospels at Durham of the eighth century. The Gospels of MacRegal are at Oxford, and the Gospels of MacDuran, the smallest and most beautiful known, are in the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth. As Saxon art progressed and became influenced by Roman models the Irish scribes were chiefly employed wherever elegance, harmony of colour, and extreme delicacy of touch were particularly requisite, as in the borders and initial letters. Thus, the Psalter of St. Augustin, said to be from Rome, and which resembles in style the manuscript Virgil of the fifth century, in the Vatican, is framed in pure Celtic art. On the Continent, also, the borders of the great manuscripts were generally confined to Irish hands. A Latin copy of the Gospels at Treves, evidently produced by one of the establishments founded by the Irish upon the Rhine, is remarkable for a combination of Celtic, Teutonic, and Franco-Byzantine art. The borders are Irish while the figures are Byzantine. These illuminated borders have the glitter and radiance of a setting of jewels, and are thus admirably suited to fulfil the true object of all ornamentation, which Mr. Ruskin defines as being "beautiful in its place, and perfect in its adaptation to the purpose for which it was employed."

Thus, the Irish can be tracked, as it were, across Europe by their illuminated footsteps. They were emphatically the witnesses of God, the light-bearers through the dark ages, and, above all, the faithful guardians and preservers of God's Sacred Word. A hundred years before Alfred came to Ireland to be educated, and went back to civilise his native country by the knowledge he had acquired here, the Christian schools of Germany, under the direction of Irishmen, had been founded by Charlemagne. Through France, along the Rhine, through Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, the Irish missionaries taught and worked, founding schools and monasteries, and illuminating by their learning the darkest pages of European history. One of the great treasures of the Imperial Library of Paris is a beautiful Irish copy of the Latin Gospels. The College of St. Isidore, at Rome, possesses many Irish manuscripts—one of them a Psalter, folio size, written throughout in letters a quarter of an inch long, and which is considered to be the finest of the later works of the Irish school. The celebrated Golden Gospels of Stockholm are of Hiberno-Saxon art of the ninth century. This book had a singular history. It was stolen from England, and disappeared for ages, but finally was discovered at Mantua in the seventeenth century, and purchased for the Royal Library at Stockholm. St. Petersburg also possesses a highly illuminated copy of the Gospels, which was also taken from France at the time of the great Revolution, and found its way to the far north. It is a perfect and beautiful specimen of the Irish style of the eighth century, and the initial letters can only be compared to those of the Book of Kells. All these Irish manuscript Gospels are, without exception, copies of St. Jerome's Latin version.

Towards the close of the tenth century the Frankish style of ornamentation, a blending of the classical and the Byzantine, had almost entirely superseded the beautiful and delicate Celtic art both in England and on the Continent, and about the fifteenth century it disappeared even from our own Ireland, the country of its origin. The gorgeous missals and illuminated Gospels, instinct with life, genius, holy reverence, and patient love, were destined to be replaced soon after by the dull mechanism of print; while Protestantism used all its new-found strength to destroy that innate tendency of our nature which seeks to manifest religious fervour, faith, and zeal by costly offerings and sacrifices. The golden-bordered holy books, the sculptured crosses, the jewelled shrines were crushed under the heel of Cromwell's troopers; the majestic and beautiful abbeys were desecrated and cast down to ruin, while beside them rose the mean and ugly structures of the Reformed faith, as if the annihilation of all beauty were then considered to be the most acceptable homage which man could offer to the God who created all beauty, and fitted the human soul to enjoy and manifest the spiritual, mystic, and eternal, loveliness of form, and colour, and symmetry.

sold at 240s. per cwt., it is reported that Australia has been able to persuade the Ministry of Food to raise that price to what may ultimately be paid to New Zealand, if a contract is arranged. The New Zealand producers are likely to resent this, as the fact that Australia sold its butter at 240s. per cwt. is making it very difficult for the New Zealand producers to obtain what they consider reasonable terms."

Evidence of the special attention given to the Irish language in Scoil Dhruighde, 70 Stephen's Green, Dublin, is afforded by the fact that this year the highest marks in Irish awarded to any junior grade girl have been gained by one of its pupils, who scored 95 per cent. It is promised that in the coming school year the giving of instruction in other subjects through the medium of Irish will be inaugurated. Meanwhile the kindergarten department has been strengthened by the addition of two Irish speakers, one of whom, Maighread Ní Bheaglaíoch was amongst the notable prizewinners at the Oireachtas.

Pupils of Rockwell College have scored the following successes at the recent Co. Council Scholarship Examinations:—1st place, Limerick; 1st place, Offaly; 1st place, Carlow; 4th place, Tipperary, and Entrance Exhibition, Cork University.

The report that Lord Montagu and his daughter had been assaulted by some of the English armed forces is contradicted by his lordship.

A few nights ago a party of Sinn Féin Volunteers arrested two young men in connection with the raid and robbery at Mastertreeby P.O. (County Kerry) some time ago, in which money, variously stated to be from £80 to £120, was taken. It appears that portion of the money taken away belonged to the Postmaster, being his private property. The robbery created great local indignation at the time, and was vigorously denounced by the clergy. The prisoners were taken to what has now become a proverbial expression—viz., to an unknown destination. It is not known whether any of the missing money has been found, or any of them made any confession or admission of guilt. It is stated that two more persons are "wanted" in connection with the robbery.

At the North Kerry Sinn Féin Court a man from Rathca claimed £10 for breach of an agreement in the sale to him of a jennet from a man from the Newtownsandes district.

From the evidence of the plaintiff it appeared he purchased a jennet from the defendant at the fair of Listowel, the latter representing the jennet to be of quiet and peaceful habit, and of such an exemplary character that a woman could guide without any danger whatever to the longevity of her corporeal existence, and it could also be easily shod and harnessed. Notwithstanding this warranty, plaintiff said that as early as on the evening of the purchase it took twelve men to drive her homewards through the Small Square, and then only to the imminent danger of the passers-by.

The evidence was so conflicting that the Court ordered the defendant to harness the jennet. The wild career of the animal, which performed truly wonderful exploits, justified the wisdom of the Court, which held in favour of the plaintiff and ordered the £10 to be returned and costs, and the animal to be returned to the defendant and to Newtown, where (says "The Kerryman") she will probably be immortalised by future generations and handed down in equine history as "The Newtown Wonder."

A Volunteer Court at North Kerry fined a railway guard £12 for agreeing to carry armed Constabulary. The Court, after deducting the local expenses, ordered that the remainder of the fine be forwarded to Dublin for the Munitions Fund.

The Caherciveen (Co. Kerry) Court, which was due to sit on Tuesday, was adjourned for a week, as the arbitrators deputed to adjudicate in the cases were unavoidably absent. It is said there is a considerable number of cases to be disposed of at the next sitting. The local Petty Sessions Courts are now practically ignored. All litigants list their cases for hearing before the Arbitration Courts, where they are certain to get full satisfaction.

At the Republican Court which sat last Thursday in the Town Hall, Westport, a number of cases were listed.

The litigants in most cases were professionally represented. The findings of the Court gave satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

On Tuesday week three men were arrested by Republican Police in Rosdhuane, near Newport, for breach of a decree granted by a Republican Court. It appears they cut meadow which under the decree they were not entitled to cut. Tried before a Republican Court subsequently they were each fined £1 and bound to the peace. They paid the fines, entered into the required recognizance, and were then released.

At a special Republican Court in Lecanvey during the week a man from Borus district was fined 30s. for assault, and bound to the peace, or in default three months' imprisonment. He paid the fine and entered into the necessary bail.

A Republican Court was held at Annvalia on Tuesday week and was presided over by three judges. A number of trifling cases were dealt with, and the decisions awarded gave satisfaction to all parties.

Mass for the repose of the soul of Roger Casement was celebrated on the 3rd day of August in St. Hedwig's Church, Berlin. The sacred edifice was thronged to the doors. The Mass was fully choral, and many of those attending wore their decorations and orders. Outside the church a large crowd of onlookers assembled.

In his booklet, "Dr. Mannix in Australia," Cearball O Briain presents a vivid picture of the great fights which the Archbishop of Melbourne fought and won in the interests of truth and justice during his seven years' "campaign" in Australia. First of all, Dr. Mannix vanquished the anti-Irish propaganda with which Australia, as well as every other country, was flooded during "the war for small nations," and secondly, he inculcated into the minds of the "common people" the true story of Ireland's struggle for liberty. But his great work did not stop at that. Dr. Mannix won for the people of Australia the greatest battle which Democracy has ever secured when he won the fight against Conscription. His success in that fight gave us in Ireland renewed strength and determination in our own fight which came shortly afterwards. In a note to the booklet, Mr. Arthur Griffith says: "Herein all may see why the British Government thought it necessary to kidnap the great Archbishop on the High Seas, and prevent his visiting his native Ireland." "Dr. Mannix in Australia" is published in Dublin, price 9d., and can be obtained from all newsagents. We understand that the first edition has been sold out, and that a second edition is in the press.

It is manifest that such as had the Government of Ireland under the Crown of England did intend to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and Irish, intending no doubt that the English should in the end root out the Irish; which the English not being able to do, caused a perpetual war between the nations which continued for 400 and odd years.

The person who said this was Sir John Davies, King James I. of England's Attorney-General, and he said it in 1612. Three hundred years later he could write it on the gate of Dublin Castle. There is no change.

**Unsolicited Testimonial**

Under the headings "Sinn Féin Law and Order—Courts that Cannot be Suppressed," the London "Daily Mail" of Monday last writes:—  
The utility of endeavouring to govern a people against its will is demonstrated by what happens at the Sinn Féin Courts.

During the three weeks that the Government tried to suppress these courts they were held in 27 counties, including five counties in Ulster.

There were many instances of the regular court assembling in a district only to discover that all litigation had been disposed of by the Sinn Féin courts. There is a piquant flavour about some of these cases, as will be seen from the following examples, all of which are authentic:—

At an Irish language festival at Ballitore two British police in plain clothes were advised by the Republican police that their presence might lead to trouble and were escorted from the field where the festival was

being held. They returned some time afterwards and were then arrested and imprisoned for trial at a "Republican" court on a charge of "conduct likely to lead to a breach of the peace."

At Grandard the Rural District Council, having received from the British Local Government Board a complaint against the manner in which the rate collectors were performing their duties, decided that the defaulters be brought before a Republican court.

The British Local Government Board having written to the Drogheda Corporation regarding certain prosecutions under the Food and Drugs Act which had been withdrawn from the British courts, were informed that these cases had been tried before a Republican court and fines had been imposed.

At Dunderin a man was arrested by Republican police on a charge of breaking the windows of a Protestant church. He was brought before the local Republican court and was fined £2 and ordered to make good within a week the damage he had done.

In North Mayo Republican police arrested two men for theft and placed them in prison pending trial. One escaped and reported his arrest and imprisonment to the British military and police. These searched the district for two days for the Republican prisoner; they did not find it.

On a charge of disobeying the boycott imposed by the people generally upon the British police a man was arrested at Longford, found guilty, and was ordered to be paraded before his neighbours in his home district and his offence be publicly announced to them.

At the West Mayo Republican Court a man who had been arrested by Republican police on a charge of assisting British military was brought to trial. He pleaded guilty, but showed extenuating circumstances. He was fined and discharged with a caution.

At Drogheda a wealthy landowner had appealed to the Republican Government for police protection against interference with his land pending the hearing, before a Republican Court, of claims for the said land. Protection was given, and when the claims came before the Republican Court he refused to recognise its authority. He was fined £50 for contempt and the police protection which, at his request, had been given him was ordered to be withdrawn.

The two men recently arrested by the Republican police at Kilkenny and committed to prison by a Republican court for having raided and robbed the residence of Major Joyce,

a British Army officer, have been discharged from prison, as the bulk of the stolen property has been returned.

At Carrickmacross a man was arrested by the Republican police on a charge of firing into a neighbour's house. He was tried by a Republican court and found guilty. He was heavily fined and put under rule of bail, being ordered to report to the Republican police headquarters every week for six months. His gun was confiscated by the court.

At Aughnacloy Republican police raided the camp of a picnic party, where large quantities of intoxicating liquor was found. The police confiscated the liquor and poured it into a neighbouring stream, warning the party against further drunken revels.

Before the North Kildare District Republican Court a prominent race-horse owner, who had been arrested by Republican police, was charged with buying cattle knowing them to be stolen. He pleaded guilty and was fined £300.

Two other men who stole the cattle were also arrested and were sentenced by the same court to banishment from the county, one for a period of nine months and the other for three months. Some of the cattle stolen belonged to the British Government. These animals were returned.

A man and his wife were arrested by Republican police and brought before the Republican court. They were found guilty of stealing £90 from their neighbours. The court ordered that they be deported to England.

One of the Protestant community at Longford summoned a neighbour before a Republican court for malicious injury to his hat, which the neighbour had struck with an ash plant. The court decreed that the plaintiff should be presented by the defendant with a new hat to be selected by the plaintiff.

A contractor who had not completed the erection of a dwellinghouse within the prescribed time was summoned before a Republican court in Clare. He failed to appear, and a decree was given against him for £100. The president warned all concerned against failing to appear when a summons was served. He said the Republican judges would not tolerate contempt of court.

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By Order, JAMES BOYLE, Clerk of Union.

Office, Dunfanaghy, August, 1920.

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ÉIRE ÓG YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1920.

The Lord Mayor of Cork

As we go to press the Lord Mayor of Cork is still alive, but his hours of life seem numbered. He has sent greetings to his fellow-prisoners in Cork, who endure a similar agony and face a similar fate. Ireland is sad for them, but Ireland is proud of them. They are perishing for her in the dawn of that freedom which the young among us shall see grow into resplendent day. Through a hundred generations of an Ireland redeemed from chains and misery their memory will be treasured. England has money, armies and navies, but she has not within her the virtue to command from her children such love and loyalty, nor the strength to break the will of a people who despise her materialism and preserve their faith in God.

The Belfast Conspiracy

The instigators of the Belfast pogrom have become alarmed. The criminal classes, in which Belfast abounds above any other city, were organised for robbery and arson, and have now begun to burn and rob the property of their organisers. To assault and plunder Catholics and those Protestants who refuse to lick the feet of Belfast plutocracy was grateful to the hiring press of that city, but it now bleats in alarm at the indiscriminate action of its proteges. The plutocrats of Belfast deliberately created an anarchy in an effort to get rid of their political opponents and crush the Labour movement. And the beginning of fear is creeping into their hearts that the anarchy may yet threaten the golden god they worship. Meanwhile the rest of Ireland applies to the little Oligarchs of Belfast the argument they best understand—the argument of the pocket. The money of Ireland has been flowing for years through the Belfast, Ulster, and Northern Banks into the City of Belfast, where it accommodates men who secretly incite the pogrom and exult in rapine. Fifteen million pounds sterling of Irish money have been flowing yearly from Nationalist Ireland into the pockets of Belfast distributors of English and other foreign goods—Ireland has been buttressing through banks and business the bigoted Belfast which sets the mob on the unbigoted Belfast—indifferently on the Catholics and on the Protestant workmen who refuse to abase their manhood. Ireland is not going to continue that folly. There must be no more dealing on the part of civilised Ireland with the Banks of Belfast until the barbarians in broadcloth not only withdraw their attempt to reimpose the Test Acts, but make, so far as they may, amends for their offences against decency and common justice. There must be no more business with those Belfast firms who submitted, or permitted to be submitted, or connived at other firms submitting, a religious or political test to their employees—until such time as they have made amends. Thousands of people have been deprived of their livelihood. Thousands of women and children are being starved, hundreds of homes have been burned out at the instigation of men whom the Banks in Belfast accommodate out of the money lent by the people of Ireland. Ireland will teach the directors and managers of these banks that, if they regard with equanimity the deeds of their clients, they must try and find other sources of supply for the money with which they hitherto financed the Test Firms and their sympathisers. Two warnings must be given to all who are determined that the victimisation of that section of the people of Belfast who refuse to bow the knee to Plutocracy must cease. Every Belfast firm touting for business in the rest of Ireland professes, through the mouths of its travellers, to abhor the devilish bigotry that is being indulged. The majority of these firms are either actively or passively engaged in that work. No Belfast firm which has genuinely refused to victimise its employees or allow them to be victimised will be refused a permit to trade. The permit will be issued from Belfast. Without such a guarantee of the firm's honesty no Belfast commercial travellers' statements are to be accepted. On the other hand, we find that in one or two instances firms and businesses in other parts of the North of Ireland have been confused with Belfast, and people have declined to trade with them. This is a mistake. Belfast is the seat and centre of the conspiracy to reimpose the Test Acts upon Catholics and political dissenters. It is against this foul conspiracy that the arm of Irish Justice is directed. Outside Belfast, all business firms in Ulster which do not actively or passively support the conspiracy are entitled to full freedom of trade.

France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

The heroic Lord Mayor of Cork will perhaps have ceased to live before these lines appear and another name will be added to the list of Irish Martyrs. His slow agony in an English prison has, however, aroused universal indignation. The barbarous and uncivilised methods by which England endeavours to crush the spirit of liberty in Ireland and exterminate the Irish race is now exposed before the whole world in all its grim reality. Throughout the long centuries of her blighted domination she has tried in vain to daunt the will of the Irish people, but she has signally failed. To-day the indomitable spirit of Terence Mac Swiney has triumphed again. The Lord Mayor of Cork, in mortal agony in his prison, is a power before which the might of England trembles. He is dying because he will not permit a foreign government to tyrannise over his country and his person. His sacrifice will cry aloud for vengeance. Many of his comrades have already offered up their lives for the same cause. Many others are ready to take their place. His sacrifice will not be in vain. And yet, while applauding the nobility of the man who submits to a process of slow assassination, the world stands aghast at the cold brutality and calculated indifference of a people who proclaimed its disinterestedness on entering into a war, as if were, for the liberty of small nations. The mask has now been torn from its face and to-day it stands exposed before outraged humanity as the standard bearer of hypocrisy and tyranny. In France, especially, public opinion has been deeply moved by the torture inflicted on the first citizen of Cork and many expressions of sympathy and encouragement have been received at the Irish Delegation here. The appeal on his behalf which Mr. Griffith forwarded to the Heads of Foreign Governments had only been received by the President of the French Republic when Mr. Gavan Duffy placed the following letter, which appeared in all the French newspapers on the following day, between the hands of the French Prime Minister: "Monsieur le President du Conseil. "In view of the grave tragedy that is now being enacted in London, I have the honour, in my capacity of representative of the Elected Government of the Irish Republic in Paris, to approach the Government of the French Republic in order to bespeak its intervention in the case with the Government of His Britannic Majesty. "Mr. Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of the City of Cork and Member of Dail Eireann for Mid. Cork, is dying in Brixton Prison, London. Mr. MacSwiney was deported from Ireland to England on the 17th inst., after sentence by an English Court-martial, purporting to convict him on the strength of the seizure in Cork Town Hall of 'seditious' documents; the alleged 'court' had no jurisdiction in the matter and its judgment is void. "In order to protest against the outrage inflicted upon Ireland in his person by the English Army of Occupation, the Lord Mayor has refused all food since the 12th inst. He demands to be released, and he declared to the English military who assumed the right to try him that, alive or dead, he would quit his prison within one month. The Lord Mayor is a distinguished soldier of the Irish Republic; he will keep his word. "The English Home Office, on the other hand, declares that its Government has determined to let the Lord Mayor die. He is at the point of death. "In bringing these facts to your knowledge, Monsieur le President, I am addressing myself, first, to the country which claims with justice to be the mouth-piece of the principles of human liberty; and, secondly, to that great French people which, in other days, has so often come to the aid of Ireland and for which so many of my countrymen have given their lives whenever France has been threatened. "Furthermore, I address myself to that France which has to-day become the Ally of her former enemy, whose Empire she saved by her prodigious sacrifices during the great war, and accordingly, to the France whose mere suggestion to the London Government would save the life of an Irish Patriot. "I understand that the Government of the French Republic has hitherto hesitated, for reasons of diplomatic etiquette, to recognise the Government of the Republic of Ireland, but I apprehend that this in no way indicates any slackening of its interest in the lot of that ancient people of Ireland to which the French people is bound by close community of interests as well as by tradition and history. "I need not tell you with what grateful enthusiasm the Irish people, on the eve of its delivery, would welcome a brotherly act by the Government of the French Republic designed to secure the liberation of the Lord Mayor of Cork. I need not say how gladly the whole Irish race would hail an act which once again would seal the loyalty of France to her mission of liberty through the world and be a reminder to

all of the steadfastness of the friendship of France for those who have proved their devotion to France.

"G. GAVAN DUFFY, Envoy of the Irish Republic."

The Director of "La Libre Parole" in a long article to-day endorses M. Gavan Duffy's appeal and continues: "A man is in extreme danger of death. He runs the risk of his own free will. I do not dispute here the case of conscience from a Christian point of view that this voluntary renunciation of life will raise. I only look for the moral cause of this sacrifice—the most heroic to which a man can submit. Amongst his compatriots this man is justly honoured; as Lord Mayor of Cork he is looked upon as one of the most representative men of his Nation. He associated with all his heart with the efforts of his fellow-citizens in order to obtain the benefit of the fundamental principles of modern public right—'All people have a right to self-determination.' He was declared 'suspect,' his house was burgled by English police, he was judged and condemned to two years in prison by a Court-martial, notwithstanding the fact that he had not committed a single misdemeanour. To this manifestation the Lord Mayor replied by another manifestation. By sacrificing himself he signifies to the English Government that Ireland is firmly determined to achieve her liberty at all costs. The English people can nourish no illusions. When a people such as the Irish are united and resolved to secure its independence, it can only be maintained under the yoke of tyranny by violence. Our readers, like ourselves, have been deeply moved in reading the appeal addressed to M. Millerand by the representative of the Irish Republic in Paris. This appeal we endorse and we pray with insistence that the President of the Council will use his good offices with the English Government. If the Lord Mayor of Cork dies England, which is already confronted with grave difficulties, will know darker hours than she has hitherto imagined."

"Arrested for his political opinions," says "La Liberté," "a man inflicts upon himself for the cause of freedom the horrible torture of hunger, and is dying slowly in his prison. A whole Nation follows with anguish the phases of his agony. Without distinction of opinion or class, the whole country demands his liberation, and the Minister who could save his life refuses, and adds to his awkward gesture an official 'communique.' It is well understood, however, that nothing can prevent the inevitable from happening. The independence of this nation will to-morrow be an historical fact." "Le Populaire de Nantes" foreshadows the bursting up of the British Empire: "The Government has already recognised the independence of Egypt. The Egyptian patriots, to reach this end, had to struggle like the Irish. To them also England had opposed a formal refusal. By perseverance and courage the Egyptians won the day. The Irish shall also have their victory. Their cause is the same. Has not the principle of self-determination been admitted? Was it not continually in Lloyd George's mouth when the Empire was in danger? Did he not impose it upon the vanquished peoples? Are there then, according to him, two morals, one for the victors and another for the victims. If there are, let him have the courage of his convictions and say so. We shall then know the value of his fine declarations, otherwise let him give Ireland her liberty as he has been obliged to give it to Egypt. Whether he likes it or not he will, sooner or later, be forced to yield. The Irish people who are actuated by the most fundamental principles of justice cannot be indefinitely resisted—a people united in its struggle against the oppressor, a people that has shown so much bravery, so much faith in its future, a people, finally, who consists of men like the Lord Mayor of Cork, dying of hunger in his prison, cannot be subdued by any Government no matter how powerful it may be."

"All Ireland is passionately interested in the fate of the Lord Mayor of Cork," says "Le Journal des Debats," but the English Government, notwithstanding the many solutions has refused him grace. "If Lloyd George was persuaded that by energetic repression he could give the Irish problem a definite solution one could understand his reasoning, all questions of humanity excluded. But most certainly he does not imagine that coercion will furnish the means of ridding himself for ever of the demands which are supported by a united people; it is only a palliative. Force in itself can resolve nothing; applied brutally and without discernment it only attenuates the hatreds, and its employment, when it is not directed and moderated by a political spirit risks to give the character of surrender to the concessions which, sooner or later, are inevitable. The case of the Lord Mayor of Cork has a considerable importance because the moral factors play a preponderant role in national movements. That is why many English people are troubled by the negative decision of the Prime Minister."

M.M.

NOTAI

Ach tá ní eile fós nár chóir a dhearmhad : dá nea-bheacht d'iompuigh cuid dena fochair seo amach a bheith, ba mhór an áis iad chun teacht suas leis an bhfrinne mar bhíodar gairid don fhírinne nó don ní is dó linn anois atá fíor. Cuir i gcás na níthe ar a nglaite "dúile," bíodh is nár dhúile iad dáiríribh sa chéill a bhíod leis an bhfocal san, ina dhiaidh san, ámh, do réir an eolais atá againn fé lathir, is rudal iad níche féidir don cheimidhe a roinnt le haon rud dá bhfuil aige ina sheomra oibre. Mar sin don Atom, leis. Cé nách féidir dínn a rá gur bun-ní do-roimne an t-atom, ina dhiaidh san tá Teoiric na nAtom ché n-achtanach in oibr an cheimidhe is bhí sí nuair a cumadh í. D'fuidh an ní ceudna a rá i dtóabh an mhóilín agus i dtóabh rudal eile nár bhain-eamair leo fós.

Cuir i gcás, cad a chialluon Neart agus Díl Taiscithe an Nirt? Tráchtfimid ár sin ar ball. B'fí ghealltá atá ag an bhfíriche leis an bhfocal san Neart agus chun na Díl aduairt a dheanamh fíor ní mór a lán níthe d'áireamh mar neart. Chialluon an Díl ná téan luighdú ná meudú ar iomláine an nirt atá d'áireamh abhair (material system) ar bhí mara dtugan sí neart do chorpáibh eile nó mara bhlaghan sí neart uathra.

"Chun na díl do dheanamh fíor (Lodge, "Life and Matter," London, Williams and Norgate, cío a 2, 1905, l.a 21) ní mór a chur san áireamh (taiscú an nirt) níthe atá ché dealuithe ó chéile le solus, teas, fuaim, casa timpall (rotation?), crith, strán laisteach (elastic strain), scarúint don-tharraighe (gravitative separation), sruthana afbhlig, gaolmhairceat cheimidhe (chemical affinity). Góid gur cuireadh "teas" in áireamh na neart, níorbh féidir a rá gur bhí fíor an díl; agus tamall gearrid 6 shín deintí díospóirceat i dtóabh ce aca ba cheart nó nár cheart an "bheatha" do chur san áireamh. D'eurlinnne gan stad nár cheart ach béidir nár miste le daoine eile a rá gur cheart; ach is leor san mar shompla chun a thespaidt nách gá a dháimhál go bhfuil gach saghas nirt áiríthe fós; go bhfaghair saighseana nua amach béidir, agus ná fá saighseana nua amach, ansan, ag labhairt go beacht, gur acamh-fíor díl taiscithe an nirt, i gcaisáibh áiríthe, fé mar a ráitear an díl anois, góid go nochtar na saighseana nua san; díreach mar bheadh sí neamh-fíor (ach le leath-fhírinne áiseach inti, leis) i dtóiric na measáin, dá mbéid gan eolas ar theas nó gan suim do chur ann." Cuimhnímis ar an bhfocal san "leath-fhírinne áiseach." An teoiric ná full inti ach cuid den fhírinne agus atá breugach, dá bhfí sin, mar mhíndí iomláin, béidir go bhfuil sí bun-uachamhar mar leath-insint ar an sceul nár atá sé.

Béidir, leis, dá tuigimís brí na díl i dtóach, ná tuigimís choíche ina lán-iomláine í nó, fiú amháin, dá tuigimís ina headarchastúocht go léir í, ná fiú meofí choíche í agus ná glacfi choíche í. Tairéis a rá gur é rud fé ndéar a lán den amhrúisacht id na n-eoluithe ná eadarchoisteach na ndlíthe is eol dúinn de bháir eolas níos cruinne bheith againn ar na dátaí ("facts") arís—na níthe as a gceaptar na dlíthe seo), deir Sir Oliver Lodge: "Na dlíthe simplí ar a mbáimís ag obair bhíodar simplí so-nochtaithe toisc eadarchoisteach an bheatha (bith) í existence, world, life) beith maoluithe dáir eadarchastúocht na meadhon tré n-abhfeucháimís. Ní frinnl beactha dlíthe Kepler, agus dá mbéid aige na dátaí (data) go léir atá againn anois is ar éigin fneudfadh sé na dlíthe sin do nochú. Ní fíor gur in ubh-fháinibh (ellipses) a ghluaiséan pláineach ach i saghas fí-chearcatacha (hypocycloids) agus ní go cruinn é leis. Mar sin, leis, do dhíil an Bhaioigh-ealláig níl ann ach teacht níos goire don ceimiochta fíriche. Agus fiú an gendáil a dhin Van der Waal ar dhíil an Bhaioigh-ealláig níl annach teacht níos goire don fhírinne. I bhfímhór ranna na fíricheonta is éigean don tsimplíocht géille don eadar-chastúocht luath nó mall: síod is, go cainte, go ndeirim go raibh na dlíthe simplí fíor, agus go bhfuilid fíor fós, ché fada's théan síod, agus ná bráitear a nea-chruinneas ach le tuille fíor-nochtacháin. Nuair sa claoirt i leataobh uatha tgaimíd suas leis an gcás atá leis an gclaoirt; ní brise a deantar ar an ndlí i gceart ach maolú (nó, athard) tré oibrú cúise sa mbreis is eol dúinn.

Sé brí atá leis an gcuid is mó den stair chainte sin ná nách féidir rud mór a thuigsint nuair a dhinimíd dian-stuideo ar gach bldírín fé leith dá bhfuil sé deunta. An té a chaitfidh a shaol go léir i gcoíl agus go mbeadh eolas cruinn aige ar gach crann inti ní har an gcoíl a bheadh an t-eolas aige ach ar na crainn. Chun na coilé fheicint agus a thuigsint níor mhór dó feuchaint úirí ó bháir cnuic. Chonacáir Kepler díl nádúrtha ó bháir cnuic na heolúochra. Tháinig eoluithe ina dhiaig ag scrúidí gach míon-ní, (na crainn) atá sa díl agus fuadarad ná raibh eolas Kepler cruinn ar fad. Dá scrúidíoch Kepler na míon-níthe ar áiríthe bheadh sé ché tógha suas leis an obair sin ná feudfadh sé an díl a bhaineann leo fheicint.

TADHG Ó CIANÁIN.

Local Taxation

II.—BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

There are in all one hundred and fifty-four Poor Law Unions administered by Guardians and their staffs. The funds to meet this expenditure are provided by the County and County Borough Councils. Last week we gave some details of the methods by which these funds are raised. Properly speaking, the poor-rate is the fund which passes into the hands of the local Boards of Guardians. The magnitude of these sums may be judged from the following figures for the period ending March 31—

RECEIPTS FROM REVENUE, 1919. £ Money supplied by County and County Borough Councils ... 1,726,961 Rents (medical officers' residences provided under the Dispensary Houses Act) ... 4,758 Sums received from other local bodies ... 2,563 Payments of relief ... 23,797 Sales of produce of workhouse farms ... 19,588 Other receipts ... 31,738 1,808,400 Receipts from loans for buildings ... 9,752 1,818,152

The revenue of the year was very much greater than the year before. The increase amounted to £230,579. There was nearly twenty per cent. more money received in revenue, nearly all of it from the poor-rate struck in the rural districts and the cities. The following is a brief summary of the expenditure from revenue of the boards during the same year—

EXPENDITURE FROM REVENUE. £ In-maintenance ... 701,236 Cost of maintenance of boarded children ... 29,120 Cost of all outdoor relief ... 204,810 Expenses of district schools ... 11,682 Maintenance of blind, deaf and dumb, and idiots in institutions and cost of relief in extern hospitals ... 23,814 Emigration ... Nil Salaries and Rations of Officers ... 303,205 Cost of medicines and medical appliances in workhouses ... 18,088 All other poor relief expenditure ... 189,998

Total expenditure on Poor Relief 1,475,428 The table is worth careful study. There are other expenses belonging to other duties performed by Guardians, but for the moment we concentrate on the Poor Relief. It will be seen at a glance that less than half the Poor Relief expenditure actually goes to the maintenance of the poor inside in workhouses. The actual amount of the cost of maintenance of the poor inside and outside, including those in other institutions, and boarded-out children, is £953,480. The cost of salaries and rations of officers was £303,205, and all other Poor Relief expenditure amounted to £183,993. So that the cost of administering the Poor Relief appears to be very high in proportion to the cost of maintenance. Roughly speaking, it appears, as far as we can judge from these figures, that it costs half-a-million to administer a million in poor relief under the workhouse system.

The following are the expenses of boards in addition to Poor Relief—

Expenses under the Medical Charities and Vaccination Acts 245,776 Expenses under the Lunatic Asylums Act ... 2,209 Expenses for registration of births, deaths and marriages ... 3,919 Superannuation ... 31,399 Expenses under the National School Teachers Act ... 384 Payments under the Galway Hospital Act, 1892 ... 4,477 Payments to other local bodies ... Payments in respect of borrowed money ... 30,963 Other expenses ... 16,588 340,905 Add the Poor Relief expenditure 1,475,428

Expenditure defrayed from loans: For workhouse buildings 4,261 Under the Dispensary Houses Act, 1879 ... 1,446 5,647

Gross Total of expenditure ... 1,821,740 This is a very heavy expenditure, which provides a wide field for reform. The English poor-law system was enforced on our country without regard to its needs and conditions. The workhouses were intended for those whom the destruction of Irish industries, as

a result of the "Union," threw on the street, and who were too old to emigrate. We have retained above the heading "emigration" though no expenditure took place last year, in order to recall that emigration was by no means unconnected with the workhouse system and to recall that this item has a place in the accounts. The workhouses were designed to take away from the street the swarms of paupers who crowded the streets of the cities and towns and kept the minds of our people. The poor law unions were designed to conceal the manufacture of papers by the English occupation.

More False History

An Economic History of Ireland. By D. A. Chart, M.A. The Talbot Press, Ltd. 5s. net.

This is a short volume of 184 pages. The author in his preface pleads for himself that "it is necessarily to a large extent pioneer work, that it is not to be hoped that the book will not suffer from defects and omissions, but that in view of the daily increasing importance of the subject, he trusts that the account here given will be of value, not merely to scholars and students, but to all concerned in the welfare of the country." The writer might well have studied at least the existing authorities on Irish trade and economics, before he had the folly to sit down and write upon a subject of which he displays a surprising lack of information. The general treatment of the subject is based upon a false conception of Irish history. The first chapter is entitled, "Celt, Dane and Anglo-Norman," and does not in the least degree enlighten us on the subject of early Irish trade. The writer does not appear to have any knowledge of the work of Mrs. Green, nor of Dr. George O'Brien, and has probably never heard of H. Egan Kenny, who, under the pen-name of Sean-Ghall, has contributed so much information on the early and mediæval Irish trade. It follows that a writer who has no knowledge of commerce is not equipped to treat of economics. In fact, Mr. D. A. Chart possesses a mind quite unfurnished on the subject of early Irish trade. As we read through these pages we find that it would require a ten-shilling volume to contradict all the statements which appear in it. We have space merely to notice the following: "Not till about the middle of the eighth century does coined money begin to appear in the Irish records. It was probably introduced from the Continent" (p. 6). The writer is evidently ignorant of the fact that money was coined in Ireland by Irish kings. A reference to Mrs. Green's "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing" would dazzle Mr. D. A. Chart. On p. 6 the writer argues that Ireland could not have had a large foreign trade. "There was considerable intercourse by sea with Great Britain and the Continent, as indeed is shown, if no other proof existed, by the numerous missionary journeys of Irish saints. But there are no traces of such large trade between Ireland and other countries, as undoubtedly existed between the various parts of the Roman Empire." We recommend the writer to obtain a copy of the "Irish Year Book" of 1909, and to read carefully the article on "Early Irish Trade," by Sean Ghall, in which it is conclusively shown that there are many traces of a large foreign trade between Ireland and the Continent. One fact alone disposes of the contentions of the writer. Our native writers mention that Greek merchants attended the fair of Carmen in Wexford, and there was a special market in that fair for the foreigners who sold silver and gold ornaments and other precious stuffs. We have, moreover, the positive and conclusive statement of Tacitus in the first century of the Christian era, that the ports of Ireland were better known to merchants and traders by reason of the abundance of commerce than those of Britain.

On page four of this alleged "Economic History" it is stated rashly that "there were no towns and few large villages." Now, if so happens that the famous Ptolemy of Alexandria, then the most learned city in the world, enumerated in his geography no less than ten illustrious cities in Ireland, three being seaports, and seven inland cities. This was about the year 130 A.D. This disposes of the fiction that Ireland could have had no trade because she had no towns to provide a ready market. Again the number of Roman coins, mainly of the Roman Republic, found,

says Sean Ghall, not merely along our coast lines, but even far inland, prove that Ireland and the Roman Dominions knew the advantage of mutual trade relationship. In later times there was a large foreign banking business operated by Italian merchants in Dublin in the Middle Ages, and such operations, involving as they did the intricacies of the foreign exchanges, could not have been worked without money or without an extensive and regular foreign trade. The writer never mentions the had money landed in England for circulation in Ireland, nor the steps taken to prohibit the export of English coin to Ireland.

In short, it is established by written records that before Norman or Dane landed in Ireland there was an ancient and regular trade between this island and France, Belgium, Britain, Scotland and Italy, a fact of which the writer of "An Economic History" is quite unconscious.

So much for the early period. The later periods are treated with an equal degree of incompetence. We pass over the indigestible hash of the Irish land system which is described as a "loose and variable communal system" on page 3, and we proceed to something more definite.

The question of the English Navigation Acts is the most important of all the measures which affected the economic position of Ireland. The manner in which this question is dealt with is the keynote. The sketch on p. 70 of these Acts is totally inadequate, and gives no real idea of their nature or far-reaching destructive consequences. The comment of the writer is the only illumination of mind which steals from out the covers. Instead of expounding or explaining the economic nature of the Navigation Code, the author attempts an apology, which is probably unique even in the history of our country as written by Colonists. Here it is in all its nakedness—

This period makes very melancholy reading, only alleviated somewhat by a consideration of the circumstances, and the dominant ideas of the time. The authors of this legislation hardly considered that they were stifling the hopes of an infant industry. Rather they saw themselves as wise planners, aiming at the general good, even at the expense of local suffering. Ireland was considered as a colony, England the mother country. The burdens of England, naval and military, financial and diplomatic, were very great. She had to be, as it were, the shield of the whole empire, and if she were seriously weakened, all would be imperilled. The woollen industry had for centuries been the staple of England. The mercantile marine, the nursery and reserve of the navy, was an extremely important factor in the defensive system. These two occupations, therefore, must be jealously guarded and preserved from competition, even within the Empire. The statesmen of that time, believing as they did, in the effectiveness of State action in fostering and guiding economic development, saw no great wrong in repressing any tendency of Ireland towards industries, in which she would compete with England, and directing her rather to those, in which she would be a useful ally.

No authority is quoted for any of these statements, which are quite contrary to the known facts of political history. England assuredly has never regarded herself as "Ireland's mother." Even if she did, it would make the apology worse. To pretend that the Navigation Acts were intended for the "general good" is false and untrue in all its suggestions. They were intended entirely for England's enrichment, to secure to her alone the position of mistress of the seas.

The Woollen Prohibition had nothing to do with the Navigation Acts, and came long after them. A writer who mixes them up inverts history, and confuses the reader to a degree of complete obfuscation. The writer should learn a little political history before misplacing the order of events.

One can judge what fiction this writer is capable of conceiving. Perhaps it would be wiser for D. A. Chart to write novels. The chapter on "The Land and its Produce since 1800" contains a number of statements which can only be described as "colossal." On p. 108 we are told that "the loss of the corn trade has been made good by a remarkable expansion of the trade in live cattle, which is now more than twelve times as great as the figures of 1811." This is economic history for the consumption of the graziers, the ranch owners, and the families of herdsmen. On p. 128 we are told that

"Irish shipping is almost exclusively cross-Channel. Irish produce is either not exported to foreign countries, or, if it is sent abroad, passes through England

on its way. Thus by imperceptible economic causes, one of the effects of the Navigation Acts is reproduced in modern times. On the other hand, this concentration on cross-Channel routes and pre-occupation with cross-Channel markets is not now felt as a hardship, rather is it the deliberate choice of Irish producers, dictated to them by obvious pecuniary advantage. Why send goods to the distant and uncertain market when there is another near at hand ready to receive all that can be supplied to it?"

A person who writes this sort of nonsense is neither an economist nor a historian. We have dealt mainly with the general principles enunciated by this unscientific amateur. But there are many errors of detail. The "facts" are frequently as wrong as the principles are unfounded. It is regrettable that such a book should have been let loose, or that any competent reader should have passed it as fit to be printed for an educational firm. T. O. G.

In Colonial Days

The following extract is taken from "The Case for Ireland" by the Rev. M. M. English. The article originally appeared in the "Butte Miner."

Long before the revolutionary war, men and women of Ireland were forced to flee from their native shores to the new world. One of the first American settlements of the Irish was in Maryland, where, with the English Catholics under Lord Baltimore, they crowned themselves with imperishable glory by being the first settlement in America where liberty, civil and religious, was practised. This, too, at a time when others who had fled from persecution in Europe persecuted, in turn, their weaker brothers.

In Pennsylvania, New England, New York, and New Jersey, the Irish settled in thousands in the seventeenth century, and contributed in no small manner towards making ready their adopted land for its future independence. In 1683, Thomas Denegun, Earl of Limerick, an Irish Catholic, was appointed Governor of New York. Like Lord Baltimore, he was opposed to religious persecution. The first Act passed by the assembly which he convoked declared that "no person or persons who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be in any ways molested, punished or disquieted; but that all and every such person or persons may from time to time and at all times, freely have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences, in matters of religion, throughout all the province."

Those old Irish pioneers seem to have had a monopoly on that religious tolerance and liberty which is now one of the pillars of the constitution. In the years immediately preceding the Revolution, men from Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford and other Irish counties fled to America, and brought with them the longing, stifled in Ireland, to be free. It was they and their descendants who helped to enkindle the fires of the Revolution, and provided before long an opportunity of avenging themselves upon the despotism which had refused to allow them to live in peace in their native land.

Before the Revolution.

During the few years before the Revolution all thinking Americans saw that an open break with England was only a matter of time. Thus it was that representatives of the colonists sought to do what the Irish are doing to-day—to enlist the sympathy of other peoples with their cause. Benjamin Franklin, writing from London, in 1769, stated, "All Ireland is strongly in favour of the American cause. I send you four pamphlets written in Ireland, or by Irishmen here, in which you will find some excellent well-said things."

Three years afterwards he visited Ireland, where he was honoured by being allowed to sit at a meeting of the Irish Parliament. Writing a little later to William Franklin, he expresses the hope that "our assemblies will not fall short of them (the Irish) if any Irish member should happen to be in our country." Elsewhere, he says of some of the Irish patriots: "I found them disposed to be friends of America in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might be thrown into the scale." Over a stretch of 160 years the shade of Franklin appeals to us to keep his promise, and to throw our weight into the scales of justice for Ireland.

That the patriots of the Continental Congress recognised and appreciated

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## Current Comments

The following malicious lie was published in the London "Daily Mail" on Tuesday last:—"The 'Daily Mail' learns that, following the Government's definite refusal on Friday to release the Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Terence MacSwiney, at present on his 26th day of hunger-strike in Brixton Jail, his friends in London addressed an urgent petition to the 'Republican' Government in Ireland asking that Alderman MacSwiney be released from his oath and permission given him to take food."

While Lord Northcliffe has been loudly professing his desire for the Lord Mayor of Cork's release, his "Daily Mail" publishes this mean lie about a dying man—a lie calculated to cause him additional pain and distress his relatives. Similarly when the Lord Mayor of Cork's predecessor was murdered, the "Daily Mail" was used to distress his relatives by publishing the infamous statement that Lord Mayor MacCurran was "murdered by Sinn Féiners." Perhaps Lord Northcliffe will investigate the coincidence? If so, he will discover, we opine, the sources to be one.

On Friday last the London "Morning Post"—the organ of Dyerism and Dublin Castle—published a statement that the bulk of the R.I.C. had threatened to resign if the Lord Mayor of Cork and the political prisoners in Brixton Jail were released. It is just to the R.I.C. to say that that statement—like practically all the statements about Ireland that appear in the newspaper mentioned—was a cowardly falsehood. Members of the R.I.C. have written to the Irish press repudiating it, and the Unionist Dublin "Evening Mail" wrote on Monday evening that the R.I.C. both at the Depot and elsewhere denied and strongly resented it. The persons who inspired and the newspapers that printed the infamous falsehood are the persons and the newspapers who profess admiration for the force they thus libelled. The people of Ireland understand fully that it is not the members of the R.I.C. who are responsible for the decision to do the Lord Mayor of Cork to death.

Mr. Christensen, the U.S. Presidential candidate of the Labourers' and Farmers' Party, is reported to have sent the following cable to Mr. Lloyd George:—

"You have appalled the world by your callous indifference to the death throes of the heroic Lord Mayor of Cork."

The slayers of Joan of Arc had oxesures such as yours; so, too, the executioners of Robert Emmet, and the hangman of Nathan Hale.

If the Lloyd George Government is not tyrannical, prove it by freeing Terence MacSwiney and withdrawing your army of occupation from the soil of the Irish Republic."

The following is a translation of a telegram sent last week by Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, T.D., to Signor Gialiti, the Italian Premier:—

"Your Excellency—I take the liberty of calling your attention to a matter about which it would seem impossible that you, your Government, and the Italian people can remain indifferent. I refer to the case of the Lord Mayor of Cork, who at this moment is suffering death in an English prison for his patriotic principles.

"I beseech you to add your powerful voice and that of your Government and people to the voices of the whole civilised world, who, in the name of humanity, demands that this man be saved.

"The only crime of which Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, is guilty is that he loves his country,

proclaims her independence, and fights for the recognition of the Irish Republic.

"The people of Ireland and their Legislature and Government will be eternally grateful if your Excellency takes prompt action in view of the fact that the Lord Mayor is on the point of death."

SEAN T. O'CEALLAIGH,  
"Delegate at Home of the Irish Republic."

An English correspondent of "Il Popolo d'Italia," a Milanese journal, has been making statements on the "Ulster question," which have been ably refuted by Mr. D. M. Hales. The English propagandist hides his falsehood behind the pen-name of "Oxonianensis." He commences by stating that there are in Ireland two parties nearly equal in numbers. This, of course, is easily disposed of by quoting the figures of the various elections which have been held, and which prove that four-fifths of the people are on one side.

The second statement is that Ulster is the richest province in Ireland. Figures of valuation and taxation are quoted to show that Leinster is the richest province.

The third statement is that Ireland, left to herself, would be the victim of massacres and episodes of civil war which would horrify the whole world. It is not necessary to reply.

The occupation withdrawn, would put her own house in order. It does not need the acute intelligence of the Italian race to perceive that "massacres and episodes of civil war" occur under the inspiration and active instigation of the foreign agents, and that the policy of an invader must be to stir up strife amongst the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Milan, the people of Lombardy know better even than most Italians what foreign occupation means. It is as futile to argue in favour of English rule in Ireland as it would be to argue in favour of the resumption of Austrian rule in Lombardy.

No nation has been the prey of disunion and dissension to the same extent as Italy. The numerous divisions which formerly existed enabled invaders to seize the country piece-meal. Now, nobody knows better than the Italian that the unity of his country is the best guarantee of its independence, and that any proposal to divide his country into separate states could only come from those who wanted to weaken and perhaps subjugate his country again. Invaders have never promoted unity amongst their subject peoples and they never will. To divide and govern is their motto, the old Roman motto of "Divide et Impera." Partition is their principle.

"La Liguria del Popolo" of Genoa contains a copy of the correspondence to which we have alluded. This journal, publishing the reply on the subject of Ulster (La difficulta dell Ulster), refers to "our distinguished friend and collaborator, D. M. Hales, Consular Agent in Genoa for Irish Commerce." The incident is important, as it shows how much English propaganda rests on "Ulster," or rather Belfast. The Italians will be further enlightened by the burnings and shootings which have taken place and the proofs of "these massacres and episodes of civil war" which have occurred there recently in the presence of the army of occupation.

English propaganda in Italy and the countries abroad strives to impress on foreign public opinion that the wealth of Ireland is in Ulster. The truth is quite the reverse. The wealth of Ireland is by no means confined to Ulster. The bank accounts prove this. But it is a fact that the wealth of Ireland is diverted northwards, as a result of the

financial policy of the banks. The money which makes the Ulster mare go comes from the South. Now the Ulster branch banks in the South are losing their customers. It is stated by an English newspaper that in one day in a small West of Ireland town the large sum of forty thousand pounds was withdrawn from current accounts in Ulster banks and transferred to the branches of Southern banks. In the town of Clones, in Monaghan, three Northern banks have received notice that huge accounts will be withdrawn on September 8. This money will be transferred to Southern banks. Thus it is clear at all events that Belfast employs a great deal of cash from other parts of Ireland and that its alleged wealth is by no means self-acquired, but that it depends financially on Southern support. The Belfast boycott is a defensive movement promoted to stop the exodus of our people, but it is also having a very important economic effect in proving that it depends largely for its funds on the South.

The Irish Journalists' Association has declined to permit its members to further submit to the indignity of attending twice daily at Dublin Castle to receive from the Chief of the English Propaganda a daily string of libels on Ireland. Not one correction of any of the falsehoods issued from Dublin Castle has been made, even though persons themselves referred to have denied and repudiated. That the English propagandist should have, even for a brief period, gone to Dublin Castle to receive this disgraceful propaganda was humiliating.

Last week that institution issued a falsified return of casualties in Belfast, but this was as water unto wine to its issue of another "official return" in which it declared that the number of civilians killed in Ireland from January 1st, 1919, to August 21st, 1919, was 18, and the number wounded 49. The number of civilians slain in that period by the English armed forces in Ireland—exclusive of those slain in the Orange riots and in encounters with armed men—was 51, and the number wounded 562. Here are the names of the men, women and children thus done to death, and the date of their slaying.

- February 12—Patrick Gavin, Maddens-town, Co. Kildare.
- April 6—Robert Byrne, Limerick City.
- April 25—Michael Walsh, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
- June 5—Mathew Murphy, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
- June 29—Patrick Studdert, Killee, Co. Clare.
- August 14—Francis Murphy (aged 15), Glan, Co. Clare.
- December 28th—Lawrence Kennedy, Lucan, Co. Dublin.
- 1920.
- January 20—Michael Daroy, Cooraclare, Co. Clare.
- February 4—Robert O'Dwyer, Limerick City.
- February 4—Miss Helena Johnston, Limerick City.
- February 14—James O'Brien, Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow.
- March 20—Alderman Thomas MacCurran, Cork City.
- March 22—Miss Ellen Hendrick, Dublin.
- March 22—Michael Cullen, Dublin.
- March 29—James MacCarthy, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
- March 30—Thomas Dwyer, Bouladuff, Co. Tipperary.
- April 14—James O'Loughlin, Miltown-Malbay, Co. Clare.
- April 14—Patrick Hennessy, Miltown-Malbay, Co. Clare.
- April 14—Thomas O'Leary, Miltown-Malbay, Co. Clare.
- April 17—Thomas Mulholland, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
- April 24—Patrick Dowling, Arklow, Co. Wicklow.
- May 18—James Saunders, Limerick City.

- June 6th—Michael Walsh, Cappquin, Co. Waterford.
- June 8—Thomas Brett, Drombage, Co. Tipperary.
- June 25—Cornelius Crowley, Bantry, Co. Cork.
- July 1—Miss M. Counihane, Limerick City.
- July 4—Richard Lumley (aged 60), Rearcross, Co. Tipperary.
- July 4—Michael Small, Upperchurch, Co. Tipperary.
- July 5—James Dunne, Ferns, County Wexford.
- July 8—Thomas Feery (aged 70), Ballycommon, King's Co.
- July 18—James Burke, Cork City.
- July 19—William McGrath, Cork City.
- July 21—John O'Brien, Cork City.
- July 21—Daniel McGrath, Corracuma Cross, Co. Cork.
- July 21—James Coggan, Oldcastle, Co. Meath.
- July 29—Patrick Duggan (aged 10), Brusee, Co. Limerick.
- July 29—Thomas Harris, Brusee, Co. Limerick.
- July 30—John O'Sullivan, Limerick City.
- July 31—James Mulcahy, Nicker, Co. Limerick.
- August 8—William Hartnett, Enly, Co. Limerick.
- August 10—Thomas Farrelly, Dublin.
- August 14—Patrick Lynch, Hospital, Co. Limerick.
- August 15—Edward Paget, Limerick City.
- August 16—John O'Connell, Derrygallon, Co. Cork.
- August 17—Patrick Clancy, Derrygallon, Co. Cork.
- August 17—Andrew Hayes, Tipperary Town.
- August 20—Patrick Kennedy, Annascaul, Co. Kerry.

In addition, Mr. Pierce McCann, T.D., died from the effects of his imprisonment, and two civilians were killed by English military motor lorries.

An institution that pays out of the public purse to conceal these facts—to minimise 51 to 18 and 562 to 49—is a self-confessed criminal. Since the last date mentioned, other civilians have been slain. Here is how an Irish newspaper describes the latest killings of the mere Irish:—

"On Sunday afternoon, according to facts ascertained by our Macroom correspondent, three large motor lorries passed through Macroom at top speed. The first and last each carried eight or ten armed uniformed men, and the middle lorry was completely covered in with canvas. They went towards Ballyvourney, and near the Cross, a quarter of a mile from the village, and not very far from the scene of the recent fatal attack on the military patrol, the middle lorry pulled up on the side of the road and the others passed on, taking with them the driver of the covered wagon.

"As the motor lay on the side of the road, it is said, children from the village gathered round it, curious to know what was inside.

"As the crowd grew larger one lad had the temerity to lift the canvas and look in. Immediately 'a volley rang out, and the terrified crowd fled in all directions.

"Wm. Hegarty, a native of Ballymakeera, who had come along on a bicycle and dismounted, was wounded on the shoulder. He dropped his bicycle and ran along the fence, but he received two more bullets, which killed him.

on the scene, inquired for the wounded but would get no information from those in the lorry.

"Hegarty, who was aged 30, was a Volunteer, but Lynch, who was 22, was not a follower of Sinn Féin."

And here is "the account supplied from General Headquarters" of the British Army of Occupation:—

"A military lorry containing an armed escort broke down yesterday near Ballymakeera, Co. Cork, and was attacked by a large party of men. The escort drove the attackers off, one of whom was killed and four wounded. One of the wounded has since died. There were no military casualties."

The recent verdicts of murder recorded by Coroners' Juries in Ireland have been followed by a ukase from the English Government prohibiting inquests in ten Irish counties. The sinister significance of the fact will be apparent to a scandalised world.

The nocturnal raiding of private houses throughout Ireland by the English armed forces which has been carried on for two years past has developed one new feature. Hitherto the houses of clergymen were respected, at least at night. Now these houses are being raided also. The houses of several Catholic clergymen throughout Ireland were raided last week—among them being the house of the venerable Canon Pettit, Parish Priest of Fairview, Dublin, formerly Secretary to His Grace the Archbishop. The object of such men and children, the "Morning Post" says, "We want another Cromwell!" But Cromwell, we fancy, was built of different timber to the malignants who order their soldiers to break into Catholic clergymen's houses during the midnight hours.

The gentlemen-in-waiting on Sir Edward Carson are now imposing the "religious test" on newspaper men. Even Dublin Castle has not gone so far in its "war" on the journalistic profession. The "Ulster Herald," on Saturday last, gives the following account of the "testers' activities:—

"An enterprising American journalist, named Capt. Edwin F. Weigle, representing 'The Chicago Tribune,' had quite an adventure in the Newtownards Road area. He erected his camera, facing Clonellon Street on the Newtownards Road, and was preparing to focus when a crowd, who had hitherto been watching the operation, suddenly conceived the idea that he might be a 'Papist,' and to assure themselves a member of the mob approached and bluntly asked him to state his religion. The American, coming from a free country, was naturally nonplussed at the inquiry—which would not be heard in any part of the world outside the 'North-East Corner'—certainly not in any other place in Ireland—failed to grasp the situation, and nonchalantly replied, 'I guess I've no religion; I'm an American.' His interrogators were not to be put off. He is an American—and why not Christian, too?—your soul?—in the usual trio of sulphurous epithets so dear to the heart of militant 'Christianity' in Belfast—shouted his interrogator, 'You must have a religion. What the sort of a Christian are you?'

And the Yankee, with the shrewdness of his race, found a way out of the difficulty by telling his interrogators that 'his ancestors were Lutherans.' And the situation, so far as he was concerned, was saved. He was not a 'Papist.'"

As a special meeting of the Select Vestry of the Parish of Macroom, held on the 30th ult., Rev. A. J. Brady, M.A., in the chair, it was proposed by Mr. R. G. Williams and seconded by Mr. W. R. Gosfil, and carried unanimously:—

"That we, the members of the Select Vestry of the Parish of Macroom, desire to place on record the fact that at all times the kindest,

YOUNG IRELAND.

Saturday, September 11, 1920.

friendliest, and most amicable relationships have always existed between the Protestant and Catholic community here, and that such a thing as religious intolerance is unknown amongst us."

The following gentlemen assembled under the "Union Jack" in the Court-house, Bandon, on Wednesday week: the Earl of Bandon, K.P., Lt.-Colonel Stoppard, Messrs. P. S. Brady and J. M. Dickson, R.Ms., for the purpose of dispensing English "Justice," but as there was no business doing the sitting of the "Court" was abandoned!

"I am very glad to leave my case to this Court," observed a Protestant clergyman, who summoned three men at a Tuam Court for attempting to prevent him cutting timber on his farm, which he had let to them for 11 months. The Court decreed the lands the rightful property of the complainant, and ordered the defendants to pay £20 expenses.

Last week a young man charged with breaking windows in Protestant and Catholic houses was, at a Republican Court held at Templeport, Co. Caran, sentenced to seven days' imprisonment. As he had been ten days in confinement, he was liberated after being severely cautioned.

The Oughterard Republican Court, which sat last week, disposed of many cases, including two at the instance of the Republic for slander. At the same Court, at the suit of the School Attendance Officer, thirteen parents were fined from 2/6 to 5/- each for not complying with the School Attendance Order.

At a Republican Court held in Killin last week a number of cases were heard. In a land dispute between T. Fennell and Mrs. Conneely, Ower, the Court decided that, as a question of title was involved, the case would go before the District Court, as the Parish Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, except the consent of the parties in the case was obtained.

The Court confirmed the fines suggested by the Volunteers in licensing cases, viz., 2s. 6d. first offence, 5s. second offence, and in the case of parties who refuse to accept summonses or pay fines, the matter was left in the hands of the Volunteers.

At the suit of the School Attendance Officer, sixteen parents were, at the same Court, fined sums ranging from 2/6 to 5/- for failing to send their children regularly to school.

Before a Republican Court held last week in Kilkenny, four men were charged with taking part in a drunken brawl on their way from a mission. The prisoners were prosecuted at the suit of an Irish Volunteer. After hearing evidence, the court fined the ring-leader 30/-, and the other three defendants 10/- each.

At the same Court an order was made in the case of a grazing farm field by tenants on the Lewin estate, that those having extra stock in the pasture would withdraw them at once.

A remarkable story of how Volunteers successfully traced and brought to justice men who stole two bicycles over seven months ago was told at a "Special" Republican Court held last week in Athenry. The prisoners, who admitted their guilt, were ordered to pay £9 each (value of the stolen bicycles), and costs amounting to 22/6, to be borne equally by the defendants.

with in future. The gentlemen who lost the bicycles thanked the Court and the Volunteers for the clever manner in which the bicycles had been traced, while the prisoners told the President they had no complaint to make of their treatment while in custody.

At the Republican Sessions held in Tuam on the 26th and 27th August, many cases were disposed of, the most serious being one in which Mrs. Mary Tierney, Knockatee, summoned Michl. Lyons for assault. Mr. F. B. McDonagh, solicitor, represented the complainant, and the defendant was defended by Mr. P. J. Concannon, solicitor. Mrs. Tierney said that on the 5th July defendant accused her of having killed his geese, and severely beat and kicked her. Dr. Costello said he attended Mrs. Tierney, who seemed to have been knocked about a good deal. There was a cut about 1 1/2 inches long on the back of her head.

On Tuesday week the first Republican Court was held in the Temperance Hall, Loughrea. Amongst the cases listed was one in which Mr. James Mulcair, solicitor, was prosecuted by the Republic for, as alleged, taking a bicycle, the property of a man named McCarthy, trying to retain same, and using threatening and abusive language towards Republican Police while discharging their duties.

The Court confirmed the fines suggested by the Volunteers in licensing cases, viz., 2s. 6d. first offence, 5s. second offence, and in the case of parties who refuse to accept summonses or pay fines, the matter was left in the hands of the Volunteers.

The Ballygarrett Republican Arbitration Court held its first sitting last week. The Court, which was open to the public, was attended by a very large number of local residents. There was only one case listed, which was that of a long-standing dispute between two neighbours.

On Thursday week a Republican County Court was held in the New Ross district, and disposed of many cases. Six Justices occupied the bench, and the proceedings were opened in Irish.

A Republican Arbitration Court was held in the Carnegie Library, Caheriveen, on Tuesday week. As on previous occasions, the many litigants present were professionally represented. Minute and careful investigation was made into each case by the Judges, and the litigants in general expressed their approval of the decision arrived at by the Court.

The case of Michael Sullivan, Cappamore, v. Patrick Kavanagh, jun., was the first one dealt with by the Court. This was a summons for assault

on the 30th August, in which complainant claimed £10 damages for such assault. There was also a cross case by Kavanagh against Sullivan for attempt to assault with a stone on same date. There was also a summons by Sullivan against Kavanagh for breaking down a boundary fence at the mountain between Gurtafolia and Kells. There was a question of title raised in this case by defendant, and same was adjourned pending a hearing in a Higher Court.

Amongst the other cases dealt with by the Court were the following—Caheriveen R.D.C. v. Eugene Ring, M. W. O'Neill, John Sullivan, and Mrs. John A. O'Sullivan. These were summonses issued at the suit of plaintiffs for failure to remove manure from their premises, situate at Pound Lane, they having been already notified to do so.

Mrs. John A. O'Sullivan, Caheriveen, issued a summons against Norah O'Sullivan, High Street, for possession of a house situate at High Street. It appears Mrs. O'Sullivan let the premises at the weekly rent of 3s. Defendant only paid six weeks' rent while in possession of the house for the past six months.

John Bruton summoned Patrick Bruton for cutting hay and turf and trespassing on plaintiff's lands, and for an order to make up the boundary fence. It appears that a partition of said lands was decreed by an English Co. Court Judge some years ago, and final orders made, but defendant was not satisfied with the partition.

Matthew O'Neill, Deelis, summoned J. J. Morris, auctioneer, Caheriveen, for four days' horse work (mowing) performed by plaintiff for defendant at the rate of 30s. a day. It appeared from the evidence that Mr. Morris paid Mr. O'Neill's son, Eugene O'Neill, £3 for the services claimed.

Caheriveen R.D.C. v. John Houlihan, Killorglin. This was a summons at the suit of the plaintiffs for that defendant purchased cattle on the evening of the 5th August contrary to the Regulations of the Council. It appeared that defendant was duly cautioned by the Volunteers but he disregarded and ignored their instructions, and questioned their right to obstruct him.

Deniel Moriarty, Killognavreen, v. Patrick Coffey, Dooneen. This was an action for breach of warranty in the sale of a cow, purchased by plaintiff on 8th February, 1920. It appeared that defendant engaged the cow to be free and fair, and all right in her paps whereas one of the paps proved to be defective.

her paps were free and fair. Cross-examined—Do you think the more holes in paps the faster the milk would come out?—No. The Court decided to give a decree for £4, and 10s. solicitor's fees, also costs of Court. This concluded the business, and the Court then adjourned.

A District Court under the authority of Dail Eireann was held in the New Hall, Ballyhaunis, on Monday week, the presiding arbitrators being Messrs. James Morris, M.C.C. (in the chair) and Patrick Healy. There was a large attendance of the general public. Mr. John Coyne, Tavnaghmore, Ballyhaunis (landlord), plaintiff; Mr. and Mrs. John Forry, Knox Street, Ballyhaunis, tenants and defendants. In this case, which was adjourned from a previous Court, the plaintiff sought possession of a house, his property, held by the defendants at a weekly rent of 7s. Mr. W. D. Coyne appeared for the plaintiff, and Mr. J. F. Moles for the defendants.

Two young girls were recently deported from Gorey by Volunteers. It appears that some time ago the mother of the girls had removed her home to Wexford, but the girls, who are stated to be between 14 and 17 years of age, refused to accompany her. Upon representation being made to the Volunteer authority in Wexford, an escort was sent who apprehended the girls and brought them to their mother.

The Volunteers in Nenagh have recovered and restored to its owner, Mr. J. McDonnell, Clonacannon, practically the whole of the large sum of money taken from him on Monday week when he was attacked by masked men while returning from Tcomevara. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Volunteers, they made inquiries, with the result that suspicion fell on a man whom they had already taken into custody in connection with the larceny of watches. He denied the charge, but on being carefully searched the sum of £190, in £10 and £20 bank notes, was found in the lining of his coat.

A number of Volunteers, while patrolling a certain district in Co. Wexford on Tuesday week were called upon to deal with a man who was reported to be setting fire to his house. On arrival the patrol found that the man, who was under the influence of drink, had already set fire to the mattress of the bed. The patrol quenched the fire and cautioned the man. They then withdrew. In a few minutes, however, they were again urgently called. This time the occupant had locked himself in, and much of the furniture was already on fire, the man himself being in grave danger of being burned alive.

Many cases were disposed of by the Republican Petty Sessions which sat in the New Hall, Ballyhaunis, on Wednesday week. The presiding arbitrators were—Messrs. John T. Ruane (in the chair) and Patrick McDonnell. There was a large attendance of the general public and order was kept by the Volunteers, many of whom were on duty within the hall and its approaches.

After the ordinary cases had been heard an application was made to the Court for an order committing Wm. Fitzmaurice of Leow, to the Castlebar Lunatic Asylum, he having been certified insane by Dr. A. Smith, M.O., Ballyhaunis dispensary district. Dr. Smith, who submitted the certificate for the signatures of their worship-

stated that under the old regime the person about to be committed should have committed or attempted to commit some act of violence to himself or herself or to some other body before being committed. This man had done nothing wrong so far, but it would be better for himself if he were put under restraint. The President said that the practice under the old regime of not committing an insane person until some act of violence had first been committed was a mistake of the first magnitude. The Court made the order sought and allowed the doctor the usual fee of £1 1s.

Waterford's first Republican District Court was held on Tuesday week, and, says the "Evening News" (Waterford), "it was businesslike and painstaking. It delved for and gripped nothing but facts. It was not concerned with hoary, unconventional old statutes and 'Acts of Parliament' that did everything but command justice. What it sought to dispense, and did dispense, was Justice, not 'Law.'"

In opening the Court the President said:—"These Courts, as you are aware, have been set up in order to administer absolute justice between man and man. The formation of these Courts has been the outcome of conviction which has been borne in upon Dail Eireann that justice was not to be obtained in the ordinary British courts operating in this country. You have 'law' enough, for which you pay dearly, but our bitter experience has been that you do not get any justice—that law and justice as administered in the British courts had ceased to be synonymous terms. Under these circumstances, Dail Eireann, the Government of this country, set to work to organise these Courts, and I think you will admit that they have done their work very well indeed; and that so far as these Courts are operative not even the greatest enemy of the Republican Government has been able to find fault with the way in which justice has been administered. It has been administered impartially, the Courts have not been trammelled by any of the old restrictions or usages or precedents that largely control, and in many cases defeat, justice in the British Courts. You are likely to be thrown out of your legitimate rights through the discovery of some rusty old statutes that were meant for people long dead, under conditions entirely different from the conditions that obtain to-day. In these Courts, here and elsewhere, we simply profess to regulate our justice by one simple standard—that is, the standard of Justice and Fair Dealing as between man and man. We are not versed in the technicalities of 'law' as it is understood in this country, and we will not allow any of those technicalities to warp our judgment or interfere in any way with the issues which will be raised here."

The only case listed was one in which John Roughan, Ennisimmon, Co. Clare, proceeded against Simon Foley, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny, for the recovery of £18 damages for alleged breach of contract in connection with the sale of Balatta belting. Mr. D. D. McDonald, Solicitor, Waterford, appeared for the complainant, and the defendant was represented by Mr. P. R. Buggy, Solicitor, Waterford. After evidence had been taken the Court adjourned in order that the President and other Justices might inspect the belting. Later in the week the Court, having inspected the belting, awarded the plaintiffs the £18 claimed.

Before a Republican Court held last week in Castlehaven, Mrs. Bridget McCarthy, Lickwood, summoned her husband for assault. There was a cross-case. Mr. Kingston, solicitor, appeared for complainant, and Mr. Kennedy, solicitor, for the defendant. After hearing evidence at considerable length, husband and wife were each fined 5s. and costs, and bound to the peace for twelve months, two Volunteers being told off to see that they behave themselves in an orderly manner.

A gentleman who is taking up residence in Derry has just had an experience of Orange "kultur." He arranged to have his furniture sent from England to Derry via Belfast. The other day a crate, in which he had previously packed an overmantel and an unframed picture of souvenir photographs of some Catholic priests, was delivered to him. To outside appearances the box seemed quite in order, but when opened it was found that the overmantel had disappeared and the valuable picture had been badly

ley had been killed in an attack on Holycross Police Barracks. Evidence produced at the inquest showed there had been no attack on the barracks. Even the officer in charge of the troops who shot Lumley admitted under cross-examination that he only "thought" there was an attack on the barracks. The evidence of independent witnesses at the inquest proved that Lumley was deliberately shot by police and military as they drove through the town. The jury's verdict was—

"We find that Richard Lumley was willfully murdered by members of the police and military forces. We express our greatest horror and indignation at the dastardly outrage; also at the conduct of the police and military in firing into a house, without any provocation, where a respectable woman was being waked. And we strongly condemn the Dublin Castle officials report of the occurrence as a baseless lie, having for its object to give an excuse for a foul and cowardly murder."

**Militarism**—Collectors for the Suseance Fund instituted for Irish railwaymen who were being dismissed for refusing to convey munitions for the British Army of Occupation, were held up at Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin, by armed British policemen.

British police in Cork have commandeered a large tenement house in the city.

Soldiers of the Northamptonshire Regiment seized the village hall and Protestant Church buildings at Templetochy, Co. Tipperary.

Dublin city mail van drivers have decided not to work during Curfew hours. The drivers hold permits to be abroad, but this has not secured their safety, as some of the drivers have had narrow escapes when fired upon by military patrols.

The Master informed Youghal Guardians, Co. Cork, that four soldiers pulled down the Sinn Fein flag put up by the Board. When the porter was putting up another, soldiers again took forcible possession of it, pointing rifles at him, and taking a lock and chain off a gate.

A similar incident was reported to Mallow Guardians, where four soldiers presented revolvers at the porter and an inmate, and broke slates in removing the flag.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14th.

**Raids**—At Emly, Co. Tipperary, British police and military raided upwards of twenty residences.

A large force of British military raided the Enniscorthy Sinn Fein Club premises, Co. Wexford. The military searched those on the premises and removed books and club fittings. Later they raided the houses of five prominent Republicans.

In Cloughjordan, Offaly, British police raided for arms upwards of twenty residences.

British military and police raided at midnight the houses of Messrs. M. Dwyer, Templetochy; J. Kennedy and J. Hynes, Ballinroe, Co. Tipperary. The raiders stole ten fowls from Mr. Hynes.

"A SERIOUS THING."

(Continued from page 3).  
me that. What are you thinking of? Answer me that.  
Second Roman:—I'm thinking it's an extraordinary thing that every country we occupy seems to be inhabited exclusively by rebels.  
First Roman (producing paper, contemptuously):—It's a pity that you were not with Varus. Perhaps you'd like to hear Caesar's speech in the official report. (Declains):—"Sedition has been banished from the Forum, corruption from the Campus Martius and discord from the Senate House. Justice, equity and industry have been revived in the state; authority has been given to the magistrates, majesty to the Senate, and solemnity to the Courts of Justice. Virtuous acts are honoured, wicked deeds are punished, the humble respects the powerful without deriding him; the powerful takes precedence of the humble without contemning him. When were provisions more moderate in price? When were the blessings of peace more abundant? Augustan peace diffused over all the regions of the East and West, and all that lies between South and North preserves every corner of the world free from all dread of predatory molestation. The cities of Asia have been repaired; the provinces have been blessed by the humanity and consideration of their Governors. And this province in particular by having Pontius Pilate

and the Lady Claudia to assist him in promoting the peace and welfare of the district of his administration."

Perhaps you'd like me to read you another little extract from the public orator for the day—(Reads):—"Our responsibility is enormous. In the absence of agreement on any matter of political or social reform, the Roman Government is directly responsible for the shaping and conduct of Galilean affairs, and its policy must be guided by two supreme considerations—the welfare of Galilee and the safety of the rest of Imperial Rome and of the whole Empire. Under no pressure, external or internal, can it consent to father or promote any policy that might impair the one or imperil the other. The welfare of Galilee depends on good government—which means equal justice and opportunity for all, firm administration of the law, protection for life and property and the free development of the country's intellectual, material and spiritual resources, moral education, in fact." Are ye listening? "At the present time Galilee's condition is such that any political experiment must involve the greatest danger. If it should satisfy disaffection, the Empire would be betrayed; if it should fail to satisfy disaffection, no good and much harm would be done. There remains, then, the course which duty and integrity alike dictate—firm and honest government under the existing Constitution. With that responsibility of the Roman Government neither Persia nor Africa has any right or, as we believe, any desire to interfere."

[A Voice without calls, Lazarus rises and passes from the tomb, despite the attempt of the First Roman to stop him].

Second Roman (amazed):—And he was dead and buried three days. . . . I think I'll go away (rising). I'll go away out of this.  
First Roman:—And join the movement, will you? Ah, man, have sense, take up yer musket and try and have some self-respect. It's only a dead Jew.  
Second Roman (takes up musket and looks at it):—I'll ask the officer what's the use of a thing like this when death itself cannot stop the movement. (Throws it against wall again.)

First Roman (looking at it):—What! You refuse to shoulder the burden of civilisation.  
Second Roman:—What has your civilisation ever produced to equal this movement out from death?  
First Roman (after a Pause, suddenly):—What! Is that the movement he was referring to? The movement in the limbs of the corpse? Rising from the dead?  
Second Roman:—The dead has risen!  
First Roman:—Well, if this thing spreads I'll send in my resignation.  
Second Roman (slowly):—And join the movement with me?  
First Roman (scornfully):—Certainly not! But I'll send in my resignation, because where any Jew can rise from the dead is no place for a decent Roman. What's the use of all my service? If there is to be no more death, there can be no more valour. What's the use of discipline? What's the use of bravery? What becomes of fortitude and manhood and even common decency?  
Second Roman:—But it is splendid, splendid, no more death, hurrah . . . I will not be afraid now. I will have valour, hurrah, hurrah.  
First Roman:—I'll see Pilate about it. It's a damned serious thing. (A murmur of amazement and applause is heard from the distance.)

Second Roman:—Oh, please, please, do not see Pilate, he might spoil it. . . . He would stamp out the movement. (Dancing):—No more death!

(Enter Centurion).  
Centurion:—What's all this about? What has happened here?  
Second Roman:—No more death!  
Centurion (ignoring him and turning to First):—Well?  
First Roman (pointing to tomb):—He came out and went down to join the meeting, Sir.  
Centurion:—Who came out?  
First Roman:—Lazarus, Sir.  
Centurion:—Why was he not challenged?  
First Roman:—He was, but he refused to stop.  
Centurion:—Why was he not killed?  
First Roman:—Because he was already dead.  
Second Roman (exultingly):—There is no more death!

Centurion (puzzled and incredulous):—Do you mean to say (pointing to open tomb) that the corpse rose, broke open that tomb and defied you sentries?  
First Roman:—That's it, Sir. A very serious affair, Sir, under the regulations, Sir; I must report the matter directly to the Governor.  
Second Roman:—He wants to restore death. Don't let him, Sir.

First Roman:—It may not be serious, Sir; but ye see, if this kind of thing is allowed to go on it will put an end to warfare.

Centurion:—Now, now, I really can't see how the abolition of death would put an end to warfare.

First Roman:—Well, Sir, speaking as a plain soldier, Sir, I would object to working overtime or fighting after death.

Centurion:—Aw, of course, by Jove, yess, so it would!

First Roman:—They are an upsetting, unruly lot in these parts.

Centurion:—What the country wants is firm administration of the law and protection of (looking at open tomb) death and private property, and "free development of the country's intellectual resources, moral education, in fact."

First Roman:—Yes, sir.

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One lb. sample is required with each Tender. On wrappers of samples numbers only should appear. Corresponding numbers, as well as chop marks and numbers of chests, should appear on Tender Forms. The Tea is required delivered at the Workhouse free of all charges.  
Forms of Tenders may be obtained at Boardroom, Workhouse.  
JOHN COTTER,  
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2nd Sept., 1920.

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## The Attempt to Degrade

[Mr. Wm. O'Brien, in his recently-published "Evening Memories," tells the story, which we quote in part, of the attempt of the English Government to degrade Irish political prisoners in his day. Mr. O'Brien's account will have a special interest for Irishmen today.]

His Irish prisoner, who was received with provoking honour by the people of Manchester, and lodged in the State apartments of his Royal Highness of Clarence by their Lord Mayor, was the morning after his transfer to Ireland felled to the ground by Mr. Balfour's warders in his prison of Clonmel, with every accessory of stupid barbarity, for refusing to do the very thing respecting which, after a long struggle, he had been formally justified, a few months before, in his refusal; now, as then, the Chief Secretary gloried in these not very valorous insults to his captive, and this time with a perceptible ingredient of spite running through his misrepresentations and jests; and now, even more decisively than then, it was to end in a capitulation on every point dictated by his prisoner, and the final disgrace of the policy of prison degradation which he had made the touchstone of his Irish Administration. If one need not dispute the Javelike aloofness from human infirmities which Mr. Balfour claimed when he told Mr. Dillon in the House of Commons "he could assure the hon. gentleman that no articles he ever read, either in Irish or in English newspapers, had ever given him a moment's uneasiness, or the least desire to inflict vengeance on the Editor," it can only be observed that his words and his official acts were chosen with an infelicitous gift for throwing suspicion upon his own breast.

First let me recall the terms in which the Chief Secretary saw fit to address a festive Unionist banqueting party in Dublin at a moment while the people of Ireland, and, perhaps, a considerable portion of the people of Britain, were distressed by the unequal struggle going on within the walls of Clonmel jail. It need only be produced that the Press was excluded from the banquet, and the names of the hilarious company suppressed, and that the "prolonged laughter," and the "roars of laughter," with which his patrician humour was rewarded, were expressly inserted in "the official report."

"I had the honour of receiving at about a quarter to one last night—(prolonged laughter)—a telegram from the Lord Mayor of Dublin—(renewed laughter)—which I allude to now because I take it, it represents the Nationalists' case with regard to Mr. William O'Brien's treatment in prison, and in this document, the original of which I have got in my hand, I read—(I won't read it all)—illegal and brutal violence—(laughter)—that isn't it—(laughter)—unexamined indignation—(laughter)—system of attacking and beating down your political adversary by torture—(laughter)—No, that is not it. Here it is—'Mr. O'Brien has now been naked in his cell for thirty-six hours—(roars of laughter)—and to-night we learn that he is lying speechless, and that the prison authorities, considering his condition dangerous, have applied to you for instructions.' That, gentlemen, is the operative, the important part of the telegram which you will probably have all seen in the 'Freeman's Journal,' and which I shall have to allude to in quite another connection in a few moments. Now, I want to say to you that every single substantial statement in that passage I have read is wholly and absolutely incorrect—(cheers). What has happened is this: Mr. O'Brien, after an Odyssey which I won't further dwell on, was arrested in the ordinary course, and was taken to Clonmel prison. When he got to Clonmel prison he refused to allow—he threw every obstacle in the way of any medical examination; he declined absolutely to be weighed—(laughter)—and, as he did not permit the doctor to form any judgment, from personal examination of his case, he went through the ordinary process to which every prisoner is subject who offends against the law—(cheers). This happened on Thursday. It might surprise some of you—some of you who read, if there are such, who read only Nationalist journals—it may surprise you to learn that I have not the control and management of all the prisoners in Ireland—(laughter). The Prisons Board is not in my department; the questions connected with prisoners do not, as a matter of course, come through either my hands or the hands of the

Irish Office, and, therefore, it is only under exceptional circumstances that any questions connected with any prisoner in Ireland come before me. However, when I went down to the office on Friday, the facts which I have just stated were brought before me, and I immediately proceeded to write a minute in which I said that, of course, if Mr. O'Brien, having the prison clothes at his disposal, chose to stay in his shirt—(laughter)—and if he refused to submit himself to any medical examination whatever, any evil consequences to his health which might ensue, he would be responsible for, and not us—(hear, hear, and applause). But, at the same time, I said I did not think we ought to permit Mr. O'Brien to ruin his constitution for the purpose of injuring Her Majesty's Government—(laughter and applause)—and I, therefore, gave directions that, as Mr. O'Brien would not allow himself to be medically examined, the reports made by Dr. Ridley and Dr. Barr upon Mr. O'Brien when he was in Tullamore jail should be sent down at once by special message to the doctor at Clonmel, so that in the light of these reports, and having learnt what, in the opinion of the doctors who had examined Mr. O'Brien the condition of his health was, the doctor should most carefully watch Mr. O'Brien, and take care that no eccentricity of his should in any way risk his constitution—(applause). And in order that the fullest medical opinion possible should be taken on this important point, the medical member of the Prisons Board has very kindly consented to go down and assist the doctor of Clonmel prison—a doctor in whom, I may say, I have every reason to believe that the State has a faithful and efficient servant—(hear, hear)."

Here it will be observed that, setting aside the artful artlessness of the contemptuous references to the Lord Mayor (Mr. Thomas Sexton)—who, as it happened, was a greater Parliamentarian than himself—the Chief Secretary hazarded only one specific allegation—viz., that my treatment was due to a refusal on my part to submit to medical examination, while he, not for the first time, set up the plea that "it is absurd to say that the management of Irish prisoners is in my department" (speech of February 25th, 1889). Within a couple of days after the publication of my reply, he was obliged publicly to confess that his first statement was, to put it bluntly, a falsehood, and his defence of irresponsibility was proved to be so impudently at variance with the truth that he subsequently acknowledged he was personally responsible for the treatment of his prisoners in every particular."

About five minutes afterwards the chief warden returned to my cell and said, 'We must force you to put on the prison clothes.' I asked to see the governor, who appeared to have been waiting outside the door, for he immediately appeared. I said, 'I have to ask that a doctor shall be present during any attack upon me.' He said, 'I cannot do that; you have passed the doctor.' Then, I said, 'you will have to strip me by force,' or words to that effect. I placed my back to the further wall of the cell; three warders immediately rushed at me with the chief warden. The four seized me, and a violent struggle took place between us, the governor standing by. They succeeded after a struggle in flinging me on my back on the floor, dragging my clothes away meanwhile. When I was down one man placed his knee on my chest, not, as I believe, brutally, but with a pressure that caused me considerable suffering. I heard someone, I think the chief warden say, 'Don't hurt him.' The pressure was then relaxed, and I struggled to my feet again, and renewed the struggle, while my clothes were being torn off one by one. I was then flung a second time on the floor; this time on my face. I continued to struggle with all my force, while they were dragging prison clothes on me, and from the struggle and exhaustion I became so faint that they had twice to cease, in order to give me a drink of water. During this second struggle my strength was totally exhausted. I heard the governor give the order to leave my hair and beard taken off, and I remember the first few dashes made at me with a scissors. After that I lost consciousness, and when I recovered found my mouth full of hairs, and was propped up on a stool between two warders who still held my arms.

\*E.g. "He had never pretended that the course he had pursued was free from doubt and difficulty . . . but they had not yet said anything in the debate which either convinced him that he was wrong in going so far as he had gone or convinced him that he ought to have gone further."

The governor said, 'Surely you have resisted enough now; you know it has to be done.' I said to him, 'You know little of me if you do not know that the struggle is only beginning now. The instant my hands are free, I will strip these clothes off again.' The warders having followed Alderman Hackett to the door, I instantly threw off the prison clothes. Three of them rushed at me again, and another struggle took place. They succeeded in forcing on some of the prison clothes again, seizing and twisting my arms all the time. In consequence of my resistance the chief warden told them not to mind forcing on the coat or vest this time. I again became so faint that they again put water on my lips, but continued to hold my arm while I stood leaning against the wall for a considerable time. So far as I can estimate the scene had by this time lasted half an hour."

The game was this time definitely lost. In my own case, the repatriation was almost comically complete. The criminal of Clonmel jail, brutalized by four turnkeys, bidden scrub the flags of his cell, deprived even of his plankbed for refusing, and threatened with "mechanical restraints," was a few days afterwards transferred to Galway in a first-class special train, like a magnifico on his travels, attended by two warders who acted as his affectionate valets, and was thenceforward treated with an affluence of consideration far surpassing his three modest original demands, the library of the local Queen's College thrown open for his delectation, and his only "prison task" that of writing a novel, should he be so pleased as to write it on prison foolscap. How much the transformation scene had to do with political opportunism and how little with magnanimity, may be judged by the state of mind in which the Governor of Galway jail (Mr. Michael Murphy) received the announcement of my coming. "I consulted with my wife what I was to do," he told me. "She said, 'Whatever happens, Michael, don't do anything that will disgrace your children. God will provide for us in some way of His own.' So we made up our minds that, if we had to beg the world for it, I would not lay a hand on you. It was only when the escort arrived at the gate they handed me a letter directing me to treat you with every possible consideration."

The game was lost, and, with reluctance he said, Mr. Balfour, for all his engaging qualities, was a bad loser. It took him nine months to make up his mind to extend his concessions to all his prisoners, proceeding in the meantime on the detestable principle of yielding first in those cases that were most likely to attract public attention, and he strove to the last to disguise his capitulation by uses that robbed it of all honest credit. To own that ours was a demand for the classification of prisoners according to the nature and motives of their offences, and that it had carried the day even in Britain would have been a procedure too plain for that intellect of many facets. He would fain argue that "for themselves—for those who were going to make the speeches—they asked one measure of justice, and for those who were going to be the dupes of their speeches, another measure"—that it was all a selfish whim for preferential treatment for certain leaders "because they were popular, or because they were genteelly brought up." He would make the House of Commons gape by remarking: "I am charged with having jested over the sufferings of these people. Sir, I have never jested," a sentence or two before he broke out again into a strain of merriment at the expense of his prisoners, which was not too easily distinguishable from the pleasantries of the common or garden cad. He repeated in one passage his plea that "the management of the prisons in Ireland is not in my power, and no more it is," and in another took to himself the merit of his claim that "the Crimes Act prisoners had been treated with extraordinary consideration"—the prisoners in whose case, by the way, he had for two years insisted there must be no departure from the treatment of the scurviest criminals.

Above all he was lost in surprise at the depravity of the Irishmen who could avow that the object of their agitation with regard to prison treatment was to make the government of their country by alien colonialists impossible. "It is not humanity, but politics, which is at the root of the whole matter," he exclaimed, in the tone of a scandalised archangel. As if he could make a handsomer acknowledgment of their right to be treated as political prisoners, or more innocently reveal that, if he was now compelled to abandon his own policy of degrad-

ing and defaming them for precisely the same political motives, it was because they had succeeded, and he had failed, in carrying the opinion of the civilised world, and even of his own countrymen with him. For, in his own words, "It was not in the interest of humanity, but of politics" that he now threw up the sponge. The avowal was wrung from him in one bitter-sweet interjection after another—"The truth, undoubtedly, is that, as I admit, you have produced some temporary effect among your own followers" (he was speaking of Gladstone's) (February 25th, 1889), and later on: "I have been told over and over again that there is a great tide of public opinion rising on the subject. I am not at all prepared to say that the judicious efforts of the gentlemen who got up 'The National Protest' may not have produced an effect upon the public mind in some parts of the country. I do not doubt it at all. . . . I quite admit there may be and very likely is something entirely justifiable in the feeling which has been aroused" (March 13th, 1889).

All this was but to lead up to the subterfuge of calling in a Special Committee on Prison Rules to give Mr. Balfour an escape from his quandary. The letter of instruction to Lord Aberdare's Committee lost nothing of the casuistical and evasive spirit which had inspired the rest of his dealings with his Irish antagonists. The one question in dispute which really mattered was whether political prisoners were to be classified as such, or for political reasons branded as criminals. In his warrant to Lord Aberdare, Mr. Balfour expressly forbade the Committee to inquire into the classification of prisoners and confined them to a farcical investigation whether it was desirable to alter the rules as to prison dress and the clipping of prisoners' hair in the interests of "cleanliness and health." Lord Aberdare's Committee in their Report rebuked in a way not to be mistaken the prohibitive nature of their commission:

"In the letter of the 11th April, 1889, defining the character of the inquiry, you stated that it was not proposed to refer to the consideration of the committee the classification of prisoners according to the real or supposed motive of their offence. . . . To this direction we have endeavoured to conform, and though we have been unable to suggest any alterations in the existing practice altogether, unconnected with the general character of the offence for which the imprisonment is inflicted, we make no suggestions or recommendations founded upon the real or supposed motives of the prisoners."

They even so far transgressed themselves against Mr. Balfour's rules as to administer a sharp reprimand for the "arbitrary and unequal treatment" accorded to Mr. Edward Harrington, M.P., and in their report adverted in the following terms of vindication to the prison protests which used to appeal to the risibility of the Chief Secretary in his early manner. "Whatever may have been its original intent, this (prison) dress has too long been associated with all that is vile and contemptible to be assumed by lesser offenders without a sense of degradation and a shock to the self-respect which should never be unnecessarily inflicted."

What the Chief Secretary did not leave his Committee free to do manfully in public, he had to do of his own authority in private; but each concession was made in the worst way and in the temper of one who could not give so much as a pin without croaking it. His prisoners were allowed to wear their own clothes, not on the ground of the distinction which civilised mankind called for, but only if their clothes were expensive enough. A distinction which favoured the rich swindler and excluded the honest poor. They were absolved from menial prison tasks, but only if they were able to pay a poor prisoner to discharge them for them, in conformity with some obsolete regulation which was suddenly resurrected to cover the retreat of those who had punished John Mandeville to the point of death for a refusal which was now discovered to be a legal one. Finally, the association with common-law convicts was given up, but the new regulation, it was proclaimed, must depend wholly upon the caprice of the Governor and the Prisons Board. The truth, of course, was, as the present writer in his letter to the Aberdare Committee "declining to have anything to do with an inquiry so circumscribed," pointed out, "the two minor points referred to (them and others) had been settled already by the pressure of public opinion." In order to stem "the great tide of public opinion" which

was "injuring the Government" the Chief Secretary had to go through the form of ordering of his own authority what had been wrung from him at the expense of grievous suffering and of human life.

The victory for his prisoners on the Three Points of their resistance was complete. Unfortunately, these tortuous methods so far succeeded that the rights of political prisoners continued to be left dependent upon the convenience of the Government of the moment and upon the amount of resistance apprehended, instead of being honestly written out in the prison code; and as the Liberal Home Rule Government, during their eight years of all but omnipotent power, neglected either to make the Prison Rules clear or to repeal the infamous Coercion Act, the resistance to which brought power within their reach, the country ten thirty years after, harrowed with ten thirty years after, harrowed with the same spectacle of thousands of young Irishmen brought to death's door and beyond, in the same protest against the treatment of felons and miscreants being inflicted upon men whom England, were they struggling in any Empire except her own, would hail as the heroes of human freedom. Now, as then, the prison rules are in a state of chaos and vacillation, as the fortunes of political parties fluctuate, or the ferocity of the prisoners' resistance mounts or dies down. Nor is the thought a consoling one in the year in which England is preening her wings with pride in her tremendous conquests at the guardian angel of the small nationalities that the young generation of **Sinn Féin** should be carrying on their lonely prison struggle with scarcely a trace of the British sympathy which struck down the arm of Mr. Balfour and nerved the hearts of his prisoners in the days of Gladstone.

## Conciliation

XV.

British military have barricaded the roads leading South from Armagh, and all vehicles and travellers are being searched. Many cases of maltreatment of travellers by troops have been reported.

**Militarism:**—In Cork there was much military activity on the 10th inst. The Courthouse was commandeered by soldiers, who erected barbed wire entanglements and removed the Republican flag which had been hoisted there for some weeks.

British military have established themselves at Lifford, Co. Donegal, and have mounted a machine gun on the Courthouse and another on the site of the R.I.C. barracks.

TUESDAY, JULY 13th.

**Raids:**—At Swords, Co. Dublin, British military, accompanied by a policeman, raided the residence of Mr. Frank Lawless, Republican M.P. for North Dublin. The house of Mr. Phelim Coleman in the same locality was also raided and searched.

One hundred British soldiers of the Northamptonshire Regiment raided two burial grounds at Templetohy.

British military and police raided the residence of Mr. P. Tobin, newly-elected Republican member of the Ennisorthy Urban Council.

At Killeagh, Co. Cork, British police and military raided nine houses.

**Arrest:**—Mr. R. Brown, Killeagh, Co. Cork, was arrested "on suspicion" by a British military patrol.

**Armed Assaults:**—A priest on his way from Mass was held up by a British military cordon on Puckstown Road, Doneycarney, Co. Dublin. He was searched at the point of the bayonet.

Pedestrians at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Waterford, were assaulted by a British policeman accompanying a military patrol. While their hands were held above their heads in response to the military challenge, the policeman attacked them, striking them in the faces.

In South Leitrim passers by are held up, questioned, searched and maltreated by parties of British military who patrol the country.

British police fired into a charabanc full of holiday-makers at Killarney, Co. Kerry. Three ladies were wounded, one seriously.

**Murder:**—The following verdict was returned at the inquest on Richard Lumley, who was shot dead by British military and police without provocation or warning whilst coming from a wake at Holycross, Co. Tipperary, on the morning of July 4th. The Dublin Castle official report stated that Lum-

damaged, and across it was rudely scrawled: "We want no Popes here." The railway company, with whom a complaint has been lodged, will, it is assumed, find little difficulty in locating the centre where the crate received attention.

Some weeks ago the English Government "advised" the Cunard Company of the "danger to incoming ships" at Cobh. We commented at the time on the pretended nature of this danger. Cunard steamers bound west from Liverpool in the afternoon are able to approach the Irish coast at night, embark passengers at Cobh, and proceed west again. According to the English Administration, it is only from America that there is danger. There is no danger, of course, from England. It is safe to approach to take Irish emigrants aboard, and to enter the harbour for the purpose, but it is dangerous to approach within sight of the coast to land American citizens.

Even before the war, or before the English Administration issued a notice to mariners that it could not guarantee the Irish coast, it was seriously argued by the Admiral Superintendent advising the English Post Office on maritime affairs, that it was dangerous at any time and in any weather for large liners to enter Cork Harbour. The English have never been able to guarantee Cork Harbour. England claims to be mistress of the seas, but Ireland claims to be mistress of the approaches to the seas.

Alexander I. Yorke, Assistant District Attorney, New York County, writing from Paris to the American Consul at Dublin, advises him that it is customary in the State of New York to permit relatives and friends of those confined in public institutions to visit inmates during the hours prescribed, and that he knows no legal reason to prevent the wife and son of James Larkin from visiting him in New York. Mr. Yorke is the prosecuting attorney on behalf of the People v. Larkin. He mentions that he would have advised the American Consul in Dublin personally, "had I been permitted to make my contemplated visit to Ireland, but I was constrained to abandon my trip to Dublin by reason of the diversion of the s.s. Baltic (in which I was a passenger) from Queens-town to Liverpool on the occasion of the enforced debarkation of His Grace, Dr. Mannix, and further by reason of the Governmental pressure to prevent the extension of my tour to Ireland." This throws a further light on the attitude of England's peculiar administration. Here we have an American legal officer, ranking similarly to the English director of prosecutions, prevented from visiting Ireland on official business concerning purely American institutions. The English Administration objects to Americans interfering in Ireland, even in their own affairs. The English have good reason to fear the intervention of public prosecutors in Ireland.

On September 18 the United States Mail Steamship Company is timed to commence its new European service. The s.s. Panhandle State is to make the first round trip from New York, calling at Cobh and Boulogne, with London as the terminal port.

The total shipments of live stock from Ireland this year to August 28th have reached one million and forty-two thousand, which is considerably in excess of last year.

The Central Board of the Co-operative Union at Manchester has passed a resolution "deploring the failure of the Government either to protect co-operative creameries in Ireland, or bring to justice those responsible for their destruction." This resolution may be well-intentioned; but it is a singularly ill-worded and deceptive document. These creameries have been openly destroyed by the uniformed police and soldiers of the "Government." The facts have been published, and have never been denied. To ask the "Government" to protect property which has been destroyed by their own agents is a cruel joke. One might as well ask a tiger to protect a lamb as to invite the "Black and Tans" to protect a creamery. The four million members of the Union must be very innocent if their commonsense can be imposed upon by a resolution of this character. If the Central Board means to protect the creameries they should draft a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the "Government's" forces from Ireland. This would help to stop the burning of the creameries.

The tenants on the estate of Mr. H. L. King, D.L., Ballyfin, have purchased 690 acres at Coole for £24,500. The terms of sale have been arranged by the Arbitration Court, the purchasers forming a Co-operative Credit Society to raise the money in conjunction with the Land Bank.

The reply of India to Dyerism is taking the form of a non-co-operation movement. The obligations of the non-co-operators are described by the London "Times" as follows:—

1. The surrender of all titles of honor or honorary offices.
2. Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
3. Non-participation in Government loans.
4. Boycott of Government schools by parents.
5. Boycott of reformed councils.
6. Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to refuse to offer as units for the army specially in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.
7. Vigorous prosecution of Swadeshi movement, inducing people to be satisfied with India's own productions and manufactures.
8. The public are asked to refrain from taking any service either civil or military and they are enjoined to avoid all violence.

The "Muslim Outlook" of August 5 says:—

"The use of Indian troops for suppression of national aspirations stands condemned on political and moral grounds. Its moral aspect is more clearly and prominently explained by two such great exponents of Indian thought and culture as Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore." Mahatma Gandhi, touching this point says in "Young India" of June 30:—

"Whatever the fate of non-co-operation, I hope that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia, whether for the civil or the military department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment find out that thereby we may not make ourselves instruments of injustice. Apart from the question of Khalifat and from the point of abstract justice the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is in plain language daylight robbery. If, therefore, we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia we do so for the sake of earning a livelihood. It is our duty to see that that source is not tainted."

Dr. Tagore, who conceived long ago the idea of non-co-operation, when he renounced his knighthood, speaks with equal force:—

"The use of mercenary troops for utilitarian purposes is degrading to all parties concerned and it grieves my heart as an Indian to see that members of a subject race which has been deprived of its right to carry arms for its own self-protection are being turned into fighting automatons for the imperialistic aggrandisement of a nation whose possessions are already too burdensome for its moral integrity and physical strength."

Interviewed by a representative of the Dublin "Evening Telegraph" on Wednesday of last week in reference to the following statement of the Lucerne correspondent of the "Daily Mail":—

"Sir H. Greenwood told me today that the Government decision regarding the Lord Mayor of Cork will not be departed from. If the Sinn Feiners had been content to accept anything else than complete independence the Premier's proposals for meeting their leaders would not have remained unanswered. The Premier is still ready to meet them should any responsible representative of Sinn Fein come forward."

Mr. Griffith said: "There is here an obvious effort to mislead foreign opinion and to excuse the horror that is being deliberately enacted in Brixton Prison. The suggestion is that the British Government proffered the Sinn Fein leaders everything, except absolute independence, and received no answer to their proposals. It is quite untrue that any proposals have been received by the elected representatives of the people of Ireland from the British Government. As I said three weeks ago, when Dail Eireann received any such proposals Dail Eireann would deal with them."

## A Serious Thing

In "A Serious Thing," produced at the Abbey Theatre, the author of "The Enchanted Trousers" interprets from sympathetic observation the Imperialist mind. We give below some extracts from the illuminating conversation of the First Roman and the Centurion. When Barry painted the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, he provided them with the habiliments and arms of his day in order to evoke the human sympathy of his generation for them. Equally the actors in "A Serious Thing" attired themselves in khaki and carried rifles in place of spears—not an anachronism, but an artistic method. When from the distance a Voice called on Lazarus to arise, and he did, the Imperialist mind acutely foresaw the awful consequences to itself if movement among the Dead were not stamped out and Order and Death restored:—

Scene: The tomb of Lazarus to the left in a wall which crosses the back of the stage obliquely. On the lintel is written "Lazarus," and on the wall typical catch-calls such as "Up the Rebels" and "Give them Gadara" are scrawled; to these graffiti a wag has added "up" before the name on the tomb. The foreground is rocky. Time: Seven hundred and eighty-five years from the Founding of the City.

First Roman Soldier enters from the left and takes up a position as sentry by the wall. After looking about he sighs and sits down on a rock.

First Roman:—Well, well, twenty years decent service and here I am! But it's a great time in the world's history anyway—even if it isn't in mine. And here's the paper they send round to tell us how great are the times we're living in—I keep it to console me (takes it from his pocket). It's well to be supplied with the world's news here in this God-forgotten part of the Empire. "The wife of Pilate had a dream." Well, I wouldn't put it past her! It doesn't say who she dreamt about. Enter Centurion.

Centurion (He is quite a boy, and he speaks in a most affected manner). Hah! Lookey here now! You see now! These are your instructions. You are stationed here to prevent illegal assemblies, seditious speeches and all that kind of thing. You see? The movement must be prevented from spreading. Report to me at the change of guard. But, but, but, if anything serious occurs meanwhile you are to report direct to Pontius Pilate. (He points out

Left with his cane), on your own responsibility. Because, because, you see, the Governor takes quite a personal interest in the Government.

First Roman:—Yes, Sir.

Centurion:—O by Jove, I had nearly forgotten. There should be two of you on guard. Shouldn't there? I think it is . . . who else is there?

First Roman:—Obadiah, Sir.

Centurion:—Bai Jove, you are perfectly right; yes, of course, Obadiah, quite recently recruited (with requisite authority):—Now, then, where is Obadiah?

First Roman:—He's coming up the hill, Sir.

Centurion:—There's no disciplining these damn local recruits. For two straws when the fellow comes I will call him "Civilian."

First Roman:—Oh, don't do that, Sir.

Centurion:—Well, I don't want to be too severe. But his unpunctuality deserves it.

First Roman:—Quite right that, Sir; but he might take it that you were demobilizing him, and desert.

Centurion:—You don't mean it. The unprincipled beast. There's no making these Jews soldiers. (Enter Obadiah, the Second Roman)

Second Roman (addressing First and speaking with marked Jewish accent):—It vos so hot!

Centurion (turning suddenly sharply):—Why are you late?

Second Roman (fumbling to salute with hand raised to forehead):—It must be the distance, Sir; I counted a thousand paces from the barracks, and lo and behold! it vos longer when I got here.

Centurion:—Don't let this occur again or you will be sent on police duty to Gadara. Now, lookey here! These are your instructions. D'ye see? You are stationed here to prevent illegal assemblies, people passing without permits, seditious speeches, and all that kind of thing, and to report to me at the end of guard. But if anything of a serious nature occurs, the Governor wishes to be informed at once. Is that clear?

Second Roman (scratching his head with the hand still raised to salute):—Will we permit the beginning of the speeches before they become seditious?

Centurion (puzzled):—After a Pause, emphatically:—There must be no seditious. You two are the cordon sanitaire. There must be no seditious, either in thought, word or deed.

Second Roman:—But how will we know?

Centurion:—What! You don't know what seditious is? Then the sooner you learn the better! Do your duty and report.

Second Roman:—Aw! But eef . . . Centurion:—Now shut up. . . Report to me or to the Governor.

(Exit.) Second Roman brings his hand to his side with a slap. First Roman (turning to Second with profound contempt):—Well, you're a nice omadhaun anyway!

Second Roman:—Vell, how vos I to know? The speeches may not begin with seditious, and he did not say there was to be no speaking. Are we to forbid every kind of speech? Is no one to utter a word? Where, then is freedom of speech?

First Roman (looking in direction in which Centurion went, and then seating himself cautiously on a rock with a sigh of content):—If there is to be no assembly, how can there be seditious speaking? Did ye ever hear a speech without an audience? And if there was itself, what kind of an idiot are ye that ye can't make a mental note of it? Didn't ye hear him telling ye that we are the cordon sanitaire?

Second Roman:—It doesn't take much discipline, does it, to guard a tomb?

First Roman:—It's not only guarding a tomb we are, but guarding the interests of the Roman Empire. D'ye think Imperial Rome is afraid of a corpse? Our great Empire fears nothing, living or dead.

Second Roman:—Vell, why are we here?

First Roman:—To preserve peace and stamp out seditious.

Second Roman:—But it is because we are here that people are seditious.

First Roman (firmly and rather oratorically):—And because they are seditious we are here.

Second Roman (with an irritating smile):—So the effect is an excuse for the cause?

First Roman:—There's no excuse for anyone objecting to law and order. Surely you don't sympathise with illegal assemblies, seditious speeches, with blackguardism like that recent cattle-driving in Gadara and all that orgy of crime? (Pointing over his shoulder.)

Second Roman:—Ah, but eef a man walks straight he is arrested for illegal drilling, and if he walks crooked, for being drunk, and if he remains still he is asked to move on. Be just before you sit in judgment.

First Roman:—Don't talk nonsense. Do you think justice could have any effect on a lot of rebels? Answer (Continued on page 7).

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The Lord Mayor of Cork

The Lord Mayor of Cork and his fellow-prisoners in Cork still live as we go to press, although before this issue reaches our readers, he or some other may have passed heroically away from earth to live for ever in the heart and memory of Ireland. The England that burned St. Joan of Arc at the stake, the England that hanged the Blessed Oliver Plunkett from Tyburn Tree, the England that chained Napoleon to the Rock, the England that—as one of its own sons said—never showed mercy to a vanquished foe, nor kept a treaty when it was its interest and its power to break it, has not been—as credulous people believe—supplanted by a better England. It is the same pitiless England, but grown old and bereft of cunning to see that, when it slays the Lord Mayor of Cork, it will have exposed itself as the Wolf that menaces the existence of all Civilisation.

Mesopotamia

At last, fragments of the truth about Mesopotamia are permitted to appear in the English Press. From these fragments, it appears, the English forces there are in a bad way—such a bad way that the English press is calling for the evacuation of the country.  
 The truth about Mesopotamia is this—the English to secure the support of its people in her war engaged—once the Turk had been driven out—to leave Mesopotamia free. The Turk was driven out. The English remained on. The people of Mesopotamia insisted on the contract—the principle of self-determination, they declared, must be applied. The English at length appeared to agree—they then set to work with bribery and cajolery to secure "a mandate" from the Mesopotamians for English rule to remain. They failed.

What followed was kept out of the English and most of the world-press. England cynically refused to keep her solemn pledge and accept the decision of Mesopotamia. She arrested, imprisoned, and deported Mesopotamian leaders—she raided and harried the people. She acted in Mesopotamia as she is acting in Ireland.  
 Then the Mesopotamians fell upon her, and now Mesopotamia is aflame with wrath against "the perjured English." Her armies have been impotent against the outraged people, and the story of England's hypocrisy and tyranny in Mesopotamia is banding all the Middle East against her. England's press realises the blunder that has been committed—and is calling in panic for the evacuation of the country, which has been the grave of great empires before, and threatens to be the grave of the British Empire now.

To such straits have the hypocrites and incompetents who form the Government of England brought their country. Falsehood, Deceit, Trickery, and brutal violence were their weapons of Statecraft, and East and West these devil's weapons have failed them.  
 When the English entered Bagdad they issued, on behalf of the Government of England, a proclamation that, excited the attention of the world, and was used by the English Propaganda to contrast the inability of English aims with those of Germany. We republish it in part—

O, PEOPLE OF BAGDAD!

Since the days of Halaka your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your places have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation, and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking. Your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men and squandered in distant places. Since the days of Midhat the Turks have talked of reforms, yet do not the ruins and wastes of to-day testify the vanity of those promises? It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it also the wish of the great nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper, even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science and art, and when Bagdad City was one of the wonders of the world. It is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realised, and that once again the people of Bagdad shall flourish, enjoying their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and racial ideas. Many noble Arabs have perished in the cause of Arab freedom at the hands of those alien rulers, the Turks, who oppressed them. It is the determination of the Government of Great Britain and the Great Powers allied to Great Britain that these noble Arabs should not have suffered in vain. It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth, and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord. People of Bagdad, remember that for 26 generations you have endeavoured to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by their dissensions. That policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her allies, for there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment.

The people of Mesopotamia have decisively shown that they will not suffer under the strange tyrants from England, who have attempted and failed to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by their dissensions. They have not only defeated those tyrants, but they are routing the whole Middle East of Asia against them—the fact which explains the panic in the London press and the return of a virtuous desire to set Mesopotamia free.

Less than two years ago the present Premier of England declared:—"It is the hope and desire of the Government that the Arabic-speaking peoples who have suffered under Turkish rule should once more enjoy that liberty which will enable them to build the edifice of civilisation and prosperity which six centuries of tyranny and misrule have brought to ruin and desolation." And in the two years that have passed this same Premier of England's administration in Mesopotamia has treated the Mesopotamians who acted on his words to like villainies with those imposed on the people of Ireland.

And now the Middle East execrates the name of England, and the English in Mesopotamia are defeated and exposed to the world.  
 No English Government has succeeded in making England so despised and hated throughout the world as the present English Government has done. No English Government has ever brought the British Empire so near the verge of destruction. It is the most incompetent as well as the basest Government England has ever produced.

Local Taxation

III.—RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

The rural districts are the units of county taxation. Their total number is two hundred and ten, comprised in thirty-three administrative counties. The ordinary expenses of a county are provided by means of a rate on each rural district, known as poor-rate, which the County Council is empowered to make once a year and collect in two equal half-yearly instalments. The sums raised by this rate form portion of the fund from which all county expenditure is defrayed, including payments of the money required to meet the demands of rural district councils for general expenses in connection with public health. The following are particulars of this expenditure—

RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

Receipts from Revenue, 1919 (to March 31).

Money supplied by County Councils	£ 317,806
Rents of Labourers' Cottages	147,238
From Waterworks	12,350
Burial Fees	4,014
Grants in aid of roads, etc.	190
Sums received from other local bodies	2,069
Other Receipts	10,513
	494,180

The amount supplied by County Councils was more than five thousand in excess of the previous year.

RECEIPTS FROM LOANS.

Labourers Acts purposes	£ 20,723
Water Supply	4,408
Sewerage	2,000
Burial Ground purposes	549
Under the Local Government (Allotments and Land Cultivation, Ireland, Act of 1917)	1,583
Other Receipts operating as Loans	621
Gross Total of All Receipts	524,059

The gross receipts from revenues and loans in 1918 were £667,114, so that the 1919 receipts were £143,055 less. The decline in the receipts from revenue was £1,735; the receipts from loans show a drop of £141,320. The principal cause of this is that the amount lent under the Labourers Acts was less by twenty thousand; and the amount lent for Allotments and Land Cultivation is less by one hundred and twenty thousand.

The following is an account of the expenditure from revenue—

EXPENDITURE FROM REVENUE.

Salaries	£ 64,281
Burial Grounds	8,405
Expenses under the Labourers Acts	57,521
Repairs of Cottages, etc.	44,306
Superannuation	2,225
Payments in respect of borrowed money—	
Principal paid off	109,253
Interest	229,273
Payments to other local bodies	6,569
Other Expenses	39,782
Total Expenditure from Revenue	561,595

EXPENDITURE FROM LOANS.

Labourers Acts purposes	£ 21,807
Water Supply	4,922
Sewerage	955
Burial Ground Purposes	552
Under the Local Government (Allotments and Land Cultivation)	1,923
Other Purposes	4,918
	34,877
Gross Total of all Expenditure	596,472

It is important to note that the item "Payments in respect of borrowed money" include the amounts paid by the Local Government Board out of the residue of the Exchequer Contribution and the Labourers Cottages Fund directly to the Commissioners of Public Works and the Irish Land Commission, respectively, and applied by these bodies towards the repayment of loans obtained by Rural District Councils under the Labourers Acts in pursuance of Section 18 (1) of the Labourers Act of 1906. The sums so applied, as shown by the accounts of the Rural District Councils, amounted to £68,262.

IV. The cost of the upkeep of the asylums has increased by a heavy sum and the amount of money required to be furnished from the rates for this purpose is making a heavy drain on the local public purse.

COMMITTEES OF LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

Receipts for Year 1919 (to March 31).

Money supplied by County and County Borough Councils	£ 934,792
From paying patients and private sources	22,685
From Imperial taxes	18,788
Sums received from other local bodies	—
Other receipts	30,541
	1,006,756

The total gross receipts therefore just exceeded a million a year. The County Councils and City Corporations found most of the money, some ninety-three per cent. It will be noticed that the amount contributed by the "Empire" was only eighteen thousand, being less than the very small amount contributed by paying patients and from private sources. The total gross receipts the previous year amounted to £901,687. The increased revenue, therefore, was £105,069, which has been provided by the County and County Borough Councils. The contribution from "Imperial" taxes, really from Irish taxes, amounted to £13,597. The paltry increase of five thousand from this source has been rendered non-effective because there were receipts from loans for £5,100 in 1918, but there were no loans in 1919. So that the English Treasury took away with the left hand what it gave with the right.

The following was the expenditure of the past two years compared, to mark increases in the cost of upkeep, a serious matter for the payers of local rates—

Expenditure (Year end March 31)

Provisions, necessaries and clothing	1918. £ 692,542	1919. £ 526,190
Medicines	4,973	4,422
Salaries and Wages	194,695	142,869
Superannuation	17,341	19,027
Paid to Guardians for maintenance of lunatics in workhouses	93	7,364
Payments in respect of borrowed money—		
Principal paid off	40,527	82,332
Interest	34,823	31,225
Other Expenses	119,576	102,792

Total Expenditure from revenue	1,014,578	865,121
Total Expenditure from loans	578	6,187
Gross Total	1,015,151	871,308

The increased expenditure is £143,843. Provisions, necessaries, and clothing have increased during the year by £77,352. Salaries and wages have gone up £51,829. It is remarkable that the Lunatic Asylum Committees should have been able to increase their payments in respect of borrowed money for principal and interest by no less than £11,793. Other expenses are higher by £16,784. We suspect that this increase is due mainly to the cost of coal, but the report is silent on the subject of fuel. The Asylum Committees have apparently ceased to make payments to Boards of Guardians for the maintenance of lunatics in workhouses, thus saving seven or eight thousand a year at the expense of the Guardians.

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France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

The wave of sympathy for Ireland, accompanied by a certain amount of hostility for England, that is sweeping through France at the present moment has been deeply resented by the British authorities here. It has been stated that Lord Derby, the British Ambassador, officially informed Quai D'Orsay that either he or Mr. Gavan Duffy, the Envoy of the Irish Republic, should leave France. M. Millerand, fearing to offend his English Ally, invited the Irish representative, with all diplomatic formalities, to absent himself from Paris. The "Temps" to-night, in a semi-official communication, throws the onus for this measure on the shoulders of the British Government and insinuates that it would be time enough to act when the Government of the United States had taken the lead, a thing which, of course, one cannot envisage. According to the journal in question the French Government endeavoured to avoid giving publicity to Mr. Gavan Duffy's departure, but an English propaganda organ published in Paris, acting on the instructions of Downing Street, made the matter public. However, the present French authorities may seem apologetic or ashamed of this act, every lover of liberty can only have a profound contempt for the obsequious fashion in which it submits to the dictation of England.

The following letter from M. Louis Marin, Senator, appeared in the "Petit Var."

"The Lord Mayor of Cork, M. MacSwiney, is slowly dying in prison a martyr to the Irish cause. All that is civilised in the world, and in an immense number of English people, revolts at this spectacle. We, French people, cannot forget the unalterable fidelity of Ireland as attested by her history, and in the great war she furnished brilliant proofs which we cannot remain indifferent.

"Parnell sacrificed for Ireland and the number of unfilled promises, are fresh in our memory. Allow me through the columns of the 'Petit Var' to address my profound sympathy to M. MacSwiney, to his memory, perhaps, and to tell those English who have raised their voices in his favour that they have defended the holy cause of humanity.

"We only interfere with the greatest circumspection in the internal affairs of a foreign country," says "La Libre Parole," "but who dares pretend that Irish affairs are the sole concern of England. Has not every human being the world over heard the cry of pain from Ireland, on her knees praying around the bed of agony of the Lord Mayor of Cork. This monstrous affair is only a cold political assassination, slowly drawn out, which revolts the imagination and the heart of all those who have any degree of sympathy for England. It is, hitherto, evident to every sensible man that England will never triumph over Irish patriotism and sooner or later the independence of Ireland will be universally recognised. To-day Lloyd George, deaf and dumb, obstinate and relentless, assumes the responsibility for a political assassination and a terrible civil war rather than allow his country to have a free neighbour. On this account it must not surprise England to see France respond not only with human sympathy to the unmerited sufferings of Ireland, but to feel for the latter something like a sentiment of solidarity in the bitterness of a flagrant injustice." In "L'Oeuvre," M. Gustave Téry asks if there ever was a more painful drama than that which is being played at this moment in Brixton prison. The death of MacSwiney risks making the Irish Sea an impassable abyss. If England does not give in she is opposed to a nation that is equally determined and the result will be that the British Empire will be shaken to its foundations. On the other hand it is not explained how England is so conciliating towards Egypt and so cruel with regard to Ireland. If the situation lent itself to irony we cannot avoid smiling when we think that the great war in which Britain was the victor, was fought to secure to the world the right of peoples to self-determination. In that right doubtless Lloyd George sees only an article for exportation.

"Over in Brixton in a cold and lonely cell a man is agonising," says "Le Carnet de la Semaine." "His crime is to have dreamt of liberty and yet we are in the twentieth century. During the past four years millions of men died for that fine word with which the populace was intoxicated. There is one thing, however, one hundred times more abominable than this new crime of England and that is the silence of all Governments. That no voice has been raised in Paris, Rome, Washington, or Moscow is what surpasses the understanding of any sane and sensible man. There is nothing remarkable in the fact that a tiger mutilates his prey and one cannot reasonably abuse him if he uses his paws, but

in the name of reason we should kill him. England crucifies the Irish people who are guilty only of refusing to partake of the glories of her Empire. Seven centuries of history has convinced them that they cannot count on her generosity. The world as we know it is only composed of cash deals, but, even so, are we going to suppress our scorn for the torturer and our admiration for those martyrs of an ideal. Was there anything nobler in the sanguinary history of the Coliseum, or was Scævola greater than MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork."

"It is in vain that politics and other interests try to smother the cry of anguish and the protestation of Ireland," says "Nouvelles" of Algiers. "That country asks for the execution of a solemn promise. She deserves her independence. She demands the application of the great principle proclaimed by the Entente, of the right of peoples to govern themselves. Thousands of Irishmen have fought in our ranks for the cause of Right and Justice. To-day they ask payment for their sacrifices and invoke Right and Justice for which so many of them died under foreign flags. But to-day they get no satisfaction. Promises, pieces of paper! England denies her signature. Then the Irish people turn to France—the Champion of Right, the Herald of Justice. But France turns away. Alas, who is there to listen to us. A terrifying document has reached us: 'La Terreur en Irlande.' It is a chapter dealing with the massacres in Ireland, and our soul is troubled. A terrible charge is made out against us where we are denounced as the assassins of women and children. When I say 'we,' it is intentionally, because if the English soldiers have assassinated, we their friends and allies are their accomplices. To-day our Government and the whole world is asked to intervene on behalf of the Lord Mayor of Cork. Shall we without protesting allow him to be assassinated also. No, we shall not remain silent before such a crime. We do not wish that the blood of the just should fall on our heads."

"La Lanterne," a Freemason organ, in a leading article says, "A score of nations said to be civilised, united at Versailles to proclaim according to the gospel of Wilson, the right of peoples to Self-determination. This great Council recognised the nations that asked to live. It even reconstituted the ancient kingdom of Sion, but it was silent as to the fate of Ireland. Since then the national sentiment of Ireland has been exalted almost to sacrifice. M. MacSwiney, the heroic Lord Mayor, has resolved to die rather than live under British domination, and his death will add another martyr to the Irish cause. The conflict is such that the world cannot remain indifferent without signifying its scorn of justice and of human suffering. The great war taught us the value of strategic considerations, but it could not, however, cause us to forget the rights of peoples. Ireland ardently desires her independence. We refuse to believe that English genius cannot find a means of organising its proper defense without oppressing its neighbour. Otherwise English liberalism seems really to be only an article of exportation. At all events one is inclined to believe it when reading of the agony of the Lord Mayor of Cork." In another article "La Lanterne," editorially states: "The Lord Mayor of Cork is dying, and a French journal approves of Lloyd George in the name of State reasons. This sentence should be pated on all the walls of France, and the sheet in which such a proposal was written with impunity should be held up to the scorn and indignation of honest men."

"In France," says "Silhouettes Havraises," "we begin to speak about Ireland. If politics be national or international it will always be the weather cock that turns to every breeze, and there are people who adore to-day what they burned yesterday, although they admired it the day before. To-day, as always, we return to our first love and address all our sympathies to Ireland. We hope she will profit by the movement in her favour that is developing all the world over to free herself from English domination. The attitude of England towards Poland astonishes us, but this attitude is the corollary of that which she practises in Ireland. In delivering Poland she demonstrates that she was wrong in imprisoning Ireland, but her one object is to profit by everything and everybody in order to increase her sway throughout the world. France has paid dear for this knowledge."

"There is a man dying for the liberty of Ireland," says "Le Merle Blanc." "and France is silent. Is it because Lloyd George is able to keep your feet cold this winter that you have allowed him to commit this abomination. Is it, I ask, a question of coal? The paternal tenderness of France for oppressed Ireland is in all our hearts, yet, MacSwiney dies and you have done nothing to save him. You are able to save him, citizens. England is afraid of you. She has always been afraid of you. Like Christmas pudding that is one of her traditions. A single gesture from France could save Ireland, but that gesture is no longer yours. You should blush, Frenchmen, when you hear your hymn of liberty, your National Anthem, being sung by those who represent you."

M.M.

NOTAI

Duirmig Fresnel dlíthe na scáthántu-octa (reflection) agus do deimhneaghad iad le tréitheacha chó fada's do béidir a dheanamh amach, ach taréis tuille curadga sa ceul tuaradh ná rabhadh fíor ar fad. Brahadh níthe eile sa ceul ná thug Fresnel fé ndeara agus do ceartútheadh an teoiric. Mara mbeadh an teoiric, ámh, ní bhuíghil amach cúis na míte eile sin. Sa cheart, ámh, níor loiteadh an teoiric. Tá sí agáinn féis díreach mar a bhí sí ar dtús chó fada's théan na míte bunaidh atá inti. Dá druigí ar dtús a dhéanú tuille ionta féin a bhí na míte a chusadh chun na ndlíthe dheanamh, ní dócha go guimheoife ar na dlíthe in aon chor mar ní túrfé fé ndeara an bhaint a bhí ag na míte sin lena chéile. Is fíor an rud aduaradh, fadó: dá mbeadh úiríse deich n-uairé níos cruinne ag Tycho ní bheadh Kepler ná Newton agáinn ná reultóreach. Mi-thuairtí d'eolúocht teocht deunach ar an saol nuair atá úiríse i meadhoin na heolúochta ró-bheacht. Mar sin atá an ceul ag ag ceimiciúth fisic-each. Ní féidir do lucht a bunúithe leathan—radharc fháil ar an scéim go léir agus na príomh-dhlíthe bhaineann léi do chumadh toisc na deichmhacha (decimals) bheith ró-fhada acu.

Sin deire le cuid den ceul agus sé mo thuairim gur úiríse a bhí ginearálta do thuigint agus mar sin ná ch dohom suim na bpuint móra an do chur síos anó. Scuirfad de go ceann tamall pé sceul é, agus taráingeod rud eile chugainn.

Tá móran teurmal nua agus cainteana nua sa méid atá agam á scrí anso le tamall maith. As an nGaedhilg féin a bhaineas fúmhór na deurmál, sé sin, do chúireas Gaedhilg ar tach siolla desna focail Láidne agus Ghreigise, ach amháin i gcás na bhfocal gur bhain athar bídhíobh le linn iad do ghluaca isteach sa Bheuiris. Níor ghluacra aon fhocal isteach ón mBeurla, ach uaireanta, dob éigean dom an focal Láidne nó Gréigise do ghluacad agus crot Gaelach do chur air. Chifur uaidh sin ná thréigean nó ar sínear agus, go deimhin, ní dó lom go ndeaghas leath chó fada is théidís sin ag glaca focail íasachta ófach teangain. Pé cuma in ar ceapadh na tuairim is dócha go ndeufidh an gnáthéithíur gur dealrathach le carraigeacha móra garbha iad. Ní léigheas agamsa air an deurmál sin ar dtús. Tá sin ar deurmál ná mór i gcomhriam ar dtús. Má fhanadh siad sa teangain fíomhar iad i mbailibh daoine agus sa deire beid siad chó mín agus chó héilinn le haon focal dá bhfuil inti le míle bliain—tá síol agam go mbeid siad i bhfad níos binne ná cuid desna focail íasachta atá glaciúche chúda agus cuid desna pídráistí mar fhocail ghlan-Ghaedhilge.

Ní hi deurmál do cheapa nó do ghluaca ó theanghacha íasachta atá deacracht an scéil diúinn, ámh, ach ínsa cainteana. Beidh oráinn, meaisim, sompla an Chéitinn go leantúin ag rácht ar níthe deacra diúinn, agus na cainteana íasachta do Gháeilí focal ar fhocal fé mar a dheineadh seisean go minic. Ag trácht ar fheallsúnacht agus ar lítrocht deimid lucht gach teangain gnáth-abairtí d'úsáid ar mhóid fé leith. Ní mór diúinn tosú air sin ach ar eagla go ciumfírís ar an gcuma san beurla ná tuigfad diúine ar bith ní mór diúinn an obair do dheanamh diacht ar ndiaidh: uain do dhúit do dháoine chun tairní mhaith a bheith acu ar roimn bheas abairtí a casll sa gnáth-chúra sara ndeufidh an cleas ceudna ar roimn eile. Tá móran cainteana in úsáid againn anois i dtionólaibh comhaltais, etc. ná tuigill in aon chor deich mbliana ó shoin.

Dá mhéid den obair seo atá ar síúil ní leath ar ndóthanas againn de. Mara mbros-tuimíd ní bheadh an Ghaedhilg chó sus-cun-dáta is atá an Beurla anois go ceann míle bliain. Sé rud fé ndear an righneas ná gan an obair a bheith á dhéanamh do réir phlean agus fós gan tora oibre gach scríbh-neora bheith le fáil ag á chó-scríbhneoirí gan puinn trioblóide. Ní mór diúinn ar dtús focail maith Beurla-Gaedhilge agus gach focal teignidhe dá bhfuil sa Ghaedhilg ceann, pe acu níde nó míle bliain ó shoin do ceapadh é, atús ansan againn a chur anach gach bliain agus gach teurmar nua is abairt nua eolúochta nó feallsúnachta, etc. (dar ceapadh i rith na bliana) do bheith ann. Ba chóir do Chumann na Scríbhneoirí aghaidh a thúir ar an ní sin. Mara mbeidh an foclóir sin againn ní bheidh puinn teacht le chéile idir na daoine a chuirfid siad ag scrí ar níthe teignidhe (teicnicéitha) ná son tora buan ar a gcuid oibre.

I deannann a fhoclóir ní mór an plean i dtreo ná beadh cuid againn ag dúl ró-fhada amach ar fad (mar atáime béidir), ag trácht ar níthe ná fúil an Ghaedhilg ábalta a dóthin fós chun deilghéilí leo. Do réir an phlean san, ba chóir go dtiocfí suas leis na níthe is deacra i ndíach a chéile: gan aon obair a dheanamh an cheud bhliain ach obair theudadh an gnáth-scríbhneoir a dheanamh gan a bhíonn a bhítheasach. Gan aon deacht ba chóir beagán deacrachta a bheith ag baint leis an obair a túrfé le deunamh dosna scríbhneoirí is cliste. Ba cheart iad san

a bheith ina réadóirí (pioneers) don chúid eile, agus obair a bhainfadh (i dtuobh a dheacrachta) leis an tarna nó an triú) bliain den chórsa do dheunamh an cheud bhliain, i dtreo, nuair a thiofadh an tarna bliain, gurbh úiríse dosna scríbhneoirí eile a lorg do leantúin. Bheadh idir réadóirí agus lucht leanúna ag foghlúim i gcomhriam mar is an obair a fachtar an fhoghlúim. Bheadh cur-le-chéile agus leantúin-as-a-chéile ina lithéid de phlean—dosna léithéirí chó maith leis na scríbhneoirí—agus i gceann deich mbliain nó chúig mbliain ndeag meaisim do mbeadh ar chumas an gnáth-scríbhneora Gaedhilg a chur ar aon smaoin-eamh dár smaoineach riamh, agus san chó bog réidh is a cuirfí Franccís nó Beurla air agus chó solléir sin ná dheacrú don gnáth-léithéirí dea-thírtha-suas é thuigint. I gceann chúig mbliain ní deirim ná do mbeadh leagha amach againn go daingan na prínsiobail na bhféisadh an Ghaedhilg dá réir ní hea, ach is amhlaidh a bheadh na prínsiobail sin éiríthe suas chugainn as an obair a bheadh deunta. Mar ní do réir mar is maith linne a fhásan teanga ach do réir mar is maith léi féin agus san dár n-aindeoin pe aca pídráistí sinn nó a malairt.  
TADGH O CIANÁIN.

Self-Determination

HOW IRELAND LED THE WORLD.

The first record of a mandate of independence granted by a powerful nation to a subject race dates from the Convention of Drumcath, held in Derry about the year 590, and was the gift of the Irish people to their Scotch colony. It is a goodly heritage for us who stand in the fighting line for Ireland to-day to remember that when we as a nation had it in our absolute power to continue to hold the unwilling Scotch as our subject colony—nay, more when it was entirely to our material advantage to do so—that we replied to their first demand for independence neither by a refusal nor by any act of war, but by inviting them to a National Conference to discuss their claims.

St. Columcille came with the Scotch colonists from Scotland to be their advocate, and in the course of his powerful appeal for the freedom of that small nation he said, after acknowledging the material advantages which the holding of Scotland meant to Ireland: "But if you would cherish liberty and learning, if you would secure for yourselves trustworthy allies . . . then break to-day the shackles that have for too long bound your kinsmen in Scotland." Beside him as he spoke stood Aidan, King of the Scotch, with his great Court and delegation, and opposite him Aodh, son of Ainmore, High King of Ireland surrounded by the provincial Kings and Hereditary Princes of Ireland with their Courts, among whom were Crionhthann Cearr, King of Leinster, Tollann, son of Scannlan, son of Ceannfulardh, King of Osráige; Maulduin, son of Aodh Beannain, King of West Munster; Finghin, son of Aodh, son of Crionhthann, King of all Munster; Crionhthann Deilgneach, King of the South of Ireland; Guaire, son of Colman, from the Kingdom of Clann Fiachrach, South and North; Raghallach, son of Uadaidh, who was King of Tuath Tuaidhion and of Breithech Uí Ruairc as far as Clannach Mòdhairn; Ceallach, son of Ceinnach, son of Dubh Dothra, King of Breithech Uí Raghallach; Congiálach Chinn Maghair, King of Tír Chonaill; the two Kings of Oirghiall, to wit, Daimhin, son of Aonghus, from Clach Deasa to Fionncharn, on Sliabh Fuar; Aodh, son of Duach Galach from Fionncharn on Slabh Fuar to the Boinn and very many other princes and nobles of Ireland. The result of the conference which, in the discussion of this and other National matters, lasted for 14 months, was, as already indicated, the grant of complete independence to the Scottish King and colony, and the two Kingdoms thereupon entered into a solemn covenant to be allies and friends for all time.

The circumstances under which the great Convention came into being are of peculiar national interest, but the details are unfortunately lost in obscurity, many of the ancient histories such as Keating's, Father O'Doherty's Magee's and Columcille's lives differing considerably in their accounts. From a careful perusal, however, and comparison of the available authorities the following facts are clearly established. First with regard to the history of the Scotch Dal Riadan colony it is stated in the preface to the Amhra "The Dal Riada were those about whom there was a contention between

the men of Alba and the men of Erin; because they were both of the race of Cairbre Ríghfada, that is, of the men of Munster. For upon the occasion of a great famine which came upon Munster the descendants of Cairbre Ríghfada left it, and one part of them went to Alba, and the other party staid in Erin, from whom are the Dalriada at this day. They took root afterwards in those territories, till the time of Aedhan Mac Gabhráin, King of Alba, and of Aedh Mac Ainmore, King of Erin. And a contest arose between those two kings about them: And that was one of the three causes for which Columcille came to Erin, to make peace between the men of Erin and the men of Alba. When he came to the meeting Colman, son of Congellan, accompanied him, and Colman was requested to give judgment between the men of Erin and Alba."

The time when these Irish colonists went into Scotland is estimated about A.D. 506, and with them went some of the family of Eirc, son of Munreambar, from the country now known as Antrim. The first Irish, however, probably crossed about A.D. 258. They attained the lordship and nominal kingship of Scotland, but until the time of Aidan or Aedhan never claimed independence, paying all that time the tribute which had been enacted on them by Ireland. This was the raising of an army by land and sea, also the payment of an airic to the King of Ireland. Other authorities say they paid yearly 7 shields, 7 steeds, 7 bondsmen, 7 bondswomen, 7 hounds all of the same breed. Aedan, however, who was the first of the Dalriadan princes to show any marked ability, claimed independence and won it the year after he succeeded to the throne. In this all the ancient accounts agree, the Abbe Mac Geoghegan, for instance, in his History of Ireland, says: "With respect to the monarch's (Aodh's) claim for Albanis St. Columcille influenced him to abandon it, and the two princes separated in peace. According to one of the ancient accounts it was Colman, son of Congellan, who was ordered by Columcille to pronounce final judgment between the nations, others, however, maintain it was St. Columcille himself who, having won the consent of the Irish, made the formal Declaration of Independence. However this may be the following details are said to have been agreed upon at the Convention: 'Their expeditions and hostings to be with the men of Erin always, for hostings always belong to the parent stock. Their tributes and gains and shipping, to be with the men of Alba. And when one of the men of Erin or Alba should come from the East, Dal Riada to entertain them, whether few or many; and the Dal Riada to convey them on if they require it.'

King Aedhan, for whose independence the Irish national saint fought so hard, was one of the first kings of whose anointing there is any record, and he was anointed by St. Columcille himself, who, as Abbot of Iona and first bringer of the Faith to Scotland, took precedence of all Scottish Bishops. St. Columcille was apparently an ardent advocate for the independence of nations, and according to Father D'Alton's History of Ireland "The Abbot knew the difficulties with which he (Aedhan) was surrounded in his Caledonian possessions, that he was encompassed by powerful enemies—the Northern and Southern Picts—and that against these enemies he could never make headway if kept in a position of dependence and tutelage, hampered by a yearly tribute to the Irish King. . . . His arguments were convincing, his influence with the Convention was great, and his views prevailed. Aidan was declared independent and he and his people on their side undertook to be always the allies and friends as they were already the relatives of the Irish Monarch."

Father O'Doherty's History says of the Convention: "Scotland and her Irish Colonists were the same to Ireland as the American Colonies were to the British crown. They grew strong and wanted independence which the Irish resisted because of loss of money and prestige." The site of the great Convention was on the banks of the Roe in Derry and was either the long mound sometimes called the Daisy Hill or Mullagh, or in the hill on the opposite side to the Mullagh, called Enagh, a word which in ancient days meant a political assembly. It is certain that all the sides of the hill were covered with the white tents of the Royal and ecclesiastical members of the Conference, of whom St. Columcille brought with him 140, including 20 Bishops. And it was the last of the great National Assemblies of the kind to be held in Ireland.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1920.

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## Current Comments

Mr. Arthur Griffith has sent the following message to Mr. De Valera:—  
"The English Press announces that the English city of Newcastle has decided to adopt Arras in the devastated area of France." The armed forces of England in Ireland are now devastating Irish towns in circumstances of atrocity surpassing those alleged against Germany in Belgium or Turkey in Armenia. Everywhere our people are helping the homeless women and children, but the systematic destruction of factories, workshops, and creameries deprives the men of employment.  
I suggest that, in each State of the Union, our kindred should adopt one of the devastated towns."

Outrages "attributed to Sinn Féin" have become a permanent feature in English propaganda. Anything and everything capable of being construed into an outrage by Sinn Féin gets prominence in the English Press and is at once set flying round the world by England's propaganda agencies. An incident of the kind occurred last week. Unlike a good many similar incidents, this one was immediately contradicted by the party concerned. The propaganda "star" stated that Nurse Crowe, a Protestant, who was nursing Mr. A. Anderson, Victoria Bridge, Tralee, was kidnapped by "Sinn Féiners and Catholics" on Saturday week. Nurse Crowe asserts that neither Sinn Féiners nor Catholics were concerned in the outrage. She was dragged from the house in her night attire and gagged by three men, who took her away in a motor-car. Recent happenings around Ireland would seem to indicate the authors of the outrage on Nurse Crowe.

Neither the English Press nor the English people has changed since Daniel O'Connell uttered these words almost a hundred years ago: "As to English stupidity, it is really becoming proverbial; it is treated by her rulers (sic!) with too little ceremony. The mercenary press which they pay does exhibit, I think, a little too much contempt for the English understanding (sic!). The 'Courier,' for example, begins the week with some egregious lie or other: the writers are aware that its falsehood will be discovered by Thursday; but on Thursday they are prepared with a second lie, which will last till Saturday, when the third is coined; and the English—the most thinking English—swallow, with the same unblinking credulity, the first, second and third of these lies, and are prepared to commence the ensuing week with an unabated appetite for falsehood."

While the remains of Joseph Ahy, who was recently shot dead by English armed forces at Oranmore, were being conveyed on Sunday week to their last resting place a detachment of the same English forces dispersed the mourners at the cemetery, seized twelve bicycles and fired shots into the air.

Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne, was accorded a magnificent reception in London on Thursday last by the Bishops of Portsmouth and Southwark and three hundred priests of the district. While Irish priests were in the majority of those present, a hundred or so of their English brethren joined in the reception—which took the form of a protest against the insult offered by England to the patriotic Archbishop of Melbourne. The enthusiastic reception given to His Grace was wonderful, and the applause at different points of his address showed in unmistakable fashion the esteem in which the Archbishop was held by the priests and prelates of the London dioceses. The chair was taken by the Most Rev. Dr. Cotter (Portsmouth), and there were also present the Most Rev. Dr. Amigo (Southwark) and Most Rev. Dr.

Browne (Cloyne), Rt. Rev. Mgr. O'Grady (one of the secretaries of the meeting) read a number of apologies for absence. Cardinal Bourne's secretary wrote that his Eminence was out of town for the present, and would not be back before Saturday. The Archbishop of Adelaide (Most Rev. Dr. Spence, O.P.), while regretting being unable to be present, wrote:—  
"I shall be there in spirit and shall heartily join in any protest that may be made against the indignity and insult offered to his Grace by the Government of England."

Apologies were also received from the Most Rev. Dr. Barry (Archbishop of Hobart), Rt. Rev. Mgr. Brown, Vicar-General of Southwark; Mgr. Burton Brown, of Oxford; and about a hundred others. A telegram from the Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty (Killaloe) was received with prolonged applause. It read:—

Respectful compliments to Dr. Mannix, persecuted Athanasius of our day, but glory of our Church and race. All true Churchmen applaud his undaunted advocacy of truth and liberty. Hope Lloyd George is happy with his Vatican prisoner in Hammersmith."

The Bishop of Portsmouth, who received an enthusiastic welcome, referred to the occasion as one of the proudest moments in his life. This mark of esteem, declared the Most Rev. Dr. Cotter, was the outcome of the outraged feelings of their Catholic house. By it they wanted to give honor and respect, where by a blundering mistake certain politicians had succeeded only in signalling their own misconception of the public mind by bringing about the restriction of his Grace's liberty. "We are here," continued his Lordship, "Irish and English—English, who are as proud of their country as we are of ours; who love their country as truly as we love ours—I speak in the name of both Irish and English priests, because the invitations to this reception were sent to all, irrespective of nationality." That act of brigandage—for he could not call it anything else—on the high seas had not extinguished the glory of the light that followed his Grace from the day he left Australia. My wishes are, said the Bishop of Portsmouth (turning towards the Archbishop) that you will continue in the way you have gone—a remark which was received with loud and prolonged applause—retaining the love and gratitude of the people, not only of Australia, but of the whole world over. Concluding, his Lordship announced that at the close of the proceedings the following telegram would be sent to the Sovereign Pontiff:—

"Most Holy Father, the Bishop of Portsmouth, Canon from six dioceses in the neighbourhood of London, and over 300 priests of the diocese of Westminster, Southwark, Portsmouth, and Brentwood, assembled in Cannon Street Hotel, London, to meet the Archbishop of Melbourne and to express their regard for his Grace as a prelate whose splendid life is one of the glories of the Church to-day, humbly offer to your Holiness their filial and loyal obedience and homage and beg your Holiness's Apostolic Benediction."

In the course of his reply, Dr. Mannix said that truly a meeting like that made amends for any indignity that had been put upon him by the English Government. "Under that indignity, such as it is, I remain unchanged and unrepentant," said his Grace, amidst a great outburst of cheering. "I have lost no friend whose friendship I value, and I have made no enemies but the enemies of my country," he declared. Later in his address the Archbishop said there had been no loss of dignity except on the part of the English Government, and he added that if he were "a well-disposed Orangeman," he would not merely be allowed to enter Ireland, but arms would probably be put in his hands. If he were not Archbishop of

Melbourne, but were a Mr. Hardy, who endeavoured to get certain Sinn Féin leaders to commit outrageous crimes in Ireland for the purpose of bringing them into the jails of England, and who ought to be in jail, but who was let out—if he were Hardy he could enter and leave Ireland freely, and the navy would never be mobilised in order to catch him.

Continuing, Dr. Mannix said that a Government capable of treating a man like Hardy as he had been treated, and treating him (the Archbishop) as he had been treated, reflected no credit on the British Empire, and the sooner the members of such a Government were replaced, the better it would be for the British Empire in the eyes of the whole world. They had heard a great deal about the freedom of the seas during war time. England, he believed, was not greatly in favour of the freedom of the seas, but they had brought it home to him (laughter). He had the freedom of nearly all the cities in Ireland, and he was a freeman of New York and other cities in the U.S., and although he did not want to boast of it, he added, amidst laughter, he was actually Chaplain-General of His Majesty's Forces, and yet, with the freedom of cities and with his chaplain-generalising, while in England Liverpool was out of bounds.

Further in his speech the Archbishop said that when he had asked that the principles laid down by President Wilson and endorsed by England when she wanted America's help should be applied to Ireland—then he became a traitor (laughter). The "not was, he was logical while the "not was not. Since he had been in England he had been approached to give the Irish people a lead. He had no message to Ireland. If he went to Ireland he would go there to promote peace, but when he was kept out of touch with those whose opinions he was supposed to share he refused to say anything whatever from the Irishman's point of view. There would be people who would be glad to use even a word from the Sovereign Pontiff for political purposes. The only time they had respect for the Pope or an Archbishop was when they thought that the Pope or an Archbishop could be cajoled into saying what would be of help to them. "I respect the English people," he went on. "I admire the English people. I value their good qualities—and they have many—but if I admired them ten times as much I would still refuse to shut my eyes to the outrages being committed in Ireland under the flag of England" (applause). He was not one who was prepared to say, "My country, right or wrong."

He was prepared to do honour to England and the flag so long as the Empire was just and the flag stood for justice, but would anyone stand up and tell him it did not cover the atrocities and outrages in Ireland which made the whole world stand aghast at the tragedies of Ireland at the present moment? He had not read anything more callous or cruel than to ask the Lord Mayor of Cork on his death-bed to prevent murders or outrages—for which he is not responsible—in exchange for his life. What makes the thing more saddening and more atrocious is that the Prime Minister, or those who are around him, should ask for a guarantee from the Lord Mayor of Cork while they are unable or unwilling to guarantee themselves that there will not be outrage and murder on their own side.

Referring to English professions and performances, the Archbishop of Melbourne said:—"No one would place any more reliance on the word of a Cabinet Minister than they would on the painted racehorse they had been reading about." His impression was that with such peace as he had suggested, England, if she should find herself in difficulty of engaged in a

just cause, might look to Ireland regenerated with as much confidence as she could look to France, Italy, or any of the other Allies in the late war. Referring again to the promises made to Ireland at the beginning of the war, his Grace reminded his audience that it was said that England would practise what it preached when Germany was defeated. Well, Germany had been defeated, and Ireland had got Brixton and Balbriggan. He did not place the blame for the outrages committed against Ireland on the shoulders of English soldiers and police, but on those who sent them there.

"If I have sinned this afternoon," concluded his Grace, "I have a whole catalogue of sins behind me. But whether the people say that I have sinned or not, I stand by every word I have spoken to you. I was a free man when I left Australia, and I hope to be a free man when I leave you. I remain an Irishman in spite of being an Archbishop."

As a Republican Court was assembling at Lutton, Currickmacross, on Monday week, a detachment of English military and police raided the Courthouse, took the names of the officials present and all the books and documents on the premises, and dispersed the people. We understand that the cases listed for hearing by the Court have since been disposed of in another place.

The Kildare Republican Sessions which sat last week as usual disposed of a big list of petty cases. Shortly after the termination of the Court, a large body of English troops arrived on the scene with the amiable intention, no doubt, of helping to preserve "law and order" in their own inimitable way. The English forces in their search for the Republican Court also visited the Workhouse and the Lunatic Asylum.

On Thursday week a Republican Court was held at Westport and disposed of many cases.

A large number of cases were heard by a Republican Court which sat last Wednesday in the New Hall, Ballyhannis. The litigants were professionally represented, and the decision of the Court in each case gave satisfaction to all concerned.

At a Republican Court held in Dublin on Thursday last four men, who had been arrested the previous day by Republican police were tried and convicted of participation in a series of burglaries in the city. All the parties, who admitted their guilt, were ordered to be deported for periods of five years to 12 months. In addition to deportation two of the prisoners were each sentenced to twelve strokes of the cat. In the pocket of one of the prisoners the R.P. found a photograph of the four. Written on the back of the photograph were the following inscriptions: "The Sons of Dawn, 1919, 1920," and "The Boys of Dublin."

A Republican Court sat recently in North Longford and decided in favour of Major L. Dopping Hopenstal, R.E., Derrycaisson, in a case in which John McGuinness and Patrick Doherty sought a declaration entitling them to ownership of a farm in Derrycaisson. The case had been referred to Dail Eireann, which advised that the claims be dismissed. The President in dismissing the claims put forward, stated that the decision of Dail Eireann coincided with the opinion of the Court.

The Republican Police in Co. Kilkenny have recovered and restored to Major and Mrs. Humphries, Talbot's Inch, a large quantity of property recently stolen from them. The stolen goods included many valuable articles, such as a silver-plated coffee pot, silver cake basket, clock, blankets, linen, etc. The R.P. also succeeded in recovering valuables stolen from the residence of Major W. P. Joyce, Sion

House, and two sheep stolen from the lands of Baroness Prochnazka, Lezraich.

Volunteers in Robertstown, Co. Kildare, recently recovered and assigned to rightful owner a sum of £35 lost in the post between Dublin and Allenwood.

A large number of cases came up for hearing at Parish and District Republican Courts held in Prosperous, Co. Kildare, on Friday week. The courts were open to the public, and two members of the legal profession appeared as advocates. In a case brought by a farmer against another for trespass of live stock, and in which application was made for damages in respect of injury caused to complainant's mare through being kicked by defendant's horse, defendant was ordered to repair his portion of the fence, and also to pay £5 (compensation in respect of the injury to complainant's mare).

A case against a local publican for a breach of the closing order was adjourned for a month.

In a case in which a mother-in-law applied to have her son and his wife bound over to be of good behaviour in consequence of alleged assaults, violating an agreement giving her a right of residence, the defendants did not appear, and the Court adjourned the case and issued a warning to defendant to be of good behaviour at the next sitting.

At the District Court a case was called in which a farmer sought possession of a field from another farmer. There was no appearance on behalf of plaintiff, and defendant's solicitor having stated the nature of the case showing that his client was in possession of the field under the eleven months' system till December next, he was allowed two guineas costs and one guinea expenses against the plaintiff.

In a similar application against the same defendant the plaintiff also failed to appear, but the Court refused an application for costs against him and ordered a valuation of the field in question to be made by a person appointed, holding that defendant purchased it under value on promising to assist complainant in getting outdoor relief, he (defendant) being then a District Councillor. The President described the contract thus made as against public policy.

Holding that defendant had not received notice of the sitting, a case to prepare his defence, the Court adjourned for a month a case in which a Co. Kildare farmer claimed £100 damages against a neighbouring farmer in respect of the latter's refusal while acting in the capacity of dog bouncer on the estate on which they lived to allot plaintiff a turf bank, to which he held a right by an order of the Land Commission made twenty years ago, his old bank in the meantime having become exhausted.

An ex-soldier, who on refusing to pay a fine imposed on him by a Republican Court held recently in Tralee, was sent to prison, has since been released, his wife paying the fine and getting the windows he had broken repaired.

We referred last week to the columns of abuse published in the London "Observer" on the Irish Language. Professor Zimmermann in less than a quarter of a column in reply wipes out his assailants. He writes:—

Sir,—I am glad that my letter drawing attention to the prohibition of "Irish language festivals," and similar ostensibly cultural gatherings has attracted the interest of your correspondents, none of whom, I notice, contradict the facts that I cited. Let me assure your correspondent, Mr. J. H. Fisher, that I am the last man to argue that a conspiracy which is criminal

when carried on in the English language would become innocent and privileged if carried on in Irish. I would only argue that to suppress meetings beforehand because they are announced to be carried on in a language other than English savours of Prussian rather than of English methods.

Mr. Fisher wholly misunderstands what I mean by the "de-anglicisation" of Ireland, but I cannot stay to argue with him. He has the consolation of being in good company; for the great Lord Durham believed that French-Canada should, and would, inevitably become de-anglicized, and, thereby, more contented with British supremacy. The idea of the Empire as a Commonwealth of diverse nations and cultures belongs to a later generation than that of the Victorian Imperialists and, I am afraid, of some of the present rulers of Ireland. Dearly should I love to discuss with some of your other correspondents the future of what one of them calls "the fossil speeches." But space forbids. Don Miguel de Kussmano, probably the most distinguished living speaker of Basque, assured me a month or two ago that he regarded his native language as doomed and did not regret it. Welsh, on the other hand, is very much alive. Whether Irish has a future no outsider can say: all I ask for it is a fair field, without the handicap of the corrupting advertisement of persecution.—Yours, etc.

ALFRED A. ZIMMERN.

Sarhilton, September 23.  
To that the Editor appends the following note:—"We cannot continue this correspondence." A wise Imperialist!

Professor Skelton, of Queen's University, Canada, writing on Ireland, said in part:—

"The resistance to British authority is no mere fish in the pan, but resolute, persistent and increasingly successful. The recent local elections revealed how low the remnant in favour of the present relationship had shrunk; the Unionists, under a fair system of proportional representation, secured only one-eighth of the seats. In what country is unanimity on any vital question so nearly complete as in Ireland?"

"The world's conscience supports Ireland's demand for freedom. The elementary facts cannot too often be recalled that Ireland is a country which was conquered by England; that in their long centuries of probation the conquerors have neither been able to win Ireland to English rule nor willing to let her rule herself; that in Ireland the consciousness of a distinct nationality has withstood penal laws and emancipation, economic oppression and land reform, famine and prosperity; and that in every end and corner of Europe claims far less than hers have found backing and won through to complete recognition. On what ground can the self-determination which was preached by the Allies be refused to Ireland? Strategic considerations? This is in plain English to assert the right of a big country to seize or hold a smaller neighbour's territory if found useful for its defence—an assertion which would justify Italy's occupation of Albania, or Germany's seizure of Holland, or England's reoccupation of Cuba. 1914 taught that 'Belgium is not a road; it is a country'; 1920 is teaching that Ireland is not a naval base; it is a country. The ports of a free and friendly Ireland would be less dangerous to England than the ports of Ireland repressed and hostile. Ulster? That depends upon what Ulster wants. The garrison ascendancy it once enjoyed is gone. Freedom and equality may have. Doubtless it is not easy to work out security and ally bitterness, but it has been done elsewhere, and in any case the bitterness has in no small part been created and aggravated by British politicians from Randolph Churchill to F. E. Smith, and will lessen as they cease to meddle, and as new social issues cut across the old religious and sectional divisions. Ulster needs the rest of Ireland, and all Ireland needs Ulster. Fortunately there is no difference of race to overcome; Ireland is extraordinarily homogeneous in race, south and west."

"The rate of interest on these loans was fixed at 8 per cent., but the borrowing Governments have asked that it be funded on a three-year basis, and the matter is not yet settled."

In addition to the loans made by the U.S. Government under authority from Congress, the British and French Governments obtained a joint loan in America through J. P. Morgan and Co. early in the war of 500,000,000 dollars, repayable in September. The British Government, it is said, has made all the necessary arrangements to meet its obligations, but the French algeability to repay more than 100,000,000 dollars, and according to a despatch in the "Sun-Herald," Mr. Parmentier, Administrator of the French Ministry of Finance, now in New York, has arranged for a loan for the balance of 150,000,000 dollars with American banks. The period is said to be for 18 years at 8 per cent.

An Ard-Sgoil Ulach, as announced in our advertising columns, will open on Friday, 1st October. The classes will meet in the Christian Brothers' Schools, Donegall Street, Belfast, the use of which has been kindly granted pending the acquisition of permanent premises. The classes will, as in former years, be under the personal supervision of Father Toal, whose method of teaching Irish is being rapidly being adopted all over the country. Intending students should endeavour to be present at the opening meeting. The prospectus

We are asked by Councillor Doyle to acknowledge the many messages of sympathy which have reached him in connection with his bereavement.

In connection with the Touberan Tuilba, or Feis, held at Liscaunor, Co. Clare, last week a unique feature, in addition to the literary and athletic programme, was a spinning tournament. There were some seventy spinning wheels entered for the tournament. Of these 73 were woollen, and one linen. The Rev. P. A. Sharkey, of Liscaunor, is anxious to get into touch with those in a position to help to revive the spinning of the district and to organize it in industrial lines, and would appreciate information on the subject of its practical possibilities.

The members of the Four Mile Water Sinn Fein Club have pledged themselves to buy Irish goods in future and have sent a deputation to local traders to get them to arrange to co-operate in meeting the demand for our native manufactures. The other clubs in the district have been invited to join in the movement, which is timely when the Boycott of Belfast goods is possibly used as an excuse for smoking English cigarettes.

The great indebtedness of Europe to the United States is the principal cause of the rise in dollar currency. That indebtedness is partly commercial and partly financial. The size of the commercial debt is not known definitely. The financial debts are as follows according to "Harvey's Weekly," of August 28th, which has published, on official authority, a full statement up to July 28th of the present year, from April 4th, 1918, of the credits and cash advanced by the United States Government to its various associates in the late war. The statement of America's account against the Associated Governments runs as following under the heading of "Established Credits":—

	Dollars.
Great Britain	4,277,000,000
France	3,047,974,777
Italy	1,696,280,179
Belgium	350,428,793
Russia	187,729,759
Czechoslovakia	67,329,941
Greece	48,236,629
Serbia	26,789,465
Romania	25,000,000
Cuba	10,000,000
Liberia	5,000,000
Total	9,711,739,634

In addition to the Established Credits given the above-mentioned Governments, money advanced to the amount of 9,534,622,943 dollars were made to them. In this way the United States has become a creditor of Europe to the tune of 19,246,361,680 dollars.

	Dollars.
Great Britain	64,164,067
France	12,147,000
Romania	1,794,180
Serbia	605,325
Cuba	500,000
Belgium	10,000
Total	79,220,519

In addition to the loans made by the U.S. Government under authority from Congress, the British and French Governments obtained a joint loan in America through J. P. Morgan and Co. early in the war of 500,000,000 dollars, repayable in September. The British Government, it is said, has made all the necessary arrangements to meet its obligations, but the French algeability to repay more than 100,000,000 dollars, and according to a despatch in the "Sun-Herald," Mr. Parmentier, Administrator of the French Ministry of Finance, now in New York, has arranged for a loan for the balance of 150,000,000 dollars with American banks. The period is said to be for 18 years at 8 per cent.

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containing information regarding times of class meetings, fees, certificates, etc., may be had, on application, from the Secretary, 143 Albert Street, Belfast.

The parting address of the French monarch, to the Irish Brigade is worthy of quotation to-day when the people and Press of France are taking such a deep interest in the affairs of Ireland. The address is as follows:—"We acknowledge, gentlemen, the invaluable services which France, during the lengthened period of one hundred years, has received from the Irish Brigade; services which we shall never forget, though totally unable to repay. Receive this standard, a pledge of our remembrance, a token of our admiration and respect; and this, generous Hibernians, shall be the motto of your spotless colours: '1692-1792; Semper et ubique fideles!'" (Always and everywhere faithful).

## Ancient Irish Learning

### II.

Not only were the old Irish nobility, gentry, and people in general, lovers of their native language and literature and patrons of literary men, but even the great Anglo-Norman nobles themselves who effected a permanent settlement among us, appear from the first to have adopted what doubtless must have seemed to them the better manners, customs, language, and literature of the natives; and not only did they munificently patronise their professors, but became themselves proficient in these studies; so that the Geraldines, the Butlers, the Burkes, the Keatings, and others, thought, spoke, and wrote in the Gaelic, and stored their libraries with choice and expensive volumes in that language; and they were reproached by their own compatriots with having become "ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores." "More Irish than the Irish themselves." So great indeed was the value in those days set on literary and historical documents by chiefs and princes, that it has more than once happened that a much-prized MS. was stipulated ransom of a captive, and became the object of a tedious warfare; and this state of things continued to exist for several centuries, even after the whole framework of Irish society was shaken to pieces by the successive invasions of the Danes, the Norsemen, and the Anglo-Normans, followed by the Elizabethan, Cromwellian and Williamite wars and confiscations, and accompanied by the ever-increasing dissensions of the native princes among themselves, disunited as they were ever after the fall of the supreme monarchy at the close of the twelfth century.

With the dispersion of the native chiefs, not a few of the great books that had escaped the wreck of time were altogether lost to us; many followed the exiled fortunes of their owners; and not a few were placed in inaccessible security at home. Indeed, it may be said that after the termination of the great wars of the seventeenth century, so few and inaccessible were the examples of the old Gaelic literature, that it was almost impossible to acquire a perfect knowledge of the language in its purity.

With such various causes, active and long-continued, in operation to effect its destruction, there is reason for wonder that we should still be in possession of any fragments of the ancient literature of our country, however extensive it may once have been. And that it was extensive, and comprehended a wide range of subjects—justifying the expressions of the old writers who spoke of "the hosts of the books of Erin"—may be judged from those which have survived the destructive ravages of invasion, the accidents of time, and the other causes just enumerated. When we came to inquire concerning the fragments which exist in England and elsewhere, they will be found to be still of very large extent; and if we judge the value and proportions of the original literature

of our Gaelic ancestors, as we may fairly do, by what remains of it, we may be justly excused the indulgence of no small feeling of national pride.

Notwithstanding, however, the irremediably loss of the before-named books there still exists an immense quantity of Gaelic writing of great purity, and of the highest value as regards the history of this country. And these MSS. comprise general and national history; civil and ecclesiastical records and abundant materials of genealogy; besides poetry, romance, law, and medicine; and some fragments of tracts on mathematics and astronomy.

The collection in Trinity College consists of over 140 volumes, several of them on vellum, dating from the early part of the twelfth down to the middle of the last century. There are also in this fine collection beautiful copies of the Gospels, known as the Books of Kells, and Durrow, and Dimma's Book, attributable to the sixth and seventh centuries; the Saltair of St. Riemarch, Bishop of St. David's in the eleventh century, containing also an exquisite copy of the Roman Martyrology; and a very ancient ante-Hieronymian version of the Gospels, the history of which is unknown, but which is evidently an Irish MS. of not later than the ninth century; also the Evangelistarium of St. Moling, Bishop of Ferns in the seventh century, with its ancient box, and the fragment of another copy of the Gospels, of the same period, evidently Irish. In the same library will be found, too, the chief body of our more ancient laws and annals; all, with the exception of two tracts, written on vellum; and, in addition to these invaluable volumes, many historical and family poems of great antiquity, illustrative of the battles, the personal achievements, and the social habits of the warriors, chiefs, and other distinguished personages of our early history. There is also a large number of ancient historical and romantic tales, in which all the incidents of war, of love, and of social life in general are portrayed, often with considerable power of description and great brilliancy of language; and there are besides several sacred tracts and poems, amongst the most remarkable of which is the Limer Hymnorum, believed to be more than a thousand years old. The Trinity College collection is also rich in Lives of Irish Saints, and in ancient forms of prayer; and it contains, in addition to all these, many curious treatises on medicine, beautifully written on vellum. Lastly, amongst these ancient MSS. are preserved numerous Ossianic poems relating to the Fenian heroes, some of them of very great antiquity.

The next great collection is that of the Royal Irish Academy, which, though formed at a later period than that of Trinity College, is far more extensive, and taken in connection with the unrivalled collection of antiquities secured to this country by the liberality of this body, forms a national monument of which we may well be proud. It includes some noble old volumes written on vellum, abounding in history as well as poetry; ancient laws, and genealogy; science (for it embraces several curious medical treatises, as well as an ancient astronomical tract); grammar; and romance. There is there also a great body of most important theological and ecclesiastical compositions of the highest antiquity, and in the purest style perhaps that the ancient Gaelic language ever attained.

The most valuable of these are original Gaelic compositions, but there is also a large amount of translations from the Latin, Greek and other languages. A great part of these translations is, indeed, of a religious character, but there are others from various Latin authors, of the greatest possible importance to the Gaelic student of the present day, as they enable him by reference to the originals to determine the value of many now obsolete or obscure Gaelic words and phrases.

Among these later translations into Irish we find an extensive range of subjects in ancient Mythology, Poetry and History, and the Classical Literature of the Greeks and Romans, as well as many copious illustrations of the most remarkable events of the Middle Ages. So that any one well read in the comparatively few existing fragments of our Gaelic literature, and whose education had been confined solely to this source, would find that there were but very few, indeed, of the great events in the history of the

world, the knowledge of which is usually attained through the Classic Languages, or those of the middle ages, with which he was not acquainted. I may mention by way of illustration, the Irish versions of the Argonautic Expedition; the Destruction of Troy; the Life of Alexander the Great; the Destruction of Jerusalem; the Wars of Charlemagne, including the History of Roland the Brave; the History of the Lombards; the almost contemporary translation into Gaelic of the Travels of Marco Polo, etc., etc.

It is quite evident that a Language which has embraced so wide a field of historic and other important subjects must have undergone a considerable amount of development, and must have been at once copious and flexible; and it may be observed, in passing, that the very fact of so much of translation into Irish having taken place, shows that there must have been a considerable number of readers; since men of learning would not have translated for themselves what they could so easily understand in the original.

Passing over some collections of MSS. in private hands at home, I may next notice that of the British Museum in London, which is very considerable and contains much valuable matter; that of the Bodleian Library at Oxford which, though consisting of but about sixteen volumes, is enriched by some most precious books, among which is the copy already alluded to of the remains of the Saltair of Cashel, made in the year 1454; and some two or three works of an older date. Next comes the Stowe collection, now in the possession of Lord Ashburham, and which is tolerably well described in the Stowe Catalogue by the late Rev. Charles O'Connor. There are also in England some other collections in the hands of private individuals, as that of Mr. Joseph Monck Mason in the neighbourhood of London, and that of Sir Thomas Phillips in Worcestershire. The Advocates' Library in Edinburgh contains a few important volumes, some of which are shortly described in the Highland Society's Report on MacPherson's Poems of Ossin, published in 1794.

And passing over to the Continent, in the National or Imperial Library of Paris—which, however, has not yet been thoroughly examined, there will be found a few Gaelic volumes; and in Belgium (between which and Ireland such intimate relations existed in past times)—and particularly in the Burgundian Library at Brussels—there is a very important collection, consisting of a part of the treasures formerly in the possession of the Franciscan College of Louvain, for which our justly celebrated Friar, Michael O'Clery, collected, by transcript and otherwise, all that he could bring together at home of matters relating to the ancient ecclesiastical history of his country.

The Louvain collection formed chiefly, if not wholly, by Fathers Hugh Ward, John Colgan, and Michael O'Clery, between the years 1630 and 1640, appears to have been widely scattered at the French Revolution. For there are in the College of St. Isidore, in Rome, about twenty volumes of Gaelic MSS., which we know at one time to have formed part of the Louvain collection. Among these manuscripts now at Rome are some of the most valuable materials for the study of our language and history—the chief of which is an ancient copy of the *Felire Aengusa*, the Martyrology, or Festology of Aengus C6ile D6 (pron. "Kell D6") incorrectly called Aengus the Culdee, who composed the original of this extraordinary work, partly at *Temhlacht*, now Tallaght, in the county of Dublin, and partly at *Cluain Eidhnech* in the present Queen's County, in the year 798. The collection contains besides the Festology of Cathal M'Guire, a work only known by name to the Irish scholars of the present day; and it includes the autograph of the first volume of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. There is also a copy, or fragment, of the *Liber Hymnorum* already spoken of, and which is a work of great importance to the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland; and besides these the collection contains several important pieces relating to Irish History, of which no copies are known to exist elsewhere. It may be hoped, therefore, that our Holy Father the Pope—who feels such a deep interest in the success of this National Institution (the Catholic University) will at no distant day be pleased to take steps to make these invaluable works accessible to the Irish student, by placing them within the walls of the Catholic University of Ireland, where only they can be made available to the illustration of the early History of the Catholic Faith in this country.

King of Munster. He would have heard how the latter, on the war breaking out again, had sought and found allies in Spain and with them had perished in a night surprise; how his rival, Conn of the Hundred Fights, was slain, in the hundredth year of his age, by a king of Ulster; and how from a king who united the blood of Conn and Eugene were descended the great houses of Munster, those of the Dalcaisian race, as the O'Briens who held sway in Thomond or north Munster, and those of the Eugenic race, as the MacCarthys, who held it for so many years in Desmond or south Munster, and were at last obliged to share it with the Geraldines.

But the records of which every song-loving Gael heard went up to periods long before the Christian Era. He heard how at a time when the bards had long enjoyed the dignities in Christian times bestowed on the clergy, a storm had arisen against this song-church, accused of inordinate wealth and abused power, and for an interval driven into exile. He heard how, earlier still, King Eochy had constituted the five provincial kingdoms, as centuries previously King Ugony More had divided Ireland into twenty-five, for the benefit of his twenty-five sons, compelling his people to swear by the "sun and the moon, the dew, and all elements visible and invisible," that their inheritance should not be taken from them for ever. He heard how Emania, the palace of the Ulster kings, had been built, before the name of Ugony, by Queen Macha, who had compelled rival princes to toil at the foundations, and marked with the point of her torque the spot where the work was to begin. The annalist of Clonmacnoise told him how for 850 years the Red-branch Knights, the great order of Pagan Chivalry, had gone and come out among its halls; how another Queen, Maive, or Maude, who had herself built the Connaught Palace of Crachan, invaded Ulster at the head of her army; how her Gamanradians of Torras had fought with the Red-branch Chivalry; and how, centuries later, the three Collas had burned to the ground that Emania of which the only record remaining was then a lonely rath near Armagh. The chronicler would then have told him that the palace of Tara had been built by King Ollamh Fodhla centuries before even that of Emania had been heard of; that in it, reign after reign, was held the great Triennial Assembly of chiefs, bards, and historians; that each warrior had taken the seat appointed for him beneath his own banner, during deliberations conducted with a solemnity half regal, half sacerdotal; that those assemblies continued to take place till A.D. 554, and that it was deserted for ever in consequence of a malison pronounced against it by St. Radamns, of Lothra. Emania had enjoyed more years of splendour than had elapsed between the first Danish invasion and Queen Elizabeth's wars; yet its greatness was over before Ireland had confessed the Christian Faith. Tara had lasted longer than the whole period of Danish Norman and Saxon wars united; yet the woods had begun to creep over its old rath as many centuries before Henry II. had landed in Ireland as had elapsed between his time and that of the Anglo-Dutch invasion.

Glancing thus back with the bards from epoch to epoch we reach at last the remote one of the Milesian settlement. The most learned among recent antiquarians assure us that a sceptical spirit respecting that settlement is as unphilosophical as a credulous spirit would have been regarded during the last century. They affirm that the whole social system of Ireland having been based upon genealogical claims, her most important institutions were formed for the purpose of recording facts and dates accurately; and they state that the early chronicles are remarkably confirmed by science as regards eclipses, astronomical calculations, etc. It is certain that the Gael ever looked upon this period as the authentic beginning of Irish glories, however problematical her earlier legends might be. Rejecting the claims to a greater antiquity, Charles O'Connor, of Balenagar, assigns to the establishment of the Milesian monarchy in Ireland the date of 760 years before our era, making it thus nearly contemporaneous with the foundation of Rome. A race called Gadelian, or Gaelic, and at a later period called Scotti (as is supposed from their claims to a Scythian descent), migrated to Ireland from Spain under the leadership of the six sons of Milesius, king of that country. Their names were Heber, Hereman, Donn, Colpa, Ib, and Amergin. The brothers founded that Gaelic monarchy which had lasted for nearly 2,000 years when

the mighty Norman race extended its conquests from England to Ireland, a land the political and religious institutions of which had not yet wholly recovered the effects of the Danish invasions.

**CONCILIATION.**

(Continued from page 3).

reported. British police and military "shot up" the village of Emly, Co. Tipperary, in the early hours of the 19th inst. Mr. Higgins' Hotel was damaged and Messrs. Calvert and Lundy's Creamery was forcibly entered and the machinery put out of order. The residences of Mr. M. Donovan and Mr. Phelan were fired into.

Three British policemen entered a publichouse at Killinore, Co. Roscommon, and attacked and beat with their batons three young men who were on the premises. They then opened fire with their revolvers. A man named Murphy was seriously injured.

A young man named Scrahan, of Co. Cavan, has been conveyed to a Dublin hospital suffering from wounds inflicted on him by British military and police who fired at him whilst on his way home from a dance. They shot him after he had put up his hands in response to their challenge.

British troops in full war equipment patrol all the roads leading to the town of Cahir, Co. Tipperary. Pedestrians are held up and searched at the point of the bayonet.

A motor lorry full of British military and police fired their rifles into a playground at Skeheenarinky School, Co. Tipperary, when the children were at play. Further on they shot a donkey and 17 fowls, which they carried away.

On the morning of the 18th inst. British police forcibly entered a garage belonging to Mr. James O'Connor, Bruff, Co. Limerick, and seized his motor car, which they took out on the roadside and burned.

On the night of the 17th inst. British troops at Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, used knives in repulsing a crowd which had collected to watch them cut down a Republican flag. Later an armoured car paraded the town, driving at a furious rate.

Continuing their terrorism of the previous night British military and police swept the streets of Cork on the night of the 18th inst. in armoured cars and lorries shooting down citizens with rifles and machine-guns. No quarter was given, the troops behaving in a particularly callous manner. Over forty persons, including young girls and children, were wounded. The casualty list would have been much higher were it not for the action of the members of the Irish Republican police force who patrolled the streets, and disregarding the obvious risk to their lives, ran to the help of the terrorised people, conducting them to places of safety, and carrying the wounded from the bullet-swept streets.

**Murder:**—In this way John O'Brien, a boy of 18, and a member of the Republican police patrol, met his death. O'Brien had been assisting people to their homes. At the corner of Harley Street he saw an old woman fall and rushed to her assistance. As he stooped to help her up a volley of rifle fire was directed by the troops against him, and he fell mortally wounded.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 21st.**

**Raid:**—The house of Professor Stuckley, Republican Alderman of the Cork Corporation, was raided at 3 a.m. on the 18th inst. A British officer and soldiers broke the gate and entered the house. A sentry with drawn bayonet was posted at the door, while an officer, revolver in hand, rumaged through the Professor's papers and searched the rooms, including the apartments of the ladies of the household.

British military and police overran the Tuam district of Co. Galway on the 20th inst. raiding and searching upwards of 80 houses.

On the same date British military and police, accompanied by armoured cars, raided and searched the districts around Tralee, Co. Kerry. In all, some 150 houses were searched.

On the 16th inst. British police raided and searched nine houses at Curry, Co. Sligo.

On the 20th inst. three motor lorries of British police and military scoured a district in North-West Mayo in an attempt to discover the prison in which Irish Republican Police confined all lawbreakers who had been tried and sentenced by Republican Courts. Over 100 houses were forcibly entered and searched in the search.

**Arrests:**—Since June 26th to date 120 persons have been arrested on the streets of Derry City on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. without the permission of the British military authorities. One of those arrested was a prominent magistrate who was a member of the Conciliation Committee set up to restore order. This Committee is composed of all prominent citizens of Derry irrespective of creed and politics.

Mr. W. Cummins was arrested at Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, by a British military patrol on a charge of carrying a Republican flag.

Mr. B. Nicholson, Republican Chairman of the Tubbercurry Guardians, Co. Sligo, was arrested on the 18th inst. by a British military patrol while cycling near Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo.

**Proclamations and Suppressions:**—British military occupied the Village Hall at Mountcollins, Co. Limerick, and prevented all public functions from being held there.

Following the proclamation of Curfew law in Cork the Competent British military authority has prohibited the holding, or taking part in meetings, assemblies or processions within the area prescribed by the Curfew Order.

This order will affect Hurling and Football matches and several other outdoor fixtures.

**Armed Assaults:**—At 8 p.m. on the 19th inst. two British policemen were shot by unknown persons at Dunmore, 3 miles from Tuam, Co. Galway. At 5 a.m. on the following morning—nine hours afterwards—uniformed British police, numbering from 50 to 100, issued from their barracks in Tuam and attacked the unsuspecting town, burning and wrecking the property of

innocent citizens to the extent of £100,000. They marched fully armed through the streets, indiscriminately discharging volleys into private residences and throwing hand grenades and incendiary bombs into the principal business houses. They smashed their way into public houses and looted and drank their contents; they set the premises on fire. They then proceeded to fire many houses. As the inhabitants tried to escape from the buildings they were shot at and forced to go back into the flames. The Town Hall was wrecked with bombs and burned to the ground, as was also Aldergoole Sinn Fein Hall, and the premises of Messrs. Canney, Drapers, where £20,000 worth of property was destroyed. Other premises seriously damaged by fire were those of Messrs. John Burke, J. Nobilly, Fahey, O'Connor and Waldron. People who endeavoured to extinguish the flames were deliberately shot at. The local doctor was threatened with death on his venturing to take the fire hose to Messrs. Canney's shop.

Where houses were not bombed or burned the police smashed windows and doors and riddled the rooms with bullets. Only an occasional house in the whole of the town escaped damage of some sort. Many houses bear the marks of at least fifty bullets. Young men known to be Republicans were dragged out of bed and were threatened of being shot. In places where the men were not to be found the police terrorised their womenfolk and children and contented themselves

with wrecking and looting the premises. Several citizens captured and about to be shot by the police were rescued at the last moment.

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MARTIN MURPHY, having purchased the interest of the old-established and flourishing provision business carried on by John Clarke, South Richmond Street—who has gone into the wholesale trade exclusively at No. 3 Crampton Quay—wishes to notify his many friends that the business in future will be carried on by him under his own supervision, that he will stock none but the choicest selected goods at prices consistent with same.

Your kind patronage will be appreciated.

**The Late Patrick Lynch, Hospital**



**APPEAL.**

At a meeting of the priests and people of Hospital held recently it was decided to form a committee to appeal to the general public to raise a Testimonial for the dependants of the late Mr. Patrick Lynch, of Hospital, County Limerick.

The tragic facts as to how poor Lynch met his untimely end are still fresh in the public mind, and it is only necessary to here quote from the verdict of the Coroner's Jury that he was unlawfully brought from his home by armed military and wilfully and foully murdered by said forces.

The priests and people of Hospital deem it a duty upon themselves to appeal to the good and generous people of Ireland to give to the object the support it richly deserves, and although there are numerous pressing calls of late on the people of the country still we feel confident that our appeal will be answered with a true spirit throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Mr. Lynch was the sole and absolute support of his aged father and three sisters, who are now, to use a common phrase, "thrown on the world," and it is, of course, utterly impossible to make good the irreparable loss they have sustained, but, however, the duty devolves on us to alleviate their sufferings to the best of our power and hence this appeal made with all the earnestness at our command.

Subscriptions will be gratefully received by any of the undersigned and duly acknowledged.

Rev. D. RYAN, C.C., President, JOHN O'NEILL and MICHAEL O'HALLORAN, Hon. Treas., THOS. WALSH, Junr., and PATRICK O'MAHONY, Hon. Secs., Hospital.

4. How to stimulate production. And what results can one expect to be derived from more active and methodical working of the collieries?

5. To what extent can the bogs be relied on to supplement the coal supply?

6. What water-power reserves does Ireland dispose of?

7. If the resources of Ireland in fuel and water-power were normally exploited, would she remain dependant on imported coal? And if, for a long time yet, she must import it, by what quantity could that importation be diminished?

8. In so far as Ireland is compelled to buy coal from foreign collieries, is it necessarily on England that she is to depend?

These searching questions give a good idea of the thorough nature of the book and the keen and wide analysis of our position at the hands of this scientific investigator. As he writes on p. 11: "In studying these diverse problems, we have not aimed to produce a purely technical work, scientific and commercial in character, but a question of geography and economic history. We have wished to, for an example: in reference to fuel, whether the economic dependence of Ireland in regard to England is natural and unchangeable, and whether it is the cause or the effect of political dependence."

In connection with the coal question, the supply of peat is also considered. We wonder how many could tell off-hand what are the principal peat-producing countries of the world. M. Georges Franche answers the question thus:—"To the foreigner, the most celebrated bogs are those of Ireland, Russia, Hanover, Denmark, Sweden, in Europe." We are indebted to Xavier Moisan for this quotation. Let it be observed that Ireland comes first in this enumeration. From this one can judge that we have an international reputation for our bogs, which have been so neglected, and which we regard almost without any interest or attention. Obviously the countries for us to study in regard to the peat question are Denmark, Hanover, and Sweden, leaving Russia out of it for the present, because the latter country possesses a very good substitute for coal in her great oil wells, providing liquid fuel for her whole railway system.

We might here note that there appears to be an omission of the word million on p. 44. The bogs of Ireland, according to Sir Richard Sankley's estimate, contain an equivalent to 5,104,000 million tons of coal. The only other printing adjustment which we have noticed is that of Mont Mellay on p. 48, apparently intended for Melleray.

A very interesting chapter in the book is that on the water-power of Ireland. The author points out the bearing of re-afforestation on the supply of hydro-electric power. In cutting down our forests the English have done great injury to the basins and other water sheds of the rivers. The writer gives an effective answer to those who have belittled and cried down the water-power resources of our country. He points out, in addition to the rivers like the Shannon, Erne, Corrib, Bann and others, the lakes of the mountainous regions of Donegal, Conemaar, Kerry, and Wicklow, are capable themselves of being converted into main sources of hydraulic power. Particularly in Donegal and Kerry the rains are abundant; the mean rainfall is 60 inches on the hills of Donegal and 70 inches in Kerry. A number of these lakes are capable of producing more than one thousand horse-power, says Xavier Moisan. So that in the wilds of Donegal, Conemaar and Kerry there exists a natural source of power which can be utilised instead of English coal, which cannot be transported to these regions except at great expense.

The second book (it is divided into books or "livres") is given to the question of the Crown revenues. The third book is a study of the Union in its financial aspects. The fourth book is on the subject of the banks, which are analysed at length. The tables are constructed so as to show the various headings of the accounts for a long series of years for each bank, and there is a general summary covering them all. These chapters are worthy of the most careful study, as they include a great deal of information on an important subject, which, perhaps, is better understood in France than in most countries.

Finally, we have in book five a sketch of history proving the wonderful vitality of the Irish nation, which has withstood the indirect attempts at extermination, followed by direct action, the plantations, Cromwell, the Penal Laws—and whatever the historian of the future may call the present regime.

## The Royal Bank of Ireland

Nearly a million more deposits and considerably more than a million increase in advances are two excellent features in the balance-sheet of the Royal. For a bank which provides accommodation for the metropolitan area and suburbs exclusively, this is an excellent record, and proves that business is certainly prosperous and more plentiful within the city and its environs. In proportion to its branches the Royal appears to have won a larger share of increased deposits than any other bank in Ireland. The following table shows the growth of its business in the past year—

	Year Ending August 31, 1920.	
	Assets.	Inc. or Dec. over last year.
Loans	£ 2,881,000	+ 1,178,000
Cash	161,000	- 117,000
Investments	1,020,000	+ 100,000
Premises	42,000	+ 4,000
	4,704,000	+ 965,000

The increase in the accommodation by way of advances principally with a small discount business amounts to the great figure of £1,178,000. Last year the loans reached £1,703,000, so that there has been the unprecedented increase of seventy per cent. in one year in the proportion of its resources placed by the bank at the disposal of its customers.

The investments are less by a clean one hundred thousand. This subject of investing money is a very puzzling business for a bank. Last year, under the Chairmanship of Sir James Murphy, the Board issued a report in which all the investments were expressed as valued at market prices as they stood on August 30. That was last year. This year we are presented with a quite different appraisal of values. The investments are returned as "British Government Securities, including War issues at cost—£1,436,129." This is not the method adopted last year of writing down investments to the prices current in the market at the date of making up the accounts. The meaning of this manoeuvre requires a careful examination. It is, of course, well known that the price of British Securities has depreciated, and as it is evident that the Royal had purchased its present holdings prior to August of last year, the effect of placing them in the report at cost instead of market prices is to put them in at an appreciation which has not occurred. This manoeuvre is apparently intended to cover a loss on the sales of some stocks, which appear to have been realised during the year. This method is not to be commended, and it is not a good start for the new Chairman, Mr. M. Barrington Jellett.

Liabilities.	
Capital and Reserves	£ 880,000 + 17,000
Superannuation Fund	— 23,000
Undivided Profits	15,000
Deposits	4,389,000 + 971,000
	4,704,000 965,000

The capital and reserves stood at £521,000 six years ago. Last year they had fallen to £363,000, as a result of large sums being written off the reserves in order to make good the heavy depreciation of British securities. The bank is now recovering a slight portion of the lost reserves, but this remark must be qualified by what has been said on the subject of the fictitious appreciation of the investments, a manoeuvre which gives a higher reserve than is actually warranted by the market value of the Royal investments.

The increase in the deposits is, we believe the highest in the history of the bank, and few financial institutions of eighty-four years' standing can boast an accession of nearly thirty per cent. to its deposits and accounts in one year. The bank did not appear to suffer any loss of prestige from the rigorous writing down of its investments last year, and it is evident that honesty is the best policy, even in framing a balance-sheet.

In order to judge the real progress of a bank, it is necessary to compare the percentages of accommodation and investments from year to year.

Year	Loans.		Investments.	
	Per cent. of Resources.	Per cent. of Resources.	Per cent. of Resources.	Per cent. of Resources.
August 31, 1914	50.9	34.0	50.9	34.0
" " 1917	55.07	31.72	55.07	31.72
" " 1918	38.2	35.0	38.2	35.0
" " 1919	45.6	46.0	45.6	46.0
" " 1920	61.3	34.4	61.3	34.4

It will be seen from this table that the Royal Bank is making advances on a more liberal scale than before the

war. The accommodation it offers to its customers is considerably higher than is usual in the case of banks in Ireland. The proportion of funds invested is no higher than before the war, though, of course, it is very much greater in volume. It is a point to be noticed that the loans have risen by fifteen per cent., and the investments have fallen by nearly twelve per cent. during the year. The profits of the bank are three thousand higher, and the dividend remains at eight per cent. (less tax). The report is witness of health and strength, and, with money rates so firm, should repeat itself in the coming year.

## The Pogrom

From our contemporary 'The Ulster Herald,' we take the following vivid picture of the pogromists at work in the Valley of the Bann—

The infamous "pogrom" which is now in progress has recently been accompanied by the stipulation that its victims should sign away manhood, nationality, and religion before being allowed to earn their daily bread. This had its inception in the works situated on the Valley of the Bann in the district surrounding Banbridge.

The Belfast shipyard worker has obtained a reputation as "the last word" in bigotry and intolerance, but intolerant as he is, he takes second place in all these "virtues" to the Orange workers of the upper and lower reaches of the River Ban.

In the early days of the pogrom (July last) all the Catholics employed in the various weaving and bleaching establishments on the river adjacent to Banbridge were cleared out. The new familiar declaration is a Banbridge patent. The Catholic workers refuse to sign, and even long weeks have passed and they still loil aimlessly about the streets and roads, outcasts of society, men and women, whom the children of the "elect" pass by with a shudder. They are outcasts in every sense of the term, as scarcely a nod of recognition from former bosom friends of the work-shop.

At that period only the upper reaches of the river were affected. The dastardly un-Christian work has been "improved on."

Today the entire valley of the Bann has been cleared. Over 500 Catholics on the lower reaches of the river, from above Laurencetown to below Gilford, have been added to the list of evicted victims. A fortnight has elapsed since the Catholic employees of five further works were driven forth by a mob of thousands strong, with flate bands at its head. The news of the latest pogrom has just filtered through, as in the excitement of the last couple of weeks this additional work of the Carsonite hordes had escaped publicity.

A Press representative during the last week made an extended tour of the affected district. He journeyed along the valley of the Bann, amidst scenery unrivalled in a land of many sights. The five miles journey along the tree-fringed road, overhanging the winding valley of the river leads through a dazzling landscape—God's handiwork—which is being desecrated by the scenes enacted in the works studied along its banks.

The sun streamed down in delightful warmth through the overhanging trees, it danced on the rippling flow of the river, whose waters have a world-wide fame of the bleaching element in the manufacture of pure white linen. No other waters in the world compare with it for this purpose. It was a day on which it was good to be alive—a day when a man could go about his work with a lightness of heart.

But, amidst these pleasant surroundings, for over a thousand people daily bread is denied them, though there is work in plenty. There is, as usual, the call to work: sirens sounded, steam turned on, the looms commence to rattle, and beesting engines give forth their thunderous noise—but not for the "outcasts" of the Valley of the Bann—the Catholics ostracised simply because they are Catholics.

Cycling along from Banbridge I first struck the little village of Seapatrick. The dinner horn sounded, and a stream of workers, boys and girls, marched up the avenue to their mid-day meal. Doubtless it sat smoking, emitting appetising smells, ready on the table. They chatted and laughed in anticipation as they passed along. Did they ever give a thought, as workers of the world, to their former comrades, perhaps without a dinner, and they the cause? Inconceivable that a man or woman can be so debased as to be the cause of the little one being hungry—

the little ones of the hundreds they had chased from earning their bread.

Further along I passed bleachworks at Milltown (Lenadery). The "Micks" had been cleared also in July last.

Next came weaving works on the opposite bank, known as Hazlebank, owned by Mr. Norman Dickson, which was the last place visited by the "music" and the menacing "braves," who gallantly chased 80 girls on the Monday week prior. Many of the "evicted" lay with outstretched arms over the River bridge, gazing down into the depths, possibly peering into the future. For all that their former comrades and co-workers cared it might be there, where the trout jumped up to catch the elusive fly, which skimmed the waters.

Further along is the bleachworks owned by Messrs. Willie and Foster, Uppichard. Same story, no variation. Half a mile further along are the bleachworks of Mr. Fred B. Sinton, at Banford. The sunlight streamed down and the mills steadily rattled on, but not for the ostracised Catholic.

### GILFORD, BALDOUGAN AND BANFORD.

Sleepy little Gilford lay at the end of the journey. It looked as if its citizens were having an afternoon siesta. The big local spinning mill of Messrs. Dunbar, M'Master and Co., Ltd., whirled on, but without 250 Catholics. It was here the Pogrom of the lower reaches of the River commenced.

I had the story of this Pogrom (which was carried out with new and up-to-date terrors) from victims of each of the works of this part of the Bann. Workers at Gilford Mill on Monday morning, September 6th, on reaching the gates, found their progress barred by pickets, who informed them that the mill was closed down for the day. No other information was vouchsafed by this Orange Soviet, and no reason advanced; but no one was allowed to pass. The machinery started, gradually assumed its normal revolutions, but there were no minders and steam had to be shut off. A total of about 800 are employed in these works, and of this number about 250 are Catholic employees.

The Gilford "braves" adopted new tactics. The local band was called out and a procession organised, which marched out to Baldougan, where Mr. Blain's hemstitching works are situated. The order was given to close down and complied with, and the procession was then augmented by the Protestant girl employees. The Catholic girls were sent adrift. The band and its hooligan accompaniment, shouting and yelling, proceeded back to Gilford, and from thence to Banford Bleach Works.

The scene there is described by one of the victims, who states that a hooligan mob, carrying at their head a Union Jack, streamed into the works during the afternoon. The proprietor, Mr. Sinton, and the manager, Mr. Woods, addressed them for a lengthy period; but apparently it was a case of breath wasted. The crowd scattered through the works, and eventually the machinery was stopped and the works closed down for the day. In the works a total of 38 Catholics and about 45 Protestants are employed. The Catholics employees did not return on the following day when the works opened, and many have received, on application, their insurance cards.

### LAURENCETOWN.

In the bleach works of Messrs. W. and F. Uppichard, at Laurencetown, the next place visited by the Pogromists, the Catholics were in a majority, having about 45 to 35 Protestants, the evicting mob arrived late in the afternoon, when the daymen on piecework had finished and had gone, else they might not have had so easy a task. The Catholic employees state that they were asked since to sign the usual document by the employers, but refused. Work is proceeding in this firm, but none of the Catholic employees have been allowed back.

The evictors, discoursing "sweet music," next proceeded to Hazlebank Weaving Factory, where 80 Catholic girls were in a majority of two to one. The "gallant braves" ordered out the defenceless girls, and Mr. Dickson closed down the works for the day. On Tuesday morning the Catholics resumed work, and a scene occurred, and they, in turn, chased the Protestant girls. The Pogromists were sent for to an adjacent works, and a mob of men, armed with bayonets and revolvers, arrived and put out the Catholic employees again, so to speak, at the point of the bayonet. When the latter attempted to show fight revolvers were presented at them, and amidst a des-

perate scene the factory had to be closed down again.

On pay-day the Protestant employees had the police inside the works to protect them. The Catholics were given their cards on this occasion. The factory was opened on Monday last, and continues with the Protestant employees only.

### SIX HUNDRED EXPULSIONS.

Reverting to Gilford. On Tuesday morning (September 7th) pickets were on the gate entrance, and no Catholic was allowed to resume. The gentleman was appealed to. He didn't know. The managing director, Mr. Dickie, was sent for, and arrived. He was asked why the Catholics were not allowed into the works, and he replied: "He didn't know." He said he was practically a stranger, and didn't know what it was all about. It may be explained that Mr. Dickie is a recent arrival at this stage. The Catholics asked for their money, and it was forthcoming in an hour. Since, notices have been posted in the Catholic district of the town, stating that if the Catholics sign the form authorised by "the committee" they can resume work to-day; otherwise no work for them.

Around Castle Hill men loil about aimlessly in the hope that one day (Christians will recollect a text of their faith—"That it was ordained man should earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow.")

By the recent Pogrom the Parish of Tullylish has between 500 and 600 parishioners out of work. A few of the younger men have found temporary employment in the flax fields; but the Pogrom has followed several of them, even there, and instances of farmers, badly in want of labour, having to dismiss them, are frequent.

About 1,000 Catholics employed in the Valley of the Bann have now no work, nor no pay-day. A fund is being organised by his Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. Mulhern, Bishop of Down, to whom all subscriptions will be kindly forwarded.

## Memorials of the Past

(From Mr. Aubrey de Vere's Preface to his "Inisfail; a Lyrical Chronicle of Ireland.")

If ancient memorials of Ireland are interesting to us, how much more so must they have proved to the Irish of an earlier day! A green and woody knoll beside Lough Desg is all that for us remains of Kincoora, the palace of the Munster Kings, and home of Brian the Great. But to a Gael in the fifteenth century its ruins must have spoken a language as intelligible as that in which old castles battered by Mountjoy address to us. To the Irishman, prince or peasant, Nial of the Nine Hostages was as familiar a name as Bruce was to the Scottish. Bard and chronicler told how, long before St. Patrick had summoned King Laoghaire to believe, Nial had ruled over all Ireland; how he had been the ancestor of the tribe of Hi-Nial, from which were descended the Princes of Tyrconnell and Tyrone, at whose name the children of Norman nobles in the Pale, the four counties round Dublin, trembled; how he had sent against Britain and Gaul those naval expeditions, still for us recorded in Roman verse; how he had leagued with his countrymen in Scotland, those Scotti who with the Picts had again and again driven back the Romans behind their further wall till they left the land defenceless; and how, at last, he had fallen at sea, in the port of Boulogne, by the hand of his rival, Eochy. From priest as well as bard he would have heard of the Irish Numa, King Cormac; how he had succeeded to his father, A.D. 227; how he had established three colleges, one for war, one for history, and one for jurisprudence; how he had reduced the old Brehon Law into a code; how he had assembled at his palace of Tara, his bards and chroniclers, and commanded them to collect all the ancient annals of Ireland into a series—the "Psalter of Tara;" how he had written a book called "The Institutions of a Prince," and stored in it the civil wisdom of his time; how, in obedience to law, he had resigned his throne on becoming disfigured by a wound; and how, it was piously believed that, before his death, Christianity had reached him, and he had become a believer.

Still more often would he have heard the tale of King Cormac's grandfather, Conn of the Hundred Fights, who succeeded to the crown of all Ireland, A.D. 123, and who was at last compelled to surrender one-half of it to Eoghan More (Eugene the Great)

Sedition!

In June, 1840, Charles Gavan Duffy, as proprietor of the "Nation," was put on his trial for an article, alleged to be seditious, which had appeared in that journal. Duffy was defended by Robert Holmes, then a very old man, but yet a barrister because he refused to accept of any favour or position from the Government on whose hands was the blood of his relative, Robert Emmet. The "Nation" of June 27th thus referred to his magnificent speech on behalf of his client—

"The scene of Wednesday last will be remembered by all who witnessed it as long as they live. An aged Protestant patriot—a lawyer who sits in the outer Bar, and proudly wears a stiff gown, because he has all his life long scorned to rustle in the official livery of an English Government—a man who is still at the Bar only because he has spurned the Bench—a hoary-headed Irish gentleman, who remembered when he had a country to be proud of, who volunteered in '82, who saw the struggle of '98, and the dismal eclipse of 1800—yes, and blacker sights still—and who has ever since seised up his lips, and, as men thought, his heart also in proud but bitter grief, this noble old man, finding a Chief Justice and Attorney-General for once at his mercy, an occasion fitting and a nation's cause hanging on his tongue of fire, did on Wednesday last burst upon the Court with a torrent of such burning, scathing wrath, as an English Minister will be cruel if he subjects his Crowns officials to again. But after all, the grandest part of that grand speech was when the orator spoke of the immeasurable worth of nationhood, the infinite value of national independence to the individual character of every citizen, the unutterable degradation of provincial inferiority, and that last and lowest stage of a nation's abasement when the iron has entered into her soul, and she is content to receive her laws from the hands of another people—words that burn, and which our countrymen should lay to heart."

The following is the portion of Mr. Holmes's speech referred to in those terms by the "Nation"—  
Gentlemen of the Jury, I say as a constitutional lawyer, that insurrection against law is authority is rebellion—to exist it is sedition; but resistance to oppression is not rebellion, and to resist oppression is not sedition. This is the law of nature, it is the constitutional law of the realm. Blackstone declares it—and to his honour he stated broadly that if the rights of England are invaded, Englishmen have a right to keep and to use arms for their defence against oppression. Is that for you, gentlemen, to consider all the construction to be given to this article—the only one which, in fact, it can fairly bear. That construction I contend is that resistance is only recommended in case coercion should be used—in case force should be used to put down the cry for Repeal, or any other cry that the people are constitutionally entitled to raise. If that is not wrong or unconstitutional in the people of England, the people of Ireland have a right to the same privilege, and if the liberties and rights of the people of Ireland are assailed, resistance becomes not only justifiable, but a duty. Nearly a century and a half ago the case of Ireland as it then stood was stated by Molyneux, the friend of Locke. Molyneux demonstrated that conquest could give no rightful dominion to England over Ireland; the minister of that day could not answer the argument; he dreaded the truth, and like Omar, he burned the book. Since that time the population of Ireland has been more than doubled; and now, in the middle of the 19th century, in an age of science, and the extension of knowledge, beyond anything ever known in the world before—when all the powers of nature and art seem to have been developed, and made subservient to the use and benefit of man, the great mass of the population are still dwelling in hovels, not fit habitations for the beasts that perish. Rents must be paid—taxes must be paid—what then remains to support life? One vegetable production only. The recent failure in that production shows how uncertain and precarious that support of life is. Science in vain applied to discover the cause or arrest the effect. Had that disaster extended somewhat more widely and more generally than it did, and in less than a week, the survivors would not have been enough to enter the dead. Would there have been ought to relieve that picture? Oh, yes! The British Constitution!—the envy and admiration of the world!—might have been seen in far perspective, on which the wretched peasant perishing for want in the wilds of Connemara, might be told to gaze

with rapture, and exclaim with the poet—"This distance lends enchantment to the view." If from the physical we turn to the moral and political state of Ireland, does the picture brighten? It has been said of Ireland that she has great virtues, but that she has also great vices. Her virtues are her own—her vices have been forced upon her. Ireland has not received her education from herself, she has been educated by another country, which for a long time had but little to communicate, would not impart that little, and at length studied to check the growth which she feared. Ireland to have been well educated, ought to have been left to herself, to work her way in the world of science, and government, and trade, by her own talents, her own spirit, and her own industry. But instead of this, she was rudely seized in an age of weakness, and thrust out of the sphere of light she could neither create nor imitate—she could neither give birth to a Solon, nor send for her twelve tables to Greece. The education of a people is not the changing of a garb, the cutting of a beard, or the invitation of a chieftain to a court; it is not the substitution of English for Brehon law—the gibbet for the eric; it is not to be found in Protestant charter schools, or in Popish seminaries—in the University of Dublin, or in the College of Maynooth. The education of a people is the formation of its intellectual, its moral, and its political character, measured by its advancement in government, in laws, in manners, in arts, in science, in literature—in manufactures, in trade, in commerce—by the general diffusion of knowledge and virtue—and the comforts, the conveniences, and the refinements of life. Nature is the volume and experience is the school. The benefits of laws and policy—of arts and science—of manufactures and trade, are the effect of individual talent and united labour; but genius and industry, the minds of the few and the hands of the many, combined for a common end, can only exist where there is some common invigorating principle of life and action. What is this common invigorating principle? Country—the proud feeling of national independent existence—by means of which every great and every useful action is reflected from the individual to the state, and from the state to the individual, and virtue and fame, and emolument, are enjoyed by the possessor in the two-fold character of man and citizen. A free state, and its members are one. The rulers and the ruled have no contrasted interests—the public and private energies are intimately connected; a sense of national glory—of high national character—a love of the common weal—the fruitful sources of generous sentiments and noble deeds, inspire, and animate, and dignify the selfish affections, develop the powers of the understanding, give birth and vigour to lofty thoughts, and if they sometimes arouse the ambitious and destructive, they more uniformly call forth and exercise the benevolent and the useful passions of the human breast. But where this common invigorating principle is wanting—where a people is subservient to the will, mocked by the pride, and ruled by the caprice, the prejudice, the passions, and the interests of another state, the character and conduct of that people will inevitably betray the villainess of its condition. National independence does not necessarily lead to national virtue and happiness; but reason and experience demonstrate that public spirit and general happiness are looked for in vain under the withering influence of provincial subjection. The very consciousness of being dependent on another power for advancement in the scale of national being weighs down the spirit of a people—manacles the efforts of genius, depresses the energies of virtue, blunts the sense of common glory and common good, and produces an insulated selfishness of character, the surest mark of debasement in the individual and mortality in the state. In contrasting the nation with the province, let us take an instance—industry! And let us look to Ireland. In Ireland we have labour—hard labour—incessant labour—unrequited labour; but we have not in Ireland industry; we have industrial resources, but we have not industry itself. Can you wonder? The industry of man arises not from the mere impulse of instinct—the industry of man arises from his instincts and his reason—from his wants and his aspirations—from a sense of duty and a love of fame—the industry of man embraces the material and intellectual worlds—is impelled by the sordid, and animated by the generous affections—is connected with everything mean and everything noble in the human breast—with the miser

and the slave it grovels on the earth—with philosophy and liberty it mounts to heaven. The gross portion of its nature may exist in any clime where the animal can breathe, but every celestial particle will perish where the mind is not conscious of freedom, where the heart is not confident in the protection and enjoyment of independent legislation, and equal rights and equal laws. The soil of Attica is still visited by the same sun which warmed the genius of Pericles; and shone on the works of Phidias; but there his beams no longer illumine a land of liberty whose alchemic power purifies and transmutes whatever it touches into gold. The Republic of Athens is no more, and the genius, and the spirit, and the virtue which once covered that scanty and rugged soil with glory now only live in the records of her fame. "Nothing can be more advantageous to the commonwealth than what Themistocles proposes," said Aristides, "but nothing can be more unjust." It must not be done, was the instantaneous and unanimous resolution of a free people. Will the actions of a free people be always just? No; but the actions of an enslaved people will never be sublime. Slavery, in every form which it can assume, is destructive of the genius, the spirit, and the virtue of man, and of all species of slavery, provincial servitude is the worst; and in the history of provincial servitude no instance can be found so striking, so afflicting, and so humiliating as Ireland—of the influence of moral causes in counteracting the physical aptitude of nature, and producing weakness, and want, and ignorance, and wretchedness, where all the outlines of creation seem formed for power and happiness. Do you know the history of your country? It is a tale of suffering and sorrow—the sad tones of her music but echo the wailings of her griefs. There is not even greatness in her fall. When a nation which will not bend is broken by the tempest, its fame is measured by the storm; but in the dark picture of her destruction Ireland exhibits not the majestic ruins of a nation. Before Ireland could be a nation she was made a province; before Ireland could have a people, her inhabitants, brave among the brave, suffered the penalty of disunion, and have remained attached, not to their country, they have had none, but to its soil. As individuals, or as clans, or as sects, they have wandered for many a long century through a dreary existence without any central principle of attraction, and light, and warmth. For many a long century Ireland has been schooled and scourged as a province, and she exhibits all the evils of her education.

It had been well for Ireland if English invasion had been confined to the ravages of war. The ravages of war may be repaired—fields may be again cultivated—cities may be rebuilt and repopulated. War is a hurricane which sweeps before it man and the works of man, but it spares enough to enter the face of nature again with new abundance and new beauty. It is not the sword by which her people were slaughtered that Ireland deploras—it is that sword which cut the charter of King John to pieces. It is not the sword which destroyed the body, it is the policy which laid waste the mind that Ireland deploras. For many a long century a deep and chilling gloom has covered this fair and fertile land, on which the benignant gifts of heaven seem to have been poured with in vain. A light once shone across that gloom—bright and glorious as that light, but short and transient, serving but to show the darkness that had gone before, and the deeper darkness that followed after. Yes, a light once shone across that gloom—that light was extinguished by the found means that ever fraud or injustice practised, and now it seems that every attempt to rekindle that light is to be crushed as soot, and the sentence of dependence and degradation pronounced against Ireland is to be confirmed and made perpetual. Against this sentence my client has raised his voice; and I not on his behalf alone, but on behalf of an injured and insulted people, raise my voice, and I call upon you, gentlemen of the Jury, by your verdict of acquittal this day to aid in averting that sentence, and the spirit of freedom dwells within you—if it warms your hearts and illumines your intellects, I call upon you by your verdict of acquittal this day to avert that sentence. If your generous sentiment which can actuate the noble—by every principle of right which can direct and animate the just, I call upon you by your verdict of acquittal this day to avert that sentence. I ask for your verdict of acquittal not as the boon of mercy—not as the safety valve of doubt, but as the clear, unequivocal, decisive expression of your regard for the rights of nature, and the welfare and the honour of your native land. I ask for your verdict of acquittal in the cause of the country, that cause which is the cause of all our liberties, our laws, and our peace, the home conquered—that cause ever dear to the bravest, the wisest, and the best—unfelt and abandoned only by the recreant and the vile. Did I now address the recreant and the vile I should indeed despair; but addressing as I do the high-minded and the just, I feel the buoyancy of hope, and the confi-

dence of right. I have done. I have appealed to your unprejudiced understandings. I have appealed to the honest, to the manly feeling of your hearts; and unless the strength of the cause has been lost in the weakness of the advocate, I have not appealed in vain.

Conciliation

XVIII.

TUESDAY, JULY 20th.

Raids:—On the morning of July 19th a large force of British infantry and cavalry, accompanied by ambulances and armoured cars, invested the village of Dunboyne, Co. Meath, which had previously been attacked on July 17th. They held the village all day, during which time they made extensive raids, searching upwards of 30 houses. Among the houses searched were those of Mr. O'Neill, Mr. James Leonard, an ex-soldier, Mr. Wm. Conboy, Mr. J. Kelly and Mr. Brady. The last-named of whom narrowly escaped death on the 17th inst. at the hands of a party of British police who broke into his house in the early hours of the morning.

At Shercock, Co. Cavan, British police raided twelve houses on the morning of July 19th. British police and military raided and searched nine houses at Ring, Co. Waterford. A detachment of military patrolled Ring on the 19th.

Arrests:—Four boys were arrested at Carrick, Co. Cavan, by a British military patrol. No charge was made against them.

Proclamations and Suppressions:—British military and police took possession of a field at Adare, Co. Limerick, where a Hurling Match was to have been played on the 18th inst. The match had consequently to be abandoned.

And order signed by the Competent British military authority in Cork has been posted up in the city requiring every person living within a radius of five miles of the General Post Office in Cork to remain indoors between the hours of 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. except by special permission of the British military authorities. The order comes into force on the 23rd inst.

Armed Assaults:—In the course of the British military operations at the village of Dunboyne, Co. Meath, on the 19th inst. the troops surrounded the village, held up all traffic and assaulted many residents. Many cases of looting by the military have been

(Continued on page 7.)

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Rosary Sunday

October, the Month of the Rosary, has come again, and we all can use our great weapon at the Rosary in praying to Our Mother of Perpetual Succour, and to show our gratitude every Irish home should have and honour the Picture of Mother of Perpetual Succour. Splendid facsimile reproduction of the famous picture of Our Lady. Completely produced in Ireland, with special dedicatory hymn by Brian O'Higgins, T.D. Fr. Coyle, C.S.S.R., writes: "Your picture is just splendid. It is a correct and authentic copy and the most devotional I have seen." Price 1/2, post free 1/4.

Irish Horn Rosary Beads, post free for 1/3. Silver-mounted ones for 3/2 post free. Splendid photograph of Archbishop Mannix in his study, writing his powerful message to Ireland. The photo is mounted on a strong, lined paper, and is printed at the foot is His Grace's message and his facsimile signature. Size 17 inches by 12; price 1/2 post free. Trade supplied.

Dr. Mannix at Australia—the brief story of seven strenuous years under the Southern Cross, by Captain Bryan. This book also contains Australia's great song to Dr. Mannix, entitled, "His Grace." Post free 1/2.

Terrace MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork.—Splendid photo of MacSwiney on art paper, 11 ins. by 9 ins., surrounded with Celtic border in tricolour, post free 4d, each. Postcard size, with tricolour flag and laurel of victory, 2d, each; post free 3d. Emulation of Sinn Féin, by Professor Henry. Price 2/8 post free.

Evening Memories, by Wm. O'Brien. Post free 1/2.

Calcut Satan's Fangs; or the Adventures of Genna Ryan, by M. O'Lennain. The story starts at all the holidays young Ryan in the Irish Republic of 1940; full of adventure. Price 2/4 post free.

The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, by Mrs. S. Green. Price 11/8 post free.

The Southern Barque, by Seumas O'Kelly. Price 2/10 post free.

When We Were Boys. Post free 2/4. Father John Kenyon—a patriot priest of '48. By R. Fagarty, M.A. Price 5/6 post free.

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The Drawing will take place in the Mayoralty House, Drogheda, on 30th December, 1920, under the supervision of his Worship the Mayor (Ald. P. O'Maoinéacháin), and Ald. J. E. Murphy, Chairman, Louth Co. Council.

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Special stock of camans of best Irish ash, 5/9 and 6/8 post free. Camans, 2/9 and 3/3 post free. Jerseys, in variety of plain colours, 6/- each; in vertical stripes, 8/6. We also hold a good stock of jerseys with green body, yellow neck, and white collar and cuffs, 8/- post free—all in best cotton. Knickerbockers in best saffron—plain colours, 4/-; in white with stripes, 4/6, or with green, white and yellow stripes, 5/6 each. Footballs, 21/6, 25/-, and 27/6. Hurling Balls, best make only, 6/2 post free. Football Boots, 18/8 and 23/6 per pair; a variety of sizes. Hurling and How to Play It, written by an expert for use of Colleges and those in charge of teams; illustrated. Price 7d. post free.

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'Tis camouflage to wear an Irish Costume made of English Material. English laws forbade the wearing of Costumes after the Irish fashion in order to substitute English goods. In the revival, despite camouflage, M. A. RYAN, CORK and COVE, will not make Irish Costumes of English material. Kilts, Gown and Bra made to order. All work Irish and all are proud of it.

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ÉIRE ÓG YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1920.

The Lord Mayor

The endurance of the Lord Mayor of Cork and his fellow-sufferers approaches the miraculous. For fifty days they have survived in their great contest. Only the consciousness of a noble cause could have exalted men to such a degree of indifference to bodily suffering and endurance of life under the conditions. The love and admiration of their countrymen is with them in life or in death.

The Risen Nation

The events of the past fortnight have unmasked England before the eyes of the world. For months past her press and propaganda have worked strenuously to conceal from the knowledge of civilisation the methods of savagery her representatives in Ireland have invented and practised. Still they hoped that, as in the olden time, what they did in Ireland would be done in a corner, and that, as in the olden time, what falsehood they willed about Ireland would pass unchallenged into the world's ear. The torch that fired the homes and workshops of Bal-

briggan had fired many an Irish town before. This time it has fired more than an Irish town. The weapons that sent County Councillor Lynch and Messrs. Gibbons and Lawless to their graves have encrusted themselves with the blood of Irish patriotism to no other effect than to make England's name, as one of England's chief journals says, stink in the nostrils of Civilisation. Even though Trim follows Balbriggan, and other leal Irishmen share the fate of Lynch and Gibbons and Lawless—the tyranny that has for centuries made of the fairest island in the Atlantic a land of misery is unmasked and overthrown. Ireland has suffered and endured in the past. She suffers and endures to-day in the certain knowledge that to-morrow she will be redeemed.

Six weeks ago we advised our countrymen that English policy planned in the ensuing weeks to ravage and pogrom Ireland in the hope of breaking the spirit of the nation. For six weeks the ravaging and pogromming has gone on, and the first results the wisecracks have achieved is that of inspiring among classes of Irishmen and Irishwomen who had formerly held aloof, utter detestation to the name and methods of England. The second result has been to unite against that country the opinion of Civilisation. Such is English foresight—such is English statesmanship in 1920. If the Irish nation could have been destroyed by the imprisonment or slaying of its leaders, the ravaging of its fields, the burning of its towns—the Irish nation would have been destroyed 400 years ago. Elizabeth tried it, Charles tried it, Cromwell tried it, William tried it, some of the Georges tried it, and Ireland survived them all, to be hailed to-day with admiration and affection by every nation in the world save the one that may slay individual patriots, but bites on a file when it seeks to slay the Oldest Nation of the West.

We commend to our countrymen the wise counsel of the Bishop of Killaloe: "Be patient as well as firm." It is Irish endurance—Irish restraint under calculated provocation that has baffled and enraged Ireland's enemy. It is Irish patience as well as Irish firmness that must gain the victory that will give to our land the blessings of Freedom and Peace. The destiny of Ireland is now beyond the shaping or control of those who were her foreign taskmasters. Ireland will shape her future, and that future will be a future of Peace and Liberty within her borders for all her people.

If in the repression and persecution of centuries that Ireland has endured and survived, she had not learned to apprehend the true value of freedom her people would have suffered in vain. We have seen in the recent war all the professed and most of the real ideals of man betrayed by soulless politicians and stupid militarists. We have seen Materialism—the true Antichrist—raised on high as the god to be worshipped by all peoples of sense; we have witnessed the breach of the solemn pledges given by the rulers to the peoples when they led them forth to the bloodiest and most futile war that ever disgraced civilisation, and we bear this breach of faith with the living and the dead extolled as statesmanship and wisdom before the altar of the false god. We witness this and see the crash of all civilisation, the fall of all society, as the impending result of the conduct of those who, by their own falsehood, teach the peoples that rulers regard them, not as men made in the image of God, but as animals to cajole, to butcher, to betray. It is our country that to-day is saving Civilisation from its fall. It is our country that has refused to hear the mark of the Beast on its forehead, and to worship the Antichrist. It is our country that bears the agony of other nations—and in her victory Ireland will again give to a betrayed and distracted Europe what Ireland gave to Europe of old—a lamp of pure light to guide its feet along the way of Peace, Freedom and Perfection.

Those who are suffering for Ireland in this generation are suffering with a consolation denied to those who suffered for her in the past. They suffered in the hope of Ireland's ultimate freedom. To-day those who suffer do so in the certainty that Ireland, the leader and light of the world, is reborn.

Ireland and America

In substance and in fact—in her poverty, her isolation, in the almost tragic smallness of her apparent material resources against her mighty enemy—Ireland's case to-day is exactly what America's case was from 1775-1784. So have stated American and English authors when they wrote—from different points of view—of America's eight-year fight with England. And they add that one-fourth of America's small army were Irishmen!

Foreigners sometimes think that Ireland's resources are hopelessly finite for fighting an Empire; and they counsel compromise, but here, according to Dr. Franklin, were America's conditions when she fought and won, "notwithstanding, however, all the disadvantages the country then laboured under from an army ignorant of discipline and unskilled in the art of war—without a fleet—without allies—and with nothing but the love of liberty to support them" . . . they fought and defeated the British Empire. The Empire, by the way, is referred to by Judge Johnson in his "Commentary on the Memoirs of Wolfe Tone" as "her (America's) early, and indeed her only, enemy."

The whole population of America was then only about three millions, ours to-day is over four millions, and, according to the same article by Judge Johnson, England used exactly the same methods to restore "law and order" in America as she is trying in Ireland to-day. For instance, "fields were ravaged by a merciless enemy, uniting in his system of war the devastation and vengeance of the savage with the range and system of civilised tactics; but America was unyielding." And because she was unyielding, despite her great sufferings, another writer, Robert Goodloe Harper, tells us dramatically the first result of her fight: "The English, convinced of their inability to subdue us, had offered us everything we asked, except independence. . . . We having declared our independence, and fully assured of being able to support it . . . unanimously refused to listen to their offers."

Might it not all be written of Ireland to-day? The American pamphlet writers of the time love to point out the difficulties they fought against. Very often they repeat that America had the advantage of being farther from England than we are, and her native officials were, therefore, generally faithful and uncorrupted by Empire bribes; they acknowledge also that a foreign army already established on our shores make things more difficult for Ireland, but in every other way these old writers maintain Ireland's case is just the same as America's was.

For instance, in Ireland four-fifths of the people are united in their demand for independence, and in America the positions were nearly reversed—it was the minority which made the majority fight for their independence. Dr. Franklin says "addresses from different colonies breathed ardent loyalty (to England)." Circulars sent out broadcast by Congress gradually prepared the people's minds for independence, but even in the Session of 1776 the Independent Party met with fierce opposition, and it is true to say they had to fight their own people as well as the English for America's independence. But the gradual winning of separation from England cemented the home union of Americans.

From 1775 to 1784 it cost America 30 millions to defeat England. We had paid in 1894 over £2,750,000 in over-taxation to England. Since then taxation has increased per head from £1 8s. 10d. to £7 14s. in 1918.

Of course England was very angry with America at the time and she hurled her best Press agents at their throats. Describing the work of the Independents, for instance, an old

English pamphlet says: "These restless and unprincipled men, to prepare the minds of the people for their yet latent scheme of independence incited mobs consisting of a few abandoned men," etc., and speaking of the conveners of the General Congress which proclaimed America's independence, English Press agents said of them they were "men of bankrupt fortunes and dishonest principles." There is, after all, but little originality in Press agents' work.

Before the War of Independence Judge Johnson says America suffered just as Ireland does, she was governed by "ignorant, rapacious, needy strangers" sent from England "attended by needy dependents," who were always looking for plunder; they were invariably on bad terms with the people and quarrelling with the native Government. That was perhaps natural owing to the English Government's frantic efforts to keep down America politically and commercially. "I would not," said the English Lord Chatham "allow America to manufacture a hob nail." And they did not. The external commerce of America from 1773 to 1777 was a million and a-half, and it took a century and a-half to make that. When she was free, in less than a-third of that time it rose to £5,000,000 by 1819. The war with England cut off foreign commodities and home manufacture leaped forward. In spite of the ravages of war, poverty, and suffering, contentment and prosperity settled so quickly on the people that it was proudly boasted "It is the only Government in the world that dares to put arms freely into the hands of all its citizens."

America's opinion of her Imperial neighbour did not appear to improve with time, for at a meeting in Harmony Hall, New York, 1825, with Judge Swanton in the chair, Professor McNevin said "it was, to be sure, little short of miraculous that the English Government without being constrained by any external danger, or any cogency whatever of internal circumstances, would do . . . a signal act of kindness to Ireland. And they formed a Society to address the 'free and enlightened nations of the earth' on the subject of Ireland's wrongs, and England's intolerance."

England's nervous jealousy of the natural connection between the two nations was early shown. In 1785 Lord Sheffield said of Ireland "Her object is to become the mart in Europe for the trade in America for which she is well suited by her Western situation. . . . We should look forward to the period when Ireland shall have attained a much more significant situation than her present, and be able to trade on as good a footing to the Western world as England. She would, from her situation and advantages, supply Great Britain with American produce—the gain of Ireland, by such a measure, can only result from the loss of Great Britain." And the noble lord, mindful of the bad relations between Ireland and England as before between America and England, continues "and however strong the declaration may appear, it is demonstrable that an absolute and entire separation between the two countries would be less pernicious to the interests of Great Britain."

Practically for the same reason did Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, advocate the independence of America "because they refuse to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of the British legislature," and he urges that friendly treaties of commerce "as with any other sovereign independent states" should be immediately entered into for England's sake. The worthy Dean suggests that a proclamation should be issued "to cut off, sever, and separate from the British Empire" the rebellious Americans, whom, he says, will soon repent and beg to be brought back to the "protection" of the said Empire. For, he says, they will become tired of submission to "the tyrannical usurpations of those cunning, hypocritical Republicans" and they will rush for England's protection again.

England, he admits, never gives anything up until she has to—even the French provinces "they never gave up one of them till they were compelled to it by force of arms," which, according to him, does not make for the popularity of the Empire. Possibly the policy that he and the other writers advocate of letting the rebellious countries go to punish them and in the hope that they will want to come back—also because England can't hold on to them—will work out in Ireland as it did in America—just as the other details of the two countries' fights have been similar.

France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

Manifestations of sympathy for the Lord Mayor of Cork and for the cause which he so nobly represents have not been wanting throughout Europe during the past month. In Paris a Committee of Action has been formed to agitate for his liberation to which M. Paul-Boncour, Deputy, sent the following letter: "Being absent from Paris I have only just heard of your desire. I should feel eternally sorry if the prayer you asked of me did not arrive in time to be added to those that, at this moment, are going up from the whole civilised universe for the martyr of Brixton prison. The voluntary agony of the Lord Mayor of Cork illustrates in a most striking fashion the rejection by all governments of the rights of peoples to self determination, the sacred principle of which was consecrated by millions of deaths on the various battlefields during the war." In Barcelona, too, last Sunday, a patriotic demonstration, presided over by the Mayor of that city, took place at which a resolution was adopted conveying the fraternal greetings of the people of Catalonia to the Government of the Irish Republic. Another resolution voted at the same meeting denounced the policy of Lloyd George in relation to Ireland and demanded the immediate release of the Lord Mayor of Cork. From Corsica another appeal was forwarded to the British Minister, signed by the principal inhabitants of the island invoking in the name of Paoli, the friend and protegee of England, that the doors of Brixton prison should be thrown open at once to Ireland's martyr. From all parts of France, Spain, Italy and Belgium messages of a similar nature have been forwarded to the English Government, but all to no effect. At the same time the Italian Popular Party which controls the second largest group in the Italian Chamber has placed on its programme the recognition of the independence of Ireland. Recent elections amply show that the Popular Party is likely to control the destinies of Italy in the near future. Their assumption of the reins of power will be hailed with pleasure by the people of Ireland.

It seems evident that General Maccready's interviews, which were published in the French press last week, were part of a prearranged plan to prepare foreign opinion for the campaign which he is directing and putting into effect throughout Ireland. To any military man it is absurd to plead that discipline in the Army of Occupation has broken down. Had their pay been stopped for a single day, or had a single disciplinary punishment been inflicted, the ruthless campaign would instantly cease, but the present representatives of British power in Ireland are determined that it shall continue. Hitherto, however, the destruction of the Irish people and the extermination of the Irish race was carried out unknown to the world. The "wall of paper" has been broken down and, to-day what is honest in the world revolts at the atrocities perpetrated by the English Government in Ireland. In the highest flights of their imagination British propagandists never ascribed to the Germans after the burning of Louvain worse atrocities than are actually being perpetrated by their own troops to-day under the shadow of the Union Jack. "Never since the Middle Ages," says "Le Matin," "has such savage brutality been recorded." "Le Petit Parisien" states that the "sacrifice of the Lord Mayor of Cork is no longer necessary to attract the attention of the whole civilised world to the martyrdom of Ireland as the savage reprisals carried out by members of the British army of occupation is in itself more than sufficient."

Writing in "Le Rappel" of to-day's date M. Louis Bresset states that "the English have abandoned themselves to a real war of extermination. It seems that they have gone back again in the time of Henry VIII, who saw no other means of reducing the Irish than by massacring them and replacing them by English. It may be asked if the British authorities are still masters of the situation, or if they have not lost their heads. They pretend that the troops and police no longer obey, but it would be truer to say that the latter only execute too faithfully a plan that has its inspiration rather in the programs of Czarist Russia than in the means authorised by progress and civilisation. The measures applied under the name of reprisals can only hurt those who believe that they can thus force the rest of Irish people to emigrate. In a struggle that has lasted for more than seven centuries Celtic Ireland has proved that she is capable of maintaining her own. The episode of the Lord Mayor of Cork is a splendid example of their staying powers. Lloyd George has chosen the wrong road; violence is always a bad argument. Gladstone obtained better results by remaining faithful to the traditions of Liberal England."

"Ireland is such a small country," says "L'Effort National," "a country so far from France that only few of us are acquainted with its geography, neverthe-

less the whole world to-day, is preoccupied with its sufferings. Civilised peoples have followed the agony of this man who is dying in Brixton prison, in the suburbs of London. Judging by the press, public opinion in France is deeply moved by his martyrdom, and at the same time by that of his country. Here is a man who is dying for his native land, and what a death. It may be disputed that his sacrifice is not necessary, although in my opinion no death is more glorious than that offered up on the altar of freedom. Every Frenchman should know, for there should be no doubt on that point, that the Lord Mayor of Cork knew with whom he had to deal. He did not go on hunger strike in order to be released; he did not ask for pity from his victorious enemy; the Lord Mayor adopted this measure, and will employ it until death intervenes, in the belief that his end will hasten the liberation of his country. And, yet, it seems strange to some that there are still people who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the liberty of their country. Terence MacSwiney can die in peace like those soldiers who succumb at the very moment when victory is no longer in doubt. It is in vain that Lloyd George and all the ministers of the English Cabinet endeavour to justify their conduct by invoking the superior interests of order in Ireland; it is in vain that George V. has proved, by the pen of his secretary, that, after all, he is only King of England; it is in vain that M. Millerand begged M. Gavan Duffy, the representative of the Irish Republican Government in France to remain in Brussels. Thanks to the Lord Mayor of Cork there is not in France to-day, nor in the whole civilised world, a single intelligent man who does not know that after four years of the most terrible wars, that after the victory of Civilisation and Right over Barbarism and Might, there is still a people which has not achieved victory. All the soldiers of France should bow down before this great soldier of Ireland—Terence MacSwiney—who for more than a month is slowly dying for his country in the capital of that immense 'Empire over which the sun never sets.'"

"The agony of the Lord Mayor of Cork, so long and so tragic," says "Le Courrier de Tunisie," "reminds us of the sacrifice of Cato who because he could not survive the loss of liberties of his country ended his life by falling on his own sword at Utica. Yet the suicide of Caesar's adversary was only the funeral crowning of a cortege of broken hopes where the last champions of a lost cause, vanquished and decimated, abandoned themselves to despair. The voluntary death of the Lord Mayor of Cork in whose veins flows Celtic blood, on the contrary seems to herald the dawn. He wished for death in order to galvanise the energies of those who reclaim the independence of their country and to fix the attention of the whole civilised world on the shores of Green Erin, to give a martyr to avenge to a people sensible, devoted and resolved. It is pleasing to us Frenchmen whose motherland has recently given to every country on the globe the most beautiful example of moral resistance which history has ever recorded, to salute with emotion and profound sympathy the heroic gesture of Terence MacSwiney who is dying of his own free will for Ireland and for human liberty."

"Did we not read the other day how the Cameron Highlanders, worthy descendants of Cromwell's Ironsides, shot up the town of Queenstown and burned a score of 'Papist' houses without inquiring whether the inhabitants were within or not," says Marie-Anne De Bover in "La Libre Parole." The reprisals that have taken place throw a singular light on the discipline of the British army. Just imagine what would have happened in this country if the Dragon had avenged the death of Lieutenant Latour who it will be remembered was assassinated by the strikers some years ago. Such things would never be permitted in England, where, for fear of accidents the policemen are not armed; but Erin is still a conquered country. The rebellion of Ireland is shown to us in a hideous robe, but what about the rebellion of Ulster. We have too quickly forgotten that on the eve of the great war, civil war, organised by the Orangists and indirectly supported by the army, was imminent. Why has this province been allowed to stand up against the other three? Solely because it refuses to accept the authority of the National Parliament which was so long promised and was then on the point of being accorded. It refused because this Parliament would be Catholic in the proportion of seventy-five per cent. A mere nothing when you think of it. In France there are Catholics who object to certain laws. Why have not they a Parliament to legislate according to their ideas? There are also citizens of the French Republic who are not republicans. Why have not they licence to organise themselves into a petty monarchy, or even into an Empire? Why is it that in all the countries living under a Parliamentary regime, Ulster is the only one beyond the law of the majority. Besides, when I say Ulster I mean only a little less than half that province, because the Protestants are

not more numerous than the Catholics. Ulster, according to them, is not for Ulstermen but for Orangemen. To their disadvantage majority rule is bad; to their advantage it is excellent." M.M.

NOTAI

Ni hé seo an áit i gcoir cruthúnaí ar an méid atá ráite againn i dtaobh Fuirne is Abhair ná fuíamh i gcoir ar réisín atá leo. Ní deunta againn nach línte na nithe sin do tharraic don léithir i dtreo go tuigte sé an bhaint atá acu lena bhfuil pléte againn dár sceul agus i dtreo go mbeidh bun againn ar a leagáimid tuille argóintí. Mar atá feithe againn isé aitéir na heolúfochta atá ina luíge fé abhair na heolúfochta. Bun nó fotha ísá é agus ní i ngrach saghas abhair dár féidir dúinn a fheiscint ach athruithe air, athruithe mar bhéadh snamara ar bhliúre srúinge, mar aduairt Lodge. Mar is eol don mháirenealach is mó saghas snuime is féidir a dheunamh ar an aon tsrúing amháin agus isí an tsrúing cheudna i gcomhruí i dá mhéid a hatharútar a deabhrann le snamara chur uirthi. Tá deabhrann éigin ag an dá theoric le na chéile. Is deabhrannach príomh-abhair nó "materia prima" na scolúithe le haetéir na n-eolúithe agus is deabhrannach "fuirm" na scolúithe leis an snáidhm ar an srúing-leis ó atharu (abhair na n-eolúithe) ar aitéir na n-eolúithe. Ina dhiaidh sin, ámh, is mór an deifricht atá idir an dá theoric. Do veir fúrnóir na scolúithe, agus do veir Aristotóléis réin, go mórmór, ní héinní abhair dá bhíthin féin: tá se gan brí, gan cáilocht, gan cindíocht, gan aon cheann de chinnteoir na Bithúne (de'ermintans of Being). Ach tá tréithe ana-mharcála san aitéir. Más fíor go bhfuil an aitéir ann, ní teibhíocht (abstraction) é dáiltha an príomh-abhair, ach fíor-bhíthin nó fíor-shubstaint. Do veir na scolúithe, dá bhí sin, níorbh fíoláirí dá a "fuirm" dhílis féin a bheith aige agus, dá bhí sin, ba shaghas áirithe "materia secunda" é no gnáth-abhair agus níorbh mhór dúinn teacht ar an dtaobh thiar de, mar aduairt d'úine, chun an fíor-phríomh-abhair a aimsiú. Ba rhor gan a dheanadh anseo go ndeir cind de sna scolúithe go bhfuil saghas éigin lúthine neamh-ionáidne dá chuid féin ag an bpríomh-abhair, rud a thírfaidh sin níos goire don teoric adeir gurb é an aitéir is bun le gach saghas abhair físicidhe.

Tuigfar as an méid sin go bhfuil Fuirm is Abhair na scolúithe níos goire don rud a tuigfar le habhair anois ná don teagose ceimicéachta is físicéachta a bhí á thírú dúinn doir le fíor-dheunamh mar fíor-ádhú dhé-shéanta. Faid a creidte go raibh cheithre fichid saghas abhair, nó breis, ann, gan baint ná cinnil acu lena chéile, ach deifricht bhunaidh eatorra ó thosach, níorbh léidre do scolúithe agus do lucht na teorice sin teacht ar an aon talamh argóna amháin. (Ní seuntar anois ná go mbeidís go raibh príomh-abhair a admháil ag lucht ceimicéachta iarbhfísicidhe fan na haimseire go léir ach, má bhí féin, is leis an dtauirim chomónta a bhaineann ar n-argóint). Ó tharla, ámh, go bhfuil na ceimicéithe, agus na físicéithe go mórmór, ar aon aigne námh mór i dtaobh an aitéir a bheith mar bhun le gach ní abhair, is léir go bhfuil ádhú taguithé go puante ná fuil i bhfad ó chó-cheapa na scolúithe. Ní miste an méid seo a rá ar aon thama an có-cheapa bhí é chinnéál ó aimsir Aristotéilís go hamsir an Bhaicéalláigh is goire é do snaicte lucht eolúfochta ne haimseire seo ná an có-cheapa bhí do ghnáth ag ceimicéithe ó laethibh na n-álch-eimicéithe godá beagán blian ó shoin.

Ní sheansulón ná ní thuiteann creideamh leis an bhFeallsúnacht Scolúidhe, fé mar ba mháith lena lán de namhaidibh na hEaglaise a dheunamh amach, cé gurb í ata le fada riamh ag lucht na hEaglaise. Ag nochthead is go míniú a cuid dógmái don Eaglais ba ghnáth léi teurmuíocht is ainmeoireacht (nomenclature) is có-cheapuithe na Feallsúnachta san úsáid, agus ag sisteamú is ag coisaint na ndógmái dhí ha mhór an áis dhí prínsiobail is argóintí na Scolúithe. Do ghlac lucht na Feallsúnachta ar dhiaidhacht chúcha insna meán-aoisena sean-fheallsúnacht pháganacha móra na Gráige agus do dhíneadar dhí úirthis ina bhfuil so-chastacht, geurhúiseacht, agus crúineas, thar bárr, chun a bhfuil de theagose na Tsepéinadh Críostú, agus gach a leanas an do réir laeio, do chóru agus d'oscailt amach agus do chur i dháilín ina réisín. Dá dheunamh sin, thainig diaidhacht thojéidne na hEaglaise agus labhartha údáris.

acha na hEaglaise ar a cuid dógmái, tairnadar chun bheith inchurpuithe chó críochnuithe sin i mbeurlagar na Feallsúnachta Scolúidhe agus chun bheith dá soillsiú chó fada san agus chó gnámhar san le có-cheapuithe iarbhfísicidhe an tsistim mhachtnaimh sin, go bhfuil sé námh mór ina dheimhín ná deunfar chóche móine na hEaglaise do scáirtint leis an bhfeallsúnacht san ná é cheangal dá aon cheann eile. Go deimhin, tá teipithe glan ar gach iarracht dar deineadh ar phríomh-theagose na hEaglaise do shuidheamh go deas i bhfráma siseamái iarbhfísicidhe eile. Ina dhiaidh sin, ámh, ní sheansuigean ná ní thuiteann an Eaglais le Feallsúnacht na Scol, fé mar atá ráite againn. Bhí sí ann, agus í ag leathadh agus ag míneadh, ar feadh míle blian sarar cloiseadh trácht ar na Scolúithe. Tá móine a teagose ar phlána fé leith agus tá barántas fé leith leis, gan brath acu ar na nithe is mó go bhfuilid na Scolúithe ar aon fíocail ina dtaobh.

Tadhg Ó Cianáin.

Local Taxation

URBAN COUNCILS.

In addition to the six County Boroughs, whose accounts we gave last week, there are the five boroughs, or corporations, such as Drogheda, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford and Sligo. Their receipts from revenue for 1918 amount in all to £106,973, and the expenditure from revenue to £108,094. The total revenue of the Urban Councils is nearly one million and forty thousand, and the expenditure is about the same. In addition to the receipts from revenue, the Urban Councils received forty-four thousand in loans, principally for the housing of the working classes. The urban rates bring in £371,003 a year. Most of the Urban Councils own their own gas-works, from which they derive a revenue of £137,000 a year; and from their water-works they raise a revenue of £28,000 a year. Rents from property in lands, houses, etc., bring in sixty-seven thousand. Electric light undertakings bring in £51,000 a year. It may be said generally that Ireland is well provided with Urban Councils, of which they are eighty-eight, that is in addition to the eleven boroughs. There are also twenty-eight Town Commissioners, which latter are not sanitary authorities, and are subject to the control of the Rural District Councils in sanitary matters. To sum up, there are 127 towns and cities altogether under municipal government in Ireland. Of these, 99 possess full powers of taxation and urban government, while 28 possess a limited autonomy.

Within their respective jurisdictions Urban District Councils possess full administrative powers in regard to matters pertaining to public health, they are the rate rating authorities, and are also road authorities, and as such are entitled to receive a share in the grant provided by the Probate Duties Act of 1888, known as the Estate or Death Duty Grant. They receive also what is known as "recoupment" from the local taxation account in respect of the salaries paid to their sanitary officers, and for the promotion of technical instruction, grants are made to them in aid of approved schemes by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The amount allocated in 1919 under this head for the county boroughs is £24,000 a year, and for counties and urban districts £31,000 a year.

In conclusion it is necessary to add in regard to the Town Commissioners that in two towns, Fethard and Team, no rates are struck, as the revenue derived from market tolls and rents is sufficient to meet expenditure. In Augnacloy a rate was not made for the years 1918 and 1919, and in Callan a rate was not made for the former year. In the remaining towns the rates vary from 8d. to 1s. 4d. in the £. These rates are for municipal purposes in the twenty-eight towns which are not Urban Districts, and which are therefore liable for the rate of the rural districts in which they are situated. The Town Commissioners have power to hold markets and fairs and to collect tolls, and from this source derive a large portion of their working revenue.

Review

La Fortune de l'Irlande (Ireland's Wealth). By Xavier Moisant. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne.

This French book of one hundred and forty-one pages is devoted exclusively to Irish economics. This study of the resources of our country displays a wide and profound knowledge of geographical character and industrial resources of this island. The writer takes care to quote the authority for his facts in all cases and the references are precise, so that it is an authoritative exposition of the true economic position of Ireland.

The writer introduces his subject by recalling the pamphlet of Carlyle written in 1850. This is going back some distance. The furious, angry, splenetic outburst of Carlyle is taken as a sample of the English view, or rather the pretended English view, or the view which the English would like the world to believe. Carlyle had to explain away the colossal collapse and the manufactured famine and it took a lot of spleen, and a fit of very bad dyspepsia to enable the English historian to paint Ireland sufficiently black to relieve his inner state. Carlyle had great natural gifts as a writer but he had no real knowledge of these affairs of trade, business, industry and money, which are the real objects of human ambition and endeavour. He was not competent to deal with the economic facts of history, and he knew little about Ireland, and that little was distorted by gross prejudice due to lack of knowledge. Nobody in the country would think of quoting Carlyle as an authority on Irish affairs. Yet we are told by Xavier Moisant that Carlyle's contemptuous references to the Irish as "Miserable and Incompetent" have inspired ideas, which have found many partisans. These injurious ideas were evidently spread on the Continent of Europe, outside the so-called English speaking races, and have taken wide root in countries overseas as well as nearer home.

The French author explains clearly that his object is to deal with the question of Ireland's ability to stand on her own feet, so to speak. Quoting Carlyle, he uses the adjectives "Miserable and Incompetent" to hang his thesis. The whole question is there, he writes. "Is it true that the Irish are materially too poor, is it true that the Irish are morally and intellectually too deficient to direct their own national path themselves?" In this book the writer deals with the first part of the question, the fortune and resources of Ireland, to find a reply by scientific analysis to the question raised by Carlyle. This book is to be followed by another in course of preparation, to be entitled "The Soul of Ireland," which is apparently intended to deal with the ethical aspect of the question.

The general scheme of the book "La Fortune de l'Irlande" is as follows: The first chapter deals with history and economic geography. The author refutes the argument—"For the lack of coal Ireland depends naturally on England"—and scores a direct hit on the English when he asks "What would an Italian say to somebody trying to persuade him that his country, having no collieries, must by this consequence fail to establish her lawful right to independence and sovereignty?" The same applies to Holland, which has no coal at all. The same applies to Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden. We might go a little further and add that on the ground of self-sufficiency in the production of coal, there is only one country in Europe, outside of Britain, which is able to provide its coal entirely from its own output and that country is Germany.

The French economist examines the subject of coal, to which he gives fifty-three pages of singularly well-informed matter. Nowhere have we read a better account of Ireland's coal-fields. He proposes for investigation the following eight headings—

- 1. What are the resources of Ireland in coal?
2. What share has Ireland drawn from the riches of her coal-fields?
3. If the annual yield remains constantly disproportionate to the capital, whence comes this monopoly?

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## Current Comments

Sir Auckland Geddes is the English Ambassador to the United States—a country which has now a mercantile marine nearly three times greater than that whose possession by Germany caused England to make the world-war. The English Ambassador's country is not in a position to deal with the American mercantile marine as it dealt with the German, so it seeks another method. At a dinner given in New York by the United States Chamber of Commerce to the representatives of the English Chamber of Commerce, the English Ambassador attended and unbecomingly himself with seeming frankness. Both countries, he said, should lay their cards on the table. (If this were agreed, America would be well-advised to insist on the other player coming to the table in a sleeveless tunic). There was a great desire in England, he said, for a close business co-operation between the two countries. "Secrecy," he added, "breeds suspicion, the mother of hostility. I believe in full reciprocity and in frankness. I believe most strongly, in spite of possible local diminution of profit, that co-operation between our nations will pay us both in the long run." It was utter nonsense, he alleged, to say that England had resorted to Germany any German ships with the object of hindering the development of the American mercantile marine. "If the English speak of reciprocity, let us speak of reciprocity," he concluded, "and let us have no half-baked communings but military adventures will not continue to disturb the re-settling of the world."

This appeal, *ad misericordiam*, to America to cease building ships was bluntly replied to by the United States Secretary of Commerce. "The United States," he said, "do not contemplate any attempt to drive out other nations from the shipping business. On the other hand, I am only stating what is fair when I say that the policy of the country is to own and operate a fair share of the world's commerce. We simply want ships enough to take care of our expanding business." America's cards were placed, it will be seen, without reserve upon the table.

The gravity of the position for England may be realised from the following facts:—Before the war the English mercantile marine was larger than the combined marine of the remainder of the world, and the bulk of England's income was derived, not from her exports or investments, but from the freights earned by her ships. Next in importance to the English mercantile marine was the German, and although the German had only one ship to England's five, England regarded German shipping as sufficiently serious a menace to her to warrant war. America at the time had less than one ship to England's ten. Now America has two ships to England's three, and at the present rate of progress will, in the near future, have ship for ship. This is such a challenge as England has not had to face for centuries. There are only three courses by which it can be met—acceptance, and the peaceful settling down of England into a place in the world something like that possessed by Holland; rejection and war with America; or an "Anglo-American unity"—the terms of which would be the all-important matter. This first course England is loath to consider; the second she is powerless to take; to the third Ireland is the main obstacle.

Sir Auckland Geddes, as English Ambassador, is strenuously promoting the campaign in America in favour of the English-made League of Nations. Just two years ago he ridiculed the idea of a League of Nations, because the League adumbrated at that time was an American—and genuine—conception. On the 11th of October, 1918, speaking at Portsmouth, he said:

"We had to see that no jingle of words like 'League of Nations' distracted us from securing a reliable peace. No League of Nations matters to me half as much as England does. The thing that matters to me is to see this England, this Britain of ours, placed at the end of the war in a position in which it can deal with its own great internal problems, without interference from peoples outside. . . . In the war we fight for England first, last, and all the time."

The people of America may understand from this the English Ambassador's present consuming anxiety for "the League of Nations."

Interviewed by Irish journalists in reference to the speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at Carnarvon on Saturday, Mr. Arthur Griffith, as reported in the "Freeman's Journal" of Monday, said:—

"The English Premier is a master of misrepresentation, but he will not succeed by distortion and falsehood in obscuring the issues at stake—issues which have been defined in his own words—'the rights of nations, however small, are sacred as the rights of the biggest empires.'"

"The root issue," Mr. Griffith proceeded, "is Ireland's claim to National Independence, right or wrong. If it be right the English Government has no authority in Ireland. If it be wrong, the English Government has no right to interfere with Ireland, and he lays it down that once the provisions of the new constitution have been agreed upon they should be submitted for final acceptance or rejection, but not amendment, to the Parliaments of the contracting peoples."

Brigadier-General Cockerill, who is the Unionist M.P. for Reigate, and has spent nearly 30 years on active military service, is a native of Newquay, Cornwall, and acted as British technical delegate to the Hague Conference in 1907.

While Mr. Lloyd George was speaking at Carnarvon on Saturday last on the subject of "reprisals," his theory of government was being carried out by his agents, who burned Kildimo Co-operative Creamery. No less than three lorry-loads of Mr. George's "guardians of the peace" were at work on the destruction of their sixteenth creamery.

Mr. Nevinson, the well-known English war correspondent, whose articles some years ago on Turkish rule in Armenia and other countries fired England with virtuous indignation, published, on Monday, an apology to the Turks, and on Tuesday an apology to Czarist Russia, whose "abominations," as he says, he denounced after visits to Russia in 1906-6-7 and 1910. The reason of his apology is not, he states, that what he wrote of Turkey and Russia was untrue or unjustified; but he has recently visited Ireland and found that his own country, England, is perpetrating on this country all the atrocities for which he denounced the late Turkish and Russian Governments. Therefore, says Mr. Nevinson, it does not lie in my mouth, as an Englishman, to denounce those countries.

Addressing the ghost of the Czar, whom he denounced, Mr. Nevinson says, writing in the "Daily Herald" of London:—

"I am now conscious that for many years I did you grievous wrong. During my visits to your two great capitals and to various parts of your vast dominions in the years 1906, 1906, 1907, and 1910, I witnessed the abominations of your rule, both among your own people and among the races unhappily subjected to your power. I saw Jews subjected to bloody pogroms, with the connivance and, as was proved by irrefutable evidence, by the

direct instigation of your Ministers. I saw the best minds and noblest characters of your Empire imprisoned to madness, marched into Siberian exile, or compelled to seek refuge stealthily in foreign lands, and that without trial or charge named. I saw their homes raided by night, themselves carried off to gaol without a word, to linger there untried, or to come before courts-martial held by officers indifferent to evidence or incapable of understanding what evidence means. I saw your censorship at work opening private letters and suppressing every newspaper that contained a hint at liberty. I saw an organised body of secret police at work, supported by organised spies and provocative agents, whose part it was to urge their suppressed friends to deeds of violence and then to betray them to your Government."

"Having witnessed all this, I suffered under the delusion that methods of government such as yours must surely be executed by all honourable, humane, and civilised peoples. I did all in my power to prevent the threatened alliance between you and my country. I protested (and, I think, with some effect) against a visit of our Fleet (the symbol of my country's honourable greatness) to your ports. I protested (and again, I think, with some effect) against your proposed visit to this land. I protested (quite vainly) against the fatal resolve of certain persons in high position to overlook your atrocities and to grant you a blood-stained hand for my country in all the respects I now own your Majesty my humblest apology. The conduct of our own British Government in Ireland has proved to me that no Englishman has ever had the right to denounce or condemn any crime that you and your Ministers may have perpetrated."

Speaking in Mass in Malloy on Sunday week in reference to the destruction wrought by the armed forces of England, the Very Rev. Canon Corbett, P.P., V.F., said: "The British army could claim a victory in Malloy, but what they could not set the world laughing for the signs of that great victory were heartrending—a rush of frantic women and children to his door at midnight asking him for God's sake to provide them with some place of refuge—battered hissing over their heads as he tried to stow them into the convent schools. Another crowd was in St. Mary's cemetery—mothers with infants on their breasts seated on their family burial ground, as if they thought their dead could aid them! They had splendid business houses burned to the ground, and a winter of unemployment made sore for hundreds by the burning of Cleve's factory. These were among the signs of victory won, not by Julius or Simon Indians, but by Englishmen. It was a calculated policy to goad their people into insurrection now as they had done in 1798. God sees it all, and in His Own good time He will deliver His people who trust in Him." Here the Canon broke down and left the pulpit.

On Wednesday last the Lord Mayor of Cork sent the following message from Cork Prison to his comrades in Cork Jail:—

"To my Comrades in Cork:—On your 57th day I greet you. I ask you to join with me in the following prayer for our people who are suffering such persecution in the present crisis:—

"Oh, my God, I offer my pain for Ireland. She is our task. My God, Thou knowest how many times our enemies have put her to the test, but she has always triumphed. I offer my suffering here for our martyred people, teaching Thee, O God, to grant them nerve and strength and grace to withstand the present terror in Ireland, not only for two months, but for two years; if need be, that by Thy all-powerful aid, the persecution may end in our time, and Ireland arise, at last, triumphant."

"The spirit of prayer will defeat the cunning of Satan. Thy Power, O God, is stronger than the malice of the devil. I offer everything Thou ashest for Ireland's resurrection. It is Thy Will. Accept our willing sacrifice for our people, May we, in dying, bring glory to Thy Name and honour to our country, that has always been faithful to Thee. We rely upon Thy mercy to sustain us, in the last moment, for the constancy of our martyred people and the redemption of our country."

"God save Ireland. God save, bless and guard the Irish Republic, to live and flourish, and be a model government of truth and justice to all nations. May the liberty of the Irish people shine with Thee, O my God, for ever and ever. Amen."

"Comrades, if we twelve go in glorious succession to the grave, the name of Ireland will flash in a tongue of flame through the world, and be a sign of hope for all time to every people struggling to be free. Let the thought inspire us, and let our dying prayer be an exhortation to each other and to our people, that everyone be prepared to sacrifice everything and God will at last redeem our country."

In reply to the message from the Lord Mayor of Cork, his comrades in Cork Jail sent the following on Friday:—

Your comrades in Cork Jail greet you on this, your 57th day. Realising that you are in the bitter fight, made in the midst of the enemy, we pay homage to your inflexible will. Sustained in our struggle in the will of God, and fortified by your example and our confidence in one another, we await with calmness the issue, prepared for death, if need be, in the cause of the Republic. We gladly join with you in your prayer, committing our people and our cause to the mercy of God."

The following leader appeared in the "New York American" of September 30th:—

President De Valera of the Irish Republic has, in a few words, demolished the pretence of those who advocate the League of Nations, that it bears any hope for oppressed peoples anywhere. Mr. De Valera especially exposes the ignorance or duplicity of the Democratic candidate Cox's statement that if he is elected President he will put America in the League, and will then bring the Irish question up before the Council of the League.

Mr. De Valera takes the same view with respect to the power of the League, even should it desire to exercise such a power to help Ireland or any other little nation, now being oppressed by a bigger nation in the League, which "The American" has taken many times in its editorial opinions.

We quote the distinguished representative of Ireland's struggle for freedom:—

"For, if you will examine Article 15, you will find that it specifies that there shall be no interference in the domestic affairs of the signatories and England takes the ground that the Irish question is a domestic question. This we deny. England has no legal rights in Ireland any more than Germany would have in Belgium if she stayed there five years, ten times five years, or one hundred times five years. We have maintained for 750 years that England has no right in Ireland."

"America, the American Government, has a perfect right to protest against the condition that exists in Russia, just as she protested when Russia was persecuting the Jews and when Congress took action on the matter and had the American Ambassador removed from Russia and all the diplomatic relations with the Government of the Czar cut off."

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conditions in Ireland. Now you will find that eleven of the original fourteen points on which the United States entered the war relate in some way to self-determination, and it was because of this that the United States entered the war, and the armistice was signed on that basis and understanding."

If Ireland and the other oppressed nationalities win their freedom it will be in spite of the League of Nations and of its Article X, which President Wilson and Candidate Cox declared to be the "heart of the League," concludes the "American."

In furtherance of their campaign in connection with the restoration of "law and order" in Ireland, a detachment of the Army of Occupation made a swoop on a Republican Court which was sitting in Claremorris on Monday last, and arrested Justices, lawyers, and litigants. Among the prisoners taken were the Rev. Fathers Carney and Burke, and Messrs. Maguire and Smyth, solicitors.

A Republican Court, sitting in Thomastown, Birr, was similarly "suppressed" by the Army of Occupation last week.

Charged with the robbery of £80 worth of plate from a banker in Boyle, two English ex-soldiers were brought before a Republican Court held recently in North Rosecommon. One of the prisoners, when arrested by the Volunteers, admitted his guilt, and implicated the second man, who was eventually apprehended. The Court "exiled" one of the prisoners to Belfast (after publicly parading him through the district), and, owing to extenuating circumstances, allowed the other off with the payment of a fine of £10. All the plate was recovered by the Volunteers and restored to the banker.

Republican Courts have been busy in and around Skibbereen for the past few weeks. Many cases were disposed of by these tribunals of the people, including an important one which had been listed for hearing before the English High Court. On the other hand, "no business" has been done by the English Petty Sessions in Skibbereen, nor in Schull, Ballydeob, nor Goleen for many months past.

The Lutton (Co. Monaghan) Republican Court sat recently and disposed of all the cases listed.

The Ballygarrett Republican Court sat on Wednesday week and disposed of the only case listed.

A large number of cases were heard by the Republican Petty Sessions Court which sat last week at Glencar. Many of the cases had been before the English Courts previously, but the litigants, dissatisfied at the "law's" delay, or inability to administer justice, brought the matters in dispute before a tribunal which is not alone anxious but capable and willing to settle any differences which may arise.

A Republican Court, held last week in Castlemaine, satisfactorily disposed of a long list of cases.

The "R.M." attended at the Tralee (English) Petty Sessions Court on Monday, but all cases had been dealt with by Republican Tribunals. The English County Court Judge had a similar experience on Saturday week.

Commenting on the passing of what was once known as "English law," a writer in "The Kerryman" records the remarks of the litigants in a case of trespass of cattle. The case was one in which a farmer summoned his neighbour—a widow—for the trespass of her cattle on his land. When the case was called, the widow complained that the plaintiff failed to keep his fence in repair, and, she added, in her own idiomatic fashion, "I offered to lose three men to the fence if he would lose three more, but he wouldn't do it. I then told him I'd have the trespass to two honest men, but he wouldn't do that either." Then, turning to the plaintiff, she asked: "Will you live it to any two honest men, now?" "No," replied the plaintiff, with marked emphasis, "I want no honest men. I'll have it to the gentleman."

At a meeting of the Council of the Cork Industrial Development Association, held on Monday, September 20th, the following resolution was passed:—

"This Association, representative of the commercial and industrial interests of Cork, expresses its pleasure at the

advent of the ships of the United States Mail Steamship Company to the Port of Cork, which, we feel confident will lead to a big development of trade and intercourse between Ireland and America.

"We condemn the action of the British Government authorities in their prohibition against American passenger vessels entering Cook Harbour on the east-bound voyage. We regard such prohibition not as an isolated incident, but as part of the traditional English policy of maintaining control of the seas, and preventing the shipping expansion of other nations. We also regard it as part of England's traditional repressive economic policy against the development of Ireland's trade and commerce, which policy, ruthlessly pursued, has reduced the population of our country from eight millions to four millions within the past seventy years.

"We look to the United States Administration, and in particular to its Shipping Board Department, to insist upon freedom for its vessels to enter Irish ports, and we are sure the whole Irish people will co-operate with any action taken by them in this respect, as it is to the interests of our country that its port be free to all vessels, and it is our desire to maintain direct intercourse with all nations."

The Dublin Port and Docks Board have adopted a resolution that "the fullest facilities should be given to the development of trade between Ireland and America, and that any restrictions on free entry of American vessels into Irish ports must have a very disastrous effect on the best interests of the country." This resolution is beyond contradiction. But something more than passing a resolution requires to be done. The question arises as to whether it is not possible to provide accommodation for passenger vessels so that direct communication could be established for Americans desirous of visiting Dublin. This is a practical question, and we presume that it is within the sphere of the Port Board to discuss it.

The American Government provides grants in aid of certain postal lines for the encouragement of their new merchant marine. It is within the province of the American Post Office to establish direct postal services to Ireland in order to facilitate and quicken trade between the two countries. For this purpose a terminal port is required at this side, and we see no reason why the Dublin Port and Docks Board should not urge the advantages of their port as a centre for the distribution of American mails, and for the collection of Irish mails for the United States and possibly Canada, Australia and South America. The subject is at least worth investigation, without prejudice to the claims of Goleen or other ports to provide the terminal connections for postal steamers.

The total coal output of Ireland for last year was 92,414 tons, as compared with 92,001 in 1918. The number employed in coal mines was 886, as against 893 the preceding year. There was, therefore, practically no increase in the production of Irish coal during last year. The numbers employed were seven persons less, and the tons raised were a mere trifle of 413 tons more.

We now turn from the annual to the monthly returns. During the four weeks ended July 17 of this year we find the output from the Irish collieries was 9,200 tons, got by 900 persons employed. This shows a considerable advance on the four weeks ended June 21 of 1919, when the output was 6,600 tons, and the number employed 787. The average four-weeks' output in 1919 was 7,108, so that there appears to be a substantial improvement in the mining industry.

The output of coal in Britain during the four weeks ended July 17 last was eighteen million tons, won by twelve hundred thousand persons. The output was, therefore, fifteen tons per head for four weeks. In Ireland it was only ten tons per head. Yet the British output per head is not by any means a high figure, being only one-sixth of the United States records. So that the mining industry has a long and hilly road in front of it in this country.

There is probably no industry which has to meet more effective foreign competition than the Irish shoe manufacture. Still we believe it is making some progress. At one time the shoemakers held their own in Ireland, but down to a dozen years ago they appear to have steadily lost ground. This was,

no doubt, due to many causes. It is advisable to know these causes and to study them. One reason to which we are inclined to attribute their loss of the home market is the lack of trade organisation and co-operation amongst themselves. In the United States, with its great output of a thousand millions annually, employing more than 200,000 persons, we find that the various branches of the trade have learned that it is possible to be co-operative as well as competitive. It has been learned that "it is better to compete on quality, workmanship, and individuality based on a certain trend of style than it is to cause confusion in the mind of the buyer as to what is good taste and good style," to quote Louis A. Coolidge, who writes with the authority of a treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation. This policy has very important results. The old custom involved thousands of different lasts, fashioned according to the whims of the selling organisations of factories. Under the new co-operative competition idea the tannery, shoe manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, through their national organisation, meet every season to study the trend of style, and to establish certain fundamental facts as to what should be considered good, thus preventing enormous waste, particularly in multiplicity of samples and of undesirable models. These are important developments, and may be noted by our shoemakers, who are the product bear the stamp of quality rather than the magic of style.

Now that the Irish farmers are devoting attention to the meat industry, a description of the American trade will be of some interest. The large packer, it is stated, does not sell through wholesalers or brokers. He sells direct to retailers all over the United States, and even has his own delivery trucks in which goods are delivered to the retailers' door.

The meat industry is, in most countries, merely a local one, the butcher killing fresh meat for the town victualler. In England the butcher is quite separate from the man who sells the meat, but in Ireland the victualler is generally his own butcher. In the United States the vast extent of the country—the fact that over two-thirds of the live stock is raised west of the Mississippi, and two-thirds of the consumers live east and principally on the Atlantic seaboard—has rendered organisation necessary on a large scale. It was mainly a question of transportation.

The handling of meat is probably the most difficult of the articles which a carrier has to deal with. This necessitated the development of a practical means of shipping perishable meats over great distances, and after many trials the modern refrigerator car was perfected.

Mr. L. F. Swift, President of Swift and Company of Chicago, writing for the "Manchester Guardian" American Resources number, tells us that the railroads refused to build such cars because of their expense, and because the railroads were satisfied with the traffic they had in live animals. The packers were, therefore, forced to build their own equipment. As a result, the large packers, and many of the smaller ones, still own their own refrigerator cars, and have their own transportation departments, which see that the cars are properly routed, that no time is lost in transit, that they are kept in constant repair, and that they are maintained in a sanitary condition.

The following is a further description of what is probably the greatest industry in the world, as given at first hand by Mr. Swift, of the "Big Five":—

The immensity of the country and the widespread character of the live stock industry have brought about an interesting method of live stock marketing, and have forced the American packers to develop methods of organisation and marketing that are peculiar to the United States. The large packers have developed within the past 50 years. Before that time the industry was largely local, as it still is in Europe. As the raising of live stock developed in the Middle and further West, hundreds of miles from the big eastern markets, the live animals were at first shipped over great distances in stock-cars to the packing plants along the Atlantic seaboard. This resulted in shrinkage and deterioration of the live animals, and also in payment of freight on the entire animal instead of on the meat and merchantable by-products alone. Hence it was realised that it would be better to collect the live animals in the West, slaughter and dress

them in that part of the country, and ship the meats to eastern markets.

All this contains a useful headline to us in Ireland. The long delays, loss of flesh, and the harassing restrictions are the strongest arguments in favour of the conversion of the live stock trade into a packing business.

Stockowners will be interested in the description of the Stockyard Centres from the same source:—

This westward movement of the industry caused the development of large packing centres, such as Chicago, Omaha, and Kansas City, and many others scattered throughout the live stock producing regions. At these centres there concurrently developed a system of stockyard markets, to which producers ship their live stock, consigned to commission men, who sell the animals to the buyers of the various packers and see that the animals are properly fed and watered pending their sale. A stockyard market covers many acres of land, and is split up into hundreds of small pens. The animals come in carload lots and are placed in the pens, where they are fed and watered; and the buyers of the various packers, as well as shippers, dealers, and speculators, ride round on horseback from pen to pen and make their bids for the animals that are offered for sale.

The receipts of animals at the stockyards fluctuate greatly in quantity from day to day and from week to week. At Chicago alone, in 1919, the receipts of cattle ranged between 38,264 and 110,366 cattle a week; while the receipts of hogs ranged from 67,829 to 300,990 a week. The large packers have to do their best to absorb these fluctuating receipts as they come to market. The industry, therefore, is in the peculiar position of having no control over the amount of raw material that must be purchased from day to day and week to week, and it has to ship trainloads of fresh meat to markets hundreds of miles away without knowing what price they are going to obtain when the goods are ultimately sold. This system of large public stockyard markets, however, results in a constant cash market for producers, where competition brings about a definite market price from day to day, and where live-stock shippers can always be sure of getting the full value of their shipments whenever they send them to market.

It should be borne in mind that the American method is to refrigerate the meat, rather than to freeze it.

We have received an inquiry from a Dublin drapery firm as to whether "college caps" can be obtained of Irish manufacture. There are very few factories of caps of any sort of headgear in Ireland, and this firm has located some of the principal existing factories, but none of them are willing to supply. Now, it seems strange that such an article as an Irish college cap, which is a simple thing to make, cannot be obtained. There is here a lack of enterprise visible, and we publish these few lines in the hope that an opening may be found for this branch:

Mr. J. L. Fawcitt, New York, sent cuttings to the Dublin Industrial Development Association from the American Press protesting against the prohibition of the British Admiralty against the entry of the s.s. Panhandle State into Cork Harbour. The Council approved of a certain line of action in the matter being taken. Mr. Fawcitt also sent a large amount of important commercial information, which members of the Association may consult at the offices.

Mrs. Kerney, Commercial Representative, Paris, thanked the Council of the Dublin I.D.A. for information supplied as to the Irish cattle trade, and the possibilities of a dead meat trade, and for the list of Irish exhibitors at the Lyons Fair. He would be glad to hear from Irish firms who have French agents, and with whom he is prepared to co-operate with the object of aiding Irish trade. Any information supplied to the Secretary, Dublin I.D.A., 12 Molesworth Street, will be sent to Mrs. Kerney.

An application was made to the Council of the Dublin I.D.A. by the Women's Irish Education League, San Francisco, through Cumann na mBan for a loan collection of Irish Arts, crafts, and industrial products. It was decided to communicate with possible exhibitors of suitable goods.

At this week's meeting of the Council of the Dublin Industrial Development Association it was announced, and noted with much satisfaction, that the contract for Messrs. Clery's shop front has now been placed in Ireland. The President, Mr. J. P. O'Shea, was heartily thanked by the Council for his efforts in the matter.

Correspondence from the Irish Tobacco Manufacturers with reference to suggestions put before them by the Dublin I.D.A. re co-operative advertising, an extensive window-dressing scheme, a bonus system to tobaccoists, and closer combination among the firms, was read, and it was decided by the Council to pursue its investigations, with a view to summoning a conference representative of all interests.

Letters re a Spanish-Irish service of fruit steamers were read and noted with interest.

It was reported at the Council meeting of the Dublin I.D.A. that a certain Dublin institution, which had refused to consider the merits of an Irish disinfecting fluid, when applied to, by the manufacturers, was now using it at the instance of the Association. The Dublin Corporation was also written to re the use of imported disinfectants and large quantities of foreign metal polish. A reply from the Supplies Committee is awaited.

Our Paris letter, posted to us on Friday, and containing a summary of the comments of the French Press on English policy in Ireland, has not been received at our office this week.

### The "D. W. Ross" Breed

The following is part of the speech delivered in 1797 by John Philpot Curran in defence of "The Press" newspaper:—

"But the learned gentleman is further pleased to say that the traverser has charged the government with the encouragement of informers. This, gentlemen, is another small fact that you are to deny at the hazard of your souls, and upon the solemnity of your oaths. You are upon your oaths to say to the sister country, that the government of Ireland uses no such abominable instruments of destruction as informers. Let me ask you honestly, what do you feel, when in my hearing, when in the face of this audience, you are called upon to give a verdict that every man of us, and every man of you know, by the testimony of your own eyes, to be utterly and absolutely false? I speak not now of the public proclamation for information, and the promise of secrecy, and of the great reward; I speak not of those wretched wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory; I speak of what your own eyes have seen, day after day, during the course of this commission, from the box where you are now sitting; the number of horrid miscreants, who acknowledged, upon their oaths, that they had come from the seat of government—from the very chambers of the Castle—where they had been worked upon, by the fear of death and the hope of compensation, to give evidence against their fellows; that the mild, the wholesome, and the merciful counsels of this government are hidden over these egotisms of living death, where the wretch that is buried a man, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and is then dug up a witness!

"Is this a picture created by a haggard fancy, or is it fact? Have you not seen him after his resurrection from that region of death and corruption, make his appearance upon the table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both; have you not marked when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not seen how the human heart bowed to the supremacy of his power, in the undiminished homage of deferential horror; how his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of life and death—a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent. There was an antidote—a juror's oath—but even that adamant chain, that bound the integrity of man to the throne of eternal justice, is solved and melted in the breath that issues from the informer's mouth: conscience swings from her moorings, and the appalled and affrighted juror consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim:—

"Et quo sibi quisque timentat,  
Tunis in miseri exitium conversa tulerat."  
Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the devil has been worshipped by Pagans and savages—even so in this wicked country, is the informer an object of judicial idolatry—even so is he soothed by the music of human groans—even so is he placated and appeased by the fumes and by the blood of human sacrifice."

hole. But we understand that the spirit of this treaty shall be kept with us."

"And so should all understand," replied Ginkle. "The paper but keeps the promises I before held out, and for which I have often received the commands of my royal master."

"And you, General Ginkle, engage for King William, that he will speedily ratify it," resumed the lawyer.

"His Majesty empowers me to do so," answered Ginkle.

"Come, then," cried Sarsfield, checking a stifled sigh, "let us sign, in the name of God and of our country—in the name of honesty and good faith."

"I sign, in that pledge," said Ginkle, laying the paper on the adjacent stone, and, as he knelt, the better to speed his task, attaching his signature thereto. As he motioned his other generals to draw near for the same purpose a great uproar was heard towards the camp. They severally took the pen, however; and Sarsfield at last rose, while the tumult increased, also approached the stone, and knelt, remarking it was, by accident, a good position for the act. He was beginning to write, when Eva M'Donnell, haggard and agitated, ran up, crying, "Hold your hand, my Lord of Lucan, and hark a word from me."

"A mad woman," said Dr. Dopping; "let her be set aside," though, while she spoke, he looked, in significant alarm, at Colonel Lloyd. Sarsfield had glanced up, but resumed his writing, and hastily finished his signature.

"Not so mad, either, as he who will not forbear at my request," cried Eva.

"What now? what now?" asked Sarsfield, advancing to her as the other Irish officers subscribed their names.

"Perhaps you do not know me, my lord; yet might; you have seen Eva M'Donnell in the Castle of Dublin."

"Miss M'Donnell! I do indeed remember. Can I do you a service?"

"My lord, you can; but first—although a brother's life nearly hangs on it—serve your country, my Lord of Lucan! Suffer not the full signatures to be put to this treaty, for," she added, in a close and hissing whisper, "Chateau Renault this moment sails with a brave fleet from Dingle Bay to Limerick. I crossed to Ireland with him, and, my private need not brooking delay when he touched on the coast, rode hither since yesterday."

"Let no other man sign!" cried Sarsfield, turning round to the officers.

"Praises to the Lord!" said Dr. Dopping, clapping his hand on the document, "the last name is written hereon."

"Mighty God!" exclaimed Sarsfield, stamping, as he instinctively grasped his sword, "is all lost, then, and the game in our very hand? Hither, gentlemen, hither!"

The Irish officers gathered round him, and, in vehement whispers, he told the news.

"Let us back to the town," said John Grace.

"Yes," said another, "the gates are still shut, and we can hold them so, as we have done."

Ginkle and his officers also drew aside, and whispered with each other.

"You would break this treaty, even in the same hour you sign it, my Lord Lucan," said Colonel Lloyd.

"As perfidious Papists ever did," added the Bishop of Meath.

The Irish officers returned angry and ominous scowls for these home charges—all but Sarsfield. He stood aloof from them, his eyes buried in the earth. He looked around, as if to take an inspiring view of the country, the question of whose subjection or independence tugged at the foundations of his sense of private honour. He panted; he sighed, quickly and laboriously; his forehead grew moist; his cheek alternately red and pale; while, with the point of his scabbard, he unconsciously dug at the sod on which he stood. The remarks of Ginkle's party growing louder, he started suddenly, listened a moment, held himself more erect, smiled bitterly, and turning on his heel to them, said:

"Nay, gentlemen, be not so quick, nor so hard with us. You, Colonel Lloyd, be merciful, in particular; for though your city of Derry sent a shot in King James's face, when it was expected to keep a treaty with him, yet shall this treaty stand. Though an ally's fleet, bearing us help enough to hold all Ireland in our hands, be now entering the mouth of the Shannon, yet shall it stand. Though our country be lost to us—though we bid farewell to her for ever—though she exist for us, but in our recollections and sorrow—a manly tear glazed his eye—" yet shall it stand. And so, fare you well, gentlemen. We cannot save

even our country at the price of our honour—of that honour, which, along with our love and efforts for her, alone makes us worthy of being called her children. Farewell, I say. Keep ye your part of this covenant as well as we keep ours, and there needs no ill-blood between us. Come, brother-soldiers—yet forgive me, if I stumble on a doubt. They who suspect much of others can scarce ever promise much for themselves. Come, Miss M'Donnell—General Ginkle, I mean not you, whose fair dealing is evident through all this matter—but Ireland is governed at home, sir, when her masters turn their backs. Adieu, sir—follow, gentlemen—Miss M'Donnell, with you—God of nations! God of freedom!" he added, as they turned away, "what a sore chance is this!" and he wept convulsively.

"General Sarsfield," cried Eva, as the tumult, before heard, and afterwards gone off, was renewed—"since you can no longer raise an arm for your country, aid me, oh, aid me, to save my brother! my brothers!" Sarsfield started much in interest. Eva rapidly explained that Edmund, having fallen into the hands of Ginkle's soldiers, had been ordered to be shot; that James M'Donnell, rashly and madly trying to rescue him, had, of course, but shared his fate; that Evelyn, passing with her from Limerick, had flown on to the outpost, to gain, if possible, a moment's delay, while she, recognising Sarsfield, remained to crave his intercession with Ginkle. Sarsfield, having heard her story, darted back to Ginkle—Eva onward.

She gained, with wild terror, yet not bereft of hope, the spot on which her brothers stood. Edmund and James M'Donnell, the former supported by Evelyn, were in motion towards a clear space of ground, a rank of soldiers standing behind them. Evelyn, as he passed his hand round Edmund's waist, smote his forehead with the other, and often looked back. Eva, checked by the officer, ran in through the soldiers, and clasped her arms round her brothers: "Hope, hope!" she cried—"you must—you shall be saved! This can never be! One moment, officer! only one moment, till my Lord of Lucan—"

While she spoke, Ginkle and Sarsfield rode up. The general had pleaded, as if for the lives of two sons. They were instantly pardoned. The ensuing scene must be imagined.

One condition accompanied, however, the grace to the brothers, namely, that they should transport themselves out of Ireland. When Eva heard this, from the lips of Evelyn, her brow fell towards him—she was silent. Then she brightened up, and vowed, as she had before intimated, to join herself to her brother's wanderings, and own no other care or duty. Evelyn heard her in despair.

Sarsfield soothed Edmund, promising to take the same vessel with him, and give him a command when his Lucan regiment should be re-incorporated on the Continent. All was now nearly over. Limerick opened its gates to King William; and the next day the French fleet entered the river—the fleet only doomed to transport the defenders of Ireland to a foreign shore, though it had come to restore them to their country. The whole Irish army was reviewed by William's generals and justices, and solicited to pass into his service, the officers retaining their rank. About a thousand did so; many thousands more marched to embark for France at Cork: the rest sailed from Limerick. It was a sad scene, that strange embarkation. No adieus were exchanged with remaining friends, by the emigrants—with brothers, sisters or wives. Friends, of every sex and age, exiled themselves together. They had only to stand on the decks of their vessels, and look a long adieu to their country.

Our friends experienced the sole struggle that day seeing Sarsfield, and some brother-officers, Edmund and James M'Donnell, Eva, Evelyn, and Carolan, all walk together to the river's edge. One after the other they stepped into the boat, until it came to Eva's turn.

"And do you, indeed, leave me, with but this mocking symbol of an eternal fate, once solemnly sworn at the altar?" asked Evelyn, catching her arm, as, blinded in tears, she also put her foot on the boat, and he showed her marriage ring.

"Have you considered well, Eva?" asked Edmund. "God knows, your presence would be the only joy of our exile. But, if you love your husband, stay by his side; I should not be a brother or a Christian to say you otherwise. Examine your heart—call upon your God; and if a great duty prompts—why, then, Eva, ask Him to bless

us—and so, fare you well, Eva—sister— orphan sister—fare you well!"

For the day before, Eva had evidently been shaken in her stern resolve, as well by the pleadings of Evelyn as by her own reflections. Now she hesitated, her feet still on the boat. The rowers spoke of putting off. Her husband grasped her hand, and replaced, unseen by any, the ring on her finger. Her brothers, not displeased, nor, on her account, sorry, saw which way God and woman's nature at last swayed her. They embraced their sister; she clung sobbing, and almost shrieking, to them. The boat was about to move; her husband caught her in his arms. The boat put off; and now she clung to him.

"Farewell, Eva—farewell, Evelyn—farewell, Carolan—farewell, Ireland!" cried the brothers, as the rowers pulled hard. Carolan was on the bank; all hands had before been clasped with his. Now he struck his little harp. It was an extemporaneous and touching air he played.

"Farewell, the ashes of my first and only love!" Edmund M'Donnell was heard to add; and they were his last words parting from his country.

"Farewell, Mr. Evelyn," said Sarsfield, grasping his hand. "To you, and such as you, we look for the observance of this Treaty of Limerick, which, if observed, will give her exiles the consolation of knowing that Ireland, though not a free, is a peaceful country, and may grow to be a happy one."

"It will be observed, my Lord Lucan," answered Evelyn.

It was not.

CONCILIATION.

(Continued from page 3).

singing. On the evening of the 22nd inst. many young men and women, including McGrath and McDonnell, had gathered there as usual. Some were sitting and others standing by the roadside when a motor lorry containing British troops appeared at the bend of the road. Without the slightest warning, a shot was fired from the lorry. The gathering at once scattered. As the lorry came nearer the soldiers continued to fire at the fleeing young men and women, and McGrath and McDonnell fell, mortally wounded. The military proceeded on their way, giving no assistance to the wounded men, both of whom died in a few minutes.

All the members of the crowd have given evidence on oath that no shots were fired at the lorry, nor were the military provoked or molested in any way.

**Murder:**—Mr. James Cogan, an officer in the Irish Volunteers, was shot dead by a party of British military at Oldcastle, Co. Meath, on the evening of the 21st inst.

Some members of the Irish Volunteers, detailed for police work, were by motor car conveying to jail a noted cattle-stealer when they were called upon by a party of British military to halt. They ignored the order and the military opened fire, shooting Cogan dead. When Cogan had been killed the other Republican police returned the fire of the troops and brought their prisoner through the military lines.

**Killing by Curfew:**—Mr. Hay, a chemist, of Parnell Place, Cork, died during the night owing to lack of medical attention due to the Curfew restrictions at present enforced by the British military authorities in Cork City. Mr. Hay was taken ill at 9.30, and the priest who attended him—Rev. Father Cullinane, C.C.—seeing that he was dangerously ill, went immediately for the nearest doctor. The latter, having no permit, could not venture into the streets. Father Cullinane earnestly appealed to the British police authorities for the issue of a doctor's permit, but it was refused. Mr. Hay died four hours later.

SATURDAY, JULY 24th.

**Raid:**—British military raided the houses occupied by Messrs. T. Duggan, Town Councillor; E. A. Morkan and J. Whelan, at Lismore, Co. Waterford. Messrs. Morkan, Duggan and Whelan are amongst those whose houses were wrecked during the recent sacking of the town by British military.

In Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, the Commercial Hotel, the Devonshire Arms Hotel, and the Town Hall were raided by British troops.

Ten British policemen raided the Sinn Fein Hall in Galway, where a meeting of the City Football and Hurling League was being held.

**Arrests:**—Ten persons were arrested on the streets of Dublin on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 12 midnight and 3 a.m. without the permission of the British authorities.

**Sentences:**—Mr. W. J. Doherty, Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, was sentenced by District Courtmartial, held at Galway on July 16th, to 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of having in his possession a document forbidding all intercourse with British police.

**Proclamations and Suppressions:**—British police and military dispersed a sitting of a Republican Arbitration Court at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, on the 23rd inst. The arbitrators, who were prominent citizens of different political views, vainly pointed out to the officer in charge of the troops that the British Attorney-General recently declared in the House of Commons that such Arbitration Courts were legal.

The British military authorities in Cork have proclaimed an open-air musical festival which was to have been held at Blackrock Castle, Cork, on Sunday, July 25th.

A hurling match, fixed for the same day, has also been proclaimed by the British military authorities.

**Armed Assault:**—British policemen ran amok on the 23rd inst. in the town of Caltra, Co. Galway. The outbreak began at 2 a.m. with an attack on the residence of Rev. M. Brennan, C.C., a prominent supporter of the Gaelic League, and President of the local Arbitration Courts. The attackers fired several volleys into the windows of Father Brennan's house. The police then wrecked several other houses, including the Sinn Fein Hall, which was burned to the ground with cries of "Up Tuam." Tuam was recently sacked by British police. The streets were strewn with bullets, and many people had narrow escapes.

Early on the morning of the 17th inst. the premises of Messrs. T. Conna and Sons, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, were set on fire by members of the British military and police forces, who

saturated the doors and windows with paraffin, and placed bags soaked in petrol along the balcony. When Mr. Conna and some fellow townsmen endeavoured to subdue the flames they were fired upon by the military and police.

A British military party held up and searched an old man in poor circumstances who was on his way to see a doctor at Millstreet, Cork. He was pulled out of his cart and his bed thrown on the roadside, while an officer held a revolver to his head.

When Mr. Bonhill, manager in the establishment of Messrs. E. G. Pitt, O'Connell Street, Limerick, was proceeding home after working late in his office, he was held up by a British police patrol in Patrick Street. One policeman felled him with the butt-end of his rifle, and repeatedly clubbed him as he lay on the ground; the other policeman stood by, making no effort to prevent this murderous assault. Mr. Bonhill had to be removed to hospital by some passers-by.

On the night of the 22nd inst. British police ran amok in the village of Leap, Co. Cork, and wrecked the Parochial Hall. Any citizens found abroad were attacked and beaten. The house of Jeremiah Crowley was burned to the ground.

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Hundreds of our young men and women are leaving Ireland weekly. Help to establish them on the land at home by depositing your savings in the National Land Bank.

Office:	Current Accounts . . . . . 2%	Secretary and
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68 Lr. Leeson St.,	" One year . . . . . 4%	
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Dublin.	" Five years . . . . . 5%	Lionel Smith-Gordale
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of the Gaelic language has taken place, and with it a revival of nationality and its desires for full independence.

"All who love liberty and respect the rights of men and nations, should help Ireland in her fight for justice.

"If the principle of self-determination means anything, if all our noble protestations are not sublime hypocrisy, then we must ask and work for Irish freedom.

"We are guaranteeing independence to the Poles, the Czech-Slovaks, the Serbs and the Belgians.

"How can we deny liberty to the Irish? Are Irish people less deserving than the Slavs? Are they less human than the Serbs? Do their sufferings matter less to us than those of the Armenians? Are they outcasts to justice? Are they made of different clay than the Belgians? Are Ireland's sons less brave, her daughters less virtuous, her mothers less noble than those of other races? Why prate of injustice to any nation on earth while Ireland is in slavery?

"Are we bold in demanding freedom for the oppressed small nations of Europe because their oppressors have lost their power, and we are afraid to ask liberty for Ireland for fear of England's wrath?

"Does liberty mean one thing to us when we speak of the Jugo-Slavs, and another when we mention the Irish? Is Might still Right in this old world?"

"God Almighty, NO!

"Americans, awake to Ireland's undying cause!

"The lifeblood of thousands of Irishmen stained red the battlefields of France.

"I hear them calling in the livid words of the dead MacCrea:

"If ye break faith with us who die, we shall not sleep, though poppies grow on Flanders' fields."

"Shall we not ask our Ally, England, to right this ancient wrong—England who, without the slightest pretext, invaded Ireland, made war upon her nationality, tried to destroy her population, disinherited her people, outlawed her religion, murdered her patriots, exiled her priests, brought famine into the land of plenty, and changed a 'little bit of heaven' into a whole lot of hell?"

## Review

**The Occupation of Land in Ireland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.**  
By Patrick G. Dardis, M.A., Magnsell and Co., Ltd., Dublin, 7s. 6d. net, cloth.

This monograph on the method of holding land in Ireland is an original contribution to our economic history. It possesses much general interest for the growing circle of readers interested in Irish affairs. This short book of 134 pages was composed as a thesis in 1915 for the Degree of Master of Arts (in Economics) which was awarded to the author with honours by the National University of Ireland. The Rev. T. A. Finlay has written an introduction in which he says truly that though these conditions of land tenure have largely passed away, no country can afford to allow any chapter of its history to be forgotten; "it cannot understand itself unless it knows how it has come to be what it is." Certainly this volume helps us to understand our country in at least one aspect of its history during the period 1800-1850. The occupation of land in Ireland became the pivot of the political agitation which raged during the greater part of the century. The land question is the most important of the affairs of our history during the nineteenth century. It occupied during that century a position similar to the question of the Commercial Restraints in the eighteenth century. The land was the great driving force behind Irish agitation for the greater part of the period since 1800 down to 1903, when the Wyndham Act settled the question of ownership, just as "Free Trade" was the great driving force behind the great agitation which led to the declaration of the Independence of the Irish Parliament of 1782.

We have read the "Occupation of Land" with care. It is a pleasure to have the main facts put boldly on the screen. There is no holding back, no twisting, and no apologies in this publication. The handling of the subject is scientific, and one can discern the methods of the School of Economics in the National University, which is doing work of great importance in laying the foundations of our history on a solid and enduring basis free from the political bias of the past. A study of economics is essentially an introduction to modern Irish history for the reason that both

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were centered on the two great economic questions of the freedom of trade and the ownership of land. To understand these questions is to know our modern history. There are, of course, many other aspects of our history besides the economic one, but it is essential as a foundation to build on the ground as it were.

Let us take, for instance, the subject of the Penal Laws. Studied from an economic point of view, their object becomes easily understood. Catholics were prohibited by law from possessing Real Property until the Acts passed in the Irish Parliament in 1771, 1778, and 1782 enabled them to hold land under indeterminate leases. The object of the Penal Laws is explained clearly by Mr. Dardis, who has the advantage of writing from a legal as well as an economic point of view. The English who were granted the confiscated lands in the South of Ireland made bargains with such adventurers as were ready to undertake the task of dealing with the new properties. The land was parcelled out to these speculators on leases for several lives, or for lives renewable for ever. These undertakers were invariably Protestants, as Catholics were prohibited from possessing real property. It is clear then that the object was to exclude Catholics from acting as undertakers for the English proprietors. It was a precaution to prevent the original Irish owners from getting back their property, and consequently this Penal Law aimed not at converting the Irish into good Protestants, but at keeping them out of the property which formerly belonged to them, or to their ancestors. The Penal Laws were fences to keep out the former owners. "These undertakers knew the object of the laws was to keep the people without education and without property in order to make them slaves" (Crawford, "Depopulation Not Necessary," p. 12). It cannot be said, therefore, that the objects of these Penal Laws were in any sense religious. They were not designed to increase Protestantism in Ireland. On the contrary, they tended to convert the Protestants into land-grabbers, and it will be doubted if a worse device to spread Protestantism could have been executed in a country like Ireland, where land-grabbers were certainly not held in reverence. We may, therefore, assume that these particular laws were economic in character rather than religious.

We have an object in referring to the Penal Laws, because Mr. Dardis builds his thesis on the so-called Catholic Relief Act of 1793. This is a very important date, for we are told at the commencement of Chapter I. of this book that—

"The Catholic Relief Act, passed by the Irish Parliament in 1793, extended the elective franchise to Roman Catholics under similar conditions to those hitherto enjoyed by their Protestant neighbours—that is, the possession of a freehold yielding a minimum yearly value of forty shillings over and above the rent reserved."

According to Mr. Dardis, this Act proved an unmitigated evil, whatever was the motive in passing it. We shall deal later on with the circumstances under which it was passed. "The operation of the Act," writes the author, "led to the multiplication of the Catholic tenantry for ulterior motives. The rage for forty-shilling freeholds was conducive to all manner of offences and vices, to perjury, drunkenness, bribery, rioting, and idleness. The tenants had no will, property, judgment, or knowledge of their own to guide and govern them. They were the live-stock of a great estate, and were driven by their landlords to the hustings as a salesman drives his flock into the market." These are serious charges, and we believe they are well sustained by facts. These Catholic freeholders possessed a cabin and one acre or two acres of ground. "The freehold was created by inserting an old life which was destined not to last long." This is an important point under the circumstances of open voting. In addition to the precarious life in the lease, the tenant was kept in the absolute power of his landlord by the threat to withhold the right to cut turf, which was not included in the lease, or where the holding adjoined the seaboard, by refusing the right to draw seaweed. The landlord, therefore, contends the author, had it in his discretion, if the tenant did not vote as he wished, to stop the supply of turf or seaweed, which, for such a man, was equivalent to a sentence of death. This resulted in the vote being cast in ninety-nine per cent. of instances against the freeholder's own opinion. Evidence

is quoted to show that these unfortunate freeholders were driven to the polls in the county towns like cattle. The tenant was not a free agent. The end in view of the landlord was, not to provide him with a livelihood, but to acquire political influence in the county. Very often, we are told, lands which were not of much value for other purposes, were given to paupers for the sake of offering them an interest whereby they might swear themselves possessors of a tenement out of which they derived a profit of forty shillings. The whole system of the forty shilling freeholders was of no economic utility. On the contrary, it led to great evils without any corresponding advantage.

The forty-shilling freeholder passed away in 1829. Daniel O'Connell has been charged with surrendering their so-called rights in the Emancipation Act. But this is a very superficial charge, and is, we believe, quite unjustifiable. The fact that these freeholders voted for Catholic Emancipation decided their fate in any case, because it should be borne in mind that these freeholds were the creation of the landlords, and when they ceased to serve their political purpose, they would have been terminated as a matter of course in any case, as a punishment. In fact from 1829 onwards the landlords decided not to grant leases of any description, and this decision was universally enforced against Catholics down to our own times. Tenancies at will, or yearly tenancies, were created in their stead. This is a very important fact, brought out with legal ability by Mr. Dardis. Without a knowledge of the legal bearings of the Irish land laws, it is not possible to understand the history of this period. In effect, the so-called Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 only tightened the rivets in the chain of slavery imposed on the tenants by the so-called Catholic Relief Act of 1793. Both Acts were legal delusions and traps for unwary laymen.

On page 2 the author states that the Act of 1793 was passed "with the best intentions of an exclusive Protestant legislature to benefit the overwhelming majority of the population of the country." Unfortunately, this is not, we fear, well founded. Sir Robert Peel, in his Emancipation Speech, gave a quite different version of the attitude of the Irish Parliament, and stated that Pitt had to force the Act through by the exercise of pressure on the placemen or nominees. When the Bill of 1793 was placed on the table of the Commons, it is alleged that La Touche went up and seized it, tore it up, and stamped on it amidst the plaudits of the assembled legislators. This attitude is quite consistent with the use that was afterwards made of the forty-shilling freehold. Pitt, of course, had his own object in forcing this delusive measure on the Irish Parliament in order to fight the French Revolution, and to uphold the monarchies of Europe. That, however, is another chapter of history to be unrolled. It is clear that the Act was worse than useless, and merely served Pitt's purpose of posing as a pro-Papist, winning the support of certain parties on the Continent, and humbugging certain parties in Ireland.

We have dealt at some length with this important episode of the forty-shilling freeholder. The author deals with equal ability with the various other headings, amongst which the most important are the tenure of the Irish farmer; the methods of collecting rent, cess, poor-rate and tithes; the sub-letting and divisions of land; the labourers; the clearances; the causes of agrarian outrage; capital and credit; usury; agricultural improvements; and absenteeism.

There is one matter which should never be lost sight of in dealing with the Irish land question. The author deals clearly with the fundamental conception of the Irish tenants. He tells us that the original dwellers of the land sustained a long struggle commencing in 1793 to recover the rights which they considered inalienable—undisturbed possession of the land (p. xii.). Eviction, in the eyes of the Irish farmer, was, under no circumstances, right (p. xiv.). The landlord was regarded as an alien, both by birth and religion, possessing by right of conquest what the farmers considered to be theirs by hereditary right (p. 3). The tenants never recognised the landlord's claim to the absolute ownership of the land, and, at most, a lease only signified that for a certain period the rent could not be lowered or increased. On the other hand the landlords outside Ulster, where tenant-right prevailed, would not recognise the right of the tenant in any respect, even to remuneration

for permanent improvements and capital expenditure, the fruits of which he had not fully enjoyed during the term. The Irish farmer was regarded as a mere labourer working on the land. Thus the issue was clearly knit. This question of ownership was the real Irish land question, and it had eventually to be settled by the transfer of the full rights of possession to the occupiers by the operation of the land purchase.

The clearances of the forty-shilling freeholders commenced in 1829 as a result of "Catholic Emancipation." In 1838 the Poor Law was passed establishing workhouses. The poor-rate was put upon the landlord in the case of holdings of 80s. and under. "The Poor Law Act of 1838 practically signed the death warrant of any unfortunate peasant whose valuation was not above £4." Thus the clearances, were accelerated from 1838 onwards.

We learn many important facts of our history from this admirable book on "The Occupation of Land." We learn the causes of the clearances, of boarding, of emigration, of usury, of the lack of agricultural progress. We learn, for instance, that the rotation of crops was not practised in Ireland outside of Ulster until after the year 1844. This is surely a remarkable fact. We learn that the Obelisk on Killybeg Hill was erected to stop the Famine of 1846—"a memorial," says the writer, "not only of the famine, but of the mental vacuity of the Government of the day." This comment is hardly correct. The "Government of the day" knew well what it was doing, and it did not suffer from vacuity. It was well weighted with plans and plots to exterminate the Irish nation.

We learn that the hoarding of money prevailed amongst yearly tenants (tenants at will), who realised that it was useless to sink any capital in the land, as it would inevitably result in the rent being increased. Usury was due to the landlord's right of distress over all chattels found on the tenement, irrespective of the claims of others. Money lenders had no security, and they charged accordingly. We learn that "in a word, the National Education system ignored the one pursuit for which the children were destined—agriculture." We learn of the great success of the six-acre farm attached to the Larne National School, but this was abandoned when its success became apparent.

We learn that the National Board bought the farm at Glasnevin to prepare teachers to give practical instruction in agriculture in elementary schools, but as these schools in general had no demonstration plots attached, the teachers' training was useless.

We learn that in 1816 the "Government" had facilitated the process of clearing estates by the passing of the Eviction Act, and that in 1821 a scheme was inaugurated in Co. Cork and financed by the State to alleviate the condition of those evicted by emigrating them to Canada free of charge.

We learn that State-aided emigration was a needless expense, "considering that the emigrants could have been located in Ireland on portion of the 1,425,000 acres of waste land, which could have been improved for tillage, or of the 2,330,000 improvable for pasture." But Ireland was the last place to locate an Irish family. Nevertheless, the Irish occupy Ireland to-day, and they will always occupy it, until the day comes when there will be no more land.

The only criticism we have to pass on this book is that the writer states (p. 124) that there was no hand-loom weaving in the South, with the exception of a small cotton manufacture on the South-west coast. It is evident that the writer is quite unaware of the industrial history of his country in the period with which he deals. We cannot, however, attribute much blame to him, seeing that it has yet to be written. There was, in fact, an extensive linen industry in the South of Ireland, and it was extending considerably between the years 1800 to 1825, when the bounty on export ceased. There was also at this period an extensive cotton industry outside of Ulster. The writer also appears to be unaware that Dublin was the industrial capital of Ireland at this period, and that Belfast was only a small town. The lack of industrial history does not affect the value of the book from a land point of view. Indeed, it is evident that the writer has a grasp of agricultural affairs, and, combined with his legal knowledge and research, these circumstances have united to give us a real contribution to our knowledge on the most difficult question of our time.

## The Broken Treaty

(From "The Boyne Water.")

A Novel, by John Banim.

"I can vouch it," replied the youth, anxiously looking from the walls; "but here is something important to us or him—a rider who has just got under shelter of the walls, and whom I know well, makes impatient and troubled signs to me. Hark! he enters at the gate."

In a few seconds, the Rapparee ran up the steps of the wall, and whispered the young man.

"Say you so, by Heaven! Get our men who are in the town ready, then. Haste, and let us have a trial for it. Sister, farewell! I go to free our brother. He is in the hands of this Ginkle, who, a hundred times, has sworn his ruin—farewell! farewell!"

He disappeared; Eva, shrieking in terror, and Evelyn, foreseeing the uselessness, or worse, of violence, in such a case, vainly urging him to remain.

"No, let him go—and let us follow!" cried Eva. "Have we no friends near, to intercede with this merciless man? Where is Sarsfield?"

"In the camp, with Ginkle," answered Evelyn.

"In the camp! What camp? What does he there?"

"He has gone out to sign a treaty for the surrender of Limerick."

"Surrender!" screamed Eva, starting up; "misery upon misery! private and public run together! Come, Evelyn, protect me to this camp; now there is a double cause why we should be there—to save a brother, and a country! Come, I have arguments to try for both. Surrender! Why?"

"The disappointment of the fleet from France—"

"Disappointment of the fleet? Come away. Disappointment! I have news to match that—your arm, Evelyn. Oh, dearest Evelyn! God grant there arise here no new and eternal cause for our separation, indeed. But should injury come on Edmund—injury in life or prospects—what can a wretched sister do but for ever mourn over it, or dedicate herself for ever to soothe it! Be a friend to us, Heaven!" she cried, as, with Evelyn, she hastened down the wall, waving her hand to old Priest McDonnell to stay by Carolan's side, whose troubled features told the torture with which he heard the announcement of the new misfortune.

While the conversation we have detailed occurred on the walls of Limerick, Sarsfield and his colleagues sat down, in Ginkle's tent, to a dinner as dainty as the situation and all circumstances would allow. He found, in the Dutch general, a pleasing specimen of his country; blunt, and matter-of-fact, indeed, but more courteous and animated than any of the same nation he had before seen. A portly, full-breasted, middle-aged man, holding himself very erect and bluff, and his broad face, and wide, though not disagreeable features, wearing a constant smile, that almost approached to a smirk. At his side were other Dutch, English, and French officers, and William's justices; together with Dr. Dopping and Colonel Lloyd.

The repast proceeded in good humour and mutual and a sincere show of that respect and good-will which fair foes always entertain for each other. It was done; bumpers were filled, healths toasted, and hands clasped in fellowship, whose duty it had a moment before been to point the sword at one another's hearts. Then, General Ginkle proceeded to business. He led the whole party from his tent to a spot, at the county side of Thomond-bridge, almost, it might be said, in sight of both armies. There, pausing near a huge stone, he drew out a fair copy of the treaty of surrender, which had before been discussed and agreed to. Having connoit it over, he handed it to the justices, and, when they had done reading it, to Sarsfield, saying that he believed Lord Lucan would find it sufficient for honourable men at any time to accept, and especially calculated to give security in property, immunity for the past, freedom in religion, eligibility to political place and rank. In a word, quiet and liberty to the Catholics of Ireland.

Sarsfield, having attentively perused the document, said that its provisions appeared to him so calculated; and he passed it to his legal adviser, Sir Toby Butler. The barrister gave it a renewed approval, and handed it round. "We cannot be certain," added Sir Toby, "that with such unusual despatch, and amid so much warm discussion, we shall be able to frame to the very letter an instrument in which some ingenious knave may not pick a

**Balmes on England**

The following is a further extract from the Spaniard's (Father Balmes) great work, "European Civilisation," from which we quoted last week. It was written 80 years ago:—

There is in Europe a nation remarkable for her immense power, and worthy of respect on account of the great progress which she has made in the arts and sciences. A nation who holds in her hands powerful means of action in all parts of the world, and knows how to use them with wonderful discretion and sagacity. As that nation has taken the lead in modern times in passing through all the phases of political and religious revolution, and has seen, during fearful convulsions, the passions in all their nakedness and crime, in all its forms, she is better acquainted than all others with their causes.

Not misled by the vain names under which, at such periods, the lowest passions and the most sordid interests disguise themselves, she is too much on her guard to allow the troubles which have inundated other countries with tears and blood, to be easily excited within herself. Her internal peace is not disturbed by the agitation and heat of disputes; although she may expect to have to encounter, sooner or later, difficulties and embarrassments, she enjoys, in the meantime, the tranquillity which is secured to her by her constitution, her manners, her riches—and, above all, by the ocean which surrounds her. Placed in so advantageous a position, that nation watches the progress of others, for the purpose of attaching them to her car by golden chains, if they are simple enough to listen to her flattery; at least she attempts to hinder their advance, when a noble independence is about to free them from her influence. Always attentive to her own aggrandisement, by means of the arts and commerce, and by a policy eminently mercantile, she hides her self-interest under all sorts of disguises; and although religion and politics, where she has to do with another people, are quite indifferent to her, she knows how to make an adroit use of these powerful arms, to make friends, to defeat her enemies, and to enclose all within the net of commerce, which she is always extending in all quarters of the world. Her sagacity must necessarily have perceived how much progress she will have made towards adding Spain to the number of her colonies, when she has persuaded the Spanish people to fraternise with her in religion; not so much on account of the sympathy which such a fraternisation would establish between them, as because she would find therein a sure method of stripping the Spanish people of that peculiar character and grave appearance which distinguish them from all others, by depriving her of the only national and regenerative idea which remains to her after so many convulsions: from that moment, in truth, Spain, that proud nation, would be rendered accessible to all kinds of foreign impressions, docile and pliable in bending to all opinions, and subject to the interests of her astute protectors. Let it not be forgotten that there is no other nation which conceives her plans with so much foresight, prepares them with so much prudence, executes them with so much ability and perseverance. As she has remained since her great revolutions, that is, since the end of the 17th century, in a settled condition, and entirely free from the convulsions undergone since that time by European nations, she has been able to follow a regular political system, both internal and external; and her politicians have been formed to the perfect science of government, by constantly inheriting the experience and views of their predecessors. Her statesmen well know how important it is to be prepared beforehand for every event. They deeply study what may aid or impede them in other nations. They go out of the sphere of politics; they penetrate to the heart of every nation over which they propose to extend their influence; they examine what are the conditions of its existence; what is its vital principle; what are the causes of the strength and energy of every people.

During the autumn of 1805, Pitt gave a dinner in the country to some of his friends. While thus engaged, a despatch was brought to him announcing the surrender of Mack at Ulm, with 40,000 men, and the march of Napoleon on Vienna. Pitt communicated the fatal news to his friends, who cried out, "All is lost; there is no longer any resource against him." "There is one still left," replied the Minister, "if I can excite a national war in Europe, and that war must be-

in Spain. Yes, gentlemen," he added, "Spain will be the first country to commence the patriotic war which shall give liberty to Europe." Such was the importance attributed by this profound statesman to a national idea; he expected from it what the strength of all the governments could not effect, the downfall of Napoleon, and the liberation of Europe. But it not uncommonly happens that the march of events is such, that these same national ideas, which one time were the powerful auxiliaries of ambitious cabinets, become, at another, the greatest obstacles; and then, instead of encouraging, it becomes their interest to extinguish them. As the nature of this war will not allow me to enter into the details of politics, I must content myself with appealing to the judgment of those who have observed the line of conduct pursued by England during our war and revolution, since the death of Ferdinand VII. If we consider what the interests of that powerful nation require for the future, we may conjecture the part which she will take.

The means of saving a nation, by delivering it from interested protectors, of securing her real independence, are to be found in great and generous ideas, deeply rooted in the people; in feelings engrained on their hearts by the action of time, by the influence of powerful institutions, by ancient manners and customs; in fine, in that unity of religious thought which makes a whole people as one man. Then the past is united with the present, the present is connected with the future; then arises in the mind that enthusiasm which is the source of great deeds; then are found disinterestedness, energy, and constancy; because hearts are great and generous.

**Conciliation**

XX.

In the raid on the Irish National Foresters' Hall, Ennisicorthy, County Wexford, on the 20th inst., the members who were on the premises had to stand for over an hour with their hands above their heads while the British troops searched the premises. The Secretary offered to open all the doors, but the military declined the offer, preferring to force them open with their bayonets. During the search they destroyed all the club books and papers, pictures and a clock. A banner with a portrait of Wolfe Tone was cut to pieces; the brass band instruments were flattened out—as if they had been jumped upon—and the big drum was smashed with bayonet thrusts. The total damage is estimated at £500.

**Militarism:**—For the third time within a week the naval sloop, "Heather," has brought troops to Ireland. She reached Queenstown at noon on the 21st July with her decks crowded with men of the Highland Light Infantry.

The sacking of Tuam (mentioned in these lists under date of Wednesday, 20th inst.):—

"A tour of the town of Tuam yesterday gave one the impression that a hostile army had ravaged the place with fire and sword. Of the splendid Town Hall, only the skeleton walls and gaping tower remain.

"A resident declared that at the start the fire at the Town Hall could easily have been subdued, but he and the town plumber (Mr. McCoy) were prevented from doing anything to stop it. The police kept firing in their direction, and warned them to clear away. It is alleged Mr. McCoy was deliberately fired upon. A number of bombs were thrown into the houses. One of these, which failed to explode, is now in possession of a shopkeeper, whose premises were wrecked.

"Entrance to the Town Hall was forced by bombing the main door, the explosion carrying away a considerable portion of the stone frame-work. An actual witness states the building was set on fire by three uniformed policemen without caps, accompanied by a man wearing civilian clothes, a trench coat, a soft hat, with the brim pulled over his eyes. One of the policemen had a tin of petrol, with which he saturated large cloths—apparently stage scenery found in the hall. The first attempt failed, and more petrol was poured on, and the brilliant room got ablaze. The four men also set one of the upper rooms well alight."

**FRIDAY, JULY 23rd.**

**Raids:**—Parties of British military and police scoured the district around Oldcastle, Co. Meath, on the 22nd inst. They raided and searched fifty houses.

In Ballyheane and Ballintubber, Co. Mayo, British military and police

raided and searched upwards of 30 residences at midnight on the 18th inst.

British military and police raided the houses of prominent Republicans in Youghal, Co. Cork. The houses raided included those of Mr. S. Green, recently elected Republican Chairman of the Poor-Law Guardians, and Mr. M. Kelleher. In all, nine houses were raided.

**Arrests:**—Sixty persons were arrested on the streets of Cork on a charge of being "abroad" between the hours of 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. on the night of the 21st inst. The presiding magistrates at the subsequent trials of those arrested stated that in future the penalty for not complying with the order would be a fine of £50 and three months' imprisonment. Another magistrate ruled that persons were not allowed to stand at their own doors after 10 p.m.

Four men travelling by motor from a funeral in Cork were held up at Middleton, Co. Cork, on the 20th inst. by British military, who arrested them "on suspicion."

**Proclamations and Suppressions:**—At Bullinashloe, Co. Galway, British troops discovered the whereabouts of a Republican Land Court after the session had been for some hours in progress. The solicitors and litigants had to disperse.

British military have taken possession of Sligo Courthouse and the offices of the Sligo County Council. The officials, including the Secretary of the Co. County and the County Surveyor, are refused admittance to their offices and books, and the whole administration of the county is thereby held up.

**Armed Assaults:**—At 1 a.m. on the morning of the 22nd inst. members of the British police forces garrisoned at Ballina, Co. Mayo, turned out and fired rifle volleys through the town. The firing was quite indiscriminate, as there was no objective, all the inhabitants having retired for the night. The houses in the vicinity of which the shootings occurred bear hundreds of bullet marks.

British military patrols have been placed in all roads in West Mayo. Travellers are held up at night, and many complain of receiving brutal treatment at the hands of the soldiers.

**Murders:**—Daniel McGrath (18), of Ardara, and Thomas McDonnell, of Dunmahon, Glanworth, were shot dead without provocation or warning by a party of British military at Curraunacrossroads, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork. Curraunacross is the favourite resort of the youth of both sexes of the neighbourhood, who assemble there in the summer evenings for dancing and

(Continued on page 7).

**The Raw Material for the Belfast Pogroms.**

**HABITUAL CRIMINALS AT LARGE AND HOUSES OF BAD CHARACTER ENUMERATED BY THE POLICE ON THE FIRST TUESDAY IN APRIL OF EACH YEAR FOR THE FIVE YEARS, 1908-1912.**

Police yearly Enumeration of "Habitual Criminals at Large" and their Houses of Resort in Ulster, Belfast, Dublin and all Ireland, compared with the Police Enumeration for the Metropolitan Police District—including the City Police District—of London and other Large Centres of population in England and Wales; also with those of all England and Wales.

The Enumeration is made on the First Tuesday in April of each year. The average of the five years—1908-12—is obtained by dividing the Total Enumerations of the five years by 5. For example, the total of the Enumerations for the London Metropolitan Police—including the City District—was 5,477; the yearly average amounted to 1,095.4 "Habitual Criminals at Large."

The Police define "Habitual Criminals" as persons who engage habitually in crime as their means or part of their means of livelihood.

They describe "Houses of Bad Character" as houses where Habitual Criminals regularly resort and meet; also Houses of Receivers of Stolen Goods.

	Habitual Criminals at Large	Rate per 100,000	Houses of Bad Character	Rate per 100,000	Population 1911 Census
BELFAST	502.0	120.73	145.2	37.52	399,947
SHEFFIELD	266.2	58.53	28.4	5.99	454,632
LEEDS	241.4	54.18	41.6	9.33	443,359
BIRMINGHAM	280.6	53.34	53.3	10.23	525,833
MANCHESTER	309.6	43.34	24.2	3.29	714,333
CARDIFF	79.0	43.34	12.6	6.89	182,258
HULL	110.8	39.56	18.8	6.76	277,991
LIVERPOOL	236.0	31.62	30.2	4.25	746,421
DUBLIN—Metropolitan Police District	68.0	16.34	0.5	0.19	416,194
LONDON—Metropolitan and City Police Districts	1095.4	15.11	508.0	7.09	7,251,328
ULSTER—Unionist	546.2	52.21	157.4	15.04	1,046,030
ULSTER, Province of	599.4	33.80	194.8	10.42	1,581,696
ENGLAND	3862.2	11.34	1017.1	2.99	34,045,290
ENGLAND & WALES	3989.2	11.06	1035.8	2.87	36,079,492
LEINSTER	80.0	6.88	7.4	0.64	1,162,044
MUNSTER	68.6	6.62	9.9	0.95	1,035,495
IRELAND, excluding ULSTER	169.8	5.73	17.2	0.61	2,896,523
ULSTER—National	20.2	3.77	7.4	1.36	535,666
CONNAUGHT	12.3	1.99	Nil	Nil	610,384
LEINSTER—excluding Dublin Metropolitan District Population	12.0	1.61	0.6	0.88	745,940

Columns 2 and 4 show the yearly average "Enumerations" for the 5 years.

Columns 3 and 5 show the ratio per 100,000 of the populations.

Column 6 shows the 1911 Census populations, with the exception of London.

The London Metropolitan and City population is based on the yearly Police Returns.

The Dublin Metropolitan Police District population, which includes that of the City, is shown separately in the Census Returns.

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Over the fruitful earth and across the sea travels, Ever unapproachable, the radiance of noble deeds.—PINDAR.

61RE 03 YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1920.

The Lord Mayor of Cork

Put back your shoulders when you hear his name, And lift your heads; your race is honoured more Than any man has honoured it before Since they who brought the battle-axes came.

And not the Roman who endured the flame And stood to the fire and burnt his better limb, (Not the King kindly liberated him), Nor Scaevola outshines MacSwiney's fame. For, gathered in his breast, the Nation's will, Lit by a courage that alone can cope With torture, death and broadcast ravages, Consumes, and besoons to the world until Justice be girded to redeem our hope, Him fallen amongst uncharitrous savages.

OISIN.

Democracy or Despotism

The hour of the Presidential election in the United States draws nearer, and the plot concocted in Downing-street some months ago to terrorise the people of Ireland into withdrawing their demand for independence before that date has failed. The English Prime Minister's oratorical hysterics are a result. The effort to terrorise Ireland has shown England to the United States and to the world in the rôle she formerly depicted Turkey, Russia and Germany as playing. The English Government does not mind committing sin—but its conscience revolts at being found out. It has been found out beyond explanation. The torches it put to Balbriggan and Tuam and Malloy have lit up its sinister features to the world.

The case of Ireland has now assumed a world-significance. The vote of a nation, thrice peacefully registered in the ballot-boxes, is answered by the bullet and the incendiary torch. Were that answer to be acquiesced in, Democracy must perish and Civilisation dissolve. The right of men to have a voice in their own government, although often denied, was long since esteemed, established and accepted as axiomatic. The declared object of the late war was to ensure to nations the right to an existence whose independence could only be circumscribed by the equal right of others. Against that right and against that object, English policy in Ireland rages today, and by that fact makes the struggle of Ireland the defence of all that secures to men and nations personal and national liberty. If government dependent on the vote of the governed were swept from the world and substituted by government based on force, the Dark Ages would, indeed, have arrived, and Europe would fall from her high estate as Asia fell before her.

The issue cannot be evaded. If the answer to Ireland's thrice-registered vote for freedom is butchery and arson, either butchery and arson or the vote must be the basis of government. The United States will choose its Government by the vote in a few weeks. That Government must thereafter say whether it will recognise in Civilisation any government not deriving its authority from a like source, but attempting by fire and sword to destroy the sanctuary of Democracy—the ballot-box.

Ten years ago the present Prime Minister, speaking at East Ham, said: "The money of Ireland counted, their taxes counted, their soldiers counted, their dollars counted in payment of rent to Irish landlords, but their votes would not count unless they were Tory." The English Prime Minister was then opposing the English Tories, and he was attacking in his speech his present masters. He inquired how these people could deny to the vote of the Irish what the Irish claimed. Today, with all the weapons and methods of barbarism, he is attempting to suppress the vote of a nation.

And so, in defending her right and her existence, Ireland has become the test of free and democratic government for the world. The next few weeks will see the American election fought and won. Behind the apparent issues lies an issue which was America's issue before—whether government of the people by the people for the people shall perish from the earth—whether governments are to exist for peoples, or peoples for governments. That issue, when the election has been decided, Ireland, exemplifying it in her own struggle, will put clearly to America and Europe, and America and Europe will respond.

Early Irish Trade and Commerce

Having read Mr. Chart's misnamed "An Economic History of Ireland," I think your review too gentle in its strictures. It is no exaggeration to say that the author is practically ignorant of Irish trade and commerce. Unless written sarcastically, his prefaced words are nonsense. The authorities given in the footnotes will serve, to some extent, as a bibliography, and may help those who wish to investigate more deeply special periods or particular branches of the study. They will do no such thing. Mr. Chart shows no knowledge whatever of first-hand sources, and, except in the references to the Reports of Deputy Keeper of Records, Ireland, which he has done no more than casually dip into, and a few stray references to the Statutes; these represent his sole "research" (sic) work. It would have been better to have avoided such paltry citations, for they form a "Falstaff's army." We expect any new work to add to the valuable information produced by the labours of Mrs. J. R. Green, Dr. Joyce, and Dr. O'Brien. Mr. Chart has not studied these volumes to any advantage.

You are quite correct, sir, in stating that there was an Irish coinage prior to the settlement of Danes, Norse, or Norman-Flemish-French. Keating recorded the presence of a mint at Clonmacnoise. Perhaps no fable has received such a phoenix-like life as the one that declares that the Irish Gaels did not coin money, and that harter was the only form of commercial interchange. In the National Museum in Kildare Street, Dublin, specimens of this native coinage may be seen. The late J. R. Garstin re-told the hoary lie to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, and gave it a new start. Students unversed in numismatics accepted his words on their face value. Strangely enough, our National Museum has no printed guide to its early coins. On inquiry, I was informed that such had been prepared, but was not put through the printers' hands. Was the reason for this action to be found in the fact that the expert came to the same conclusion as English and Continental numismatists, and the Master of the Mint, London, that many of the alleged Hiberno-Danish coins were really minted by Irish kings, modelled on those of the Anglo-Saxon dynasts? As for Irish trade prior to the Danes or Norsemen, our national antiquities afford unanswerable evidence. As you refer to my hastily written essay on the evidences of our early commercial activity, may I say that it brought me letters from many countries. Tacitus wrote: "Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti." This touched the pride of English scholars, and Mr. Goddard Orpen chided Mrs. Green for accepting the translation in vogue on the Continent and in England, before the British scholastics mobilised to re-punctuate it and so alter the meaning. I was then content, and still am, to read it as great scholars like O'Donovan and Kuno Meyer read it, that the ports of Ireland were better known to merchants by reason of the abundance of commerce than those of Britain. Regarding the extract from Juvenal's "Satires," I received several angry letters. Here, again, I accepted high authority—Francisque Michel, to mention only the most prominent—for the version cited. Twist Tacitus as they may, the proof that trade and trading ships visited our sacred isle remains unshaken. When Agricola had sent his fleet as far as the Orkneys, which he subdued, he made preparations to attack Hibernia, where, he learned from traders and merchants, there were excellent harbours.

That Bordeaux, known to the Romans as Burdigala—then the chief university of Gaul—had commercial relations with Ireland from the earliest times, is acknowledged by French scholars. I referred also in that essay to the valuable testimony of Professor Bury on the pre-Patrick trade with Gaul. Since then I have further proofs in Mr. Geo. Coffey's "Archæological Evidence for the Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland in the First Century," in the valuable researches of Zimmer, and in Kuno Meyer's erudite and suggestive investigations. The last-named opines that the Irish "Bordeaux" (Burdigal) in ancient West Meath may have been a settlement of Gaulish professors. "Intercourse and commerce between Gaul and Ireland had been constant and regular for centuries before the fifth. Again, the Irish were not outside that great unity of the Celtic world, which is one of

the most remarkable facts in ancient Celtic history, so well illustrated—to mention a striking instance—by the Greek coins given by Alexander in the East to Celtic ambassadors, finding their way to Great Britain and becoming the model of its earliest coinage." Kuno Meyer did not, at the moment, remember that Greek merchants were at the Fair of Carman in ancient Ireland, nor was he aware of the find of Greek coins of Alexander the Great in our isle.

Long before Danes or English came to our land, Ireland was well-known on the Continent as a rich, fertile, and prosperous country, with a salubrious "climate." Kuno Meyer cites the Irish bishop of Fiesole, in Italy, as a witness. He might have added the testimony of Alfred, King of the Northumbrian Saxons, who found in the Ireland of 635 "much food, raiment, gold, silver, wheat, health, prosperity, traffic, and cities"—though there were "no towns or cities before the English came," as our learned pundits declare. But if the early fame of our land has not yet reached this latest historian, let me tell him that ere we knew the blessings of the Higher Culture, as represented by the outland clan that obtained all its own manufactures, finance, trade, and commerce from foreigners, or by the skill and knowledge of such aliens settled in England, that even in far-away Arabia, Edrisius, the geographer, called our pre-Norman Emerald Isle "Irelandah-Al-Kabirah," "Ireland the Great," whilst giving the mere measurements of England.

I have no intention of rehearsing the facts in my crude essay, but I would again draw attention to the incontrovertible fact that the ancient Irish were ship-builders of no mean ability. The highest living authority on English shipping, noting that there were nine different kinds of Irish ships mentioned by Adamnan—he might have found other authorities to add four to this number—remarks: "From this it is perfectly clear that by 650 A.D. the Irish had made considerable progress in the art of ship construction. . . . It is sufficient to know that the Irish, about the time the Norse were beginning to appear on their coast, or even earlier, had sailed to Orkneys, Shetlands, Faeroes, and Iceland."

Claudian, the Roman poet, sang how the Irish (Scot) seethed the northern waves into foam with his dashing oars, and bow he moved all Kerne, and the deep foamed with hostile oar. It must have needed huge fleets to carry the warriors of Niall of the Nine Hostages and of Dathu to Gaul, and those of Crimthán to Britain.

As some of the biggest slanders on the Irish people have emanated from a section of our hostile archaeologists under this heading, I wish to draw attention to a few more facts with regard to early Irish ships and shipping. I shall not refer again to our Sea Laws, nor to the naval fight between the Irish and Danes at Dundalk, celebrated in Irish saga, nor to the great King Brian's armada. In 1049 no fewer than 36 ships from Ireland came to assist King Griffith of Wales against the Saxons, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Six years earlier another Welsh prince, Elfgar, obtained 18 ships, with their forces, in Ireland, joined his father-in-law, Griffith, and made "great slaughter" on the English. I might add to these instances. It is interesting to note that Galway, which "owed all its importance" to the Norman-France settlement, according to our amusing "accredited historians," in the fourteenth century, was known as Galway of the ships as early as 1154—a generation before Henry II. came to Ireland.

Matthew Paris has a curious reference to this portion of our subject, under 1257. When the Welsh were troubling the English with "massacre, fire, and rapine," King Edward retorted with threats of reprisals by the naval strength of the Irish at sea; and the Welsh furnished with a fleet of galleys, piraticus armis et victualibus communatis. These "Irish" would, no doubt, represent Sean Ghalls and Gaels. The Calendars of Irish Pipe Rolls which Mr. Chart cites, but has not really read, afford interesting information on Irish ships and shipping.

Barter was in use in mediæval Ireland even more than in England is probably true, but not much more. The records show that Portuguese, Spanish, O'Reilly's Irish local coins, Scots, French, Flemish, Italian and English coinage formed the commonplaces of exchange.

Mr. Chart should have studied the valuable contributions of Mr. Mills and Dr. H. Berry, a credit to Irish scholarship and to Irish History, before he wrote his stuff on the Anglo-Irish



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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1920.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

## Current Comments

"The liberty for which we to-day strive is a sacred thing, inseparably entwined with that spiritual liberty for which the Saviour of man died, and which is the inspiration and foundation of all just Government. Because it is sacred, and death for it is akin to the Sacrifice of Calvary, following far off, but constant to, that Divine example, in every generation our best and bravest have died. Some time in our grief we cry out foolish and unthinking words: 'The sacrifice is too great.' But it is because they were our best and bravest they had to die. No lesser sacrifice would save us. Because of it our struggle is holy, our battle is sanctified by their blood, and our victory is assured by their martyrdom."—The Lord Mayor of Cork in his inaugural speech.

The soul of Joseph Murphy has followed the souls of his comrades; Michael Fitzgerald and Terence MacSwiney. A few hours after the announcement of the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, this hero passed away in Cork Jail, while the Rosary and Prayers for the Dying were being recited by Father Fitzgerald. His name, with the names of all those who have died in Ireland's glorious cause, will be for ever remembered and cherished by the Irish nation. Some of the incidents of his life.

The campaign of murder, arson, torture, shootings and floggings, continues all over the country. Not even the vivid imaginations attached to the English Propaganda during the war against Germany could conceive atrocities to surpass those being committed in Ireland from day to day by the armed forces of a Government which employed them to denounce the Hun and the unspeakable Turk. But the Irish nation stands undaunted and unafraid, and will continue to stand in face of the fanaticism and brutality of a debased and inhuman foe.

On Monday last, a prominent Republican named Michael Ryan, of Curraghduff, near Thurles, who was suffering from pneumonia, was murdered in his bed by masked men, who were clad in khaki. The murdered man was Registrar of the local Republican Court. William Gleeson was taken from his home on the same night and brutally murdered. One of his murderers was heard to say: "This is not the man." Another of the assassins replied: "He will do; bring him out." His dead body was subsequently found 200 yards from his home.

Thomas Egan, 50 year of age, residing at Coshla, Athenry, was taken from his home on Sunday night by armed men, who asked him what he knew about the late Mr. Frank M. Shawe-Taylor (a Galway landlord who was shot dead some time ago), and further asked him to go outside. The report says that Thomas Egan refused to leave, and was shot dead.

In Miltown-Malbay during the week-end Charles Lynch (an old man aged 75) was shot dead in his own yard by the armed forces of England, and a young man engaged in hay-making was wounded.

On Tuesday (October 20) Mr. Michl. Walsh, a Republican member of the Galway Urban Council, was taken from his home and fully murdered by persons styling themselves "English Secret Service men." His body was afterwards flung into the Corrib by his assassins.

On Saturday night a young man named James McCormick was fatally wounded by a revolver shot fired by one of two men who entered his place of business in North Brunswick Street, Dublin. Dublin Castle, in commenting on the reports that uniformed men were responsible for the

murder, alludes to a statement which, a few days previously, it had issued to the effect that "men, wearing uniform," had entered a house in Dublin and cut off a girl's hair, and points out that there are parties going about "unauthorised to wear British uniform." The murdered man, it is interesting to record, was a relative of young Farrell, who was shot dead some time ago by English troops while he and others were sitting around a bonfire lighted in honour of Archbishop Mannix.

Evidently one English Sunday newspaper at least has been well posted by Dublin Castle relative to the activities of "the parties going about unauthorised to wear British uniform," otherwise it would never have been able to state that "a South Tipperary gang which he (Daniel Breen) headed normally, though not on this particular occasion, is responsible for the murders of the two Dwyers on Monday night. These were both officers in the Republican army, but were weakening in the cause, having become convinced that it is failing. They lived with their parents on a small farm, and were called out after dark and shot dead in the farmyard by Breen's gang, who are trying to throw suspicion on the police." In connection with the latest Dublin Castle communique re the crimes committed by parties going about "unauthorised to wear British uniform," it is a pity it had not been issued at the time Lord Mayor MacCurran was murdered. It would have saved the "Daily Mail" and other English papers much trouble!

The English paper that thus refers to the Murders of the two O'Dwyers says in another column—"Nothing is easier than to buy a column or two in certain Paris papers. It is a recognised part of the revenue of most French newspapers, the journalistic code of honour being very different on the other side of the Channel from what it is here." We have emphasised the last words. "The journalistic code of honour" in England, we hope and believe, is, indeed, very different to the journalistic code of honour in France—and all other countries!

Among the places destroyed by the armed forces of England during the past week was the famous Hosiery Factory at Bandon, and the Abbey-dorney Farmers' Creamery in Kerry was burned to the ground. Hay and other agricultural products were destroyed in the Kanturk district and in Miltown-Malbay by the armed forces of England.

A young man named Flynn died in Mountjoy Prison on Monday morning.

While Requiem Mass for the soul of Michael Fitzgerald was being celebrated in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork, on Tuesday, armed English troops entered and handed a notice to the officiating clergy intimating that not more than one hundred people would be allowed in the funeral procession.

The unanimous pronouncement of the Catholic hierarchy at Maynooth is being forwarded by their Lordships, with a covering letter, to every Catholic bishop in the world.

"On a scale truly appalling have to be reckoned," say their Lordships—"Countless indiscriminate raids and arrests in the darkness of the night;

"Prolonged imprisonments without trial;

"Savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no confidence;

"The burning of houses, town halls, factories, creameries, and crops;

"The destruction of industries to pave the way for want and famine—

by men maddened with plundered drink and bent on loot; "The flogging and massacre of civilians—

all perpetrated by the forces of the Crown who have established a reign of frightfulness which, for murdering the innocent and destroying their property has a parallel only in the horrors attributed to the Red Army of Bolshevik Russia."

"Let us use well the all-powerful weapon of prayer on which He bids us rely," conclude their Lordships; "and to that end the Bishops direct that a Novena, with the usual devotions, be held in the church in preparation for the Feast of the Irish Saints on the 6th of next November, and that while this trial lasts the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, Queen of Peace, be recited after the principal Mass on days of obligation and every public Mass on other days.

"They also very earnestly recommend that in every household, along with the Rosary at night, the same Litany be said, to obtain from the Divine Mercy peace, freedom, and every blessing, spiritual and temporal, for our beloved country.

"The Bishops undertake to celebrate Mass for this purpose on the 6th of November, and they request the priests of Ireland, secular and regular, so far as they are free, to do likewise." The Novena opens on Thursday of the present week.

Mr. Arthur Griffith made the following statement to a number of American Press representatives in reply to the British Parliamentary debate—

The English Parliament, by refusing an inquiry into the atrocities its Government's forces are committing in Ireland, convicts that Government of instigating and directing them. The attempt of the English Government's spokesmen to pretend that these atrocities are "reprisals" can deceive no one who has been in Ireland. The atrocities now being perpetrated in Ireland are part of a calculated plan made by the English Ministry some months ago in the vain hope of breaking the spirit and will of the Irish nation.

The constitutional expression of the will of the Irish nation registered at the General Election of 1918 was met by an arbitrary decree from the English Government declaring the duly elected representatives of Ireland an illegal body, and banning the national and political organisations which three-fourths of the people of Ireland supported.

A policy of repression, based upon nocturnal raids, arrests and imprisonments, was pursued towards the people's representative and the people themselves. The restraint with which this policy was endured did not avail to abate its rigours, and as time passed repression became more brutal, and to it was added calculated provocation. The Press that exposed and condemned the evil policy was suppressed or threatened with suppression. Public meeting was interdicted, and all the organic means by which a nation expresses itself was sought to be stifled. Political spies, whose business it was to denounce men for their opinions, and agents provocateurs, whose work was to instigate outrage, were scattered through the country.

Consequences that inevitably flowed from the efforts to treat the lawfully registered vote of the people as a crime, and the electors and their representatives as criminals, were in turn used as an excuse before the world for the sacking of Irish towns and villages, the destruction of Irish factories, creameries and business houses, the burning of Irish homes, homesteads and harvests, and the murder of Irish citizens, until to-day, throughout the major part of Ireland, a system of terrorism and destruction surpassing anything alleged against the Germans in Belgium in the late war is estab-

lished and carried on by the armed forces of the English Government.

Under this system the following are being perpetrated:—

- (1) Assassination of Irish citizens.
- (2) The burning of Irish factories, creameries and harvests.
- (3) Nocturnal raids, arrests and imprisonments.
- (4) Sacking of villages and towns.
- (5) Looting of private property.
- (6) Murderous assaults on clergymen and laymen.
- (7) Torturing of political prisoners.
- (8) Stoppage of inquests on murdered Irishmen.
- (9) Expulsion of workmen from their employment.
- (10) Arming of the Orange rabble in the North-east of Ireland, payment of them as police, and incitement of them to outrage upon Catholics and Protestant Nationalists.

English policy in Ireland has been for centuries based on the idea that Ireland's impoverishment was essential to England's prosperity. It is a false idea, but English statesmen so-called have held and continue to hold it. A year ago the English Lord Lieutenant stated in an interview with the Press that there were too many young men in Ireland, and that it was the policy of his Government to drive them out of Ireland. Although England, in the past seventy years, has driven over four million people out of Ireland, she still lusts for more expatriation and extermination. Since she has failed this time to force the people out, she has resorted to a policy of murder and the destruction of towns, factories, and harvests in an attempt to starve the nation.

She proposes within the next few weeks to blockade Ireland, and she further proposes to suppress the news of what is happening in the country. Americans, send your pressmen here to turn on the light. Under such a smoke-screen of calumny as that set up by the Greenwood and Cursons last night in the English Parliament she plans to murder the leaders of the Irish nation and choke it into insensibility. Its leaders she may murder—the Irish nation she can never conquer.

While Greenwood was foully libelling the Irish nation last night, Mrs. O'Dwyer, of Bansha, was standing beside the bodies of her two dead boys, dragged from their beds and murdered before her eyes by English soldiery. To those condoling with her she said: "My two boys, who worked our farm, are killed without reason or cause. They were shot down practically before my eyes. But let it be so. We will bear it all for Ireland."

That is the spirit of an Irish mother 70 years old. That is the spirit of Ireland, and the murderous policy of England can never prevail against it. Our country is in agony, but our country has been redeemed, and those who are suffering or dying for Ireland know that God is in His Heaven, and that the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed which has been established in Ireland will never be uprooted by the efforts of the brutal militarism which is to-day England.

A great meeting, attended by over 3,000 citizens of Paris, was held last week in the Great Hall at the Rue Puteaux, under the authority of the League of the Rights of Men, to express the sympathy of France with Ireland. The speakers included distinguished French publicists of all parties, including MM. Henri Guernut, Paul Louis, Marc Sangnier, Lucien Le Foyer, and Ferdinand Buisson. The following resolution was adopted with enthusiasm:—"We believe that there will be durable peace only when right is respected. That in virtue of the principle proclaimed by the Entente, Ireland has the right to dispose of herself and to be granted a constitution of her own choice. We hope that the

English people who care for peace and justice will aid the Irish people in their legitimate efforts to emancipate themselves. We are convinced that a universal Society of Nations, democratic and strong, will recognise the rights of Ireland and guarantee to the minorities of language and religion the necessary liberty."

The counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh are, by a large majority, in line with the counties of the South, West, and East, and North-west, for Irish independence. Yet the partitionists seek to cut them away and annex them to the four counties in which there is a Unionist majority. Although Tyrone has always had a very large anti-Unionist majority, nevertheless Tyrone County Council had been, from its inception, in the hands of the Unionists. The result was achieved by gerrymandering the areas. When Proportional Representation was instituted, the Unionist bosses of Tyrone, in order to defeat its purpose, secured, with the aid of the English Local Government Board in Ireland, a new gerrymandering of the county in the hope of keeping their hooks fixed on the neck of the majority. Despite every effort, they were defeated at the polls, and for the first time the majority in Tyrone came into power.

This the oligarchy could not stomach. It immediately set about declaring that the election had been won by "shameless and wholesale personation." Their spokesman in the English Parliament stated that the personation was colossal and a public scandal. Election petitions were instituted and a sympathetic tribunal appointed to hear them. They have been heard, and the tribunal has been forced to admit that the elections were fairly won. Tyrone County Council, therefore, remains in the hands of the majority, and, for the first time in the history of that body, one official whose views are the views of the majority has been appointed. While the minority controlled it, no person whose views were not the views of the minority was ever, no matter how transcendent his merits, permitted to occupy any post. This was "Ulster Unionist tolerance."

In the fight to keep control of Tyrone by foul means, the resources of the English Government were placed at the disposal of the Unionist Caucus. To help it, Mr. Geo. Murnaghan, who had charge of the elections, was arrested before the polling, and half-a-dozen of the best workers were similarly seized. All has failed—Tyrone Co. Council has passed from the control of a little clique into the control of the people. And this county, which vehemently repudiates "Ulster Unionism," is sought to be forced under its control by the Partition Bill. Of the "six counties" planned to form the Partition area—two are by a decisive majority Sinn Féin and two would undoubtedly on a plebiscite vote against partition. But the fraud is sought to be played on the world of a homogeneous "six-county" area, opposed to Irish independence. The world, however, is wiser than the trickster politicians believe.

The "well-disposed citizens" whom the English Government plans to enroll as "police" in the North of Ireland have a grievance already, says the "Tyrone Herald." "Barrels of porter and jars of whiskey—these were some of the 'trifling things' with which the hooligans of Lisburn amused themselves during the August disorders, when Catholics were driven wholesale from that unhappy town and their houses reduced to ashes. While the blackguardism was going on, several hundreds of Carson's 'well-disposed citizens' were enrolled as 'Special Constables,' and many of these, it appears, who were the cause

of the savage outbreak, applied themselves with vigour—not towards the establishment of peace, but to the prosecution of the campaign of savagery for the suppression of which they were supposed to have been enlisted. Several cases arising out of their 'loyal' enterprise came before a court held last week, and each of the defendants was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour. The evidence showed that while the public-houses of Catholic were being looted, there was a crowd of thousands on the street, and one of the defendants was 'rolling a barrel of porter towards the Market Square.' In another case there were 'twenty or thirty men rolling barrels towards the bridge'; in another the defendant was 'carrying out jars of whiskey,' while in another the defendant was found 'stripping the shelves of bottles.' Following upon the trials and sentences, three hundred members of the force of 'Special Constables' met and resigned their positions as a protest against the sentences passed on their friends. 'The Right to Loot'—that is the latest demand of the 'Special Constables' of Lisburn and Belfast! And these are the men who are charged with the duty of preserving peace; these are the men who have a right to apply religious and political tests to Catholics; these are the men who can possess arms and ammunition without fear of being raided, arrested or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; these are the men who are a shining example to the wicked people of the South and West of Ireland; these are the chosen few with the praise of whose virtues many pulpits in North-East Ulster ring! Well done, Lisburn!

The revenue of Ireland is 484 millions for the year ending March 31 last, as adjusted to give the 'true contribution.' The English Treasury is the manufacturer of the adjustments. Its official estimate was only forty-two millions, so that our revenue was underestimated by the officials at Whitehall by no less than six or seven millions. They do not mind an excess of that description. At all events, readers of 'Young Ireland' will recollect that in our financial notes we estimated the revenue of our country at nearly forty-nine millions. There is reason to believe that the London Board makes a deliberate understatement in order to deceive the taxpayers into believing that they are not fleeced as close as they feel. The taxes have since been increased—at least in the rate of duty, and the English collectors are given the task of trying to lift well over fifty millions from us this year.

"We used to be told that a free Ireland could not pay its way," says the "Canadian Freeman"; "now Lloyd George objects because it could pay its way too cheaply."

Some of the effects of the hold-up of British ships in New York were disclosed by Mr. K. Sisam, head of the bacon, ham, and lard department of the Ministry of Food in his address to the Federation of Grocers' Associations held on October 13. As reported in the "Grocer" of October 16, he said:

Owing to the Lord Mayor of Cork's fact there has been a complete hold-up in America for five or six weeks of British ships which carried the bacon. He was glad to say that that hold-up was now released, and new ships were coming along, but during those five or six weeks they ran an exceedingly trying time. At no time during that period had the Ministry ended the week with a day's stock, and consequently the retailers had often had to have the tail end of this stock. He wanted them to understand that they were living in exceedingly difficult times. The grocer felt it in his way, and at the Ministry they knew that the trade suffered a great deal in these directions, but after all the Ministry felt it even more than the grocer.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association, 12 Molesworth Street, is in receipt of a considerable amount of information relating to markets abroad, which is at the disposal of all inquiries.

Reports relative to the trade industry and finance of Morocco, China, Japan, Australia, Holland, Egypt, South Africa, Argentine Republic, Denmark and Turkey are on hand, and may be examined on application, together with some confidential information relative to Swiss and Portuguese East African trade.

Mr. J. L. Fawcett, writing from New York, forwarded cuttings relative to

the prohibition of the Panhandle State, all of which point out that interference with a passenger vessel may be followed by interference with American carried commerce between Ireland and the United States, the value of which has grown very rapidly within the last year or two. It is stated that passengers on the Panhandle State have instructed their lawyers to go into the question of passenger rights. One leader indicates that feeling on the matter among business men has run very high, and adds: "The present control of the State Department will end on March 4th next. It would probably end sooner if our National officials were subject to the recall."

The Association is also in receipt of United States Government Commerce reports dealing with shipping, industrial, and banking developments, and pointing out what agricultural co-operation in Ontario has done for the egg and poultry, live stock, creamery and fruit-growing Departments of its national economy.

Information on the commercial utilization of the waste from slate-quarries was also forwarded. It indicates that paints, distempers, putty, bricks, slates, tiles, mortar, flooring, plaster and moulded goods have been manufactured from the slate chippings and slate dust. A machine giving entirely satisfactory results for the crushing and grinding of the slate has not yet been discovered. Another article deals with the utilisation of leather waste for heels.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association has received information that a good market exists in South Africa for agricultural machinery, and that Irish-made goods would be very favourably received. It is suggested that advertising in the agricultural papers published in Capetown, Pretoria and Bloemfontein would bring results, and the Association has written to the firms manufacturing agricultural necessities giving addresses of the papers recommended.

The "New York American" writes:—It appears from wireless messages that Captain Stone, in command of the American steamship, "Penhandle State," which has recently left this port with passengers and mails for Queenstown, Ireland, has received orders from our State Department not to touch at that port, but to proceed to Boulogne, France. Thus the orders of the British Admiralty, forbidding American merchant ships to enter certain foreign ports, are meekly accepted by the Administration which once put verbal emphasis upon "freedom of the seas."

In the fore part of the world war Great Britain did as she pleased with American merchant ships and their lawful cargoes, though not without American official protest. Now, in a time of ostensible peace, freedom of the seas is again denied us, and there is not even a protest.

The "Penhandle State" is the first first-class passenger vessel built in an American shipyard in nearly fifty years. She is owned by the United States Government. Passengers aboard her who bought tickets in good faith under the representation and belief that they would be landed at the port of Cork, have instructed their attorneys to see if they have any rights which can be upheld.

These attorneys have placed the question before the State Department and the United States Shipping Board, but the latter body is powerless, and the former has already acquiesced in the British embargo.

The present control of the State Department will end on March 4 next. It would probably end sooner if our national officials were subject to the recall. Will the next step in Britain's isolation of Ireland be the stopping of all American carried commerce between Ireland and the United States?

As we go to press on Tuesday, we are unable to announce the funeral arrangements for the Lord Mayor of Cork. The daily papers will, however, give timely information.

The following are the best stanzas in "K.K.'s" poem on the sacrifice of the Lord Mayor of Cork and his colleagues in Cork Jail:—

Breathe their names in hallowed places,  
Write their story down in gold,  
Tell it to the wise and simple,  
Teach it to the young and old;  
Tell it round our Irish fireplaces,  
Sing it in our concert halls;  
It's a tale of wondrous beauty—  
It our very soul enralls!

Make it known o'er Connaught's boglands,  
Trumpet it from Galtrimore,  
Spread its praise, its worth and glory  
From Kerry's homes unto Greengore;  
Whisper it on Tara's hillsides,  
Where the Croppies lie at rest;  
They shall bear its echo Heavenwards  
To be chanted by the blest.

Let it chime on Bells of Shandon,  
Dream it 'neath the old oak tree,  
Read it on the stormy ocean,  
Think it by the calm blue sea;  
When we turn to our Creator,  
Morn and night on bended knee,  
Thank Him for our men who hungered  
That our Mother may be free.

### Terence MacSwiney

To know Terence MacSwiney was to love him. The moment you looked into his deep, dark eyes—now, let us pray, gazing lovingly on the Face of The Man of Sorrows Whom he worshipped—you knew that you were looking into the eyes of an idealist, a dreamer, if you prefer the word; the moment you heard his voice you knew that you were listening to a man who meant what he said—a man determined to do a man's part towards the realisation of his ideals, his dreams: the independence of his beloved country. His life was devoted to Ireland; he has given up that life for her sake. Others there are more qualified than I to speak of Terence MacSwiney's labours in the cause of Ireland's liberty. To them I leave that task. My poor tribute to the memory of Ireland's latest martyr is the result of only a fortnight's friendship with him, but the circumstances of that friendship are so tragic that they afford me an excuse for adding my voice to the voices raised in memory of the dead who died for Ireland. In connection with the Volunteer Training Camp in Wicklow in August, 1915, I first met Thomas Ashe, Dick Coleman and Pierce McCann. They met their deaths in British Prisons. On "The Shannon Camp," in September, I first met Terence MacSwiney. Deeded out, like them, with a crown of glory, he has followed his brave comrades to a martyr's grave. During his long weeks of agony, as Terence MacSwiney passed along on his way to Calvary—carrying his cross for Ireland—I have often gone back in memory to the Camp at Coosan Point, and tried to visualise that dark countenance in which were enshrined those wonderful eyes which closed on Monday morning last in Brixton Jail to open no more—on his torturers. Terence MacSwiney, when I met him in the Shannon Camp in 1915, dressed in the uniform of an officer of the Irish Volunteers, looked every inch a soldier and a man—a soldier and a man of whom any nation might be proud. Terence MacSwiney, unlike a few of the younger men in the Camp, took "the business of soldiering" very seriously from the commencement of the training, and that he eventually became proficient in the "trade," or art of war, the position he subsequently attained to in the Republican Army amply testifies. When not in training, Terry MacSwiney was as big "a joker" as the rest of us! A moment ago I said he was every inch a soldier—I mean a soldier minus barrack-room expressions and the other accomplishments that seem to be considered by some people a sure indication of bravery, etc. Terence MacSwiney never mentioned the name of God but reverently, and, if my memory serves me right, it was he who suggested the nightly recital of the Rosary in the Camp. Socially, I came in contact with Terence MacSwiney on a few occasions only. Once I met him as I was returning to Camp at night from a farmhouse, a few miles away, where a dance had been given in honour of "the soldiers of Ireland." He had not been at the dance, but had been, he told me, having an interesting chat with a Penian—an old man who, by the way, had met us that day as we were out on manoeuvres, and greeted us in Irish. Terence MacSwiney had answered him then, found out who he was, and had gone to seek him later in the evening. That old man, if he is still alive, will mourn at the death of his friend, and, if he be dead, was surely one of the first to greet him as he crossed the Bourne. On another occasion I had a long chat with Terence MacSwiney as we cycled along from Woodlawn to Gurteen. The subject of our conversation was O'Donovan Rossa. "The untameable," who had died four or five weeks previously, and had been laid to rest in Glasnevin. A reference of mine

to the booklet he, Terence MacSwiney, had just written about that great man brought from his lips an eulogy to his memory that would burn the paper on which one would attempt to write it. O'Donovan Rossa was Terence MacSwiney's hero, and the sufferings which he endured for the cause of Ireland filled the mind of the man who was to follow so closely the path he trod. (One sentence of O'Donovan Rossa's in relation to the English Government which Terence MacSwiney laid great stress on, both in his booklet and his conversation about him, was his remark: "They can lie like hell.") How truly could Terence MacSwiney use these words to sum up the attitude of the English Government in his own case! Since the Camp, I met Terence MacSwiney a few times in Dublin—the first occasion being the opening of An Dail; the last occasion being in August of this year, when he was in Dublin in connection with the Oireachtas. In bringing to a close the life of Terence MacSwiney the English Government has deprived Ireland of a soldier and a man, but it has given us a martyr to lead us on to victory. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our dead." J. J. B.

### Irish Councils for Irish Freedom

The following extract from a pamphlet just issued shows how, at the recent local elections, the country registered a verdict even stronger than at the General Election in support of Irish independence:—

An Examination of these Elections shows that the increasing support given to the Republicans was at the expense of the Nationalists, who have practically ceased to exist as a separate party, and the Unionists, whose percentage of 22 in December, 1918, dwindled to less than 12 per cent. in June, 1920. The fact that the later Elections were held under a system of Proportional Representation, designed, according to the English "Daily Mail," "to cripple the power of Sinn Fein," makes these results all the more significant. They show that even in the North-east corner of Ulster, hitherto regarded as a stronghold of Unionism, a very large number of people have transferred their allegiance from Unionism to Republicanism. Mr. Louis J. Walsh, a prominent Republican who headed the list of candidates in the Ballymoney division of Antrim County, could not have reached that position without the support of many who had hitherto been regarded as Unionists, and that the same thing happened all over Ulster is proved by the fact that only 16 of the 42 Board of Guardians, and only 19 of the 55 District Councils were retained by the supporters of the English connection.

When the General Election had resulted in the capture of nearly three-fourths of the Irish constituencies by the supporters of the Irish Republic, the English press explained that the result was due, not to the belief of the Irish people in an independent Ireland, but to the fear of conscription and to various other causes arising from the war. The reply of the Irish people thirteen months later, when these supposed causes had disappeared, was to place the adherents of Irish Independence in charge of the Municipal Councils throughout four-fifths of Ireland, and five months later still to put the Republicans in control of nine-tenths of the County Councils, Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians all over Ireland.

The new system of Election—Proportional Representation—was the result of a demand made by the anti-Irish press after the General Election. The "Irish Times," the organ of the English Garrison in Ireland, stated editorially:—

"If the Government really intends to live up to its programme, it will insist that all these elections shall be decided by Proportional Representation. No more beneficial measure of reconstruction could be given to Ireland."

#### P.R. OPERATIVE IN IRELAND ONLY.

On May 29th, 1919, the London "Times" demanded that P.R. be enforced in Ireland, and two months later the English Parliament acceded to this demand, and ordained that P.R. should be operative in Ireland only. It was quite obvious that the only reason for this step was to prevent the capture of the local Councils by Sinn Fein. The "Manchester Guardian" of January 12th, 1920, stated:

"Dublin Castle suddenly discovered P.R. as a means whereby the Sinn Fein Majority would be

prevented from becoming a Sinn Fein monopoly—and Dublin Castle decided to scrap the entire system of electing local governing bodies in favour of a complete scheme of P.R."

#### TO DEFEAT SINN FEIN.

Even though the intention of the English Government was perfectly clear to Sinn Fein, that party did not oppose the scheme, but rather welcomed it on the ground that the principle was just.

#### DE VALERA ACCEPTS P.R.

Mr. De Valera, speaking in the Dublin Mansion House on April 9th, 1919, said:—

"Whether it benefited us or not, I would be in favour of the principle (P.R.) because it is founded on justice. We know the object for which it was designed. It was a crooked object. Let us meet it in a straight way. That is the principle guiding us the whole time. Meet the crooked by the straight and the straight will win."

The authors of the change, in spite of repeated demands, refused to explain the complicated system to the Electorate. With the approach of the Municipal Elections in January, 1920, the task of enlightening the voters and officials on the intricacies of the new system was undertaken by the Proportional Representation Society, a voluntary organisation, and in this work Sinn Fein ably assisted, to the surprise of the English Press.

#### ENGLISH PRESS SURPRISED.

"That Sinn Fein, instead of opposing a change declaredly designed to cripple its power, should willingly help in its development, is more than remarkable."—London "Daily Mail," January 6th, 1920.

"Naturally, reasonable men looked to the Government, who had laid the foundations of a social revolution, to see the job through. Dublin Castle thought otherwise, and left the indigestible mass of legislation to take care of itself. Incredible as it may seem, not a single penny could be obtained for the purpose of explaining the system to the voters."—"Daily Mail," 6th January, 1920.

"Neither private remonstrance nor public attack could induce the authorities to spend one penny on explaining what P.R. meant to either candidates or electors."—"Manchester Guardian," January 12th, 1920.

#### SMOOTH ELECTION DESPITE CASTLE.

In spite of Dublin Castle, the Election was carried out smoothly and effectively, and the proportion of spoiled votes was less than 2 per cent. over all Ireland—a fact which bears excellent testimony to the intelligence of the Irish voters and to the thoroughness of the voluntary associations which undertook the work of training the officials and instructing the voters.

#### NEW CONSTITUENCIES MANUFACTURED.

Even with the safeguard of P.R., the English Government did not feel secure, and on September 19th, 1919, the whole of Ireland was broken up into new electoral divisions, in which the friends of the English Government in Ireland were given the advantage in all doubtful areas. This creation of new constituencies was arranged without consultation with the Irish people or their representatives. In the Revision Courts during October and November disclosures were made which showed that the official registration agents in the North of Ireland, who were appointed because they belonged to the Unionist Party, had refused to return as qualified to vote, large numbers of Sinn Fein and Nationalist property-holders who were thus disfranchised. (See Irish Daily Press, October 13th, November 13th, November 8th, November 26th, 1919.)

In two electoral areas predominantly Republican—Boyle, Co. Roscommon, and Nengah, Co. Tipperary—the election officials refused to supply nomination papers to the Republican candidates. When the matter was raised in the Dublin Courts the Judges postponed consideration of the cases until it was too late to proceed with the nominations, and their decision was withheld until the evening of the poll.

#### INTIMIDATION AND AGGRESSION.

The following is a list of the acts of aggression committed by the English Government in their efforts to disorganise the Sinn Fein preparations for these Municipal Elections, and to intimidate the supporters of the Republican Party in Ireland.

#### 1919.

Sept. 20—Entire Republican Press in Ireland suppressed.  
Oct. 15—Sinn Fein and Republican organisations in Dublin suppressed.

tion, and reciprocal respect. But if for this you substitute a connection founded on the triumph of strength over weakness, you will have jealousy, and distrust, and fear, and hate, and vengeful thoughts, and bloody deeds, the sure and never-failing effects of tyranny. Give to Ireland her own parliament, not the parliament of '82. That was a meteor light which flashed across the welkin, the deceptive vapour vanished quickly. Ireland wants a fixed star, bright and lasting, the reflected radiance and genial influence of which may be seen and felt in a glorious union of liberty, happiness and peace. But this, it is said by Lord Althorpe, will lead to a separation between Great Britain and Ireland; to the erection of Ireland into an independent state, and thus produce a dismemberment of the Empire. What then? Suppose it should, what is the cause? England. What right has England, what right has any country, to build and peril its greatness upon the slavery, the degradation, and wretchedness of another country? Where is the right? Strip the case of the disguise which ambition, and pride, and the love of power, and the love of wealth, which the corrupt passions of the human heart, which the sophistry of conquerors, and princes, and statesmen, and courtiers, and lawyers cast around it, and what is it? It is thus. A strong man, because he is strong, enslaves his brother man because his brother man is weak. The slave struggles to be free, and the enslaver kills him; kills him because he struggles to be free.

"The offence is rank. It smells to Heaven. It hath the primal eldest curse upon it, A brother's murder!"

Yet this is British invasion in Ireland this is British dominion in Ireland, this is British legislation in Ireland. Pass the Act of Union—pass the Act of Union in violation of every principle of justice, in violation of every principle of honour, in violation of every solemn pledge. Pass the Act of Union by terror, by deceit, by fraud, by breach of faith, by bribery, by corruption. Pass the Act of Union, and declare that any attempt to repeal that Act of Union shall be deemed rebellion, and then kill, kill, kill the rebels. This is British justice in Ireland, this is British morality in Ireland, this is British Christianity in Ireland. A Russell once bled on the scaffold; he bled in the cause of liberty. May his name be for ever embalmed in the memory of the virtuous and the brave. A Russell of the present day supports power against right, prefers war to peace, slaughter to justice. A Russell of the present day calls on the men of Waterloo to stain the laurels which now encircle their brows with brothers' blood. A Russell of the present day calls on the men of Waterloo to step in brothers' blood the swords which saved England and conquered France. Should the battle thus provoked by England come, in that struggle to the death, Ireland may fall. The noise of her song may cease, and the sound of her harp no more be heard. Her cities may be wasted; her habitations left without man; her fertile valleys may be left desolate, and her green fields may be crimsoned with blood. But should the victory belong to England, so will the guilt. The actions of men are not to be judged of by events, by success, or by defeat. Had the liberties of Greece perished with Leonidas at Thermopylae, Spartan glory would have been the same. Had the days of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, been days of defeat instead of victory to Greece, the orator might still have sworn by the sacred memory of the dead. He who dies in battles for liberty and his country, dies as a soldier and sleeps in a soldier's grave. Gentlemen of the Jury, do not here for my client meet me to speak for you and your children, and your children's children, do not here for myself; my life is flickering, and must soon be extinguished; but were I now standing on the brink of the grave and uttering the last words of expiring nature, I would say, "May Ireland be happy; may Ireland be free." It rests with you, Gentlemen of the Jury, as far as in you lies, by your verdict of acquittal this day, to contribute your part towards making Ireland happy and free. I call upon you as you value liberty, as you value justice, as you value public good, as you value public peace, as you value and love the country of your birth and the land of your fathers, I call upon you by your verdict of acquittal this day to contribute your parts towards making Ireland happy and free.

### Ireland

Holding her as a slave, they would destroy  
All vestige of her glory and her name,  
Forgetful how her heroes' forms deploy  
On History's page, and of her ancient fame.  
Emania and Tara flash in sight,  
And kings and queens in noble gesture stand,  
With bards whose music waked the soul's delight,  
And Saints who preached to many a distant land!

Ireland, the home of mystery and Faith,  
They would subdue to their gross, sordid plan;  
But she is faithful to her dream till death—  
Not hers the cravings of the carnal man—  
For her pure eyes through Earth's dark mists behold  
God's splendours, framed within His Gates of Gold!

—Rev. J. B. Dollard, Litt.D.  
(in "The Canadian Freeman.")  
October 4th, 1920.

### British Atrocities in India

(From Burke's Speech on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings.)

Debi Sing and his instruments suspected, and in a few cases they suspected justly, that the country people had purloined from their own estates, and had hidden in secret places in the circumjacent deserts, some small reserve of their own grain to maintain themselves during the unproductive months of the year, and to leave some hope for a future season. But the under tyrants knew that the demands of Mr. Hastings would admit no plea for delay, much less for subtraction of his bribe, and that he would not abate a shilling of it to the wants of the whole human race. These hoards, real or supposed, not being discovered by menaces and imprisonments, they fell upon the last resource, the naked bodies of the people. And here, my lords, began such a scene of cruelties and tortures, as I believe no history has ever presented to the indignation of the world; such as I am sure, in the most barbarous ages, no politic tyranny, no fanatic persecution, has ever yet exceeded. Mr. Patterson, the commissioner appointed to inquire into the state of the country, makes his own apology and mine for opening this scene of horrors to you in the following words: "That the punishment inflicted upon the ryots both in Rungpore and Dinagepore for non-payment were in many instances of such a nature that I would rather wish to draw a veil over them than shock your feelings by the detail. But that, however, disagreeable the task may be to myself, it is absolutely necessary for the sake of justice, humanity, and the honour of government, that they should be exposed, to be prevented in future."

My lords, they began by winding cords round the fingers of the unhappy freeholders of those provinces, until they clung to and were almost incorporated with one another; and then they hammered wedges of iron between them until, regardless of the cries of the sufferers they had bruised to pieces, and for ever crippled those poor, honest, innocent, laborious hands, which had never been raised to their mouths but with a penurious and scanty proportion of the fruits of their own soil; but those fruits (denied to the wants of their own children) have for more than fifteen years past furnished the investment for our trade with China, and been sent annually out, and without recompense, to purchase for us that delicate meal, with which your lordships, and all this auditory, and all this country, have begun every day for these fifteen years at their expense. To those beneficent hands that labour for our benefit, the return of the British government has been cords and wedges. But there is a place where these crippled and disabled hands will act with resistless

power. What is it they will not pull down, when they are lifted to Heaven against their oppressors? Then what can withstand such hands? Can the power that crushed and disabled them? Powerful in prayer, let us at least deprecate, and thus endeavour to secure ourselves from the vengeance which these mangled and disabled hands may pull down upon us. My lords, it is an awful consideration. Let us think of it.

But to pursue this melancholy but necessary detail. I am next to open to your lordships what I am hereafter to prove, that the most substantial and leading yeomen, the responsible farmers, the parochial magistrates and chiefs of villages, were tied two and two by the legs together; and their tormentors throwing them with their heads downwards over a bar, beat them on the soles of their feet with rattans, until the nails fell from their toes; and then attacking them at their heads, as they hung downward, as before at their feet, they beat them with sticks and other instruments of blind fury, until the blood gushed out at their eyes, mouths, and noses.

Not thinking that the ordinary whips and cudgels, even so administered, were sufficient, to others (and often also to the same, who have suffered as I have stated) they applied, instead of rattan and bamboo, whips made of the branches of the Bale-tree—a tree full of sharp and strong thorns, which tear the skin and lacerate the flesh far worse than ordinary scourges.

For others, exploring with a searching and inquisitive malice, stimulated by an insatiate rapacity, all the devious paths of nature for whatever is most unfriendly to man, they made rods of a plant highly caustic and poisonous, called *Bechettea*, every wound of which festers and gangrenes, adds double and treble to the present torture, leaves a crust of leprous sores upon the body, and often ends in the destruction of life itself.

At night these poor innocent sufferers, those martyrs of avarice and extortion, were brought into dungeons and in the season when nature takes refuge in insensibility from all the miseries and cares which wait on life, they were three times scourged, and made to reckon the watches of the night by periods and intervals of torment. They were then led out in the severest depth of winter—which there at certain seasons would be severe to any to the Indians is most severe and almost intolerable—they were led out before the break of day, and stiff and sore as they were with the bruises and wounds of the night, were plunged into water; and whilst their jaws clung together with the cold, and their bodies were rendered infinitely more sensible, the blows and stripes were renewed upon their backs; and then delivering them over to soldiers, they were sent into their farms and villages to discover where a few handfuls of grain might be found concealed, or to extract some loan from the remnants of compassion and courage not subdued in those who had reason to fear that their own turn of torment would be next, that they should succeed them in the same punishment, and that their very humanity being taken as a proof of their wealth, would subject them (as it did in many cases subject them) to some inhuman tortures. After this circuit of the day through their plundered and ruined villages, they were remanded at night to the same prison; whipped as before at their return to the dungeon, and at morning whipped at their leaving it; and then sent as before to purchase, by begging in the day, the reiteration of the torture in the night. Days of menace, insult, and extortion—nights of bolts, fetters and flagellation—succeeded to each other in the same round, and for a long time made up all the vicissitudes of life to these miserable people.

But there are persons whose fortitude could bear their own suffering, there are men who are hardened by their very pains; and the mind, strengthened even by the torments of the body, rises with a strong defiance against its oppressor. They were assaulted on the side of their sympathy. Children were scourged almost to death in the presence of their parents. This was not enough. The son and the father were bound close together, face to face, and body to body, and in that situation cruelly lashed together, so that the blow which escaped the father fell upon the son, and the blow which missed the son wound over the back of the parent. The circumstances were combined by so subtle a cruelty, that every stroke which did not excruciate the sense should wound and lacerate the sentiments and affections of nature.

On the same principle, and for the

same ends, virgins who had never seen the sun were dragged from the inmost sanctuaries of their houses. Wives were torn from the arms of their husbands, and suffered the same flagitious wrongs, which were indeed hid in the bottoms of the dungeons, in which their honour and their liberty were buried together.

The women thus treated lost their caste. My lords, we are not here to commend or blame the institutions and prejudices of a whole race of people, radicately in them by a long succession of ages, on which no reason or argument, on which no vicissitudes of things, no mixture of men, or foreign conquests have been able to make the smallest impression. The aboriginal Gentoos inhabitants are all dispersed into tribes or castes, each caste born to have an invariable rank, rights, and descriptions of employment; so that one caste cannot by any means pass into another. With the Gentoos certain impurities or disgraces, though without any guilt of the party, infer loss of caste; and when the highest caste (that of the Brahmin, which is not only noble but sacred) is lost, the person who loses it does not slide down into one lower but reputable—he is wholly driven from all honest society. All the relations of life are at once dissolved. His parents are no longer his parents, his wife is no longer his wife, his children, no longer his, are no longer to regard him as their father. It is something far worse than complete outlawry, complete attainder, and universal excommunication. It is a pollution even to touch him, and if he touches any of his old caste they are justified in putting him to death. Contagion, leprosy, plague are not so much shunned. No honest occupation can be followed. He becomes an *Halichore*, if (which is rare) he survives that miserable degradation.

Your lordships will not wonder that these monstrous and oppressive demands, exacted with such tortures, threw the whole province into despair. They abandoned their crops on the ground. The people in a body would have fled out of its confines; but bands of soldiers invested the avenues of the province, and making a line of circumvallation, drove back those wretches, who sought exile as a relief, into the prison of their native soil. Not suffered to quit the district, they fled to the many wild thickets which oppression had scattered through it, and sought amongst the jungles and dens of tigers a refuge from the tyranny of Warren Hastings. Not able long to

exist here, pressed at once by wild beasts and famine, the same despair drove them back; and seeking their last resource in arms, the most quiet, the most passive, the most timid of the human race, rose up in universal insurrection, and (what will always happen in popular tumults) the effects of the fury of the people fell on the meaner and sometimes the reluctant instruments of the tyranny, who in several places were massacred. The insurrection began in Rungpore, and soon spread its fire to the neighbouring provinces, which had been harassed by the same person with the same oppressions. The English chief in that province had been the silent witness, most probably the abettor and accomplice, of all these horrors. He called in first irregular, and then regular troops, who, by dreadful and universal military execution, got the better of the impotent resistance of unarmed and undisciplined despair. I am tired with the detail of the cruelties inflicted with the detail of the cruelties which, without law or process, or even the shadow of authority, were ordered by the English revenue chief in that province.

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FULL PARTICULARS ON APPLICATION TO MANAGER.

THE OUT-DOING OF FROUDE.

(Continued from page 5).

Miscellany contains a lurid description by the same cleric of Sussex's terrible savagery in Tir-Eoghan, and the Historical MSS. Commission Reports have given the Dublin Council's reply on behalf of Sussex—this evidence cannot have been known to the author. Such falsification of History is reprehensible.

The account of the settlement of the Mac Donnell's in Antrim is fiction, as a reference to Rev. Geo. Hills valuable book on this great family will prove.

Seán did not sail for England "early in 1562," but on November 3rd, 1561. Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley) wrote that Seán's submission in London was in English and Irish. Lord Hamilton knows better, for his imagination helps him to declare that O'Neill had no English. Again it enables him to make Seán perform a marvellous feat: "he came in [to Elizabeth's Court] on his knees. This gem is followed by "His crimes were against his own countrymen and his only quarrel with the English lay in the fact that he had grossly violated the compact entered into with Cusack in 1552." At least 500 documents, an Act of Parliament, and several Proclamations prove that Lord Hamilton knows not what he says.

Turlough Luineach did not "first" come into prominence in 1562, but in 1551. Citing Cox that Seán got £2,500 from Elizabeth—his Lordship miscalls it "a loan"—and doubts its amount. He would not if he read the original documents, or the printed Calendar (1569-73), or Sir Henry Sidney's verification in Carew II. Another miracle—we find Seán O'Neill alive in 1563 though he was murdered in 1567. Page after page, chapter after chapter, is full of perversion. I have no space to expose many more of them.

Seán's "body was respectfully laid out in the McDonnell's private chapel, and then buried." No authority is given for this novel assertion. Here is what is historical: Alexander Oge Mac Donnell, after the bouchery handling of this cruel tyrant, caused his mangled carcase to be carried to an old ruinous church near unto the camp, where for lack of a better shroud he was wrapt in a kerne's old shirt, and there miserably interred." [Act of attainder.]

His naive way of citing original (sic) authorities is seen in many instances. Let this example suffice: "In the words of the contemporary State Papers: 'Shane's chief policy was enmity of the Scots. This gained for him in many of his misdeeds [in other directions] the connivance of the statesmen who governed Ireland.'" These words are the personal opinion of the editor of the printed Calendar of Irish State (1504-1573) and are copied therefrom (page xii) by Lord Hamilton—with the exception of his own bracketed additions. Let us see the real O'Neill's policy towards the Scots as stated in the Proclamation, June, 1561, and harped on in the letters of Sussex and of Fitzwilliams: "Upon knowledge whereof Shane that falsely and traitorously had always before comyned with them [the Scots] whilst they were foren enemies, dyd so some as he perceived them to be drawn to his Majesty's devotion enter warre presently against them, and so being always as a traytor and frynde to them when they were foren enemies, became also a traytor and enemy to them when they give true and trendle to his estate."

There have been many travesties of Irish History, but none more glaring than that of Shane O'Neill's policy and aims. Misapprehending the grandest eulogy in that collection of praises of friend and foe, The Four Masters, Bagwell wrote that Seán's ambition was limited by Ulster. This view has been accepted in many works. I am told that the Professor of Modern History in the National University teaches the untruth. The Proclamation, the Act of Attainder, the letters of Sussex, Cecil, Sidney, Earl of Leicester, John Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, the O'Reilly's, Clanrickard, not to mention O'Neill's own letters, or the unprinted Irish evidence, prove that he aimed at the freedom of all Ireland. Regarding his attacks on the loyal Ulster chiefs, the Proclamation unfolds his aim: "By warres and other practices to drawe O'Donnell, O'Raylie, and others her Majesty's noble and faithful subjects to forget their duties to God and to her Majesty, and to joyn with him in his damnable and trayterous enterprys. He claimed to be the "King of the Irishry of this realm, and sometime their patron, protector and defender." The same Act of Parliament rejoicing over the happy event of his murder declares that out of his independent Ulster would "like to have grown the infection and subversion of this your [Elizabeth's] whole realm of Ireland."

Sir W. Cecil wrote to Throckmorton, 1561, August 26th: "Upon him [Shane] dependeth the whole weal or loss of Ireland, if he yield, all is the Queen's Majesty's at present, if contrary, the rest will be in danger." Let me summarize shewes of documents: Every foe of England was Seán's friend; every friend of

hers was his enemy. The Proclamation explicitly says so. The Gaels declared "he help the side that was downcast." Every proclaimed traitor, every outlawed man, found in Seán a benefactor and an admirer—so Sussex tells us.

He takes much pains to try to prove that O'Neill was a coward: this is done by perversion of the words of the Four Masters and by suppressing those of the English writer in Book of Howth, which he freely quotes in other connections. Here are the suppressions: "This O'Neill was a prudent, wise captain, and a good giver of onset or charge upon his enemies." "He had great policy in the wars, that he was practised with, no man more in his time." "He had good men according to the wars of his country." Lord Hamilton cannot have read of the perturbation of Elizabeth's Bishop of Meath when he found Dublin hymning the praises of Seán because of his "valiantness." In an address to Seán, Tadg dall O'Higgins compliments him for his Cuchulainn valour; and O'Donnolly likens O'Neill to the greatest heroes of Ireland's past.

Thus from the English scribe: "His like was not a long time by the memory of man." Sidney, Holinshed, the Lord Chancellor Cusack, the Dean of Armagh, the Act of Attainder—all testify to the richness of Ulster under his rule.

Lord Hamilton is comprehensive in his condemnation of Seán. "In his own person he was a repulsive character." The polished and subtle Spanish Ambassador considered him a more honest and honorable gentleman than the over-dressed nobles of Elizabeth's court. Mary Queen of Scots and the Pope saw him with different eyes from those of this scion of the Hungry House of Hamilton. "As far as can be gathered from contemporary chronicles he had no virtues." I have shown that contemporary chronicles and Lord Hamilton have no intimate acquaintance. He quotes from English authority in the Book of Howth a portion only of what is said therein in favour of Seán and in disfavour. But falsification of authorities, even printed ones, is a favourite occupation of Lord Hamilton, as those two books amply demonstrate.

It would be absurd to expect a fair judgment from foes of Ireland on the greatest Irishman of the Sixteenth century—a man who had no rival in authentic Irish History. The Four Masters liken him to the Sun God of Irish mythology—the Hammes of the Foreigners—Lugh of the Mighty Blows; the Moses who led his people out of the slavery of Egypt; the Man who lifted the bowed heads of his dispirited people towards the sun and gave them a new, happy, life, a renewed, glorified spirit. The condition of Ulster under Seán seemed Heaven to his people and to all Ireland. The Four Masters summarised it in two words: Conor Mac Nessa—the Golden Age of Ulster. Perhaps no man in Irish History was so loved as Seán—even on the streets of then English Dublin. Seán's name was revered. Philip O'Sullivan in Spain meeting the shattered and broken, yet indomitable, grandsons and great-grandsons of Seán's contemporaries collected the truth from their lips that O'Neill was loved by the Irish, Old and New—Gaels and Sean Gaels. "Never was such a good man since Christ lived on earth." wrote one who knew and loved O'Neill.

In spite of the destruction of all Irish material referring to him—O'Donnolly's eulogium surviving only in a late copy of what must have been passed from tongue to tongue for hundreds of years—his fame lived in the hearts of the ever-faithful people of Ireland. Sir W. Fitzwilliam wrote that his "sons were greatly beloved." They carried on their father's tradition for his wife to Malby and other Englishmen "The most venomous and hateful persons of this land" (to English rule).

The manner in which the School of Writers, work represented by the crude, amateur, falsifying hand of Lord Hamilton, would be sad if it were not amusing. Suppose, for instance, that I wrote of the greatest and noblest Englishman in Sixteenth Century Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney not as the Irish Annalists saw him, but as his contemporary countrymen described him, the blackest portrait dreamed of by Seán's defamers would be fought in authentic comparison. He was a drunkard, and a glutton, "a great surfeiter in eating and drinking," declares his eulogist in the Book of Howth. The Irish called him "Big Henry of the Beer." He was an oppressor of the people—"the commons." When his wife, Mary, was in Drogheda, his brother-in-law, Sir W. Fitzwilliams, was writing to England that his "goings-on" in Dublin with the notorious Mrs. Issan, would have disgraced even a young man and was the subject of scandal to the town and horror to Fitzwilliams considering Sir Henry's age." He himself, "he of the moist habit" was given a very bad character by his countrymen in Ireland. Judge Jeffrey's went down to eternal infamy for hanging fewer men in England than Sidney hanged, by the same summary jurisdiction, in Ireland. But Lord Hamilton would not call him "Bloody Sidney" therefor.

His brother-in-law, Sussex, accused him of being "a coward lacking in heart." It was reported in England that his troops ran away and hid themselves in the woods when O'Neill was marching to Dundalk. He was a liar—another of his countrymen's charges. His own letters are full of wails against what he styles the "slanders" on his character. That he oppressed the poor Palemen by intolerable cesses and taxations is beyond cavil. His lawless and ragged troops lived at free quarters with their concubines and dogs—we have his own vivid words on the subject—in the farmers houses. He did not punish his troops for their enormities on the "commons" of Ireland. He bragged loudly, as was his wont of having procured the murder of Seán O'Neill. Although an outward champion of Protestantism, he was ready to hand over England to the Pope and Spain for family reasons, as fully detailed in the Spanish Calendar.

I would not sully the pages of this paper by citing the terrible accusations made by his contemporaries against Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's bed-fellow. All Europe rung with denunciations of his infidelities and enormities.

"Elizabethan Ireland" is bad. "The Irish Rebellion of 1641" is a nightmare. Space only permits a brief notice. The quantity of original material in print alone would take years to study and digest. A keen hunger for Irish land arose in England, and the Press was mobilised for the first time in English History to create the necessary popular mind for war.

A great stream of broadsides or news-sheet poured from the Puritan Press from 1641 onwards. Nothing could exceed their malignity against Ireland, and the wildest and most improbable "atrocities" were invented to stir up evil passions. Not until the Puritans became really strong did the Royalists find it in their hearts to even attempt to show the other side of the picture. Except Mr. Williams, I know of no one who has used them for Irish History: the writer quoted from them in the "United Irishman" some 17 years ago. These Thomas tracts are a mirror of the English mind of the epoch. The material in the Historical MSS. Com. Reports, especially the Ormond Papers, in the publications of J. T. Gilbert, Prendergast, Rev. Geo. Hill's Plantation of Ulster—to mention only a few—afford needed light. But Lord Hamilton prefers, too often, to neglect or merely glance at original authorities and to rush to poor compilations. The result is disastrous for his reputation.

The justification for the horrors the Irish people endured at the hands of the English dissenters was that the Ulster Catholics began the massacres. Lord Hamilton strenuously tries to defend this statement, which has been refuted time and again. Samuel M'Skimin's "History of Carrickfergus" (1823) pp. 44-6—a book that is noted for its accuracy or scholarship—endeavoured to sustain it, in a manner that wins his Lordship's approval. He cites and quotes, characteristically, a passage on the Island McGee massacre of "3,000 men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics of that County was in Arms or Rebellion. Note that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland of either side." Check your authorities is wise advice. Had he done so Lord Hamilton would have discovered no such words in the "Politician's Catechism."

Having tried unsuccessfully to give new life to a long dead fable, Lord Hamilton bitterly assails Lecky for his searching and philosophic analysis of the 1641 Depositions. Lecky was a very great historian with a sacred regard for the truth as he saw it. His Lordship is a violent partisan to whom accuracy and veracity are not subjects of loving care.

WALTER REAGH.

Northern Banking Co. Ltd.

The report of this Bank, which has its headquarters in Belfast, is important from various points of view. It does not appear to have any of its eighty-two branches south of Dublin, of which there are three in our city—Ball's Branch, Grafton Street, and the Southern Branch. There are seven branches in Belfast. The other branches are all situated in Ulster, except those at Balbriggan, Ballinamore, Boyle, Bray, Downra, Drumshambo, Elphin, Kells, Kingscourt, Oldcastle, Randalstown, Shercock, Skerries, Strokestown, and Virginia. There are, therefore, fifteen branches situated outside of Ulster, in Dublin, Meath, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Its accounts are made up to August 31st, and it is, therefore, too soon to expect that the withdrawals which have taken place should be reflected in its balances, and it is, accordingly, premature to judge the effects of recent developments on its fortunes.

Assets—Year Ending August 31, 1920. Inc. or Dec. over 1919. £ £ Loans 11,065,000 +5,788,000 Cash 3,580,000 + 10,000 Treasury Bills - 400,000 Investments 4,915,000 -1,504,000 Sundries 843,000 + 843,000 Premises 160,000 + 30,000 21,463,000 4,767,000

The increase in the discounts and advances is very marked. On August 31, 1919, they stood at £6,177,000. They are now nearly doubled. The investments and Treasury Bills are down by £1,904,000. The sundry items of £843,000 are expressed as endorsements, guarantees, and confirmed credits. These sundry items are new, and appear for the first time on the balance sheet, on both sides, so that they are book-keeping entries which do not affect the balance. Premises are valued up £30,000, though no new premises were stated to be acquired during the year, at least for new branches, the only changes in this respect notified in the Report being the conversion of the agencies at Downra, Newtownards, Portglenone, Saintfield, and Strabane into branches.

Liabilities at August 31, 1920. Inc. or Dec. over 1919. £ £ Capital and Reserves 1,980,000 - 5,000 Undivided Profits 47,000 + 4,000 Staff Funds 88,000 + 6,000 Notes 2,573,000 + 101,000 Sundries 843,000 + 843,000 Deposits 16,832,000 +3,818,000 21,463,000 +4,767,000

Here we see a slight change in the amount of the capital and reserves. But on examination of the composition of this item, the change becomes very remarkable. Last year the capital and reserves were as follows, as compared with this year:

Capital and Reserves—August 31. 1919. 1920. £ £ Capital paid up 600,000 600,000 Reserve Fund 400,000 480,000 Special Reserve for Depreciation of Investments 185,000 1,085,000 1,085,000 1,080,000

A few explanatory remarks are here necessary. The Report for 1919 stated:—"The increase of the capital by 100,000 shares each £2 paid was authorised by Special passed at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Proprietors held on 5th July, 1919, and confirmed by subsequent meeting. 50,000 of the Shares have been issued and taken up at £5 per share, payable in two half-yearly instalments of £2 10s. on 1st September, 1919, and £2 10s. on 1st March, 1920. Instalments to the amount of £70,000, paid in anticipation, have been added to the Reserve Fund." A quarter of a million has, therefore, been taken up in new capital. What has become of it? Not merely is there no sign of it left in the balance sheet, but the capital and reserves are down by five thousand. The explanation is as follows: Seventy thousand of the new capital was carried to reserve last year. That left one hundred and eighty thousand, which came in during September and March instalments. This has disappeared, and with it five thousand more, the amount of which the capital and reserves are down on the year. The Report says: "The Special Reserve Fund of £185,000 of depreciation of investments has been applied to the purpose for which it was formed, namely, the writing down of the Investments; these having continued their fall, the Directors feel there is no object in this fund remaining on the Balance Sheet." Therefore, it is clear that investments to the value of a million and a half have been realised at a cost of the depreciation provided, namely, £185,000, and that this loss have been covered by the issue of new capital. This means, in plain language, that the shareholders' money has been used to help to make good the losses on the investments made by the directors. Moreover, it is not at all clear that all the losses have been made good yet. The premises have been written up £30,000 and this appears to be merely an increased valuation placed by the directors on the value of their property. The effect of this operation is to increase their assets in one direction, with the result that the depreciation in another direction, namely, the investments, is to that extent covered by a book-keeping device. The manoeuvre is marked by another. A sum of £5,780 is appropriated in reduc-

tion of Bank Buildings, so that they must have been written them up by more than £35,000 in the first instance.

It might be thought that the disappearance of a quarter of a million of money before it could get on the balance-sheet, and the inflation of the premises account ought to have covered the Bank's losses. But such is not the case. There is a further sum of £75,000 appropriated from the year's profits for the purpose of writing down investments. The net result is that between applying the shareholders' cash instalments, writing up the buildings, and writing off the profits, the Bank has succeeded in reducing its investments by £1,504,000. It appears to have incurred the following losses in performing this painful operation:

Loss of new Capital 250,000 Diminution of Capital and Reserve 5,000 Writing up Premises 35,000 Writing down Profits 75,900 369,900

The note issue is higher by a hundred and one thousand. This is unhealthy, particularly at a time when the other banks are reducing their paper. The intrinsic value of the Northern's paper is not improved by the operations to which we have referred.

The deposits are higher by £3,818,000, all of which have been lent out to customers, together with a million and a half obtained from the sale of securities, and four hundred thousand gained by not renewing its Treasury Bills when they became due. The Loans, as we have shown already, increased by £5,788,000. The following table shows how the Bank obtained its funds to finance its Belfast customers:

Securities sold 1,504,080 Treasury Bills matured 400,000 New Deposit Money 3,818,000 5,722,080 Increased Accommodation 5,788,000

There is a difference of £66,920. This explains, perhaps, why the bank had to increase its note issue, to provide further accommodation, so that it has been quite unable to retrench its paper liabilities. These are the facts of the position of the Northern Bank. The vital question remains whether further depreciation in its investments can be covered successfully. The dividends paid were slightly increased, but it does not appear that there were any real profits in face of the heavy losses on depreciation. The profit and loss position may be written off as nominal.

Plea for Irish Patriotism

The speech of which the following formed the concluding portion, was delivered in the Commission Court, Green Street, on the 26th of May, 1848, by Robert Holmes, in defence of John Mitchel, then on his trial for treason-felony:—

Deep, deep, deep is the guilt of England, which by an unprovoked and unjust invasion, obtained dominion in Ireland, and at the close of seven centuries of that dominion, at the close of seven centuries of wasting wars, wasting laws, and still more wasting policy, finds it necessary to maintain that dominion by special commissions, state prosecutions, and military force, by the gibbet, by the jail, and by the sword. I hear much, and I read much in praise of the present chief governor of this country, of his good intentions, his great abilities, and his firm purpose. It is neither my province nor my duty to say anything in derogation of his merits or his praise. I move in a high position, but this I will say, that I would rather be lord the best of the good wisest of the wise, and the best of the brave, he could not long remain in a connection between Great Britain and Ireland, under a common crown, by the gibbet, the jail, and the sword. The laws of eternal justice forbid it. How is this connection to be preserved? By justice. By giving to Ireland her rights. Her rights by nature, and her rights by compact. By giving to Ireland her own parliament. Thus the connection between the two countries may be preserved for ages, founded on a community of interest and equality of rights, mutual affec-

Oct. 21—Weekly meetings of Sinn Fein Central Club suppressed.

Nov. 12—Military and police raided headquarters of Republican Government, and arrested and imprisoned staff.

Nov. 27—Sinn Fein and Republican organisations suppressed throughout all Ireland.

Dec. 10—Sinn Fein and Republican headquarters ordered to be closed.

Dec. 12—Sinn Fein leaders arrested in Dublin and provinces, including the Secretary of the S.F. organisation, and deported without trial. Republican headquarters again raided and literature confiscated.

1920.

Jan. 6—Mr. James J. Hoey, election candidate, arrested at Bray and deported.

Jan. 7—Sinn Fein election headquarters raided and closed by military and police.

Jan. 9—Motor permit strikers offer of reasonable settlement rejected by the Government, thus preventing the use of cars to bring electors to the poll.

Jan. 10—Dun Laoghaire election rooms raided. Literature confiscated.

Jan. 1 to Jan. 15—Sinn Fein candidates' election addresses suppressed all over Ireland.

No letters delivered at Sinn Fein Election Department. Sinn Fein election posters torn down by police all over Ireland.

President De Valera's cabled advice to Irish voters held up in transit and not delivered.

NEW SUPPRESSION THREATENED.

The following English papers, under the dates mentioned, threatened the Irish people with intensified military repression if Sinn Fein carried a majority at the election:—"Daily Mail," January 12, 1920; "Daily News," January 14, 1920; "Daily Mail," January 15, 1920.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

"The Irish Municipal Elections," said the "Daily News" on the 19th January, "barely put the Republicans in power in nine-tenths of the townships outside Ulster." It might have added that even in Ulster the supporters of English rule in Ireland failed to capture fifty per cent. of the townships, and that in four-fifths of the townships throughout all Ireland were there majorities returned against the English connection.

Here are a few salient facts that stand out from an analysis of the results of this election:—

The Unionist or pro-English Party obtained a majority on the newly-Councils in only 1 of the 12 Irish Cities and Boroughs; in only 25 of the 127 townships throughout Ireland; in only 23 of the 47 townships throughout Ulster; in only 2 of the 38 townships throughout Leinster; in none of the 10 townships throughout Connaught; in none of the 52 townships throughout Munster.

The Cross of Cong

(From the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record.")

In the year 1822, Dr. Petrie made a tour of the West of Ireland. He took in Cong on the way. Furnished with a letter of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, "the last mitred Abbot of Ireland," he called upon him and was courteously and hospitably received. We shall let Petrie tell the curious incidents of this interview:—

"The object of my visit was to see some interesting remains of antiquity, formerly the property of the abbey, and still in possession of its abbot. The venerable clergyman received us at the door with easy politeness, which warmed into cordiality on perusing his friend's letter of introduction; and after some general conversation, relative to my visit to that unfrequented part of Ireland, favoured us with a sight of that wonderful relic, the Cross of Cong. This reliquary was found by the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, P.P., in an oak chest, kept in a cottage of the town, where it and other remains of antiquity had probably been concealed since the Reformation, or at least subsequent to the rebellion of 1641. A great portion of the valuables thus hidden consisted of deeds of grants of land to the abbey, and of Irish MSS. in vellum, splendidly illuminated! The Abbot, as he confesses, being at the time ignorant of the value of such remains, thought little about them; and on going to the Continent shortly after, to improve his education, carelessly left them in the charge of a young priest, whom he appointed to do his duty during his absence. He remained abroad eleven years, during which time he found that the most ancient and valuable MSS. which he saw on the Continent, appeared to resemble, but not equal in beauty, those he

had left at home. Thus awakened to a sense of their value, we may imagine, what at least ought to have been, his astonishment and horror, on finding, on his return home, that his deputy had, during his absence, lost or destroyed all those curious and valuable remains, the cross excepted; and that, unfortunately, the very beauty of the MSS. had been a chief cause of their destruction, the ignorant young man having cut them up to decorate his breviaries with the illuminated letters which they contained."

So far for the discovery, as it may be called, of this precious article. Petrie's artistic eye at once detected its rare value. He was a poor man, and could not purchase it; but he never lost sight of it, and fondly hoped to see it one day deposited in the Museum, which it now adorns, in the Royal Irish Academy. At length his wishes were realised. In 1849, Petrie was sent by his friend, the late Professor M'Cullagh, to Cong, to purchase the prize. It was bought for one hundred guineas, and generously presented to the Academy. A small but most accurate illustration of this famous cross will be found in Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities. We subjoin the letter-press description of it:—

"The Cross of Cong, the gem of the Academy affords most striking evidence of the advancement which the Irish artificers had made in several of the arts, and in general manufacturing skill, previous to the arrival of the English. It was made at Roscommon, by native Irishmen, about the year 1123, in the reign of Turlough O'Connor, father of Roderick, the last king of Ireland, and contains what was supposed to be a piece of the true cross, as inscriptions in Irish, and Latin in the Irish character, distinctly record. . . . The ornaments generally consist of tracing, and grotesque animals, fancifully combined, and similar in character to the decorations found upon crosses of stone of about the same period. A large crystal, through which a portion of the wood which the cross was formed to enshrine is visible, is set in the centre, at the intersection."

This description, though accurate, is not sufficiently precise and exhaustive. We shall, therefore, endeavour to supplement it by particulars supplied by Petrie, or suggested by a careful inspection of the cross. The questions which naturally present themselves are—first, what was its purpose or object, and what are the evidences of the date or time at which the cross was executed? Secondly, what are the peculiar excellencies which mark it out as distinctively Irish, and as a work of high artistic skill? It is most gratifying that the answers to the first class of questions are supplied by the inscriptions on the cross itself; one of them runs thus:—

✠ Hac Cruce Crax Tegitar Qua Passus Conditur Orbis.

We learn from the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1123, the year in which the first General Council of Lateran was held, during the pontificate of Pope Callixtus, that "a bit of the true cross came into Ireland, and was enshrined at Roscommon by Turlough O'Connor." The "Chronicon Scotorum," edited by Mr. Hennessy, at A.D. 1119, registers the same event in the simple but expressive sentence,

"The Cross of Christ in Connacht, in this year." So far, it is plain that the elaborate ornaments which beautify this cross were the efforts of Catholic piety and skill to enrich a shrine somewhat worthy of enclosing a portion of the true cross, for which the most profound veneration has been entertained by our Celtic forefathers. Now, as to the date, we gladly avail ourselves of Dr. Stokes' statement—

"The remaining inscriptions are in Irish, and give the names of the four persons under whose superintendence this shrine for the holy relic was made; the first was Muireadhach O'Duffy, Archbishop of Connaught, for whose use it was intended; the second was the King, Turlough O'Connor, at whose desire and expense it was executed; the third, Donnell O'Duffy, was the bishop who watched over its progress; and the fourth, Maclisa O'Echan, was the artist who executed it. Of the last mentioned, and now most interesting of those four men, no other record can be found; no monument is left to tell of his former greatness, save the exquisite work that has stood for more than seven hundred years, bearing witness to the marvellous power and delicate skill of the artist!"

Muireadhach O'Duffy, the senior archbishop, for whose use this cross was made, was a very illustrious man, whose death is thus recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters":—"A.D. 1150. Muireadhach O'Duffy, a bishop of Connaught, the arch-senior of Ireland in wisdom, in chastity, in the bestowal of gifts and food, died at Cong on the 16th of May, on the festival of St. Brendan, in the seventy-

fifth year of his age." From this passage, we see that the prelate for whose use the shrine was made, died twenty-two years before the English invasion; and more than that, the shrine was actually completed, according to the "Annals of Innisfallen," in 1123, some fifty years before the advent of Henry II.

As to the peculiar excellence of this famous shrine, its Irish character, and its artistic skill, we are aware that our pages will reach those who may probably seldom, if ever, have an opportunity of satisfying themselves by personal inspection. Hence a few words, we trust, will not be out of place. The general characteristics of what is known as the Irish School of Ornamentation are to be found not only in the treatment of shrines, but also in Irish stone crosses of the same period which adorn the ruins at Monasterboice, Clonmacnois, Tuam, and many other sites of ancient monasteries. In the same class, but of still more elaborate style of ornamentation, are to be ranked the famous MSS. known as the "Book of Kells," the "Book of Durrow," the "Book of Durham," executed by Irish monks at Lindisfarne, the "Book of Kildare," the "Book of Armagh," etc., etc. Of such, Westwood says, in his "Paleographia Sacra," the series of MSS. from which the fac-similes in the accompanying plate have been copied in conjunction with the "Book of Kells," constitute a series of actual proofs, still preserved in Ireland, of the existence of a religious and national school of art in that country at a period when the rest of Europe was almost involved in mental darkness.

Intricate interlacements and minute elaboration may be regarded, Digby Wyatt informs us, as the special characteristic of the Irish school. Ruskin, in his work on "Medieval Art," confirms the opinion of Digby Wyatt, and indeed it needs but a glance at our most valuable MSS., stone crosses, or shrines, to see the same spirit pervading and directing all. Our gifted countryman, O'Neill, in his valuable work, entitled, "Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland," says:—"Various styles of ornamental art prevailed throughout Europe, from the age of Renaissance; that is, from the earlier part of the fourth to the fourteenth century; but during that thousand years, the Irish hold the pre-eminence for every quality which renders works of art excellent, namely, great originality and fertility of invention, wonderful powers of execution, combined with a profound knowledge of the principles of art, to which we may add, a thorough mastery of colour, or chromatic effect. . . .

The works of the early Christian artists which remain show that in fertility of invention, and a profound knowledge of the principles of their art in practical taste and most wonderful dexterity of execution, the Irish artists have never been equalled."

The Victor

Throned in the majesty of stainless Death,  
O martyred hero of th' unconquered Gael!  
Ireland salutes thy corse, clad not in mail,  
Nor crowned with laurel which Time withereth.  
As earthly glory passes with the breath  
Of poor mortality, all cold and pale,  
Save such as thou, whose eyes the Holy Grail  
In direst anguish bleaseth and gladdeneth.  
Even so thy triumph, Toirleach! Tyranny  
That ravaged thy fair manhood in its prime,  
Scathed not thy quenchless spirit, nor could bow  
To its hehests things all undaunted brow,  
Where Valour lays a wreath of victory,  
Deathless beyond the searing touch of Time.  
O'Leary Curtis.

25th October, 1920.

Conciliation

XXII.

**Court-martial:**—Messrs. Patrick and John Dineen, brothers, were tried by court-martial at Cork on the 27th inst. on a charge of attempting to disarm four British policemen at Leap, County Cork. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated. During the trial the Press representatives were warned by Capt. Gover, who prosecuted, that if they published the names of the Crown witnesses, they would, on a future occasion, "be in the chairs occupied by accused."

Mr. L. Breen, Ballybeg, Co. Tipperary, was tried by Court-martial at Cork on a charge of having in his possession a revolver and ammunition, a copy of the official organ of the Irish Republican Army, and some "seditious" literature. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

Mr. D. Bohan, grocery manager at Curragh Camp, Kildare, was tried by court-martial at Maryboro', Queen's Co. on the charge of having ammunition "not under effective military control." It was stated at the trial that the ammunition was found in a store to which many people other than ac-

cused had access. The decision of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

Proclamations and Suppressions:

The summer session held annually at Carrigaholt Irish College, Co. Clare, has had to be abandoned this year, as a large force of British military have commandeered the college and are in occupation of the class-rooms.

Armed Assaults:—Incendiarism—

Following the discovery of the dead body of a British soldier in a field at Bandon, Co. Cork, who is believed to have been shot by some of his own comrades, the members of the British forces stationed in that town wrecked and burned to the ground the house of Mr. J. Buckley, Republican Chairman of the Bandon Town Commissioners. In an effort to saddle the Republican movement with this murder the British military authorities had the body of the soldier removed to England before a public inquiry would be held and the true circumstances of the crime be published.

A reign of terror exists in Limerick City where innocent civilians are being daily attacked and maltreated by members of the armed British forces. At 9 o'clock on the night of the 26th some men returning from religious devotions were held up and beaten by them. Those who tried to escape by running into the shop of Mrs. Ryan, Sarsfield Street, were followed by the police with drawn revolvers, who, not discovering the fugitives, threatened to shoot Miss Ryan, daughter of Mrs. Ryan. Mr. John O'Shea was thrown off his bicycle in William Street, and dragged into the police barracks, where he was savagely assaulted. In another street Mr. J. Kelly was knocked down by five policemen, who beat him with their rifle butts.

On the night of the 25th, British policemen entered the licensed premises of Mr. Kavanagh, Mountkennet, and ordered the occupants to disperse under penalty of being shot.

At a meeting of the Limerick Harbour Board on the 26th inst. the Mayor, who presided, complained that armed British police entered the Corporation Electric Power Station on the night of the 24th, and beat one of the employees very badly. The Corporation night watchmen were held up and threatened, and people going to and from work were being assaulted by British police patrols.

**Deportations:**—Mr. Thomas Dennehy, who was sentenced by court-martial in Cork to two years' imprisonment on a charge of holding up a military dispatch rider, has been deported to Wormwood Scrubs Prison, London.

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ÓIRE ÓS  
YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1920.

The Victor Victim

When in March last Alderman MacCurtin, Lord Mayor of Cork, was murdered by agents of the English Government, Alderman MacSwiney was unanimously elected by the Corporation of Cork to preside over that ancient municipality. In accepting the office he felt it was his duty to his fellow-citizens to fill the gap of danger.

"They saw in the manner in which the late Lord Mayor was murdered," he said, "an attempt to terrify them all. Their first duty was to answer that threat in the only fitting manner by showing themselves unterrified and inflexible for the establishment of the independence and integrity of their country. He was more closely associated than any other with the late Lord Mayor. For that reason he took his place,

and he thought it was the fitting answer to those who struck him down. The contest they were engaged in was not on their side a rivalry of vengeance, but one of endurance, and it was not they who could inflict most but they who could endure most would conquer."

Less than seven months have passed and the second Chief Magistrate of Cork has been struck down. The man whom the citizens of all parties combined to honour and exalt lies dead, as we write, in a foreign prison. But in his death he is victor over the enemies of his country's independence.

Before the world he has proved the failure of those who can inflict most to defeat those who can suffer most. For two months he has endured agony for Ireland. His agony is over—his life is spent. England was powerful enough to make his wife a widow and his child an orphan, as she was once powerful enough to burn Joan of Arc at the stake. The world yesterday joined to honour Joan of Arc. In each succeeding century the world will honour Terence MacSwiney.

Two years ago the electors of Mid-Cork chose Terence MacSwiney as their representative. He is the second of the elected representatives of the people of Ireland to die in England's prisons. Of the other 67, 65 have been, like him, from time to time inmates of England's bastilles. It is England's answer to Ireland's vote. It is England's defiance of Democracy. It is England's repudiation of the pledges she gave to America to uphold the right of every nation to determine its own form of government. But the issue of the conflict between Might and Right is in no doubt. The men whom the people of Ireland chose as their representatives and lawful Government have seen two of their colleagues done to death because they remained loyal to the mandate of their nation. But though they all were to perish, there is no strength in England to make the Irish representation waive an iota of its allegiance to the independent Irish State set up by the will and vote of the people of Ireland.

Terence MacSwiney has died for Ireland, and his death, like his sincere and unselfish life, will be fruitful to the country he loved. Personal grief for his death is assuaged by this fact. No country has suffered more than Ireland—no country has been less able to reward devotion to its cause, and no country has been more passionately loved by its people and more selflessly served. Men and women give their all for a land in which the noblest virtues are proscribed by its enemies as crime. Before such a nation there stretches a great and noble future. In that future of Freedom and Peace the children who stopped their play in Dublin when, on Monday, they heard that the Lord Mayor of Cork was dead, will teach their children to revere the memory of Terence MacSwiney and his comrades, whose loyalty and sacrifice made secure the independence of Ireland.

AR ÓEIS DE SO RAIB A ANAM!

France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

The demonstration condemning British atrocities in Ireland, organised under the auspices of La Ligue des droits de l'Homme, was the largest and most enthusiastic of its kind that has so far taken place in France. Notwithstanding the capacity of the Hall large crowds had to be turned away. M. Marc Sangnier, the popular Deputy for Paris, made a most eloquent and impassioned speech in which he stigmatised the methods employed by the English army of occupation, and asked that civilised humanity step in and end, once and for all, the reign of terror which the Irish people have so long endured and to which they are subjected to-day. The innocent people who, from day to day, fall by the hand of the military assassin and the ruined towns and smoking homesteads which mark the passage of the Black and Tan, forcibly recall to us the descent of the Hun on our own territory and the ruin and destruction which he spread, but there are cruelties from which we escaped—cruelties which no pen can picture, nor tongue describe which are employed to-day against the Irish people because they wish to carry to its logical conclusion the Treaty of Versailles wherein the principle of self-determination was sanctified. M. Ferdinand Buisson, the President of the League; M. Gaernus, Secretary, and M. Paul Louis in

most emphatic language denounced the methods employed by the armed forces of England. A resolution of sympathy with Ireland and demanding for the Irish people the right to dispose of themselves, was passed amidst the unbounded enthusiasm of the audience.

Last week also the Executive Committee of the Young Guards of the French Socialist Party unanimously adopted the following resolution:

(1) That the reign of oppression and reprisals installed in Ireland is incompatible with the right of peoples to self-determination—a right which was solemnly recognised by Lloyd George who was England's signatory to the Treaty of Versailles. (2) That in the name of International justice, we most energetically protest against such acts. (3) That we address to the Irish Republicans our fraternal greetings and adjure the English proletariat to employ every effort to liberate political prisoners who have been illegally sentenced, and to secure the emancipation of the Irish people.

"The situation in Ireland," according to "Le Journal du Peuple," "is that which no civilised people—not even the English—can any longer tolerate. Not a day passes that the regular police, the army and the auxiliary forces of the Crown do not, under the pretext of reprisals, abandon themselves to the work of destruction. After the Belfast riots which were tolerated, if not encouraged, a considerable number of towns and villages have been almost completely destroyed by fire or by bombardment after having been previously pillaged. If this state of things continues the south and west of Ireland will soon be reduced to the state of our devastated departments. You have only to look at the photographs that begin to be published. They recall the war with all its horror. The movement of protestation is such that the Government endeavours to excuse the conduct of its representatives, but no body any longer believes seriously in the declarations of Lloyd George. The actual situation is his work. The most primitive savagery has been let loose and the most brutal and revolting acts have been committed, if not by the orders, at least by the representatives of the British Government."

"It seems that Lloyd George has now concentrated all his energies against Ireland," says "Le Journal des Debats." "In his recent speeches he has declared himself irreducible. He rejects absolutely all concessions and expresses himself on this subject with a violence which leaves no doubt as to his intentions. This is much more regrettable as he speaks for the Coalition and is prepared to resort to every means so as to rally to his banner the suffrages of the English people. The system of reprisals which function now in Ireland is the worst of all. It is the duty of responsible Governments to foresee such mistakes. Mr. Asquith told his audience at Ayr that the system of reprisals in Ireland to-day could only be compared with those employed by the Germans in Belgium. This comparison makes us shudder. We hope that the Cabinet of London will adopt the necessary measures to destroy this lamentable impression."

The recent Republican Congress held at Ancona, according to the "Secolo," passed a resolution acclaiming the triumph of the Republican cause in Ireland and conveying the fraternal greetings of their organisation to the Irish conferees. "At another time this would have been looked upon as a platonic expression of sympathy for an ideal," it says, "but under present circumstances it has a higher and more far-reaching significance. The Irish question presents itself to the world to-day as an international and no longer as a British problem. A new fact is the actual existence of the Irish Republic. Ireland possesses a democratically elected Parliament called Dáil Eireann with a Cabinet which is responsible to it. She has an army of volunteers and a national police. She has her tribunals and judges which are hailed with joy by the inhabitants. Ireland is in fact to-day an ethnic entity—a united State. Sixty-nine Sinn Féiners were returned at the General Election of 1918, ten of whom were sentenced to death or penal servitude for life, and thirty-seven others were arrested, imprisoned and deported without being accused of any specific charge. From this it seems that the official residence of an Irish Republican Deputy is an English prison. The English military forces have established a reign of terror throughout the country. They plunder and burn towns and villages; they assassinate when they cannot arrest those suspected of holding Republican views; they blockade Irish ports and suppress railway communication with the country towns, and they endeavour to wipe out local industries and cripple foreign commerce. The truth is that they have succeeded in producing a state of anarchy in Ireland in order to get a moral sanction to terminate a state of affairs which is of their own creation." M. M.

England's Economic War

PART II.

In 1770 and 1771 there was acute distress in Ireland, owing to the lack of work and the high price of corn; in 1778 and 1779 there was plenty of corn, but manufactures were too poor to buy it. "The consequence was that corn fell to so low a price that the farmers in many places were unable to pay their rents, and everywhere were under great difficulties."

In one word, whatever natural benefits God Almighty conferred upon Ireland, England nullified them all by compelling the people to remain poor and idle. Then she tried to break their national spirit by giving them charity as paupers.

Fearing that this conclusion of his might possibly hurt the feelings of his English friends, the author qualifies it by earnestly praising the English for "protecting" the linen industry of Ireland (we will later examine this "protection"), which, he said, made great progress from 1727-1758, but adds that during that time tillage declined. "Can the history of any other fruitful country on the globe, enjoying peace for four score years, and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery of the lower classes of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern history," concludes this pro-English author. Pointing out that the success of one industry in one district is of no use at all to a country, save to intensify the misery elsewhere, he says, "if you discourage the people from working up the principal materials of their country, the bulk of that people must ever continue miserable, the growth of the nation will be checked, and the sinews of the state enfeebled." Yet these things, he admits, England did to Ireland. The sufferings of the Irish, he says, have been continuous since the time of Queen Anne, although they were "surrounded by the bounties of Providence and the means of abundance."

Continuing, he refers to England's prohibition on the Irish cattle trade as a "mistake," and praises the Irish for the energy with which they increased their number of sheep, and concentrated on the woollen trade, and adds they "had good reasons to think that this object of industry was not only left open, but recommended to them." The woollen manufacture was one of the oldest in Ireland, and for some time—until it became successful—was left unmolested by the English.

In the first year, however, of the reign of William and Mary, two Acts were passed by England to secure a register of all the wool exported from Ireland. There was no increase in the Irish manufacture, the author says, to alarm England at the time, and no reason, except national hatred, for the Act introduced in 1697 and passed in 1699, totally forbidding the Irish trade. It is true the trade was steadily advancing in Ireland, but not, as the English said, enough "to sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures of England."

The apprehensions of England, he adds, seems to have arisen from fears of future rivalry from Ireland. The English House of Lords accordingly asked the King of England to threaten the Irish that if they did not kill their industry themselves, "very strict laws" will be passed by England "totally to prohibit and suppress the same." King William, of course, in his now historical answer, says he "will take care to do what their lordships have desired." The English House of Commons were equally frank in their statement—"they cannot, without trouble, observe that Ireland, dependant on, and protected by, England . . . and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom. . . ." The King is further asked to "make" his "subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms." His reply is explicit: "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen trade in Ireland . . . and to promote the trade of England." The author here points out that the English King really "loved" Ireland—it was the English House of Commons who made him kill her trades.

Ireland had what might be called Home Rule at that time, and we find the Lords Justices, in their speeches on

the first day of the following session (September, 1698), recommending the linen and hempen industry to Ireland, and the dropping of the woollen, not for any Irish reason, but because it will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England."

On January 2nd, 1698, the report of the Committee of the Whole House was about to be brought forward when a bill was sent down from the Lords Justices with orders to pass it. There was strong opposition to the bill, which, however, passed, and received the English King's assent in January, 1698. This bill imposed duties equal to a prohibition on all woollens going out of Ireland.

It is a point worth noting that the great success which the Irish made of the woollen trade by which they so enraged the English manufactures was achieved under great difficulties. For example, the English, while keeping an open market for themselves, had always prohibited the Irish from exporting their woollen manufactures to the English colonies, or from exporting dye stuffs from there.

Mr. Hutchinson is very strong on this point. The usual way, he says, to promote the trade of any country is to encourage her to work up her materials, to export her manufactures, to import raw materials, and to export none of her own that she is able to work up, not to buy what she is capable of selling to others, and to promote the carrying trade and shipbuilding.

Continuing, he says the statement made by the English Parliament and historians that the linen trade was "given" to Ireland as an equivalent for the woollen was utterly wrong, and Ireland never accepted it as such. As far back as the reign of the English Queen Elizabeth, Ireland had a good linen trade under the protection of her native Parliament, but they of their own free will let it slide for the woollen trade, for which they had all the materials in Ireland, and which was infinitely more profitable to them.

In 1696 she passed the Act allowing hemp and flax, "and all the productions thereof" to be freely imported into England, but from that date until 1705 she gave no sort of assistance to the Irish linen industry. "In 1699, there was no equivalent whatever given for the prohibition of the export of our woollen manufactures."

Mr. Dobbs, writing in 1720, says that Ireland had her revenge, because our exiled woollen manufacturers so much improved the manufactures of

France, Germany and Spain, that they ceased buying English goods, at a loss to her of many millions. Besides, adds Mr. Hutchinson, how can you make the Irish obey, de facto, when you would have to persistently guard their 19 maritime counties? Continuing the subject of England's murderous stranglehold on Irish trade, he says that the balance in favour of Ireland on her general trade appears, by the Custom House Returns, to have been, in 1776, £606,190 11s. 0d.; in 1777, £24,205 3s. 10d.; in 1778, £386,384 8s. 7d.; and, taken at a medium of eleven years, from 1768 to 1778, both inclusive, it amounts to the sum of £605,083 7s. 6d.

On this subject, fearing perhaps for the reputation of his England, Mr. Hely Hutchinson is much disturbed, and admits that England's commercial treatment of the Irish nation is "repugnant to the natural course and order of things." He points out also that the English petitions for killing the Irish woollen trade were absolutely untrue regarding facts, and that interested traders' opinions should never be taken in such a matter.

He adds that the province of Ulster lost, in two years, 30,000 of her inhabitants by emigration, owing to the English murder of their trade.

Elizabethan Ulster," for it would require several issues of this paper to rectify all the breaches of historical truth therein. The opening sentence, Introductory Chapter, says Con Bacagh visited King Henry VIII at his English Court in 1543. Con's submission at Greenwich took place on 24th September, 1542, and the fact was printed in black letter by Richard Lant. Characteristically Lord Hamilton mentions Henry's gifts, but omits Con's princely generosity to Garter, to the College of Arms, to the trumpeters, with other fees according "to old and ancient custom."

Elizabethan Ulster," for it would require several issues of this paper to rectify all the breaches of historical truth therein. The opening sentence, Introductory Chapter, says Con Bacagh visited King Henry VIII at his English Court in 1543. Con's submission at Greenwich took place on 24th September, 1542, and the fact was printed in black letter by Richard Lant.

These two works by Lord Ernest Hamilton are examples of a class of pseudo-history that we verily hoped was dead, in this scientific age. The great numbers of Calendars of the historical documents of the periods treated of, published by the Record Office, London, and the still more copious volumes of the Historical Manuscript Commissioners, remove the least shadow of excuse for the perpetuation of ancient fables by any conscientious writer.

Lord Hamilton is never at a loss for data even when there are no records to appeal to. "Of the first Baron's character we know little," yet "he was a century ahead of Con Bacagh in culture and intelligence."

### The Out-Doing of Froude

"Elizabethan Ulster," 16/-, Hurst and Blackett. "The Irish Rebellion of 1641," 21/-, Murray.

Lord Hamilton is never at a loss for data even when there are no records to appeal to. "Of the first Baron's character we know little," yet "he was a century ahead of Con Bacagh in culture and intelligence."

Both volumes are storehouses of mis-statements. For the moment we shall prove the justice of this criticism by examining the opening chapters of "Elizabethan Ulster,"

Elizabethan Ulster," for it would require several issues of this paper to rectify all the breaches of historical truth therein. The opening sentence, Introductory Chapter, says Con Bacagh visited King Henry VIII at his English Court in 1543. Con's submission at Greenwich took place on 24th September, 1542, and the fact was printed in black letter by Richard Lant.

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### NOTAI

Ni chuimhinnion furbhor mor na ndaoine ar cead an rud Spas i gceart, na fos ar cead an rud Aimsir. Dha cheist iarbhfhis iad san na bhuid dlubh-bhaint acu lena cheile. Nusair a chuimhinnid siad ar Spas in aon chor cumaid siad lomhagh de rud cusporia (objective) ina aigne agus tuitean a lan scribheoire sin earrsid cheudna lomhagh siad rud egin mar an bhfarage mhóir doibh fein ach gur farage anspianta le meid doibh e, farage aetir ina ngluaisean na riltini agus na cuirp neamhdha eile. Ni modh maith e sin chun an seoil do bhrethne gur bhfáigtar gan áireamh an spás gan teora ata morhimpal an spás theoranta san agus e lan de chruhochtaib abhair (material creations), mar, m' feuchaimid ar Spas mar ni cusporia ni fólar duinn a chreidim gur bhuid se gan teora. Más fíor go bhuid se gan teora ní aon chruis mhaith ná beadh míleoin míleoin mor-chruinne ann mar mor-chruinne seo gur féidir duinn cuid bheag di a fheicint. Ni haon mhaith Spas a shamhlu le farage. Agus ní haon mhaith Aimsir a shamhlu le habhaint ach cho bheag mar ta tosach agus deire le gach abhainn.

Sara ndeirimid a thuille mar gheall ar na n-áite seo, ba mhaith linn a rá anso gur chóir duinn cuimhneamh i gcomhtharlú ná tuil ach aon "cens reale vel actuale" aváin ann— aon réalachas nea-theoranta aváin, se sin Dia. Rud eile ní féidir choicé uimhir nea-theoranta a vheh ann dárfíor. Tá féidir-achtaí (possibiliti) nea-theoranta de gach saghas ann, ámh, ach is "entia rationis" iad agus a bhfofa (foundation) in uile-chomhacht Dé.

Modh eile chun feuchaint ar an seoil ísea an modh fóluhach (subjective) : an modh ata ag a muinnir adeir nách níe réalta Spás agus Aimsir ach in ár n-aigne. Do shrois an modh san an marc abairde i smaointe transcandacha (transcendental) Kant, aduirt nách níe Spás agus Aimsir na bhuid tairi agann orra, ach nách féidir duinn tairi ná eolas dáil gan iad—se sin, gur níe iad do thairi ar n-aigne aiste fein; go bhuid siad ceangailte de níiv mar a haiheartar iad, se sin, de phenomena, agus ná bainid siad leis an ding-an-sich, léis an rud-ann-fein. Ach ta san bun-os-cionn le reultoireacht agus le reult-fhisicocht (astro-physics) mar ní mor Spás cusporia tri-thuiseach a vheh ann no ní féidir don da eoluoicht san pioc a dheanamh.

Ta teorice mhéidínach idir an da theorice sin, ámh: maran rud nea-spleách seolta ann fein Spás agus fos nách rud fóluhach ar fad e ní fólar no ta socru egin ar an mor-chruinne ata deabharach ar chuma egin leis an ní a dugaimid socru spásúil bíodh is ná beadh se ar gur cumas a mhíniu cade an saghas ruda an socru.

Se bun is barr an seoil ámh, nách féidir duinn Spás a thuisgint i gceart ach cho bheag síe féidir duinn an mhóir-chruinne a thuisgint i gceart. Ina dhiaid san is uile, ámh, ta daoine ann a admhuina a nea-thuisgint insna níe sin, a chredeaí gach ní a him-steair doibh i dtuoh na Mor-chruinne, a admhuino gur bhuid Spas ann cé ná tuigid e, ach ná hadmhóidín Dia vheh ann dáise ná tuigid E, agus níse ná tuigid cumas is féidir Do vheh gan níe gan deire. Ma chredeaí duine i ní áiríne gan e thuisgint ní ceart do asachán a chasa le daoine eile tois go greididín Dia ní tuigid—agus, maidir leis sin, níor Dhia in aon chor an Dia fheicimís a thuisgint ní féidir don teoranta an nea-theoranta do thuisgint.

As leabhar áiríne ataim ag tarac an stóil seo go léir agus ba mhaith liom rud egin a rá uaim fein anois. Ni leor, dar liom, aon argóint dá bhfaraca fos chun a chruhu dhom go bhuid gach ní a chím agus a chloisim ar an daobh amuich dem aigne fein, ná fos chun a chrahu dhom gur isig am aigne ataid siad. Credim go bhuid ar an daobh amuich diom, mar go ndéir an Eaglais e agus mar gurb e rud is áisiúla dhom fein e. Ni dó liom go bhfágadh choicé anóimí a bheidh láidir conclaid-each a ndóhin chun mo réisín do shásamh agus ó tharla ná mairfad ach leah-cheud blian eile an chuid is mo dhe ní fiu dhom túrte le cheisteano do réteach tra's ná feudfadh einne tad do réteach agus do thuisgint ach Dia. Aigne trí-thuiseach ata againne. Bíodh is nách tuairim e go n-imreoinim m'anam ar a shon, se mo thuairim láidir go bhuid cheire thuise, nó bédír fiche ceann, in aigne Dé, agus go bhuid trí thuise, go físcí, i Spás, agus cheire thuise no níe mo ann go hiarbhfhisicí. Bédír leis go bhuid tuigint cheire-thuiseach in ár n-anam agus go bhfanar sí fe chéit laid a bhíon an t-anam sa choláin agus da scaoilín an choláin de ghrá urisde don anam an da thóobh den seoil fheicint, se sin, an daobh físcí trí-thuiseach de Spás agus an daobh cheire-thuiseach iarbhfhisicí, se sin, cheire thuise ina luighe le chéit fe bhíon an trí thuise a chímid. Níe sa meid sin ach tuairim a dhíolfim amáireach ar ínach unsa tobac.

TADHG O CIANÁIN.

(Continued on page 6).

Some New & Recent Publications

Table listing various publications such as 'An Irish Commonwealth', 'Irish Unionism', 'An Athair Peadar O Leofaigh', etc. with prices and 'POST FREE' indicator.

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Vol. 5. No. 44. [New Series (a)].

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1920.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

## Current Comments

More than thirty Irish men, women and children have been killed by the armed forces of England since we wrote on Tuesday last. The names of those done to death (as reported in the daily papers) are as follows:—

**Father Griffin, C.C.**,  
(taken from his home in Galway and fully murdered. His assassins afterwards buried his body in a bog).

**Martin Killea**,  
**Michael MacMahon**,  
**Alfred Rogers**,  
**John Egan**,

(shot dead in Killaloe while prisoners in the hands of the armed forces of England).

**James Coleman**,  
**Eugene Connolly**,  
**Patrick Hanley**,

(murdered in their homes in Cork City).

**Austin Cowley**,  
(shot dead in Narah).

**James O'Neill**,  
**Michael Blake**,

(James O'Neill had been acquitted by an English Court-martial in Dublin, and was on his way home when he was shot dead. On the same occasion Michael Blake, brother of a second prisoner who had been tried and acquitted by the same Court-martial, was shot dead).

**Thomas Clancy**,  
(shot dead in Killybegs).

**Miss Jane Boyle**,  
**Daniel Carron**,  
**James Matthews**,  
**John Scott (aged 14)**,  
**Jeremiah O'Leary (aged 10)**,

**O'Dowd**,  
**James Burke**,  
**Traynor**,

**Thomas Ryan**,  
**James Technan**,  
**Michael Hogan**,  
**William Robinson (aged 11)**,

**An unknown man**,  
(shot dead by armed forces of England at Croke Park, Dublin, while a football match was in progress).

**W. H. West Barnett**,  
(shot dead in Dublin on Monday night).

**Michael O'Reilly (aged 14)**,  
(shot dead in Capel Street, Dublin).

**Thomas Lyons (a boy)**,  
(shot dead near Westport).

**John McSwiggan**,  
(shot dead in Magherafelt).

**John McCann**,  
(taken from his home at Rush and murdered).

**Richard McKee**,  
**Peadar Clancy**,  
**T. C. Clune**,

(shot dead in Exchange Court, Dublin, while prisoners in the hands of English soldiery).

The body of Father Griffin, which had been buried in his assassins in a Galway bog has been found. He had been shot through the temple. Father Griffin lived for God and Ireland. He has died for God and Ireland. His memory will be ever cherished by the Irish nation, and his name inscribed on her scroll of martyrs. His death forges a new bond of affection between the Catholic people—many, the whole Irish people who are true to their country—and the priests of the Catholic Church. As we go to press, the Dublin evening papers announce that Messrs. Richard McKee, Peadar Clancy, and T. C. Clune, Irish prisoners in Dublin Castle, have been shot dead there. The English official version alleges, in excuse, that they were trying to escape.—Solus na bhFianáras dá n-anam.

During the week the armed forces of England wrought death and destruction in the following Irish cities, towns, and villages—Limerick, Derry (attempt to burn down Catholic Church), Clonane (South Leitrim), Cork, Dublin, Killaloe, Narah, Killybegs, Galway, Rosk, Skerries, Swords, Cloghanely (Co. Donegal), Newry, Knappagh

Dromore (Co. Tyrone), Ballymac-thomas, Magherafelt, and Millstreet (Co. Cork).

Eighty or ninety people were also injured in Croke Park on Sunday. In many more cases citizens were murderously attacked and wounded during the week. Some of those so wounded are not expected to recover.

In addition to those mentioned in our last issue as having been killed by the armed forces of England during the preceding week are the following:

**Patrick Lynch**,  
(died on Tuesday week, as a result of bullet wounds received on previous Sunday night).

**John Conry**,  
(according to the "Roscommon Herald" of Saturday, was taken from his home at Rathconnor by the armed forces of England, and shot dead).

In the course of an interview this week with the representative of the "Louisville Courier," Mr. Griffith said:—

For months past England has burned and wrecked towns and villages in Ireland, shot down Irish people indiscriminately, and even assassinated Irish prisoners and political opponents. Yesterday she repeated Amritsar at Jones' Road in Dublin, and a new horror was revealed when the body of Father Griffin was found pierced with the bullets of her agents.

Such is England's reply, not to outrage and crime, as the Irish might expect, but to the peaceful endorsement of the principle of self-determination by the Irish electorate. Until she proclaimed and proscribed the Irish national, cultural, and political associations and the Dail Eireann—the assembly of the duly-elected representatives of Ireland—the people, despite gross provocation and outrage, refrained, under the counsel of their elected leaders, from reprisals and even from self-defence—suffering in the faith that not those who can inflict most, but those who can endure most, will ultimately prevail.

England bans the elected representatives of Ireland, and, at the same time, seeks before the world to invest them with a responsibility for any reactions against her own crimes in Ireland. The responsibility is wholly England's. When the representatives of the Irish people are no longer hindered by her armed forces from freely assembling and conferring, they can and will assume responsibility, so far as the Irish people are concerned, for the maintenance of peace and order.

Rev. J. Kennedy, C.C., Killanena, in an interview with a correspondent of the "Daily Independent," gave the following account of his treatment by the armed forces of England:—

"They visited my house about 7.30 a.m.," said Father Kennedy, "and told me they were about to shoot me. They rushed in about the house and into the sacristy. I went upstairs to complete my dressing. An officer and a man in uniform were searching my room. A book containing a photo of the late Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer and some of his letters were taken.

"They then placed something, which I thought was a bomb, in the centre of the kitchen floor. They went out and gave me half a minute to clear. I removed the vestments and a few other things from the sacristy into the sanctuary, expecting an explosion every minute. The place became suffocating with a kind of sulphurous smoke, but nothing resulted. They returned and removed the cause of my anxiety, telling me I was lucky, and had a narrow escape.

"Some of the party went then to search houses in the neighbourhood, and some remained at my house and on the road. They helped themselves to bread. When the general party returned I was called out 'to the road to be shot.' Many charges were heaped upon me, and I was asked to

deny them if I dared. I did not attempt a defence. I was then ordered on the double. I called the officer's attention to the indignities offered me, as I had called his attention during the search to the breaking of my bicycle and the knocking of my clamps of turf. This only accentuated matters.

"I was invited to fight, and had my collar torn off, and, after a severe handling, I was rushed into my house. I was put through the church and out again. One of the men suggested that it was illegal to shoot me in the church, but he was over-ruled. I was struck lightly on the head several times. One of the men put a rifle to my back and rushed me down the aisle, dealing me a severe blow on the ear and face.

"I was then left alone in the church for a few seconds. They returned, and after consultation, unanimously decided that shooting was too easy a death for me. One of them drew his bayonet, and, rushing at me, ran it past my side. An order came to take me out of the church into the lorry outside. The drive I got might have been all right in warmer season and with friends more judiciously chosen, but leaning against the front part of the lorry, dressed only in my pants shirt, confronted by one of the party making furtive jabs at my face with his fist, my position was far from comfortable.

"During the drive some searches were made, and a prisoner was taken up, whom they referred to as my subordinate. I asked the officer to allow me to give the ministrations of religion to my prisoner; he told me 'Go to hell.' When about twelve miles away from home I was told I could go, and was put down from the lorry.

"When I returned home that evening the last of the forces had gone. During my absence they had eaten everything eatable in the house, and had taken away a leg of mutton. My clothes were trampled upon. Everything of value in the house was taken.

"In the church, all the vestments and a chalice were thrown on the floor and trampled on. Corporals and purifiers were taken away, and also a pyx."

Archbishop Mannix's tour of Yorkshire and Lancashire is welding the Irish of Great Britain in solid and profitable unity with the Irish at home. Speaking on an enthusiastic meeting in Bolton, the Archbishop said—was quote from the "Daily Independent"—"that the other day Cardinal Bourne said that Ireland 'the legitimate' Sinn Fein was, he understood, keeping the peace in that part of Ireland where it (Sinn Fein) had a chance. 'All I can say,' added Dr. Mannix, 'is that I am glad the Cardinal recognises that there is a legitimate Sinn Fein, and I am glad, moreover, to be able to give the Cardinal an assurance that if only what he (the Cardinal) called the legitimate Sinn Fein—and I don't know any other Sinn Fein—was given a free hand in Ireland, then there would be peace, not merely in parts of Ireland, but all over it, and, furthermore, not merely peace over the land, but there would be less crime in Ireland than in his (the Cardinal's) own country—much less crime than there is here under the rule of the Coalition Government."

Proceeding, the Archbishop repeated what he had said elsewhere, that he neither apologised nor retracted any word he had said. He was proud to have met Mr. De Valera in America, and if the English people only knew the impression the Sinn Fein President had made in the United States, they would have a very different view regarding him. He mentioned that he had had a great deal of sympathy extended to him on the prohibition against his going to Ireland, not only from Catholics and Irishmen, but from non-Catholics and non-Irishmen. Those who prevented him feared, if he went to Ireland, he might have an opportunity of addressing a few hundred

Irishmen somewhere. "I could do that only with the permission of the 'Black and Tans' in Ireland," he said; but here, at the very heart of the British Empire, he had opportunities of addressing a thousand times as many Irishmen. His exclusion from Ireland was not a mere political matter, but a question of the freedom of the individual to speak the truth. Out of Mr. Lloyd George's own mouth, however, he could quote all that he meant. They need only turn to the Premier's speeches during the South African war, when he said: "If Britain continued the freedom of the individual against the Boers, she might, by the indignation created, soon have to face armed humanity."

If he (the Archbishop) had said such things in the United States of British frightfulness in Ireland he would doubtless be now in jail.

Writing from Buenos Ayres under date October 1st a correspondent says:—

Last Sunday's brilliant scenes at St. Paul's Monastery Golden Jubilee will never be forgotten by the vast crowds which witnessed the unique festivities at the Passionist Monastery. . . . The Irish Republican flag, caught by the wind, floated from the tall spire of the church—an emblem of hope and liberty.

About 10 o'clock a beautiful silken Sinn Fein flag was solemnly blessed on the altar by the Rector, Rev. Fr. Francis O'Connell, assisted by the Community. . . . The chapel was full to the door, and the scene most impressive. . . . High Mass in honour of Blessed Oliver Plunket for the triumph of Irish Independence was celebrated by Mgr. Usher, assisted by Fr. Michael Deane and Fr. Thomas Donlon.

Afterwards Mgr. Usher, in the course of a stirring address, said: "Some thirty or forty years ago the prophets of evil. . . were very busy telling us how, before long, there would be no Irish spirit, no Irish traditions in Argentina. . . and instead to-day the spirit of the race is making itself felt as it never did before. . . . the Irish stand out by themselves a distinct race. . . . the manifestations of our heartfelt sympathy with our brother Gaels, struggling heroically in the old land for justice and freedom, are every day more enthusiastic. . . . We feel thrilled with a new pride at the thought that the blood in our veins is the blood of great and good men, like Oliver Plunket, like Terence MacSwiney, the indomitable Martyr of Cork. . . who have laid down, or are laying down, their lives in the centuries-old struggle for justice and freedom. Ireland stands to-day before the world as she never stood before, unconquered and unconquerable, protesting in trumpet tones against the cruel foreign domination under which she is suffering—protesting her definite determination to never renounce her inalienable right to nationhood. . . . A new era is commencing. . . . out of the terrible happenings of the past few years, out of the significant events now convulsing the world, a purified and rejuvenated humanity should emerge victorious. . . . injustice and tyranny must disappear. Let us hope, then, that Ireland, at last, her shackles broken, her struggles ended—free and independent—may be recognised among the free nations of the world."

At St. Elizabeth's Church, Foleshill, Coventry, a Requiem Mass was offered up on Sunday, the 21st, for the repose of the soul of Terence MacSwiney and the other Irish martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice for Ireland's freedom. The Coventry Branch of the I.S.D.L., headed by the officials, marched four-deep, with draped tricolour armlets, to the Church. In the evening a large meeting was held in

the Market Place, and the principal speakers were Mr. Myles Connell, President, Birmingham District Committee I.S.D.L., and Mr. D. O'Brien, Organiser of the Coventry Branch, I.S.D.L. Mr. Connell, speaking of the sacrifice of Terence MacSwiney and his comrades, said Lloyd George had succeeded in killing the body of Terence MacSwiney, but his soul was immortal, and will live for ever. It was in the same unconquerable spirit as that of the late Lord Mayor and his martyred comrades that the Irish people would continue the fight until finally they won their freedom, and the Ireland's shores. Mr. Connell warned the Irish people against any English political party, saying that by their silence they had all condoned the murder of Terence MacSwiney and his comrades. The meeting closed with a collection for the Belfast expelled workers, and cheers for the Irish Republic, and the singing of "The Soldier's Song."

The London and North Western Railway Company has secured the contract for the conveyance of mails between Holyhead and Dun Laoghaire, thus ousting the City of Dublin Steampacket Company from the carriage of the mails after the long period of eighty years. The contract is fixed to operate from November 28, is for a period of twenty years, and the amount of the subsidy is £100,000 per annum, to be reduced to £90,000 as soon as the deepening of the inner harbour at Holyhead is completed.

The placing of the contract with the English Railway Company means a complete monopoly of our Channel trade presented by the English Post Office. There is no pretence that Irish commercial interests are even considered in this matter. Neither the Dublin Chamber of Commerce nor the Dublin Port and Docks Board have raised a single whisper in the matter, though both are vitally affected by the establishment of this deliberate and quite unnecessary railway monopoly, which cannot possibly benefit our trade, and is certain to injure it.

At present the London and North Western Railway Company are contractors for the carriage of the Irish mails over their system. They thus have already the carriage from London to Holyhead, a distance, we believe, of 270 miles. The City of Dublin Steampacket Company had the balance, a mileage of 63, out of the total of 333, the mileage as reckoned in the clearing-house. The English Post Office retains the letter postage, but eleven-twentieths of the parcels postage is distributed between the railways on a mileage basis. The proportion of parcel postage accruing to the mail packets is added to the general railway pool, and the Chairman of the Dublin S.P. Co. stated recently that the English Postmaster-General had refused to give the Company a share of this revenue. Now, the London and North Western, being a railway company, will be in a different position, and it will be interesting to watch it enforcing a claim to the parcels revenue on the basis of the full 333 miles in the distance from London to Dublin via Dun Laoghaire. If this is correct, it means that the railway company will, from the parcels revenue, obtain permanently an undisclosed margin of twenty per cent. in addition to the subsidy.

In addition to the rail-borne mails from London to Holyhead, they have enjoyed for many years the carriage of the mails to and from Holyhead via the North Wall, so that there was no necessity whatever to accord them the contract via Dun Laoghaire, from which, in fact, they should have been barred in the public interest. The offer of a tender is a mere blind, and could not possibly have the effect of promoting competition. In fact, all

the circumstances show that the object of the English Post Office is to give a complete monopoly to a single railway of all the traffic between Ireland and the port of Holyhead. The loss of the contract will probably mean the end of our oldest shipping company, and, we believe, the first steamship line in the world, founded now very nearly one hundred years ago.

"Spurling's Journal" (of London and New York), in its November number, points out the very important fact, to which we have before alluded, that Ireland is the largest and best market that England has for her commodities. She exported into Ireland in 1918 (the last normal year) no less than 74 millions worth of commodities, practically all of which passed through her ports. "To no foreign country," says "Spurling's," "did we export so much." It is time for other manufacturing nations to have a look in.

Last week Ireland was internationally recognised at both the International Agricultural Federation in Paris and at the International Flax Conference at Brussels. The latter was presided over by M. Ferrullette (France), and was attended by delegates from France, Belgium, Ireland, Great Britain, Holland and United States. A minimum of £300 a ton was agreed to be fixed for Ireland and Great Britain, and 1,500 Belgian francs for France, 1,500-2,000 for Belgium, and 2,000 for Holland. One thousand Belgian francs are worth nominally forty pounds, but only twenty pounds in the exchanges, so that the relative value of Irish flax appears to be well established on the basis of these figures at a much higher level than Continental flax. It was decided to hold back the 1920 crop for fifteen months, and to curtail production. The value of flax is largely determined by its competitor, cotton, which was recently offered at an unprecedentedly low price. This, of course, must have a bad effect on the value of linen goods.

The Procurator of Missions in Uganda is anxious to procure all available supplies from Ireland, and the Dublin Industrial Development Association, 12 Molesworth Street, is in receipt of an application for names of firms manufacturing cotton, hardware, tobacco, stationery, church furniture and equipment. It is also requested that catalogues, where possible, be forwarded. The Association will be glad to transmit any information supplied, and to give the address of the Procurator to firms interested.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association is also in a position to give information as to the Export Credit Scheme by which manufacturers and merchants are accorded credits and facilities for trading with such countries as Finland, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, etc., and Irish firms anxious to develop trade with such countries may have details on application to the Secretary at the Association's address, 12 Molesworth Street.

Important information with regard to the demand among the Irish of Australia for Irish-made goods is also to hand, and manufacturers interested in trade possibilities in Australia are requested to communicate with the Association.

Our Paris letter, posted in the French capital on Saturday morning, had not been delivered in our office up to the time of going to press.

Work Laws of Ancient Ireland

It is a cause of justifiable pride to every patriot, when modern "Reforms" clamour for consideration, to be able to point to the ancient records and traditions of his nation as evidence of the fact that, had the old native laws and customs of his country been left undisturbed, the need for these—now, alas! too necessary "Reforms" might, possibly, never have arisen within its shores.

Such is our position in the Ireland of to-day; our working people are suffering, and seek to open for themselves a wider horizon—and rightly so; but it is well to remember that the laws and materialistic ideals under which they suffer are not the laws and ideals of Ireland.

There is no need, in so brief a survey, to view the present situation of the Irish workers; it is sufficiently clear to themselves and to all who care to study the subject intelligently. What I propose to touch upon are the

conditions under which our people worked in the Ireland of long ago, when even as Pagans, with only the natural law to guide them—before that golden day when Saint Patrick came to set before the Irish people as their model for all time the Divine Figure of the Carpenter, (Christ—rich and poor, employer and employe alike, had a fine and a just perception and appreciation of what is meant by "the Dignity of Labour."

That men and women in ancient Ireland were honoured (and remunerated) in proportion to their skill, be their profession that of art, science, needle-work, music, or what is now commonly known as "work" (as though no "work" were needed to attain to proficiency in art or science) is shown by such passages as the following, which are quoted from Joyce's "Social History of Ancient Ireland." (The Brehon Laws—hereafter frequently mentioned—were the recognised law of the Irish nation prior even to the advent of Saint Patrick early in the fifth century A.D.)

"Ollam or Ollamh (ollav) was the title of the highest degree in any art or profession; thus we read of an ollave poet, an ollave builder, an ollave goldsmith, an ollave physician, an ollave lawyer, and so forth. . . ."

In order to attain the degree of ollave, a candidate had to graduate through all the lower steps, and for this final degree he had to submit his work—whether literary compositions or any other performance—to some eminent ollave, who was selected as judge. This ollave made a report to the "King of Territories" not only on the candidate's work, but also on his general character, whether he was upright, free from unjust dealings, and pure in conduct and words, i.e., free from impurity, bloodshed, and abuse of others. If the report was favourable, the King formally conferred the degree—a ceremony which the commentator on the Senchus Mór calls *uirnead ag rig tuath*; literally, "ordination by the King of Territories" (Vol. I., p. 442).

"The several grades of learned and professional men were on a level, in body-fine and social rank, with the chieftain grades. . . . A King kept at his court an ollave of each profession, who held a very high position and had ample stipends; and once a family was selected to supply ollaves to the King they were freed from the customary tribute" (Vol. I., p. 460).

"From the most remote times there were in Ireland professional architects, or builders, as there were smiths, poets, historians, physicians, and druids; and we find them often mentioned in our earliest literature. . . ."

There were two main branches of the builder's profession—stone-building and wood-building. An ollave (builder) was supposed to be master of both, and, in addition to this, to be so far acquainted with many subordinate crafts as to be able to "superintend" them as the law expresses it; in other words, to be a thorough judge as to whether the work was properly turned out by several tradesmen, so as to be able to pass or reject as the works deserved—all which resembles what is expected from architects and builders of the present day.

The most distinguished ollave-builder of a district was taken into the direct service of the King, and received from him a yearly stipend of twenty-one cows, answering to a fixed salary of £260 or £300 of the present day; for which he was to exercise and have properly executed all the King's building and other structural works. In addition to this, he was permitted to exercise his art for the general public for pay; and as he had a great name, and had plenty of time on hands, he usually made a large income. In one of the Brehon Law tracts there is a curious classification of the works an ollave builder might undertake, with the payment fixed for each—nineteen classes in all. . . . (Vol. II., p. 492).

"Among the higher classes of craftsmen, a builder of an ardray or of ships was on the same level—in respect to honour, price and *aire-fine*—with an *aire-dess*, the lowest rank of noble; that is to say, he was entitled to the same compensation for any injury inflicted on him in person, honour or reputation. In like manner, a chariot-maker and a wooden-house-builder and some others, ranked with the *tanist* or intended successor to a *bo-air* chief." (Vol. II., p. 324).

"As illustrating this phase of society, we sometimes find people of very high rank engaging in handicrafts. One of Saint Patrick's three smiths was Fortchern, son of Laegaire, King of Ireland. Beogan, the father of Saint Mochoemne, and another Beogan, both

of royal descent, were carpenters." (Vol. II., 425).

It must not be thought that the Brehon Laws made provision in the case of ollave-workers alone to secure for them fitting recognition and remuneration, and to ensure that their work attained to a certain recognised standard. Joyce tells us that "similar provisions are set forth in the law for craftsmen of a lower grade," and it is evident that the artist as well as the worker in them was appreciated, for of needlewomen it is said—in a passage of the Brehon Laws prescribing the fine for retention or loss of an embroiderer's needle—that "every woman who is an embroiderer deserves more profit than even queens"; and a special fine was imposed upon anyone "scratching or otherwise disfiguring the posts or lintels of doors, the leads or posts of beds, or the ornamental parts of any other furniture," so highly valued was the work of the wood-carver.

The same authority (Vol. II., 289) mentions that "an ancient MS. Law Tract of the Brehon Laws gives the pay of the delver who digs copper ore."

"That everything possible was done to ensure a uniformly high level of workmanship in the various trades is shown by the following (Joyce, Vol. II., 329): "No individual tradesman was permitted to practise till his work had been in the first place examined at a meeting of chiefs and specially qualified ollaves, held either at Croghan or at Emain, where a number of craftsmen candidates always presented themselves. But besides this there was another precautionary regulation. In each district there was a head craftsman of each trade, designated *caire-re-coib*, i.e., 'sage in hand-craft.' He presided over all of his own craft in the district, and a workman who had passed the test of the examiners at Croghan or Emain had further to obtain the approval and sanction of his own head-craftsman before he was permitted to follow his trade in the district."

No sane mind looks for Perfection in any human organisation, but we Irish may surely claim that the spirit, and the national outlook on all relating to the workers and their work, shown in the above brief extracts from our laws of over a thousand years ago, come very near to it!

Coimisiun Fhíarúithe Maom is Tionnascail Eireann.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES OF IRELAND. Minutes of Evidence, Part I.

Commission of Inquiry in to the Resources and Industries of Ireland, American Chambers, O'Connell St. Dublin. Coroin Glan (Five Shillings net).

It was decided by the Standing Committee of the Commission of Inquiry in January last that the Minutes of Evidence taken in December, 1919, should at once be published by the Commission, in view of the immediate importance of evidence and the fact that the evidence was not available for publication through the ordinary channels of the press. Accordingly, the first volume, covering the evidence taken at the City Hall, Dublin, on December 2nd and 3rd, 1919, has been recently issued to the public. This first volume contains evidence under two headings: (1) Milk products and Milk Production, and (2) Fishery. The second number will continue the evidence under (3) Meat and Meat Products, and (4) Power, whether derived from Peat, Water, Coal, or Industrial Alcohol. Further numbers are to be issued subsequently to place the evidence of later sittings in the hands of the public.

The evidence on milk production is very interesting and important. In commencing with this question, we are rapidly introduced to the salient facts which, in reality, govern our agricultural progress. We have heard much about the cattle trade and the ranching system on the one hand, and we have long been instructed in the need for more tillage. On reading carefully the evidence submitted for our perusal in this volume, we are led to believe that the dairy industry is the real key to agricultural progress in Ireland. It would be unwise to anticipate the final report of the Commission, and, therefore, we propose to review the evidence as it appears in this volume, while withholding judgment on the general question of agricultural policy which can only be settled when the relative merits of all the issues can be balanced.

It is well, however, to bear in mind that the evidence we are reviewing is mainly concerned with the views of dairymen experts whose knowledge of milk production is unquestionable. Nevertheless, the Milk Inquiry is bound to lead to certain important results which will affect the future of Irish farming to a great extent.

The importance of dairying and the part it plays in our agricultural system is thus explained by the first witness, Mr. R. A. Anderson, Secretary to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society—

Ireland has always been a country noted for dairying, and the Dairying Industry has played a very important part in the general agricultural economy of the country, because, in addition to producing large quantities of butter in days gone by, when very little butter was obtainable in other countries, it had a very large live stock trade. And the manufacture of butter was the form of dairying which lent itself most suitably to the production of live stock. In the early part of the year, when the majority of the calves were dropped, they were reared on fresh milk, and gradually got separated or skim milk, until they were weaned. If, for instance, cheese-making had been resorted to instead, the number of young stock which could have been reared would have been very much smaller than the number reared under the butter-making system. Anything which might happen to the Dairying Industry to disturb the balance which is maintained at present between the different branches of agriculture, would have a most disastrous effect all round.

The evidence of Mr. Anderson contains much interesting and important information. It deals with the labour problem, cow-testing, stock-breeding, winter dairying, milk powder, concentrated foods, milking machines, the Irish market, tillage, small holdings, cost of production, and other aspects. The witness suggested that "one thing ought to be discouraged, and that is the sale of premium dairy bulls, before it can be judged whether their posterity are good milkers or not." Further, he suggests that a persistent attempt should be made to get more dairy bulls for the use of farmers, and he would like to see dairy bulls confined to members of cow-testing associations, so that some control could be kept over the progeny.

The object of these associations is to increase the yield of milk by getting rid of bad milkers. There is nothing, says Mr. Anderson in his evidence, incompatible in eliminating the bad milkers, and still retaining for the country a thoroughly good breed of store cattle. "That is the evidence we have got," he says, referring to another commission on which he is sitting. He continues—"It has been given by farmers themselves, and it has not been put into their mouths by any of the Commissioners. They also say that, having regard to the fact that there are one and a half million cows in Ireland, and that you may possibly increase the milk yield by 100 gallons a cow, it would bring 7½ millions sterling into the country per annum. Therefore, it would be worth while spending some public money in bringing about the result. If you had a new supply of milk, value for 7½ millions at 1s. a gallon, I don't think there would be a man, woman, or child short in Ireland, and it would pay the farmer a great deal better than at present. I don't stop at a hundred gallons. Experience has shown in cases under investigation, that men beginning with 400 gallons yield have graded up their cows to 750 gallons. It takes some time. You cannot cut out your bad milkers all at once. Another thing, until recently preference was given to the beef shorthorn. If a man had a good bull, he won a remunerative premium, and he often had a chance of selling one of his bulls to the Argentine. Therefore, it was an unattractive proposition to breed dairy bulls." We must content ourselves with dealing with these few points. They raise very important issues, and we safely leave the decision in the hands of the Commission.

Mr. T. A. Lucy, President of the Creamery Managers' Association, clearly defined the advantages of the industry with which he is connected—

Dairying is, and must always remain, one of the chief industries of our country. In soil, climate and geographical position, Ireland is admirably suited to the production of milk and its products, and should be able to hold its own in this respect with any country in the world. Dairying is not merely of importance because of the revenue derived from the sale of milk and milk products. Around it revolves, and upon it depends, the industries of calf-rearing and bacon production; so essential to progressive farming. Through the

housing of the milk cows during the winter months, the farmer is provided with an abundance of the best fertilizer in the shape of farmyard manure for enriching the soil. Much greater employment is given by dairying than by the mere production of beef, and, on the whole, it is generally well suited to the agricultural economy of the nation.

Such is the case for the preservation and encouragement of the Irish Dairy Industry. It is carried on largely through the co-operative creameries, which number 465, of which two hundred and thirteen are Centrals and two hundred and fifty-two Auxiliaries. In addition, there are the non-co-operative or Proprietary Creameries, which number 218, namely, eighty-three Central and one hundred and thirty-five Auxiliary. So that butter, cheese and other milk products are mainly handled by nearly 700 creameries. At the Auxiliaries, the cream is merely separated from the milk and carted to a Central to be churned into butter. The Centrals not merely separate the cream from the milk sent by the farmers of the locality, but also manufacture it into butter, together with the cream of any Auxiliaries they may receive. A Central usually deals with anything from 1,500 to 5,000 gallons daily, and employs a highly trained manager, and a staff of from six to twelve persons, according to its size. An Auxiliary, or separating station, deals with 500 to 1,500 gallons, and employs two or three persons only. Mr. Lucy's evidence deals with the technical side of this business, the grading of butter, cheese factories, condensed and dried milk, average yield, milking breeds, statistics of Irish Dairy Produce exports contrasted with foreign imports, cold storage, glutted markets, pig-feeding, cheese-plant, winter-dairying, and other branches of the subject.

Mr. Lionel Smith-Gordon gives valuable evidence on the business side of agriculture, the position of the Dublin milk supply, organisation, guaranteed brands, standardisation, co-operation of labourers.

Dr. Hayes, T.D., Medical Officer, South Dublin Union, contributes much information on the medical dietetic aspect of Dried Milk. "The milk may be good milk," he tells us, "it may be pure milk; but in the foul air of the tenement houses—houses in the slum districts—even the best fresh milk gets contaminated in a very short time. A great advantage, of course, about Dried Milk is that it can be exposed to the foul air of the houses in these districts without being affected. When a tin is opened it can be exposed for weeks in the foulest air without being contaminated, so long as it is kept dry." Dr. Hayes' evidence may be summed up in a slight variation of a famous proverb, "Keep your milk dry." Dried skimmed milk, he believes, is manufactured in Waterford, and used for commercial purposes, such as cheaper chocolates, sausages, cakes, biscuits, etc. According to Mr. James C. Dowdall, Glaxo is made in Waterford, but is invoiced through London. It is said to be used for food purposes, and also for commercial purposes. There is here evidently room for a new industry, about which little appears to be known in Ireland, but it is evidently worthy of investigation from the evidence before us.

Mr. James Tant, Creamery Expert to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, gave evidence on Cow-Testing at Creameries, Milk Cattle, Retailing Milk at Creameries, Belfast and Dublin Distribution, Dried Milk in Co-operative Creameries, Cold Storage, Winter Dairying, Milling, Power, and other subjects. He spoke feelingly on the prosecution of creameries by Dublin food inspectors. "The large number of creameries singled out for prosecution is nothing less than a public scandal—singled out for prosecution in order to keep their milk supplies out of Dublin." This is certainly a public matter which deserves investigation.

Valuable additional evidence was given by other creamery experts—Mr. Patrick Coleman, manager of Nenagh Co-operative Creamery; Mr. James Glasheen (Cullen Creamery, near Limerick Junction); Mr. Edmund Farrell, manager Tourmalulla Creamery; Mr. C. F. Costello, manager of the Ballyhaise Creamery. Mr. J. A. Smith, farmer, Rathbany, Hospital, gave evidence on beet-root, which he found very good food for milk cows and in feeding calves. Mr. P. F. Cassidy, farmer, of Enniskillen, presented the case against the creameries and in favour of the old methods of butter production before the separators came in. Miss Whitty gave information on goats and their milk. Professor David Houston, Consultant on Agricultural Bacteriology to the Irish

by a warrant to the Irish Postmaster to open all letters which the Duke of Devonshire (then Lord Lieutenant), or any other person appointed by him, shall direct.

The English Act having been repudiated by us, a special "Irish" Act was passed in the reign of George III. of England to ensure the stealing and opening of Irish letters by order of the English-appointed Lord Lieutenant. This was consolidated by an Act of the first year of the English queen Victoria's reign, and in a private report issued by the English House of Commons it is stated that the systematic opening of Irish, and it is to be noted English, letters continued indefinitely from this time. Up to 1725 stolen letters were openly used as prima facie evidence of high treason against the writers in English-constructed courts of law, but after that date, English opinion having become rather alarmed, only the evidence subtracted was brought forward, reference to the theft of the letters being carefully avoided.

The question of espionage in Ireland appeared to have been carried to extraordinary lengths, for the secret committees already referred to states that the custom was used by every Government in England and every Government in Ireland, for almost every purpose, and with much irregularity.

The following is a list of some of the "Irish" officials whose signatures appear to these precious warrants for opening private letters:—

- 1832—Marquis of Anglesea.
- 1834—E. J. Littleton (Secretary).
- 1834—Marquis Wellesley.
- 1835—Earl of Mulgrave.
- 1836—Earl of Mulgrave.
- 1836—T. Drummond (Secretary).
- 1837—T. Drummond (Secretary).
- 1837—Lord Plunkett (Lord Justice).
- 1837—Archbishop of Dublin.
- 1838—Lord Morpeth (Secretary).
- 1839—Marquis of Normanby.
- 1839—Lord Viscount Ebrington.
- 1839—Gen. Sir E. Blakeney (Lord Justice).
- 1840—Lord Viscount Ebrington.
- 1841—Lord Justice Bushe.
- 1841—Earl de Grey.
- 1842—Ditto.
- 1842—Sir E. Sugden (Lord Justice).
- 1843—Earl de Grey.

No regular record, as already stated, was kept of the warrants, which were issued haphazard at the will of the Castle, and were not even signed according to law. Records, however, survive of warrants issued affecting sixty persons—nearly all political suspects—which were issued between 1832 and 1843. The opener was a detective clerk in the Chief Secretary's office. It may be noted that specimens of Irish handwriting were as eagerly collected then as they are to-day.

Now comes a lesson for English Labour. Having made Post Office espionage a success in Ireland, the English transferred it as a weapon against certain troublesome agitators. The first public application of her Irish coercive methods to England was in the labour disturbances in English manufacturing districts in 1842, when secret service clerks were sent down with warrants to open the letters of nineteen persons. The second was during the Welsh disturbances in the following year, when clerks were again sent down to spy on the workers' correspondence. Doubtless the English Government went on the general principle that, having found an atrocity useful for dealing with Irish rebels, it might well be applied to English agitators.

Espionage at that time (1844) was still regularly exercised on the foreign correspondence of foreign ministers. Yet the English Lords and Commons Secret Committees recommend the continuance of the espionage of the Post Office, in spite of the strong moral feeling which they acknowledge existed against it, because it is occasionally useful to discover conspiracies and murder, and if the public knew letters would no longer be opened, "transmissible" correspondence would multiply. In 1722 the chief evidence brought against the Bishop of Rochester were letters stolen, opened and copied in the post, and said to be passing between him and his friends. His counsel in vain protested on the score of illegality. In 1755, however, the English Cabinet, unchecked so far, started to spy upon the letters of Members of Parliament, and the result was an angry and successful protest concerning its own letters by the English House of Commons. After the Rebellion of 1745, men were hounded down by Post Office spies, and in 1758 Dr. Henry was convicted of high treason almost solely through the evidence of Post Office clerks.

In 1761 the House of Commons refused to allow a select committee to inquire into the abuses committed at the Post Office by opening inland letters. No check whatever was kept on the issue of these warrants until 1822, after which time the warrants themselves were preserved, but from 1799 to 1844 the number of persons whose letters were spied on and recorded was 724.

From that time there has been no public inquiry held and no record made obtainable of the number of private letters opened by the British Government. But it is known that during the Anglo-German war letter espionage was on a wholesale scale, just as it is known now that the Post Office here is used as a branch of the detective department of England for hounding down Irish citizens. But when a government has to fight for its life with such a weapon as letter espionage, its days are numbered.

X.

### English Propaganda.

We take the following review of "The Secrets of Crewe House," Sir Campbell Stuart's confession of English propaganda methods, from the current issue of the "Catholic Bulletin." At present the Northcliff Press affords remarkable illustration of those methods. Its two chief organs are "The Times" and "The Daily Mail." The former professes to condemn the present English policy in Ireland—the latter points every falsehood invented in support of that policy, and suppresses despatches when they tell the truth:—

After a careful study of this epoch-making book, taking it as a whole, and on the evidence supplied by the author, we are of opinion that it will be considered in the general opinion of the world as the story, not of a famous but of an infamous campaign. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the story to humanity in general, and above all to Ireland, and, in view of its relatively trifling price, it should be assured on a colossal scale. We recommend our readers to secure copies without delay and propagate its contents.

The author, who was Deputy Chairman of the Government-appointed Committee of Propaganda in Enemy Countries, tells us that the object of the Committee was to break down the morale or fighting determination of the enemy, purely military means having proved ineffective. They rightly concluded that Austria-Hungary's soldiers conscripted from subject nations could most efficaciously be persuaded to refrain from fighting by promises of independence for their respective countries. Where active desire for independence did not exist, they set themselves to create it. Beginning on April 18, 1918, they composed a nationalist journal (of what they would call the purely seditious sort in Ireland), quadrupled in Czech, Polish, Southern Slav, and Rumanian, "natives" "ensuring accuracy of translation and suitability of contents" and adding leaflet manifestoes. "Coloured reproductions of pictures of a patriotic, or religious, nature which appealed to the nationalist aspirations and piety of the races were made." These publications were strewn in millions of copies all over the hostile armies by aeroplanes, special automatic distributing balloons made of paper (described with minute technicality, pp. 54-60 and pp. 184-189), which were gradually made capable of working up to hundreds of miles, and for short distances rockets, grenades, and "contact-patrols" of deserters, who undertook the dangerous work of hand-distribution in readiness to die, if needs be, for their country. All this was supplemented by a Mr. S. A. Guest's "organisation of civil and secret channels in neutral countries by which propaganda literature would be introduced into Austria-Hungary." Desertions, with furtive destruction of war material, were induced by this propaganda on so enormous a scale that the Austrian war-machine was hopelessly wrecked.

Germany was a totally different proposition. The German army had only a negligible proportion of aliens—the Posen Poles—in its ranks, and the problem was how to persuade the German soldiers to go home. It was done chiefly by employing Germany's own traitors and renegades to distribute throughout Germany, and also at the front, artfully written publications purporting to proceed from genuine German sources. Northcliff carefully kept his men from executing any of the composition themselves, so as to eliminate all suspicion of a non-German hand; they only directed it. The traitors composed all printed matter. Its general purport was to tell the German soldiers by way of messages from their own people that the Government was found to be lying to them, that inevitably defeat surrounded them, that Germany was so hated throughout the world that Germans would be shunned like lepers for all time, that the whole world would refuse to give them food or pay one farthing for their exports, that the English and their Allies were really benevolent people who would at once, on a declaration of peace, institute an era of universal freedom and independence for each nation, and get the world to forgive even Germany, if only they would show their elemental Christian feeling by evacuating France and Belgium at once—that their own poor people at home were being selfishly caused horrible sufferings by their wicked Government, and were calling on them to come home at all costs and allow the era of peace and goodwill to commence. "German soldiers were urged to consider whether it was worth while to risk being killed when they had nothing left to fight for, and it was suggested that their best course was to make off to their homes and ensure the safety of their families." It was the method of the forger and the criminal hypocrite.

At the same time, paid for articles in the same strain were inserted in neutral papers regularly quoted in Germany, so as to confirm Germans in the belief that all the world judged them to be terribly in the wrong, and, through their Government, to be the enemies of the whole human race, as well as of the God who made them. "Personal propaganda among enemy subjects resident in neutral countries . . . was tacitly pursued. Neutrals in prominent positions in any walk of life whose views were likely to react on enemy opinion were brought within the orbit of salutary personal intercourse. Enemy newspaper correspondents were carefully 'nursed.' " A "trench-newspaper," exactly resembling a German publication and bearing on its title-page a head of the Kaiser, was set up. "As many as from 250,000 to 500,000 copies of each weekly issue were distributed. Some leaflets, on the other hand, were in religious vein, for there is a deep religious strain in the German character. These leaflets pointed out that their military defeats were a just retribution for the crimes of their Government. One was a little sermon on the text, 'Be sure your sin will find you out.' "

The dirtiest of all this dirty work seems to have been done by the mysterious Mr. S. A. Guest, whose personality eludes investigation as effectually as that of Mr. D. W. Ross. Are they one and the same man? "Many other agencies for introducing propagandist material into enemy countries were organised by Mr. Guest, whose work demanded extraordinary patience and perseverance. He experimented with many methods, and, despite the vigilance of the Germans, the inflow into Germany increased. Some of the methods can never be revealed, but it is permissible to hint that, for instance, among foreign workmen of a certain nationality who went into Germany each morning and returned each evening (bilingual Danes presumably) there might be some to whom propagandist work was not ungenial. And, of course, all secret agents were not necessarily Allies or neutrals. Somehow, huge masses of literature were posted in Germany to selected addresses from which the German postal revenues derived no benefit (counterfeiting added to forgery). Easiest of all were certain obvious channels left wholly or partially open in most incredible fashion, as, for instance, the book trade. . . . None were more amazed at the facility with which such valuable propaganda material as Prince Liebmowsky's pamphlet achieved clandestine circulation in Germany and Austria than were British propagandists."

### THE IRISH IN EXILE.

(Continued from page 3).

II.

"Turn, while I tell how England's (power) found, Where most she look'd for life, her deadliest wound."

It is remarkable that a people so eminently conservative as the Irish; so opposed to change in anything fundamental either in Church or State; so religious in their enthusiasm; so constant in their devotion to their Spiritual Head; would yet have been stirred deeply by every wave of revolutionary feeling in the world. And yet such is the fact. Revolution, whether in France or Russia, is sure to call forth a sympathetic note from every Irishman's heart. The cause of this strange fact is to be found in the Irishman's national discontentedness at home. For well nigh eight hundred years he has been hoping and endeavouring to regain his freedom, periodically bursting forth in arms when he thought the hour of liberty had struck; travelling at other times the world spreading the story of his oppression and enlisting sympathy, only to find that the time of freedom had not dawned yet, and then retiring in sadness to wait and prepare for the time when it would indeed come. So far it has been in Ireland the trumpet, the tear, and the smile. Please God it will not be so again.

The cause of this discontent and suffering is to be sought in oppression and tyranny—in the "Saxon and guilt," as it was prophesied it would be. Bad laws aimed directly at exterminating the Irish people; at killing their trade, at starving them at home or driving them into exile, or, in their happiest moments, allowing them to remain in poverty and slavery at home provided they contribute to the greatness and unholy happiness of their oppressors. In days of danger throwing them something to keep them quiet—until the danger passed and then taking that something away again; or inviting them to discuss the ways and means of making themselves happy in their slavery. But all with the same aim: "Dear animals, I have assembled you to advise me what sauce I shall dress you with; to which a Cock responding, 'we don't want to be eaten,' is checked by 'you wander from the point.' "

"Hence all the ills you suffer—hence remain Such galling fragments of that feudal chain, Whose links, around you by the Norman King, Though loos'd and broke so often, still have clung Hence by Prerogative, like Jove of old, Has turned his thunder into showers of gold, Whose silent courtship wins secure joys, Taints by degrees, and ruins without noise."

It was always the same, open tyranny, then silent bribery corruption, then open tyranny again, but always oppression, open or hidden, and aimed at keeping the Irish people in slavery and poverty at home and as far as possible everywhere else. This was, and is, the cause of all Ireland's wars, and will continue until the source from which they operate is stopped up in the land. This is the cause of the Irishman's

\* Carlyle's F.R. Moore.

sympathy with revolution the world over, hoping that its power will extend even to himself. That sympathy has brought him often but bitter suffering, though in the result it has bettered his condition. But the revolution of America brought him almost immediately some relief at home; and to his kin in America happiness, freedom and prosperity.

The Irish in America had entered the war with one heart, they declared with one voice for Independence. Their patriotism and their zeal for the cause of America were greater than that of the native Americans themselves. So that apart from any consideration for the feelings of Catholic France and Spain, and their aid to America, we can take it as certain that Washington would have extended equal rights to all, to Catholics and non-Catholics, under the Union, and this complete religious equality we have included in the constitution: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And to the Catholic Delegation that waited on him after the Republic was established, Washington replied: "I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government." And from the moment of the establishment of that Republic, when England lost her power in America, the prospects of the Irish, and of the Catholic Church in America, began to brighten; and a steady stream of emigrants from every country, but especially from Ireland, began to flow in. But it was only in "Black '47," that that stream grew into one mighty continuous wave. And it is the descendants of these lavished Irish exiles that have handed down to them the story of the sufferings of their ancestors in Ireland and in British America that have destroyed the British attempt at another reconquest under the guise of the present League of Nations. It will be interesting to notice some of the sufferings in '47 of those emigrants, and how they succeeded in the land of their adoption after America gained her independence.

P. O'G.

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SCHOLAR TURNED LECTURER.

(Continued from page 5).

social attainments, and especially by their knowledge of Greek, it has been justly remarked, the culture of the men of these ages may be rightly judged, and, judged by this standard, the Irish scholars rank extremely high." Darmesteter, the Frenchman, avowed that "the classic tradition, to all appearance dead in Europe, burst out into fresh flower in the Isle of Saints, and the Renaissance began in Ireland 700 years before it was known in Italy." That an Irishman should leave his native land, centuries before Theophrastus was taught in Northumbria, and be able to contend and preach in Greek in far away Constantinople, argues the presence of Greek studies in our Isle. Few modern University men could perform the same feat. In her valuable work, "Studies in John the Scot" (Scottus Erigena), Dr. Alice Gardner, Newnham College, Cambridge, writes: "That an Irishman should take the Greek, Dionysius the Areopagite, by the hand and lead him into the presence of the Frank (King Charles the Bold), who ruled over great part of the Western Empire, seems a by no means incongruous fact to those who have studied the history of these times. The Greek writings translated by Erigena are understood, not Dionysius himself, who is said to have been a contemporary of St. Paul." His tone of mind and feelings was in many respects Greek, more truly Greek than even that of Dionysius. For it, as has been sometimes said, the chief characteristic of the Greeks was to be seekers—seekers after truth and beauty—then John the Scot, Irish though he might be, was a Greek of the Greeks." John the Scot was educated at home, where "an Irish monastery would have furnished him with most of the intellectual equipment which he carried with him to France." The bi-lingual inscription on the ancient Seminary of Glendalough, where the famous St. Lorcan O'Toole was educated, is now preserved in St. Kevin's stone-roofed church. Kuno Meyer and Zimmer rated highly the knowledge of Greek in ancient Ireland.

Edin MacNeill foolishly traverses Bede's statement that the vine was then cultivated in Ireland. Bede obtained his very accurate knowledge of our land from Gaels. In his time, Northumbria was over-run with Irish saints and scholars. Thus: "But vines were not cultivated in Ireland, and if, as Bede supposed (sic) they were, it must have been because wine was abundant, as an article of Continental trade imported in exchange for Irish products." Lucien, the monk, who lived in the days of William the Conqueror, makes the same assertion. Another writer of Norman England, Richard of Cirencester, also declares that Ireland had vineyards. Our climate has altered since those ancient days.

Students of our History are in urgent need of a documented account of the system of holding land in Medieval Ireland, and until the visible fabric of the Power of the Gael and Sean Ghall was sent toppling to earth in James I's reign. The Professor's attack on Mr. O'ppen's false analysis is sound as far as it goes, but it does not go far. Mrs. Green's essay in the Irish School of Learning records leaves the subject where it was. The informing work of that Grand Old Man of Irish Scholarship, Dr. Sigerson, "History of Irish Land Tenures," is referred to. But it was printed as far back as 1871, since when a mass of fresh material has come to light. The late W. K. Sullivan comprehensively declared that pure communism prevailed through medieval Irish Ireland. Legal Conveyances in Latin and in Irish prove he was mistaken in that view. Sir Richard Bingham asserted that there was no **meun** and **tuam** in Connacht land-ownership, and Piers' account of the system in Westmeath is to the same purport. Dr. Sigerson showed the inaccuracy of the latter's judgment. Sweeping assertions are met by sweeping assertions, and Truth perishes in the conflict. Much the same remarks may be applied to the nomadic habits of "creaghts." I earnestly hope some student of the Economic classes in the National University will take up the subject as a degree thesis. I shall be glad to indicate the published Gaelic sources to any genuine research worker.

Edin MacNeill hopes that somebody will give us a new edition of the "Book of Rights." There is no living man, to my knowledge, who could do it so well as himself. His own articles on it, in the "New Ireland Review," were the ablest recent elucidation of

any Irish historical text I have read. Brilliant is the only word to qualify them. The texts published by that giant of scholarship, John O'Donovan, need interpretation in terms of the modern mind.

I wish to thank the Professor for his valuable book, in which he has written many wise and pregnant words. It is rare to get anything fresh in our History books. Much of the fruit is new culled. But is it from Fairyland. I repeat, I believe it all genuine and substantial, but I have no proof. It will be a constant source of pleasure to read, but I cannot quote it, alas!

Sean Ghall.

Queries

A gentleman in the United States has printed and distributed a pamphlet in which the following queries occur. We leave our readers to guess the answer in one attempt:

What nation was it that most cruelly mistreated some of its own kin blood and tongue whereof the United States' Declaration of Independence is a towering memorial of tyranny, cruelty and barbaric treatment?

What nation was it that was so utterly lacking in feeling as neighbour and friend and so absorbed in selfish gain and rivalry as to fail to aid its neighbour, France, when crushed and bleeding in 1870?

What nation was it that previously most cruelly overran, domineered and oppressed its own neighbour, France, till the people of France were so utterly down-trodden that it was necessary for the powers of light to guide and inspire a pure woman, Joan of Arc, in liberating France from her oppressor?

What nation was cruel and barbaric enough to plot to have this pure woman, Joan of Arc, imprisoned, subjected and debased by bestial treatment and finally burned at stake?

What nation was it that, under the cunning disguise of some traders and a few missionaries, established itself on the shores of the country famed throughout many centuries for its wealth, India, and there, through craftiness and cunning, encouraged supported strife and rebellion among the over 200 millions of inhabitants, till this crafty, small group, through stealth, cunning and military dominance, was able to bleed and impoverish the country and enrich itself to unbelievable extent?

What nation was it that hoodwinked the world into the belief that it undertook to civilize, through a most barbaric war, stooping to use poisonous gases in forcing into subjection the independent century-old peaceable Dutch Colonies in South Africa, when immense natural wealth of diamonds and gold were discovered within their territory?

What nation was it that, on account of its long list of tyrannic, cruel, barbaric treatment, bestowed on its own people as well as other nations, was suspected likely to support, during the civil war in the United States, the Southern States that stood for the selfish slavery of the negroes, to the extent that Russia, a wholly uninterested nation, through unselfishness of motive, kept in New York harbour a considerable part of its warships under sealed order to report to the President of the United States for service and assistance in case this crafty, small group of people should taken open measures and make renewed attempt to crush the United States by supporting the States that stood for slavery?

What nation was it that, for centuries, through cunning, craftiness and military force, obtained and fortified strategic points throughout the world as one of the means whereby to threaten other nations or serve as temporary means whereby to exercise her power till this crafty nation would be in complete control of the preponderance of the world's raw material for sustenance and livelihood?

What nation was it that, foreseeing its crafty, cunning control and dominance, would not only eventually be discovered, however cleverly disguised, but resisted and contested as well made preparations for centuries to meet that enormous crisis by continual feverish increase of navy, so as to hold a preponderance in whatever struggle might come or arise?

What nation was it that, in the preparation for crisis of the protesting and contesting its crafty control and dominance, took the lead in forming alliances with other nations, regardless of racial ties or genuine friendship, till nearly the entire world was divided into two gigantic groups, the one trying its utmost to continue its crafty

dominance and control, and the other imbued with more or less the same motive, struggling for equal opportunity in domineering the world's activities?

What nation was it that, through-out many centuries holding the preponderance of power in the world through cunning, craftiness and military control, and exercising its selfish dominance ever in an impending crisis, has waited to be attacked before going into open combat, thereby hoodwinking the world at large into the belief it is ever and always on the defensive civilizing side in a struggle?

What instance is there in the world's entire history where one nation has so shamefully, cruelly and barbarically treated an ally nation as England's treatment of Russia, first, through craftiness and cunning, hoodwinked into a so-called alliance to championing the greedy dominant nation's selfish control and dominance, and then, after the innocent hoodwinked nation had fought most valiantly and suffered far more than the dominant nation for whose cause it was in ignorance fighting, to be not only entirely deserted, but actually attacked, cruelly blockaded for years, with utter disregard whether its trusty ally completely perishes?

What nation is it that, through craftiness, cunning and the immense wealth acquired through greed, cunning and craftiness, endeavours to throttle the entire world into a combination of powers termed a league of nations, whose sole aim and purpose, however cleverly disguised, is to perpetuate this selfish greedy nation's crafty, cruel dominance and control of the preponderance of the world's affairs which, if established, it becomes the greatest, most monstrous crime against all humanity's best and highest interest—a crime so great that every courageous champion of true liberty and justice should do his or her utmost to prevent from actually taking place?

The Great Illusion!

Irish Unionism. By James Winder Good. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 6/- net.

Frightened by the Democratic ideas which the French Revolution and America's War of Independence had spread among the people of Ireland, English Imperialism, after much labour, brought forth that Imperial Freak known as the "Act of Union." No doubt, the "Act of Union," from an Imperialistic point of view, was the finest thing English statescraft at that time could conceive. At all events, it must be conceded that there was none of the "consent of the governed" principle about it. Hence, it was all the authors of its being intended it to be—anti-democratic. An Empire cannot flourish on Democratic ideas—so thought Mr. Pitt. It matters not at the moment that in so thinking—and in so acting—that that brilliant specimen of English statesman dug a pit under the very Empire he wished to build up. To put an end to Democratic ideas in Ireland was, to his mind, an Imperial necessity. To achieve that object was not a very difficult job. With a non-representative assembly sitting in Dublin he had the material at hand. Forthwith he proceeded to make that non-representative assembly even more non-representative than he found it. English titles, English gold, and English promises of Irish land—the only promises England ever fulfilled in her relations with Ireland—were benevolently showered on those "well-disposed" persons in the so-called Irish Parliament who agreed to sell their country. To make assurance doubly sure, England had previously smothered in blood—or had attempted to smother in blood—all those whom it reasonably suspected of holding Democratic ideas. So the "Union" between England and Ireland—or rather the Ascendancy Party in Ireland—became an Act. But, to quote Sir Edward Carson in another connection, it never became a Fact as far as the Irish people were concerned. As a matter of fact, that splendid masterpiece of English Imperialism, nearly as beautiful in workmanship as the one which is at present reclining gracefully on the "Statute Book," and hardly surpassed in outline by the one which is now vending its weary way in that direction, only appealed to those for whose benefit it was drawn up, namely, the Ascendancy Party. The peculiar growth which Mr. Good designates "Irish Unionism" is a branch of that Ascendancy Party—and a withering branch at that. Mr. Arthur Griffith has graphically de-

scribed in his treatise on "Pitt's Policy," the meaning of the "Act of Union," and the methods by which it was brought about. The author of "Irish Unionism" amplifies Mr. Griffith's exposure by the addition of a commentary on recent happenings in the Ascendancy camp.

"Irish Unionism" should be read by those who wish to get a "good" view of the inner working of the machinery set up by England for the purpose of keeping her political "garrison" in power in Ireland. The birth, growth, and decay of "Unionism" is vividly pictured in this book. The intense patriotism of the Irish people enabled the Irish nation to survive the poisonous sting of Mr. Pitt, as it survived the sword, bullet, and torch of Mr. Cromwell. To-day England pays tribute to the survival of the Irish nation by her fanatical onslaught on our people. The failure of "Irish Unionism" is made apparent by England's doings in Ireland to-day. "Anglo-Irish history for seven centuries is," says Mr. Good, "a record of the efforts of British statesmen to assert, extend, and consolidate their authority in Ireland. From the sword of Cromwell to the bribes of Castlereagh innumerable experiments have been tried; but since the beginning of the nineteenth century the instrument employed to enforce the will of the ruling Power has been the machinery set up by Pitt under the title of the Legislative Union." And now, in the twentieth century, Sinn Fein has struck that "instrument" from the hands of England. Rusty and corroded with age, that "instrument," forged in a period of awakening Democracy, was wrenched from England's pulsed fingers as she marched to war—in her own words—to safeguard Democracy, and to ensure that the principle of government by the consent of the governed should prevail! Mr. Good has something to say on this point which deserves quotation. "If," he says, "the war revealed Unionism to some of its former admirers as a political philosophy, differing only from the most abhorrent varieties of Prussianism in that its champions, unlike the Germans, have never been able to formulate a philosophic defence of their beliefs, the Ulster leaders were shrewd enough to realise that this did not necessarily mean they must abandon their dreams of Ascendancy. On the contrary the emergence of the idea of self-determination actually strengthened their case, though Nationalists of all shades of opinion shut their eyes to this fact." To use Mr. Good's words in connection with "Unionism," we are afraid the "Ulster leaders" will hardly be able to "formulate a philosophic defence" for the self-determination of a portion of the Irish nation. Even the egregious Mr. Lloyd George, as Mr. Good points out in another part of his book, "did not deny that self-determination, in the sense in which the word figured in his war speeches, meant that Irishmen were free to choose a Republican system, if they so desire." The Irish nation has chosen a Republican system of Government by a larger majority than that which the Government of England secured at the last election. Sir Edward Carson himself would hardly suggest that the area in England which returned "Liberal" or Labour candidates should be partitioned off from the rest of England! Yet he and the Government he "holds in the hollow of his hands" think partition should be enforced in Ireland. How the world must laugh at the "political philosophy" of these statesmen?

Mr. Good has done a good service for Ireland in writing his exposure of "Irish Unionism."

J. J. B.

Post Office Espionage

England's hatred of Irish citizens is proverbial, but it is a mistake to suppose that her venom has not been equally fierce against the peoples of all other small nations in the world who have dared to demand their freedom, and she has given them—in diluted doses, it is true—a taste of the unbridled frightfulness which is her familiar weapon here. English labour men might note—the methods to-day used to crush Ireland will be used to-morrow to crush English labour men, if they rebel. Troops trained in frightfulness here will be acclimatised to their work.

Take the raiding of Post Office letters by English troops. Does anyone suppose that is a new policy? It is not. Since the first post office was established in England, it has

been used as a branch office of the English detective service, and many a brave man at home and abroad owes his death to the secret espionage on his letters by "special" English clerks. Witness the case of Trazzini, an Italian gentleman residing in London. He took no part in English politics, but his private correspondence was opened by detective clerks, and the names of some revolutionary friends were copied and sent to the Austrian and Neapolitan Governments by the English Cabinet. These men, who were members of old Italian families and were preparing a revolution, were taken prisoners, court-martialed and shot. The English Government subsequently, as usual, denied blood guiltiness, but there was damning proof against them. Secret English Lords of Commons inquiries were then held into the custom of opening letters. The English people were alarmed and indignant, but the Committees, of course, whitewashed the Government, saying the custom was not general.

The year 1635 is the earliest date at which any Post Office system existed in England, and all letters were then habitually opened by the British Government, who insisted on the sole right of carrying them. The English Government chiefs found this an easy way of keeping control over all enemies, public and private, in their realm. Thurloe's correspondence and other old annals prove this beyond doubt. And the use of their own stolen letters against prisoners was a common resort of the disreputable Government from the first establishment of the Post Office. Irishmen, of course, were the chief sufferers, but of this hereafter.

From the earliest existence of English posts private persons were prohibited, under severe penalties, from carrying letters or written messages (as these, of course, would be secure from Government spying) and a proclamation issued by the English Queen Elizabeth in 1590 orders all such suspected persons to be searched for and arrested, and their letters sent to the Privy Council. In 1610, when the State posts were temporarily held up owing to a Government dispute, London merchants, on petition, were permitted to send trade letters to Hamburg and Deep, on condition that when requested they must show their letters and despatches to the English Secretaries of State, and also guarantee they would contain nothing of a political nature. The English Government did not trust the English workman, and the English workers, unlike the Irish, were afraid of their masters, and, therefore, the spy system was allowed to continue. Owing, therefore, to the absolute corruption of the Post Office, there were continuous rows, resignations, and dismissals of the "Masters of the Post."

In 1641 the opening of letters from France and Antwerp led to a strong complaint from the Ambassador of the Republic of Venice, but during all this period, secret committees of the English House of Parliament were appointed to open and read the foreign mails, and did so. The House of Lords alone entered a mild protest against the spread of the inconvenient custom, with, of course, no result.

Cromwell's Parliament could not amplify, but did consolidate the position of the G.P.O. as a spy department, and, introducing an Act to "settle" the postage of Ireland, Scotland and England, expressly stated the chief advantage of the Post Office was as a detective department for finding out, by opening letters, "many dangerous and wicked designs" against the English Commonwealth. Subsequent proclamations provide that the English Secretaries of State shall always have private access to the letters entrusted by the citizens to the Post Office.

No record was kept of the number of letters opened, nor of the fate of the writers, but intercepted letters are frequently made use of in State Correspondence of the time, and were read in evidence against the writers. It was not, however, until the ninth year of the English Queen Anne's reign that the right to open private letters was barefacedly acknowledged by the English Parliament. The Act then passed on the subject states that persons opening and delaying letters in the post by order of the Secretaries of State shall not be subject to any penalty. This Act of Anne's had no legal authority in Ireland, but was illegally enforced, as many other English Acts were previous to the Irish Declaration of Independence, 1782. This enforcement appears to have been done by a delegation of power from the English Secretaries of State to the so-called Irish Lord Lieutenants; and in 1740,

Agricultural Organisation Society, enlightened the Commission on the technical questions affecting the supply of pure milk.

The evidence given in this volume contains much argument for testing the yield of milk from the herds.

In a particular locality, where there are bulls for the public, they should be certified to be of good milking strain.

This volume will be read with particular interest by all who are connected with the land, or who are interested in the supply of milk and dairy produce.

The second portion of the volume deals with fishery, which we shall consider later in a separate review.

Conciliation

Since May 29th last we have published weekly a summary of the outrages committed against the Irish nation by the armed forces of England.

The following is a summary of the outrages committed during the four weeks commencing Monday, August 2nd, and ending Saturday, August 28th, 1920:-

Table with columns: AUGUST, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, Total. Rows include Raids, Arrests, Sentences, Court-martial, Proclamations and Suppressions, Armed Assaults, Deportations, Murders.

The sentences passed for political offences during the above six days totalled 3 years and 3 weeks.

Table with columns: AUGUST, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, Total. Rows include Raids, Arrests, Sentences, Court-martial, Proclamations and Suppressions, Armed Assaults, Subsidage, Deportations, Murders.

The sentences passed for political offences during the above six days totalled 17 years and 6 months.

Table with columns: AUGUST, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, Total. Rows include Raids, Arrests, Sentences, Court-martial, Proclamations and Suppressions, Armed Assaults, Sabotage, Deportations, Murders.

The sentences passed for political offences during the above six days totalled NINETEEN YEARS.

Table with columns: AUGUST, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, Total. Rows include Raids, Arrests, Sentences, Court-martial, Proclamations and Suppressions, Armed Assaults, Sabotage, Murders.

The sentences passed for political offences during the above six days totalled eleven months.

A Note on Æ's New Poem

To learn at first-hand about another country, we enter it; and if we would know the heart of its people, we try to enter their mental atmosphere.

To come nearer home, we can, if we wish, learn the genius and characteristics of the Celtic people in Ireland, where a rich remnant still remains.

Especially at a time like the present, when the old idols of the mart, in other words our materialistic social system, with its commercialised Christianity, show so many symptoms of decay, heed is to be given to the clear-sighted prophets of the future.

A poet needs symbols, as well as language, to utter his meaning, and there is often more in a notable poem than its maker knew, or can tell in the vernacular.

"BRIXTON PRISON"

"See, though the oil be low, more purely still and higher The flame burns in the body's lamp!

Even as the fabled Titan, chained upon the hill, Burns on, shine here, thou immortality, until We, too have lit our lamps at the funeral pyre!

Till we, too, can be noble, unshakable, undismayed; Till we, too, can burn with the holy flame, and know There is that within us can triumph over pain.

And go to death alone, slowly and unafraid, The candles of God are already burning; row on row, Farwell, lightbringer, fly to thy heaven again!"

If we are not mistaken, these masculine lines frame a large utterance, and, voiced by a Celtic Seer of rare distinction, we can with advantage try to read and understand their implications.

Whilst the ignorant, pagan-minded Procurator, without vision, thinks that, by destroying the body, he finally eclipses the soul's consciousness, he unwittingly enlarges it to greater activity, for either good or evil.

Is the Divine particle, supposedly in each of us, made brighter by rough furnishings? It would seem to be so with the Jew, who appears to be rapidly coming to his own.

The rich remnant of the Celtic race, less mixed than many, which still fringes the European shores, from Brittany to North Britain, retains certain virile, indestructible elements that survived the flood, from an early Aryan ancestry, and indubitably the Celtic is now the most spiritually conscious of the Western nations.

scope for the enlargement of life. Nor, at the worst, do they seem to suffer from that extreme poverty of thought so conspicuous in the homes of the unco prosperous. Poor theologians, the Celtic folk are profoundly religious, and their belief in the Cosmic Christ, and the continuity of life, remain vital and real, if badly soiled by the sordid mud of modern things.

Our author's compatriots will see, in the one who made the supreme sacrifice between thieves on the Brixton cross, an inspiring example of endurance for the faith that is in them. Their lofty comrade, in soberness of spirit, fasted unto death, thus becoming an initiate in the significance of Life.

It may be that the Irish branch of the old Celtic race, with their rich, indestructible endowments of mind and heart, will succeed in recalling itself to a corporate unity, and raise a light for the guidance of other small nations as their Forerunners lit lamps of religious learning in medieval Europe.

"We, too, can burn with the holy flame—the spiritual fire."

T. T. P. (an Englishman).

The Irish in Exile

O, freed from Ocean's perils, but in vain: Whose evils yet upon the land remain.—Virgil.

There are few in the world who of their own free choice leave their own country to make their home in another. There is something in the air of one's native land, in the rocks and the soil and the rivers, that calls out to one not to leave.

And every woman Quaker that hath suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction shall be severely whipt.

In contrast to this we quote the example of tolerance shown to all in the Catholic Colony of Baltimore: "Emigrants arrived from every clime; and the Colonial legislature extended its sympathies to many nations, as well as to many sects.

And what was true of Baltimore was also true of the Catholic province of Maryland: "The disfranchised friends of slavery from Massachusetts and the Puritan from Virginia were welcomed to equal liberty and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland."

And in 1683, while the Catholics were in power in New York, it is decreed: "No person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be molested, punished or disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion or matters of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the province; but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time, and at all times, freely have and freely enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion, throughout the province."

This was enacted in 1683 and within eight years, that is in 1691, as soon as the Puritans came into power, all this wise and tolerant legislation was reversed by the Assembly of New York, and another law was introduced excluding Catholic priests from the province under the direct penalties; and later, in 1701, all Catholics were deprived of almost all the elementary rights of citizenship.

The following extracts from a decree against Quakers will serve as a proof of what we have just said: "If any Quaker or Quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the law requireth, to come into this jurisdiction, every such male Quaker shall for the first offence, have one of his ears cut off, and for the second offence shall have the other ear cut off."

(Continued on page 7).

\* Bancroft.

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6190 03 YOUNG IRELAND SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1920.

"Repression—Repression—and More Repression!"

Three months ago, in our issue of August 21st, we announced that the present English Government had—like English Governments of Strafford and Cromwell and Pitt and many another—decided to "solve the Irish question" by ending the Irish nation.

The two months passed. During it Ireland was intensively dragooned. The story of the burning of homes and homesteads, villages and towns, and the torturing and murder of men, women and children—is known and present to the people of Ireland—and, fortunately, to the peoples of the world.

To shield herself she declared to the world that her atrocities in Ireland were reprisals for outrages committed against her armed force. She lied. Her atrocities were a planned attempt to coerce the Irish people into reversing their vote at the General Election of 1918.

that it has set itself a task as impossible as that of bidding the waves recede, it grows more ferocious. To its ferocity Ireland will oppose, as her sure shield, her calm determination and her faith in the God Who, when He traced her frontier in the sea, inscribed her Charter of Independence.

Burning the Colleges

Clohaneely College has been burned by the armed forces of England. The destruction of seats of learning has thus begun. The College of Clohaneely was famous for its cultivation and teaching of the Irish language.

The Trade of the Small Nations

II.—DENMARK. The peninsula which juts out from Germany and divides the North Sea from the Baltic is small in area even for a small nation. It is only about the size of Munster and Connaught, it numbers a population about two-thirds that of Ireland.

From an economic point of view, therefore, there may almost be said to be two Denmarks, the one Copenhagen and the larger provincial towns, being chiefly devoted to trade, shipping and industry; the other, Jutland and the islands, having agriculture for their principal activity.

Of course, this was a war year, and Denmark was heavily hit by the restrictions imposed by both belligerents. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the year 1919, when the figures are available, must show a very reduced export bill on account of the deficiency of fuel. It is advisable for us to study the effects of cutting off a coal supply from an agricultural country organised as Denmark is on a highly co-operative basis.

We propose now to submit a comparative table showing the course of the Danish export trade in certain commodities in which we are interested as a national competitor:—

Exports of Live-stock and Agricultural Produce During the Year 1918.

Table with columns: From Denmark, From Ireland. Rows include Horses (number), Butter (tons), Bacon, Pork, Beef, Eggs (120), Milk (tons).

This table shows clearly that in 1918 the exports from Ireland of every item on this list (which is not selected by us) far exceeded the corresponding exports from Denmark, except horses, and we believe that that item is subject to the qualification that horses for remounts are not included in the Irish figures. Denmark exported 24,646 horses to Germany in 1913. The latter country, when war commenced in 1914, appears to have stripped the Danes of their horse-power, the equine exports rising to the enormous figure of 95,338. In 1915 only 257 horses were exported to Germany, but the trade revived, dealers shipping sixteen thousand and thirty-four thousand in the years 1916 and 1917, respectively. The butter exports of Denmark were much below the Irish, while Danish bacon practically disappeared from foreign tables. Even in beef our young packing houses slightly exceeded the shipping of Danish meat, which went to Norway principally. In eggs the Danish exports were less than a third of the great supply from this side.

We have before us the Danish returns for 1919. They show a further falling off, except in regard to butter, which rose to thirty-six thousand tons. The export of eggs was slightly increased. On the whole, the year 1919 does not mark a speedy recovery from the unfortunate effects of the war on Danish agriculture.

It is necessary now to give some idea of what the trade of Denmark was before and during the war to make comparison with Ireland for these vital periods. The figures are calculated to the nearest thousand tons:—

Exports of Butter (Thousand Tons).

Table with columns: To G.B., To Germany, To G.B., To G.B. Rows for years 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917.

These returns show that the falling off in the Danish exports has been much more severe than in our case. In 1917 there was more Irish butter than Danish butter consumed in England. The total exports of Danish butter to all parts in 1918 only amounted to 14,572 tons, while the Irish exports were 22,795. So that the Irish butter trade in 1918 was fifty per cent. greater than the Danish, a very important fact which has not been disclosed by the Department of Agriculture. So far as the figures are available for last year, we find that Danish butter exports to all parts increased to thirty-seven thousand tons, while the Irish exports were restricted to sixteen thousand:—

Exports of Bacon (Thousand Tons).

Table with columns: From Denmark, From Ireland. Rows for years 1918, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917.

The Irish figures do not include the considerable weight of hams exported from our ports. On the whole, it will be seen that the Irish exports of bacon held well, while the Danish trade was cut by one-half. In 1918 the Danish was reduced to the ruinous figure of 2,490 tons, a mere trifle, while the Irish exports were 18,911 tons. In 1919 the Danish bacon exports fell to practical extinction, the shipments falling to a mere cargo of 539 tons. The exports of bacon and hams from Ireland last year, according to the Monthly Statement, were 25,402 tons, of which bacon may be taken as constituting nine-tenths. The Irish ap-

parently are the sole bacon exporters in Northern Europe to-day.

There is just one more commodity to which we will refer. The subject is milk. It is to-day attracting some attention. How does Denmark stand?

Exports of Milk.

Table with columns: From Denmark, From Ireland, To Germany, To G. Britain. Rows for years 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919.

The milk exported from Denmark goes nearly entirely to Germany. Irish milk is, of course, condensed before being exported, but there have been in recent years occasional exports of whole milk. We presume the milk exported from Denmark to Germany is the whole milk surplus, which could not be converted into butter on account of the failure of the coal supply to the Danish creameries. Thus England, in cutting down her coal exports to Denmark, set free a supply of milk to relieve the German famine. Observe that when the Danish butter exports rose in 1919, the exports of milk from Denmark to Germany fell by a corresponding proportion.

These facts about the Danish export trade in agricultural commodities will be of interest to our countrymen engaged in the same trade. We do not present these figures in any unfriendly spirit. It is clear that Danish agriculture has suffered most severely from the effects of war, and it is still suffering. We regard Denmark as an agricultural state which it is advisable for us to study. We can learn much from the course of her trade. Our fortunes do not lie very remote, and we are bound to be affected by her relations with our customers. Ireland and Denmark are the two principal agricultural states of Europe, and a good understanding between them is certain to have important results for both. Ireland and Denmark are the only nations which appear to be able and competent to come to the relief of famine-stricken Europe. As far as our own island is concerned, we are confident that improvements in our agricultural methods are quite capable of enlarging the food supplies of Europe to a considerable extent, and it is clear, that Denmark, too, is quite capable of increasing her trade. There is room certainly for two agricultural exporting states in Europe, and when we say that the Danes are our competitors, as unquestionably they are, we mean friendly competitors, with whom there ought to exist a good understanding. The Danes were in former centuries the founders of our cities. The blood of our citizens is largely Danish. Those who are now our competitors are descended from the ancestors of the merchants who carried on the trade of Ireland for centuries. It is not, therefore, surprising that we should make progress in agricultural trade. Really, we believe that our advance is greater than we have been led to believe, and we are rendered the more confident of our future as a result of measuring ourselves side by side with the other small nations.

Scholar Turned Lecturer

Phases of Irish History. By Eoin MacNeill. Dublin: Gill and Son, 12/6 net.

I owe the author and the publishers an apology for the long period I allowed to elapse between the receipt of the volume and this notice. I underwent an operation in hospital shortly after the book reached me, and long months of convalescence prevented the reading of even the very lightest literature. When I studied Professor MacNeill's "History," I read it from cover to cover, twice over—I knew not what to say about it, in justice and in equity. Two more perusals have not resolved my doubts. It is so easy to be unjust to such an exposition, and very hard to appraise it in cold reason. Eoin MacNeill is one of the ablest scholars in contemporary Ireland, whose other published writings will stand the severest test of the Scientific School. Because that is an established fact, "Phases of Irish History" amaze and delight, bewilder and annoy me. He casts forth his ideas and facts, in many instances, without a shred of clothing on them; this stark naked brood is very lively, contentious, warlike. In popular language, it is "looking for trouble." You have seen a mountain stream leaping down its granite bed—pure,

sparkling, impetuous. There you have an illustration of his limpid style, throughout many pages. Now it has the pathy incisive directness of a military command; again it is wrapped in the baffling simplicity of some of the Bible parables.

The most erudite lecture on Irish History I can remember was given by Mr. John Molloy, of the Ottoman Bank, London, author of a Grammar of the Irish Language. He contended, with a wealth of quotations from Irish manuscripts, that the Celts never ruled in our land, that they and the Gaels were distinct peoples. Many popular dicta were quoted to show the contempt the Gaels had for the notion of affinity. To "reunage" at cards is dubbed "to celt" in Connacht. Mr. MacNeill himself writes: "I have already remarked how ancient Irish tradition ignores the Celtic origin and affinities of the Irish. We may go farther and say that our ancient writers, when they set about exploring the geographical knowledge of the world that came down to them in Latin writings, had it very definitely in their minds that the Irish were not of Celtic origin." The fascination exercised over others by Race theories has ever left me cold, hence I am unable to adequately sympathise with the wealth of learning and the daring speculations of the Professor. He flags, with the wonderful energy of a Samson, all other theorists, who differ from him. For the shaking of heads of "No Doubt" and "Probably"—where Doubt and Improbability lurk everywhere, I have no love. The birth certificate of the Gael is still valid. The verdict runs: "Not Proved, Learned Sir, that the Irish are of the Celtic Race."

It is a common reviewer's habit to chide an author for not doing what he had no intention of doing. I hope I shall guard against that mistake. But I am in a dilemma. Suppose you know a very learned man who possesses stores of new knowledge, erudition that he alone has garnered, and on visiting him he talks oracularly and in cryptic words, you will understand my wonder and bewilderment. Within the covers of this real live book, this human document, are scores of statements that would alter some deeply-rooted opinions and widespread views of Medieval Irish History, if accredited. But no wise student of History will accept the ipse dixit of any man, no matter how eminent, or profound, on past events. Authority alone stands between Fact and Fiction. Is the Professor bringing to light some rare, precious knowledge, or is he romancing? That is the question with which the reader poses himself. I believe he is so saturated with medieval Irish manuscript lore that he thinks everybody knows as much, or more, about the subject, than himself, hence his aggravating reticence as to sources. He tears up long-rooted historic genealogical trees with a contemptuous "Rotten!" With an airy grace he plants what he declares to be fruitful ones; but you have nothing but his naked word—not a shed of authority is shown. Is this a citation from Dáid MacFíris? you question, in vain. He brushes aside the judgments of great scholars like Bishop Reeves and John O'Donovan, and gives you instead—ipse dixit! Again I repeat that I have Faith enough in Eoin MacNeill to believe that he has out-marched his predecessors, but Reason chides me. Is it Romance or Fact? These considerations would not weigh in dealing with the usual type of Irish History Lectures. They weigh heavily and painfully with me, because this is a most unusual book by a very erudite pioneer. I use "painfully" deliberately. We have no other living writer so well equipped for mirroring medieval Irish life on a scientific basis. I remember reading in a learned German magazine that it was distressing for a sympathising foreigner to read the rhetoric that passes for history on the National side and the well-documented slanders of Ireland's enemies. Should such a man place the Professor's work side by side with Mr. Orpen's "Ireland Under the Normans," I know what he would say. That my own opinion coincides with Eoin MacNeill's declaration is beside the point. A sneer will not remove the undoubted learning of his adversary. In the absence of authorities, asserted a famous writer, history should be classed as rhetoric, in the debased sense of that word. Were I unacquainted with Irish History, were I blind to the amazing fresh vistas of our country's story the Professor has opened up, were I not familiar with the high standard of rigid scholarship he has exhibited elsewhere, I should about "Rhetoric." To be just, these pages were Lectures, and the citation of authorities to audiences would de-

feat the very object of a Lecture, to interest as well as to educate. Having allowed all that, having paid tribute to the uniqueness of much royal grain gleaned, I remember, as the early thirteenth century Irish poet lamented, that the linen shirts of the sons of Con-Ireland—are no match for the enemy in one mass of iron. Our foes are fierce and strong. We have no defence worth mentioning except Truth. The Professor is our Lugh of the Mighty Blows, and he has thrown away his weapons, in a scholarly sense. History demands qualities that few men possess; it is a devourer of all leisure, it requires money and self-sacrifice. There is a host of skilled writers ready to seize the results of the toil of scholars, and to filter it down to the minds of the masses. That is a laudable work. It is the scholar's mission to feed them, for Ireland's sake.

When Eoin MacNeill is dealing with authorities known to every expert student, he quotes copiously; when he brings forth rare, unique treasures he vaguely talks of "hundreds" of Irish sources. Had he been even cautiously liberal with that abundance, he would have served Irish History as it has not been served for a generation or more. A very wealthy Irish-American, a highly cultured member of a great college there, informed me that Dr. Joyce's "Social History of Ireland" did more to elevate educated opinion in the United States as to the civilisation of the old Irish than a whole library of books. Look what marvellous use Mrs. J. R. Green made of the evidence collected by Standish Hayes O'Grady and Kuno Meyer; Joyce did no more than collect, collate, and arrange in ordered form the gatherings of other Irish scholars. Yet how necessary and how valuable was that performance!

When Mr. MacNeill does bring his witness to the table, he cross-examines as Daniel O'Connell cross-examined. Thus, his countering Mr. Orpen's *Caesar and Silva* Cadelicia citations could not have been more skillfully done. Had his very drastic and most destructive criticism of his adversary's theories been documented, we should have shouted with joy: *Eversus*—floored!

Let me point out to you some treasures, treasures you will not see so richly begemmed elsewhere: "The Irish Kingdom of Scotland" and "The Irish Rally." Students will find the chapters on The Norman Conquest and Medieval Institutions of much value, especially for the lucid and forcible exposition of an Irish Gael's view—these four chapters alone are worth several times the cost of the whole book.

A few minor items deserve attention. The extent of Greek learning in Old Ireland has exercised the scholarship of the wide world. A bibliography of the references to the subject would be in all the leading languages of Europe as well as in the tongue of the United States. Roughly, those in whom the sense of historical perspective is developed regard it as considerable; writers who interpret the Past in terms of the Present regard it as negligible. Theodore of Tarsus was accompanied to England by two other renowned scholars, the African Hadrian, whom Bede eulogises as a man *Craxca pariter et Latina peritissimus*, and Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian nobleman, equally learned. The thirst for knowledge which had been driving Anglo-Saxons to the fountains of wisdom in Ireland could now be quenched in Northumbria. Alhelm, one of the pupils of these giants of scholarship, cries: "Why should Ireland, whether troops of students are carried in fleets from this country, enjoy any such supreme distinction, as if here, on the fertile soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be found to solve the hard problems of the heavenly library for all who seek to learn of them? Ireland, indeed, abounding in pupils and teachers, as a green pasture teems with shining stars in sparkling constellations. . . . Enthusiastically he goes on to narrate how "the flaming sun itself" (Theodore), and "the gentle moon" (Hadrian) nourished the Anglo-Saxon mind. "Though Theodore of blessed memory . . . were surrounded by a crowd of Irish scholars, he would scatter them with ease, rending them with the task of grammar . . . or piercing them with the sharp arrows of chronology." The fact that they, coming direct from Erin, could argue in Greek with so renowned a native scholar speaks volumes. Even English writers attest that, with all their amazing work in theology and in Scripture study, and their profound knowledge of Latin, their especial glory was their knowledge of Greek. A recent severe critic allows all this: "By their clas-

NOTAI

Béid nách fíor teoiric Laplace. Ba leor trí ghram go leib de ríd (tradimín) a vch sa mhéar clúbach den ghreín chun an t-éas a thugán sí, tuibhe do dheanamh. Ach ní áit áit fianaise cheart fós againn ar áit a vch níl.

Do reir teoiric Laplace ba ghás lonnrach an nebula ar dtús agus b'fáimí gás na pláinéadaí sarar dhin pláinéadaí dhiobh. Do reir teoiric na meteoirí ámh se rud a bhí sa nebula ná meteoirí crua. Na réilíní a dhéid ag tuitim ó am go ham, meteoirí crua fuara dorcha isea iad ag teacht isteach in atmosfíer na talhann doibh. Le cumilt leis an ser tagan teoiric ámh ag dintar lonnrach iad agus fanaid siad mar sin godi go ndinean pídar díobh agus ina dhiaig sin stróc de cheo lonnrach. Ag guairnéil timpal sa nebula de-na meteoirí crua fuara, in éineacht leis an nebula feim, ní fóláir nó hid siad ag síor-bhuara ar a chéile, rud a chluann teoiric ámh agus a dhinean lonnrach iad. Do béid gur nebula de ghás lonnrach a bhí ann roimís na meteoirí crua agus náíl pláinéad a dhin díobh ach meteoirí. Ní miste a ra anois, béid, go sroiseann cuid de na meteoirí an talamh—b'fhad níos mó díobh ná mar is dó le daoine.

Is fearr an teoiric seo ná an ceann eile cho fada's théan seana-shíonta (climates) na talhann do mhínt. San aimíer is sía síar, na síonta sara raibh an dúine ann chun a sheisint é b'bhí ar síar ar an dtalamh, i bhíon-tíosaigh an tsaol, ba dhó le dúine go bbeadh na síonta ana-dheifíúil leis na síonta áta againn anois físe an talamh a vch ní ba théo. An réid dúine ealaí d'fáil ar náidú síonta na tíor-sheanáis-síre? Is féidir, agus ta an teoras agann. Fachtar fe ghainimh sheidíthe (ata ina chloich ghainimh anois) nach-tair mhachair a bhí nochtúile san nois arcaeo-zoic. Do sérdúidí na h-arch-tair sín agus tuaradh an t-éolas do bharr an sérdúibhe.

Go níobhí gnáth-ghaoch na hAlban aniar andeas le mar a bhíon anois agus go níobhí an braon fearbhan co-néid leis an nbraon a thuitéan anois agus co-fhórsúil ag tuitim díobh. In aon fhocal aváin níl aon dífríocht mhór idir na síonta áta againn anois agus na síonta bhí ann na míle míle thús a shín.

Déirtar gur fearr a réilín san go leir leis an teoiric mheteoiríoch na pláinéadach ná le teoiric Laplace agus is dearbh gur tapála fhuaradh an talamh—agus níl dáibh ná go raibh se ní ba théo, tráth, ná mar áta se anois—dána mheteoirí a bheadh díobh le chéile a bheadh ann ar dtús ná dána ghás lonnrach nó fíochán sár-the a bheadh ann ar dtús.

Ach ta a lán saghas deacrachtaí—cuid acu matamaiticéach—a bhaineann ó éifeachtí gearr ceann den da mhínt. Ní míntí ionlán ná míntí deiriméach aon cheann acu agus níl aon cheann acu bun-ócinn leis an gceisteamh, ná deir i dtéadh an scéil ach an t-éinní aváin, se sí, "I dtosach do chrúig Dia neamh agus talamh," gan a ní go ró-bheasit comas a dhin Se—níl i bhéineas ach óimhna an scéil. Le feul léinn is eolúichta is maectnamh leucht do chur ar na óimhna san.

Ta "Ceolta ar Sínséar" le fáil ar leath-chorúir ó Mhuiníní Bhrúin is Nóláin. Is snarach a bheurlan leath-chorúir in aice a líleid de leabhar. An tAhrí Pádráig Breadnach a chuir le chéile agus in eagar é. Ní deiríad a thuille ina thombh ach go bhfuil se cho maith ar gach síle le "Fáim na Snaol."

Ta cuid a dó de "Studies in Modern Irish" againn, leis, ó fáimín an Ahar Gearóid Ó Nóláin. Ó-áta air agus is maith is fu an méid sin a don teudfadh fáirle bhaint as. Ba chóir go raibh séirbhíocháir Gaeilge sádeair a thionannamh air, pe aca sa Ghaeilteacht nó sa Ghailldacht a rugadh agus a tógadh é. Se rud áta ann ná leath-cheud píosa Beurla (agus ní droil-Bheurla ná Beurla leantáil é ach a mbáil ar fad do ghnáth) agus an Ghaeilge do chuir an tAhrí Gearóid orra; agus, ina thionann sa leath-cheud bliúir nár chuir se aon Ghaeilge orra ach a thágan se ag an mac léinn le Gaeil. Ta an Ghaeilge an tbeabhas ag an Ahrí Gearóid agus ba mhór an náire dhó vch sísta leis an méid seo agus gan aon leabhar d'áistríu go Gaeilge a thais deire dhúinn. Ná cuir do tháim sa talamh, ádeirnéise leis. I dtionann na bhíosaí ta a lan deas-choimharla sa leabhar i dtáobh ceois áistríoch do dheanamh. The Educational Company of Ireland áta at fáillíon an leabhair agus is glán agus is neala an chuma áta air.

Tadhg O Cíamín.

(Continued on page 6).

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## Current Comments

According to a press message from Washington, the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic has opened its headquarters in that city. It is also stated that Mr. De Valera has started a fresh campaign in the United States, his list of engagements including Washington, New Haven, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Paul, Omaha, Denver, Kansas City, and St. Louis. His campaign will then be directed to the southern cities.

The British offensive against this country continues to intensify. Last week, in addition to the customary shootings, hundreds of arrests were made in Dublin alone, and all over the country there was a corresponding increase in arresting and raiding activity. The policy of striking terror, coupled with economic strangulation, is in full swing.

The whole of it is, of course, directed to the object of breaking the moral of the people. That, and not defeat in battle, it was which beat Germany, and that it was which was the main object of both sides in the war. Spirit, courage to endure, that it is which counts, and all the physical oppression which we are at present undergoing is only an attempt to reach the spirit within us. England calculates that she can cow the nation. Well, as things are, we cannot prevent her trying.

But we can, and we will, prevent her succeeding. More than 70 years ago Fintan Lalor wrote, of revolution: "Somewhere, and somehow, and by somebody, a beginning must be made." That is true of revolution, and it is true also of surrender. So long as every individual is determined to stick it out, the nation is impregnable. Unless we ourselves breach that determination, we may be slain, but we cannot be beaten.

The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link. The strength of our front is the strength of the weakest point of it. That is the secret of war. And that is what England is feeling for, for our weakest point. She thrusts with all her strength now here, now there, just as she and Germany thrust at one another during four years of war, but here every thrust she makes is a boomerang, and recoils upon herself with redoubled force. She has discovered that our chain is really as strong as it looks.

The issue in this contest is perfectly clear. Either England has a right to govern this country against our wishes or she has not. If she has, then everything she chooses to do is legal, her raids, arrests, imprisonments, deportations, shootings. If she has not, nothing that she does here is legal. The question of reprisals looms large at the moment, but it is a side issue. It only helps the English Radicals to concentrate on a red-herring, and side-track the real question. The real question is not whether England has a right to reprisal, but whether in Ireland she has a right to exist. The question of reprisals is only a very faint echo of the main question.

In a contest of this sort reprisals are inevitable. They form a part of the policy of every strong nation which tries to throttle a weak one. Japan in Korea, Russia in Poland, have had to fall back on reprisals, to govern by reprisals, just as the English are doing in Ireland. And we will have to recognize the fact that we must expect reprisals as an ordinary matter of government policy. We must make up our minds to them, and concentrate on the things on strengthening our back, for example. England thinks she can break us by reprisals. Let us show her that she cannot.

No reprisal can reach the soul of man. No reprisal can hurt or chain the soul of Ireland. No Empire can permanently withstand the accumulation of vengeance which we are piling up for England, and no government can go on permanently governing by reprisal, when that policy of reprisal is attempted to be enforced against a people of at least equal capacity, leadership, and courage with their own people.

Recollect that England has never held Ireland of her own strength, but because of our weakness. She has maintained her Government here because we helped her to maintain it. When we stopped helping her to do that, her Government, abolished already in the sight of God, collapsed in the sight of man, and she was forced to fall back on the policy of reprisal as a substitute for government. The great secret of organised government is this, that no governmental machine can go on unless the people who are governed suffer it. For a long time we both worked that machine and suffered it. When we refused to do either, it collapsed.

That is the truth which has emerged to us out of the world war—a truth which was foreshadowed seventy years ago by John Mitchel and Fintan Lalor, when they advocated "hampering the machine of government at every point." When we refused to work English Government, England has nothing to fall back upon except the torch and the rack. Scratch an Empire and you find a Degenerate. We have found the Degenerate. But we are not afraid of him.

The question of reprisals, then, is a side issue. What we have to concentrate on is the maintenance of our steadfast refusal to work or to suffer British Government in Ireland.

The "Times" during the week threatened Ireland with the wrath of the English people. The wrath of the English people! As if we do not know that wrath! As if we had not groined under that wrath in general for 250 years, and in particular for the last six years. We do not threaten England with the wrath of the Irish people—but we do threaten her with the wrath of the Most High God. For this people has blasphemed, and sacrificed to strange gods. They have put them on the Altar of Sin. And they shall fall, even as Babylon fell. Look to it, oh, murderer. And look to that liar who sends you lying news from Dublin. He, at least, shall be well lodged in the Seventh Hell.

Messrs. Henderson, Adamson and Co. are at present busy in attempting to turn our flank. They are concerned with "murders and reprisals," and they raise a mighty hullabaloo about them, and attempt to arrange a conference to end them. So far, so good. But what, oh, Henderson, and oh, Adamson, about the main question, the question of the right of England to exist in Ireland. That is the permanent question on which we await your pronouncement; the other is only a temporary one. If you want to end reprisals there is an easy way, the way you know, the way you ended the supply of munitions to Poland. If you want to end reprisals, you can end them at once by stopping supplies to the people who carry out reprisals, by stopping the supply of men and munitions. For recollect, and recollect that we recollect, that 99 per cent. of the Army of Occupation in Ireland is drawn from the classes which your party represents. Stop these, and you stop reprisals, without any pow-wow.

As we go to press, the word Peace is in the air. And about it we have only this to say. Mr. Lloyd George, and his agents, and his country, know perfectly well that they can have peace any time they please, the peace of one

nation with another nation. That is the only peace we will consider. If they want the peace of the robber with his prey, they will never get it. We have begun this thing, and we are going to see it through. For generations all intellect, all effort, all strength, in Ireland has been directed from its natural purpose to the purpose of politics in one shape or form. We have, none of us, been able to do any of the things we want to do, because in a country like this nobody can turn attention to his own things while the question of government remains unsettled. That has got to end. All that waste and stupidity and ill-regulated activity must end. This nation must get a fair show. It must get freedom. It must get the chance of living. And we of this generation are going to give it a chance.

During the past week the raids and arrests, the burnings and shootings, and the well-known symptoms of militarism and militaristic despotism have continued. The assault on the Irish nation reached a high pitch of fury last week. The whole of our space could not hold a small part of the story of the events of the week, or of the various measures taken to "conciliate" us or to make a "truce of God" with the Irish people.

Early on Saturday morning, West Bourn, Ennis, the residence of Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe, was raided by four men armed with revolvers, two of whom had masked and blackened faces. The narrative is clearly told by the housekeeper, Miss Murray. She was awakened at three o'clock in the morning, a time which was not exactly the one which should be chosen to visit a bishop. A loud knock was heard at the front door. She hastily dressed and came downstairs. She asked who was there, and the reply came, "Military." When the housekeeper opened the door, four men entered, three of whom wore trench coats and gaiters, two having blackened faces. Two of the nocturnal visitors are described as having "a superior manner of speaking, and wore wristlet watches." The fourth man wore a plaid overcoat.

One demanded was the Bishop in, and when she replied that he was not at home, one roughly asked where was he and when did he go away? She said he had gone that day. One then asked for a lamp, and she got a candle.

Two of the party then proceeded upstairs, accompanied by her, and the spokesman, who had a trench coat and blackened face, asked, "Whose room is this?" She replied that it was the Bishop's. He asked for the key, and she called up the man, who came immediately with the key. They looked in, and, of course, there was no one there.

They then went to another room, and even looked under the bed. They then questioned the man and asked what he was doing there. He replied, "Working." They asked what job had he there, and he replied, "General." They then proceeded to a smaller study, where they examined the desk. In the search some private documents referring to parochial matters were taken and perused. In the larger study also the desks were examined.

The collar was also searched. The man who appeared to be in charge stated that the papers taken would be returned if not wanted.

The raid lasted about an hour and a half. Such are the facts about this, the first raid, we believe, that has yet been made on a Bishop. It looks very like something more than a raid on His Lordship. Why, for instance, should the two men have their faces blackened. Very significant is the statement that the papers would be returned if not wanted. This evidently refers to the men's "authorities" to whom the papers were to be submitted. Read in conjunction with the death notices received by Dr. O'Donoghue, and, we believe, by other Bishops, and, we find in the

light of the assassination of Father Griffin, and the treatment accorded to others, it was fortunate, perhaps providential, that a telegram had been sent calling the Bishop away suddenly.

In addition to the outrage on the Bishop of Killaloe, there occurred during the week various acts of violence to Irish priests. On Thursday of last week the Rev. M. J. Conroy, Parish Priest of Kilmenna, near Westport, was arrested at the parochial house at four in the morning, and taken to the temporary barracks at Westport Quay. There are three other priests also in custody—the Rev. J. J. Glynn, C.C., S.T.L., Drumlin; Rev. J. Roddy, C.C., Breedogus, Boyle; and the Rev. P. H. Delahunty, C.C., Callan.

When the motor conveying the latter to Kilkenny came up with a number of uniformed men who were repairing a car, and who signalled for assistance, the signal was misunderstood, and two of the uniformed men on the roadside were wounded, one of them seriously. Father Delahunty's captors evidently had the wind up.

In addition to the arrest of Mr. Arthur Griffith, T.D., which we chronicled last week, we have to add the names of Messrs. Eoin McNeill, T.D.; Wm. Sears, T.D.; Joseph McGrath, T.D.; Michael Staines, T.D., who have been arrested without charge or warrant, and put into jail by the military forces of occupation in Ireland. In addition to these arrests, the Sinn Fein Bank has been attacked once more, the safe blown up by explosives, and cash to the value of £500 extracted therefrom. In addition to the Sinn Fein Bank, the advertising premises of the "Freeman's Journal" have also been burned out.

In addition to the attacks on the lives and liberties of the Irish people, there was a deliberate and carefully organized plan to destroy the City of Cork. During the past fortnight there have been upwards of twenty fires in Cork City alone, not to mention the destruction that took place in outlying towns. The damage in the City was estimated on December 2nd to be well over a million sterling. Amongst the places destroyed are—Messrs. O'Dwyer and Co. Ltd., Washington Street; former S. F. Headquarters, 56 Grand Parade; Pipers' Club Bandroom, Hardwicke Street; Sinn Fein Club Rooms, North East Ward and Shandon Street; Messrs. Forrest's, Patrick Street; Recreation Hall, Douglas; St. Michael's Parochial Hall, Blackrock; Messrs. Cahill and Co., Patrick Street; Blackthorn House, Patrick Street; American Shoe Co., Patrick Street; J.T. and G.W.U. Offices, Camden Street; Thomas Ashe Sinn Fein Club, Father Quay; the City Hall, Albert Quay; O'Gorman's, MacCurtain Street; Dalton's Restaurant, MacCurtain Street; Royal Liver Assurance Society, MacCurtain Street. Since then another attempt was made to continue the work of destruction. The premises attacked were the Irish National Insurance Company in Marlboro' Street, and it is stated that, as on previous occasions, five masked men operated. The Fire Brigade was, however, quickly on the scene, and succeeded in checking the fire before any considerable damage was done. It is well known that all these fires have been the work of five men who wore overcoats and had their faces partly covered. Most of them carried something bulky under their overcoats. One of them getting in through Mr. O'Gorman's shop was seen to go through a glass door, and, when inside, tins of petrol were handed to him. Meanwhile the Curfew restriction is imposed, and any citizen venturing to protect his property at night is liable to be shot at sight, so that there could be no interference with the men of the petrol. Cork is now as effectually burned as Derry or Belfast. It is a way Mr. Lloyd George has of

"restoring order." We notice that his salary is to be raised from five thousand to ten thousand a year.

In addition to innumerable raids, six hundred arrests have been made in the vicinity of Dublin during the past few weeks. Various shootings of civilians have taken place. Another Clancy has been done to death by the armed forces of the Crown. This time it was Patrick Clancy, who was shot dead at Newtowndrangan, County Tipperary. The military at Kilkenny, near Cavani, killed a police sergeant named T. Keighly in mistake. Three young men named J. Begley, Jas. J. O'Donoghue, and John Galvin were shot dead at Brunny, between Cork and Bandon. There are various versions of the affair.

On Saturday Joseph Howley, of Oranmore, stated to have been a prominent Sinn Feiner, and "on the run" for a considerable time was shot and dangerously wounded on leaving the Broadstone Station. Mr. Howley arrived by the mail train from Galway. He had walked about 100 yards from the station, and was crossing the bridge when four shots rang out. An eye-witness told an "Independent" representative that he distinctly heard four shots and saw a tall man in civilian dress fall on the right side of the Canal bridge. Immediately afterwards he heard a whistle and saw a motor approach at a fast pace, and a number of men whom he could not distinguish as being in uniform or civilian dress jump into it and drive off towards the city. The ambulance was summoned, and then came an armoured car with military, who took away the wounded man. The Press Association, which apparently got its information from those in touch with the shooters, states that Mr. Howley is described as a prominent Sinn Feiner, wanted for complicity in outrage and murder in County Galway. These two stories are quite different. By the way, we haven't heard of anybody being "wanted" for the shooting of Father Griffin or Mrs. Quinn, or the various men shot in Galway.

Another victim in North Dublin district has been added to the list. It is now known that Mr. Thomas Hand met his death at his brother's house at Ballyrasa, last Saturday. He was the local Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and for many years took an active interest in the Gaelic and Labour movements. On Saturday night he went to confession in Skerries. Charles Hand, his brother, states that about 1.30 a.m. on Sunday morning he was awakened by heavy pounding at the door, when the door was forced open and a party of men rushed in. They were all in uniform, says Mr. Hand, except one, who wore an overcoat and cap. Some of them, he stated, had something ribbed over their faces. The rest of the story is best told in his own words—

"They said they wanted to bring me out. I was brought to the kitchen, where they put me on a chair and began questioning me. They asked me what I knew about my brother; I replied I knew nothing about his business, or what he was. At the time I was awakened by the hammering on the door I looked over to where Tom slept, and saw he was gone."

"In the garden behind the house, I also saw a number of uniformed men. The house seemed to be surrounded. While I was kept sitting on the chair in the kitchen I heard two shots. The party then searched the house, including a small loft, and even the thatch. My two sisters ran to a neighbour's house for help, and when they came back, we went out to the back of the house and found Tom lying dead. There were several bullet wounds in the head and neck, and his face was covered with blood."

Miss B. Hand stated she was awakened by the pounding at the door, and heard the men rushing in. "When I looked from my room across the house," she said, "I saw Tom getting through the window. I heard him being halted outside, and the last I saw of him—until we found him dead—was standing outside the house with his hands up."

Last week saw the triumphal landing of Mrs. and Miss McSwiney, the widow and sister of the immortal martyr. They arrived in New York last week-end. The press messages state that a great demonstration had been arranged in honour of the bereaved relatives of the martyred Lord Mayor of Cork. Mrs. McSwiney travelled on the "Celtic," which was escorted to the pier by a flotilla of tugs and boats crowded with American sympathisers. The first passenger to disembark was Mrs. McSwiney, and there was a brief silence, which was broken by the assemblage through bursting out into deafening cheers, while the band struck up the "Sinn Fein Anthem."

A large police escort was provided to make a passage through the immense and excited throngs. The two ladies, says the report, were accompanied by the representative of the Reception Committee, and were driven away in an automobile, which headed a large procession. Mrs. McSwiney was officially welcomed by the City of New York at the hands of Commissioner Whelan, representing Mayor Hylan.

According to another report the progress of the procession escorting Mrs. McSwiney was triumphal in character, the crowds gathering round her carriage in great eagerness. The dockers of New York played a prominent part in the procession. Mrs. McSwiney is reported as declaring that she did not wish to say anything until she had had an interview with the "Committee of One Hundred."

Amongst the many countries where the martyrdom of Terence McSwiney evoked profound sympathy and homage to his memory must be included South Africa. "The Volkstem," which is the official organ of the South African Government, takes notice of the great hero's sacrifice in the leading article of October 26, entitled, "The Irish Struggle."

The following is a translation:—"The sorrows of the Irish people are perhaps better appreciated in South Africa than anywhere else in the British Empire. The struggle being waged there at present with renewed vehemence and increased prospects of success does not leave our part of the world indifferent. It is improbable that the Irish nation consists entirely of angelic creatures, or that all Englishmen are satanic monsters. Yet, this much has gradually penetrated to the furthest corners of the world: that, all things carefully considered and compared, there is much for which John Bull has to compensate his Western neighbour. To-day the Irish are in a position, firstly, to resist oppression in their own country, and secondly, to make themselves formidable assailants of Great Britain. The Irish race overseas is numbered by millions, and makes itself felt in a manner which cannot be ignored by any Government in London. The death of Cork's Lord Mayor is but an incident—and not even a particularly horrible incident—in the painful history of the Green Isle. As a pathological phenomenon, it certainly attracts less attention than as a sample of Irish mentality. MacSwiney is undoubtedly entitled to the fame given him as well as to the devotion with which his countrymen have surrounded him, and which will continue to hale his memory. It is hard that a man full of character must deliberately choose death as an escape from an imprisonment which the victim, with good cause, regarded as unjustified. The imprisonment was imposed for alleged offences which can scarcely be described as criminal in Ireland. The death of the Lord Mayor will evoke much emotion, here in this country as elsewhere. We express the hope that his death will help to hasten a satisfactory solution of a painful problem. South Africa will not conceal its admiration for Mr. MacSwiney."

When the martyrdom of Terence McSwiney is published, it will form a vast collection of literature. The recent leading article in the review, "America," is devoted to him. It says:—"He is not dead. Such men can never die. Their souls go to God, their bodies into the earth, but their memories last for ever. Freed at last, he cries out with a voice that the whole world hears:—'Be brave, be true! Serve your country, love your God, commit your ways to Him, and in the evil day He will not forget you.'"

At his name  
We sorrow, not with shame,  
But proudly, for his soul is as the snow.  
The sod of his own dear Ireland lies light to-day on Terence MacSwiney. Nay, not even the soft bosom of the little Dark Rose is his grave. For him there is no grave beneath the earth, but over all the world a shrine. For wherever beats an Irish heart or a heart that hates oppression, there is a heart that enshrines for ever with love and remembrance the man who, to the end, loved so nobly the things that are just and true. He loved us, he fought for us, he gave up his life for us, for us who believe, in the presence of the Most High God, that liberty is too precious a gift to be given over into the hands of tyrants.

Therefore, with tears and gratitude, with all good men make intercession for him with God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that even as Terence MacSwiney hath not denied the Faith, but hath ever believed in God and hoped in Him, so, cleansed by the saving Blood of Calvary, and freed from all stain of human frailty, he may be counted worthy to enter forthwith into happiness without end.

Every outrage which occurs in England is now attributed to Sinn Fein. There was an explosion at a warehouse near London Bridge on Tuesday of last week. The "Star" came out with "Bomb Outrage in City: More Sinn Fein Plots." The "Daily Mirror" came out with "Sinn Fein Plot Suspected." According to the "Evening News," the bomb found in Messrs. Gerhardt and Hays' warehouse in Old Swan Lane was placed there by some person or persons with an imagined grievance against the firm. This little incident gave birth to a large mountain of myths, to "Fresh Plots Suspected," "Terrorists' Threats to Great London Undertakings," by the "Evening Standard." This, of course, is the usual English plot mongering started by the propaganda department, of which Mr. Lloyd George's Secretary is the inspiring genius.

Whatever may have been the causes of the conflagration at Liverpool and Bontle, they provided an excuse for refusing the use of the Town Hall for the demonstration in honour of Dr. Mannix for fear of the terrible Sinn Feiners. Special constables were enrolled at Reading for fear of the Sinn Feiners. The residence of the Governor of Brixton Prison, Clapham Park, is guarded by police against Sinn Feiners. Passes are issued to officials and workmen at the House of Parliament for fear any Sinn Fein member might slip into somebody's seat. The Press Gallery are required to produce their tickets to show that there is no terrible Sinn Feiner wielding a magazine of bombs.

In the meantime, Mr. Lloyd George is endeavouring once more to launch the Sinn Fein and German Plot. This little craft failed to leave the ways in May, 1918, but it is thought that the little "mystery ship" can be patched up and floated. This is not surprising. Mr. Lloyd George is a specialist in German plots. On Thursday of last week, in reply to Sir J. Butcher, he said some of the documents found in possession of Mr. De Valera when arrested in May, 1918, would be included in the documents which the "Government" would publish shortly. He further hinted that "these documents which would be published were those bearing on the implication of the Republican Army in a German conspiracy." This, of course, is mere plot-mongering—two and a half years after the allegation and two years after the war.

The decision of the four diplomats in Paris to partition the province of Bessarabia from Russia and hand it over to Romania does not impress the observer as a good augury for the League of Nations. This is not a case of taking out a people from slavery and erecting them into an independent nation. Far from it. The population of Bessarabia numbers several millions of Moldavians, Russians, and a considerable proportion of Jews, who claim a common Russo-Jewish culture. The capital of the province is Kishineff, the theatre of the terrible pogroms in the days of the Czar. "The Jewish Tribune" asserts that this partition has been accomplished without any plebiscite, and fears that the Jewish population will suffer the persecution which has been "smothering the Roumanian Jews for the last forty

years." We are without knowledge of what the Moldave and Russian elements of the population think, but it is clear that they have not been consulted. To hand people about in this fashion cannot produce peace. It reproduces the worst feature of the old diplomacy, which "promised" Bessarabia to Roumania in order to drag her into the struggle, thus preparing another little war in good time, and more work for the military machine.

The "Jewish Tribune" comments on this latest partition in the following fashion:—"Post-war diplomacy has apparently devised the means of producing 'scraps of paper' which may well be torn up. Surely the authors of these scraps of paper must realise that we who are on-lookers cannot but regard with derision these 'definite and irrevocable' verdicts. Not only because our inheritance is being divided, and that we have not the slightest intention of acquiescing in this partition, but because one more illusion vanishes from our hearts. Wilson, the purest of idealists, believed that the old world really was capable of renovation when remodelled according to the principle of self-determination. All that has been urged by force of arms must be put to the test of a free expression of the will of the conquered. The peoples, stoked by the nightmare of the long-drawn slaughter, were united for a brief moment in bowing to this new symbol of fraternity and liberty. But the spell of the great Puritan has vanished; sheer force once more reigns supreme and has assumed shapes un-known till now. No wonder the great American people is not partaking in this orgy."

Mr. Matthew Maoney writes from Walworth, London:—"The Celtic, held under the auspices of the Self-Determination League, will, in the near future, be a successful instrument in combating prejudices against our race, especially if conducted with that same order and attractive display of musical and rhetorical talent which is so marked a feature in the entertainments held at the Cullyer Hall, Peckham."

The welcome is general and sincere, and the absence of political controversy is a relief to many who, having no opportunity of knowing our people in their native environment, gladly join in convivial communion with them here, where their experience neutralises the invidious influence of a Press alien to things Irish. These socials define clearly the meaning of those cryptic words, "Sinn Fein," only vaguely understood by the thousands in England. The trend of this magic watchword can be gleaned in the lappy abandon of song and dance of these merry votaries, who, not trusting in the illusive promises of irresponsible Ministers, put their trust in a Higher Power to provide for present trials, and to fulfil most certainly their cherished hopes for the future peace and happiness of their country.

Their evenings of relaxation preserve them in patience and afford them a welcome facility to help the afflicted ones at present homeless in a land which, under normal conditions, is as "fruitful as God's Love." Time, the leveller of Machievellian barriers, goes apace. The protean disquisitions of the Welsh Wizard only serve to widen the breach between the two peoples. A last resource of discredited governments is "exigency," and this is now the password of the Coalition. Public attention must be diverted from Utopian promises to their own people and directed to the "gangs" in Ireland. However, in England this dust-throwing fails. Thinking Englishmen are tired of the Pandean Pipe and Cap and Bells in politics. They wait patiently for some initiative of Statesmanship. When meridian is reached, flowery rhetoric, and other adventitious aids of the "Green-room," will cease to bar the claim for fulfilment of broken promises and neglected duties.

The funeral of Thomas Davis woke the national consciousness in the soul of a young girl, who afterwards became known through the length and breadth of the country. Writing of Speranza on her death in 1896, William Rooney says:—"She began to understand that she had a country, that it had certain demands upon her, that it would be a curse to neglect the duties which nature had placed upon her, and she began to think how best she could serve and further the interests of that country."

The funeral of William Rooney, almost twenty years ago, brought to the service of her country a woman of whom the same words might be written. Mary Butler lies dead in Rome, far from the land she loved so well, and served so ungrudgingly and unselfishly. From that time when she watched wondrously the grief-stricken faces of the mourners who followed the patriot, she never turned back from the service of her country. To its uplifting her talents, her time, her thoughts were given; she grieved and mourned for those who fell in the fight, more still for those who turned away from the fight. But she went on with a high serene courage in the ultimate destiny of Ireland. She married in 1905 a distinguished Irish scholar, Thomas O'Nolan. Her married happiness lasted for eight years. Now is not the time to speak of her writings. Another day they will be done justice to. They breathe her high, lofty spirit, her noble character. In the Ireland of her dreams, gracious, kindly, high-minded, pure-souled women of the Gael, lived and moved. And she acted up to her ideals. We could ill spare her but God's will be done. Ar dheis De go raibh a h-anam."

The English are getting nervous in regard to their meat trade. Their Standing Committee on Trusts has issued a preliminary report urging the adoption of proposals for safeguarding Britain's meat supplies, and protecting their home market against exploitation by foreign countries and combinations. They hold that the tacit understanding between the American companies secures to them all the economic advantages of an active combination, and that all questions affecting the strategy of the trade as a whole are settled in conference between the heads of businesses in Chicago. It appears that in the London market American companies have attempted to fix a minimum price for meat up to a particular hour of the day; they have regulated the quantities of meat which were to be put on the weekly market, and it has been their practice to fix the prices for their country sales on the basis of the London prices.

The American Companies are extending their purchases of British cattle in various centres, and in Ireland Messrs. Morris and Company are stated to be large buyers. The Subcommittee understand that the American Companies have been making inquiries into the possibilities of developing a packing-house business in the Irish meat trade. We understand this to mean the establishment of an export business in meat from Ireland. The English comment is—"If these projects are successful, their progress will have to be carefully watched." It is evident that John Bull is getting concerned about the monopoly of his inside. His stranglehold on this country has not in the long run served his interests, nor has it secured him in the safety of his food supplies. The development of the meat trade in Ireland is a most essential business, but the English have always stood in the way of its natural development. The policy of keeping Ireland in grass will not save John from the threatened stranglehold on his vitals.

Waterford County Committee of Agriculture has adopted a resolution received from the Limerick Co. Committee of Agriculture calling upon all County Committees to do their utmost to promote the cultivation of wheat and other food-stuffs on a far larger scale than is being done at the present time, so as to ensure against a possible food crisis. The resolution pointed out that the final weapon which would be used by England against this country was the blockade of her ports, which had been so effective against Greece and Germany in recent times. The resolution further stated that whereas the returns for the early 'sixties showed that the amount of land under wheat cultivation totalled 555,000 acres, the return for the present time was less than 55,000.

A circular letter from the Local Government Board containing similar provisions was also received and adopted. Messrs. Wilson, Hartnell and Co. are issuing this week "The Christmas Lady of the House," which is worthy of a place in Irish households. "The Victorious Irish at Fontenoy" is a superb reproduction of Horace Vernet's famous picture in the Gallery of Battles at Versailles. The episode is the presentation to the King of France of the colours captured by the Irish Brigade—the only colours taken during the campaign. Pictorially, this plate is probably the finest thing this popular Irish annual has done in the

thirty years of national successes with which it has decorated the home of Ireland. Nor is the plate the only supplement, for there is also the "Irish Baby Souvenir Album," which contains the portraits of the Irish babies born this year, who are competing for "The Lady of the House" Champion Cup. The literary contents are exceptionally appealing. "The Nobler Belfast" traces the evolution of the town under the Parliament of Ireland, and shows how Belfast fought the Union in 1799 and 1800. This feature is the work of the Editor, Crawford Hartnell, and throws a well-authenticated light on many dark places relative to the Union. Susan L. Mitchell contributes a poem, "Troublesome Nations," which will probably be read with appreciative amusement by all except the Premier and Chief Secretary. "The Breeding of Irish Lions in the Phoenix Park," by W. J. Lawrence, forms a most interesting chapter, and the illustrations are wonderful. "Random Recollections of Old Galway Life," by Zoe M. Callwell, is full of curious information, quaint stories and telling pictures. "Voces Populi" have been collected by Pelleas in a Hurth railway car on a Saturday evening, and are both clever and amusing. "The Christmas Lady of the House" is, as usual, kindly Irish from cover to cover.

We note, with pleasure, an interesting feature in the publishing enterprise of Messrs. Whelan and Son, of Ormond Quay, of issuing a series of very dainty booklets in artistic wrappers, making a very acceptable and intelligent form of Christmas greeting. There are ten in all, four being of a humorous kind, and one entirely in Irish. They are issued at the reasonable sum of sixpence each. In addition to these booklets, Messrs. Whelan have also issued quite a number of excellent books by Brian O'Higgins, Arthur Griffith, Aodh de Blacum, and Miss Fogarty, M.A., particulars of which appear in our advertising columns. We have no hesitation in recommending to our readers, as high suitable and welcome presents for the Christmas, any of the books published by Messrs. Whelan, who are deserving of every support for their consistent and persevering enterprise.

### Century to Century\*

"The Flight of the Eagle," "Lost on Du Corr," "The Chain of Gold," "Ulrick the Ureardy," Four vols. By Standish O'Grady. The Talbot Press, 5/- each. "The Hounds of Banba." By Daniel Corkery. 4/- net. The Talbot Press. "Conquest." By Gerald O'Donovan. Constable, 9/- net.

There they lie, the bunch of six books, and they come at a curious hour. For they are all loaded with the one theme, however different may be the rigging under which they take their course. And they come at a time when that one theme is also the theme of every column on the daily newspaper, only that the daily newspaper is forgotten, whereas the book passes on to other shores and other times.

Let us, for example, take three of them: Standish O'Grady's "Flight of the Eagle," Daniel Corkery's "Hounds of Banba," and Gerald O'Donovan's "Conquest." The first of these is probably Standish O'Grady's best of tales, and in these times no better book could be read by the young men in Ireland to-day who are old in responsibility and determination, and by the old men of Ireland to-day who are young in pride and resource. It is the story of the capture of a young national leader by craft and treachery; of his imprisonment and hardship because he dared to believe in his country's freedom; of his escape from prison, an escape of peculiar resource and daring; and of his reception again amongst his people as he gathered them together for a renewal of the contest that was the only alternative to dishonour.

Now turn to "The Hounds of Banba." The tale is the same, and the circumstances themselves are little different. Here are craft and treachery again; imprisonment and hardship; breathless escapes; and the constant renewal of the war for freedom as the only alternative to dishonour. The issue is the same, the methods are the same, and the manner of the scene is the same. The only little difference is that over three hundred years have rolled by between the two books, and between that of which the two books tell.

In the first book we get Captain Birmingham, whom Standish O'Grady sets more gently because he sees him at a distance, and whom he, therefore,

We join with you in demanding that a tribunal of inquiry, of unimpeachable impartiality, be set up in order to reassess the public conscience.

We have not forgotten that the British Government was the first to espouse the cause of right when our country was subjected to unjust aggression, and to the atrocities of an unscrupulous invader.

Appeal to Priests.

The day that the inquiry which you demand has established that it is not injustice, but liberty and right, that the Irish people desire, that day will open for you a new era of consolation and hope.

We who today associate ourselves affectionally with you in your trials will return to you to share your relief and your joy.

Have we not heard this morning the Church intone in its liturgy the words of the Prophet: "My designs with you are the designs of peace, and not of affliction. I watch over your future and will sustain your hope."

We ask our priests and our people to remember, at the altar and in their prayers, their Irish brethren.

They owe you this charity. They owe it to you through gratitude. For while we were being oppressed by the foreigner, deprived of food, of fuel, of clothing, you generously came to our aid.

Hundreds of refugees have known the benefit of your hospitality; they have not forgotten it.

Your Eminence and your Lordships, in the name of the Catholics of Belgium, in the name of our clergy, and in our own, we beg you to accept the homage of our ardent sympathy and the assurance of our fraternal devotion.

(Signed).

D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,

Archbishop of Malines.

GUSTAVE JOSEPH, Bishop of Bruges.

THOMAS LOUIS, Bishop of Namur.

MARTIN HUBERT, Bishop of Liège.

AMEDEE MARIE, Bishop of Tournai.

EMILE JEAN, Bishop of Ghent.

The Late Father Griffin

The life and character of the late Father Griffin, who was murdered at Galway recently, was dealt with by the Most Rev. Dr. Doherty, who preached a funeral oration at Loughrea on Sunday week. His Lordship said:

"I cannot allow this day to pass without a few words concerning the tragedy which has shocked and saddened, not only Catholics, but the whole civilised world. On Wednesday last we laid to rest the mortal remains of our murdered Father Griffin. I know your feelings regarding this awful crime; they were manifested in no uncertain way on the occasion of the funeral. Your prayers for the dead were frequent and fervent. Your heartfelt sympathy went out to the widowed mother and her family as they stood by the open grave. There is not a priest in the Diocese of Clontarf who does not feel the sense of personal loss such as one experiences on the death of a brother. For myself, I may say that my sorrow can find no adequate expression in words. I first became acquainted with Father Griffin when he entered Maynooth a bright, innocent, promising boy. For seven years I watched his course there. No superior, no professor had ever occasion to check in the smallest particular Michael Griffin of Clontarf. Little more than three years ago he left that great College 'a priest for ever' to take up temporary work in the Diocese of Galway, and it was I who recommended him to Dr. O'Dea. The Bishop, priests, and people of Galway have never had the smallest reason to complain of my selection.

All of them knew how unceasingly, how enthusiastically, Father Griffin did His Master's work; night and day he was at the service of those committed to his charge, and specially when terrible epidemics brought sorrow and desolation into many a home. No wonder the people of Galway loved him; no wonder the people of Barna idolised him! The poor, in particular, and the little children were his dearest friends. There are tears, there are prayers for him in the workhouse and hospitals of Galway. The little ones on the streets sadly miss the boy-priest, when they almost regarded as a playmate. Gentle and simple, rich and poor, young and old, he has merited and won esteem and affection of them all. And if popular commination could grant him the title, he would now be regarded as a saint or a martyr. It was a moving spectacle in Galway, when people of every class hour after hour filed past the open coffin and

touched his body as a most sacred thing with their hands and with pious objects, in the belief that the touch would gain for them an added blessing. Who knows? Perhaps the Church will one day make manifest that their instinct was true.

When the news of Father Griffin's disappearance reached me I went, as you know, to Galway. People there suspected the worst, though they still endeavoured to cling to any strand of hope. I could not share their fears. I could not bring myself to believe that one who, like his Master, went about doing good had been murdered in this land and in this century.

Political views he had held, no doubt, but as far as they were concerned his active energies were devoted mainly to the preservation and spread of the Irish language. Was this a crime deserving of death? He could not be described, even by the most venomous, as a wild agitator or a bitter partisan. He had received no death notice, as many of his brother priests had. Why, then, should anyone entertain serious fears for his safety? But the people of Galway were right and I was wrong. Human nature had sunk to lower depths than I had yet fathomed. Father Griffin was murdered, and there had not been even a Pilate to sentence him.

The story of his last hours has not yet been told. Perhaps in this life it will never be known, although God has strange ways of bringing murder to light. All we know is that he was culled from his bed when a gale was howling; that he cheerfully and hurriedly obeyed the deceiving summons, which seems to have taken the form of some claim upon his priestly charity. 'I would do more than that,' he was heard to say. Then he disappeared into the night and the storm. Nearly a week later his body was discovered in a bog with the marks of a bullet which has passed through his brain. They had buried him at dead of night and in a lonely spot. But Divine Providence directed the discovery, and, thank God, we have had the melancholy consolation of bringing him home and burying him outside the town in the Cathedral grounds with full ceremonial and amid the manifestations of universal Christian sorrow.

Outsiders may say that, after all, this is but one of the many tragedies which are occurring every day and with increasing frequency. Even so, the murder of a priest causes a special shock even to non-Catholic minds. His character and his work have a certain sacredness for the most bigoted of them. We have read that when political and religious passions raged furiously in one of the cities of the North, the Orangemen ceased fire while the priests attended the dying. Even they can admire the heroism of the Catholic priest and the motives which inspire it when he faces the rain of bullets or enters the house of pestilence to bring comfort and spiritual aid to those in need. They cannot withhold their tribute of admiration to the man who is willing at all times to sacrifice his life for the purpose confided to his care. And so many non-Catholics have regarded this crime as one apart, a portent, a horror.

But Catholics have a deeper insight into the meaning and sanctity of the priesthood. We know that the priest is another Christ; that his soul is stamped indelibly with the mark of Christ's Own priesthood. That mark gives him the power to be God's agent in the forgiveness of sin and the sanctification of souls. And in the holy Sacrifice of the Mass the priest is, as it were, identified with Christ, since he uses the very words of the High Priest Himself: 'This is My Body, This is My Blood.'

Catholics know all this and more. They know that Jesus loves the priests with a special love, just as He loved His apostles, unless they have utterly fallen away as Judas fell. And even then He would fain recall them as He tried to reclaim Judas. Catholics are aware that anyone who deals sacrilegiously with a priest will have Christ Himself to reckon with in this life, or what is more terrible, in the next. History and tradition have told them that Christ's hot anger has scorched and blasted full many a time those who have dared to lay unholy hands upon His own anointed. Less clearly, perhaps, because priests themselves are reluctant to proclaim their privileges, are Catholics aware that the Church has thrown her powerful protection around the humblest of her priests and minor clerics, as well as around the loftiest dignitary in her Hierarchy. She cuts off from her communion, as the branch is severed from the parent tree, not only those who murder or lay violent and sinful hands upon a priest,

but even those who treat him to any gross contumely.

Such a malefactor, by his very act, ceases to be a member of the Church; he is as the heathen and the publican until he repents, makes due reparation, and is absolved. Further, even those who command such a crime or advise it, or are consenting parties to it, or sanction and condone it afterwards, or do not prevent it when bound by their office to do so, incur the same terrible penalty of excommunication. No trial, no sentence is necessary. The penalty is attached to the crime.

God forbid that I should suspect any Catholic of the murder of Father Griffin, or of co-operation in it in any of the ways I have mentioned," added his Lordship. "I do not bring before you the law of the Church in order to prove, if anyone needs proof, that this murder is not to be classed with any other which has been perpetrated in this evil time. It is a horrible sacrilege. It stands out by itself, a fearful thing to any Catholic mind. Such a crime has not been committed in Ireland since the days of the priest-hunter. May it never be repeated.

Your prayers have been offered, and will be offered for Father Griffin, lest by any chance he should still need your suffrages. But whether in Purgatory or in Heaven, I am convinced that this gentle soul is now even pleading for his murderers, as Christ did for His: 'Father, forgive them.' Let this be our prayer, too.

The Gospel of Christ is not a gospel of revenge. All its true followers seek not an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. We sing no hymn of hate. Modern paganism may not understand, as ancient paganism could not understand the amazing gentleness of the Early Christians, which they misunderstood for poltroonery. But you and I will sincerely pray that God may have mercy on the man who fired that fatal shot, and on all those who were guilty of any co-operation in Father Griffin's death. You and I will pray that on the great Accounting Day, described in the Gospel for this first Sunday of Advent, the murderers—whether the hand of human justice has touched them or not—and their victim may meet in eternal friendship at the right hand of God. This, and this alone, will be our reprisal.

The Torch of Civilisation

In his book on "Nationalism in Japan" (Macmillan and Co., 4/6 net), by Rabindranath Tagore, the celebrated Indian author, we are given a remarkable glimpse of the revival of Eastern Culture. In this work he deals with the underlying ideas of that great and numerous multitude of nations and peoples that are known as 'The East.' It used to be said that the East never changes. But readers of this book will be convinced that this long unchanging multitude is beginning to change most decidedly. It used to be said of us, too, that we lived in the torpor of ages, that we had no future, and that, in fact, we were an altogether useless, helpless and feeble people that could not do anything to help ourselves, and that only for the kind and benevolent care that the English took of us we couldn't live at all. This theory was, in fact, at the bottom of the philosophy of those who have so long occupied our country. But this philosophy has no basis in the Ireland of today. How far it is true of Eastern Nations is discussed at length by Rabindranath Tagore, and the following passage gives a good idea of the progress of modern thought amongst Asiatic peoples:

The worst worm of bondage is the bondage of dejection, which keeps men hopelessly chained in loss of faith in themselves. We have been repeatedly told, with some justification, that Asia lives in the past—it is like a rich mausoleum which displays all its magnificence in trying to immortalise the dead. It was said of Asia that it could never move in the path of progress, its face was so inevitably turned backwards. We accepted this accusation, and came to believe it. In India, I know, a large section of our educated community, grown tired of feeling the humiliation of this charge against us, is trying all its resources of self-deception to turn it into a matter of boasting. But boasting is only a masked shame, it does not truly believe in itself.

When things stood like this, and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise, Japan rose from her dreams, and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind, overtak-

ing the present time in its foremost achievement. This has broken the spell under which we lay in torpor for ages, taking it to be the normal condition of certain races living in certain geographical limits. We forgot that in Asia great kingdoms were founded, philosophy, science, arts and literatures flourished, and all the great religions of the world had their cradles. Therefore, it cannot be said that there is anything inherent in the soil and climate of Asia to produce mental inactivity and to atrophy the faculties which impel men to go forward. For centuries we did hold torches of civilisation in the East when the West slumbered in darkness, and that could never be the sign of sluggish mind or narrowness of vision.

Then fell the darkness of night upon all the lands of the East. The current of time seemed to stop at once, and Asia ceased to take any new food, feeding upon its own past, which is really feeding upon itself. The stillness seemed like death, and the great voice was silenced which sent forth messages of eternal truth that have saved man's life from pollution for generations, like the ocean of air that keeps the earth sweet, ever cleansing its impurities.

(To be Continued).

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a-dismayed people until the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths and principalities. . . . Indeed, this idea of partition, of dividing and re-conquering began to be energetically expounded when the unruly states disappointed the prophets and sages by coming out finally victorious.

"It will not be an easy matter," wrote the knowing Sheffield, "to bring the American States to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us. . . . If the American States choose to send consuls, receive them, and send a consul to each state. Each state will soon enter into all the necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." A very clever plan, no doubt, but it did not work.

The "irreligious, anti-monarchical Presbyterians" were the chief aversions of the Tories who never weary of lampooning them. After the Franco-American alliance the taunt of "pro-French" was used with considerable success.

Tory journals announced that great cargoes of cardinals, bishops, priests, crucifixes, statues, rosaries and gallons of holy water were on their way from France to convert the Puritans. Dr. Franklin had been decorated with the "Holy Cross of Jerusalem," and a contract for a Bastille in New York had been arranged with certain French experts in that line of architecture.

Boat-loads of French dancing masters, too, were due to teach the Presbyterians the latest and most gallant motions and steps from Paris.

The activity of the Tories in every direction was so great that as early as 1775 Washington had ordered the seizure and internment or deportation of all unfriendly persons.

"Why should persons who are preying on the vitals of the country," he exclaimed, "be suffered to stalk at large whilst we know that they will do us every mischief in their power?"

Whilst their men-folk were learning the arts of war, the Tory women were busy making them clothes and equipment. But some of the women went even further. In the May of 1779 Washington was at Middlebrook with his army. Owing to the awful privations, his soldiers, mostly of Irish extraction, were in a state of half mutiny. Immediately placards were got out to seduce the loyalty of these men. It was stated that "the affairs of Ireland were then fully settled"; and that "Great Britain and Ireland were united as well from interest as from affection." Even at that time the Irish had heard the cry of "wolf!" too often, and not a single man of them betrayed the Republican cause.

Another of the many posters set out that "all aspiring heroes were now given a chance to distinguish themselves." The young men were exhorted to "co-operate in relieving themselves from the miseries of anarchy and tyranny."

"Any spirited young man," announced a recruiting officer, "would be immediately mounted on an elegant horse and furnished with clothing worth £40." He could then do his bit in "the finishing stroke of this un-natural rebellion."

The Tories aimed at making the war as terrible and bloody as possible. They robbed, destroyed, and murdered secretly or openly as opportunity favoured. They held up the mails, and many important and even private letters got into Rivington's Gazette by this means. They burnt and pillaged towns, ships, harbours, villages, and jails. The evening the British entered New York a fire broke out in a part of the city. Immediately the cry went round "the rebels have done this," and Tories and soldiers were soon busy hurling innocent patriots into the flames.

A favourite plan was for a body of them to leave the British lines for a while and scour the fertile country by the Hudson, carrying off cattle, horses and sheep, burning the peaceful farmsteads, killing or kidnapping the farmers, and ravishing their women-folk. Little wonder the republican farmers lived in mortal terror of the Tories "lurking in the woods."

A raid of this sort always gave joy to Rivington's Gazette which, on one occasion remarked that "these attacks on the rebels" would enable "the much injured Loyalists to do themselves justice on their rebellious countrymen."

In the western part of New York State, and far up on the higher reaches of the Susquehanna, lay the beautiful Wyoming Valley, sheltered on all sides by long acres of thick forests. Many families had happy homes in this peaceful hollow in the woods; and

although they were far from the scenes of the war, they had heard the call of liberty, and most of their young manhood had gone forth to join the army of the Republic.

One day in the July of 1778, eight hundred Tories under Butler, and four hundred Indians under Brant, swept over this valley, slaughtered most of the men, carried off most of the women, destroyed houses and crops, and left it a bleak and bloody desolation. Those few who escaped the bullet and the tomahawk were driven through sixty miles of a fever-stricken forest swamp.

A Pennsylvania regiment avenged Wyoming by wiping out the Indian town of Onondilla, but soon this was outclassed by another havoc wrought on the peaceful Cherry Valley by the remorseless followers of Butler and Johnson. These irregulars were often punished; but they returned again and again as relentless as ever, and harassed and laid waste the whole of that northern frontier.

"These are the times that try men's souls," cried Thomas Paine in the second year of the war, "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot are falling fast away."

### The Irish Glass Manufacture

The wilful destruction of a collection of Waterford glass by the "Black and Tans" in Galway brings to mind the important industry which once existed in our land, and flourished in Waterford, Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and other places. We are indebted to a recent publication, "Irish Glass: An Account of Glass-making in Ireland from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day," by M. S. Dudley Westropp, M.R.I.A., (Herbert Jenkins, Limited), for much interesting information on this industry. The author tells us that the art of making a vitreous enamel and applying it to metal work appears to have been practised in Ireland in the period known as the *Lé Tene* Period, that is to say, from 400 years before Christ down to the Christian Era, and from about that time down to about the twelfth century it seems to have flourished. Visitors to the Museum can witness the work of these early Irish artists in the coloured enamels of the Tara Brooch and the Ardagh Chalice. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries several references occur to glass-makers, glass-workers, glazewright, and glaziers; but we have no means of knowing what particular objects they produced. Ireland is not a country in which much glass could have survived the destruction of the "Black and Tans," of Elizabeth, or the Jacobite, Cromwellian or Williamite Wars. Cromwell certainly did not leave even the saints on the stained-glass windows alive. It is probable that the Irish did not think much of making sheet-glass, but it is certain that their intercourse with Gaul, Venice, Spain and Rome in former times must have made their merchants well acquainted with the glass manufacture which flourished in all those countries in ancient times.

The earliest record which Mr. Westropp has found of any idea of setting up glass workers in Ireland occurs in the English State Papers Domestic under the year 1567, when Pierre Brier and Jean Carré from the Low Countries supplied for a licence to set up a glass-house in London, and proposed to erect twelve furnaces in England and six in Ireland, near the woods for fuel, the sea for sand or seaweed, or the rivers for pebbles. In the year 1575, Giacomo Verzelini, a Venetian, obtained a licence for twenty-one years to make glass like that of Murano in England and Ireland. But we have no record until 1588 of the actual manufacture, when Woodhouse is stated to have been "the first that, with any success, began the art in Ireland" (State Papers, Ireland, 1586-8). Nevertheless, it does not appear that he carried on the industry, for we find a petition in 1589 from George Longe (or Stone) in which he states that "he has spent his time wholly in the trade, and has found stuffe meet and brought to perfection the making of glass in Ireland." He states that he had spent at least £300 in procuring the patent for England and buying the patent in Ireland from Captain Woodhouse.

In another letter, in 1589, Stone mentions "that he does not intend to continue the making of glass in England, but if requested he would not keep more than two glass-houses in England, but set up the remainder in Ireland, whereby the woods in Eng-

land would be preserved and the superfluous woods in Ireland wasted, which in time of rebellion Her Majesty has no greater enemy there." Stone was a footman in Elizabeth's employment. The Irish trees were regarded by the Queen as her enemies. The destruction of the Irish woods was commenced by this un-sylvan Queen. The establishment of the iron blast furnaces was also deliberately encouraged to destroy the woods. In fact, Ireland owes two industries, the glass and the iron manufactures, to the pretext of English arson. George knew his Queen, and he got his patent without delay. Incidentally we may mention that the application passed through Burghley's hands, and Stone said, "if he gets the patent he will repair Burghley's buildings with the best glass."

In 1597, appears another petition from the same individual who stated that, "For example, I have kept ten years in the end of Drumfenning Woods a glass-house. There is no sign of waste, only the ways were passable. In the end of the Desmond's Woods the Seneschal lay in '89 when five hundred men durst not attempt to pass that way. Patrick Condy can witness it. By difference of the price of wood, farm victuals, etc., honest gains may be had to perform this without preying upon the commonwealth."

From this it is evident that the industry was started successfully, and that Mr. Stone, formerly a footman in the Royal service, had become a prosperous manufacturer in Ireland. The time and place where the modern industry of making glass originated appears definitely settled at Drumfenning Woods about the year 1587. These celebrated woods extended from Dunganary to Tallow, and the glass-house is said to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Curryglass, Co. Cork, at the western end of the woods. The exact locality is not yet established, but in all probability it was in the townland of Glasclonsha, about a mile to the south of Curryglass. Such appears to have been the origin of this industry at least in modern times. Much uncertainty prevails as to the growth of this industry. In 1618 Dr. John Boyle wrote to his brother in Ireland advising him of a Venetian who wished to set up glass-works in the South of Ireland. It is not known definitely whether he came over or not. It is known, however, that a glass-house for window glass was set up shortly after this at a place called in the manuscript (which is in Marsh's Library, Dublin), "Ballinegery." According to Mr. Westropp, it is most probably Ballynagerrah, in the south of Co. Waterford, but the site has not been identified.

The manuscript contains items relating to the cost of setting up the glass-house at Ballynagerrah, and gives us information on the materials and the sales.

The next glass-house set up was at Birr about the year 1623. It is stated by Boyle that this glass-house supplied Dublin with drinking glass and window glass. Besides the glass-house near Birr carried on by Abraham Bigo, we find that Philip Bigo, in the time of Charles II., obtained grants of land at Ballynestrangh, Carrowmore, and Newton in Luskagh, and is said to have established works in some of them, but no traces of them have been found.

Now, we find that no sooner was the industry fairly established in the country when the jealous hand of English power appeared, and the inevitable proclamation was published on February 15, 1638 or 9. This proclamation prohibited the export of glass from Ireland, and even the manufacture of glass was prohibited. Not much attention, says our author, was paid to this proclamation, and about the year 1670 a glass-house was set up near Pottardington in Leix by Ananias Henzy.

Little is known of the history of these early glass-works, which were erected in the country districts on account of the facility of obtaining wood for fuel. The supply of wood great and superabundant as it was, actually gave out, because no effort was made by the English Colonists to plant the great areas destroyed. The English, according to Dr. Boyle, had been destroying the woods and forests ever since they landed in the twelfth century. In the year 1641, however, a Bill was introduced to stop the felling of trees for fuel for burning glass, iron, lime, tanning bark, etc., and after about the last quarter of the seventeenth century almost all the glass-houses were erected in or near towns, which henceforward were built of stone, instead of wood.

Some of the glass-makers came from Lorraine originally, and intermarried and settled down in Ireland. It is a

curious coincidence that the traveller in the Vosges may to this day come across names which are familiar in Ireland.

The first glass-house of which any Dublin record exists was established at Mary's Lane by Captain Philip Roche, who went to France with the Irish Brigade. He returned to Ireland, and, "being incapacitated as a Roman Catholic from seeking a military or civil appointment," said the "Dublin Chronicle," "he turned his attention to trade, at the instance of his brother-in-law, Thomas Wolfe, who soon after figured as the most eminent merchant of this city." Captain Roche had acquired a knowledge of making flint glass on the Continent. His enterprise was rewarded with great prosperity, and he died rich.

We have now arrived at the period when the industry in Dublin was permanently established. Other glass-houses followed, of which the best known was the Round House at the end of Lower Abbey Street, "opposite the Ship Buildings." A full account of the various enterprises in Dublin, Waterford, Belfast, Newry, Ballycastle and other centres of the great vitreous industry, with its innumerable branches, is given in this history. The plates are admirably lithographed.

After 1780 increasingly large quantities of glass were exported from Ireland. All kinds of ware were manufactured successfully. The book contains a valuable record of Ireland's foreign trade from 1781 to 1812, giving the ports of origin and destination, distinguishing the number of drinking glasses and bottles and the value of other glass ware.

Ireland at this period supplied the United States. In 1788 Dublin sent New York 8,240 drinking glasses, Cork sent 17,280 vials to Virginia and Maryland. In the following year Dublin sent to Spain 8,244 drinking glasses, Waterford, Belfast, Newry, Derry and Cork all shared in this new market, which the removal of the Commercial Restrictions and the victory of Washington opened to Ireland. The trade progressed steadily. A few figures will tell how prosperous it was. In 1795 Dublin exported 78,920 drinking glasses to New England, 28,800 to New York, 19,082 to Jamaica, and 3,384 to Pennsylvania. Waterford exported 6,000 to New York. In 1796, Dublin glass-houses sent 95,240 to the same port. In 1797, Dublin sent to New York the huge number of 240,404 drinking glasses, which works out at about ten glasses per head. The same year Dublin sent Virginia a cool 80,000 and 76,404 to New England. Belfast sent to the latter no less than 154,980 drinking glasses the same year, so that there must have been a rare clinking of Irish glass when the great Washington rose on our national feast-day and gave the toast—"Gentlemen, the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick!"

After about the year 1812 the number of drinking glasses exported seems to have decreased, but a large number of bottles and other glass ware was sent from Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Belfast to the same places as before.

This important industry, which promised so well for the future of Irish trade abroad, was, however, brought to an untimely end. In the year 1825 the first excise duty was placed on glass made in Ireland. A duty of twelve pounds ten was placed on every 1,000 lbs. weight of glass metal for flint or plial glass made in Great Britain or Ireland. "This Act," says Mr. Westropp, "enforced most exacting conditions with regard to the payment of duty, so that not a pound of glass should evade the tax." "From the year 1825 the glass manufacture in Ireland seems," he writes, "to have begun to decline. In 1828 the tax on Irish glass produced £26,972, while in 1833 the amount had fallen to £17,652. The excise duty was removed in 1845, but by that time some of the Irish glass-houses had ceased working, and the output from the remaining ones had greatly decreased." He tells us that it is surprising how the flint glass works existed at all under the harsh and unjust restrictions imposed by the excise regulations. Thus perished the Irish flint-glass manufacture. The bottle industry has continued down to our own times, and there are still some of them left, survivors of a once prosperous past. Thus the flint glass manufacture must be added to the heavy list of mortally inflicted by English taxes, English regulation, English greed, and English jealousy on our industries.

There are valuable chapters in the book on the different Irish glasses, how to distinguish them, and where the materials were obtained. A study of the former industry is a very necessary preliminary to the revival of this great and most important branch of manufacture. Recent researches have

proved the excellence of native materials, and there is little doubt but that a manufacturer starting to-day would find at his disposal a greater knowledge of the materials and where to obtain them in Ireland. There is room for more experimental work and that scientific knowledge and research work on which alone the modern industry can safely be based.

### The Belgian Bishops

Last week we gave a summary of the letter from the Belgian Hierarchy. The full text from "La Libre Belgique" is now available, and the following is a translation of the message of his Eminence, Cardinal Mercier and the Episcopate to Cardinal Logue and the Bishops of Ireland. It is given at Malines, within the Octave of All Saints:—

Your Eminence and your Lordships, The letter which your Eminence and your Lordships have judged fit to address to us have moved us profoundly.

We hasten to reply to you that we are one in heart with you, partakers of your anguish, or your sorrows, but also of your unquenchable hopes.

The eyes of the Catholics of Belgium have always been turned towards Ireland, full of admiration and gratitude.

Is it not to the first pioneers of Christian civilisation in Ireland that Belgium herself owes, in great measure, the signal grace of all, that of belonging to Christ? The names of the Irish missionaries who, in the Merovingian period, evangelised the north of Gaul, St. Columban, St. Faolen, St. Monon and St. Ebon, St. Leovinus, the Bishops of St. Wiro and St. Plehelm, and their deacon, St. Odger, St. Fridigand also, and many others have remained popular among us. More than thirty Belgian churches are dedicated to the saints of your island.

#### Ireland's Faith.

It seems that Ireland, won to the Faith from the beginning of the fifth century, has received from Divine Providence a special apostolic mission.

Go through England, Australia, the United States, Canada, everywhere that the Catholic Faith lives and is being propagated, and you find the name of the Island of Saints held in honour, you find the Irish priesthood at work.

And this people of heroes is always ready to become once more, what it has often been, a people of martyrs.

What else is your history but the long Calvary of a people unceasingly betrayed, persecuted, despoiled, tortured by famine, yet ever unflinching in its Faith and in its passion for liberty.

Yes, we admire you, dear and venerated conferrers; we bless you, and permit us to say it in all simplicity, we love you.

#### Church in Ireland.

Your people have our sympathies, they have a right to our respect; and it is you who have moulded this people. For, nowhere in the world as amongst you has the pastor been seen sharing the lot of his flock, being near them in their sufferings, sharing their poverty, guarding their national traditions, making along with them the claim for independence.

If there exists in the Catholic world a Church where the Episcopate realises to the full the motto proclaimed by the Supreme Pastor in the ministry of souls—"I am the Good Shepherd; I know My sheep and My sheep know Me"—that Church is the Church of Ireland; there is not another Church which, from this point of view, is its equal.

Even when, at times, that dear flock is led astray by enthusiasm, you are the first to tell them, with a fine frankness, their mistakes and the perils in which they involve that cause which you would wish to keep always in an atmosphere of light and peace.

#### Violence Condemned.

Several months ago the Primate of All Ireland said without ambiguity to his fellow-countrymen: "We condemn crime, whoever may be its authors."

But he condemned at the same time, and the Irish Episcopate condemns at this moment with him, the murders, the raids, the burnings, the acts of violence of every kind, which are daily repeated in your countrysides, and in your cities, and which everywhere produce disorder and anarchy.

Such a state of things cannot continue. The British Government will not tolerate it!

idealises into a somewhat bluff and hearty soul, with his "big merchant-man of the clumsy Elizabethan pattern" and his cargo of "wines white and red." We know the man, because we have seen his like, as the writer did not see him. Daniel Corkery knows him, and saw him. For in the second book we get him—"I recognised the sergeant in charge. . . . If I fell into Mullery's hands, it meant five years; he was a man that would swear anything." Perhaps three hundred years have made us more wise. Perhaps three hundred years have turned Captain Birmingham into Sergeant Mullery. More probably, both are true; for there are three hundred years of knowledge gained on the one side, and there are three hundred years of practised corruption and degradation on the other side. Not only is the teller of "On the Heights," that fine tale in a striking book, harder to deceive than was Red Hugh O'Donnell three hundred years before, but it is also the case that the agent of the enemy he fought is less likely, and much less well equipped, physically and mentally, to practise deceit with any hope of success.

Yet here are these two books issued at the same moment to remind us that the men are different, that the minds are different, but that the subject is the same. The Talbot Press has done well to print again these books by Standish O'Grady, for it has hitherto been a disgrace that the books of an author who has a high and secure place in our literature should lie out of print. The same press has done still better to publish Daniel Corkery's book of fine and finished stories, grouped as they are so centrally round a single theme that they form one book by a cause more compelling than the fact that they are contained between the same two covers.

Daniel Corkery is an author who ranks high in Ireland to-day. He has written certain plays, that are Abbey plays, and Abbey plays are a convention the accent of which was once less stale than it has now become. His tales are different goods. There is the accent of Daniel Corkery, which we prefer to the accent of Lady Gregory, not only because it is his own. In this new book of his, "The Hounds of Banba," he handles the abundant material provided by the last five years, material as complete as ever lay to the hand of writers. It is told of Napoleon that he once tried to catch Coleridge at Naples. Napoleon was a shrewd man, and would rather have captured Coleridge than have won a battle, for the record of the pen works more widely, more deeply and more surely than the record of the sword. It is easy to prophesy that the material of the past five years, skilfully worked into literature, will testify more inevitably to the downfall of empires than any other single cause, or than any set of causes.

For we may note how rich that material is in human motive at its richest expression. Daniel Corkery's book proves this. We know the men of whom he writes, and we know them better for all time, because we have seen them so well in these times. Even in pure incident and adventure, what could excel the hairbreadth escapes, or what could exceed the risks, wrought by him into this pattern of humanity? No schoolboy ever revelled in escapes half so thrilling. Yet, these are the ordinary risks taken to-day by men in their thousands. (Even as one writes one hears revolver shots of men who are "shooting-up" the next street.) Daniel Corkery is not a writer who folds his meanings into his style perfectly and consummately. They lie on the surfaces of his sentences, and break them and disjoint them. Yet the style is his own, and by means of it he takes this material and makes it symbolic of new outlooks while keeping it full of the echoes of history.

Yet there is a difference between these two books, and the difference is explained by the third. It is the difference of thought. The incidents are the same; the cause is the same; the figures are the same; but the combatants have thought more, for good or for ill they have talked more; and they know more surely where they mean to get. They have been tricked, and they know it. They are idealists, but they are also disillusioned. This is the note that rings through "Conquest." The book should be read, and it will provide excellent propaganda for Ireland. Most of the Irish case, on its negative side, is in this book. The characters in it do not live—they only talk politics. The story finds movement difficult because it has to move through such talk. But the talk is not mere talk, it is the expression of actual, if not always personal, points of view. Ormgemen, English

Parliamentarian and Sinn Feinach, all agree and talk, beating out the path of disillusionment to the last resort of honour and national faith. It is the treading of this path that marks the difference between Standish O'Grady and Daniel Corkery, and the three books might well be read together, for no cause is so strong as when its lovers look behind, look ahead of and look beneath its immediate aspects, for that way vision comes, and vision is the mother of faith.

D. F.

### Ralahine

The issue of books on Irish economic subjects continue to gather considerable volume. This year will be remembered in the publishing world for the growth of literature on this subject. The Irish publishing houses are, indeed, serving Ireland well. The book which forms the subject of this review is entitled, "An Irish Commune: The History of Ralahine." Adapted from the narrative of E. T. Craig. With an Introduction by George Russell (E) and Notes by Diarmuid O'Connell. (Dublin: Martin Lester, Ltd. 5s. net). It is adapted from the narrative of the secretary and trustee of an association to rent a farm, stock and buildings, and to work it on co-operative principles. The title of this great experiment was The Ralahine Agricultural and Manufacturing Co-operative Society. Its objects were stated to be the acquisition of a common capital; the mutual assurance of its members against the evils of poverty, sickness, infirmity, and old age; the attainment of a greater share of the comforts of life than the working class now possess; the mental and moral improvement of its adult members; the education of their children. All the stock, implements of husbandry, and other property belonging to Mr. Vandeleur were to be purchased from Mr. Vandeleur, and were then to become the joint property of the Society. Any member wishing to withdraw from the Society had full liberty to do so by giving a week's notice thereof to the committee. Means were also provided by which new members could be admitted on ballot if there were not a sufficient number of persons in the society to carry on the different branches of agricultural and manufacturing industries.

Some of the laws seemed to take little heed of the difficulties of setting people to work together. Under the head of production a kind of national service was instituted by Rule 9, which reads: "We engage that, whatever talents we may individually possess, whether mental or muscular, agricultural, manufacturing, or scientific, shall be directed to the benefit of all, as well by their immediate exercise in all necessary occupations as by communicating our knowledge to each other, and particularly to the young." Rule 10 is very interesting in these days. It is headed, "No Steward," and runs—"That, as far as can be reduced to practice, each individual shall assist in agricultural operations, particularly in harvest, it being fully understood that no individual is to act as a steward, but all to work." There is much wisdom in the last words. There would not be much necessity for a steward if the "all to work" law was reduced to practice.

There are a number of other laws which were certainly of unquestionable wisdom. For instance, law eleven ordained that all youth were to learn trades and agriculture—"That all youths, male or female, do engage to learn some useful trade, together with agriculture and gardening, between the ages of nine and seventeen years." This is a law which might well have been framed and placed in the schools of our land. It is of particular interest to observe that both sexes were included in the law.

The community of Ralahine were governed by a committee. The hours of labour were from six in the morning till six in the evening in summer and from daybreak to dark in winter, with the intermission of one hour for dinner. Wages were fixed at the ordinary rates then prevailing in the country, and were expected to be laid out at the store in the purchase of provisions, or any other article the society may produce or keep there.

Such was the general scheme. It was co-operative in character. Mr. George Russell, in his introduction, tells us that Craig, who founded this remarkable community, seems to have been a good business man, and from the economic point of view the co-

operative plan he devised was successful. Visitors to this strange community in Clare found that the members had a higher standard of comfort than the highly-paid operatives in Lancashire, yet all about Ralahine were rags and poverty, murders and evictions, political fury and coercion.

This was in 1831. The previous year the whole County of Clare had been declared, on the 10th of May, "to be in a state of disturbance requiring extraordinary establishment of police, and was placed under the Peace Preservation Act." The English were busy as usual trying to "restore order." They are always at it. At that time the English put the blame on the landlords, who urged the Lord Lieutenant to disarm the people. "Lord Anglesey," we are told by Craig, "said he would not call upon the people of Clare to give up their arms until the gentry did something for their relief." The blame at that time was put upon the landlords. It is very interesting to recall now that the English Government was not opposed to the arming of the Clare farmers against the Clare landlords.

The history of Ralahine contains much inside information on the state of Clare at that time. This book should be read in conjunction with the "History of Land Tenure in Ireland" (by Patrick Dardis), which we reviewed some months ago. The Ralahine experiment was made by a Clare landlord as a result of a movement amongst his fellow proprietors to remedy the political situation, and to provide an alternative to the old policy of "repression." It was, therefore, a very tentative effort to establish a new system of land tenure. It was essentially an experiment conducted under extreme circumstances, practically under a threat from the English in the Castle. The experiment failed for reasons altogether unconnected with the co-operative movement. The owner of the property was, unfortunately, addicted to the passion of gambling, and he was involved in the ruin of his estate before the community at Ralahine could have completed their arrangements to purchase the stock and implements. The farm of over six hundred acres had been considerably improved and extended by the mutual co-operation of the members, and in time, given favourable harvests, they could undoubtedly have provided for the purchase of the property. It was in good heart for succeeding crops, and gave promise for future prosperity, says Craig. The buildings had also been extended by the erection of six new dwellings by the extra labour of the members, so that Ralahine was at least able to

solve the housing problem, which is more than can be said of existing institutions; while the people themselves had been "regenerated by the spirit of the new system of dealing with the land, the landlord, and the labourer; a great socialising improvement had been effected in the educational training of the young, acting and reacting on their parents and friends."

All this progress availed nothing against the law. A Limerick banker, related to Mr. Vandeleur, through some technical point in the law, took advantage of the president's position in connection with the society as a manufacturing association and a trading store, and obtained an order in the bankruptcy court against him. In short, Mr. Vandeleur, who was the President of the Society, was made a bankrupt to protect the interests of his family against the writs in the hands of the sheriff. Mr. Vandeleur's family secured priority over the assets by this manoeuvre, and they were in favour of the sale, so that the estate and farm might come under the control of Mr. James Molony, of Kiltonan, brother of Mrs. Vandeleur. At that time the law, as it was administered, did not recognise the holding of land by an Association of Labourers for a common purpose. The members were held to be common labourers, with no rights or claims of improvements, as all they had created and added to the estate belonged to the landlord and his creditors. The rent had been paid. Nevertheless, the Ralahine Society and all its members were "remorselessly evicted." There was no remedy. Ralahine Social Co-operation was at an end.

Such is the history of a great experiment. Time did not allow it to fructify. In time the land question was settled on non co-operative lines, by the simple expedient of land purchase and transfer of ownership from the landlord to the tenant. The object and purpose of the experiment, therefore, has disappeared so far as the settlement of the land question was in view. It was, however, during its existence a very remarkable example of successful co-operation in Ireland under the most difficult circumstances. It profoundly differed not merely economically but socially and politically from the English system of land tenure. It approached closely to the principles of ancient Ireland, and was far more in harmony with Mosaic methods. It breathed of a far-off past, and awakened in the hearts of the Clare labourers something of the secret sweetness of the days of the old clans. The tongue of our country was spoken generally as the principal

means of intercourse amongst the members. There was no lack of lonely amusements, and Irish music and song and dance enlivened the winter evenings, and the fact that Ralahine was in a sense an Irish college contributed much to its success. The land also was remarkably well cropped, and much of it converted from green to tillage. On the whole it must be said that, as an experiment in co-operative culture, so far as it went, Ralahine was by no means a failure, but, on the contrary, was a success from various points of view.

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### The Truce

During the week the assault on the Irish nation continued with unabated vigour. The burnings, the shootings, the arrests, imprisonments and deportations were not less than in the previous week, and, we believe, were above the average of "conciliation." Moreover, in addition to these measures, Mr. Lloyd George has announced that he has another version of the "German plot" in preparation. This, at least, should warn us that the English Cabinet was not meditating a truce. It is, indeed, a strange form of negotiation to put some of the most trusted leaders of the Irish nation in prison. The events which have happened since our last issue confirm

strongly what we wrote last week, that any sign of weakening would only intensify the efforts of those who design to crush the Irish nation. It is evident that the mere rumour of an alleged "truce," which was not accepted seriously in any well-informed quarter, and which had, as far as we are aware, no foundation, was, in itself, taken as a sign of weakening. The shootings and burnings of the week provide a significant and cynical comment on the situation. The raid of armed and disguised men with their faces blackened, and their determined attempt to get the Bishop of Killaloe, was one of the most startling events of the week. The nocturnal visitors were certainly not bent on a truce. The destruction of property in Cork and other districts amounted to at least a million, and it is not much of a sign of a truce to have the petrol gang at work in Curfew hours without molestation or restriction. It is not a sign of a truce to slay a dozen men in various parts of Ireland. The interference with our public boards, the raids for books and accounts, and the arrests of the members and staffs of public bodies proceeded at an accelerated pace last week. There is here no evidence of a desire to put an end to the attack on our people. The suggestion of a truce under these circumstances resembles a feint of a boxer, a mere trick to take us off our guard, so as to inflict a deadly blow unawares.

On these matters we believe that few of our countrymen can remain long deceived. The present moment is clearly one for cautious action. The future of Ireland is being settled, not for a few years, but for centuries, eye for eye. We can still afford to wait a little and to bide our time. Speaking last week, Dr. Mannix gave this wise advice: "I wish they could have a truce of God to-morrow, but such a truce can only come when somebody who was entitled to say so came forward and said, 'The cause of all bloodshed is ended. There will be no further attempt to rule the Irish people by foreign guns and bullets.'" The signal to end the bloodshed in Ireland has not been given. No word has been spoken by those who are able to end the bloodshed, and until that word is spoken, it is dangerous to speak or write of a truce.

The sense and wisdom of our people will not require from us any warning against plots or intrigues. The fact that Mr. Lloyd George is preparing another edition of the discarded and fantastic "German Plot" proves that he is still brooding on the old theories.

The future will shortly unroll the objective of the English Cabinet. They think little of our country, but they think much of certain events which are happening abroad. The wave of feeling aroused by the martyrdom of Terence MacSwiney has spread like a tidal wave from ocean to ocean, from West to East. It has affected whole hemispheres. The result of the sublime sacrifice at Brixton has been greater than can be measured by any form of comparison. Every day evidence comes from all parts of the world. This week we have received testimony from South Africa, where the official organ of the Government has tendered its sympathy and admiration. It has come from Italy, now fervid in our cause. The demonstrations at Milan, and the friendly acclamations of the whole Italian Parliament render last week memorable for our compatriots in Europe. The reception of Mrs. MacSwiney in New York was another testimony of the magnitude of the victory won for our cause by the immolation of the martyr. Everywhere there is tremendous pressure exerted on Governments abroad by the peoples themselves acting in our favour. England finds herself confronted by the widest, most extensive and prolonged outburst of feeling that the civilised world has ever expressed. The sons and daughters of our far-extending race have risen everywhere to champion our cause, and the Irish question has become an affair of the whole world.

It is particularly unfortunate for England that, at this juncture, the most critical period of Anglo-American relations should have been reached in the United States. America has yet to take her political decisions in the peace settlement of Europe. It was, perhaps, more than a coincidence that, on Monday, December 5th, at a time when England was violently busy jailing Irish leaders and silencing their voices, the President-Elect arrived in Washington to commence the work of making his Cabinet and formulating the policies of the new administration. American policy will, in fact, be determined normally by the selection of the future Secretary of State. It was

that anxious moment that was chosen to deprive this journal of Mr. Griffith, and to deprive the nation of its spokesman. One can easily draw the conclusion that the English Government fears Ireland, and fears her very much, and, we hope, with good reason. It is clear, therefore, that we are causing great embarrassment, and that, as time goes on, that embarrassment is not decreasing. Under those circumstances, we are well advised to continue doing in the future the work that has been so well done up to the present, and, in the words of Mr. Arthur Griffith, to "stand fast."

### Dublin's American Trade

Mr. George Van Dyne, American Vice-Consul, Dublin, has presented his Commerce Report for September. He reviews the agricultural, labour and port position here, and gives the following official particulars of our trade with the United States during the past nine months, which coincides with the commencement of the Direct Service:—  
Regardless of the disturbed conditions in Ireland, trade between the Dublin district and the United States during the quarter ending September 30, 1920, continued in an encouraging manner. The total value of exports declared at this office for shipment to the United States during that period was 319,935 dollars, as compared with 143,003 for the second quarter. The declared exports for the first nine months thus amounted during the entire year 1918 or 1919 at this consulate. This increase is due, to a great extent, to the new haulers, "dried-grain" trade, which is being worked up in a very promising way.

There is also a movement on foot to establish a rag business with the United States, and these shipments helped to swell the total. Further, a considerable quantity of whiskey was shipped to New York for medicinal purposes, and the exportation of Irish poplin, woolsens, and aerated water showed a steady improvement throughout this period. The declared value of the articles invoiced at the Dublin consulate covering shipments to the United States during the first three quarters of the present year was—

Articles	1st Qr.	2nd Qr.	3rd Qr.	Total for 9 months
Animals (living horses)	81,242	55,621	569	137,432
Animals (dead)	1,993	1,121	—	3,114
Sherreries	5,625	5,462	3,248	14,335
Woolens	609	2,763	806	4,178
Sole Water	452	219	—	671
Other soft drinks	1,891	3,110	1,400	6,401
Books	—	—	160,284	160,284
Brandy	5,181	4,848	3,203	13,232
General Goods	875	3,487	6,893	11,255
Feathers (for beds)	7,050	—	2,012	9,062
Feathers (for skins)	61,490	46,214	1,257	107,701
Wine (containing Min. Water)	—	—	4,655	4,655
Gold and Silver Manufactures	—	—	515	1,450
Hides and Skins	—	—	—	—
Great Salt, raw	—	3,708	—	3,708
Household Goods	1,071	2,268	1,032	4,371
Household Goods	4,815	4,970	—	9,785
Meat Products	—	—	—	—
Sausage Casings	201	652	414	1,267
Min. Water	1,541	692	—	2,233
Ropes and Sewing's articles	291	254	201	746
Woolen Cloth	17,321	18,713	23,128	59,162
Woolen Cloth	11,743	14,197	10,930	36,970
Woolen Cloth	1,589	7,523	9,812	18,924
Woolen Cloth	213	14,453	36,345	69,911
Other	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	126,057	143,003	319,935	588,995

Ireland's direct trade with the United States also progressed satisfactorily. The Irish representative of a New York company, operating a freight service between New York and ports in Ireland, stated that both the inward and outward business had exceeded his company's expectations, as they had worked up a trade in less than a year which they thought would take two or three years. It is impossible at this time to procure complete statistics of this trade, but it might be of interest to mention that direct imports of general cargo discharged at Dublin during the three months of July, August and September last amounted to 8,929 tons, valued at £282,757 (£1,376,037 at normal exchange). During the same period 1,463 tons of hops, valued at £763,720 (£3,716,643 dollars), were imported. Other direct imports, which values are not available, were 4,846 tons of barley, 1,150 tons of flour, 11,418 tons of wheat, 1,500,000 feet of timber, 46 boxes of automobile parts, 7 boxes automobiles, 150 barrels of lubricating oil, 13 cases of clocks and watches, 82 cases of electrical apparatus, and one case of shoes. The general cargo included automobiles, motor cycles, agricultural implements, oils, confectionery, iron, steel, and copper manufactures, boots and shoes, hosiery, underwear, and knitted goods.

The direct exports, amounting to 3,198 tons, valued at £45,236 (£220,190 dollars), consisted chiefly of dried grain, rabbit skins, Irish poplin, woolen goods, whiskey and aerated waters. Thus about two-thirds of the declared exports at Dublin, were shipped direct to the United States or instead of via Liverpool, Glasgow, or Manchester.

### France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

The attitude recently adopted by the Continental press towards Ireland has caused no little uneasiness in English political and diplomatic circles. Only last week the British Ambassador at Madrid condescended to illuminate the Spanish press on the Irish question. A few months ago his communications were inserted as ordinary news, whereas to-day his subsidised organs are obliged to give the name of their distinguished correspondent. In France, too, some months ago English officials unsuccessfully endeavoured to counteract Irish propaganda. Certain venal organs of limited circulation were acquired for this purpose, but to its credit be it said, the French press, as a whole, rejected with scorn the attempts that were made to corrupt them. Some of the principal newspapers sent men of undoubted ability and of high standing in the journalistic and literary world to Ireland. M. Jacques Marsillac, represented "Le Journal," MM. Jean Vignaud and Henri Berand "Le Petit Parisien," M. Jules Sauerwein "Le Martin," M. Kessel "Le Journal des Debats," M. Maurice Bourgeois "Le Temps," and M. d'Hours "La Liberté." Those are the men who by their impartiality have so irritated Lloyd George that he does not refrain from describing them as perverters of truth and calumniators. The English Prime Minister would no doubt have them degrade a noble profession and most probably have them otherwise recompensed if they placed their pens at the disposal of Dublin Castle, eulogised the assassins of innocent Irish men and women, and told their readers that the destruction of Irish towns and villages, as well as the burning of crops and farmsteads, was a blessing to humanity. Only the lowest and most repulsive form of animal life avoids the light of day. Disease and crime are hatched in darkness. It is easy to understand why the English Government seeks to prevent the truth being known regarding Ireland. We feel confident, however, that by attacking the writers above mentioned and the French press in general, Lloyd George has over-reached himself. The character of those men is so far above his own that they could afford to despise him. We have no doubt, however, but they will deal sure his remarks in due course, and we feel sure that the French press will not cease to interest itself in Ireland because of the vulgar rankings of an English Minister.

"The war in Ireland," declares "La Bataille," "is taking a new turn. Even members of the Cabinet barricade themselves in their houses in England. High and solid barriers have been erected around Downing Street and the neighbourhood of the House of Commons is guarded by a specially armed police force. It is possible that in the course of the next few days all the streets leading to Westminster will be closed to the public. A member of Parliament has even suggested that all pedestrians visiting that quarter of the metropolis be carefully searched. It is a regime of terror that lacks no little of the ridiculous. It is somewhat extraordinary that the English Government should cloister itself in, several hundreds of miles from the shores of Ireland, being separated, as it is, from the latter by the Irish sea, and having at its disposal all the symbols of power to prevent a Sinn Féin invasion, but the truth is that it has been hoist on its own petard. It feels that it has not organised the systematic destruction of Irish towns and villages and let loose its 'black tanks' on a campaign of murder and arson with impunity. It has introduced a veritable reign of terror in Ireland before which all the White terrors of Central Europe pale into insignificance. Whatever may be the result of the struggle, England is writing, to-day, the most sanguinary and repugnant page of her history. On the morrow of the day when she promised the right of self-determination to small nations, Great Britain has torn up the solemn pact which she concluded with the rest of humanity. She will never be pardoned for her policy in Ireland even if that policy is a success. After having deliberately provoked an exceptional situation she then exploited it in order to dominate a small people. But England is actually in the hands of a reactionary government which frights not only for privileges but for principles, and it is for the victory of a reactionary principle that the Coalition Government disowns the name of the English people."

"Four members of Dáil Eireann were arrested yesterday in Dublin by British police," says "Bon Soir," "amongst them was the acting President of the Irish Republic. In depriving Ireland of the distinguished services of Mr. Griffith, the English Prime Minister wishes us to believe that he has triumphed over the party that has undertaken the fight for the independence of Ireland. But it is our opinion that all those arrests that have taken place will only have one result and that is to revive the hatred which is latent in the heart of every Irishman for the Government that oppresses him. It is a mistake to think that the inhabitants of Ireland are divided into two sections. If we except one half of

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Ulster every Irishman is a Sinn Féiner and almost all are republicans. To be a Sinn Féiner is to be a partisan of the independence of Ireland. Thus the Government of Lloyd George commits one of its greatest mistakes if it thinks it has finished with the Irish movement. To annihilate the Irish nation it must begin by imprisoning the members of Dáil Éireann and its ministers; then the municipal, rural and county councillors, and afterwards the Priests and Bishops who have unanimously protested against the crimes of the British Government. And that in itself will not suffice, because if all the Irish people in Ireland to the number of four millions are arrested, the Sinn Féin movement, which is supported by the Irish race throughout the world, will nevertheless survive. It is not sufficient to arrest four members of the Dáil who are suspected of being the leaders of the movement. It is necessary, in order to achieve success, to suppress also every native because each individual Irishman has the soul of a chief."

"Ireland," says "La France Bordeaux," "is but a battle field, or, if you will, a field of slaughter. To-morrow, if hostilities continue, it will become a charnel house. Passions have been so stirred that all notions of humanity and clemency seem to be banished. From day to day, from week to week, the intensity of the struggle increases and exacerbates accordingly the opposing parties. The measures of repression have been proved to be inefficient and many are convinced that they have only served to hasten the success of the Sinn Féiners. The Irish race has given ample proof of its indomitable character. Suffering exalts instead of depressing this people. Fighting for what is undoubtedly their right, they defend their claims with a mystical intrepidity. It is strange that London has not yet understood what is so well known elsewhere. Lloyd George places his confidence in coercion notwithstanding the results contrary to his purpose which it has already given, and the Parliament of Westminster, as its vain and tumultuous sittings have shown, abstains from seriously tackling the question. In reality the cause is judged. The domination of Ireland by England is dead. The day when the Cabinet of London proclaimed the right of peoples to govern themselves it furnished an invincible arm to the Irish separatists."

M. M.

### The Irish Cause in Italy

Rome, December 1, 1920.

For many months past the heroic struggle of the Irish people to regain their independence has aroused considerable interest in all parts of Italy and among all classes of its people. This interest was greatly stimulated as a result of the visit to Rome in May last of His Eminence Cardinal Lugue and seven other Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, together with the delegates sent by Dáil Éireann and the principal public boards of Ireland to assist in St. Peter's at the solemn benediction of the martyred Oliver Plunket of blessed memory. The remarkable reception given by Mr. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, at the Grand Hotel in Rome in honour of the Cardinal, the other members of the Irish Hierarchy and the delegates from Ireland, which was attended by several hundred persons, including, besides all the Irish colony in Rome, many American, Australian, and Canadian Archbishops, Bishops and other church dignitaries, and many Italians prominent in Roman society caused a great stir in political as well as ecclesiastical circles. It also brought home to the whole diplomatic world in Rome the strength of the Irish Republican movement, and convinced them in a very striking manner of the unity of the Irish people in their demand for independence. To those in the know, the chagrin of the English Ambassador to the Holy See at the magnificent success of the Irish Envoy's reception caused much merriment. The English representative would give a great deal to be able to report to his masters that he had succeeded in getting one half of the dignitaries who attend this gathering to accept an invitation of his.

Since that date the Irish cause has made great strides in Rome and in general throughout Italy. The Very Rev. Dr. Hagan, Rector of the Irish College, has lost no opportunity of following up the remarkable impression made by the visit of so many of the Irish Hierarchy and the other delegates to the Oliver Plunket ceremonies. Many articles dealing with the history of the first fight have since appeared in the leading papers in Rome and in northern Italy a continued and most successful press campaign has for many months been kept going by Mr. Hales, the Irish Consul in Genoa. On the ground thus well prepared the recent unanimous manifesto of the Irish Bishops containing such grave charges

against the English Government made a profound impression. Such an important document could not be ignored, especially by the Holy See. So, even though the influence of the English is known to be most powerful in Vatican circles, it is not surprising that the Bishops' letter was published in full and with big headings on the front page of the "Osservatore Romano," the official organ of the Holy See. What did cause surprise was the strength of the editorial comment which was published in the same issue, which emphasised the gravity of the charges made by the signatories to the letter against the English Government, and called upon the English Government to grant the impartial inquiry asked for by the Bishops, and at the same time forcefully reminded them that they ought not to forget their recent war maxims, but should extend to Ireland the same rights they had helped to secure for other oppressed nations during and after the war.

Again this week the Vatican organ returns to the Irish question. It publishes in full the powerful letter of His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier and the other Belgian Bishops who have so courageously and with such warm generosity come out in answer to the appeal of their Irish confreres for an inquiry into the savage conduct of the English Army of Occupation, and, at the same time, have raised their voices in an eloquent appeal for a recognition of the justice of Ireland's historic fight to freedom. The "Osservatore Romano" approves of the Belgian Bishops' letter, and trusts its eloquence and justice will move the hard hearts of the English Cabinet.

The attention thus called to the barbarity of English methods in Ireland and the gallant fight being waged by her tortured people against such tremendous odds has naturally called forth many expressions of sympathy with Ireland from press and platform. It is noteworthy that these have come from all sections of political thought, from the staid and respectable "Corriere d'Italia" at one end to the iconoclastic "Avanti" of the bolsheviks at the other. All have stigmatised the inhuman savagery of the English in Ireland, and all have equally declared their belief in the right of the people of Ireland to decide their own destiny. At many meetings resolutions have been passed publicly expressing this sympathy, and pledging the support of the Italian people to Ireland in its heroic fight. The most remarkable of these meetings was the one held last week in Milan. It was organised by the Catholic Young Men's Society, and was attended by over six thousand persons. The chief speaker was Signor Mauri, Deputy for Milan, who is one of the leaders of the Popular or Catholic Party in the Italian Parliament. Signor Mauri raised his audience to wonderful displays of enthusiasm by his eloquent account of Ireland's gallant struggle. He described the recent meeting of himself and several other colleagues after listening to the recital by the Irish Envoy of the tortures now being inflicted on the Irish people of all classes, made a firm resolve to carry on, throughout Italy, a vigorous campaign in favour of the holy cause of Ireland until justice and liberty had been secured for her long-suffering people.

Last Saturday a most remarkable demonstration, of which Ireland was the cause, took place in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. During the discussion on the ratification of the Treaty of Rapallo, Signor Mauri, in the course of his speech, said that liberty should be for all countries, without exception, and cried dramatically, "What about martyred Ireland?" Immediately an extraordinary demonstration ensued. This remark of Mauri's seemed to touch a tender cord in the heart of almost every member present. There was at first rounds of applause from every part of the house, then the applause grew in volume, and suddenly deputies all over the Chamber rose to their feet, shouting enthusiastically, "Evevia l'Irlanda," and "Long live the Irish Republic." A journalist who witnessed the scene said he never, in his twenty odd years' experience at the Italian Chamber, remembers such an enthusiastic and entirely spontaneous outburst by members on a subject so remotely connected with their own country. This same gentleman told the writer that this demonstration was a great tribute to the work done by the Rector of the Irish College in Rome in combating the anti-Irish propaganda of the English Embassy, as well as to the efforts of Mr. O'Ceallaigh, Speaker of the Irish Parliament, during his recent stay in Italy.

### Murder of Priests

The torture, arrest and murder of Irish priests by the armed forces of England under the orders of their officers is not a new weapon in the hands of our enemy. Records from the sixteenth century show that even from that date efforts were made to break the spirit of the nation by murderous assaults on their beloved priests. It failed then, as it will fail now. The holiest and most devoted of the Lord's anointed were selected then, as they are now, by the English for their victims, but let us remember, for our consolation, that every great life offered for Ireland brings the dawn of freedom nearer.

We give herewith a partial list of Irish priests who suffered torture and death at the hands of the English:—

- 1540—Guardian and number of friars of the monastery of Monaghan beheaded by the English.
- 1560—Fr. Walsh, Bishop of Meath, imprisoned in chains for twelve years in a subterranean dungeon.
- 1565—Canon MacCarthy, Roger Mac'ongail, Fergal Ward, Franciscan Priests of Armagh, bound and brutally flogged by English soldiers, who left them half dead. The priests' offence was that they refused to give up their religion.
- 1568—Rev. David Wolf, S.J., loaded with chains and thrown into Dublin Castle dungeons for four years, when he escaped.
- 1569—Daniel O'Duillan, Franciscan of Youghal, tortured by soldiers under officers' orders; finally he was lung head downwards, and slowly shot to death by soldiers, who were ordered not to shoot a vital part.
- 1570—Dermot Mulronee and two other Franciscans, of Aharlagh, savagely beaten and wounded by English soldiers, who then beheaded them.
- 1576—Thaddeus Daly, Franciscan of Roscrea, killed in Limerick while attempting to escape.
- 1577—Father Fergal Ward, Franciscan of Donegal, was scourged by English soldiers, and then hanged from the branches of a tree with his own cincture.
- 1577—Fr. O'Dowd, of the same convent, tortured because he refused to state if a "rebel" had told him anything of a plot in confession. A knotted cord was tied round his forehead, and a piece of stick being fastened through it, the latter was twisted until the skull was broken and the brain crushed and he died. Another priest (secular) was hung.
- 1577—Rev. Thomas Levrows, or Leacy, Bishop of Kildare, driven from his Cathedral See, he died in poverty and a hunted man.
- 1577—Rev. Thomas Courcy, Vicar-General of Kinsale, hung.
- 1578—Rt. Rev. Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and Rev. Cornelius O'Rourke, Franciscans, were loaded with chains and cast into public prison in Limerick. Refusing to acknowledge the English Queen's authority over the Pope, they were placed on the rack, their arms and feet beaten with hammers, so that their thigh bones were broken, and sharp iron points and needles thrust under their nails. They were then hanged.
- 1578—Right Rev. Maudice Gibbon died in prison in Cork.
- 1578—Right Rev. Edmund Tawner, Bishop of Cork, shockingly tortured in prison, and died of his sufferings eighteen months after his arrest.
- 1578—Phelim O'Hara, Franciscan, stayed alone in the convent to meet the enemy, and was murdered by English soldiers before the High Altar.
- 1578—Rev. John O'Lochan, Edmund Simmons, and Donat O'Rourke, Franciscans, tortured and strangled by English soldiers.
- 1579—Right Rev. Thomas O'Herlaghy, Bishop of Ross, thrown into prison with heavy chains on his neck and legs, then deported to England, where he was confined in a dark cell under Tower of London for three years and seven months.
- 1580—Right Rev. Hugh Luke, or Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, thrown into filthy Cork prison, from which he escaped. Re-arrested when over sixty and died in prison.
- 1580—Rev. Laurence Moore, Oliver Plunket, an Irishman of gentle birth, and William Walsh, an English soldier, tied to stakes and shot by English soldiers, their arms and legs having been first broken in three different places.
- 1580—Rev. Eliasius O'Quellanan, Eugene Cronin, and Hugh Melkeran were first tortured by the breaking of their arms and legs and their feet burned; they were then executed.

(To be Continued).

### Valley Forge

The most dangerous period in the struggle for American independence was in the winter of 1777, after the rout at Germantown. General Washington led the remnants of his worn and wasted army into the Valley Forge, a deep and woody, but very bleak hollow on the banks of the Schuylkill, and twenty miles from Philadelphia, which was now occupied by the English. In that interesting and instructive work, "The Making of a Republic," to which we have referred in past issues, the author (Kevin R. O'Shield) gives the following account of this vital episode of American history, in which our countrymen played an important part, constituting, as they did, one-half of General Washington's army. It has a close bearing on our history to-day, and it conveys to us a message which can be read clearly in the light of the events which are occurring in our midst to-day.

It was the month of November, and there were ready signs of the coming of that awful winter of 1777.

As in the Jersey campaign of the preceding winter, one could trace the way of the Americans by the blood from their feet in the snow.

Congress had made a sad muddle of the national finances. It had issued bills of credit for twenty million dollars since the war began, and this, by means of Tory forgeries and even patriotic forgeries, had depreciated so much that the nation was trembling on the brink of bankruptcy. Seven hundred paper dollars were the price of a pair of boots. It took a wagon load of them to purchase a bushel of wheat. Consequently, there was no money for this poor army huddled up in the raw, draughty hollow beside the Schuylkill. They were without shelter, without ammunition, almost without clothes. Some had shirts without sleeves, some trousers with one leg; others were but half covered in torn great-coats; and not a few had to contrive a suit for themselves out of blankets and sackcloth. Three thousand were reported as "barefooted and otherwise naked."

Arrived in the Valley, these gaunt, emaciated men, with arms not much fatter than the barrels of their muskets, set to work to build a town of log huts. They could not get enough material, and the overworking brought on disease and sickness. They had a hospital—a "horrible receptacle"—the terror of the whole army; and the dying preferred to end their sufferings outside on the frozen snow. As the General made his daily visit round his army of ragged skeletons, encouraging, sympathising, pacifying, even pledging them his own fortune for their pay, their plans and hardships filled him with a keen anguish, and it took all his great reserve of will-power to prevent him giving way to the general despair.

He beseeched Congress again and again for food, clothes, building material and money; nothing came but promises.

Efforts, it is true, had been made to provide the stricken army at the Valley Forge with succour. Contracts had been made with certain clothiers in Boston for ready money, at a fluctuating rate of from ten to eighteen hundred per cent. The contractors "manifested," Congress complained, "a disposition callous to the feelings of humanity, and untouched by the severe sufferings of their countrymen, exposed to a winter campaign in defence of the common liberties of their country." Despite this crushing expenditure, the supplies were frequently lost and always much delayed before they reached the famished soldiers, so great were the difficulties of transport in that exposed region.

To keep his men alive, Washington was obliged to force contributions from the reluctant farmers, whose patriotism stopped at giving of their plenty to the starving soldiers.

The worst enemies of the infant nation were not the British with their slackness in civilised methods towards "rebels"; or the Indians with their scalping knives and slow fires; or even the whiners and profifiers amongst the patriots. Harmful, indeed, as all these were, there were none of them so injurious, so cruel, so utterly remorseless as that great army of their own flesh and blood, who, under the misnomer of "Loyalists" worked with a fiery zeal for the success of the British armies.

They far out-lasted the republicans as a body in enthusiasm and in thoroughness. Since the beginning of the struggle nothing was too despicable, nothing too inhuman, for them to do in furthering their cause. With a wild hate in their hearts they thought every means fair that would drive the "rotten rebels" from the Continent. They never doubted the ultimate triumph of the King, and they looked forward to a season of extermination and confiscation when

that day would arrive. The gracious Madame Higginson expressed a wish to celebrate the occasion by "driving through rebel blood to the hobs of her carriage."

In 1775 a man from Billerica, contrary to the Trading with Soldiers Regulations, bargained with a soldier for his musket. When he had paid his money, he was seized by soldiers and Tories, tarred and feathered, and conducted through the streets with a placard round his neck bearing the motto, "American Liberty, or a specimen of Democracy."

Many diversions of this nature had happened, and the chief men of Billerica wrote in high wrath to the British Commander, "May it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined if the innocent inhabitants of our country towns must be treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

The firm nature of the New Englanders was traditional, and General Gage was shrewd enough to know that they seldom gave two warnings. He stopped for a time this particular kind of barbarity.

After the capture of Boston in March, 1776, Washington led his army to New York. That city was a stronghold of Toryism, and the General rightly suspected that Lord Howe would make it his objective in his next attack.

At this time the Republicans held the city, and it was administered by a local committee of public safety. The Tory Governor, Tryan, had fled; but not far. He was on board a ship at Sandy Hook, and kept up a constant and uninterrupted correspondence with his friends. The first thing that struck Washington on his arrival was that open and general communication between the citizens of all parties and the British ships riding at anchor in the roadstead. He vigorously remonstrated with the local committee. "Gentlemen," he said, "the advantages of an intercourse of this kind are on the side of the enemy whilst we derive not the slightest benefit. . . . Even the enemy themselves must despise us for suffering it to continue."

Far from obtaining any benefit, the guileless patriots were soon to learn that grave danger was to spring from it. The General was not long established in New York when a secret Committee which he had formed brought to light a well-arranged plot to kidnap him. Tryan's Tory agents had made good headway, and had corrupted a considerable section of the American army with British gold. They had been successful with Washington's own guard, one of whom was convicted by court-martial and executed. Many were hung into prison, including Mayor Mathews himself. The plan was wrecked, but the great Tory element was strong enough and close enough to give much uneasiness and justify a stricter vigilance.

In truth, this matter of British gold was one of the strongest weapons in Tory hands. John Adams had aptly said that England was trying to bind America to her "by the golden soldier of corruption."

They distributed the gold plentifully on all sides, and thus wrought great havoc on American organisation. They counterfeited, too, very thoroughly. When Continental paper bills were issued, advertisements appeared in Tory journals announcing that people going into the interior could receive large amounts of this paper money by merely paying for the paper. This had, of course, a terribly depreciating effect on Republican currency, and gave rise to the well-known expression, "not worth a continental."

The Tories had a large and influential press, and they used it with vigour. Falsehoods, fears, scorn and ridicule were regularly poured on the Republican cause by this machine.

The propaganda did much to damp the ardour of patriots, but it had most effect on the great class of half-hearted people who were ready to side with the victorious cause.

The hopelessness of breaking away from the night of England, and the impossibility of establishing a central government on so vast and varied a continent, were favourite themes.

"As to the future grandeur of America," wrote a reverend and very positive pamphleteer, "and its being a rising empire under one head, whether Republican or Monarchical, is one of the iddest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived, even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever;

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## Current Comments

The sack of Cork has aroused worldwide anger and consternation. It has opened the eyes of millions of people abroad as to the kind of operations for which the English Cabinet stands sponsor in Ireland. We suppose that a journal like the "Cork Constitution," a newspaper which has voiced the views of Southern Unionists for a generation at least, cannot be suspected of Sinn Féin or Republican views. As its information is purely local, and its geographical knowledge of its native city cannot be doubted, we may quote it in reference to the attempts made to misrepresent the origin of the conflagration. The "Constitution" writes:

In some of the English papers diagrams of the devastated area are published. They are taken from Ordnance Survey maps. If so, some liberties have been taken which are well calculated to mislead and possibly to lead verisimilitude to the views of the situation which find favour in so many cross-channel quarters. For instance, the Cork City Hall and Carnegie Free Library are transferred to Patrick Street, and placed in juxtaposition with some of the principal buildings of the destroyed area. This serves to convey to those unacquainted with Cork that all the destruction was the result of one secondary fire, which proved beyond the power of the Fire Brigade to control. Unhappily, near distinct fires were kindled on several occasions. That at the City Hall was the most serious. At the City Hall, as far as removed from the center of the city, and as this institution is now regarded as the headquarters of Sinn Féin, it is propitious to suggest that the adherents of the Republican movement accomplished its destruction.

Such is the view of a monarchist organ. The trick of altering the map of Cork in order to convey Sir Hamar Greenwood's insinuations, and worse than insinuations, is a piece of characteristic deception practised by the enemies of our country. They are ashamed or afraid to acknowledge, in the face of the world, one of the greatest crimes chargeable to the foreign occupation of a country. They resort to forgery, deceit and falsification of news to hide their crimes. But arson, like murder, will out.

The "Chicago Tribune" publishes a European edition. It is in character an Anglo-American journal, which may be described as friendly to English interests. Its Paris edition, dated December 13, contained a broad headline, "British Set Irish City Aflame," and "Police Cheer Incendiaries Burning Cork." This description is a sub-editorial condensation of a Special Dispatch from its Foreign News Service. It is as follows: Observe it is dated December 12, that is, Sunday, when the fires were at their height:

London, December 12.—Some time Saturday, when Ireland was considering Premier Lloyd George's offer of peace as a new and hopeful sign, a lorry filled with British troops, on its way to Cork, was attacked by a group of men in ambush who threw bombs, wounding some of the British.

Within a few hours, the centre of the City of Cork, a place of about 75,000 inhabitants, was in ashes.

Scarcely had the news of the attack on the lorry reached Cork when the city lights were extinguished and groups of Black and Tans, armed and uniformed, appeared in the streets. Shots were fired at passersby. As soon as the streets were cleared, incendiaries began their work.

By midnight, only the bare walls of the City Hall and the Carnegie Library, two of the principal buildings of the City, remained. One entire side of Patrick Street, the chief business thoroughfare, was in ruins. Winthrop Street had disappeared. Robert Street is burnt out. The Corn Exchange has been destroyed. Several stores in George's Street, Maylor Street and Dillon Street were wrecked.

The meat and vegetable markets are threatened by the flames. A huge pall of

smoke is hanging over the city. The damage so far is estimated at about fifteen million dollars. At least two civilians are known to have been killed, and it is feared the loss of life is large.

An urgent call for the Dublin fire-fighting apparatus was received from Cork this morning, as the local firemen are unable to make headway against the terrific conflagration. The Dublin department rushed the men and machines needed by special train.

A telegram received late this evening from Cork says:

The city is burning. Local firemen are powerless. Cork looks like a devastated city of Belgium. Scores of private homes have been destroyed. The occupants had to flee in their night clothes from the rear windows. Several perished in the flames.

The incendiaries are cheered by the Royal Irish Constabulary. There is a reign of terror throughout the city. The destruction of Dalbriggan was nothing in comparison to what is taking place here. Cork is one of the districts in which martial law was proclaimed Friday last.

A long dispatch on "The City of Cork. Put to fire and sword by the English" appears in "Le Journal" of December 14. The narrative is told by the distinguished correspondent, Jacques Marsillac. The message, dated London, December 12 (Sunday), says, in part: "The Proclamation of Martial Law was not slow in producing its effects. Eleven auxiliary policemen wounded and one killed, on one side. Two civilians shot, several as they fled, burned three hundred shops, including a dozen of the principal shops, devastated by hand grenades (a couple des grenades), then set on fire, more than a hundred millions (of francs) of losses, on the other hand. Such has been the programme of the night of Saturday to Sunday for the City of Cork alone. The drama has had its genesis and development with which you are familiar: attack against the troops, reprisals against the population, without distinction of opinion, of age, or of sex."

The description of M. Jacques Marsillac of the events which preceded the burning of the city is important. He tells us that during the afternoon of Saturday the "forces of the Crown, soldiers, police, and auxiliary police, had converged on Cork, capital of one of the counties, where a proclamation of the Vice-roy declares the civil law (la règle civile) supplanted by the military law. What happened, of course, was quite different; but a foreign writer must be excused for not understanding the difference between military and martial law. As a matter of fact, the "civil law" was not suspended, but "military law" was. The situation is one which we do not pretend to understand. The result, anyway, was that Cork was sacked and burned.

The writer describes the bomb explosion at Dillon's Cross, and he goes on to write: "The bands of auxiliary police, these 'Black and Tans,' the mention of whose name alone awakens visions of terror in the minds of the Irish villagers, spread themselves over the streets. Revolver in hand, they summoned the women to go back into their homes immediately. The men were placed in line against the walls and searched. The trams were obliged to stop, the passengers were compelled to descend, and one of the cars at least was set on fire."

The real business then commenced—"When, at ten o'clock in the evening, the Curfew chased the last pedestrian from the streets, incredible scenes of pillage and arson were unfolded. Master of the ground, certain of not being denounced or interfered with, the troops started in to avenge themselves on the innocent town. The incendiaries commenced with a shop making a great display of new goods for the city." Thus the first started with the burning of Sir Stanley Bar-

ington's, according to the narrative of this neutral observer. There is no doubt left on the mind as to who burned Cork.

The "St. John's New Freeman" says in a recent issue:

The account sent out from Amherst, and which appeared in some of the local daily press, that the meeting addressed by Lindsay Crawford (Irish Self-Determination League, N.B.), there on Sunday evening broke up in much disorder is an absolute falsehood. In the first place the meeting did not break up, nor was it broken up. It was brought to a close, as public meetings usually are concluded in Canada, with the singing of the National Anthem. Mr. Crawford spoke for his allotted time—one hour and fifteen minutes, with but one interruption, and that of a minor nature. Perhaps to those who are in the trouble of using the "thinker's" capacity the Almighty has bestowed upon them, it is not at all remarkable that there should be a difference of opinion as to a public meeting where a controversial subject is under discussion. That Mr. Crawford spoke for his full time, with the exception of a minor and really immaterial interruption, is sufficient proof of that fact that he was master of the situation and not the few people who, before the meeting, had announced their intention of attending it and breaking it up. They did attend—but that's as far as they got. For Lindsay Crawford not only delivered his message, but he also won a great moral victory. And, what is more, he was given a sympathetic and very attentive hearing, and it is not too much to say that the citizenship of Amherst who attended the meeting, if they were not informed on the subject before, are today somewhat wiser as to the real state of affairs in Ireland and the causes thereof."

The attention of Canada, as well as the United States, is riveted on the English operations in Ireland. The following vigorous article, taken from the "Canadian Freeman" of December 2, is an example. It is entitled, "An Irish Amritraz":

"Dyerism was exhibited in Dublin on Sunday, November 21st. Following the shooting of several British officers, the armed forces of England surrounded Croke Park, whether an athletic event had drawn many thousands of people, and murdered a dozen unarmed and inoffensive men and women in addition to wounding over a hundred. The massacre at Croke Park was such an inhuman butchery that it actually provoked a mild protest from the Toronto "Globe"! General Dyer did at Amritraz what an unknown British officer did in Dublin. He slaughtered unarmed Indians. His Government commended him for the massacre, since it had saved British rule in India. The commander of the British forces in Dublin on November 21st will not be punished. He is far more likely to be promoted."

"General Dyer may have saved British rule in India. We doubt it. But we have no doubt at all that his Dublin imitator has hastened the day of Ireland's deliverance. Amritraz in Ireland are not proof of England's strength, but of her weakness. The blockade of Ireland by the shutting down of the Irish railways, is a proof, not of England's strength, but of her weakness. The martyrdom of Father Griffin, kidnapped and slain by unknown persons while on his way from Galway to testify before the American Commission on British Atrocities, is not a sign of England's strength, but of her weakness. How long is it going to go on? God knows. But there will be no surrender on the part of Ireland. The killings in Ireland will end the hour that sees the withdrawal of British troops from Irish soil. England has no right in Ireland. The civilized world should inform her of that fact without delay.

"The leader of the Italian Popular Party raised the question in the Chamber of Deputies on November 14th. His motion, which was supported by more than one hundred members, read: 'The Italian Chamber expresses its sympathy with Ireland in her struggle for self-determination and national emancipation, and wishes her noble people a future blessed with freedom, prosperity and peace.'

The "New York World" of November 23rd, commenting on the Dublin horror, says:

The British Government is primarily responsible. It has lost control of even its own forces. It is incapable of maintaining order. There never was an Imperial breakdown more complete than that witnessed today in Ireland. When incapacity reaches such proportions that it is provocative of crime it is high time for a compromise or a surrender."

The "Catholic Register and Canadian Extension," Toronto, in its issue of December 2, says:

"You say there is a war on, but such things are not done in war. . . . I say from personal experience that Ireland is worse than Russia. I have seen frightfulness in Ireland that did not happen and could not happen during the war, and would not be permitted to happen in any country under a civilized Government." The words were quoted by M. Jean de Marsillac, special representative of "Le Journal" in Ireland recently. Mr. Marsillac had listened to Monday night's debate on "reprisals" in the House of Commons. The Ministerial statements made on that occasion were on the lines of those to which the Irish people have now become well-acquainted. The Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary had at first denied the atrocities, then palliated them, then promised they would soon be over and Ireland restored to peace if only the Government were at liberty to persist with its policy. The "reprisals," however, are not over, and they are disgracing both the British Government and the British people. The sack of Grand, the savageries of police rule in Tralee, the terrorism exercised over the people of Athlone by the uniformed men, are among the latest examples of the barbarous methods of repression that are condoned, encouraged, and there is good reason to believe, actually organized by responsible agents of the Government. There is overwhelming evidence of the systematic perpetration of atrocities. The daily press of this country is full of these incidents, and, what is more, the American papers, the French papers, and most other European newspapers are full of them, too. M. de Marsillac is a soldier who fought with distinction in the war, who witnessed with his own eyes the results of German frightfulness in his country and in Belgium, and he asserts that nothing like what he saw in Ireland was possible or was attempted by the Huns during the whole course of hostilities.

The "Register" continues in its comments thus:

"Despite the deliberate falsehoods retailed from the Treasury Bench with the object of concealing from the English people the crimes that are being committed daily in their name, the truth is beginning to leak out, and, as it becomes known and its meaning is realized, the volume of protest in Great Britain is bound to increase. In the speech which he delivered the other evening at Cardiff, Mr. Asquith made a serious effort to rouse the consciences of his countrymen and countrywomen when he asked if his hearers were alive to the gravity of the scandalous and unexampled wickedness of what was going on in Ireland at that moment on the part of officers of the Government who were responsible to them. If they were not, then it was because either they were wilfully blind or culpably indifferent. Ireland, he said, had be-

come a chaos—a caricature and a travesty of a civilized community—and until there was a complete change in system and in spirit such a chaos it would remain. "We were now standing," said this former Prime Minister of England, "like the common criminal arraigned at the bar of the world because we have not got the courage in the case of Ireland to practice what we preach to the other nations of the world."

"So far, there is no evidence of any tendency towards a change of heart on the part of the leaders of the Coalition. They are still intent on their brutal policy of savaging Ireland, and their preparations for intensifying the terror by establishing an economic blockade designed to reduce the country to starvation are well advanced. This week the railway situation has become extremely grave, and we are now face to face with the prospect of the complete paralysis of the systems that serve the needs of over three-fourths of the community. A stoppage on such a scale would involve consequences that would be in the nature of a national disaster, and yet, unfortunately, it is impossible at the moment to see how a satisfactory solution can be brought about. On the one hand the railwaymen are fighting for a principle, and they are well aware that if they should agree to work trains carrying armed forces and munitions, the enemies of Ireland will represent their action as a surrender, and endeavour to exploit it as a convincing proof of the inefficiency of the policy of the modern Government. On the other hand, the Government, in its consideration it was, no doubt, that proved decisive at Tuesday's conference of the men in Dublin, when they resolved to fight to a finish, and called upon the public to continue to rally to their aid. As regards the attitude of the Government, it remains unyielding, and the latest indications give ample ground for the belief that Mr. Lloyd George and his co-conspirators, both inside and outside the Cabinet, will do all that is in their power to push matters to extremes in this country. This, too, notwithstanding the fact that influential Irishmen, including distinguished members of the Hierarchy, have expressed their sympathy with the movement that has recently been organized with the view of bringing about peace and reconciliation. The Archbishop of Tuam's appeal for a truce of God has attracted a good deal of attention. His Grace thinks it would be established at once if the Government would make the first move.

"Must Rev. Dr. O'Doherty truly says that reconciliation can only be effected by the fullest recognition by the two countries of each other's equality and dignity and rights, and he adds that there is no race hatred on the Irish side and that the two people should be friends. But who is going to build the bridge? And would this Coalition honestly welcome an effort at reconciliation? We do not believe that the Government at this moment desires peace. Its measures of frightfulness, as Cardinal Logue remarks, show an ill-disposition on its part for peace. But the Prime Minister can be convicted out of his own mouth of complicity in the conspiracy to levy war against Ireland. Speaking at the Guildhall banquet on Tuesday night he declared that the Government's opponents in Ireland were being dispersed, and that if it was necessary further powers would be sought and provided. Those who said it was war, he added, could not complain "if they (the Government) applied some of the rules of war," and much more to the same effect. We were under the impression that the Carnarvon terms of late was the limit in violence. But Mr. George's speech at the Guildhall caps his earlier performance in this respect, and finally proves that Ireland need expect nothing from him and his associates. Peace and goodwill on earth—and war in Ireland. Such says

"The British Government is primarily responsible. It has lost control of even its own forces. It is incapable of maintaining order. There never was an Imperial breakdown more complete than that witnessed today in Ireland. When incapacity reaches such proportions that it is provocative of crime it is high time for a compromise or a surrender."

The "Catholic Register and Canadian Extension," Toronto, in its issue of December 2, says:

"You say there is a war on, but such things are not done in war. . . . I say from personal experience that Ireland is worse than Russia. I have seen frightfulness in Ireland that did not happen and could not happen during the war, and would not be permitted to happen in any country under a civilized Government." The words were quoted by M. Jean de Marsillac, special representative of "Le Journal" in Ireland recently. Mr. Marsillac had listened to Monday night's debate on "reprisals" in the House of Commons. The Ministerial statements made on that occasion were on the lines of those to which the Irish people have now become well-acquainted. The Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary had at first denied the atrocities, then palliated them, then promised they would soon be over and Ireland restored to peace if only the Government were at liberty to persist with its policy. The "reprisals," however, are not over, and they are disgracing both the British Government and the British people. The sack of Grand, the savageries of police rule in Tralee, the terrorism exercised over the people of Athlone by the uniformed men, are among the latest examples of the barbarous methods of repression that are condoned, encouraged, and there is good reason to believe, actually organized by responsible agents of the Government. There is overwhelming evidence of the systematic perpetration of atrocities. The daily press of this country is full of these incidents, and, what is more, the American papers, the French papers, and most other European newspapers are full of them, too. M. de Marsillac is a soldier who fought with distinction in the war, who witnessed with his own eyes the results of German frightfulness in his country and in Belgium, and he asserts that nothing like what he saw in Ireland was possible or was attempted by the Huns during the whole course of hostilities.

The "Register" continues in its comments thus:

"Despite the deliberate falsehoods retailed from the Treasury Bench with the object of concealing from the English people the crimes that are being committed daily in their name, the truth is beginning to leak out, and, as it becomes known and its meaning is realized, the volume of protest in Great Britain is bound to increase. In the speech which he delivered the other evening at Cardiff, Mr. Asquith made a serious effort to rouse the consciences of his countrymen and countrywomen when he asked if his hearers were alive to the gravity of the scandalous and unexampled wickedness of what was going on in Ireland at that moment on the part of officers of the Government who were responsible to them. If they were not, then it was because either they were wilfully blind or culpably indifferent. Ireland, he said, had be-

"The leader of the Italian Popular Party raised the question in the Chamber of Deputies on November 14th. His motion, which was supported by more than one hundred members, read: 'The Italian Chamber expresses its sympathy with Ireland in her struggle for self-determination and national emancipation, and wishes her noble people a future blessed with freedom, prosperity and peace.'

The "New York World" of November 23rd, commenting on the Dublin horror, says:

The British Government is primarily responsible. It has lost control of even its own forces. It is incapable of maintaining order. There never was an Imperial breakdown more complete than that witnessed today in Ireland. When incapacity reaches such proportions that it is provocative of crime it is high time for a compromise or a surrender."

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"The Times," was the burden of the Prime Minister's speech. While this is the temper of the Government, while it preaches peace abroad and practises war at home, while it suppresses vital facts and risks by the illegality of its methods the subversion of discipline among the forces of the Crown, mere dissection of its arguments, mere dissection of its arguments...

hatchets and others with petrol, setting about to destroy a large part of the town. . . . And while the flames spread, this gang of King George's Army of Occupation smashed windows of fully a hundred houses and shops. . . . What added to the reign of terror was the appalling appearance of many intoxicated soldiers in improvised white masks, and wearing women's underwear and petticoats looted from a dry goods shop. . . .

houses belonging to prominent Sinn Feiners. This threw the inhabitants into a further state of terror. . . . When I left Tralee yesterday, the military was once more in control, and it patrolled the town all night to prevent any further outbreak by the police. But the banks, shops, bakeries and every other sort of industry were closed in fear of the police. . . .

prominence to what it calls the "Riot of Gime" in New York. The incidents which it reports are few, but apparently it is preparing a little propaganda. In due course we may expect to hear of "More American Atrocities." It is an English way of taking reprisals for the "Irish Probe," as the Villard Commission is called. . . . The crimes of murder and robbery are commonplace affairs in a country where such vast populations exist, and where these exist such vast disparities of wealth and poverty. . . .

affecting British trade is furnished in a letter sent to Messrs. Howlett and White, Ltd., wholesale and export boot and shoe manufacturers, of Norwich, by one of their clients in South-west Ireland (says the "Daily News"). He writes:— "Owing to the state of the country at the present time we have decided to cancel all our orders. . . .

The Committee to Investigate Conditions in Ireland (the Villard Commission), which commenced its sittings at Washington on November 17 is composed of one Cardinal, sixteen Bishops of different churches, five State Governors, ten Senators, six Congressmen, twelve mayors, editors, labour leaders, jurists, publicists, educators and business men. . . . Mr. Joseph N. Griggs, a special correspondent of the "New York World," has recently contributed the results of his observations in Ireland, in the course of which he writes:— "It is England's intention to own or have a controlling interest in every steamship touching Irish ports. . . .

"I have obtained abundant evidence in the last twenty-four hours, in a motor trip through lonely stretches of country, that the reprisal campaign is tantamount to war on women and children. While trying to find my way to Templemore last night over rain-swept roads it was necessary to make inquiries frequently, and women with trembling voices either gave directions through barred doors, or when sure the inquirer was not a soldier or a Black and Tan, ventured to open the door, only to show faces marked with anxiety. . . .

The State of Massachusetts has adopted Tralee at a Convention held in Worcester, and decided to aid in relieving distress there. . . . The "Akron Beacon Journal" of Akron, Ohio, the editor of which is a close and political friend of President Harding, published an editorial article on November 23, giving advice to England in her relations with Ireland. . . .

All telegrams for the United States are now examined by British Naval Intelligence Officers, stated Mr. Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, in giving evidence before the Interstate Commerce Committee in Washington on December 16th. This means that all Irish cablegrams for the United States are censored. There is nothing surprising in this. The English here always tapped our cables, and they have for some years been engaged in the profitable work of tapping American cablegrams to Europe via the British Post Office. . . .

"The people are terrorised, and will not be out at or near dark. The writer had to walk fifteen miles home the other night, owing to motor breaking down, and even 45 notes would not tempt motor-hires or cabs to drive us home for fear they would be out late. . . . Business is not likely to recover here in 1921, and who may be alive then is a question. . . .

The following despatch to the "New York World," under date of November 4, says:— "During four weeks of October the military and police are accused of murdering twenty-six persons in Ireland in cold blood. . . . That's the stuff to give them," was the chorus with which they greeted their handiwork as each house burst into flames and other raiders added to the gawdy with mouth harps. . . .

While Granard was being systematically burned, the reprisal gang with songs went about its work adequately protected by a strong cordon of Black and Tans. . . . Of Tralee, too, the correspondent of the "Tribune" writes:— "The police reprisals . . . have reduced the town of Tralee . . . to a state of terror, semi-starvation and despair. . . .

The difficulty and the danger are perfectly apparent. The difficulty lies in the insane policy that England is pursuing, which, on the one hand, seems resolved to consider any offers of outside aid as an interference with her domestic affairs, and on the other of a fixed purpose to crush the Irish people by sheer force. . . .

The return of King Tino to the Greek Throne has "queered the pitch" in the Near East, and the consequences cannot be gauged, but from the British point of view they are serious. . . . The American "Nation" Commission has declared Ireland to be an American domestic question. . . .

The Economic Geologist to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, when giving evidence before the Irish Coal Industrial Committee last year, stated there were, unfortunately, no unknown coal areas in Ireland, the country having, in this respect, been "sufficiently surveyed." . . .

This latest display of savagery stands out as unique, because in the first instance less than quarter of a mile away was a barracks and a colonel commanding. In the second instance it is unique because of the brutally grotesque features. . . .

Five motor lorries, filled with armed police, with their rifles at the ready rushed through the main streets, sending the few inhabitants, mostly urchins and young girls, fleeing in every direction. . . .

The question is, what can be done? The difficulty and the danger are perfectly apparent. The difficulty lies in the insane policy that England is pursuing, which, on the one hand, seems resolved to consider any offers of outside aid as an interference with her domestic affairs, and on the other of a fixed purpose to crush the Irish people by sheer force. . . .

By the way, it has no doubt occurred to you what a "Jonah" the Wizard has been to his friends. Wilson, Clemenceau, Venizelos—to name the best known ones—all, all are gone. Who's next? . . .

Dr. C. Simons, D.Sc., F.G.S., Brussels, has lately made an independent geological investigation of this coalfield, and in his preliminary report he states that its area is 20 square miles, and contains, at the very least, 53,755,000 tons of coal. . . .

The "London Times" gives some present state of affairs in Ireland is



ation of Ireland's right-government with the consent of the governed. The people of Ireland have established a Republic. Only the sovereign will of the Irish people can change that.

"Well, England wants peace," said Terry. "Even worse than Ireland," replied Patsy. "I don't mind the preparation for a General Election, for which the votin' papers are now being printed."

"What game is England playin'?" asked Terry. "There's a big political move on," replied Patsy. "That's why they looked up Art Griffith. To play it properly, Ireland must be forced to accept surrender within the comin' three months."

"What will Ireland do?" asked Terry. "Ireland will stick it," replied Patsy. "For all that Christian men an' women hold dear—for God an' Ireland, for the reputation of the present generation that has travelled farther on the road to freedom than any other, for the victory that is certain to crown their sufferings an' sacrifices, Ireland will stick it."

Tales of Hammar

TOLD IN THE YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC 1,000 BY AN O-TAIR SEAMUS.

Once upon a time, and a very bad time it was for the land of Eire, there lived in the land of Sasana, a big, bold, bad man with a little heart, and his name was Hammar. Now, Hammar had been an ordinary sort of fellow at one time, possessing only one wife—a rare mark of virtue among the men of his land. But a great change came over him, and, from being a harmless, inoffensive gooson, he became a very devil for terror and cruelty. The truth is that Hammar was bewitched. A Welsh Wizard had bewitched him.

It happened in this way. The Wizard was monarch of all he surveyed from China to Peru, save in Eire, where some strange spiritual force resisted all his blandishments, and where the people bade him to leave them strictly alone and to mind their own business. Some people are very rude, you know. Naturally, the Wizard's pride was hurt, and he resolved to vanquish these naughty sons of Eire by hook or by crook. After all, thought he, they are fit only to pay taxes to me and to hew wood and draw water for my servants. So he tried all kinds of ways to overcome their obstinacy. First he tried coaxing, then he tried bullying, but the more he coaxed and the more he bullied, the more resistive became the men of Eire, till at length they refused to hew the wood or draw the water or even to pay the taxes. Things were pretty serious, you must admit.

Now, Hammar was out of work, and, as you know, the devil finds plenty mischief for idle hands to do. Hence, one day, the devil—I beg your pardon, I mean the Wizard—said to Hammar: "Come into my parlour and have a breakfast with me." For, let me tell you, it was at breakfast time that the Wizard's spells were most potent. Hammar went, and, by the same token, that day was the first of April, the day on which men are made fools. No sooner had Hammar sat down to a cup of specially brewed Amritsar tea (Deer blend) than the Wizard clapped his magic eye upon him and waved his magic fist towards him. In an instant, the poor lad was turned from a man into a toad.

Then said the Wizard: "Hammar, my beloved, I adopt you as my favourite child, and I apportion to you even now the land of Eire for your own very possession." Now, Hammar did not like to hear this at all at first, for he knew what it meant—he

was not a complete fool yet—and, truth to tell, he had a sneaking fondness for the men of Eire, for they had often been prodigal to him of their cigars and spirits. When the Wizard perceived this, he smiled his wonderful magic smile, and for the love of that smile, the bewitched Hammar began to hate the men of Eire. To his mind's eye, they now appeared to be no longer men, but savage beasts who carried in the pockets of their coat-tails bombs and such like things to hurl at himself. Then did he greatly quake in his big boots.

"Hammar, my boy," said the Wizard, "you must conquer this land of Eire, and then I will give you—oh, such a lot of jolly things!" But Hammar swore a mighty oath (which I won't repeat), and declared that he could not fight the fairies, not to mind the men of Eire. Then the Wizard cast a spell upon him, and Hammar saw, as it were in a vision, the vast resources of an Empire that was ever at war with someone, and himself in possession of the lot. There were guns and cannon and rifles and bombs and shells and everything that could destroy life. There were also vast multitudes of men, clothed in the queerest coloured and cut garments you can imagine—men in blue, men in khaki, men in black and tan, men with tam o' shanters, and men in the killed petticoat of woman. And they seemed to come from everywhere, some from France, some from India, some from Dartmoor, and others from forgotten dungeons in the land of Sasana. Among them all, Hammar saw himself striding like a giant, and they all bowed down and kissed his big toe when he stood. Then upon him came a mighty lust for power, and the conquest of Eire seemed a trifling matter to him.

The Wizard was well pleased with his new son. He opened the chest of his secret treasures and gave him the "magic mantle of black night," which enabled even the most cowardly of men to perform the most daring deeds and wicked acts without ever being found out. He also gave him a bottle of powerful poison gas, known as "Big Fib." Hammar incautiously sniffed at this bottle, and its stench was so great that he fainted and collapsed, and the Wizard had to use all his magic to revive him.

Armed with these, Hammar, the new lord of Eire, set out for that land, and, pretending great friendship—some of the gas had got into his lungs—he told the people there that he had come to satisfy their long-cherished desire, for he was going to rule and interfere with them generally in order to leave them strictly alone. But the ungrateful creatures, hearing this, believed he was trying to be funny, and they laughed such a loud laugh that even the house of Uncle Sam across the ocean shook with the sound. Then was Hammar very wroth, especially as Uncle Sam blamed him for the damage done to his house; so he hurried back to Sasana to think out more effective ways of subduing Eire.

He took the Wizard's wand, and, standing up in the Common House of the Wizard's slaves, he waved it, amidst their incantations, towards Eire. Immediately his men in blue went charging like madmen through that country, shooting and knocking people down. But, strange to say, they all stood up again, or, if they didn't, other men were seen in their place. When Hammar heard this, he was right down angry, and he blew a mighty breath upon Eire. Forthwith, this time, his men of khaki, of the black and tan, of the tam o' shanter and the killed skirt, raged throughout the whole land of the Gael, filling it with destruction. Everywhere did the burning homestead and the flaming factory and creamery illuminate the dread darkness of the night; hundreds were killed sleeping in their beds, sporting themselves on the athletic field, or whilst employed in their peaceful avocations; no town or village or city escaped, and scarcely a family was left untouched by this dread savagery.

Hammar was well pleased, because, as I said before, he was a big man with a little heart. The Wizard greatly praised him and appointed him Liam-Chief in his House—a position which Hammar maintained with ease. Now, these two men used mount a high tower often after this, and they used enlarge their listening ears, for they felt assured that a voice would be heard from the land of Eire—a voice of lamentation and great mourning. Eire bewailing her children and not to be comforted because they were not. But, lo, to the listeners on the tower came the voice, not of lamentation, but of triumph—the sweet, winning

voice of a woman, of Kathleen NI Houlihan, of myriad-breasted mother Eire, singing the deathless glory of the sons who died that she may live.

Then did the Wizard and his man lash themselves into a great fury, and the more they raged and incanted, the more did their men in Eire kill and kill and kill, not sparing the babe in arms nor the pregnant mother. You see, things were in a bad way in Eire, and drastic measures had to be adopted to break the cause of democracy, Christianity and civilization in that barbarous country. But never once (can you imagine such obstinacy?) did the cry for pity or of surrender come from Eire to the intent ears in Sasana: only always the voice of a mighty defiance that was partly of the heroic living and partly of the heroic dead.

Almost despairing, Hammar thought himself of his bottle of poison gas, "Big Fib." He uncorked it very carefully, and let a fairly big fume escape. It filled the house of the Wizard and spread through the pages of the whole press, and it made men imagine that the Gael had infected the soldiers of Sasana with the evil spirit, Typhus. But the Gael said that this was a ridiculous lie, so Hammar, to prove them wrong, produced, by magic, this evil spirit Typhus, not, strange to say, in the soldiers of Sasana, but in the bodies of the children of Eire. Yet, this impressed no one, so Hammar had recourse to his "Big Fib" again, letting out a bigger fume this time. It filled the whole land of Sasana, and poisoned men's ears and sickened their very souls with fear, for it caused them to dream, by day and by night, that the Gael had come to do unto the Saxon even as the Saxon had done unto him. Again by his magic powers, borrowed from the Wizard, Hammar made twenty-nine great fires appear at once (their origin is to this day a mystery, save to the sons of magic), and everyone believed that the Gael was actually ravaging Sasana. Therefore did the Saxon come to look upon the Gael as he would upon the very devil himself.

But the men of Eire only laughed, and Uncle Sam heard their laughter and proud defiance sweeping across the ocean. Turning to listen to it, he caught a whiff of the poison gas, "Big Fib," which Hammar sent chasing after the laughter. Poor Uncle Sam sneezed and sneezed and sneezed, till he nearly sneezed his head off. He got into a most terrible temper with the Wizard and his man for, he declared, they had nearly ruined his very delicate constitution by their "Big Fib." So he gathered a large army and a still larger navy, and he declared war against—but I will be telling you about this another time.

Many other things are told of the Wizard and Hammar, and of far more terrible deeds perpetrated by them in their efforts to tame the men of Eire. It is even said that the Wizard called the devils out of hell, and let them loose on Eire; that they spared neither bishop nor priest, nor man nor woman or cluck; that even they failed to subdue the savage Gael, and that, returning in great fury to Sasana, they ravaged that land and devoured the Wizard and Hammar, whom they took home with them to hell. It is also told—I cannot say how truly—that Hammar computes every night in hell with Satan in the game of telling lies, and that Satan is ever furious because Hammar always wins.

Thoughts of the Times

Were half the power that fills the world with terror, Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts, Given to redeem the human mind from error, There were no need of arsenals and forts. Longfellow.

Of war this is the fatal end, Justice turned into tyranny, Sir David Lindsay.

What can war but endless war still breed? Milton.

For right is right, since God is God, And right the day must win, To doubts would be disloyalty, To falter would be sin, Fr. Faber.

Of all the sauce that I can call to mind, England does make the most displeasing kind; 'Tis 'you're the sinner' 'olus-she's the saint,

Wat's goods all English, all that isn't aint, James Russell Lowell.

Permanent Importance

tomarbhagh na bhFileadh (The Contention of the Bards). Two vols. Edited and translated by Rev. L. McKenna, S.J., M.A. The Irish Texts Society, Brunswick Square, London, W.C. 10/6 net each.

One wild evening, some years ago, we turned into a little house in the west. The home was humble, and but few books stood in a shelf on the walls. Among these, however, was a complete set of the publications of the Irish Texts Society—then fourteen volumes in all, though now, with these two books, twenty-one. The man of the house noticed our interest in the books, and fingered them lovingly: "I have them from the beginning, and I'll have them to the end"—of me, if not of them, he plainly implied. It was a little surprising that he should have this amount of interest in them, and perhaps we managed to express this surprise without grossness, for the old man fingered his books again: "I have them read, too. And if I hadn't wished to read them, I would still have subscribed for them, for it's that class of work we want in the country. If we cannot support work of that class, read it or not read it, we had a right to leave by talking of 'the days of old.' Days of old! On flutes and drums!" His spittle sizzled on the hearthstone.

He was right. Over twenty-one years ago the Irish Texts Society was first brought into being, and ever since it has published, year by year, some treasured ancient text, or the work of some ancient poet, or school of poets. Scholars have laboured to edit and translate these texts, and, as anyone knows who has experience of these things, in all cases theirs has been a labour of love—in some cases, we suspect, of personal loss and privation. Yet, what is the result? It would be a heavy national loss if the Society's work were to be endangered, yet we know that it barely manages to continue. At the end of the second of these two volumes there is printed a list of subscribers. The list is pathetically small, and includes foreign subscribers. Yet, if public meetings were once again the fashion (which is to say, if they were once again possible), our blood, no doubt, would thrill again to the music of "Let Erin Remember . . ." But here is the opportunity of remembering to some effect—of having something to remember, indeed.

Take another, and more immediate, matter. At the end of the first volume, in the year 1899, it was announced that a special sub-committee had been appointed "to consider the possibility of publishing a handy 'dictionary' of modern Irish." This dictionary, as we all know, was in due course published. But in 1916 the plates were burnt, with the result that to-day no Irish-English dictionary can be got. The Texts Society has stepped forward again, and it is now superintending a new, and more complete, edition of that dictionary. But it is forgotten that such work requires money. It is being held up for the lack of that money. Until the money is forthcoming, the dictionary cannot be, since it is unalterably recorded in the laws of heaven and earth, and possibly also of the other place, that dictionaries cannot get printed, any more than nations can get built, by amiable intentions, however amiably felt. Let us be frank. For this neglect we, in large measure, blame the Texts Society itself. A proper publicity campaign (to give it its proper modern term) would have made more of us aware of its work, and especially would have made more aware of its needs. There are hundreds of people who are waiting for the new dictionary. They would as soon pay for their copy now, and receive it in a year, as wait three years in the hope of it. It is to be hoped that they will do it.

No more appropriate occasion could be chosen for speaking of the service the Texts Society has done for Ireland, or of the debt we owe the Texts Society, than the present publication of these two volumes containing a celebrated passage in the literary history of the nation. Nothing is more humorous than to read in State Papers of the English Elizabethans, of their condescension towards the citizens of the neighbouring island. To any who know the tribe, the indication was clear that they coveted property, and wished to work up a little moral union in the hypocritical heat of which they could thrive as missionaries for civilisation. There are, however, certain admitted tests by

which this claim can be proven, and few tests are more valuable than the tests contained in these two volumes.

Imagine a poet in England, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, writing a poem to refute statements by a poet of his nation in the fifth century. Imagine, then, that poet being answered by another poet at the opposite end of the country. And imagine, finally, poet after poet joining in the poetical fray, from all parts of the country, and all writing in highly technical and complicated metres that were themselves, even if the controversy were not, proof of an ancient and unbroken tradition of culture.

In simple truth, the thing cannot be imagined. In the first place, there was no tradition of culture in England. In the second place, culture was a hot-house plant that only grew in the houses (hot enough) occupied by kings and queens, or under the immediate patronage of such houses. London, Oxford, Cambridge—when we have spoken these names we have exhausted the new national culture that had as yet hardly spread from Court circles.

The argument is not all one way, to be sure. The literature growing in England was young, but it was lusty. The literature in Ireland was old, was highly polished, and had become somewhat remote in theme, however widely it may have reflected a valued intellectual possession of the people. Yet, in face of the fact, of which these two volumes now for the first time are printed evidence to be studied, how necessary the expostulations of superior culture are seen to be, since without the expostulation one might never have considered the chance of such a thing. "Irish Scholars and Irish Historians," says the Foreword to these books, "have been long wishing for a critical edition of the 'Contention of the Bards.'" It might have gone further, and have said that an Irish educated man could not afford to be without them; and should, therefore, have insisted on their publication.

There is, however, one complaint that should be made. It is excellent to have the text, but it is not so excellent to have it edited as it is here. A new fashion has grown up by which editing is conducted by nods and winks and gnomic signs unintelligible to any save those who have been trained in the rartuous craft. With this fashion has grown another that considers the larger part of editing to be the setting forth of pages of grammatical instances. But editors, as they are inclined to forget, do not edit for editors. They edit for the public at large. The purpose of editing is not to make the job look as learned as possible, or to parade its difficulties on every page, but to mask the difficulties good-manneredly, and make the extreme difficulty of the task seem a little thing because of the ease and the clarity with which it has been accomplished.

Evidently Fr. McElean does not agree with us, for he has hidden the information we require of him behind a bristling hedge of difficulties. There are certain parts of his translation with which we may not agree; but that is a small matter. The essential matter required of an editor for these books was a simple setting forth of the circumstances under which these poems came to be written, with a recital of the movement in history with which they came, and (well-spaced-out, not cramped and abbreviated), the lives of the poets who took part in the controversy, and the positions they held in the country. All the rest, in which the editor addresses other editors skilled in the craft, should, we urge, be banished to appendices. If this be not done, it cannot be complained that the general public passes by without purchasing. It looks at the page, and sees it less like literature than a puzzle in capital letters, and troubles no more. After all, why should we make puzzles in capital letters? Is it not rather a snobbish and awkward thing to do? D. F.

IRELAND.

In the close clutch of lawless laws, She does not wince nor cry aloud, 'Imprinted with the Imperial claws, Her head is bloody but unbowed.

Their boyish courage stands undimmed, Round their young heads no halo, but their spirits serene and unafraid, Shall lead the peoples up the dim, steep highway Into the Place of Peace which God hath made. Carol Ring.

Davies, a well-known Welsh consulting fuel engineer. Mr. Davies anticipates the probability of there being considerably more tonnage than that estimated by Dr. Simons, which is a minimum estimate, and suggests the likelihood of 100,000,000 tons being found. Incidentally, Mr. Davies pointed out that the disadvantages of anthracite, which is the nature of the Tipperary coal, could be overcome quite cheaply by briquetting according to a particular fuel process whereby it might be converted into household coal briquette, by the addition of peat and tar, for a total cost of £7,500.

Dr. Simons' qualifications would appear to leave nothing to be desired. He has studied in full detail the South Wales coalfields, and has published an important work on the subject. When he examined the Slieveadagh districts he realised that in them were some very important findings, and for this reason he expressed the opinion that a large increase in the tonnage, due to the undulations of the coal seams, might be expected. Hence his estimate of 53,000,000 tons as a minimum.

His admeasurement of the coalfield at 20 square miles, contrasted with the British Government's survey of 10 square miles, raises, then, a very serious question. The Economic Geologist to the Department stated, as we have seen, that he based the calculations submitted to the Coal Committee last year on the areas mapped by the Government's survey. In the case of the Slieveadagh district the latter has been shown to be inaccurate, and any estimate based on it must necessarily, as far as the actual contents of the field are concerned, be incorrect. It is probable, and indeed very likely, that the Government's survey of the other Irish coal districts also errs. From the history of that survey, and in view of the foregoing facts, the presumption is that it does. At any rate, it is clear that the estimates of the Economic Geologist to the Department cannot be accepted as even an approximation of the total coal resources of Ireland.

All these circumstances are mentioned, merely to show the multifarious perplexities that barricade the way to the development of the resources of this country and to illustrate its enforced economic subservience and subjugation. But perhaps the following little incident will throw more light on the subject than all that has ever been said or written on Ireland's economic war. Fearing that we should know too much about our natural wealth, the Blue Book containing the evidence given on the Irish coal question, before the Irish Coal Commission, was issued at the prohibitive price of 15s. The Irish Convention Report, in or about the same size, was issued at 1s. 6d. It is understood, moreover, that it was entirely due to persistent agitation by the Chairman of the Inquiry that the evidence was allowed to be published at all.

La Compagnie Delmas Freres and Vieiljeux of La Rochelle has decided to inaugurate a direct shipping service between Bordeaux and Irish ports, and it is hoped that the first sailing will take place not later than the beginning of February. This Company possesses several steamers of about 3,000 tons, and, in the first place, one or more of these will be affected to this service, although the utilisation of ships of smaller tonnage in the earlier stages of this new enterprise would probably suffice. It is proposed to load at Bordeaux goods of all classes for different Irish ports, the cargo being completed by pit props for delivery at one of the Bristol Channel ports; on the return voyage coal would be carried to one of the ports on the western coast of France. It was originally intended that the s.s. "Gafsa" should leave Bordeaux on the 1st January next, but unfortunately this departure is likely to be postponed owing to the fact that pit props have just been declared subject to an export tax of 20 per cent. ad valorem as from 1st January.

Freight rates will be from 100/- to 110/- per ton, which price compares favourably with the rates via Liverpool or Glasgow, which are from 130/- to 140/-. Of course, direct shipment means that consignments will be handled less, and, therefore, less subject to deterioration; it will also be a relief to exporters and importers to be able to measure exactly the time of transit between the French and Irish ports, and naturally this route will be much more expeditious than the roundabout way via England.

We have received a telegram from M. L. H. Kerney stating that Messrs. Delmas Freres advise s.s. "Gafsa" definitely leaving Bordeaux first week in January.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association has issued the following circular, which deserves special consideration at this period, when many of our industries have been laid low, and many of our workers put out of action:—

May I claim the hospitality of your columns on behalf of the Council of the Dublin Industrial Development Association for an appeal to the Irish public to consider the claims of Irish-made goods when making their Christmas purchases? Over the £45,000,000 which this country pays in taxes we have no control, but the £75,000,000 which we pay for imported manufactured goods is expended directly by the people for the benefit of foreigners, while many Irish factories are destroyed, closed down, or working short time, and the fear of unemployment is an additional horror darkening Irish homes. We unnecessarily import many of the necessities of life which could just as readily be obtained of Irish manufacture if we but realised the importance of individual action in this vital matter of maintaining and developing the industrial life of the country. The individual consumer has a power and responsibility which is seldom estimated at its proper value, yet every one of us, from the child who buys an ounce of sweets to the housekeeper who manages the family exchequer, or the head of a big firm who purchases stock, can each do his or her share to build up the prosperity of the country. Particularly at Christmas is there an increased expenditure, and the Council of this Association would very strongly urge all citizens to purchase Irish-made goods—exclusively, if possible, but, at all events, to the greatest possible extent. Seasonable gifts of all kinds can be had of Irish manufacture and at prices to suit all pockets. Among locally made goods the following list will be found suggestive:—Woolens, dress materials, clothing for adults and children, hosiery (including underwear, sports' coats, gloves, caps and jumpers), linens, handkerchiefs, lace, blouses, boots and shoes, cushions, rugs, carpets, furniture, poplins, tobacco, cigarettes, cigars, cutlery, rosary beads, books, soaps, candles (including the large Christmas candles, the use of which in Ireland is traditional, and daintily coloured Christmas candles), brushes of all kinds, stationery, Christmas cards, cakes, biscuits, plum puddings, mineral waters, alcoholic beverages, bacon, hams, etc., etc. It is not too much to ask the Irish public to confine themselves in the making up of gifts to these and other Irish-made articles, as every possible taste and pocket is catered for, and the expenditure of Irish money in Ireland is a sound economic proposition, particularly at this juncture. Further, let the public insist that their gifts be packed in Irish-made boxes, whether of wood or cardboard, and be wrapped in Irish-made paper."

The Dublin Industrial Development Association have much pleasure in publishing the following letter received from Mons. Alfred Blanche, the French Consul, announcing a very important and welcome enterprise:—

"Mm. Delmas and Vieiljeux, ship-owners of La Rochelle, are preparing to send their ship, "Gafsa," for a trial trip from Bordeaux to Dublin on the 3rd January next, with a view, if the first results are sufficiently favourable, of organising a permanent service of navigation between French and Irish ports, which, for the last two years, we have been endeavouring to establish. I shall feel grateful by your communicating that information to Irish importers interested in trade with France, and I appeal for your kind support in favour of the new enterprise."

The Association most heartily welcomes the inauguration of the service, which, it is hoped, will be a permanent feature of Irish commercial life, and will meet with the same phenomenal success as the direct United States service inaugurated twelve months ago, the results of which, on the testimony of the American Vice-Consul, have surpassed all expectations.

The Association will be glad to receive information from intending shippers, and appeals to all interested in the development of direct trading to assist the enterprise in every possible way.

To M. Blanche personally the thanks of the Irish public are due for his unceasing efforts to bring about direct shipping.

It is very important that this new service should receive a fair trial, and that special efforts should be made to load the "Gafsa" with a return cargo of Irish produce.

"Candle and Crib," by Miss K. F. Purdon, with illustrations by Beatrice Elvery, is a charming and tender Christmas sketch illustrating the child like faith of our people. The author has found her way to the hearts of our country folk, and with the rare hand of an artist has shown how an old peasant's love of the Christ child saves his own grandchild from death in the snow. The booklet is published by the Talbot Press at 2/- net.

We have received a copy of "Visits to the Most Blessed Sacrament, etc." This famous work is by an author no less distinguished than Saint Alphonsus Liguori. It is admirably published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland in a new edition, revised and enlarged, and edited by a Redemptorist Father, St. Joseph's, Dundalk.

We have also received the Xmas number of "Green and Gold," which we can recommend both from the point of view of nationality and literary contents. "Green and Gold" is published at 6d. net.

### Shakespeareana

#### SHAKESPEARE ON THE SITUATION.

During the recent war we used to see Shakespeare pressed into the service of the Allies. Quotations from his works sometimes rather freely made—were given to condemn foreign militarism and to uphold the cause of small nations. We may be pardoned then for seeking in the same source some views about our own situation at present. The following extracts are chiefly from "Macbeth"—the great tragedy of Tyranny. They show a remarkable similarity in the methods of repression; here Shakespeare still holds "as 'twere, the mirror up to nature."

The tyrant's mood in 1920:—  
"For mine own good,  
All causes shall give way . . . .  
Strange things I have in head, that will to hand;  
Which must be acted ere they may be scann'd."  
—III., 4., 183-40.

The War Lords' resolve:

"If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly."  
—I., 7., 1-2.

"What needs we fear who know it, when none can call our power to account?"  
—V., 1., 86.

"It" covers a multitude of crimes in the tragedy).

Curfew and raids by night:  
"Come seeling night,  
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day;  
And with thy bloody and invisible hand  
Cancel and tear to pieces that great bond  
Which keeps me pale!"  
—III., 2., 46-50.

The forces of "Law and Order":  
"God things of day begin to droop and drowse,  
While night's black agents to their prey do rouse."  
Thou marvell'st at my words; but hold thee still—  
Things had begun make strong themselves by ill."  
—III., 2., 52-0.

1415-1920:  
"Then every soldier kill his prisoners  
Give the word through."  
—Henry V., Act IV., Sc. 6.

(This order of the King of Agincourt was regarded by one of his officers, Captain Gower, as a "reprisal"; and approved, accordingly, with the words, "O, 'tis a gallant king!")

The daily news:  
"Each new morn  
New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows  
Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds  
As if it felt with "Ireland" and yell'd out  
Like syllable of dolour."  
—Macbeth, Act IV., Sc. 3.

Our hope:  
"Foul deeds will rise,  
Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes."  
—Hamlet, Act I., Sc. 2.

Our personal feelings:  
"But cruel are the times, when we are traitors,  
And do not know ourselves."

And our constant prayer:  
"That a swift blessing  
May soon return to this our suffering country  
Under a hand accursed!"  
—"SPERO"

Make a mouse of oneself and the cat will eat you.—Old Irish proverb.

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"Eire Og," 304 Gt. Brunswick Street, Dublin. All literary communications should be addressed to The Editor. All business communications should be addressed to The Manager. SUBSCRIPTION RATES. Yearly ... 17/6 post free. Half-yearly ... 8/6 " " Quarterly ... 4/4 " " Payable in advance.

6IRE OG YOUNG IRELAND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1920. PEACE!

This Christmas comes unheralded by any of the signs of peace. The week has finished like so many other weeks of the year, with murder, arson, raids, arrests, and the other signs of the English occupation of our land.

country, and they will be remembered the world over. The year 1920 will be known as the year when Ireland's voice was heard once more in Europe and beyond the seas.

English policy has, indeed, taken various and desperate courses. Its latest form is an attack upon our priesthood. Many priests have been arrested, and five at least are now apparently to celebrate their Christmas devotions in dungeons—another commentary on the Christianity of the English Government.

There is no sign of peace; there has been no truce. There has been a continued orgy of bloodshed, violence, terrorism, burnings, shootings, robberies, and the usual accompaniments of fire and sword.

Debasing the Currency

England, her Government and her people, have learned two great lessons at our hands, first, that her campaign of frightfulness against us has rebounded with tenfold violence on herself—for us it has added more martyrs to our shining roll, and hastened the Dawn of the Day; for her it has blackened her honour and shaken her foundations in the Council Chamber of the Nations.

The English Government have taken the English people's gold; they are now going to take their silver—a debased coinage is already in circulation in England.

One of the first acts of the English invaders in that year was to set up mints in their chief towns, and by Royal edict, forbid Irish coinage, which we then had in universal usage, and which the English stated was "in deterioration of our (the English) sterling money, and to our great loss and damage."

reign, the coinage which we were forced to receive from London was kept debased at least a quarter below the English standard, the object being that money should always be maintained at a lower value in Ireland than England.

In 1459, Ireland made a stupendous effort to throw off the shackle; she set up a new national coinage, and pronounced the old coinage void.

Commercial disaster for the country and starvation for the poor followed, as England hoped they would. But there also followed—which she did not anticipate—a union of all Ireland, even the Pale joining in, to demand equality of coinage.

The Irish then tried to coin Spanish money for our foreign trade, and in 1586 the English countermanded by an Act forbidding us. Heavy punishment was imposed for disobedience.

Irish chieftains summoned to London had to borrow money from the deputy, so poor were they, and he could lend them base coin—debased to half its value—thereby enabling the deputy to add users' business to his other profits.

Steadily, persistently, base coinage enforced by England held Ireland at bay in commercial progress, and this was not by accident or through ignorance, but the result of deliberate policy.

In 1601 base money was coined in the Tower of London for the sole purpose of circulation in Ireland, and an exchange was set up which offered a commission on all good money exchanged for base—this with the object of completely clearing the country of silver.

Edward IV. in 1477, again forbade Irish money in England, Wales and Calais, and the men of Waterford were imprisoned for bringing it to Bristol. All this time, and up to and including English Elizabeth's

cent. was paid for loans in Ireland, and during all the half century, all efforts failed to set up an Irish mint. The condition of absolute confusion which existed is exemplified by the English proclamation of 1637, which abolished the "title and name" of Irish money and the device of the harp, and provided that all accounts and payments made should be rendered into sterling and made in English money; but this was only meant to effect accounts, and made no change in the value of the actual coins.

During the remainder of the seventeenth century, there were three coinages in use in Ireland—the Irish of James I's good silver, and Elizabeth's debased coinage; 2nd, English money current at a third higher value than it bore in England—the English sovereign being worth 26/8 in Ireland; lastly, foreign coins circulated with us and valued according to the amount of precious metal they contained.

The new Government, after the English Restoration, again tried to reform the Irish currency. Sir Thos. Armstrong was given a patent for the issue of satisfactory copper coinage, but did not make use of it; consequently, merchants continued to issue their own tokens, in spite of illegality.

Counterfeiting and fraudulent weights also prevailed, but the Dublin Corporation partially stopped the latter by granting a monopoly for the making of weights in Dublin in 1680.

James II. still further debased Irish coinage. He raised the value of the English currency, cancelled the patent for the making of copper coins, and established Royal mints in Dublin and Limerick.

A CHRISTMAS GREETING.

O, men on the run! we salute you, Tho' enemy soldiers are near To silence the welcome we'd give you, Whose souls are unslayed by fear; And your countrymen, welded together As one in their verdict—"well done!" Thank God that our glorious nation Can be proud of her men on the run!

France and Ireland.

Paris, Saturday.

Dispatches announcing the destruction of the principal buildings in Cork city last week were received with a feeling of consternation and horror throughout the Continent. That Ypres and Louvain should have suffered in the midst of war is comprehensible, however we may condemn the destruction of priceless volumes of ancient lore and irreplaceable works of antiquity; but in times of peace, since the days of Attila, there is no record of a great and prosperous city being so ruthlessly handed over to the flames. The policy of our alien governors, as outlined by Lord French in an interview with a French journalist some months ago, has not been altered. Between one and two hundred thousand young Irishmen must be expatriated, and the surest way of doing so is by destroying factories and ruining industries. As in South Africa, after the Boer War, concentration camps await the women and children once the men folk are driven from their employment, but the English Government has counted without taking into consideration the spirit that animated Terence MacSwiney, the spirit that animates every Cork man and every Irishman, worthy of the name. Cork is to-day the city of Irish martyrs; tomorrow it will be the Mecca of Irish patriots. The fight for Freedom shall continue unabated. Needless to say that English propagandists have circulated the Bishop of Cork's letter throughout the world. French and Italian theologians, however, do not hesitate to condemn his action and we should certainly be accused of being anti-clerical if we published the remarks of a distinguished foreign Jesuit on the theological blunder made by His Lordship.

In times of peace there is no record since the days of Attila of a great and prosperous city being ruthlessly destroyed by forces which are primarily looked upon as the guardians of peace, but which in Ireland are only associated with terror and crime.

Writing of the English error in Ireland in the *Havre Eclair*, M. Urbain Palazzi asserts "that there is no reason to doubt the determination of the Irish people to reconquer their independence. Does not every country on the face of the globe that is conscious of its nationality cherish the same aspirations. The right of self-determination may be provisionally refused to inferior or semi-civilised races, and that in their own interest; but the Irish people are more highly civilised than their neighbours, and nobody can seriously pretend that they are less fitted to rule themselves than the Poles, the Serbs, or the Greeks. Only English interests or the interests of the present Government of England, intervene between Ireland and its liberty. This is the truth against which no sophism can prevail—the truth, in the name of which we have unceasingly demanded justice for Ireland in this journal. In this, also, we are in good company. A few weeks ago a man before whom every head should incline, a man whose name is synonymous with conscience, Cardinal Mercier, clearly pronounced for Irish independence. English conservative journals did not dissimulate the ill humour with which this gesture of the illustrious Prelate inspired them, and they reproached him by saying that his interference in what they considered an internal question lowered him in general esteem. During the War the Germans also found Cardinal Mercier wanting in dignity when he refused to submit to force. Nobody believes that the great Cardinal took this step lightly or that he backs up the Irish people because they are Catholics. If he spoke out it was because he believed that under the circumstances he could no longer remain silent. No more than ourselves, the Cardinal does not attempt to glorify the attacks that have been made on the armed forces of the Crown. But the reprisals, such as have taken place at Cork, have no other precedent than that of the Belgium. In 1870 the Prussians did not burn towns and villages suspected of harbouring *Franc-tireurs*. They took the precautions to submit their prisoners to a simulacrum of judgment where, as in Ireland, the 'Black and Tans' and the auxiliary police have, no such scruples. So much the worse if innocent women and children are amongst their victims."

"We had no doubt," writes M. Marul Coulard in *Bon Soir*, "but the application of martial law in Ireland would light the fires of war. A few days ago the Irish patriots are alleged to have attacked a band of Black and Tans, and the same evening the centre of the city of Cork was an immense furnace. The forces of the Crown boasted of a new victory over the Irish people. If the British troops continue such exploits, Ireland will cease to be the prosperous country it has recently become, and its farms, its factories, and its docks will no longer be a source of wealth. Lloyd George's predecessors considered Ireland as an exploitable possession and were careful not to attack the wealth producers. They levied taxes on the Irish people, but they refrained from massacring them. Already more than one hundred towns and villages have been given over to the flames as reprisals. Cork is burning to-day, to-morrow perhaps, Dublin will undergo the same fate. The Irish people scorn the Home Rule offered by the English Government. It is in vain that the House of Lords shows itself more liberal than the liberal Lloyd George; it is in vain that the House of Commons adds amendment after amendment. Ireland has proclaimed herself a Republic; she has her Parliament, her tribunals, and her army. She will no longer waste her time discussing a so-called autonomy. It is not by accumulating ruins from one end of the country to the other or by shooting innocent people that English Government will obtain the sympathy of a people determined to be free. The Irish people have, at last, understood all they have a right to expect from the British Cabinet—ruins and blood."

"Either through ignorance or through the desire of deceiving their readers" says *L'Avenir*, "the English newspapers refrain from showing the actual relations existing between Great Britain and Ireland. Lloyd George who is a splendid example of a political mountebank which Swift so ably described in *Gulliver's Travels*, employs his talent as orator in the attempt of giving a false impression of the real situation to the foreign public. This master buffoon stigmatises Ireland, the so-called ally of Germany, dilates on the disorders reigning in that country and vituperates against the crimes committed by the Irish people. All that is only partially true because the facts have only a social and moral value when they are shown with their environment. We commonly speak of civil war in Ireland. That, however, is a falsehood. There is a national war—a war between the Irish Nation and the English Government. This is not a one-sided statement; it is the absolute truth. We are therefore in presence of a defensive war for the conquest of their liberties by the Irish people against a government of prey. The situation of Ireland is exactly the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as the situation of Czechoslovakia, or of Poland during the world war. The chiefs of the Entente congratulated the Czechs because they fought against the Austrians, but the Irish people who fought against the British Government who enslaved them, were condemned to the pillory. White became black and black became white according to the interests of these chiefs. Lloyd George still plays musical variations on this thing which is so simple that even a child could understand it if he frankly said: The Irish people have one enemy which is the British Government; the enemies of that Government are their friends or at least their allies. By accepting them the Irish people were not traitors to their nation, on the contrary, they were good and worthy patriots."

M. M.

Trachtail Idir Eire agus an Fraic

[o "Les Echos, Paris."]

Bhíodh an-thráchtáil idir Eire agus an Fraic fadó, agus anois féin ceannuighid Geadhíl móran rudaí de dhéanús na Fraicne. Níl a fhios ag aoinne i n-Eirinn cad is fíú a dtagan isteach d'earraidhe ó'n bhFraic i n-aghaidh na bliana. Sé rud is cionntach leis sin ná gan aon ártach de bheith ag taisteal idir an dá thír ach amháin long fhánach a thugann, bifeidir, aon turas amháin agus anuas as go bráth léi. Ar an adhbhar san, ní foair do'n Fraicneach gach aon rud a dhíolann sé le Gaedheil de chúir go Sasana agus ansan ó Shasana go hEirinn. Ach ní b-é sin an ceann is measa de'n scéal—is anamh a cheannuighéann Gaedheil earraidhe na Fraicne ó'n Fraicneach. Is amhlaidh a cheannuighéann sé ó'n Sasanaich iad, agus ní miste a rádh go mbíonn profídh mhaith aige Saéir. Dá mbail leis an n-Gaedheil na h-Carraidhe cheannach sa Fraicne is soaire go mó do gheobhadh sé iad; agus i gceann tamáil nuair a chideadh lucht loigis go mbhfíid dhoibh é. do chuirfidis ártach ag riall sall is anall idir Eire agus an Fraicne, rud do bhéarfadh locáiste eile do mhuintir na hEireann.

Sé rud is ceart do Ghaedelaibh a dhéanamh ná gan aon phioc de dheanús na Fraicne do ceannach feasta ach amháin ó'n Fraicneach.

The Bogus Santa Claus

By Brian na Banban.

I.

John the Juggler had done some wonderful things, and thought he could keep on doing them until the end of time. He could make the people on whom he practised his arts believe that pieces of paper were gold coins, that men were machines, that meaningless words were infallible truths, that the servants who attended him were angels, and that he was the one and only wise man, philanthropist and freedom-giver of his own or any other age.

Once upon a time the Juggler called together a few of his obedient satellites and took them into his confidence.

"My dear, wise, faithful, unflinching and stainless servants," he said in the purring tones peculiar to jugglers, "I want you to help me in one of the greatest feats of my life. You know how successful I have been. You know how I have vanquished every rival in the world, how my trumpet has sounded the knock-out blow or the soothing strain of peace, just as my fancy desired; how I have been able to keep a dozen princes and presidents under my thumb, all at the same time and unknown to the audience; how I have been able to make many a king dance to my music, and foreign ministers, statesmen, soldiers and sailors cut their sticks at my command; how I have been able to choke the leaders of races at home and abroad with crumbs from my breakfast table, and at the same time make them believe that I was glad to be allowed to bask in the sunburst of their smile, or cuddle myself up in the hollow of their hand, on the floor of the house that Jack (the Ripper) built."

"We know, we know," said the faithful ones, and they bowed until their noses crushed to death several worms that were among other crawling things at the Juggler's feet. The great one continued—

"Only in one direction have I failed, and it is a child that has defeated my designs. In an island that you wot of there is a troublesome child called Eire Og, upon whom all my wiles and arts and charms have been practised in vain. She seems to see through all my disguises, and, although I have gone so far as to create an atmosphere favourable to a great and special effort in the jugglery business, she wouldn't even come in to see me at work, and so the whole thing, which was set on foot at great expense for the purpose of trapping her and throwing dust in the eyes of her friends, became an absolute farce, and had to be abandoned. I have used up all the wizardry and soft soap and charm lotion in stock in the endeavour to make her see things from my viewpoint. I have wheedled her, tried to bribe her, punished her, threatened her, done everything that it is possible for any juggler to do, but she simply laughs in my face and keeps saying one word—*Saoirse*—as a reply to every toy I offer her and every promise I make and every threat I send thundering across the sea to her island home."

"Now, it has just come to my knowledge that this wayward child, Eire Og, has written to Santa Claus, and has asked him to bring her this gift of *Saoirse* at Christmas. She is old-fashioned in her ideas, believes that Santa Claus is a saint sent from Heaven to dispense gifts and generous impulses at Christmas, in memory of the great Christmas Night long ago that we, in this enlightened land of ours, commemorate by filling our stomachs as full as they can hold, and curing them afterwards by means of the patent medicines for which we are justly famous."

"A great idea has occurred to me. I have thought of dressing myself up as this old Santa Claus, and of visiting the naughty child at Christmas with a gift made to represent what she has been so long asking for and fighting for and demanding and kicking up her heels about. Will you be my attendant sprites on that occasion, and help me to win the glory of satisfying this headstrong young lady with less than she has been looking for?"

"We will, Master, we will," they whined in reply, and the great juggler proceeded to instruct each one of them in the special role he was to play.

II.

It was Christmas Night, and Eire Og lay wide awake in her bed, watching the moonlight streaming in through the unshuttered windows of her room, and waiting expectantly for the coming of Santa Claus, of whom she had asked this year the priceless gift of *Saoirse*, given only to those who had suffered much and waited

patiently, and shown they were worthy of such a favour.

Eire Og was sad, in spite of the great hope that was in her heart, for many of her dearest friends were far away—banished from her sight because they loved her well and served her loyally. She sighed as she thought of them and of many others who had been so true to her that they had given their very lives sooner than deny her right to the gift she was even now expecting from the great Saint whose home was the House of God. But in her sorrow there was a thrill of pride that men should be willing to suffer so much for sake of her, and she prayed that their courage and devotion might soon be rewarded beyond their brightest dreams.

Suddenly a shadow fell across the slant of moonlight, and a hand jumbled at the latch of the window.

Eire Og sprang out of bed and slipped into her dressing-gown.

"Is that my dear, dear Santa Claus?" she called.

"It is, my love," came the reply, in a purring muffled voice, as a stout figure, garbed in a great sealskin coat and wearing a flowing white beard, stepped into the room, followed by three attendant sprites, who wore white garments and smiled, but gripped very firmly the bluegones they carried concealed beneath their cloaks.

"O, Santa, have you brought my gift?" she cried.

"Yes, my darling," said the purring voice again, as the old man drew a massive packet from beneath the folds of his cloak, and with a profound bow, laid it at her feet.

"But—but that's only a book, Santa!"

"The gift is on top of it, my dear. It is what we call in celestial circles the Statute Book, and the gift you require is gummed to it. It isn't exactly the gift you have been asking for, but it's a very good imitation, and will suit you much better at present. You are young, my dear, and a bit wild, and—"

Eire Og tossed her head and sniffed the air suspiciously. Then she kicked up her heels—a very bad habit, perhaps, for a young lady, but I must confess she was addicted to it, and on the most unexpected occasions. One of the sprites drew his bluegone to suppress her heels; she snatched at it, and, in pulling away her hand, the fingers became entangled in "Santa's" beard. It came away with her, and there stood her old enemy, John the Juggler! He had just pulled out of his bag a headless, emaciated-looking wooden doll, labelled "Home Rule," which he was about to present to Eire Og along with the Book, when she unmasked him.

"One scornful look she gave him."

"Begone!" she said, "you and your bogus gifts. Only this moment has it occurred to me that 'Santa,' when changed, spells 'Satan' also."

"Bravo! Eire Og, bravo!" cried a deep musical voice, and in a moment the real Santa Claus was in the room, his kind old face beaming with gladness, and on his back the great and beautiful gift for which Eire Og had waited so long.

No need to dwell at length on the anger and shame and discomfiture of Sean Buidhe—alias John the Juggler.

IN MEMORIAM.

No dark dishonoured grave is thine. Altho' it lies midst prison walls. The music of thy soul entralls. The hearts of all true noble men. You loved your country far too well. To remain a pawn in the hands of Hell.

So from a scaffold raised on high, Your spirit leapt into the sky, You swiftly reached the starry height, With stainless soul of dazzling white.

The scaffold was a royal throne That blazed with jewels of rare love, There, thou didst reign a patriot king, And on thy laid didst glory bring.

Thy scaffold was an altar fine, Where thou didst spill thy blood as wine, Thy soul's sweet sacrifice and song, Redemption wrought for Saxon's wrong.

Thy scaffold was a pulpit grand, A glorious Gospel there you spoke, A trumpet blast, a clarion call, To love thy Erin, God and all.

Oh! brave young soul! my heart doth beat, Enraptured by thy fearless deed; And from thy dust white flowers will bloom, And make a glory of thy tomb.

Oh! bright young soul, with heart of gold! Death's ignis swift, you faced so bold, You vanquished death with thy last breath, "No greater love than this," men said.

Yes, there will blossom in thy dust The fadeless flowers of the just.

(Rev.) Anthony Lowe, O.P.

Patsy Patrick on Truce Talk

"What do you think of the peace talk?" asked Terry.

"It's English," replied Patsy. "It's as ancient as the pea under the thimble, trick of the loop, or the three cards. England set out to subdue Ireland by the methods used against the early Christians. It was a great game, only it had the world for an audience. An' the audience talked—talked atrociously, not of the ancient butchers of Rome, not of the unspeakable Turk, but of the inhuman Englishman. Then some well-intentioned people talked of the truce of God, an' the trick of the loop men up at the top o' things in England said, 'The very thing.' I often towd you, Terry, what the common Englishman things of God, but the men at the top o' things are always ready to use His name for Imperial propaganda. Everyone in Ireland inclined to sigh, 'Give me peace in my day,' became articulate; their numbers were few; some were well-meaning—"

"There are other men don't like trouble," interrupted Terry.

"True for you," replied Patsy. "The man who can turn with slippery feet to a good fire after a hearty meal well washed down doesn't want to be readin' o' raids an' things as he smokes his pipe. There are ten men in Ireland to-day like that, an' any three of them are one leg in the grave either thro' age or ill-health. There are other men who don't like to see our people suffer. They don't like the loss of young lives. I forget the number of young Irishmen who fought an' fell on the Western Front or down by the Dardanelles. It's seldom you hear a word of regret for them now; they everyone agrees they fought an' fell for a falsehood. We've lost an' are losin' good men an' great men, true men and straight men in Ireland to-day, but they die for the cause of God an' Ireland. The priests an' people suffer an' die in this, the greatest cause of all. They do not creak and say, 'We've done enough for posterity; give us peace in our day.' No, Terry; they know they are freein' the future men an' women of Ireland. They know that the priests an' people of Ireland to-day are the beacon light of the world. Ireland's name is now on the tongue of the world. The eyes of the world are centred on her sufferin'. It may be a world made callous with the brutalities of the late war, but Terry, it is a world that's awakin' to the horror of Ireland's Calvary. There is no salvation without perseverance. Ireland must persevere. Ireland must endure a little longer if she would enjoy the greatest victory ever achieved in the annals of Time."

"What about the destruction of property?" asked Terry.

"There may be a few men who value property more than life," replied Patsy. "I grieve for the poor an' strugglin' who have lost their homes an' their all, but loss of life an' property are things not new in Ireland under English rule. The restoration of property will be one of the first charges on the national purse. Isn't it only twenty million pounds a year that England asks us to pay as a tit-bit of the war debt. Will anyone who wants peace at any price think of the material advantages of freedom? No need for me to enumerate them. The people of Ireland know them too well—"

"Ireland wants peace," said Terry.

"The people of Ireland are the most peace-lovin' people on earth," rejoined Patsy. "It is not Ireland that is containin' the war, it is England, and England lays down the rules of war. It is England's way. Anything England does is done by an English-made law. It is framed by the godless opportunist, an' supported by the time-servin' talker an' paid pamphleteer. It's based on expediency. Every nation fightin' England was described as a nation of savages. Every army opposed to England was denounced as a gang of murderers. England will always win the dock leaf of duplicity. There are people in England who hold that the Irish people hate them. The fact is, Terry, they aren't worth a whole-some, healthy, hatred. The Irish people have pity for the poor standard o' English mentality, with its self-conceit; contempt for the hypocrisy characteristic of the masses of the English people, and disgust for the lynx statesmen in the small circle of the governin' class. Yes, we men, the people of Ireland want peace, but not at England's price. The Irish people want not alone peace with honour. They want peace with justice, peace with a full recog-

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