

# Sinn Féin

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## THE PRISONERS.

A very serious situation is developing in Hare Park as well as in Sligo and Waterford jails, due to an attempt on the part of the Free State authorities to impose criminal status on the sentenced Republican prisoners. Parcels have been stopped and the men are locked up at 6 a.m. just as the long evenings are beginning. We shall hear more of this.

## FATHER O'FLANAGAN AT PHILADELPHIA.

In the course of a stirring address delivered at a great mass meeting in Philadelphia on March 27th, Father O'Flanagan said: "Support for the Free State came from two opposite camps. One set wanted the Free State as a means of keeping Ireland from becoming a Republic. The other set supported it as a stepping-stone to the Republic. They wanted an independent Ireland, and yet at the same time they were in a great hurry to get a job (applause). The Irish Free State was only a stepping-stone in the river. Stepping-stones are generally slippery things. That reminds me of the old Irish saying, 'I found the ford and they found the stepping-stones'—they got drowned and I came safe. President de Valera (applause) determined to wade through the river. He wanted to keep his feet upon solid bottom. Michael Collins led his followers over the stepping-stones. The Irish Republican flood is rising over the stepping-stones. Some of the Free State supporters are trying to step forward and others are trying to step back. Dick Mulcahy fell off the stepping-stone and got drowned in the river (applause). Joe McGrath had fallen off one side and they pulled him up; yesterday he fell off on the other side and they pulled him again. If he falls the third time they will hardly be able to save him."

## EXTRACT FROM LETTER.

Hare Park Camp,

28th April, 1924.

To the Editor, *Sinn Féin*.  
We have just received notification that we are to be put back to-night to winter lockup time (6 p.m.) as punishment for our men refusing medical examination, specially for sentenced men only as discriminated from us people, which they insisted on. It looks as though they are trying to make an issue of the distinction and force compliance on us once more. They stopped parcels on Saturday until today, but replaced that punishment by this much more cruel imposition. It is long enough being in good form here, and deprivation is fairly general—everyone singly fighting against it. Certainly, keeping us in from 6 p.m. locked up in a hut, when it is daylight until 10 p.m., will not improve matters. The vicious circle will probably commence now. Yesterday considerable excitement was caused by one of our lads, sentenced to ten years, attempting to commit suicide, cutting his throat seriously before being caught in the act. Add to this six lunacy cases since we



TERENCE MACSWINEY.

"Is it not the dream of earnest men of all parties to have an end to our long war, a peace final and honourable, wherein the soul of the country can rest, revive and express itself wherein poetry, music and art will pour out in uninterrupted joy, the joy of deliverance, flashing in splendour and superabundant in volume, evidence of long suppression? This is the dream of us all. But who can hope for this final peace while any part of our empire is denied? For, while we are connected in any shape with the British Empire the connection implies some dependence."

came here and you perceive a very serious state of affairs. . . ."

Above is an extract from a letter written by my brother, at present interned in Hare Park Camp, and received by me on Saturday night last.

D. J. O'D.

5th May, 1924.

## ANOTHER LETTER FROM HARE PARK.

"Yesterday a prisoner attempted to cut his throat in the kitchen beside the fugitive. He had made a big gash in his throat and only by chance was he discovered. He had been sentenced to 10 years and was called out to office and told his mother was very anxious about him; in fact she was ill, and that if he gave an undertaking not to use arms for three years would be released. This preyed on his mind and led to the act of yesterday. This makes five men who have become mental cases within the last few weeks. P.S.—We are now locked in at 6 p.m. this beautiful weather."

## WILD GEESE.

One of the deplorable evils has done is flung in the faces of the people of Ireland in dozens of what the Treasury Irish paper this week. We see a picture of "hundreds of young Irish agriculturists leaving Coles attracted to Canada by the opportunities open to them there. More truthful it would be to say "driven from their homes by the relentless policy of deprivation and suffering begun by the British and pursued even more relentlessly by a "Free State" Government against the farmers and young agriculturists of Ireland."

## WATCH THE "LOAN" GO TO PIECES.

We cannot quote all the fluctuations of the "Free State" loan, and we cannot repeat every week in these columns that it is becoming more and more valueless. But out of mere curiosity and casual interest we ask our readers to watch the drop of the loan as it is recorded from day to day on the financial pages of all the papers. *Down, Down, Down it goes.*

## REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN ARMAGH.

The Hillierian candidate in the Armagh Co. Council Election (Armagh City Division) has withdrawn in favour of Mrs. Margaret Connolly, the Republican candidate; the wife of James Connolly who has been interned for the past two years by the Six-County Authorities. We appeal, together with the retiring A.O.H. candidate, Mr. Patrick Hughes, to all voters in the election to secure Mrs. Connolly's return.

## TOPSY TURVYDOM.

From time to time in our history an incident brings out in stark clarity the topsy-turvydom of the nation—when a man like Robert de Courcy, Lord Mayor of Limerick, is held in prison and taken to a court to give testimony under *amercement*. What other nation in the world has permitted the office of dignity and honour, and the men who are chosen by the people themselves to serve in such positions, to be subjected to the authority and the "armed guard" of a body of fellow-countrymen, traitors, and men who do not know honour and dignity when they see it, and recognise neither fitness of character nor the authority of the people's vote.

## EASTER AT ARBOUR HILL BARRACKS.

Once again we read of a hypocritical and mocking celebration of the 1916 Heroes. Once again that prison graveyard, under the lock and key of traitors, and closed against the only body of people in the Irish nation who can with truth and sincerity commemorate the sacrifice made there—the Republicans—has been violated by the ceremonies of men who turned against the principles of Pearse, Connolly, McDonagh and the others. What shame and humiliation these "Free Staters" who entered the locked doors must have suffered in their hearts; what consciousness of guilt and disgust they must have experienced, every one of them, knowing well that they had no right to pay tribute to those whose followers and comrades they have killed and whose faith they have renounced.

Meanwhile Republicans deprived of the tributes which they only could rightly pay at the graveside of the 1916 men, mourned throughout the country with reverence and sorrow the loss of their leaders and comrades and of their other comrades in Ireland's cause.

## IRISH STREETS.

We congratulate the Corporation of Dublin on the motion to re-name the streets of Dublin, changing the Imperial titles to Irish names with Irish meanings.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE GAMES.

We learn that the Pro-Treaty Party has arranged to put on a committee of buildings for the influx of visitors they hope to get by Gae methods. "Thousands are coming, thousands are coming," their papers repeat every day, knowing full well that the thousands are people existing only in their minds. But the city must be trimmed up at any rate—and the Committee must spend £5,000 of the money which should go to the poor people and the suffering Gaels, to put flags on all buildings and vehicles. Trams, bicycles, and carts must carry flags—what flags the Committee does not say, but we presume they will include strings of all the flags of the British Empire to which the Committee, as citizens of the "Free State," belong. What will they be in the case of the red mail vans which fill the streets of Dublin today, bearing the insignia of the King of England on them—with G on one side and R on the other and the lion and the unicorn in the middle fighting for the Crown? What flag will they fly on these British post office vans? If they cheer for the sham green and white, what a mockery it will be, over the emblems of the British Empire! What laughing stock the Pro-Treaty Committee will make of themselves to the thousands and thousands of phantom visitors whom they have deceived with their false propaganda of a "Free State"!

## REPUBLICAN SOLUTION OF ULSTER "PROBLEM."

Speaking of the Partition of the British Empire, Padraig O'Riuteila, has lately said: "The situation created by our opponents' admission of the right of Ulster to divorce itself from the rest of Ireland is a serious one. There are prejudices and unfounded fears in Ulster to be overcome, but Republicans are prepared to offer every safeguard and guarantee short of that admission in order to win her allegiance."

Spoken by the leader of the most upstanding elements in the nation, of men who can be trusted by friend and foe alike to keep their word, these words foretell a future when war between North and South will become unthinkable.



FRIENDS OF THE "FREE  
STATE": FOES OF MEN.

The title returns for the port of Dublin in 1943 show a drop, as compared with 1922, of 55,302 tons in imports and 43,062 tons in exports of general goods. It is worthy of note, however, that, notwithstanding this decrease in trade, the imports of goods of various kinds which are largely produced in Ireland increased to the extent of 9,577 tons. If the Free State regime were to survive much longer, its "Minister of Agriculture" would soon be able to boast that the "Free State" part of Ireland is 200 per cent. agricultural, and the surplus industrial population would have to avoid starvation by emigration.

Neither the fostering of home trade nor in the development of foreign commerce has the Free State drawn up a policy, unless it be that of buttressing England's decadent prosperity. One of the principal arguments in favour of the "treaty" was the economic liberty which it was supposed to confer on Ireland. Let us pause to consider how this supposed liberty has manifested itself on the European continent since a British Act of Parliament officially created the "Free State" in December, 1922. Trade returns for 1923 have not yet been disclosed. The statistics published for January, 1924, show that during that month the Free State exports to that continent were as follows:-

I do not suggest that the foreign representatives of the "Free State" are in any way responsible for these absurdly low figures; even prior to the "treaty" I had first-hand experience of the almost insuperable difficulties encountered when acting for a government not officially recognised. But does not the "Free State" claim to be independent, and to have received international recognition since it started paying a subscription to the League of Nations? Or is freestatem a myth?

What have the Free State "General representatives" been able to accomplish in Paris? We know that the Berlin office has been closed down, and that the representatives have been unable to get the British Government to attend to the interests in Germany of Irish exporters. We are told also that they have been unable to get the British signature to an agreement designed to protect the interests of colonial producers in the "Free State." But, apart from such achievements, what material results have they been able to achieve in the countries being able to secure for Ireland? They have absolutely no prestige, no influence, no voice in the councils of the British Ambassadors in the countries in which they are stationed. They are not even able to visit the countries of their origin. All the duties which should be theirs—the "Free State" a free trade mission, the "British" a trade mission—have been taken over by the Consul, except that of repatriating destitute "citizens of the Irish Free State" who are in the hands of the "British Nations"; this the British Consuls refuse to do, unless a substantial sum of money has been allocated for this purpose in the recent estimates. Ireland's dependence on England, her dependence of subjection to England, no single step is taken to promote direct trade between the two countries. To get the necessary permission from England for the negotiation of commercial

The existence of the Free State Paris office is not mentioned in any French official publication, nor has there ever been any question of the general repatriation of the Irish people, or indeed of any kind direct to the French Government. There is absolutely no comparison between the position of the Free State in the case of the Canadian Government Commissioner. The official status of the latter renders it unnecessary for him to ask trade journals like the "Exportateur" to publish his name. The Free State is not taking full advantage of it. Must not be the case of the Canadian Commissioner, the hopeless incompetence of Free State "Ministers," or is there some occult and sinister reason for this sacrifice of Ireland's material interests?

The Railway Bill now before the D. I.L. has been rushed through with such urgency that it is, when stripped of its transparencies, but the ratification of a concession to the Great Western Railway of England of the Irish railways south of a line roughly from the halloway to the Liffey at Amiens Street. All north of this line, together with every port from Lough Swilly around to Greencore, is held by the London and North Western Railway, the holloway and the Liffey being the disturbing factor in the "G.W.'s" concession is the Dublin and South Eastern Railway, with its southern branch to the Liffey, and the Liffey being the "finger-and-die," now in a comparatively affluent condition, due to "L.M. and S.E." having taken over its finance and control.

Not alone does it go to Waterford, but it goes to the Liffey, and the Liffey to the old Waterford and Limerick. This butting in at Waterford and tapping of the Golden Vale with all the resources of the L.M. and S., would utterly spoil the Liffey, and the Liffey, in turn, would ruin the king's ransom to eliminate

The local railways, baronially guaranteed and otherwise, are only small fry, negligible nonentities, and so are all Irish interests competitive and otherwise save those of the parties to the deal.

The fight between the "G.W." and the "L.M. and S." for that is really what the issue is, will be very interesting to watch. The Bill seeks to amalgamate the L.M. and S. with the L.M. and S. of other southern batch whereby the L.M. and S.'s interests would be wiped out. No private bill would dare to attempt this. It is only by the kind offices of a pure-souled Free State Government burning with ostensible zeal for the betterment of its people and stimulated by the desire to get rid of the L.M. and S. concession hunters in the world, that such a deal can be put through. It is part of the New World's epidemic. The graft broadcasted across the Atlantic! Hitherto we have only been accustomed to petty transactions: disclosed when figures fall out and some erratic auditor is called in to investigate. The L.M. and S. are letting a few kittens out of the bag. Now we are up against big business.

[illegible]

But the Railway Bill is not yet through. The "L.M. and S." can also put up a fight with banknotes. The official atmosphere is said to bristle with this all-potent ammunition. The King's ransom of the "G.W.P." and the full purse of the "L.M. and S."! The Railway "Boundary" is worth a shipload of six-county delimitations. What a time for labour-twisters, farmer omadhauns, independent, business men's representatives and grand old men of the Senate! Ratification will create an affluence greater far than that of Castlereagh's Union, for we have now learned to sell our country for big sterling figures rather than tawdry hereditary decorations.

	In the "Free State"	In England
Income Tax ..	5/- in the £	4/6
Corporations Profit Tax ..	1/-	Ceases
Tea ..	5d. tax on lb.	3jd.
Beer ..	£5 per barrel	£4
Table Waters ..	8d.	2d.
Cider ..	4d.	Nil
Postage :		
Letters ..	2d.	1jd.
Parcels ..	9d.	6d.

### STANDING ORDERS.

What simple, harmless, unmeaning words are "Standing Orders" to the man in the street or in the fields? How repressive and harrassing they can become to those interested in Irish reproductive works?

The rusty tools and methods of private bill legislation, at times so necessary in a country of England's volume, to keep bogus promoting companies in check, and known as "Private Bill Standing Orders," have all been imported to Dublin; nothing left uncopied that could possibly create a job or bring funds to Treasury at the people's expense. A recent case in point will illustrate.

[illegible]

Pay us a deposit of £40,000 and we shall then allow you to carry out the works at your own expense is the attitude of this tragic travesty of all Govern-

"I am not particularly interested in empty bottles."—Major B. Cooper, 25/4/24

"Deputy Hewat has been quite sensible all day."—Mr. T. Johnson, 25/4/24.

"Every night when I go home I have to put cotton wool around my shins in the same way that you would bandage a horse in preparation for a hurdle race."—Sir James Craig, 3/4/24.

"We have now come to the time of plain speaking. *If there is nothing to conceal*, then let everything be produced."—Mr. Sean Milroy, 4/4/24.

In other words, Mr. Milroy is quite willing to let the cat out of the bag provided there is no cat in the bag.

"I drink tea about five times a day."—  
Professor Eoin MacNeill, 25/4/'24.

"Now we see why the reduction was made in the tea duty. It is because it is the drink mostly consumed by members of the Government Benches."—Deputy Lyons 25/4/24.

"Deputy D'Alton and others might be interested to know that there is a very important industry in England engaged in the manufacture of strawberry pips out of wood to mix with the turnips for strawberry jam."—Deputy Heffernan, 25/4/24.

"I am not prepared to give up my right to speak."—Mr. T. Johnson, 4/4/'24.

Spain which had the effect of renewing under the new regime here what existed under the old regime. *That exchange of notes took place actually through the Service Diplomatique of the British Foreign Office.*"—Mr. D. Fitzgerald, 9/4/'24.

"To begin with, this Treaty is a dishonest document from beginning to end. It settles nothing."—Deputy A. McCabe 10/4/24.

No, Mr. McCabe was not referring to the Articles of Agreement but to the Liqueur Treaty.

We are not hypocrites; rather, we are Pharisees—repeat, a big English word beginning to feel squishy about the war aims, and the war plans, and the war deeds; and the sacrifice of young ideas to Mammon and Baal. Certainly there was a Pharsee England that really did care for its people as well as for other men. And now, though there sprouts a new crop of cynics bred by knowledge of secret treaties, and by observing grab and plunder piece-making, and by listening to insolent floating of the flag, and by seeing the means to stir up burning hate and contempt for the enemy, and to foster self-righteousness—still the Pharsee England goes on, spreading complacency over its still

How is this, O' Ireland? Because that is the England that is pleased to smile at our surrender of faith and word, and that accepts our thoughtless homage—for what it is worth. Much like George IV., when O'Connell on his knees on the Irish shore; and then O'Connell appearing at the London levee, and his King turning his back on him with "Damn the fellow; what does he want here?"

And 'tis a century since Byron broke  
out with:

" Oh! Erin, how low  
Wert thou sunk by misfortune and

Thy welcome of tyrants hath plunged  
thee below  
The depth of thy deep in a deeper gulf  
still.

"Till now I had envied thy sons and  
their shore,  
Though their virtues were hunted, their  
liberties fled.

Yes, I loved thee and thine, though  
thou art not my land,  
thou art not my land,  
souls in thy sons,  
And I wept, with the world, o'er the  
patriot band

True, real Ireland rose again, the Ireland of Davis, then the Ireland of Mitchell, of Rossa, then the Ireland of Pearse, of Casement, of MacCurtain and MacSwiney and a band of brothers not few. Romantic Ireland's not dead; for all the ennobled old gentleman's saying. And again, not the Pharisee England, but the England of men humbler and more just, more generous, more far-seeing, spoke through another poet—Watson's *Ireland Arisen*; at the fated hour, 1921—

"She did not perish," said this English-  
ship poet on Ireland. "She has long had  
secret treaties and understandings with  
the great powers of the world. She has  
had laid up a mass of love for herself in  
every land that has been moved—and  
what land has not been moved?—by the  
epic of her misfortunes. The human  
sympathy of the world has been  
going on to his base old Treaty  
—of Limerick, an of London, and of  
Birkenhead, recalling how England took  
away Ireland's independence, yet faces  
her with a smile. And she has  
any semblance of independence back.  
Yes, England, could not resist the  
predatory instinct, the English poet declares  
—instead of envying a more prosperous  
and more powerful neighbor, the  
slaves or of sycophants.

But, like Byron, the poet of to-day has been shamed to silence—I feel deeply; but I can say nothing, he now writes, of the Irishmen, who have cared not for name and fame, who in their ignorance knew nothing of the world, and who in their faithlessness thought all men no better

They were whetting their swords, and making themselves ready for the actions we have seen, and for those we see. Shall the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?

The *Cuent* London *Nineteenth Century*, for January, 1924, has led to these thoughts on the England we have known and the England we are becoming. It is a heartened, in England and in the world, now or otherwise weeping for Erin.

Take the last article in that same review, and read of what may well stir the gentler hearts, softer consciences, braver souls. "Faint play! Generosity! Love!—the world is not made for the few. Even to the English and the Scotch, the Irishmen are to lead us to support Imperialism, and the beating down of commerce, ruin, and repression for reaching a war against the human race. There is a nobler future for Irish statesmen; there is a better world, in England and elsewhere, which they might have some

The first Pharisee's "Christian atmosphere"—this is what it breeds: says



Stephen Graham, this last article of that January Nineteenth Century and After.

"Every bench on the Albert Embankment was occupied by the two hundred and forty men and women sat there, at two in the morning, and stared across the river at the light reflections and the Houses of Parliament. They were the outcasts of the social system, *dispecta* members of our inhumanity, each with his story, his tragedy, his comedy, spending this his midnight hours:

"Weeping and waiting for the morrow."

Some have fallen asleep; most, with their chin on their chest, but some lie down. A constable on night duty tapped the sleepers, bade them wake up and put their feet down.

"Why do so many go to the Embankment to spend the night? It is always cold there; the damp airs from the river sweep the rags and the bodies of the homeless there. The beauty of the night is nothing to the homeless. . . . A dissipation, a paradise compared with the Embankment. There are tens of thousands and who have to sleep in such places every night. . . . This is the best lodging. Not a few seek it."

"In all manner of holes and corners the homeless may be found sleeping on winter nights in the streets. In the half demolished houses, on the stairs leading from vaults, in corners of cellars, in recesses of massive buildings, in porches of churches.

"The fact is, immorality has so grown upon us in London that one may say it is becoming national. The numbers of the women on the streets is appalling—surely ten times as many as in 1913."

After all, a quondam rant against the English, "England"—since that trick treaty—"is the noblest nation in the world." Faugh! You're beneath yourself. 'Twas Lancelus O'Riordan said it. A gentleman he was, but so poor that "I can't afford to do a dirty action."

**THE HOSTILITY TO CATHOLICISM IN PALESTINE.** "Il Giornale," Jerusalem, 30/4/24. "Who would have said we have said so?" Jerusalem liberated, which should be in asyrum of its race, and fraternal love has become a field of brigand enterprises more or less political under the mantle of religion.

"Present at the solemn pontifical function of Easter Sunday in the Basilica del Santo Sepolcro, at which numerous pilgrims, French and American, had put in an appearance, besides a considerable group of Italians and all the civil population of the city and surroundings, I was witness of a most scandalous and undignified uproar provoked by the schematics. On account of the exchange of blows of the police and the police and the police, the patriarch, Monsi, Barlassina, who solemnly pontificated Mass, surrounded by the Consuls of all the Catholic Nations came expressly in official dress, interrupted the function for over twenty minutes, and when this period passed, called the chief of police a second time and said to him, in a loud voice, these significant words: 'I perceive, these significant words.' It is the second time in a week I am compelled to suspend a solemn Christian ceremony; and it is with great pain I find that the necessary measures to prevent this have not been taken."

"Also, several Englishmen who were in my company stigmatised this daily scandal."

"The Catholics of Jerusalem and Palestine are indignant at finding that in the war all the divisions ruled by the Government (English) regarding the Holy Places are always in favour of the schematics notwithstanding the massable secular rights which Catholicism can boast of over these places."

"We are assured that the diplomatic corps will not fail to send a fresh protest on the situation created here in recent times. It is stated that the English Consul is in a position to maintain order and guarantee the dignity of the Faith."

DONAL HAILES.

Genoa, 1/5/24.

## THE TWO BUDGETS.

One cannot fail to observe the terrific contrast between the two Budgets issued almost simultaneously in the "Free State" and the British Imperial Parliament. In the one place—England—we have politicians in a hurry to hold the country as how best to prepare themselves and their constituents for any coming election

which might challenge their position. The British Budget will win the support of the masses; the "Free State" Budget will lose supporters to its policy, right and left. In the "Free State" as a direct result of the Budget the cost of living will rise, and the increased taxation will pinch most those who are hardest pinched, the farmers and the poor. In England the Budget has been called a "workman's budget," a "consumer's Budget," a "poor man's Budget." In short a Budget, and perhaps the first almost for a century presented to that Imperial Parliament which sought to relieve the burden of the poor in preference to the rich. The Budget has reduced her taxation on the poor man's necessities—sugar, the cheaper entertainments, theatre, food, dried fruits. The "Free State" Minister and who is to know to what extent the Budget was arranged to place and suit the Imperial Masters was put drastic tax on the poor man's necessities, boots, sweets, cocoa, soap and candles, together with motor bodies and glass bottles, which are not directed with such force against the workman. In doing so Mr. Blythe has reduced the tax on tea will be reduced if imports which will have to be put on again. "If the impossible, the utterly impossible, happens, then the tax will be a pound of tea," Mr. Blythe tells the poor man—and when the new taxes come into effect the tax will be a pound of tea. "I heads I win, tails you lose." Farmers, already bled dry, workmen, the middle classes—these will be bled anew under the "Free State" Budget. While Mr. Snowden in England speaks of the relief to the poor man's pocket, Mr. Blythe has his policy on revenue, not caring "Free State" remains the same. We Republicans uphold Protection, but a Protection adjusted with careful regard for the needs of the poor man and the farmer; a Protection put on to build up those home industries which need protection at this infant stage of their development, while guarding the consumer against the profiteers; a Protection based primarily on the help it will give to Irish industry and the Irish people and not on the revenue it will bring to the State. In its consideration of the poor—in its regard for the masses, we have only congratulations, in the one case, to offer to the Labour Government in England for this Budget, one of the excellent Acts which they have already passed. We need not comment on the "Free State" Minister's action; they have chosen their wars and it is no wonder that they are so much in the popular one which is bound to tell on the people of Ireland will be pressed, will suffer and enter into a very short time at the hands of the "Free State" Government—then watch for the sudden changes in this regard in the following day by day with such sure run.

## THE EVIL EFFECTS OF INDIAN PROTECTION.

The Indian Tariff Report dealing with protection of steel industry with protection of engineering, wagon-building, typewriter and agricultural implements. Locomotive building, steel-casting and enamelled ware, is causing concern to the steel manufacturers in England. The quick growth of the huge Tata works in India is adequate proof of the possibilities of India for steel, and the low cost of production in India promises to undercut labour in England. The protective tariff comes at a very short time when it is not needed, when the Ruhr and its effect on the English steel is still obtaining, and when the industry in India could be built up. One contribution to this English paper commenting on the effort on British industry of this Indian protection conforms to the anxious British steel manufacturers with the challenge that now is the time for them to show their enterprise and energy to make the best of the situation. "The best the steel industry in this case means the setting up in India of steel industries, capitalised and supported by British money. The British Government, the capitalists, protected by Indian tariff law and employing Indian labour under the name of building up vast Indian steel manufactures. This means sweating labour in India, the country drained by its own labour of capital and profits which return to England, and at the other end the throwing out of employment of vast numbers of British steel workers. This is the danger of the Indian tariff. If the British steel manufacturers are anxious about their home industry they are at the same time chuckling to themselves and conceiving immense schemes of profit in India under the sway and control of their British

Government. The only safeguard for all this peaceful penetration is in India, as in Ireland, the complete independence of the country."

**SOUTH AFRICA.** The British papers dismiss the general amnesty of prisoners, "convicted of rebellion against the Government" which is to take place on May 20th with the explanation that the Prince's coming was to be a time of celebration, and now that he cannot come the prisoners will be let out anyway. These papers nowhere mention the fact that with a coming victory for the very party that harbours such "revolutionaries" within its ranks and with public opinion throughout South Africa sympathetic to them and their principles, the British Government does not dare hold the political prisoners longer.

## GOLD COAST EDUCATION.

What the education of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast must have been is startingly revealed in the approval of Great Britain of a scheme to train teachers for secondary schools in that part of South Africa. Up to the present time, the few in the Gold Coast must have been no secondary schools whatsoever, and there are not even teachers trained to instruct in secondary schools. Another part of the scheme proposes to train African leaders in thought, industry and professional work—particularly in the medical profession. To the world this would seem an excellent scheme, but to those of us who know we may be sure that native training in character and thought will be along such strict Imperial lines as to bind these newly-trained leaders to the Empire for many years.

## MUSSOLINI AND THE EAST.

We read in a small corner, where we find so much of our news in British papers, that King Hussein has sent Signor Mussolini the present of two magnificent royal chargers. We have been wondering how long it would be before Mussolini included the oppressed peoples of the East in his anti-British plan of a free Mediterranean!

## OPPRESSION IN THE RUHR.

From questions in the British House of Commons we learn that despite the British propaganda against the French, and against what the French may have done of wrong in the Ruhr, the British are free from British. We read of sentences passed by British military tribunals, and 110 prisoners held as the result. This is only the smallest of the sentences passed by the allies in this country. Up to April 13th of this year 40,149 individual Germans had been sentenced to terms of 35,413 of them forbidden to return. Four hundred and seventy-one Germans are undergoing imprisonment—and there are several references to prisoners in French and Belgian prisons, and to go who have been transferred to France. "Naturally," the British Minister says, "I cannot guarantee the accuracy of these figures." Yet in all the discussion which followed these questions on the motion for adjournment, there is little mention of the terrible wrong, the intense suffering, the cruelty of depriving thousands of families of their homes and their only means of livelihood, to send them to a new environment where they have neither work, nor friends, nor home. The point of view the British members take in the matter is that wherever these unfortunate refugees go they spread bitterness against the allies who expelled them, a thing which is not of good to the Empire and the Imperial interests! A typical attitude!

## NEW ZAGHLULIST PARTY.

For the first time the Egyptian Assemblies have arranged itself into parties, and the opposition has been formed. The 24 members of various political factions of many of them based on personal considerations. Zaghlul Pasha has always declared himself against the formation of a Zaghlulist Parliamentary party, and it was not until his followers declared themselves "not a party, but the whole nation," and not until he was sure that they spoke was truth, that he allowed a party to be formed. The new party is coming negotiations with Great Britain for the complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan, and this is the new party—the Hiss el Wadli el Nahi.

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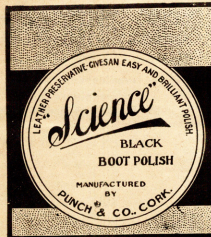
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## “SINN FEIN.”



MR. GWYNNE'S STATEMENT IN THE "OBSERVER" DENIED.

In the Sunday "Observer," Mr. Stephen Gwynne stated that Mr. McGrath had persuaded twelve out of the forty-four Republican Representatives to take their seats at Leinster House. We are officially authorized to say that this statement of Mr. Gwynne is false and that there have been no such dealings between our Republican Members and Mr. McGrath, nor has one of our representatives consented to renounce his political principles. This false statement of Mr. Gwynne's is obviously intended, like so many Pro-Treaty utterances, to divide men united by principle and common sense in the cause of Irish freedom, and as in the case of those utterances, it has failed.

A FRESH CRISIS IS UPON US

It is of the utmost urgency for the sake of all concerned that the present dangerous condition to which the "Treaty" has brought Irish affairs should be carefully weighed and studied. Will the British Labour Government—new in office, not yet corrupted by the habitual use of power as are the old British political parties—have the intelligence to perceive that this imposed international relation between the British Empire and Ireland will never provide any solution to the Irish problem? Will Stepping Stones redine in time and before fresh disasters fall upon the Nation that only in rejection of that bond will salvation be found. What has the "Treaty" produced and perpetuated of evil?

### THE RESULTS OF THE "TREATY."

Let us take stock of the position. National independence still denied, and the continued imposition of coercive British methods in Ireland. Partition with its denial of all economic and national progress: the Civil War waged by British orders; the ruinous state of the country; the mutiny of the bulk of the "Free State" Army; the Cobb murders, and now again war, this time between the "Kedars" and the "Free State" — wholly predicted in the Orange and British Press and in "Kedars" Ireland; and the "Free State" wholly predicted in the Orange and British Press and in "Kedars" Ireland. Every one of these evils is symptomatic of the direct result of the gigantic fraud forced upon Ireland in the name of freedom by the British and consenting Pro-Testants — who?

At the outset the "Treaty" was recognised in Great Britain as being doubtful of success but as, at least, certain to "split Ireland from top to bottom." It was so framed that it could never produce unity or peace.

LET THE TRUTH BE TOLD

Let the truth be told by those who were deluded into accepting this wound to the British Empire. Let every man with a stake in this country face the reality and have done with the Pro-Treaty Press lies and false "Free State Government" propaganda. To Republican Ireland, and its own supporters now beginning to perceive the truth; to Orange Ulster and to Great Britain, and the world at large, the "Free State Government" stands for treachery to friend and foe alike: for brutality, corruption of public life, maladministration of public services; indifference to its own people's welfare and an utter lack of business capacity. And this because the men it gathers together are without national faith, are self seekers and dishonest.

## THE FUNDAMENTAL DISHONESTY

We say dishonest. It is not of the financial dishonesty that we are thinking—but we speak of that far deeper dishonesty of men who forswore their national duty, and by every means at their command deceived the people as to the true meaning of the "Treaty" and on that false basis and by terrorist methods having got themselves elected as representatives now actively work at the destruction of their own land, or passively acquiesce in its undoing.

THE ONLY SOLUTION POSSIBLE

The Irish problem remains unsolved. Great Britain will look in vain for a solution until she recognises the Sovereign Irish Republic and permits an international relation to be established between the two countries based upon independence, and mutual good-will. The day that this comes to pass will see these ancient feuds replaced by an enduring peace. The relentless logic of facts has brought that day nearer than the Pro-Treaty leaders are aware.

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION. A WARNING

To-day we republish the Proclamation of the Republican Government which declared all debts and liabilities contracted by the unconstitutional "Free State" Junta now usurping the reins of lawful Government to be invalid, null and void, and refusing to assume responsibility for any of them. This we do in solemn warning lest the people forget that Proclamation and have failed to stand clear of the impending "Free State" financial collapse. The prophecies about the so-called National Loan should be remembered.

MR. DOUGLAS INVENTS A FRESH "FREE STATE" CAMOUFLAGE

Mr. Douglas's resolution in the "Free State Senate" that an External Affairs Committee should be formed to assist Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald in his work of committing the "Free State" progressively further to the support of Fitzgibbon's Imperialist and pro-British Government. That is what the work of supervision will come to. For it is quite obvious that this Committee's whole purpose is to silence the curiosity of the Members at Leinster House as to what Mr. Fitzgerald is doing, and to replace their discharging these duties themselves, by making certain that they continue to remain in as great ignorance about these important matters as they and the Irish people have been in until now.

In our present issue publish from the Pro-Treaty Press an interesting letter from "Breton" about Mr. Douglas's resolution. The point "Breton" makes is important, but he seems to have overlooked the intention behind Mr. Douglas's action. We would point out that the very week in which Mr. Douglas's resolution was introduced, the British Government, through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, desires that the Members of the British Parliament should be fully instructed as to the nature of all British Foreign Treaties, adopted a quite simple and very effective resolution, which, if carried, would require the British Government to publish annually on behalf of His Majesty's Government will in future be circulated to Members of Parliament before ratification (the British Minister, Mr. Ponsomby, replied "in accordance with the usual practice of the Government") that the Government will be true to the letter and spirit of the said ratification (the British Minister, Mr. Ponsomby, replied "in accordance with the usual practice of the Government") that the Government will be true to the letter and spirit of the said ratification. The statement referred to laid it down that while important Treaties would automatically come up for discussion, the Government would not be bound to discuss any Treaty which was not of a particularly considered important or unimportant.

By this means secret Treaties and secret clauses of Treaties will be rendered impossible.

It is the duty of the Government necessary that the instrument in its final shape should be submitted to Parliament.

We consider it of the highest importance that the country should not find itself compelled to take action along certain lines without the public mind being prepared for such a contingency, and without Parliament having cognisance of the particular agreement which may constitute an obligation of honour." It would be well for the Irish people to watch these matters closely, for the Pro-Treaty authority means if possible to let them know nothing about these commitments, to the extent that they may find themselves without warning at war with any country Mr. Fitzgerald and an alien Government may arrange for Free State troops to fight.







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# The Failure of "Free State" Status.

(Continued from page 5.)

ment and, at the same time, a subordinate state in the British Empire. On every other day we were informed that the United States Government could not consent to the appointment of a "Free State Minister" at Washington, unless the British government considered it "advisable." But this beside the footing declared by Mr. Johnson, T.D., his declaration of the "Free State is coterminous with the boundaries of the Commonwealth, including Great Britain." Let us quote Professor Kennedy in the "Independent." "The omission of the British Ambassador's name from the Anglo-Irish (Hallibut Treaty) was merely interesting. The point is that the inter-state nature of the treaty was not changed to the slightest degree. To sum up. In every day inter-state relations the full responsibility rests with the British Cabinet."

The people of the Dominions, with the exception of the South African Dutch, who were forced into the Empire when they had fired their last shot and ever since been trying to get out of it, are British, and have no desire to be thought otherwise. They revere the British King, sing the British anthem, fly the British flag, and honour the Governor-General with all due pomp and circumstance. Because he is the symbol of the connection with England which they are proud to claim. If our people accept of the Free State there is no reason why these things should be different here. In fact they cannot be different without the British reality is forcing our pretenders out into the open. Unless we acquire a national status which the Free State cannot give, Irish citizens travelling abroad must either admit themselves British subjects and accept the good offices of the British diplomatic and consular service, or else suffer the strange and uncomfortable consequences which best travellers in Ireland have no national status at all. Foreign governments cannot be expected to distinguish between persons travelling under the name of the Free State and the agents of His Britannic Majesty's representative and Governor-General, and those travelling under the name of His Majesty himself. "Citizens of the Free State" sojourning in a foreign country which becomes a part of Great Britain would immediately be interested as enemy subjects. Ireland is essentially a market place, and must sooner or later, have her own ships. Every Irish ship which enters a foreign port must either fly the British flag or else roam the seas as a pirate.

These are some of the major consequences of the Treaty of Dec. 31, 1922. But in a thousand smaller ways we must surrender for ever the historic concept of Irish nationhood if the Treaty is to endure. The road to modern Ireland, which accepted it, was "a leap in the dark." It might, many thought, be good enough "to go on with." But the people are not constitutional lawyers, and the day of argument confused rather than clarified the issue. The Treaty of Dec. 31, 1922, the treaty really implied. Time has told. Every hour that this disgraceful compromise endures is a day of national dishonour and humiliation.

"His Britannic Majesty and the British flag," said Professor Magennis in the debate at Leinster House "are not to be interpreted in any narrow sense," and went on to speak of a new connotation of the word "British," a connotation by which "British" would include "Irish." The students of the National University, who have the advantage of being able to hear Professor Magennis lecture on metaphysics, may be able to follow that process by which he proves that "British" means "Irish," and that it would have been all too transcendental for Hugh O'Neill, Owen Roe, Wolfe Tone, Peadar Kirby, and Terence MacSwiney.

Obviously, if we are to be British henceforth, Hugh O'Neill and the others must be regarded as savages of the aboriginal period. Not only are we to be British, but we are, like England, "a free country" of the Empire. The "Free State Ministry of Education" must see to it that the heroes and exemplars of British childhood in future will be those Irishmen who have distributed the blessings of the Empire over the earth—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the Punjab, instead of Michael O'Dwyer of the Glen. Why not admit what the Treaty implies and do with it? Why should the country be worried by constant discussion as to whether George is King of Great Britain and the whole of Ireland all together, or merely King of Great Britain and a piece of Ireland and the whole of Ireland? Why must we have legislators who can defend themselves from the charge of being traitors by arguing that they are merely perjurers? Why must we have a government which incessantly lies to Ireland about England and to England about Ireland?

The solution to the whole difficulty is

# Letters to a Pro-Treaty Deputy on the Test Oath.

My DEAR X—,

You have reconciled it with your conscience as an Irishman to take the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Free State Constitution. I do not presume to judge you. What I do quibble with is your repeated attack on us who "will not take that Oath, or vote for men who will," as sentimentalists or sticklers for an immaterial formula.

Symbols are very real things—how real, the blood of all the martyrs testifies. That Oath is a symbol, and it is more real than any arm. Why Laurence is that for, unless to test men? If it means nothing, if it counts for nothing, if it, why did England threaten war if it omitted from the Constitution. Does it matter so very much that sentimentalists in regard to it of your parliament? Did England frame that stern demand solely to achieve a triumph over nobody? I say to you that the Oath is important. It is a test to bar out men to whom allegiance is a real thing. It is there to keep the Wild West out of our Parliament. It is there to continue the ancient policy of outlawing the Gael, and resolutely to prevent those who do not consent to waive the ancient claim to freedom. These who will not take that Oath are the inheritors of the land, the men Irish who dwell outside the Pale; those against whom the Statute of Kilkenny was passed, and who were utterly outlawed by the Penal Code, and who are still here, unbought, unbribed and unrepentant.

Oaths are not imposed unless to test men and bar out some. Formerly the Protestants, believing that Catholics were the enemies of the State, imposed the Test Oath which no man could take without denying his Catholic Faith. If you pretend to be a member of Parliament, did they disfranchise themselves? Was the Oath a symbol not to merely to placate English opinion, but to outlaw mere sentimentalists?

You answer that the Oath was put into the Treaty, not in order to split us, but merely to placate English opinion. Very good. What does this mean? It means that English people who are caught in all this business of the Constitution be recognised in Ireland from which the mere Irish were not excluded. It means that the English would consent to putting us on a par with English citizens in this country. It means that they would not let go their hold. It means that you are preserving the very point on which we had been fighting them. It means that you accept slavery as our national motto.

I have heard you argue, too, that the Oath was put in merely because there are cats in all the Westminster Conventions, but that it was tempered in its form so as not to bar out the Irish. Ireland, that their terms were twisted to look less like what they really are, namely, an admission that the Free State is a slave state; but the Oath bars out the mere Irish still. If I build a barrier across the road and hold up the traffic, I cannot pretend it is anything but a barrier, even if its design is different from the usual form of a turnpike gate. The barrier remains.

You point us to men who had fought England, but took the Oath; and declare that when Michael Collins took over Dublin Castle, England surrendered. You have read history. Do you not remember the turbulent rebel of whom it was said: "All Ireland cannot rule this man," and how the English King replied: "Then let him rule all Ireland." That rebel, the King's deputy. It is an old dodge.

You tell us the powers given us by the Treaty would could increase and turn to our people's welfare. All these things will I give, says England, and make us all national, we would like that the Treaty gives powers; but not to the right people. You talk of modifying that. I tell you, your friend MacDonagh will get so much of the Treaty that we will feel as if we had the Republic if you altered it. I tell you, the Republic is not based on our view of the Treaty; it gives it: it is to the terms on which it gives them. If it yielded ten times more and made us all national, we would still demand the *unum necessarium*. You say: But I do not think you will—wring material benefit from the Treaty. You will see that you are right, but unless you dig up the Fenians' bones from Glasnevin and cast them on the ground, you will never be more Irish, for there is holy dust mingled with the soil of Ireland that forbids forever the surrender you advocate.

SEAGHAN ULACH.

that the treaty itself is a lie and the difficulty will remain until we have the general confidence that will allow us to tell the truth.

FINGAN.

# The Lusannne Treaty

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir,—Mr. Douglas's suggestion for a closer supervision of Free State foreign affairs affords some rather late in the day. His reference to the Lusannne Treaty is so worded as to imply that there is yet time to qualify British ratification by a declaration of non-acceptance by the Free State of the obligations of the Straits Convention. That is not so. "The Times" of April 17 recorded the fact that the Royal Assent had been given to the Lusannne Treaty, and, therefore, it stands ratified on behalf of the British Empire. Canada, realising the importance, not doing, protested against being bound by Imperial ratification while there was yet time to do so, i.e., while the British debate on the Treaty was in progress.

The Free State recorded no such protest, even when the Ramsey MacDonald's reference to its consent to British ratification gave the opportunity. The Free State is, therefore, fully bound on the Free State, and a ratification debate here would only be a unduly tax the ingenuity of T.D.'s efforts to conceal an ignorance of the facts, including as that displayed in the League Treaty discussion. The time for serious discussion of or immediately subsequent to the League Conference—where it was fully explained that, before Imperial ratification was signified, surely Mr. Douglas realises that. At this late hour the one which, in connection with the Treaty of London, would warrant public opinion, why the Dail was not given an opportunity considering it while there was yet time to protest against being bound by its obligations.

"BREHON."

# AMERICAN SUPPORT.

(Cont.)

Edmond De Valera.

April 23rd, 1924.

C/o Lord Mayor O'Neill, Dublin, Ireland. Praise God the Irish Republic proclaims eight years ago today still alive. We hope our continued support. Combined Hamilton County Councils, American Association Councils, President.

(Cont.)

April 24th, 1924.

Hon. J. O'Kelly, Room 301, 8 East 41st Street, New York, New York. Dear Mr. O'Kelly,—On this, the Eighty Anniversary of the Irish Republic, the Council of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic sends to you, the Irish Republic, its warmest regards and wishes, through you to the people of Ireland, greetings.

Let us our country, its traditions and its principles, we are citizens of the United States desire that all peoples shall that are ours. We maintain that all peoples should be ruled by a government of their own choice, as sovereignty reposes in the will of the people.

The Republic of Ireland is in harmony with our beliefs, and exercise our rights guaranteed us by the Constitution of the United States, we pledge our continued support of the only legitimate government in Ireland, the Irish Republic.

We congratulate you and the people you represent upon their adherence to an ideal against which your force of nationalism have arrayed themselves. The Republic of Ireland is in harmony with our beliefs, and exercise our rights guaranteed us by the Constitution of the United States, we pledge our continued support of the only legitimate government in Ireland, the Irish Republic.

French Opinion on Clause XII  
Déclaration Diplomatique et Constitutionnelle de la République Française, 1<sup>re</sup> rue de la Harpe, Paris.

The Editor, Sinn Féin, Dublin. A Charge of the breakdown of the French press; the news sent out from London faithfully reproduced. The following shows the position as summarised: "Appreciation far below realised in Ireland." A new crisis in the Anglo-Irish Agreement is impossible between the two Irelands; "British embarrassments—Break-down of the Irish Conference—disappointed news tells us that the difficulty in fixing the frontier" is really due to differences of religion. The London correspondence of "The Journal" says that, although there is a Catholic majority in Tyrone and Fermanagh, the position is (Continued on page 8.)

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