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## Irish World

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### Current Comments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The East Galway Arbitration Court has given judgment in the cases heard on July 15, the most important of which was Smyth v. Flannery and others. Plaintiff holds lands at Colmanstown consisting of 380 Irish acres. The defendants (Flannery and Co.) claimed portion to enlarge un-economic holdings, to provide for landless men, etc. The Court ordered (1) that Smyth maintain 100 Irish acres of upland around his residence, together with 60 Irish acres of bottom land; (2) that the remaining 280 acres be sold to the defendants; (3) that purchase price be fixed by Court officers; (4) costs to be borne equally by all parties and remain in undisturbed possession.

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

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

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

A Sinn Féin Parish Arbitration Court was held in Killybeggs on Tuesday, 10th inst. There were two cases listed for hearing, one for illegal pounding of cattle which was dismissed, and the other for the stoppage of a water course which was dismissed. The arbitrator, Mr. J. J. O'Connell, gave the arbitrator an opportunity of inspecting the place in dispute before giving their decision.

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

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

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

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

Wexford Borough Arbitration Court—Man charged with stealing a bottle of whiskey—sentence, to pay in three weekly instalments. Offender charged with maliciously injuring the property of a Protestant lady living in Killurin district—sentence to make good the damage and to apologise. A charge against a Protestant in the Wexford district for assaulting a Catholic was dismissed. Intricate dispute about a farm in Ballymitty settled to the satisfaction of both parties concerned. Cobbler charged before Arbitration Court for refusing to pay debt of £25 lbs. 6d. due to Wexford Co-operative Society, Ltd., for goods supplied—decision, to pay in weekly instalments. A dispute about possession of a bicycle was settled satisfactorily out of Court. Before the Regulations for the control of the drink traffic were issued, certain publicans in Wexford town and district used to sell intoxicating drink until after 12 o'clock every night and on Sundays. This abuse has now practically ceased and every publican observes the new Regulations.

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

The French Ministries of Foreign Affairs and War have issued a long printed statement on the affairs of Ireland. It includes a history of the Lloyd George Convention, a very full account of the proceedings of Ball Eireann, the memorandum presented by MM. O'Kelly and Gavin Duffy, and a full account of the proceedings of the night of the 17th Republic, and the Report of the American Delegation to Ireland.

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

Mr. Hughes of Australia who suggested across the cables that he, not Archbishop Mannix, was the true interpreter of the Australian opinion, seems to have no opinion on the subject of the English occupation of Ireland. The "Sun," of Sydney—a Tory newspaper—describes Mr. Hughes as being hoisted every time he made a public appearance in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit owing to the strong public resentment against his actions.

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

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

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

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

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

The English remedy for this state of affairs was emigration. Those who were too old to emigrate were driven into poorhouses. From an early period of the last century ships were encouraged and subsidised to carry the people of Ireland to Canada and the United States until the great English-made famine, when the emigrants would no longer "follow the flag," and when, indeed, emigration became free because there was no necessity to subsidize or direct it. At later periods, when business grew slack, it was again State-aided and encouraged.

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



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

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

Hitherto the industrial movement has been restricted to a confined and narrow groove. Excellent pioneer work for manufacturers has been done in Dublin and Cork. But the country, as a whole, was hardly touched by it. There was no general movement. It was not, and it had not the funds nor membership to achieve results proportionate to the immense amount of work performed. The times were not favourable to industrial organisation. The country has been so long engaged in the fight for land and freedom that it has become pre-occupied with political questions affecting ownership and control, rather than organisation and development. Now the time has arrived for the bending of the nation's energies to the dual work of stopping emigration, and promoting, extending and developing industries.

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

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

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

Since the war the whole question has changed again. The emigration stoppage has retained a large reservoir of labour in both town and country. The industrial question has become one of wages, food, and fuel. The future of Irish manufacture depends more on the solution of these three questions than on any other factor. The difficulties which wages creates will do more to solve the industrial problem and to protect and safeguard our manufactures than any other individual. The aspect presented most forcibly to all concerned is how to produce goods at all at a reasonable price. It is, therefore, imperative that wages should be permanently fixed at levels which will remain steady.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So much for the motive power. And, now, let us deal with the woolen machine. The least number of machines that one could have in a small yarn mill with a show of efficiency would be (1) a tender-hook willy, (2) a single carding set, consisting of a scribbler, intermediate and carder, (3) a condenser and self-acting mule, with 350 spindles. With these machines one could make yarn of 28,072 0, 0d. Of course, it may be possible to get second-hand machines, just as it is possible to get second-hand motor-cars, but the life of every engine is 10 revolutions, and there are many delicate parts in woolen machinery.

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

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

## Truth versus Tyranny

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

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

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

Ireland has a long arm, as I say, but so has England. She has here amongst you her English propagandists, and she herself has her ear to the ground in London. I hope they have heard your cheers already. Now, I should be hard to please if I were not proud of the reception that I have got to-night in the Metropolis of the United States of America. I have been welcomed warmly by your beloved Archbishop, and though I have not been personally acquainted with him for long, I can say that Ireland has no more loyal and more devoted bishop than the Archbishop of New York. He was good enough to say that he hoped I would go away with the impression that I should have been a fortunate man if I were Archbishop of New York. Now, I am a man of small ambitions, I have no intention of trying to land on British soil. I am going to land on the soil of the Irish Republic.

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

## WELCOMED BY TWO REPUBLICS.

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

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

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

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



mired in Ireland. The French Revolution had ruined Irish trade with France, and closed careers that had been open for a hundred years to the Catholic Irish. The Irish Brigade in France had remained strongly Royalist, and the Republican idea found no flaming response in the Irish Gael, essentially a believer in aristocracy. To get a Catholic insurrection had become impossible, owing to the United Irish movement. Pitt now planned to get a Republican insurrection—to alarm the Irish Parliament into a Unionist one, to that Irish movement itself. It stood, such an insurrection could not be had. United Irishism was chiefly Presbyterian, and an Ulster Presbyterian Republican rising whilst Catholic Munster Connacht and Leinster were passively or actively hostile to that rising would have defeated his object. The Catholic must be driven into the United Irish ranks, and made rise for Republicanism, too. Then the Minister could, indeed, tell the property of Ireland that it was faced with a formidable Jacobin conspiracy and force it to seek refuge in his arms.

To first raise the Catholic hopes to the highest and then dash them to earth was Pitt's plan. The reaction from hope to despair would drive sufficient Catholics into the Republican camp to make an insurrection sufficiently alarming for his purpose. Lord Fitzwilliam, one of those English politicians whose name appears in these times, was sent over to Ireland to open a new era. He was to emancipate the Catholics—he was to reform abuses—he was to pacify all Ireland with the blessing of Mr. Pitt. The poor noblemen and gentry who had about his work. Ireland cheered for joy. United Irish, Reformers, Whigs, all embraced. Here was the New Era. When expectation was at its highest, Fitzwilliam, to his astonishment, was recalled. Ireland stood stupefied. Her stupor was turned to rage when Lord Camden was sent to replace him—a man whose evil character was notorious and who, in the perfection of his unscrupulousness, equalled Fitzgibbon and Pitt.

Camden came to this country with instructions from Pitt to promote anti-Catholic feeling whilst apparently favouring the Catholics—to let the United Irish movement grow awhile and then drag on and goad its supporters into armed revolt. He carried out his instructions to the letter. In the first few months of his administration many Leinster and United Catholics flocked into the ranks of the United Irishmen. At the end of 1796 the Castle was ready for the insurrection, and its bashi-bazouks were loosed to force it.

#### THE INSURRECTION.

Not until the United Irish Society had been suppressed and declared illegal did the bulk of its supporters begin to dream of armed revolt and the establishment of a Republic. Not until after Earl Fitzwilliam's recall and the loosing on the country of hordes of British regulars and militia to harry and goad the peasantry did its leaders apply to France for aid. Not until the summer of 1796 did the United Irishmen movement become definitely welded to the idea of a Republic established by force of arms. France listened favourably to the proposal that she should invade Ireland. But when France realised that the United Irishmen did not mean to connect Ireland to France, French enthusiasm cooled. An independent Ireland and an Ireland connected to France were different propositions. Wolfe Tone, however, succeeded in securing a French expedition of aid to be sent to Ireland. Most marvelously were the mishaps that befell it. Scarce had it lost sight of the French shore the waters placidly reflecting the beams of the unclouded moon than the ship containing the naval and military commanders of the expedition lost its way and was not there after heard of while the expedition was an expedition. Across the seas supposed to be infested with British war vessels the expedition passed unnoticed, and at Christmastide arrived in Bantry Bay, and loitered there long enough to permit preparations to be made to resist its landing by the people and the authorities, who were alike hostile. While the French were in the bay, the French Commander-in-Chief remained not on the flagship, but together on a frigate, rendering communication with their staff difficult always, and sometimes impossible. Day by day the opposition to the expedition grew on shore, and day by day the strength of the expedition diminished. After Mr. Wolfe Tone, submitted plans of landing to Grouchy

the gentleman whose late arrival at Waterloo nineteen years later lost the French Empire—which Grouchy highly approved. Then one morning Wolfe Tone awoke to find that the last of the French admirals had disappeared in the night, and the remnant of the expedition turned its ships' heads towards France. The neglect of the French to take the commonest precautions for their defence if an English fleet approached amazed Wolfe Tone. "I confess it passes my comprehension," he wrote. The disappearance of the vessel containing the Commander-in-Chief in fair weather on a moonlight night astonished him. The Commanders who supplied their places and shut themselves up together in a frigate, "I cannot conceive for what reason," disgusted him. The aimless loitering, the dilatory tactics of the Frenchmen in the Bay infuriated him. "We have lost two Commanders-in-Chief—of four Admirals not one remains," he writes bitterly. And all this loss without meeting a British ship. Yet Wolfe Tone imputed no dishonour to the French Commanders. He attributed all these things to coincidence. He was the man on the spot, and however the student of the history of this remarkably unfortunate expedition may feel suspicion aroused, the fact remains that the man on the spot most interested in the success of the expedition was the most culpable in its failure did not suspect treachery in its conduct. We must, therefore, assume that fate, not the efficient Secret Service of Mr. Pitt, brought the French Expedition of 1796 to naught.

By this strange fatality the policy of Pitt was served. Alarm was spread throughout an Ireland opposed to "French rule." Pitt's policy was easily able to bend an alarmed Parliament to sanction measures that would at other times have been hotly resisted. Yeomanry corps were embodied partly of men genuinely aroused at the prospect of invasion, partly of the rascals whom they suspected wrongly as traitors. These men, inflamed with stories that the French were to be brought to Ireland by the United Irishmen to annex the country to France, confiscate property, and glut the guillotine, were incited to acts of cruelty and oppression on all whom they chose to suspect. In 1797, the French were driven to a corner of indemnity protected them from the consequences. British troops, regulars and fencibles, were poured into the country, and free-quartered through the counties. The cruelty of the Yeomanry was tame compared with the actions of the men. The result was a failure what Pitt planned. The United Irishmen, who, outside Antrim and Down in 1796, were small in numbers, spread rapidly through Leinster, on which rapine had been loosed.

Yet very unexpectedly Pitt in the end found himself hampered by the instruments he designed to use. Lord Carhampton was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland for the performance of the tragedy. He was to produce the outburst, and then crush it in rivers of blood. Carhampton was a brutal soldier, but still a soldier. He conceived it was the duty of a soldier appointed to deal with an insurrectionary spirit to crush the insurrectionary spirit before it gathered strength to appear in the open. This he proceeded to do. The Lord Lieutenant hinted to him that this was not what was required. Carhampton ignored the hint, and proceeded with his business as a soldier. Again the Lord Lieutenant intervened. A second time Carhampton ignored him. Here was a petty state of affairs. If Carhampton were not held up there would be no open insurrection, and if there were no open insurrection Mr. Pitt's Irish policy would fall to the ground. Mr. Pitt hesitated to get King George under his royal sign-manual, to order Carhampton to do as he (Mr. Pitt) wished him. Carhampton thereupon resigned, and, having resigned, publicly and bluntly declared that what Mr. Pitt wanted to do was not to suppress an insurrection, but to excite one.

Mr. Pitt made a second bad choice. General Abercrombie, a gallant soldier, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. He proceeded to spoil Mr. Pitt's plans by stopping the free-quartering, torturing, and rapine. Very much to the honest gentleman's astonishment, he found that the Government highly disapproved of this. Like Carhampton, he had believed that what Pitt wanted was tranquillity when what Pitt wanted was insurrection. Abercrombie threw up his commission, took a parting shot at Pitt by issuing a General Order stating that the British army in Ireland was in a state of licentiousness and went off to die in Egypt, fighting like a brave man

against trained soldiers instead of playing the butcher of untrained peasants.

He was succeeded by General Lake, a man fit for the work of Pitt. With Lake in command, all was ready, and on the 12th of March, 1798, the Castle received most of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and followed up by a proclamation of general martial law throughout the land. One hundred and thirty thousand English and Scotch troops and Irish auxiliaries were now at command of the Castle. Two regiments of German mercenaries were brought in and let loose on the people. On the 23rd of May the United Irishmen of half the Leinster counties rose in revolt. Their chief arms were pikes and pitchforks, and their leaders mainly private gentlemen destitute of military training. The opponents everywhere surrounded the insurgents but courage without arms and discipline and leadership cannot win battles. In a week the revolting counties were broken. Ulster, which had been looked on as the prop of the movement, did not rise in May. A fortnight after the rising in Leinster the Antrim and Down men took the field, and after a gallant seven-day fight were crushed. All this was in Mr. Pitt's programme. He had reckoned on a brief fight and assured success in Leinster and Ulster—a ten-day campaign, one crushed by the other, the most converted an abortive insurrection to a revolution—almost overturned Mr. Pitt's policy not only in Ireland, but throughout Europe.

The people of Wexford, being esteemed the most patriotic people in Ireland, had been treated to an exaggeration of the outrages inflicted in the adjoining counties. They did not resort to arms until several days after the other Leinster counties. When they took up arms they drove home the truth that the quiet man driven to combat in the most unprovoked of uprisings. For nearly a month they held Wexford against all the forces Mr. Pitt could muster against them. Had a French expedition then made Wexford it would have gone hand with Mr. Pitt. But no French expedition made Wexford. Seven weeks after Wexford had been subdued, much to the relief of the alarmed Minister, who for a fortnight trembled in the thought that his insurrection might prove a revolution, a thousand Frenchmen under General Humbert succeeded in effecting a landing in the West, where the United Irish movement had small support. Nevertheless the French were joined by a couple of thousand of the people, and their initial triumphs induced some of the militia to declare for them. In attempting to penetrate into Leinster the French and their Irish allies, less than 2,500 men in all, encountered to a British army 30,000 strong at Ballinacorney. Mr. Pitt's agents turned the incident of this little raid to profit by exhorting the opponents of French principles to consider that they could not rely on the Irish militia to protect them—they must rely on Sister England.

The last Gallic chapter in the history of Mr. Pitt's preparations for the Red Wedding of Ireland to England was the despatch of another miserable expedition to Ireland—nine ships and three thousand men—of which before it sailed a Paris newspaper published a full and minute account, with the additional information that Wolfe Tone himself was on board the flagship. This, however, does not prove that the Directory of France was composed of traitors. Rather we are to regard its members as political imbeciles. With this public information of the expedition and its strength the British arranged a reception for the French, who, after a brave battle against heavy odds in Lough Swilly, were defeated. Amongst the officers captured was Wolfe Tone. A month later he was sentenced to death in Dublin, and on the 19th of November he was dead.

On the same 19th of November Castlereagh wrote from Dublin Castle to Wickham that they "would soon have something to do," and that it was "most fortunate Parliament was not sitting." On the morning Wolfe Tone died in Newgate and the last act of the bloody tragedy of 1798 was played, Lord Castlereagh received in Dublin Castle Pitt's instruction to go ahead with the Union.

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#### 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.

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Town Hall, Cobh, Co. Cork.

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**Dr. R. J. Hayes** (Member for East Limerick)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced to May 11th to twenty years' penal servitude. Imprisoned in Dartmoor Convict Prison. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested May 17th, 1918. Deported without trial to Reading Jail, England. Released March 11th, 1919.

**Thomas Hunter** (Member for North East Cork)—Arrested May 1916. Sentenced to death on May 5th, 1916; sentence commuted to penal servitude for life. Imprisoned in Portland Convict Prison, England. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested May 18th, 1918. Deported without trial to Gloucester Jail, England. Released March 3rd, 1920. Released on April 14th after ten days' hunger strike.

**Alderman T. Kelly** (Member for St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin)—Arrested in May, 1916. Released in broken health in June. Re-arrested in November, 1919. Deported without trial or charge to Wandsworth Prison, England. Released in completely shattered health in February, 1920.

**David Kent** (Member for East Cork)—Arrested in May, 1916. Sentenced to death on June 14th. Sentence commuted to penal servitude for life. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested April 15th, 1918. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment for "seditious speech." Discharged October 15th, 1918. Warrant issued for his arrest in September, 1919. Several attempts made to put warrant into effect.

**Francis Lawless** (Member for North Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced to death May 11th. Sentence commuted to penal servitude for ten years. Imprisoned in Convict Prison, England. Released May 17th, 1917. Re-arrested May 19th, 1917. Deported without trial to Ex Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested November 11th, 1919. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment for "unlawful assembly." Released March, 1920. Frequent efforts made to re-arrest him since that date.

**James Lennon** (Member for Carlow)—Arrested September 2nd, 1918. Sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for "seditious speech." Discharged from prison August, 1919.

**Diarmuid Lynch** (Member for South-East Cork)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentence commuted to ten years' penal servitude. Released May 17th, 1917. Re-arrested March 8th, 1918. Sentenced to two months' imprisonment. Discharged May 8th, 1918. Re-arrested at jail gates and deported to America.

**Finian Lynch** (Member for Southern Kerry)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced to death May 4th, 1916; sentence commuted to ten years' penal servitude. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested August 14th, 1917. Sentenced on August 14th to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for seditious speech. Released after hunger strike in October, 1917. Re-arrested May 10th, 1918. Deported to Manchester Jail, England. Released April 19th, 1919. Many efforts made to re-arrest him in early months of 1920.

**Joseph MacBride** (Member for West Mayo)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to England. Released December, 1919. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported without trial to England. Escaped June, 1917. Re-arrested May 18th, 1918. Deported without trial to Gloucester Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919.

**Alex. McCabe** (Member for Sligo)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested February 27th, 1918. Sentenced on March 15th to six months' imprisonment for "unlawful assembly." Discharged in September, 1918. Re-arrested at jail gates and on October 13th sentenced to three months' imprisonment for a second "unlawful assembly." Discharged January 13th, 1919. Again re-arrested at jail gates and deported without trial to England. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested on October 17th to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour on charge of advocating subscriptions to Republican Loan. Released on March 20th, 1920. For third time re-arrested at jail gates and sentenced on March 27th, 1920, to three months' imprisonment on a second charge of advocating subscriptions to Loan. Released on April 14th, 1920, after ten days' hunger strike. Efforts to re-arrest him made in June, 1920.

**Joseph McGee** (Member for Longford)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced May 5th to three years' penal servitude. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested May 17, 1918. Deported without trial to Gloucester Prison,

England. Released March 11th, 1919. Warrant since issued for his re-arrest.

**Professor J. McNeill** (Member for Kerry City and National University)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced on May 30th to penal servitude for life. Deported to Dartmoor Convict Prison. Released June 17th, 1917.

**Terence McSwiney** (Member for Mid Cork)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Reading Prison, England. Released in December, 1916. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported without trial to England. Escaped June, 1917. Re-arrested November, 1917. Sentenced on November 22nd to nine months' imprisonment. Released temporarily February, 1918. Re-arrested March 14th, 1918. Discharged from Belfast on September 6th. Re-arrested at jail gates. Deported to England. Released March, 1919. Warrant issued for his arrest, January, 1920. Re-arrested August 12th, 1920.

**Countess Markievicz** (Member for St. Patrick's, Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced to death May 6th, 1916. Sentence commuted to penal servitude for life. Released July 17th, 1917. Re-arrested May 19th, 1917. Deported without trial to Holloway Jail, London. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested June 13th, 1919. Sentenced to four months' imprisonment for "seditious speech." June 17th. Discharged October, 1919. Warrant issued for her arrest, November, 1919. Many attempts made to put warrant into effect.

**Liam Mellows** (Member for North Meath and East Galway)—Arrested August, 1915. Sentenced to three months for illegal drilling. Deported to England, March, 1916. Escaped April, 1916. Participated in Easter Week Insurrection, 1916. Escaped to America.

**J. J. Maloney** (Member for South Tipperary)—Arrested March 20th, 1920. Deported without trial to Wormwood Scrub Prison. Released after hunger strike in May, 1920.

**Pierre McNamara** (Member for East Tipperary)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested May 17th, 1918. Deported without trial to Gloucester Prison, England. Died as result of his imprisonment in Gloucester on March 6th, 1919.

**Dr. P. McCartan** (Member for King's County)—Arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported without trial to England. Escaped in June, 1917. Deported to Ex Prison, England.

**Joseph McDonagh** (Member for North Tipperary)—Arrested August, 1917. Sentenced September 7th to six months' imprisonment for "seditious speech." Released after hunger strike October, 1917. Re-arrested March, 1918. Discharged July 22nd. Re-arrested at jail gates and deported without trial to Reading Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested May 18th, 1919. Deported without trial to Wormwood Scrub Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919.

**Joseph McGrath** (Member for St. James's Division, Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Stafford Prison, England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested May 18th, 1918. Deported without trial to Ex Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1920. Deported without trial to Wormwood Scrub Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1920.

**R. Mulcahy** (Member for Clontarf Division of Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Stafford Prison, England. Released December, 1916. Warrants issued for his arrest in 1919 and 1920. Many efforts made to re-arrest him.

**Joseph O'Doherty** (Member for North Donegal)—Arrested June 21st, 1920, for advocating subscriptions to Republican Loan. Released on August 1st, 1920.

**Brian O'Higgins** (Member for West Clare)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Stafford Jail, England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested May 17th, 1918. Deported without trial to Birmingham Jail. Released March 11th, 1919. Warrant issued for his arrest early in 1920.

**Kevin O'Higgins** (Member for Queen's County)—Arrested May 15th, 1918. Sentenced May 20th to three months' imprisonment with hard labour for "seditious speech." Discharged August, 1918. Many attempts made to arrest him since that date.

**Art O'Connor** (Member for South Kildare)—Arrested August 22nd, 1918. Deported without trial to Gloucester Jail, England. Released March, 1919.

**Patrick O'Keefe** (Member for West Cork)—Arrested in May, 1916. Deported without trial to Frongoch, Wales. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested May 17th, 1918. Deported without trial to Ex Prison, England. Released March 11th, 1919. Re-arrested September 12th, 1919. Sentenced by Court-martial on September 25th to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour for "seditious speech." Released after hunger strike on October 18th, 1919. Warrant issued for his re-arrest.

**J. J. O'Kelly** (Member for Louth)—Arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported to Reading Jail, England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported to Farnford, Oxfordshire. Escaped and returned to Ireland, June, 1917. Appointed Republican delegate to France, April, 1919.

**Sean T. O'Kelly** (Member for College Green Division, Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Reading Jail, England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported to Farnford, Oxfordshire. Escaped and returned to Ireland, June, 1917. Appointed Republican delegate to France, April, 1919.

**John O'Mahony** (Member for South Fermanagh)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Frongoch, Wales. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested in May 18th, 1918. Deported to Lincoln Prison. Released March 11th, 1919. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment for "taking orders in proceedings of Dr. Egan's suppressed Association." Released January, 1920.

**Pedraig O'Maille** (Member for Conamara)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Wandsworth Prison, England. May 9th, 1916. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested February 22nd, 1917. Deported without trial to England. Escaped and returned to Ireland, June 17th, 1917. Warrant issued for his re-arrest September, 1917. Many attempts made to put warrant into effect in that year, and in 1918, 1919, and 1920.

**James O'Mara** (Member for South Kerry)—Arrested or imprisoned. Went to America August, 1919.

**Count Plunkett** (Member for North Roscommon)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial June, 1916. Released from Ex Prison, England, returned October, 1916. Re-arrested May 17th, 1918. Deported without trial to Birmingham Jail. Released December 30th, 1918. Warrants issued for his arrest in June, 1919 and later.

**Dr. James Ryan** (Member for Southern Mayo)—Arrested April, 1916. Deported without trial to Stafford Jail, England. April 30th. Released August, 1916. Several attempts made to re-arrest him in December, 1917, 1918, and the early months of 1920.

**Liam De Roiste** (Member for Cork City)—Arrested May, 1916. Imprisoned for short period at Cork. Warrant issued for his re-arrest in January, 1920.

**Philip Shanahan** (Member for Harbour Division, Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Wandsworth Prison, England. Released December, 1916. Re-arrested June 19th, 1918. Sentenced June 29th to four months' imprisonment for "seditious speech." Discharged October 18th, 1918. Re-arrested January, 1919. Sentenced January 7th, 1919, to six months' imprisonment. Released in broken health July, 1919. Warrants issued for his arrest some months later for a speech to his constituents.

**Michael Staines** (Member for St. Michael's Division, Dublin)—Arrested May, 1916. Deported without trial to Wandsworth Prison, England. Released December, 1916. Warrant issued for his arrest on May 17th, 1918. Frequent attempts made to re-arrest him that year. Attempts renewed September, 1919, and constant from late until April, 1920.

**J. Sweeney** (Member for West Donegal)—Arrested March 31st, 1920. Imprisoned without charge in Belfast Jail. Deported without trial on April 12th to Wormwood Scrub Prison, England. Re-arrested May 17th, 1920, after hunger-strike of twenty-one days.

**R. Sweetnam** (Member for North Westford)—Not arrested or imprisoned.

oned. Warrant issued for his arrest February, 1920.

**P. J. Ward** (Member for South Donegal)—Arrested March 31st, 1920. Imprisoned without charge in Belfast. Deported without trial on April 12th, 1920, to Wormwood Scrub Prison, England. Released on May 7th, 1920, after hunger strike of eighteen days.

**J. J. Walsh** (Senior Member for Cork City)—Arrested May, 1916. Sentenced to death May 7th, 1917; sentence commuted to ten years' penal servitude. Deported to Portland Prison, England. Released June 17th, 1917. Re-arrested August 14th, 1917. Sentenced on September 18th, 1917, to one year's imprisonment with hard labour for a seditious speech. Released temporarily after hunger strike October, 1917. Many attempts made to re-arrest him in December, 1917, January and February, 1918. Warrant issued for his arrest and deportation, May 17th, 1918. Further attempts to re-arrest him. Arrested March 4th, 1919. Tried by Court-martial for "seditious speech" on September 18th, 1917. Escaped from Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, March 29th, 1919. Warrants issued for his re-arrest in 1919 and 1920.

**Mr. Lloyd George**, speaking in the English Commons on the 16th April, 1919, on the subject of Russia, said—

"Supposing you re-organised Russia, what manner of Government would you set up there? You must set up a Government which the people want, otherwise it would be an outrage on the principles for which we fought in the War."

**Mr. Lloyd George**, speaking in the English Commons on the 21st July, 1920, on the subject of Poland, said—

"Poland has chosen her own Government by universal suffrage, and it is intolerable that any country from outside should come in and impose upon a Government which she does not want."

These are the phrases of the British Prime Minister in support of popular Government, but his acts in suppressing popular Government are somewhat different.

(From this list one member is accidentally omitted—Mr. Austin Stack (Member for West Kerry)—who was arrested and imprisoned three times!)

## How an Insurrection was Worked Up

(The following two chapters are reprinted from the series of articles entitled, "Pitt's Policy—Imperialism in Ireland," published by "Sim Rea" in 1911. They will be read with a new significance to-day in the light of what is happening in Ireland and the "Restoration of Order Act.")

A common brawl in County Armagh developed into a pitched battle, a faction fight between Presbyterians and Catholics, both of the illiterate classes. Fitzgibbon saw in this an opportunity. He held back the disturbance and encouraged to spread it. The row extended, and crossed the borders of the neighbouring counties. The illiterates of the Protestant side dubbed themselves Peep-o'-Day Boys.

When a disturbance that an act of vigour at the beginning would have quelled had spread, Fitzgibbon ordered troops to the spot and made a sham attempt to put out the fire he was privately fanning. Such bloodshed followed, and the work of the Castle went gaily on. In due time the two factions fought a pitched battle at a place called The Diamond, where the Peep-o'-Day Boys triumphed over the Defenders. Then the Peep-o'-Day Boys re-christened themselves Orangemen. Their opponents, after many changes of name, finally dubbed themselves Hibernians. By these names the descendants of the faction-fighters who were in the vanguard of the Union were to make the Union possible even to this day, mutually playing the game of Pitt's successors against their native country and holding themselves to be fine, independent fellows and patriots in place of the evil puppets of English statecraft they are, and ever have been.

Fitzgibbon's intention had been to use the Orangemen and Hibernians—then he called them Defenders, the Peep-o'-Day Boys and Defenders—for the insurrection which Pitt had planned. Peep-o'-Day Boyism was to be spread over Munster and Connaught, and Defenders worked up against it in the two factions, having fought over three provinces, the general body of Irish Catholics and Protestants turned to Sister England for protection, and to Sister England,

stepping in, disarmed the faction-fighters and rushed a Union. The French Revolution overthrew Fitzgibbon's scheme in part. It found its most enthusiastic admirers in the Ulster Presbyterian townsmen, who ideas of liberty and equality were brought up to the point of advocating Catholic Emancipation by Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, inspired by the French Revolution, dreamed of an Irish Republic. Neither the Catholic Irishmen nor the Catholic Committee, to both of which he attached himself, shared his Republican enthusiasm.

The United Irishmen were an improved edition of the Whig Club. A Reformed Parliament and Catholic Emancipation were the principles for which they stood. The Catholic Committee stood for Catholic Emancipation—the episcopal and gentry section of it for a subordinate emancipation—"leaving to Parliament" to paraphrase a modern, "the decision of what was emancipation and how much was to be emancipated." The mainly section, led by the Catholic merchants Keogh and Sweetnam, defined Emancipation as Emancipation and demanded it in full. Outside the area where Pitt's deluded Defenders and Orangemen broke up other's heads in the name of religion, Catholic Ulster and Protestant Ulster united. In Dublin Catholics and Protestants fraternised. The Volunteers refused to parade under King William's statue, lest their Catholic fellow-countrymen might feel hurt. A new body of armed men sprang into being under the title of the National Guard. Then the French Republicans, with whom Pitt had sought allies, and who, at the beginning determined admirers of England, unconsciously fell athwart Pitt's Continental policy by occupying the Low Countries. Reluctantly they were forced to go to war with France, for the Low Countries were shall hereafter see, form the pivot on which England's European policy revolves, and must not fall under the dominion of any Continental Power.

A secret society, which would not be organised in Ireland now and any other kind of insurrection was too dangerous at the moment. Pitt resolved to break the union of Catholic and Protestant by a Catholic Relief Bill—the passed by the Protestant position speaking through the mouth of Fitzgibbon. In 1793, therefore, Catholics were admitted to all the professions and to the franchise, but excluded from the vote. This was done as a generous act of the Government in the Castle. The generosity bubble was pricked by the action of George Knox, a member of the Irish Commons. He moved that Roman Catholics be empowered to vote and vote in the House of Commons.

Major Doyle seconded the motion, which found strong support. The alarmed Castle friends of the Catholics were hurried to come out in the open and vote against Catholic Emancipation. But 69 members of that Protestant Irish Parliament to their eternal honour, were found to support, in an age when Religious Toleration was expected to come out in the open and vote against Catholic Emancipation. Had it been carried, as Pitt well knew, there would never have been an insurrection followed by a Union.

Fitzgibbon continued to play the role of ultra-Protestant even after the Act of 1793. His object was to prevent a working union of Catholic and Protestant for Parliamentary Reform. Such a measure once passed, the Union was impossible. In permitting the Catholic Relief Act, he had hurried through some highly desirable measures—the Convention Act, the Gunpowder Act, and so forth. These entitled him to make associations such as the United Irishmen illegal, to prohibit the importation of arms, and to raise armed forces responsible to the Castle. By the end of 1794 he had 36,000 armed men under his control. He had likewise suppressed the United Irishmen and forced it to become a secret society. A little later Pitt, with the aid of a scoundrel yeelp Cockayne, whom he sent to Dublin with a Protestant fellow named Jackson—an English revolutionist, the duke of the Irish machinations—succeeded in catching several of the formidable leaders of the Reform movement tripping—among them Wolfe Tone, who was allowed by Fitzgibbon to leave the country, for Tone had powerful friends. Tone sailed for America. The United Irishmen from Reformers became secret conspirators, but did not succeed in gaining the aid of the Catholic population to their side. Outside Ulster and Dublin the French Revolutionists were not enthusiastically



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

#### AMERICA'S NOBLE IDEALS.

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

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

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

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

#### IRELAND'S RIGHT TO NATIONHOOD.

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

But I often have cause to regret that Ireland, instead of having to fight for her liberty against England, had not to fight for it against Germany. I wish—it may seem a strange thing to say—but I wish the invader had been the German invader. And I will tell you why—not that I wanted any invader, but if there were to be an invader, I think I might have chosen the German, and I will tell you why. Not exactly because under German rule Ireland might have increased in population and in trade, as Alsace-Lorraine did under German rule.

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

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

(To be concluded.)

### Conciliation

#### XII.

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

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

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

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

**Contumacious.**—Mr. John E. Feeney, Claremorris, Co. Mayo, who was tried by Court-martial at Dublin on June 15th, 1920, was sentenced by the Court to one year's imprisonment on a charge of endeavouring to purchase arms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Pedestrians.**—At Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, were held up at the point of the bayonet and searched by British military.

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

Mounted troops now patrol the Dublin mountains almost every night. The s.s. Snowden arrived at the North Wall, Dublin, yesterday with 300 to 400 of the Duke of Wellington's W.R. Regiment, who marched to Gormston.

A detachment of 25 marines landed at Panchen Harbour, Keel, Achill, and occupied the local coastguard station.

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

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

#### THURSDAY, JULY 1st, 1920.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### FRIDAY, JULY 2nd, 1920.

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

#### SATURDAY, JULY 3rd, 1920.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued.)

### Poems and Ballads

*Seed Time and Harvest.* By "Rory of the Hill." (Rory MacDermot). 1/- net.

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

"Who dies if Ireland lives," is called  
"Our fathers' hearts of old;  
Are we of weaker faith than they,  
Are we of softer mould?  
Then answer ye, 'Our land is poor,  
Yet all we have is here,  
To guide her through the wilderness of peace  
As 'till the day of wars.'"

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

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

There are in all about thirty poems and ballads in this little volume, and they are all worth reading—many worth re-reading. A few titles will suffice to indicate the nature of the poems: "No Dead," "Mother of Martyrs," "The Fenian," "The Martyr," "Resurrection" (in the second part of volume); "Red Hugh's March Through Connacht," "The Coming of Eoghan Rua," "After Aughrim," "The Maid of Eniscorthy 1581," "John Mitchel," and "The Spirit of the Past" (in first part).

J.J.B.

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The Drawing will take place in the Mayor's House, Drogheda, on 20th December, 1920, under the supervision of his Worship the Mayor (Ald. P. O. Macneachain), and Ald. J. E. Murphy, Chairman, Leath Co. Council.

## SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Dean's Grange Burial Board beg to give notice that the Cemetery will be open in future for Sunday Interments from One to Three O'Clock on and after August 15th, 1920.

J. J. DUNNE,  
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## YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1920.

## The Disclosure of English Policy

English policy towards Ireland disclosed its hand this week. The Republic is to be ravaged and pogrommed while the dupes are set to clamour for "Dominion Home Rule" in order that the attention of the world may be distracted and the mind of other nations confused.

It is an old policy. It is the policy William Pitt bequeathed England, and which made and ensured for her that "hostile Ireland on her flank" she affects to dread. Pitt found the country inclining to friendship. He made them enemies and called it "Union." And England called him her greatest statesman. In the blind kingdom of English statesmanship to-day there is no one-eyed man to be monarch. The charlatans who govern England cannot realise that the methods and policy of Pitt are hopeless with a nation that has recovered its self-respect and regained the glorious confidence of its prime.

The methods carried out by Pitt's agents in Ireland to goad the people into a position where they might be easily destroyed are being followed with the imitiveness of the ape—and as little understanding. Efforts are made to induce "the Royal Irish Constabulary" to play the part of the Yeomanry of 1798, and to this end the profound thinkers of Downing Street and Dublin Castle have introduced into their ranks English ex-soldiers and English ex-criminals, and this week the Castle has produced from its official printing-office the first number of a confidential weekly journal, intended to deceive and incite the members of B.I.C. against the lives and property of the people of this country. The series of insults to Catholic clergymen, dignitaries and churches are an exact repetition of a method used in the '98 period to exasperate the Catholic people. In the past few weeks twenty Catholic clergymen have

been held up by foul-mouthed English soldiers and the indignity search placed upon them. The Bishop of Cork and Archbishop Barry have been insulted. The case of Archbishop Mannix is ringing through the world: Catholic churches have been fired at and the vestments of a priest torn by English soldiers and scattered in a Catholic church. Pitt was able to get results by such means in his day. His successors of to-day will not receive for their like efforts the results at which they aim.

The organisation of English armed forces, under officers, to attack, burn, loot, and shoot the defenceless people of Irish villages and towns, at first denied, is now silently admitted. The Irish newspapers, which were at first afraid to refer to the fact, have plucked up courage. But on another point they maintain silence—the attempted systematic destruction by English armed forces of Irish creameries. It is not obvious, at first, what menace the Irish dairying industry has for England, and a creamery seems a politically harmless institution, yet the armed forces of the English Crown march in full war array to their destruction, and the flames envelop the doomed creamery to the strains of "Rule Britannia" and "God Save Great George our King." The object of the destruction of the Irish creameries is, however, not obscure. The less creameries, the less work—the less work the less young men in the country—and, as the nominal head of the English Government in Ireland declared to "Le Journal" of Paris, the desire of the English Government is to drive the young people out of Ireland. The method of promoting emigration by utilising the English army to blow up and burn Irish creameries is but in its ethical and practical aspects worthy of the great minds of the Downing-street authors of the Peace that has ended peace—the brilliant political strategists who threaten that Ireland must be "cleansed" or must take breakfast in Downing Street. But Ireland is too strong to be compelled to choose between being shot or being poisoned.

The people of Ireland during the past few months have been treated to intensive provocation, and their leaders are to be imprisoned or otherwise disposed of. The people of Ireland will not be goaded into playing their enemy's game. They will be here two months hence with nothing subtracted from their convictions save the last lingering shred of belief that there might be some grain of honesty and good faith hidden in the English character.

What a character it is! A few weeks ago the Irish railwaymen were condemned and deserted by their fellow English railwaymen because they took direct action to obstruct war against Ireland. Last week these same Englishmen and sections of English Labour "took direct action" to prevent war against Russia. That would have interfered with their personal comfort, they felt. The London "Daily Herald" declares that British Labour has "stopped the war" against Russia, and that it has power to stop all these wars. If this be so, it is obviously responsible for the continuance of the despicable warfare that has been carried on against the people of Ireland for the past eighteen months. "It means," says our English contemporary, "to have peace signed, sealed, and delivered, with complete recognition of the Soviet Government." When does it mean to have peace signed, sealed, and delivered with the Government of the Irish Republic, or, in the alternative, cease to cant.

## The Trade War

The development of our industries was aided during the war by the cessation of competition from abroad. During five years the manufacturer has not merely had protection from the war, but he has also had a great opportunity to supply foreign markets with goods which could not have been manufactured abroad on account of the unparalleled disturbance of the war.

But the hand of England has been effectively interposed to prevent this country from reaping anything like the full advantages which were offered us by the chances of war. England has not only not stop our manufactures, but she did her best to corner our raw materials and our foodstuffs, by confining our exporters to her alone, and by outbidding our manufacturers for home materials. This policy is not even yet quite abandoned. England still continues the pretext that the

war is not over yet. Now, however, that the Turkish Treaty is reported or alleged to be signed, and that the last of the Treaties of Versailles are disposed of, there exists no longer an alleged state of war. There only exists a real war, which is not pretended, but which, nevertheless, is taking clearer shape every day. This war is not exactly a physical war; it is a trade war, a fight for the control of industry, and it is quite as decisive as any other form of war.

The great world military war has been ended. But it has been succeeded by a great world trade war. The combat is taking place even on a wider scale, because the nations which were neutral have come in. Napoleon said there was no neutrals in war. There are certainly no neutrals in the trade combats which are now proceeding so strenuously. This trade war involves three main considerations. The first is the position of England. That country unquestionably did hold the commercial leadership of the world for a very long period, for in fact just century, since the year 1815, when her supremacy was definitely established. Two nations have risen to challenge her supremacy—Germany and the United States. For the present, and probably for some years to come, the former is temporarily disposed of. There remains the United States.

The entry of that great country into world trade introduces the second consideration. The Atlantic has superseded the North Sea as the centre of commerce. The main track of commerce has changed in relative importance. The main track of commerce now practically follows the gulf stream. The opening of the Panama Canal was an event bound to affect the trade routes, but coming as it did at the commencement of the great European upheaval and the submarine campaign against shipping, it has contributed enormously to accelerate the transformation of the trade routes, and has reinforced the Atlantic route with a new and ever-growing traffic from the immense area of the Pacific. The growth of the foreign trade of the United States during the past few years has been on a scale such has never before been witnessed. This is by no means the entire cause of the war, as has been too confidently assumed at this side. It is also due in some measure to the opening of the new routes through the Panama Canal.

The policy of the United States in regard to shipping is a subject of considerable importance. It appears that the American Merchant Marine Act will bring into force the section of the Underwood Tariff Law of 1913, imposing a discriminating duty of five per cent. on goods entering the United States from foreign bottoms.

Application of this section of the Underwood Act was suspended by a decision of the Supreme Court in 1917 because the Act provided that the discriminatory duties should not apply if in conflict with any reserved treaty right. The court held that the section was in conflict with the provision of the treaty of 1815 between the United States and Great Britain.

This treaty, along with similar treaties with a score of other countries, must be abrogated under the Merchant Marine Law.

Some diplomats believe that it was the clear intent of the Congress to reserve to itself the right to impose the discriminatory duties by future legislation, but they declare that unless such legislation is enacted before the treaties are abrogated, the five per cent. discriminatory duty imposed by the Underwood Law automatically will come into force.

This contention is based on the ground that the Supreme Court did not declare this section of the Underwood Law unconstitutional, but merely inoperative because of a provision in the law itself that such duties could not be imposed if in conflict with any reserved treaty right.

So the matter now stands. The abrogation of the commercial clauses of the Treaty of 1815 will have far-reaching effects on the position of Ireland. At present American ships come to Ireland under the protection of that treaty, but, if it is abrogated, it will raise a very important international issue.

Ireland is in an altogether exceptional position, as she has practically no merchant marine of her own, the English having absorbed nearly the whole of the shipping registered in Ireland. Characteristically they complain of the Republican platform demanding the exemption of American ships from the dues of the Panama Canal. This practically means that English shipping will be asked to pay for the upkeep of

the Canal, or to give up using it, which would mean exclusion from the Pacific. But England thinks nothing of excluding Ireland from all shipping trade, even that of her own coast. If, however, Irish goods shipped in American ships are to receive preferential treatment, we shall at least receive some compensation.

## France and Ireland.

Paris, Friday.

A generation ago, after the Fashoda incident and during the Boer War, England was looked upon by the average Frenchman as the "hereditary enemy." The crimes of perfidious Albion were a subject of daily food for newspapers and in public places, but certain intestine issues and as a result the Entente Cordiale was born. It had a short but unfortunate career. After plunging Europe in ruin and arresting the onward march of civilisation it has come to an untimely and unregretted end. Of course, its moribund condition was known to well informed people for some time, but very few anticipated such a sudden collapse. Whatever may be the immediate results for the countries directly concerned the people of Ireland may look upon it as a very favourable omen, it will fortify the reawakening sympathies and gain many new friends for the Irish cause on the Continent. Its effect has already been felt and the press that for years passed in England has been ever the hypocritical qualities of England has suddenly found itself in a long sleep. France realises to-day more than ever that her hereditary enemy is England and that Albion has lost none of her perfidious characteristics.

It is impossible to say because the British troops fought because the defence of Right and Liberty—in theory at least—that we should approve of the abominable speech pronounced a few days ago by Lloyd George in support of the "Pett Law Bill." It would be ridiculous to compare this discourse of the Coalition leader with that which the same Welsh attorney pronounced a dozen years ago. However, we assert that the Irish people have the right to replace a government that doesn't please them by one that does. We know with the principle as laid down in America before the Armistice, and in accordance with the teaching of our own Revolution. It was even for this that the Frenchmen fought for nearly five years. We know to-day that England had not the same ideals except in some resounding speeches made by hypocritical politicians. Europe will follow with attention the progress of English repression in Ireland and we know many who fervently wish for the triumph of the Irish cause, for persecuted Ireland has won too many sympathies and the time has come when her long martyrdom shall end. Lloyd George, however, has been reading the life of Cromwell, and is judge by his recent pronouncements. The British Premier wishes to rival that dictator whose hands were dyed with the innocent blood of the victims of Drogheda. Ireland is entering into a critical period. Even though she conquers her freedom, we trust that God will punish England for the crimes she has so unjustly committed against the Irish people.

The "Journal de Saône et Marne" accuses the French press of being rampant for news relating to Ireland from England and prejudiced sources and states that England only allows to pass whatever suits her own propaganda campaign. "The Irish Republic," however, says the same organ, "has representatives in foreign countries, and particularly in Paris. These Delegates carry on an intensive campaign in favour of their cause."

"Never since it was posed before the universal conscience has the Irish question presented itself in so favourable a position as to-day," says the "Cantale Republican." "The dark drama that has been slowly but implacably played in Ireland during the last length and breadth of the island. The Republican party have triumphed throughout the length and breadth of the island. The British Government as a Government has ceased to exist. Being conscious of their strength the Sinn Féin are organising the country. Dáil Eireann has instituted tribunals which have replaced the English institutions that ceased to function. It has established a Land Commission and nominated officials in the judicial and administrative departments that have so loyally recognised its authority. As a Government de facto it has not its equal amongst any of the newly born nations and none of the latter have been constituted in the same thing like the same degree of legality. Side by side with their peaceful and constructive policies the Sinn Féin struggle with the English Army and Occupation which maintains itself in isolation and the country by making war on women and children. England will not give a proof of its loyalty and disinterestedness by recognising the Irish Republic. Notwithstanding Republican Ireland has already



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ed association." Discharged February  
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