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## Current Comments

"The liberty for which we to-day strive is a sacred thing, inseparably entwined with that spiritual liberty for which the Saviour of man died, and which is the inspiration and foundation of all just Government. Because it is sacred, and death for it is akin to the Sacrifice of Calvary, following far off, but constant to, that Divine example, in every generation our best and bravest have died. Some time in our grief we cry out foolish and unthinking words: 'The sacrifice is too great.' But it is because they were our best and bravest they had to die. No lesser sacrifice would have saved us. Because of it our struggle is holy, our battle is sanctified by the blood of our victors is assured by their martyrdom."—The Lord Mayor of Cork in his inaugural speech.

The soul of Joseph Murphy has followed the souls of his comrades Michael Fitzgerald and Terence MacSwiney. A few hours after the announcement of the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, this hero passed away in Cork Jail, while the Rosary and Prayers for the Dying were being recited by Father Fitzgerald. His name, with the names of all those who have died in Ireland's glorious cause, will be for ever remembered and cherished by Irish nation. Save his brightness as when.

The campaign of murder, arson, torture, shootings and floggings, continues all over the country. Not even the vivid imagination of the Hun and the English Propaganda during the war against Germany could conceive atrocities to surpass those being committed in Ireland from day to day by the armed forces of the Government which employed them to denounce the Hun and the unspeakable Turk. But the Irish nation stands undaunted and unafraid, and will continue to so stand in face of the fanaticism and brutality of a debased and inhuman foe.

On Monday last, a prominent Republican named Michael Ryan, of Curraghduff, near Thurles, who was suffering from pneumonia, was murdered in his bed by masked men, who were clad in khaki. The murdered man was Registrar of the local Republican Court. William Gleeson was taken from his home on the same night and brutally murdered. One of his murderers was heard to say: "This is not the man." Another of the assassins replied: "He will do; bring him out." His dead body was subsequently found 200 yards from his home.

Thomas Egan, 50 year of age, residing at Coshla, Athlery, was taken from his home on Sunday night by armed men, who asked him what he knew about the late Mr. Frank M. Shave-Taylor (a Galway landlord who was shot dead some time ago), and further asked him to go outside. The report says that Thomas Egan refused to leave, and was shot dead.

In Miltoen-Malbay during the week-end Charles Lynch (an old man aged 75) was shot dead in his own yard by the armed forces of England, and a young man engaged in hay-making was wounded.

On Tuesday (October 20) Mr. Michl. Walsh, a Republican member of the Galway Urban Council, was taken from his home and foully murdered by persons styling themselves "English Secret Service men." His body was afterwards flung into the Corrib by his assassins.

On Saturday night a young man named James McCormick was fatally wounded by a revolver shot fired by one of two men who entered his place in business in North Brunswick Street, Dublin. Dublin Castle, in commenting on the reports that unfarmed men were responsible for the

murder, alludes to a statement which, a few days previously, it had issued to the effect that "men, wearing uniform," had entered a house in Dublin and cut off a girl's hair, and points out that there are parties going about unauthorised to wear British uniforms. The murdered man, it is interesting to record, was a relative of young Farrell, who was shot dead some time ago by English troops while he and others were sitting around a bonfire lighted in honour of Archbishop Mannix.

Evidently one English Sunday newspaper at least has been well posted by Dublin Castle relative to the activities of "the parties going about unauthorised to wear British uniforms," otherwise it would never have been able to state that "a South Tipperary gang which he (Daniel Breck) headed normally, though not on this particular occasion, is responsible for the murders of the two Dwyers on Monday night. These were both officers in the Republican army, but were weakening in the cause, having been convinced that it is failing. They lived with their parents at a small farm, and were called out after dark and shot dead in the farmyard by Brown's gang, who are trying to throw suspicion on the police." In connection with the latest Dublin Castle communiqué re the crimes committed by parties going about "unauthorised, or wearing uniforms," it is a pity it had not been issued at the time Lord Mayor MacCurran was murdered. It would have saved the "Daily Mail" and other English papers much trouble!

The English paper that thus refers to the Murders of the two O'Dwyers in another column—"Nothing is easier than to buy a column or two in certain Paris papers. It is a recognised part of the revenue of most French newspapers, the journalistic code of honour being very different on the other side of the Channel from what it is here." We have emphasised the last words. "The journalistic code of honour" in England, we hope and believe, is, indeed, very different to the journalistic code of honour in France—and all other countries!

Among the places destroyed by the armed forces of England during the past week was the famous Hosiery Factory at Bandon, and the Abbey-dorney Farmers' Creamery in Kerry was burned to the ground. Hay and other agricultural products were destroyed in the Kanturk district and in Miltoen-Malbay by the armed forces of England.

A young man named Flynn died in Mountjoy Prison on Monday morning.

While Requiem Mass for the soul of Michael Fitzgerald was being celebrated in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork, on Tuesday, armed English troops entered and handed a notice to the officiating clergy intimating that not more than one hundred people would be allowed in the funeral procession.

The unanimous pronouncement of the Catholic hierarchy at Maynooth is being forwarded by their Lordships, with a covering letter, to every Catholic bishop in the world.

"On a scale truly appalling have to be reckoned," say their Lordships—"Countless indiscriminate raids and arrests in the darkness of the night;

Prolonged imprisonments without trial.  
"Savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no confidence;

The burning of houses, town halls, factories, creameries, and crops;

The destruction of industries to pave the way for want and famine—

by men maddened with plundered drink and bent on loot;

"The flogging and massacre of civilians—all perpetrated by the forces of the Crown who have established a reign of frightfulness which, for murdering the innocent and destroying their property has a parallel only in the horrors of Turkish atrocities or in the outrages attributed to the Red Army of Bolshevik Russia."

"Let us use well the all-powerful weapon of prayer on which He bids us rely," conclude their Lordships; "and to that end the Bishops direct that a Novena, with the usual devotions, be held in the church in preparation for the Feast of the Irish Saints on the 6th of next November, and that while this trial lasts the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, Queen of Peace, be recited after the principal Mass on days of obligation and every public Mass on other days."

"They also very earnestly recommend that in every household, along with the Rosary at night, the same Litany be said, to obtain from the Divine Mercy peace, freedom, and every blessing, spiritual and temporal, for our beloved country."  
"The Bishops undertake to celebrate Mass for this purpose on the 6th of November, and they request the priests of Ireland, secular and regular, so far as they are free, to do likewise."  
"The Novena opens on Thursday of the present week."

Mr. Arthur Griffith made the following statement to a number of American Press representatives in reply to the British Parliamentary debate:—

The English Parliament, by refusing an inquiry into the atrocities its Government's forces are committing in Ireland, convicts that Government of instigating and directing them. The attempt of the English Government's spokesmen to pretend that these atrocities are "reprisals" can deceive no one who has been in Ireland. The atrocities now being perpetrated in Ireland are part of a calculated plan made by the English Ministry some months ago in the vain hope of breaking the spirit and will of the Irish nation.

The constitutional expression of the will of the Irish nation registered at the General Election of 1918 was met by an arbitrary decree from the English Government declaring the duly elected representatives of Ireland an illegal body, and banning the national and political organisations which three-fourths of the people of Ireland supported.

A policy of repression, based upon nocturnal raids, arrests and imprisonments, was pursued towards the people's representative and the people themselves. The restraint with which this policy was enforced did not avail to abate its rigours, and as time passed repression became more brutal, and to it was added calculated provocation. The Press that exposed and condemned the ill policy was suppressed or threatened with suppression. Public meeting was interdicted, and all the organic means by which a nation expresses itself was sought to be stifled. Political speech, whose business it was to denounce men for their opinions, and agents provocateurs, whose work was to instigate outrage, were scattered through the country.

Consequences that inevitably flowed from the efforts to treat the lawfully registered vote of the people as a crime, and the electors and their representatives as criminals, were in turn used as an excuse before the world for the sacking of Irish towns and villages, the destruction of Irish factories, creameries and homes, the burning of Irish homes, homesteads and harvests, and the murder of Irish citizens, until to-day, throughout the major part of Ireland, a system of terrorism and destruction surpassing anything alleged against the Germans in Belgium in the late war is established and carried on by the armed forces of the English Government.

Under this system the following are being perpetrated:—

- (1) Assassination of Irish citizens.
- (2) The burning of Irish factories, creameries and harvests.
- (3) Nocturnal raids, arrests and imprisonments.
- (4) Sacking of villages and towns.
- (5) Looting of private property.
- (6) Murderous assaults on clergymen and laymen.
- (7) Torturing of political prisoners.
- (8) Stoppage of inquests on murdered Irishmen.
- (9) Expulsion of workmen from their employment.

English policy in Ireland has been for centuries based on the idea that Ireland's impoverishment was essential to England's prosperity. It is a false idea, but English statesmen so-called have held and continue to hold it. A year ago the English Lord Lieutenant stated in an interview with the Press that there were too many young men in Ireland, and that it was the policy of his Government to drive them out of Ireland. Although England, in the past seventy years, has driven over four million people out of Ireland, she still lusts for more extermination and extermination. Since she has failed this time to force the people out, she has resorted to a policy of murder and the destruction of towns, factories, and harvests in an attempt to starve the nation.

She proposes within the next few weeks to blockade Ireland, and she further proposes to suppress the news of what is happening in the country. Americans, send your pressmen here to turn on the light. Under such a smoke-screen of calumny as that set up by the Greenwood and Cursons last night in the English Parliament she plans to murder the leaders of the Irish nation and choke it into insensibility. Its leaders she may murder—the Irish nation she can never conquer.

While Greenwood was foully libelling the Irish nation last night, Mrs. O'Dwyer, of Banash, was standing beside the bodies of her two dead boys, dragged from their beds and murdered before her eyes by English soldiers. To those condoling with her she said: "My two boys, who worked our farm, are killed without reason or cause. They were shot down practically before my eyes. But let it be so. We will bear it all for Ireland."

That is the spirit of an Irish mother 70 years old. That is the spirit of Ireland, and the murderous policy of England can never prevail against it. Our country is in agony, but our country has been redeemed, and those who are suffering or dying for Ireland know that God is in His Heaven, and that the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed which has been established in Ireland will never be uprooted by the efforts of the brutal militarism which is to-day England.

A great meeting, attended by over 3,000 citizens of Paris, was held last week in the Great Hall at the Rue Puteaux, under the authority of the League of the Rights of Man, to express the sympathy of France with Ireland. The speakers included distinguished French publicists of all parties, including MM. Henri Guernut, Paul Louis, Marc Sangnier, Lucien Le Foyer, and Ferdinand Buisson. The following resolution was adopted with enthusiasm:—"We believe that there will be durable peace only when right is respected. That in virtue of the principle proclaimed by the Entente, Ireland has the right to dispose of herself and to be granted a constitution of her own choice. We hope that the

English people who care for peace and justice will aid the Irish people in their legitimate efforts to emancipate themselves. We are convinced that a universal Society of Nations, democratic and strong, will recognise the rights of Ireland and guarantee to the minorities of language and religion the necessary liberty."

The counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh are, by a large majority, in line with the counties of the South, West, and East, and North-west, for Irish independence. Yet the partitionists seek to tear them away and annex them to the four counties in which there is a Unionist majority. Although Tyrone has always had a very large anti-Unionist majority, nevertheless Tyrone County Council had been, from its inception, in the hands of the Unionists. The result was achieved by gerrymandering the areas. When Proportional Representation was installed, the Unionist gerrymandering of Tyrone, in order to defeat its purpose, secured, and the English Local Government Board in Ireland, a new gerrymandering of the county in the hope of keeping their hoofs fixed on the neck of the majority. Despite every effort, they were defeated at the polls, and for the first time the majority in Tyrone came into power.

This the oligarchy could not stomach, and immediately set out declaring that the election had been won by "shameless and wholesale perjury." Their spokesman in the English Parliament stated that the perjury was colossal and a public scandal. Election petitions were instituted and an sympathetic tribunal appointed to hear them. They have been heard, and the tribunal has been forced to admit that the elections were fairly won. Tyrone County Council, therefore, remains in the hands of the majority, and, for the first time in the history of that body, one official whose views are the views of the majority has been appointed. While the minority controlled it, no person whose views were not the views of the minority was ever, no matter how transcendent his merits, permitted to occupy any post. This was "Ulster Unionist tolerance."

In the fight to keep control of Tyrone by foul means, the resources of the English Government were placed at the disposal of the Unionist Caucus. To help it, Mr. Geo. Murtagh, who had charge of the elections, was arrested before the polling, and half-a-dozen of the best workers were similarly seized. All has failed—Tyrone Co. Council has passed from the control of a little clique into the control of the people of the county, which vehemently repudiates "Ulster Unionism," is sought to be forced under its control by the Partition Bill. Of the "six counties" planned to form the Partition area—two are by a decided majority in the hands of the majority, and two would undoubtedly be a plebiscite vote against partition. But the fraud is sought to be played on the world of a homogeneous "six-county" area, opposed to Irish independence. The worst of the trickster politicians believe.

The "well-disposed citizens" whom the English Government plans to enroll "police" in the North of Ireland have a grievance, already, says the "Tyrone Herald." "Barrels of porter and jars of whiskey—these were some of the 'trifling things' with which the hoodlums of Lisburn amused themselves during the August disorders, when Catholics were driven wholesale from that unhappy town and their houses reduced to ashes. While the blackguardism was going on, several hundreds of Catholic and well-disposed citizens were enrolled as 'Special Constables,' and many of these, it appears, who were the cause



of the savage outbreak, applied them selves with vigour—not towards the establishment of peace, but to the prosecution of the campaign of savagery for the suppression of which they were supposed to have been enlisted. Several cases arising out of their 'loyal' enterprise came before a court last week, and each of the defendants was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour. The evidence showed that while the public houses of Catholic were being looted, there was 'a crowd of thousands on the street', and one of the defendants was 'rolling a barrel of porter towards the Market Square'. In another case there were 'twenty or thirty men rolling barrels towards the bridge', in another the defendant was 'carrying out jars of whiskey', while in another the defendant was found 'stripping the shelves of bottles'. Following upon the trials and sentences, three hundred members of the force of 'Special Constables' must have resigned to give their country against the sentences passed on their friends. 'The Right to Loot'—that is the latest demand of the 'Special Constables' of Lismore and Belfast. And these are the men who are charged with the duty of preserving peace: these are the men who have a right to apply religious and political tests to Catholics; these are the men who can possess arms and ammunition without fear of being arrested or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; these are the men who are a shining example to the wicked people of the South and West of Ireland; these are the chosen few to whom the praise of whose virtues runs deep pits in North-East Ulster ring! Well done, Lismore!

The revenue of Ireland is 484 millions for the year ending March 31st, as adjusted to give the true contribution. The English Treasury is the manufacturer of the adjustments. Its official estimate was only forty-two millions, so that our revenue was underestimated by officials at Whitehall by no less than six or seven millions. They do not mind an excess of that description. At all events, readers of 'Young Ireland' will recollect that in our financial notes we estimated the revenue of our country at nearly forty-nine millions. There is reason to believe that the London Board makes a deliberate underestimate in order to deceive the taxpayers into believing that they are not fleeced as close as they feel. The taxes have since been increased—at least in the case of duty, and the English collectors are given the task of trying to lift well over fifty millions from us this year.

"We used to be told that a free Ireland could not pay its way," says the 'Canadian Freeman'; "now Lloyd George objects because it could pay its way too cheaply."

Some of the effects of the hold-up of British ships in New York were disclosed by Mr. De Valera, head of the bacon, ham, and lard department of the Ministry of Food in his address to the Federation of Grocers' Association held on October 13. As reported in the 'Grocer' of October 16, he said:

Owing to the Lord Mayor of Cork's fast there has been a complete hold-up in America for five or six weeks of British ships which carried the bacon. He was glad to say that hold-up was now released, and new ships were coming along, but during those five or six weeks they had an exceedingly trying time. At no time during that period had the Ministry ended the week with a day's stock, and consequently the retailers had often had to have the tail end of the stock. He wanted them to understand that they were living in exceedingly difficult times. The grocer felt it in his way, and at the Ministry they knew that the trade suffered a great deal in these directions, but after all the Ministry felt it even more than the grocer.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association, 12 Molewark Street, is in receipt of a considerable amount of information relating to markets abroad, which is at the disposal of all inquiries.

Reports relative to the trade industry and finance of Morocco, China, Japan, Australia, Holland, Egypt, South Africa, Argentine Republic, Denmark and Turkey are on hand, and may be examined on application, together with some confidential information relative to Swiss and Portuguese East African trade.

Mrs. L. Fawcett, writing from New York, forwarded cuttings relative to

the prohibition of the Panhandle State, all of which point out that interference with a passenger vessel may be followed by interference with American carried commerce between Ireland and the United States, the value of which has grown very rapidly within the last year or two. It is stated that passengers on the Panhandle will be subjected to the same lawyers to go into the question of passenger rights. One leader indicates that feeling on the matter among business men has run very high, and adds: "The present control of the State Department will end on March 4th next. It would probably end sooner if our National officials were subject to the recall."

The Association is also in receipt of United States Government Commerce reports dealing with shipping, industrial, and banking developments, and pointing out what agricultural co-operation in Ontario has done for the farmers and the dairy, fruit, and fruit-growing Departments of its national economy.

Information on the commercial utilization of the waste from slate quarries is being received. It indicates that paints, distempers, putty, bricks, slates, tiles, mortar, flooring, plaster and moulded goods have been manufactured from the slate chippings and waste. A machine giving entirely satisfactory results for the crushing and grinding of the slate has not yet been discovered. Another article deals with the utilization of leather waste for heels.

The Dublin Industrial Development Association has received information that a good market exists in South Africa for agricultural machinery, and that Irish-made goods would be very favourably received. It is suggested that advertising in the agricultural papers published in Capetown, Pretoria and Bloemfontein would bring results, and the Association has written to the firms manufacturing agricultural necessities giving addresses of the papers recommended.

The 'New York American' writes:—It appears from wireless messages that Captain Stone, in command of the American liner 'The Pennsylvania State', which has recently left this port with passengers and mails for Queenstown, Ireland, has received orders from our State Department not to touch at that port, but to proceed to Boulogne, France. Thus the orders of the British Admiralty, forbidding American merchant ships to enter certain foreign ports, are neatly accepted by the Administration which has been emphasising upon 'freedom of the seas'. In the face of the world war Great Britain did as she pleased with American merchant ships and their American official protests. Now, in time of ostensible peace, freedom of the seas is again denied us, and there is not even a protest.

The 'Penhandle State' is the first of a new passenger vessel built in an American shipyard in nearly fifty years. She is owned by the United States Government. Passengers aboard her who bought tickets in good faith under the representation and belief that they would be landed at the port of Cork, have instructed their attorneys to see if they have any rights which can be upheld. These attorneys have placed the question before the State Department and the United States Shipping Board, but the latter body is powerless, and the former has already acquiesced in the British embargo.

The present control of the State Department will end on March 4th next. It would probably end sooner if our National officials were subject to the recall. Will the next step in Britain's isolation of Ireland be the stopping of all American carried commerce between Ireland and the United States?

As we go to press on Tuesday, we are unable to announce the funeral arrangements for the Lord Mayor of Cork. The daily papers will, however, give timely information.

The following are the best stanzas in 'K.K.'s' poem on the sacrifice of the Lord Mayor of Cork and his colleagues in Cork Jail:—

Breath their names in hallowed places,  
Write their story down in gold,  
Tell it to the wise and simple,  
Teach it to the young and old.  
Tell it round our Irish firesides,  
Sing it in our concert halls,  
It is a tale of wonderful beauty—  
It is our very soul enthralled.

Make it known o'er Connaught's boglands,  
Trumpet its praise of worth and glory  
Send it to the homes of the Gael,  
Whisper it on Tara's hillside,  
Where the Croppies lie at rest;  
They shall bear its echo Heavenwards  
To be chanted by the blest.

Let it chime on Bells of Shandon,  
Dream it 'neath the old oak tree,  
Read it on the stormy ocean,  
Think it by the calm blue sea;  
When we turn to our Creator,  
Mourning and glad of his loving line,  
Thank Him for our men who hunged,  
That our Mother may be freed.

## Terence MacSwiney

To know Terence MacSwiney was to love him. The moment you looked into his deep, dark eyes—now, let us say, gazing lovingly into the face of the Man of Sorrows Whom he worshipped—you knew that you were looking into the eyes of an idealist, a dreamer, if you prefer the word; the moment you heard his voice you knew that you were listening to a man who meant what he said—a man determined to do a man's part towards the realisation of his ideals, his dreams; the independence of his beloved country. His life was devoted to Ireland; he has given up that life for her sake. Others there are more qualified than I to speak of Terence MacSwiney's labours in the cause of Ireland's liberty. To them I leave that task. My poor tribute to the memory of Ireland's latest martyr is the result of only a fortnight's friendship with him, but the circumstances of that friendship are so tragic that they afford me an excuse for adding my voice to the voices raised in memory of the man who died for Ireland.

In connection with the Ulster Training Camp in Wicklow in August, 1916, I first met Thomas Ashe, Dick Coleman and Pierce McCas. They met their ends in British Prisons. On 'The Shamrock Camp' in September, I first met Terence MacSwiney. Decked out like them, with a crown of glory, he has followed his brave comrades to a martyr's grave. During his weeks of captivity, Terence MacSwiney passed along a way to Calvary—carrying his cross for Ireland—I have often gone back in memory to the Camp at Cobham Point, tried to visualise that dark countenance in which were enshrined those wonderful eyes which closed on Monday morning last in Brixton Jail to open no more—on his torturers. Terence MacSwiney, when I met him in the Shamrock Camp in 1915, dressed in the uniform of an officer of Irish Volunteers, looked every inch a soldier and a man—a soldier and a man of whom any nation might be proud. Terence MacSwiney, unlike a few of the younger men in the Camp, took the 'business' of soldiering very seriously from the commencement of the training, and that he eventually became proficient in the 'trade', or, if you will, the position he subsequently attained to in the Republic's Army amply testifies. When not in training, Terry MacSwiney was as big a 'joker' as the rest of us! A moment ago I said he was every inch a soldier—I mean a soldier minus barracks-room expressions and the other accomplishments that seem to be considered by some people a sure indication of bravery. etc. Terence MacSwiney never mentioned the name of God but reverently, and, in his memory, serves me right, it was he who suggested the nightly recital of the Rosary in the Camp. Socially, I came in contact with Terence MacSwiney on a few occasions only. One I met him at his returning to the Camp at night from a farmhouse, a few miles away, where a dance had been given in honour of 'the soldiers of Ireland'. He had not been at the dance, but he had been told me, having an interesting chat with a Penian—an old man who, by the way, had met us that day as we were out on manoeuvres and greeted us in Irish. Terence MacSwiney had answered him, found out who he was, and had gone to seek him later in the evening. That old man, if he is still alive, will mourn at the death of his friend, and, if he be dead, was surely one of the great men who he crossed the Bourne. On another occasion I had a long chat with Terence MacSwiney as we cycled along from Woodlawn to Gorteen. The subject of our conversation was O'Donovan Rossa, 'the unfeatable', who had died four or five weeks previously, and had been in a test in Glasnevin. A reference of mine

to the booklet he, Terence MacSwiney, had just written about that great man brought from his lips an eulogy to his memory that would burn the paper on which one would attempt to write it. One sentence of O'Donovan Rossa's was Terence MacSwiney's hero, and the sufferings which he endured for the cause of Ireland filled the mind of the man who was to follow so closely the path he trod. One sentence of O'Donovan Rossa's in relation to the English Government which Terence MacSwiney laid great stress on, both in his booklet and his conversation about him, was this remark: "They can't like hell." How truly could Terence MacSwiney use these words to sum up the attitude of the English Government in his own case! Since the Camp, I met Terence MacSwiney a few times in Dublin—the first occasion being the opening of An Dail; the last occasion being in August of this year, when he was in Dublin in connection with the Oireachtas. In bringing to a close the life of Terence MacSwiney the English Government has demonstrated to exist a soldier and a man, but it has given us a martyr to lead us on to victory. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our debt." J. J. B.

## Irish Councils for Irish Freedom

The following extract from a pamphlet just issued shows how, at the recent local elections, the country registered a verdict even stronger than at the General Election in support of Irish independence:—

An Examination of these Elections shows that the increasing support given to the Republicans was at the expense of the Nationalists, who have practically ceased to exist as a separate party, and the Unionists, whose percentage of 22 in December, 1918, dwindled to less than 12 per cent. in June, 1920. The fact that the later Elections were held under a system of Proportional Representation, designed according to the English 'Daily Mail', to cripple the power of Sinn Féin, makes these results all the more significant. They show that even in the North-East Ulster, where Sinn Féin is regarded as a stronghold of Unionism, a very large number of people have transferred their allegiance from Unionism to Republicanism. Mr. Louis J. Walsh, a prominent Republican who heads the list of candidates in the Ballynally division of Antrim County, could not have reached that position without the support of many who had hitherto been regarded as Unionists, and that the same thing happened in Ulster is proved by the fact that only 16 of the 42 Board of Guardians, and only 19 of the 55 District Councils were retained by the supporters of the English connection. The younger men in the Camp had rejoiced in the capture of nearly three-fourths of the Irish constituencies by the supporters of the Irish Republic, the English press explained that the result was due, not to the belief of the Irish people in independence, but to the fear of conscription and to various other causes arising from the war. The reply of the Irish people thirteen months later, when these causes had disappeared, was to place the adherents of Irish Independence in charge of the Municipal Councils throughout four-fifths of Ireland, and five months later still to put the Republicans in control of nine-tenths of the Municipal Councils, Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians all over Ireland.

The new system of Election—Proportional Representation—was the result of a demand made by the anti-Irish members of the General Election. The 'Irish Times', the organ of the English Garrison in Ireland, stated editorially:—

"If the Government really intends to live up to its programme, it will insist that all these elections shall be decided by Proportional Representation. No more beneficial measure of reconstruction could be given to Ireland."

**P.R. OPERATIVE IN IRELAND ONLY.**  
On May 29th, 1919, the London 'Times' demanded that P.R. be enforced in Ireland, and three months later the English Parliament agreed to this demand, and ordained that P.R. should be operative in Ireland only. It is quite obvious that the only reason for this demand is to prevent the capture of the local Councils by Sinn Féin. The 'Manchester Guardian' of January 12th, 1920, stated:—  
"Dublin Castle suddenly discovered P.R. as a means whereby the Sinn Féin Majority would be

prevented from becoming a Sinn Féin monopoly—and Dublin Castle decided to scrap the entire system of electing local governing bodies in favour of a complete scheme of P.R."

**TO DEFEAT SINN FEIN.**  
Even though the intention of the English Government was perfectly clear to Sinn Féin, that party did not oppose the scheme, but rather welcomed it as the ground that the principle was just.

**DE VALERA ACCEPTS P.R.**  
Mr. De Valera, speaking in the Dublin Mansion House on April 9th, 1919, said:—

"Whether it benefited us or not, I would be in favour of the principle (P.R.) because it is founded on justice. We know the object for which it was designed. It was a crooked object. Let us meet it in a straight way. That is the principle guiding us the whole time. Meet the crooked by the straight and the straight will win."

The authors of the change, in spite of repeated demands, refused to explain the complicated system to the Electorate. With the approach of the Municipal Elections in January, 1920, the task of enlightening the voters and officials on the intricacies of the new system was undertaken by the Proportional Representation Society, a voluntary organisation, and in this regard Sinn Féin has been the surprise of the English Press.

**ENGLISH PRESS SURPRISED.**

"That Sinn Féin, instead of opposing a change declaredly designed to cripple its power, should willingly help in its development, is more than remarkable," London 'Daily Mail', January 6th, 1920.  
"Naturally, reasonable men looked to the Government, who had laid the foundations of a social revolution, to see the job through. Dublin Castle thought otherwise, and left the indigestible mass of legislation to take care of itself. Incredible as it may seem, not a single penny could be obtained for the purpose of explaining the system to the voters." 'Daily Mail', 6th January, 1920.

Neither private remonstrance nor public attack could induce the authorities to spend one penny on explaining what P.R. meant to either candidates or electors. 'Manchester Guardian', January 12th, 1920.

**SMOOTH ELECTION DESPITE CASTLE.**

In spite of Dublin Castle, the Election was carried out smoothly and effectively. The proportion of spoiled votes was less than 4 per cent. over all Ireland—a fact which bears excellent testimony to the intelligence of the Irish voters and to the thoroughness of the voluntary associations which undertook the work of training the officials and instructing the voters.

**NEW CONSTITUENCIES MANUFACTURED.**

Even with the safeguard of P.R., the English Government did not feel safe, and on September 19th, 1919, the whole of Ireland was broken up into new electoral divisions, in which the friends of the English Government in Ireland were given the advantage in all doubtful areas. This creation of new constituencies was arranged without consultation with the Irish people or their representatives. In the Revision Courts during October and November disclosures were made which showed that the official registration agents in the North of Ireland, who were appointed because they belonged to the Unionist Party, had refused to return as qualified to vote, large numbers of Sinn Féin and Nationalist property-holders who were thus disfranchised. (See Irish Daily Press, October 18th, November 13th, November 26th, December 26th, 1919.)

In two electoral areas predominantly Republican—Boyle, Co. Roscommon, and Nenagh, Co. Tipperary—the election officials refused to supply nomination papers to the Republican candidates. When the matter was raised in the Dublin Courts the Judges postponed consideration of the cases until it was too late to proceed with the nominations, and their decision was withheld until the evening of the poll.

**INTIMIDATION AND AGGRESSION.**

The following is a list of the acts of aggression committed by the English Government in their efforts to discourage the Sinn Féin preparations for these Municipal Elections, and to intimidate the supporters of the Republican Party in Ireland.

**1919.**  
Sept. 20—English Republicans in Ireland suppressed.  
Oct. 15—Sinn Féin and Republican organisations in Dublin suppressed.







## THE OUT-GOING OF FROUDE.

(Continued from page 5).

Miscellany contains a lurid description by the same cleric of Sussex's terrible savagery in Tir-Eoghan, and the Historical MSS. Commission Reports have given the Dublin Council's reply on behalf of Sussex—this evidence cannot have been known to the author. Such falsification of History is reprehensible.

The account of the settlement of the Mac Donnell's in Antrim is fiction, as a reference to Rev. Geo. Hills valuable book on this great family will prove.

Seán did not sail for England "early in 1562," but on November 3rd, 1561. Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley) wrote that Seán's submission in London was in English and Irish. Lord Hamilton knows better, for his imagination helps him to declare that O'Neill had no English. Again it enables him to make Seán perform a most villainous feat: "he came in [to Elizabeth's Court] on his knees." This gem is followed by "His crimes were against his own countrymen and his only quarrel with the English lay in the fact that he had grossly violated the compact entered into with Cusack in 1552."

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Seán's "body was respectfully laid out in the McDonnell's private chapel, and then buried." No other authority is given for this novel assertion. Here is what a historical Alexander Oge Mac Donnell, after the bawling handling of this cruel tyrant, caused his mangled carcass to be carried to an old ruinous church near unto the camp, where for lack of a better shroud he was wrapt in a kerse's old shirt, and there miserably interred. [Act of attainder.]

His naive way of citing original authorities is seen in many instances. Let this example suffice: "In the words of the contemporary State Papers, 'Shane's chief policy was unity.' See also, 'Shane. This gained for him in many of his misdeeds (in other directions) the connivance of the statesmen who governed Ireland.' These words are the personal opinion of the editor of the printed Calendar of Irish State Papers, written by Sir Henry Sidney (1509-1573), and are quoted herefrom (page xiii) by Lord Hamilton—with the exception of his own bracketed additions. Let us see the real O'Neill's policy towards the Scots as stated in the Proclamation, June, 1561, and harped on in the letters of Sussex and of Fitzwilliam. Here is what it reads: 'whereof Shane that lately and traitorously had always been conbanded with them [the Scots] whiltes they were taken enemies, doo so some as he perceived them to be drawn to his Majesty's devotion either by force presently against them, and so being altered and traitor, and to being altered when they were taken enemies, become also a traitor and enemy to them when they gave true and frendlie to this estate.'"

There have been many travesties of Irish History, but none more glaring than that of Shane O'Neill's policy and aims. Misapprehending the grandest eulogy in that collection of praise of friend and foe, The Four Masters, Bagwell wrote that Seán's ambition was limited by Ulster. This view has been accepted in many works, and is told that the Professor of Modern History in the National University teaches the untruth. The Proclamation, the Act of Attainder, the letters of Sussex, Cecil, Sidney, Earl of Leicester, John Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, the O'Reilly's, Clancarrick, not to mention O'Neill's own letters, or the unprinted Irish MSS. prove that he aimed at the freedom of all Ireland. Regarding his attacks on the loyal Ulster chiefs, the Proclamation unfolds his aim: "By warres and other practises to drawe O'Donnell, O'Rayle, and others her Majesty's noble and knightly subjects to forget their duties to God and to her Majesty, and to joyn with him in his damnable and traitorous enterprises. He claimed to be the 'King of the Irish' of this realm and sometime their patron, protector, and defender. The same Act of Parliament rejoicing over the happy event of his murder declares that out of his independent Ulster would "like to have grown the infection and subversion of this your [Elizabeth's] whole realm of Ireland."

Sir W. Cecil wrote to Rockingham in 1561, August 26th: "Upon him [Shane] dependeth the whole weal or loss of Ireland; if he yield, all is the Queen's Majesty's at present; if contrary, the real will be in danger." Let me summarize shavings of documents. Every foe of England was Seán's friend; every friend of

hers his enemy. The Proclamation explicitly says so. The Gaels declared "he help the side that was downcast." Every proclaimed traitor, every outlawed man, found in Seán a benefactor and an admirer—so Sussex tells us.

He takes much pains to try to prove that O'Neill was a coward: this is done by perversion of the words of the Four Masters and by suppressing those of the English writer in Book of Howth, which he freely quotes in other connections. Here are the suppressions: "This O'Neill was a prudent, wise captain, and a good giver of onset or charge upon his enemies." "He had great policy in the wars, that he was practised with, no man more in his time." "He had good men according to the wars of his country." Lord Hamilton cannot have read of the perturbation of Elizabeth's Bishop of Meath when he found Dublin hymning the praises of Seán because of his "vaillance." In an address to Seán, Tadg dal O'Higgins compliments him for his Chuchallian valour; and O'Donnolly likens O'Neill to the greatest heroes of Ireland's past.

Thus from the English scribe: "His like was not a long time by the memory of man." Sidney, Holinshed, the Lord Chancellor Cusack, the Dean of Armagh, the Act of Attainder—all testify to the richness of Ulster under his rule.

Lord Hamilton is comprehensive in his condemnation of Seán. "In his own person he was a repulsive character." The polished and subtle Spanish Ambassador considered him a more honest and honorable gentleman than the over-dressed and effeminate Elizabeth's court. Mary Queen of Scots and the Pope saw him with different eyes from those of this scion of the Hungry House of Hamilton. "As far as can be gathered from contemporary chronicles he had no virtues." I have shown that contemporary chronicles and Lord Hamilton have no intimate acquaintance. He quotes from English authority in the Book of Howth a portion only of what is said therein in favour of Seán and in disfavour. But falsification of authorities, even printed ones, is a favourite occupation of Lord Hamilton, as those two books amply demonstrate.

It would be absurd to expect a fair judgment from foes of Ireland on the greatest Irishman of the Sixteenth century—a man who had no rival in authentic Irish History. The Four Masters liken him to the Sun God of Irish mythology—the Hammer of the Fomorians—Lugh of the Mighty Blows, the Moses who led his people out of the slavery of Egypt; the Man who filled out the bowed heads of his dispirited people towards the sun and gave them a new, happy, life, a renewed, glorified spirit. The coronation of Seán as a new Seán seemed Heaven to his people and to all Ireland. The Four Masters summarised it in two words: Conor Mac Nessa—the Golden Age of Ulster. Perhaps no man in Irish History was so loved as Seán—even on the scraps of then English and Latin sources. His name is revered. Philip O'Sullivan in Spain meeting the shattered and broken, yet indomitable, grandsons and great-grandsons of Seán's contemporaries collected the truth from their lips that O'Neill was loved by the Irish, Old and New—Catholics and Protestants. Never was such a good man since Christ lived on earth. I wrote one who knew and loved O'Neill.

In spite of the destruction of all Irish material referring to him—O'Donnolly's eulogium surviving only in a late copy of what must have been passed from tongue to tongue—the grandeur of Seán was imbedded in the hearts of the ever-faithful people of Ireland. Sir W. Fitzwilliam wrote that his "sons were greatly beloved." They carried on their father's tradition for years to Malby and other Englishmen "The most venomous and hateful persons of this land" (to English rule).

The manner in which the School of Writers, work represented by the crude, amateur, falsifying hand of Lord Hamilton, would be said if it were not amusing. Support for instance, that I wrote of the greatest and noblest Englishman in Sixteenth Century Ireland. Sir Henry Sidney, not as the Irish Annals saw him, but as his contemporary countrymen described him, the blackest portrait dreamed of by Seán's defamers would be light in authentic comparison. Sir W. Fitzwilliam, in a glowing, "a great surfeiter eating and drinking," declares his eulogist in the Book of Howth. The Irish called him "Big Henry of the Beer." He was an oppressor of the people—the commons. When his wife, Mary, was in Drogheda, his brother-in-law, Sir W. Fitzwilliam, was writing to England that his "gongos-on" in Dublin with the notorious Mrs. Isam, would have disgraced even a young man and was the subject of scandal to the town and horror to Fitzwilliam considering Sir Henry's age. He called himself, "he of the moist habit" was given a very bad character by his countrymen in Ireland. Judge Jeffreys went down to eternal infamy for hanging fewer men in England than Sidney hanged, by the same summary jurisdiction, in Ireland. But Lord Hamilton would not call him "Bloody Sidney" therefor.

His brother-in-law, Sussex, accused him of being "a coward lacking in heart." It was reported in England that his troops ran away and hid themselves in the woods when O'Neill was marching to Dundalk. He was a liar—another of his countrymen's charges. His own letters are full of walls against what he styles the "slanders" on his character. That he oppressed the poor Palemen by intolerable cesses and taxations is beyond cavil. His lawless and ragged troops lived at free quarters with their concubines and dogs—we have his own vivid words on the subject—in the farmers houses. He did not punish his troops for their depredations on "commons" of Ireland. He bragged loudly, as was his wont, of having procured the murder of Seán O'Neill. Although an outward champion of Protestantism, he was ready to hand over England to the Pope and Spain for family reasons, as fully detailed in the Spanish Calendar.

I would not sully the pages of this paper by citing the terrible accusations made by his contemporaries against Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth's bed-fellow. All Europe rung with denunciations of his infidelities and enormities.

"The Irish Rebellion of 1641 is a nightmare. Space only permits a brief notice. The quantity of original material in print alone would take years to study and digest. A keen hunger for Irish land arose in England, and the Press was mobilised for the first time in English history to create the necessary popular mind for war. A great stream of broadsides or news-sheet poured from the Puritan Press from 1641 onwards. Nothing could exceed their malignity against Ireland, and the wildest and most improbable 'atrocities' were invented to stir up evil passions. Not until the Thirties became really strong did the Royalists find it in their hearts to even attempt to show the other side of the picture. Except Mr. Williams, I know of no one who has used them for Irish History—the writer quoted from them in the 'United Irishman' some 17 years ago. These Thomas tracts are a mirror of the English mind of the epoch. The material in the Historical MSS. Com. Reports, especially the Ormond Papers, in the publications of J. Gilbert, Prendergast, Rev. Geo. Hills' Plantation of Ulster—to mention only a few—affords needed light. But Lord Hamilton prefers, too often, to neglect or merely glance at original authorities and to rush to poor compilations. The result is disastrous for his reputation.

The justification for the horrors the Irish people endured at the hands of the English dissenters was that the Ulster Catholics began the massacres. Lord Hamilton strenuously tries to defend this statement, which has been refuted time and again. Samuel M. Skimmin's "History of Carrickfergus" (1823) pp. 44-6—a book that is noted for its accuracy or scholarship—devoured to sustain it, in a manner that wins his Lordship's approval. He cites and quotes, characteristically, a passage on the Island Meagher massacre of "3,000 men, women, and children, all innocent persons, at a time when none of the Catholics of that County was in Arms or Rebellion." Note that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland of either side. Check your authorities is wise advice. Had he done so Lord Hamilton would have discovered no such words in the "Politician's Catechism."

Having tried unsuccessfully to give new life to a long dead tale, Lord Hamilton bitterly attacks Lecky for his searching and philosophic analysis of the 1641 Depositions. Lecky was a very great historian with a sacred regard for the truth as he saw it. His Lordship is a violent partisan to whom accuracy and veracity are not subjects of loving care.

WALTER REAGH.

## Northern Banking Co. Ltd.

The report of this Bank, which has its headquarters in Belfast, is important from various points of view. It does not appear to have any of its eighty-two branches south of Dublin, of which there are three in our city—Ball's Branch, Grafton Street, and the Southern Branch. There are seven branches in Belfast. The other branches are all located in Dublin, except those at Balbriggan, Ballinamore, Boyle, Bray, Drogheda, Drumshambo, Elphin, Kells, Kingscourt, Oldcastle, Randalstown, Shercock, Skerries, Strokestown, and Virginia. There are, therefore, fifteen branches situated outside of the city of Dublin. Meath, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Its accounts are made up on August 31st, and it is, therefore, too soon to expect that the withdrawals which have taken place should be reflected in its balance, and it is, accordingly, premature to judge the effects of recent developments on its fortune.

## Assets—Year Ending August 31, 1920.

	£	Inc. or Dec. over 1919.
Loans	11,065,000	+5,788,000
Cash	3,580,000	+10,000
Treasury Bills	400,000	—
Investments	1,915,000	-1,304,000
Sundries	843,000	+843,000
Premises	160,000	+30,000
	21,483,000	4,767,000

The increase in the discounts and advances is very marked. On August 31, 1919, they stood at £6,177,000. They are now nearly doubled. The investments of the agencies have been reduced by £1,904,000. The sundry items of £843,000 are expressed as endowments, guarantees, and confirmed credits. These sundry items are new, and appear for the first time on the balance sheet, on both sides, so that they are book-keeping entries which do not affect the balance. Premises are valued up £80,000, though no new premises were stated to be acquired during the year, at least for new branches, the only changes in this respect notified in the Report being the conversions of the agencies at Down, Newtownards, Portlone, Saintfield, and Stranoe into branches.

## Liabilities at August 31, 1920.

	£	Inc. or Dec. over 1919.
Capital and Reserves	1,986,000	—5,000
Undivided Profits	47,000	+4,000
Staff Funds	88,000	+6,000
Notes	2,673,000	+101,000
Sundries	843,000	+843,000
Deposits	16,892,000	+3,818,000
	21,483,000	+4,767,000

Here we see a slight change in the amount of the capital and resources. But on examination of the composition of this item, the change becomes very remarkable. Last year the capital and reserves were as follows, as compared with this year:

Capital and Reserves—August 31.	£	£
1919.	1920.	
Capital paid up	600,000	600,000
Reserve Fund	400,000	480,000
Special Reserve for Depreciation of Investments	185,000	—
	1,085,000	1,080,000

A few explanatory remarks are here necessary. The Report for 1919 stated:—"The increase of the capital by 100,000 shares each £2 paid was authorised by Special passed at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Proprietors held on 3rd July, 1919, and confirmed by subsequent meeting. 50,000 of the Shares have been issued and taken up at £5 per share, payable in two half-yearly instalments of £2 10s. on 1st September, 1919, and £2 10s. on 1st March, 1920. Instalments of the amount of £70,000, paid in anticipation, have been added to the Reserve Fund." A quarter of a million has, therefore, been taken up in new capital. What has become of it? Not a merely there no sign of it left in the balance sheet, but the capital and reserves are down by five thousand. The explanation is as follows: Seventy thousand of the new capital was carried to reserve last year. That left one hundred and eighty thousand, which came in during September and March instalments. This has disappeared, and with it five thousand more, the amount of which the capital and reserves are down on the year. The Report says: "The Special Reserve Fund of £185,000 for depreciation of investments has been applied to the purpose for which it was formed, namely, the writing down of the Investments; these having continued their fall, the Directors feel there is no object in this fund remaining on the Balance Sheet." Therefore, it is clear that investments to the value of a million and a half have been realised at a cost of the depreciation provided, namely, £185,000, and that this loss have been covered by the issue of new capital. This means, in plain language, that the shareholders' money has been used to help to make good the losses on the investments made by the directors. Moreover, it is not at all clear that all the losses have been made good yet. The premises have been written up £30,000, and this appears to be merely an increased valuation placed by the directors on the value of their property. The effect of this operation is to increase their assets in one direction, with the result that the depreciation in another direction, namely, the investments, is to that extent covered by a book-keeping device. The manoeuvre is marked by another. A sum of £5,780 is appropriated in reduc-

tion of Bank Buildings, so that they must have been written them up by more than £35,000 in the first instance.

It might be thought that the disappearance of a quarter of a million of money before it could get on the balance-sheet, and the inflation of the premises account ought to have covered the Bank's losses. But such is not the case. There is a further sum of £75,000 appropriated from the year's profits for the purpose of writing down investments. The net result is that before applying the shareholders' cash instalments, writing up the premises, and writing off the profits, the Bank has succeeded in reducing its investments by £1,504,000. It appears to have incurred the following losses in performing this painful operation—

	£
Loss of new Capital	230,000
Diminution of Capital and Reserve	5,000
Writing up Premises	35,000
Writing down Profits	75,000
	305,000

The note issue is higher by a hundred and one thousand. This is unhealthy, particularly at a time when the other banks are reducing their paper. The intrinsic value of the Northern's paper is not improved by the operations to which we have referred.

The deposits are higher by £2,818,000, all of which have been lent out to customers, together with a million and a half obtained from the sale of securities, and four hundred thousand gained by not renewing its Treasury Bills when they became due. The Loans, as we have shown already, increased by £5,788,000. The following table shows how the Bank obtained its funds to finance its Belfast customers:

	£
Treasury bills sold	1,504,000
Treasury Bills matured	400,000
New Deposit Money	3,818,000
	5,722,000
Increased Accommodation	5,788,000

There is a difference of £66,000. This explains, perhaps, why the bank had to increase its note issue, to provide further accommodation, so that it has been quite unable to retrench its paper liabilities. These are the facts of the position of the Northern Bank. The vital question remains whether any depreciation in its investments can be covered successfully. The dividends paid were slightly increased, but it does not appear that there were any real profits in face of the heavy losses on depreciation. The profit and loss position may be written off as nominal.

## Plea for Irish Patriotism

The speech of which the following formed the concluding portion, was delivered in the Commission Court, Green Street, on the 20th of May 1885, by Robert Holmes, in defence of John Mitchell, then on his trial for treason-felony—

Deep, deep, deep is the guilt of England, which by an unprovoked and unjust invasion, obtained dominion in Ireland, and at the close of seven centuries of domination, at the close of seven centuries of wasting wars, wasting laws, and still more wasting policy, finds it necessary to maintain that dominion by special commissions, state prosecutions, and military force, by the gibbet, by the jail, and by the sword. I hear much, and I read much in praise of the present chief governor of this country, of his good intentions, his great abilities, and his firm purpose. It is neither my province nor my duty to say anything in derogation of any of his merits. I move in a high sphere, but this I will say, that the noble lord the best of the good, the wisest of the wise, and the kindest of the kind, he could not long maintain a connection between Great Britain and Ireland, under a common crown, by the gibbet, the jail, and the sword. The laws of eternal justice forbid it. How is this connection to be preserved? By justice. By giving to Ireland her rights. Her rights by nature, and her rights by compact. By giving to Ireland her own parliament. Thus the connection between the two countries may be preserved for ages, founded on a community of interest and equality of rights, mutual affec-



Oct. 21.—Weekly meetings of Sinn Féin Central Club suppressed.

Nov. 12.—Military and police raided headquarters of Republican Government, and arrested and imprisoned staff.

Nov. 27.—Sinn Féin and Republican organisations suppressed throughout all Ireland.

Dec. 10.—Sinn Féin and Republican headquarters ordered to be closed.

Dec. 12.—Sinn Féin leaders arrested in Dublin and provinces, including the Secretary of the S.F. organisation, and deported without trial. Republican headquarters again raided and literature confiscated.

# 1920.

Jan. 6.—Mr. James J. Hoey, election candidate, arrested at Bray and deported.

Jan. 7.—Sinn Féin election headquarters raided and closed by military and police.

Jan. 9.—Motor permit strikers offer of reasonable settlement rejected by the Government, thus preventing the use of cars to bring electors to the poll.

Jan. 10.—Dun Laoghaire election rooms raided. Literature confiscated.

Jan. 1 to Jan. 15.—Sinn Féin candidates' election addresses suppressed all over Ireland.

No letters delivered at Sinn Féin Election Department. Sinn Féin election posters torn down by police all over Ireland.

President De Valera's cabled advice to Irish voters held up in transit and not delivered.

## NEW SUPPRESSION THREATENED.

The following English papers, under the dates mentioned, threatened the Irish people with intensified military repression if Sinn Féin carried a majority at the election:—"Daily Mail," January 12, 1920; "Daily News," January 15, 1920; "Daily Mail," January 15, 1920.

## THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

"The Irish Municipal Elections," said the "Daily News" on the 19th January, "have put the Republicans in power in nine-tenths of the townships outside Dublin." It might have added that even in Ulster the supporters of English rule in Ireland failed to capture fifty per cent. of the townships, and that in four-fifths of the townships throughout all Ireland were three majorities returned against the English consociation.

Here are a few salient facts that stand out from an analysis of the results of this election:—

The Unionist or pro-English Party obtained a majority on the newly-formed Councils in only 1 of the 12 Irish Cities and Boroughs, in only 25 of the 127 townships throughout Ireland; in only 23 of the 47 townships throughout Ulster; in only 2 of the 38 townships throughout Leinster; in none of the 10 townships throughout Connaught; in none of the 52 townships throughout Munster.

## The Cross of Cong

(From the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record.")

In the year 1822, Dr. Petrie made a tour of the West of Ireland. He took in Cong on the way. Furnished with a letter of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, "the last mitred Abbot of Ireland," he called upon him and was courteously and hospitably received. We shall tell of Petrie and the curious incidents of this interview:—

The object of my visit was to see some interesting remains of antiquity, formerly the property of the abbey, and still in possession of its abbot. The venerable clergyman received us at the door with easy politeness, which warmed into cordiality on perusing his friend's letter of introduction; and after some general conversation, relative to my visit to that most interesting part of Ireland, favoured us with a sight of that wonderful relic, the Cross of Cong. This reliquary was found by the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, P.P., in an oak chest, kept in a cottage of the town, where it and other remains of antiquity had probably been concealed since the Reformation, or at least subsequent to the rebellion of 1641. A great portion of the valuables thus hidden consisted of deeds of grants of land to the abbey, and of Irish MSS. in vellum, splendidly illuminated! The Abbot, as he confessed, being at the time ignorant of the value of such remains, thought little about them; and on going to the Continent shortly after, to improve his education, carelessly left them in the charge of a young priest, whom he appointed to do his duty during his absence. He remained abroad eleven years, during which time he found that the most ancient and valuable MSS. which he saw on the Continent, appeared to resemble, but not equal in beauty, those he

had left at home. Thus awakened to a sense of their value, we may imagine, what at least ought to have been, his astonishment and horror, on finding, on his return, that his deputy had, during his absence, lost or destroyed all those curious and valuable remains, the cross excepted; and that, unfortunately, the very beauty of the MSS. had been a chief cause of their destruction, the ignorant young man having sent them up to decorate his library with the illuminated letters which they contained!—

So far for the discovery, as it may be called, of this precious article. Petrie's artistic eye at once detected its rare value. He was a poor man, and could not purchase it; but he never lost sight of it, and fondly hoped to see it one day deposited in the Museum, which it now adorns, in the Royal Irish Academy. At length his wishes were realised. In 1849, Petrie was sent by his friend, the late Professor McCullagh, to Cong, to purchase the prize. It was bought for one hundred guineas, and generously presented to the Academy. A small but most accurate illustration of this famous cross will be found in Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities. We subjoin the letter-press description of it:—

The Cross of Cong, the gem of the Academy, affords most striking evidence of the advancement which the Irish artificers had made in several of the arts, and in general manufacturing skill, previous to the arrival of the English. It was made at Roscommon, by native Irishmen, about the year 1122, in the reign of Tadhg O'Connor, father of Roderick, the last king of Ireland, and contains what was supposed to be a piece of the true cross, as inscriptions in Irish, and Latin in the Irish character, distinctly record. . . . The ornaments generally consist of tracing, and grotesque animals, and are combined in a manner characteristic of the decorations found upon crosses of stone of about the same period. A large crystal, through which a portion of the wood which the cross was formed to enshrine is visible, is set in the centre, at the intersection.

This description, though accurate, is not sufficiently precise and exhaustive. We shall, therefore, endeavour to supplement it by particulars supplied by Petrie, or suggested by a careful inspection of the cross. The questions which naturally present themselves are—first, what was its purpose or object, and what are the evidences of the date and of the artist which it exhibits? Secondly, what are the peculiar excellencies which mark it out as distinctively Irish, and as a work of high artistic skill? It is most gratifying that the answers to the first class of questions are supplied by the inscriptions on the cross itself; one of them runs thus:—

✠ Hac Cruce Crux Regiarum Quae Passus Conditur Orbis.

We learn from the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1123, the year in which the first General Council of Luteran was held, during the pontificate of Pope Callixtus, that "a bit of the true cross came into Ireland, and was enshrined at Roscommon by Turrough O'Connor." The "Chronicon Scotorum," edited by Mr. Hennessy, at A.D. 1119, registers the same event in the simple but expressive sentence, "The Cross of Christ in Connacht, in this year." So far, it is plain that the elaborate ornaments which beautify this cross were the efforts of Catholic piety and skill to enrich a shrine somewhat worthy of enclosing a portion of the true cross, for which the most profound veneration has been entertained by our Celtic forefathers. Now, as to the date, we gladly avail ourselves of Dr. Stokes' statement:—

"The remaining inscriptions are in Irish, and give the names of the four persons under whose superintendence this shrine for the holy relic was made; the first was Muireadhach O'Duffy, Archbishop of Connacht, for whose use it was intended; the second was the Kinsaleagh O'Connor, at whose desire and expense it was executed; the third, Donnell O'Duffy, was the bishop who watched over its progress; and the fourth, Maclissa O'Edehan, was the artist who executed it. Of the last mentioned, no more interesting of those four men, no other record can be found; no monument is left to tell of his former greatness, save the exquisite work that has stood for more than seven hundred years, bearing witness to the marvellous power and delicate skill of the artist!"

Muireadhach O'Duffy, the senior archbishop, for whose use this cross was made, was a very illustrious man, whose death is thus recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters":—"A.D. 1150. Muireadhach O'Duffy, a bishop of Connacht, the arch-senior of Ireland in wisdom, in chastity, in the bestowal of gifts and food, died at Cong on the 16th of May, on the festival of St. Brendan, in the seventy-

fifth year of his age." From this passage, we see that the prelate for whose use the shrine was made, died twenty-two years before the English invasion; and more than that, the shrine was actually completed, according to the "Annals of Innisfallen," in 1123, some fifty years before the advent of Henry II.

As to the peculiar excellence of this famous shrine, its Irish character, and its artistic skill, we have already seen, and will reach those who may perhaps seldom, if ever, have an opportunity of satisfying themselves by personal inspection. Hence a few words, we trust, will not be out of place. The general characteristics of what is known as the Irish School of Ornamentation are to be found not only in the treatment of shrines, but also in Irish stone crosses of the same period which adorn the ruins at Monasterboice, Clonmacnoise, Tuam, and many other sites of ancient monasteries. In the same class, as we have already seen, are the crosses of ornamentation, to be ranked the famous MSS. known as the "Book of Kells," the "Book of Durrow," the "Book of Diminution," executed by Irish monks at Lindisfarne, the "Book of Kildare," the "Book of Armagh," etc., etc. Of such, Westwood says, in his "Paleographical Sacra," the series of MSS. from which the fac-similes in the accompanying plate have been copied in conjunction with the "Book of Kells," constitute a series of actual proofs, still preserved in Ireland, of the existence of a religious and national school of art in that country at a period when the rest of Europe was almost involved in mental darkness.

Intricate interlacings and minute elaboration may be regarded, Digby Wyatt informs us, as the special characteristic of the Irish school. Ruskin, in his work on "Medieval Art," confirms the opinion of Digby Wyatt, and indeed it needs but a glance at our most valuable MSS., stone crosses, or shrines, to prove the same spirit pervading and directing all. Our gifted countryman, O'Neill, in his valuable work, entitled, "Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland," says:—"Various styles of ornamental art prevailed throughout Europe, from the age of Renaissance; that is, from the earlier part of the fourth to the fourteenth century; but during that thousand years, the Irish held the pre-eminence for every quality which renders works of art excellent, namely, great originality and fertility of invention, wonderful powers of knowledge, combined with a profound knowledge of the principles of art, to which we may add, a thorough mastery of colour, or chromatic effect. . . .

The works of the early Christian artists which remain show that in fertility of invention, and a profound knowledge of the principles of their art in practical taste and most wonderful dexterity of execution, the Irish artists have never been equalled."

## The Victor

Thrown in the majesty of stainless Death,  
O martyred hero of the unconquered Gael!  
Ireland salutes thy cross, and not in mail  
Nor crowned with laurel which Time  
withereth,  
As earthly glory passes with the breath  
Of poor mortality, all cold and pale.  
Save such as thou, whose eyes the Holy  
Grail.  
In direst anguish blesteth and gladdeneth.  
Even so thy triumph, Toirreach! Tyranny  
That ravaged thy fair manhood in its  
prime.  
Scathed not thy quenchless spirit, nor  
could bow  
To its belated thine all undaunted brow.  
Where Valour laps a wreath of victory,  
Deathless beyond the searing touch of  
Time.  
O'Leary Curtis.  
25th October, 1920.

## Conciliation

XXII.

Courtmartial:—Messrs. Patrick and John Dineen, brothers, were tried by courtmartial at Cork on the 27th inst., on a charge of attempting to disarm four British policemen at Leap, County Cork. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated. During the trial the Press representatives were warned by Capt. Gover, who prosecuted, that if they published the names of the Crown witnesses, they would, on a future occasion, "be in the chairs occupied by accused."

Mr. L. Breen, Ballybeg, Co. Tipperary, was tried by Courtmartial at Cork on a charge of having in his possession a revolver and ammunition, a copy of the official organ of the Irish Republican Army, and some "seditious" literature. Sentence of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

Mr. D. Bohan, grocery manager at Currageh Camp, Kildare, was tried by courtmartial at Maryboro'. Queen's Co. on the charge of having ammunition "not under effective military control." It was stated at the trial that the ammunition was found in a store to which many people other than ac-

cessed had access. The decision of the Court has not yet been promulgated.

## Proclamations and Suppressions:

The summer session held annually at Carrigaholt Irish College, Co. Clare, has had to be abandoned this year, as a large force of British military have commandeered the college and are in occupation of the class-room.

## Armed Assaults:—Incendiarism:

Following the discovery of the dead body of a British soldier in a field at Bandon, Co. Cork, who is believed to have been shot by some of his own comrades, the members of the British forces stationed in that town wrecked and burned to the ground the house of Mr. J. Buckley, Republican Chairman of the Bandon Town Commissioners. In an effort to saddle the Republican movement with this murder the British military authorities had the body of the soldier removed to England before a public inquiry would be held and the true circumstances of the crime be published.

A reign of terror exists in Limerick City where innocent civilians are being daily attacked and maltreated by members of the armed British forces. At 9 o'clock on the night of the 26th some men returning from religious duties were held up and beaten by them. Those who tried to escape by running into the shop of Mrs. Ryan, Sarsfield Street, were followed by the police with drawn revolvers, who, not discovering the fugitives, threatened to shoot Miss Ryan, daughter of Mrs. Ryan. Mr. John O'Shea was thrown off his bicycle in William Street, and dragged into the police barracks, where he was savagely assaulted. In another street Mr. J. Kelly was knocked down by five policemen, who beat him with their rifle butts.

On the night of the 25th, British policemen entered the licensed premises of Mr. Kavanaugh, Mountkennet, and ordered the occupants to disperse under penalty of being shot.

At a meeting of the Limerick Harbour Board on the 26th inst. the Mayor, who presided, complained that armed British police entered the Corporation Electric Power Station on the night of the 24th, and beat one of the employees very badly. The Corporation night watchmen were held up and threatened, and people going to and from work were being assaulted by British police patrols.

Deportations:—Mr. Thomas Denahy, who was sentenced by courtmartial in Cork to two years' imprisonment on a charge of holding up a military dispatch rider, has been deported to Wormwood Scrubs Prison, London.

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Ireland had what might be called Home Rule at that time, and we find the Lords Justices, in their speeches on



## TADHG O CLANÁIN



