

reach. 'Tis the sacred, though restless, stream of Liberty.

"The tree of Liberty grows nowhere in a day. Though the soil be genial, the roots must be long moistened with the blood of heroes, and of patriots, ere it rise to grandeur, and shade and shelter the land.

"Has Ireland no qualities to fit her for a better fate? Go to the Senate, and the Bar; go where you will, you'll know her genius by the lustre it sheds around it—or will you rather to the fields of fame. When did Albion entwine a victor's laurel, that Erin did not contribute full many a leaf, from the Plains of Abraham, to the Plains of Waterloo, from Wolfe to Wellington? And now that England will erect a trophy for the greatest of her triumphs, let it not be of unmeaning iron, let her search well that memorable field, and she will find enough of Irishmen's bones to raise a cenotaph as high as Pompey's pillar.

"Permit me to conclude with the Invocation to Ireland, as uttered by the child of Mt. Vernon on the day of Independence, and under the venerable Pretorium of the Revolution:

"Health and success to the Emerald Isle! My country's friend in my country's utmost need. May she soon be relieved from the Lion's grasp, for the Lion is of a kind that fondles ere it kills, whose blandishments lure but to destroy, while the Eagle suffers the smallest bird to wing its wonted way, and to warble his lyrics of praise, in the pure melody of nature, the song of soul. And when Ireland shall strike her harp to the wild notes of Erin and Liberty, the ocean breeze will bear to her shores the prayers of Americans, to cheer her in her glorious struggle, and hail her regenerate in the rights of mankind.

"Ireland, thou friend of my country in my country's most friendless days, much injured, much enduring land, accept this poor tribute from one who esteems thy worth, and mourns thy desolation. May the God of Heaven, in His justice and mercy, grant thee more prosperous fortunes, and, in His own good time, cause the sun of Freedom to shed its benign radiance on the Emerald Isle.

"Erin and Liberty, Eire go bhraigh."

**The Force of Custis' Words To-day.**

These are noble and kindly words, well worthy of the man who uttered them. They show in an unmistakable manner where the child of Mt. Vernon stood on the question of Irish independence. He believed that Ireland had qualities "to fit her for a better fate" than that of remaining a British province. This remarkable speech is a message of hope and consolation across well nigh a century of indifference in high places to the wrongs of Ireland, and her just claims on America for succour and protection. George Washington Parke Custis would die of shame if he had seen his country bring freedom to the Poles and Czecho-Slovaks, without Ireland ultimately receiving at least equal consideration.

The sceptic may say: "O, Ireland's position has improved immeasurably since the child of Mt. Vernon uttered these words." That is not so. The population of Ireland in 1826 was 6,800,000. To-day it is 4,375,000 odd. The so-called Act of Union of 1810 guaranteed to Ireland certain rights, especially as regards her contribution to the Imperial Treasury. Yet, according to the reports of the Financial Relations Commission appointed by the British Government in 1896 to inquire into the financial relations between Ireland and Great Britain, we find that Ireland's excess contribution to the Imperial Treasury amounts to 1,250,000,000 dols., "the ransom of a nation." Yet no restitution has been made. On the contrary, Ireland's excess contribution to the Imperial Treasury has gone up steadily every year since this report was issued.

What measures have been enacted for the betterment of conditions in Ireland were wrong from an unwilling Government by strong action on the part of the Irish people. Gladstone, the eminent British statesman of the last century, speaking in the House of Commons on one occasion, declared: "Had it not been for the Fenian movement he would never have brought in the Irish Church Disestablishment Act." Irish money has financed the Land Purchase Acts, and all other Irish "Acts" passed in recent years. The people of Ireland are now paying the Imperial Treasury an enormous sum yearly as interest on their own money lent them to buy back the lands from which their fathers had been driven two or three hundred years ago.

Even were Ireland the best-governed country in the world under foreign rule, there is an eternal principle of justice that cannot be gainsaid. All nations were created equal, and each has a right to be free and independent.

**CONCILIATION.**  
(Continued from page 3.)

denly opened fire. They continued firing volley after volley for half an hour. They then attacked the houses with stones, smashing the windows and doors, and calling upon the male members of the families to come out to be shot. The nine police were very drunk, and to this fact alone is attributed the escape of many of the villagers from death.

In broad daylight at Fermoy, Co. Cork, two English soldiers acting as guard to a military postman, fired in the public street and killed a horse owned by Mr. Young, a trader in the town. The police subsequently "explained" that the shots were fired "accidentally."

The relations and friends of the prisoners now on hunger-strike at Wormwood Scrubs prison, London, were attacked outside that prison by an organised body. They were pelted with stones, mud, lumps of concrete and circular saws. Many of the girls present were knocked unconscious.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 30th, 1920.**

**Raids:**—In the neighbourhood of Athlone, Co. Westmeath, armed police raided upwards of thirty houses.

The residence of Mrs. D. Coffey, of Clones, Co. Monaghan, was raided by soldiers and police, who, in the course of their search, stole what money they found in the rooms. Military and police raided over a hundred houses in a "drive" through the Rush district of Co. Dublin.

**Arrests:**—Mr. T. Coffey was arrested at Clones, Co. Monaghan, and taken to an unknown destination. No charge was preferred against him.

**Sentences:**—Mr. D. Manning, of Kilbrittain, Co. Cork, was sentenced at a Crimes Court at Bandon to a month's imprisonment on a charge of unlawful assembly. The unlawful assembly consisted in attending a meeting at the local Sinn Fein Hall.

Master R. Browne, aged 16 years, was sentenced by courtmartial, held at Macroom, Co. Cork, to one year's imprisonment for holding a police sergeant with a pipe, which the boy pretended was a revolver. The sentence has since been remitted.

**Court-martial:**—Mr. Oliver Mason, Whitefield, Co. Kerry, was court-martialled at Cork, on a charge of having in his possession a shot gun and cartridges.

**Murder:**—The Coroner's Jury inquiring into the cause of death of Mr. T. Mulholland, who was shot dead by police in the streets of Dundalk, Co. Louth, returned the following verdict: "We find that Thos. Mulholland died from shock and hæmorrhage, caused by a bullet fired by Sergeant Jos. Bustard, R.I.C., with intent to kill, and without justification." Witnesses at the final day's hearing at the inquest stated that the police had received every kindness from the people of Dundalk.

**SATURDAY, MAY 1st, 1920.**

**Raids:**—In many parts of the West of Ireland armed police raided private houses. It is estimated that some seventy houses were visited and searched.

At Tralee, Co. Kerry, police raided the residence of Mr. P. J. Cahill for whom they held a warrant. Six other residences in the town were entered in search for Mr. Cahill.

**Murder:**—At the inquest into the death of T. O'Leary, P. Hennessy, and J. O'Loughlin, shot dead without warning by military and police, who fired into a party of men, women and children who were singing round a lighted tar barrel, in celebration of the release of the Mountjoy prisoners, evidence was given by merchants, ex-soldiers, and prominent townspeople:

- (a) That no provocation of any kind had been given to the troops or police.
  - (b) That the troops and police suddenly appeared on the streets, and being led by Sergeant Hampton, R.I.C., ordered the party of men, women and children to disperse.
  - (c) Two seconds after the order to disperse was given the military and police opened fire, although the crowd, in obedience to the order, was moving away.
  - (d) Members of the crowd who attempted to assist those who fell at the first volley were themselves shot down.
- The inquest has not yet concluded.

**MONDAY, 3rd MAY, 1920.**

**Raids:**—In the course of a military "drive" through the Bandon district of County Cork, police and military raided upwards of 200 houses.

Over 40 houses were forcibly entered and raided by police in Derry City.

A party of military in three motor lorries drove into the town of Belturbet, Co. Cavan, in the early hours of the morning, and raided over a dozen private residences, including those of Dr. Stuart, the town Medical Officer of Health, and Messrs. W. Byrne, M. Casey and W. Byrne.

In the course of a military swoop on the town of Dundalk, Co. Louth, in the dead of the night, police and military forcibly entered and raided upwards of 20 private houses, including those of Messrs. J. McGuill, junr., J. Clarke, J. Duffy, F. Martin, J. Fitzsimons, J. Garvey, J. Duffy, Thomas Cullen, J. McLaughlin.

Police and military raided the private residence and business office of Mr. George Murnaghan, Solicitor, Omagh, Co. Tyrone.

Police and military raided five private houses in Belfast, the addresses of which have not transpired.

**Arrests:**—Mr. George Murnaghan, Solicitor, Omagh, Co. Tyrone, was arrested at his residence by military and police, who had him conveyed to Belfast Jail. No charge was made against him. Mr. Murnaghan had for some time past been representing the local Sinn Fein interests in connection with preparations for the forthcoming County Council elections.

At Belturbet, Co. Cavan, police and military arrested Dr. Stuart, the municipal Medical Officer, and Messrs. W. Byrne, Post Office; M. Casey, W. Byrne.

The following residents of Dundalk, Co. Louth, were arrested in their beds by military and police:—Messrs. John McGuill, junr., Bridge Street; J. Clarke, Moorland; J. Duffy, Castle-town Road; Frank Martin, Dublin Street; J. Fitzsimons, Vincent's Ave.; J. Garvey, Hill Street; Thomas Callan, Navandale; and two brothers named McLaughlin, Linenhall Street. No charge was brought against any of the above.

(To be concluded.)

**Imperialism in Extremis**

We take the following leading article from "The Statesman" (Toronto) of March, 6th:—

"Distant fields look green." It is only when Imperialism is viewed from a very great distance that what is merely grandiose about it can ever even faintly resemble the really grand. When one comes to close quarters with it, one never fails to discern the underlying shoddy and shabby and sordid motive which gives method to the madness. The chicanery, the huckstering, the sordid commercialism which inspire the men who "think in Empires" never fail to reveal themselves when once we get beneath the veneer of spacious and specious generalities.

Indubitably the most serious charge that can be brought against Imperialism is the charge of depriving men of their most fundamental right of freedom. Almost equally serious, however, is the charge of economic exploitation which is the fundamental motive, and so the inevitable consequence, of all Imperialism in this industrial age. One important case in point is the failure of England during her long administration of Ireland to develop the large power resources latent in Ireland. Irish industry has been starved and stunted by the oppressive necessity of having to import practically all of her coal and of having to depend on insufficient resources for all of her other power. Ireland consumes for all purposes about four and a half million tons of coal per annum. Of this, she supplies herself with less than one hundred thousand tons. This, then, means that every manufacturing concern operates under much heavier production cost than circumstances should demand, for Ireland's importation of coal is not necessary. She is not like Holland or Italy, a coalless country which must look to foreign supply for all time. Ireland has,

within her, large coal reserves which need only development to become almost completely adequate to supply her industry, even should that industry expand greatly.

Evidence recently brought before the Coal Commission makes clear that, in the immediate future, with proper engineering, Ireland should be able to provide herself with coal enough, except perhaps that which she uses for gas manufacturing. Ireland and the colliery owners do not realize this possibility to the full, their programme of expansion at present only embracing an output of half a million tons yearly, which will nowhere meet the demand, being only 10 per cent. of the present consumption and only 50 per cent. of one day of the British collieries, but with education of the colliery owners or some sort of national control of the development of their properties, together with proper development of the now woefully inadequate transportation service, Ireland can become almost self-supporting in coal.

Coal, however, is not the only fuel of major importance in modern industry—petroleum, its near competitor in importance, must be taken into account in outlining Ireland's industrial future, and petroleum Ireland does not produce, at least in any tolerable quantity, if at all. But experiment now seems to be tending to an adequate substitute for petroleum, which Ireland can produce—alcohol. Mr. Tweedy has worked out an extensive and practical scheme of developing alcohol industry in Ireland, so that it would become an important source of industrial power to her. The most characteristic fuel of Ireland will also become of assistance to her in developing industry, for peat can be used to create electricity at properly equipped plants, and of that she still has an almost inexhaustible supply, at least relatively speaking.

Finally, there is her water power, which has remained so inadequate in its development that in industrial surveys it might almost be overlooked. Ireland, then, has almost all of the power resources that she can possibly need, but she certainly requires very rapid development.

Undoubtedly the most economic and efficient power she can develop will be extensive electrical stations, making use of her coal, her peat and her water, for electricity has more varied uses than any other one kind of power. Its provision will ensure not only an immense development of manufacturing, but also an increase in agricultural productivity, and agriculture will remain, even in a developed Ireland, the most important economic undertaking. To attain the importance which it merits, however, it must be made scientific and effective, and this can be done only by power machines. The co-operative movement made a start at creating a modern agriculture in Ireland that would be an important commercial asset to the country and the use of power machinery will complete that start and make her one of the major agricultural countries of Europe, competing even with the highly efficient and remarkably productive Denmark.

All that Ireland requires to make this necessary advance is extension of her power resources. But before she can effect that, she must free herself from foreign control, for as long as industrial competition keeps its grip on her, she will remain a poverty-stricken and suffering country. With freedom and the fine constructive vision of the men who are leading her national movement, she will become wealthy according to her deserts.

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**"Non Possums"**

[This poem was written by the late Mr. T. D. Sullivan forty years ago].

As wise advice these words are said—  
"Forsake the unsuccessful cause,  
Brave foolish Ireland; bow your head  
And yield your heart to alien laws.

"See busy Scotland thrives apace,  
She struck her banner years ago;  
She gave her name, and flag, and race,  
To union with her ancient foe.

"And now the wealth of England gilds  
Her river-banks, her rugged coast,  
And all the fame that England builds  
Is also the 'North Briton's' boast.

"Poor Isle, whose wounds so long have bled,  
At last let strife and suffering cease:  
Look forward, straight and low, and tread,  
As Scotland trod the path to peace."

Such lesson men have sought to preach,  
From feeble heart or faltering mind,  
But never yet was vainer speech  
Launched forth and lost upon the wind.

Let Scotland take her chosen way:  
On different lines our course must run;  
For us, there's only this to say—  
God's patent truth—it can't be done.

What might have been we cannot know  
If, in the long vanished years,  
A generous heart was in the foe  
That rushed upon our fathers' spears.

But as the ages rolled along,  
One ruthless purpose still they knew;  
And midst the storms of hate and wrong  
The Irish generations grew—

A separate race, distinct, apart;  
And so till time itself shall end,  
The Irish and the English heart  
No human power can fuse or blend.

We cannot yield, whate'er befall;  
We could not yield, even if the past  
Were blotted from our souls, and all  
Our record to oblivion cast.

If downward from the olden time  
To these our days, there came no more  
The shout, the cheer, the battle-chime,  
The clang of conflict on the shore;

If never more in memory's light  
We saw the heroes of our race,  
Who, true to freedom, honour, right,  
Deemed death were better than disgrace;

If never more we thought of those  
Who, spoiled and stripped by ruthless hands,  
Dragged out a life of many woes  
Afair from their ancestral lands;

Still would the Irish heart and brain  
To alien rule refuse to bow,  
And Ireland's hopes and aims remain  
Self-centered, bright, and pure as now.

Let England have her own, and hold  
Her rightful goods by righteous powers—  
We covet not her lands or gold,  
We only seek for what is ours.

Apart, the lands may live in peace,  
'Tis vain to strive to make them one,  
Then let the hope, the effort cease,  
For Heaven decrees—it can't be done.

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