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PRICE ONE HALFPENNY

THE PLACE-HUNTERS.

SINCE Ireland adopted the policy of Parliamentaryism, she has been four times betrayed—and always in a similar fashion—by the Place-hunter. The Parliamentary policy began with the election of O'Connell for Clare in 1828. There were then 7,000,000 of people in Ireland, and the Irish regiments in the British army were threatening mutiny if Catholic Emancipation were not passed. For fear of mutiny and insurrection Catholic Emancipation was passed. But O'Connell's election to the British Parliament seemed so wonderful a thing that the people persuaded themselves 'twas it that did it.

Three years later, O'Connell called on the people to give him a Parliamentary Party and he would Repeal the Union. The people gave him one. Within twelve months all but two of O'Connell's Party had sold themselves to the English Government for jobs. When the people began to murmur the "organization" replied that the proper way to get Repeal was to put Repealers into Government posts and to put the other fellows out. And so the great Repeal Movement of 1832 was bartered.

But when the English Liberals went out of office and the Tories came in, and there were no more jobs available, the Place-hunters started another Repeal Agitation. An unexpected thing happened. The Young Irelanders arose and preached the doctrine that whether an English Government be Whig or Tory it is to be opposed—that no Irishman is to accept place or pension from any English

Government until a national Parliament sits in Dublin.

This struck the people as the true policy, and they responded so enthusiastically that the jobbers of Conciliation Hall had to pretend to agree. It inflicted no injury on them so long as the Tories were in power. But so soon as it was seen that the Liberals were about to come back to power, they resolved to get rid of the Young Irelanders. This was partly achieved by the old device. The Young Irelanders were denounced to the people as Atheists and Infidels. The Catholic Place-hunter always uses the same weapons against the anti-Place-hunter.

When the Young Irelanders had been driven out of Conciliation Hall, the Repealers sold Repeal and themselves to the New Ministry of Lord John Russell. They were appointed Attorney-Generals, Poor Law Commissioners, Inspectors, and so forth—not a man of them less than £800 a year, and some of them up to £3,500. So perished the second Repeal movement.

Six years later, Gavan Duffy, John Francis Maguire and George Henry Moore, with much effort, got "a pledge-bound Irish Party" together again. The Party was to oppose all English Ministries that did not do "justice to Ireland." It had not been in existence twelve months before all the members, with seven honourable exceptions, sold themselves to the Government for place. William Keogh became a Judge, and John Sadleir a Lord of the Treasury. Two hundred posts

were scattered among their friends and supporters. A subsidised press was started in Dublin, and Duffy and Moore, for denouncing the Place-hunter, were declared "bad Catholics" by the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Cullen) and by the Bishop of Elphin (Dr. Brown).

So Ireland was sold again by the "Brass Band", both of whose leaders committed suicide later on, and nearly twenty years passed before the people were lured by Parliamentaryism again. Then in 1874 they elected another pledge-bound Party to Parliament. Within six months some of its members were seeking jobs. Within three years more than two-thirds of the "Independent Home Rule Party" had got jobs for themselves or their relatives. Then Parnell arose and smote them.

You remember—if you are over 45 years of age—how Parnell was denounced as "an enemy of Home Rule," "a Factionist," and an "Anti-Catholic." You remember how the "Freeman" day after day attacked Parnell and how the culmination of its campaign came in the famous forgery of "the Papist Rats."

This forgery of the "Freeman" represented Parnell as speaking of the Catholics of Ireland as Papist Rats. It was intended to destroy Parnell once and for all. Parnell proved it to be the forgery it was, and the "Freeman", to save itself from destruction, abjectly apologised, turned a somersault, and preached the policy of the man it had striven to assassinate.

How Parnell triumphed—how he emancipated the farmer and forced England to her knees we all know. And how England seduced his party, and used it to destroy he whom she could not destroy, we do *not* all know. For the history of the plot by which Mr. T. P. O'Connor from the year 1887 worked as the ally of English Liberalism to sap the Party and undermine Parnell's leadership has not yet been written.

Parnell fell like a Titan—defiant and Irish to the last. O'Connor became a rich man, and has since manipulated the "Irish Party" for the English Liberals. "The Party" members had since 1906 250 of their relations and over 2,000 of their supporters appointed to sinecure and semi-sinecure posts.

And now Home Rule has been sold as Repeal was sold and as Tenant Right was sold.

But there are compensations. O'Connor's belly is full. O'Connor's henchmen in Ireland are on the estimates, John Dillon's cousin has got a job for

life, and John Redmond's son-in-law, Max Green, is Chief Jailor of Ireland at £1,500 per annum.

How true is Davis's saying that the foreigner is maintained in Ireland by the traitor from within!

HOW DOES SHE STAND?

How does she stand—our Mother,
The Mother of Shane and Eoghan;
The Mother of Davis and Mitchel,
Of Emmet and fearless Tone;
The Mother whose fearless courage
Have brought her through many a fray;
The nurse of ten thousand martyrs—
How does she stand to-day?

The English thieves who robbed her,
Did they break her spirit too?
Did they leave her a land of ruins,
With only a faithful few
To weep for her dream of freedom,
To sigh for her glories fled,
To crouch in the deep'ning shadows,
By the graves of her kingly dead?

O brave young hearts, take courage!
She is not conquered yet!
And the coin is now in the making
That will pay the olden debt.
Be strong! be swift! be ready!
When sounds the signal drum,
And the cry rings out from the hill-tops
That Ireland's day has come.

Óuan na Danban.

BODENSTOWN PILGRIMAGE.

The annual pilgrimage to the grave of Wolfe Tone in Bodentown will be made on Sunday, June 20th. A special train will leave Kingsbridge for Sallins at 11.15 a.m., returning from Sallins at 6.30. The fare will be 1s. 9d., and for children 1s.

BACHELOR'S WALK.

The memorial tablet to the memory of the Bachelor's Walk victims may be seen by visitors to headquarters of Irish Volunteers at 2 Dawson Street.—[ADVT.]

AFTER COLLEGE GREEN.

By the time this issue of *THE SPARK* is in the hands of readers a parliamentary election will have been decided in the Dublin College Green Division, and the West Britons of the College Green Division will be entitled to the credit of their achievement if they secure Mr. Nugent's return. Mr. Nugent is too skilled a fighter to risk defeat and his election campaign has been well-planned ever since Mr. Nannetti's illness first became known. The Register has been in the careful and capable hands of Mr. Stephen Hand, one of Mr. Redmond's military tacticians on the executive of the unfortunate joke known as the "National Volunteers." Hand is a vulgar Dublin Ward-heeler, who has been given a position under the Dublin Corporation, and whose chief duty seems to be stuffing the Register with tried and true Redmondites and removing therefrom the names of such persons as he dare who have shown any independence of the party machine. He is paid out of the public purse, and can be trusted to ensure as far as possible that only those who approve his appointment and retention as Register-purifier in chief, will ever sit in the Municipal Council, or even vote at a Municipal or Parliamentary election.

Mr. Hand's experience will have been a valuable asset to Nugent.

I refer to this election again because of Mr. Nugent's position as General Secretary of the A.O.H. The influence which Mr. Devlin and Mr. Nugent, through the A.O.H., have exercised on modern Ireland has been the most baneful and sinister. Posing as the champions of Catholic rights they have unscrupulously trafficked in the name of religion. They have held out to potential members of the A.O.H., as an inducement to join, the contention that the object of the A.O.H. was to combat Freemasonry, and yet we find them arm in arm with the French Freemasons, the notorious enemies and persecutors of the Church on the Continent, and we find them the thick and thin supporters of a Liberal Government which is practically committed to the secularising of education. But their influence on Nationalism has perhaps been most unfortunate of all. It is only a few years since there was every promise of the growth of a strong National spirit amongst the Northern Orangemen, as evidenced in the formation by Lindsay Crawford of the Independent Order of Orangemen. The improved condition of affairs was attributable to the propaganda which had been

carried on by the Sinn Fein people, which was gradually succeeding in removing all traces of sectarian bigotry and strife in the North. But in an evil hour for Ireland bigotted Hibernianism was revived, the Sinn Fein propaganda was sapped and the work of uniting the whole of Ireland on a sane National programme was thwarted and defeated. The responsibility for the muddled state of politics in Ulster for the past few years is largely Joe Devlin's and John D. Nugent's. As the Rev. Fr. Murphy, of the Missions House, Enniscorthy, wrote recently in the "Independent."—"In recent years a great effort was made, and successfully made, to convert the Democracy of England to Home Rule. If only half of the effort was devoted to reconcile North and South (in Ireland) we would not be the divided people we are to-day."

What earnest Nationalist but re-echoes these words of the patriot sagart, and who is there but deplores the folly and the apathy which permits Devlin and Nugent to still claim a position in Irish public life? They defeated the bright ideal which Tone and Davis expounded, the ideal of a really United Ireland. Not the drugged and corrupt Ireland of the party machine "unity," but an Ireland of brothers united by a common interest and a common ambition. As surely as did the corruptionists and perjurers do England's work 115 years ago when they carried the Union, so surely are Devlin, Nugent and the lesser creatures of the Hibernian machine doing the same work to-day. They are paid in the same coin, "the treacherous English gold," but now we more politely call it "Insurance bonus."

That work is the strengthening of England's grip on Ireland by the perpetuation of sectarian and class strife here. I shall never advocate that Catholics should surrender any of their rights in order to placate their non-Catholic countrymen. But I shall resist the responsibility for our wrongs being put on any section of our countrymen when rightly they should be placed on foreign government. Our Northern countrymen who differ from us in religion are not wholly the unpatriotic, irreconcilable savages they have been depicted. They are merely the victims and dupes of one set of English party politicians, just as the rank and file of Hibernianism are the victims and dupes of another set. When men arise in both camps to teach this truth we shall again be on the high road to Irish nationhood. In that day it will fare badly with the men who bartered principle and National honour for an Insurance Act.

ED. DALTON.

VIVIANI NUGENT.

A convention to select Mr. Nugent as candidate for College Green Division was held on Wednesday week and amongst those attending were twelve priests, including the Rev. Adm. of the Pro-Cathedral and the P.P. Arran Quay. Rev. Myles Ronan, C.C. was also present. It is regrettable to find the associate of Viviani backed by our clergy. I never had any sympathy with the decree "no priests in politics," but our priests should recognise the danger of their position if they interfere in political matters without fully studying them first. I am afraid many of the priests at the convention went just to oblige Mr. Nugent and with little regard for the issues at stake. They were brought there to add tone to the proceedings, their names were meanly exploited to discredit the exposure of Nugentism which I recently published in *THE SPARK*. Their attendance was paraded as evidence of Mr. Nugent's sanctity and virtue. But, the clear-headed and unbought element in Irish politics, who are unfortunately deprived of access to the political machinery and press, at present, are definitely convinced that Mr. Nugent is the advocate of political prostitution and immorality. He is the fellow of corrupt and unscrupulous political charlatans, whose only end is personal power, and to whose ambition, the common people, their ideals and their faiths, are but accessories. To back such a man is to court dishonour and discredit.



HOW LONG WILL THE WAR LAST?

This question can easily be answered by reference to the "Independent" of Friday, 4th inst. Germany began war with 9,000,000 men. She has lost 1,600,000. She is maintaining 4,000,000 at the two fronts. Exclude men unfit and those engaged in occupations necessary for the conduct of the war, and her maximum reserve stands at 1,800,000. She loses 260,000 a month. This means that in less than eight months she will be without an army.

Now, assuming that she is losing a million a month, we find that the whole German army, firing-line and reserves, will have been exhausted in six months. If Germany loses two million a month the struggle will be over in three months, and if her losses mount up to four million monthly, she will be no more by the time we celebrate the first anniversary of Bachelor's Walk.

THE WORKERS' CARNIVAL.

The Workers' Carnival is being held at Croydon Park, Fairview, this week-end, Saturday 12th and Sunday 13th June. Already I have given a fair amount of space in reference to the fixture, and I have no hesitation in giving it additional notice. The Carnival is the sanest attempt that has been made to identify the working population of Dublin with the Irish-Ireland movement. I am not *blaming* anyone for our shortcomings in previous *feiseanna* in Dublin. Everyone did his and her best according to their vision. Now, the *workers* have taken up the Irish-Ireland programme and to me it seems the most hopeful thing that has happened in recent years. The workingmen and women of Dublin are, in a great measure, the surviving victims of England's economic war on Ireland. That they have retained even a spark of Nationalism, considering the influences operating against them, is cause for wonder, and proof of their sterling qualities. I hope every possible support will be given by readers of the *THE SPARK* to the Carnival. The programme includes competitions in singing, whistling, dancing, music, and athletics. Also industrial competitions.

Recently I was reading a book on Germany, written by an Englishman and published in 1910, and I was particularly attracted by his references to social conditions in Germany. He emphasised the happy demeanour of the workers at their toil, and the care and solicitude of the employers for their well-being. This, I think, explains the extraordinary enthusiasm of the working population of Germany for the war. A like solicitude on the part of Irish employers would be welcome.



"SPARK" REPRINTS.

A number of articles which have appeared in *THE SPARK* have been reprinted in leaflet form for propagandist purposes. These include "Vive Viviani," "The Great Delusion," "The Felon-Setter," "Belgian Stacpoole," and "Exit Home Rule." They can be had from Whelan's, 17 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin, at 1s. 100, post paid.