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D.M.P.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Superintendent's Office, G Division,

6th AUGUST 190¹⁵

Subject:—

MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 5th Inst.

the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows:—

Thomas J. Clarke returned from Limerick at 12. 30 p. m., and was subsequently visited by John O'Mahony, P. Tobin and J. McGarry.

Jas. O'Connor and C. Wyse Power have returned from Belfast.

William O'Leary Curtis and Arthur Griffith together in Sackville St. between 9 & 10 p. m.

Thomas J. Clarke, J. McGarry, P. H. Pearse, Thomas McDonagh and P. Tobin in consultation with Mrs O'Donovan Rossa and her daughter in The Chief Commissioner.

The Under Secretary

Submitted

W. E. Johnstone

Comm. 6/8.

Under Secretary

Submitted

W. E. Johnstone

6/8/15.

C.S.

W. E. Johnstone

6/8

Secy. a.P.M.

10/8.



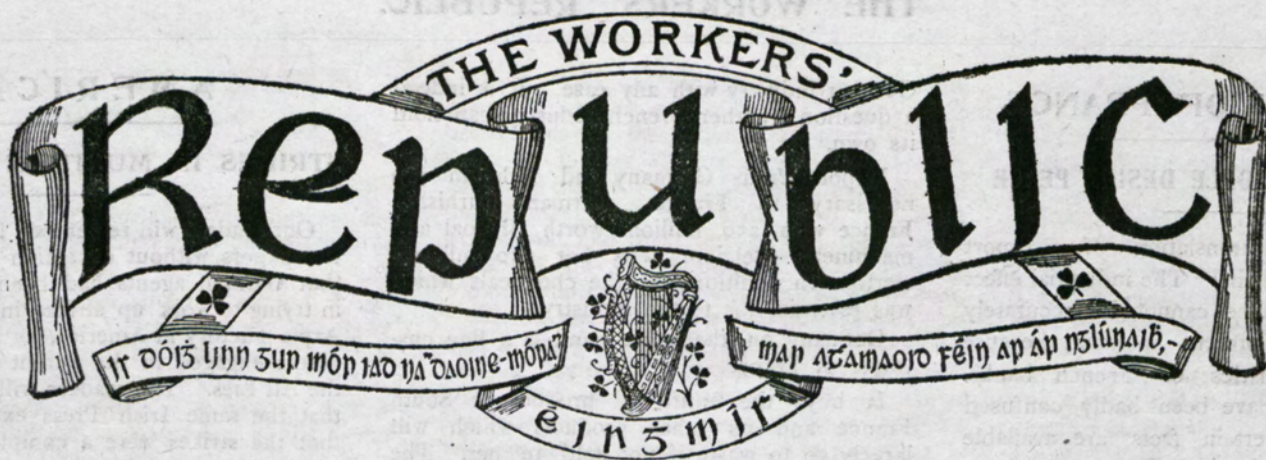
in room 86, Gresham Hotel for two hours
from 8 p. m.

Some forty Sinn Fein Volunteers
assembled at 41 Parnell Sqr. at 8. 30 p.m.
and afterwards in command of C. Colbert,
went route marching towards Cabra. They
returned at 10. 30 p. m., and dismissed
without further parade.

Attached is a Copy of this week's
issue of The Workers Republic which, with
the exception of a few paragraphs, does
not appear to contain anything deserving
special attention.

Owen Bowen
Superintendent.

PRICE ONE PENNY.



"The great only appear great because we are on our knees: let us rise."

Vol. I., No. 11.

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1915.

Weekly.

Notes on the Front

This week we give the pride of place to the resolution passed at the meeting of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain relative to the deportation orders issued against certain officers of the Irish Volunteers:

"THE IRISH DEPORTATIONS.

"The N.A.C. of the I.L.P. indignantly protest against the attempted deportation without charge or trial of four Irishmen and their subsequent arrest for refusing to leave their native land at the bidding of the military authorities, and calls upon the Chief Secretary for Ireland immediately to investigate the matter and put a stop to this outrage on the civil liberties of the people."

Since this was passed two of these men have been sentenced to imprisonment for four and three months respectively. In the course of the trial when the officers in charge of the prosecution were cross-examined to find out the grounds of the deportation order no information was given other than that the orders were issued by General Friend.

The presiding magistrate told the counsel for the defense that an order from General Friend was "conclusive." Thus we learn that no evidence is required, and no trial is needed. General Friend gives an order, and every magistrate in the country upholds it. It is the complete abolition of all liberty.

We quote the fine speech of Mr. Power in the defense of Denis M'Cullough. It is an epitome of the whole state of public "liberty" in Ireland to-day:

"COUNSEL'S ADDRESS FOR DEFENSE.

"In stating the case on behalf of the accused, Mr. Power said that in view of his Worship's decision in the case of Mr. Pim, there was very little left for him to do except to protest against the methods that were now being employed to govern this country. They were faced with a new state of facts in Ireland, for never in the history of the country under English law had people been transported without trial. That was what was being done in that case. No charge had ever been made against the accused, and if he was guilty of an offence under the defence of the Realm Act, why was he not prosecuted in the ordinary way? They were living apparently under a regime of martial law. They might say it was the Defence of the Realm Act, but if Major General Friend had absolute power in this country then the Defence of the Realm Act was a travesty and a farce. It was always one party that was harried by Dublin

Castle. He did not know whether the Dublin Castle authorities were the people behind the prosecution or not, but he had a very good idea, and it struck him that everybody connected with the prosecution were all labourers in Nathan's vineyard.

"Counsel went on to mention that Mr. McCullough had only returned from a pilgrimage to Lough Derg, when he was taken into custody. Was such a man to be branded as a criminal? Surely that did not strike the average man as being consistent with elementary justice. There was no doubt whatever but that Mr. Pim and Mr. M'Cullough were objected to by the gentleman who represents West Belfast.—(Joe Devlin, M.P.) It was an extraordinary coincidence too, that these denunciations and the order for their expulsion took place about the same time. In a similar case in Dublin the other day the accused was described by the presiding magistrate as an upright, conscientious and honourable man. Were men of such calibre to be driven into the prisons of the country to mingle with the ordinary criminal section of the community? Sending leaders to jail never killed any movement. Martyrdom on the contrary strengthened a cause. There were armed Volunteers in connection with this movement, and he asked the Government to pause and to consider where the country was drifting to. Were they prepared to take the responsibility to harass this one political party and one that was armed? Were they prepared for the consequences that followed the same policy a hundred years ago? If they were prepared to drench the country in blood then on their heads be the responsibility."

The quotation is from the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*.

So our friends in England can see that their desire that the Chief Secretary for Ireland should "investigate" this matter is a little naive or guileless. The Chief Secretary for Ireland is on the job all the time, and if anybody needs to investigate in order to find out the truth it is certainly not he.

His job is to conceal truth, and to punish those who would reveal it.

But our friends of the I.L.P. were, of course, merely using the prescribed forms for approaching high officials, and probably knew the political functions of a Chief Secretary as well as anyone. And let us say in passing that to the body in question, the I.L.P. of Great Britain, is due a debt of gratitude from every lover of humanity and justice for their magnificent stand in this war.

Their stand on the Conscription question will also strike a responsive chord in many a heart in Ireland. It was affirmed at the aforementioned meeting in the following terms:

"CONSCRIPTION.

"This meeting of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P.

reaffirms its unabated opposition to any form of compulsory military service, and expresses its conviction that, as it is practically impossible for a conscript system to become effective in this war, the motive behind the movement to impose such compulsory service can only be for the purpose of obtaining a powerful reactionary weapon which would continually menace the future industrial and political development of democratic institutions. It would also enable the governing class to pursue a foreign policy which would inevitably lead to further wars. The N.A.C., therefore, declares that such compulsory service would gravely imperil the foundations of British civil and political liberty which constitutes the main difference between the British and continental nations. The N.A.C., therefore, calls upon members of the Party to resist to the utmost every attempt to impose Conscription. If, in spite of our efforts, the system is imposed, the members of the N.A.C. pledge themselves to resist its operations and, while recognising the right of every individual member to act as his or her conscience dictates, the N.A.C. will do all in its power to defend those members who individually refuse to submit to such compulsion."

The two items following, from the *Woman's Dreadnought*, Sylvia Pankhurst's very virile paper, might explain why voluntary recruiting is not rushing. If these are truths then it is no wonder that the army is not so popular as it was:

SOLDIERS' FATHER STARVES.

"A white-bearded frail-looking man named Timothy Buckley, aged 72, wearing a shabby black coat and silk hat, was sentenced at West London recently to one day's imprisonment for stealing two loaves of bread from a baker's barrow. When arrested he said: 'I took them because I was hungry. He ate ravenously some bread and butter given to him at the Police Station.'

"Buckley told the magistrate that he had two sons in the Army, one of whom had been wounded. A police sergeant described him as a perfectly respectable man, etc.

"What allowance is he getting from the War Office? This is likely to be the first of many cases, as the soldiers' parents are most meanly dealt with."

Speaking of a projected woman's deputation to Parliament the second item say:

"The new organisation which has been formed in Preston will join in the deputation. Mrs. Gifford, the Hon. Secretary, writes:— 'The women of Preston are just getting their eyes open to the black cloud that is coming over us. Preston is getting very hard hit. The mothers whose sons are prisoners in Germany, are having their allowances stopped, and if a husband is killed, otherwise than in active service, the pay is stopped.'

THE RUIN OF FRANCE

WHY FRENCH PEOPLE DESIRE PEACE

Following is a translation of a report in the *Neue Zeit*, Berlin: The industrial effect of the war on France cannot be accurately estimated at the present moment, because the financial statistics of French banks, always unreliable, have been badly confused by events. Still, certain facts are available indicating the general ruin in France.

In the first four months of the war the state advanced over 300 millions of francs for the relief of the distress of the unemployed.

On the extent of unemployment exact or even approximate figures cannot be obtained, because since the outbreak of war the bulletin of the Labor Minister has been discontinued, and also the labor union reports. The following figures will, however, give an insight into the extent of the unemployment.

On December 31 the number of unemployed in Paris, according to figures secured by the Unemployment Relief Committee, without including the distressed families of those who had been called to the front, was 243,932. In the census of 1906 the number of employed was 838,000. It is not known to what extent mobilization influenced these figures or the numbers of persons in the families of the soldiers in want. If the first figure is placed at 300,000 and the dependents at 60,000, then it can be estimated that the number of unemployed in December, 1914, was at least 50 per cent of the working class.

On the condition of industry the export statistics throw a great light. During the first eight months of the war—from August, 1, 1914, to May 31, 1915, the decrease in French commerce, which in ordinary times amounted to nearly 6 milliards of francs, was nearly 56 per cent, of which 2,946 millions were exports and 2,935 millions were imports.

Nevertheless there has been an improvement in these lines during the first quarter of 1915. The decrease in exports in comparison to the first quarter of 1914 was only 1,781,000,000 francs or about 45½ per cent, but on closer examination of these figures, based on the normal statistics, this gain is only apparent and has been made at the expense of French industry.

In fact the import of foodstuffs decreased from 460,000,000 to 442,000,000 francs or about 4 per cent. The import of industrial raw materials decreased from 1,445,000,000 to 616,000,000 francs or about 57½ per cent. The import of manufactured goods increases, on the other hand, from 386,000,000 to 424,000,000 francs or about 9½ per cent.

Contrasting these figures, the exports of industrial raw material decreased from 480,000,000 to 145,000,000 or about 69¾ per cent. The export of manufactured products decreased from 833,000,000 to 332,000,000 or about 60 per cent. The outgoing parcel's post (principally luxuries) dropped from 145,000,000 to 46,000,000 or about 68½ per cent. Thus while despite the general crisis the imports of manufactured goods increased, the export of finished products showed no increase but a very heavy decrease.

A decrease in imports and exports in itself would be natural and expected. Commerce with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Belgium and Russia, which in 1911 amounted to 4,150,000,000, is completely cut off. The commerce with the other nations has also suffered in the general crisis. Then it becomes apparent that French industry cannot conquer

German industry with any ease. It is indeed a question whether French industry can hold its own.

Imports from Germany and Belgium are necessary to France. Germany furnishes France with 250 millions worth of coal and machinery, Belgium sells her 150 millions worth. In addition are the chemicals which was essential for textile industry.

Germany on the other hand is a fine customer of France.

It buys the entire oil product of South France and its other products which will largely go to waste if not sold to her. The Farmers of South France are losing at present the trade with Germany in fruit, vegetables and flowers, while the export to England has been expensive and insecure. The wine industry is well nigh ruined already, the home consumption having decreased and the two best customers, Germany and Belgium being cut off.

With these facts in mind, it appears that France is suffering most heavily of all the nations engaged in the war, with, of course, Belgium and Poland excepted. It is all the more so, because in northeast France, the Germans have conquered all the section comprising the heavy industries of France. How the developments will continue will depend largely upon the events of the war and will undoubtedly strongly affect peace negotiations.

GERMAN GOLD.

When Nugent, M.P., started the calculated lie about German gold in Dublin in order to cast a cloud of suspicion around those who still stood by the old faith, the *Freeman's Journal* made the following comment on similar methods adopted in Wales during the recent coal dispute. It shows what the ex-Bum-bailiff and ex-process server, now politician and patriot, misses by living in Ireland:

"Another thing has to be noted. Because the men stood by their rights, and for that which they have now been agreed to have been right in standing by, vicious tongues spoke of German gold and German conspirators, and it was even suggested that coercion ought to be applied red-hot and at once, and that if that failed they ought to be shot down. *People who make such suggestions are little short of traitors, for theirs is the sure way to produce national disunion and widespread disorder. Lastly, the crisis indicates that compromise ought always come first.*"

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AMERICAN

STRIKES IN MUNITION FACTORIES.

Our readers will remember that all the Irish Newspapers without exception told us recently that German agents had been busily engaged in trying to work up strikes in the Remington Arms Factory in America, as well as in other plants engaged in the output of munitions for the All Lies. The readers will also remember that the same Irish Press exultantly told us that the strikes were a complete failure. We reprint from an American paper to hand an account of the settlement which shows that the men won overwhelming victories, and succeeded in establishing the Eight Hour Working Day in the factories named.

Bridgeport, Conn., July 16.

Possibilities of a general strike that would effect machinists all over the country were considerably less here today. Three arms companies in addition to the Remington concern to-day announced the granting of an eight-hour day, and it was predicted that before night other companies would follow suit.

The fact that labour has the whip hand—through the immensity of war orders and the urgent need of speed in filling them—it was admitted, caused the companies to capitulate quickly.

INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS.

The Manufacturers' Association has refused to act as a body on the matter of granting labour's demands, it became known to-day. At a secret meeting which lasted four hours it decided to leave the issue in the hands of individual manufacturers.

Labour men saw in this action a victory. They pointed out it would be easier to deal with one employer than with forty.

Arbitration was being suggested by manufacturers to-day. It was generally sidestepped by labour men, as they frankly state their belief in the capitulation of all the manufacturers if they but hold on.

Reports that a government mediator was coming to Bridgeport could not be confirmed, nor could the federal agent be found. Samuel Gompers likewise was absent.

GRANT EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Companies granting the eight-hour day to-day were the Bryant Electric Company, a branch of the Westing-house interests, employing 3,000 men; the Harvey-Hubbell Company, manufacturers of steel screws, 2,000 men, and the Bullard Machine Tool Company, the largest factory of machine tools in the world, 2,500 men.

The Remington Arms Company and the sister company, the Remington Union Metallic Cartridge Company, have been manufacturing immense quantities of war munitions for the allies and for the United States.

A PROPHECY.

(From *Forward*.)

Once or twice since this war began we have quoted courageous utterances in favour of sanity by the Editor of the *World*, the "High Society" Weekly. He seems to be in perpetual trouble with the Censor, and two issues ago the export abroad of his journal was prohibited. In his issue for 20th July he declares that War-saw will certainly fall "within a fortnight from the present time. And that within 60 days from now America will have declared war on Germany, will have seized all the German merchant vessels that are at present in New York harbour, and will have placed her powerful navy at the disposal of the Allies." Thereafter Germany will open peace negotiations.

LOUIS XIV. OF FRANCE. 1643-1715.

The following extract from Mr. Hassall's book *Louis XIV.* in the "Heroes of the Nation" Series, is interesting and educative to-day.

"The theory of the divine origin of kingship was firmly held by Louis and generally accepted in France. In his memoirs Louis lays it down that kings are God's lieutenants, answerable to him alone. The King represents the nation and all authority lies in the hands of the King. 'L'etat, c'est moi' ('The State it is I') represents accurately Louis' conviction, that in him were centered all the threads of internal government as well as of foreign policy, and that all Frenchmen were merely instruments for carrying out his wishes. He was convinced that a divine instinct would lead him to make right decisions. An absolute unlimited monarchy was especially agreeable to God. . . . In his view of the divine origin of the royal power Louis was supported by the Church. Bossuets' celebrated declaration of the theory of divine right is well known. He asserted that kings were gods, that they carried on their brows the stamp of divine authority and that they had to render an account of their actions to no man.

"A government of divine origin had no need to consult the people, and Louis himself tells us in his memoirs that it is certain that the necessity of accepting the law from the people is the worst calamity that can fall on a man of kingly rank. In his memoirs too, he notes the result of his meditations upon Parliamentary Government in England. 'This subjection, which places the Sovereign under a necessity to receive the law from his people, is the worst evil that can happen to a man in our position' and in another place he speaks of 'the misery of those who are abandoned to the indiscreet will of one populace assemblée.' Louis could never understand the English Government by King and Parliament and was ever urging the later Stuarts to establish a despotism after the French Model. He himself was now convinced that an absolute monarchy was established for ever in France."

This interesting theory that kings were appointed by God to make laws, impose taxes, and administer justice, was based on the injunction of scripture to "obey those that have rule." It is very logical. In France the Revolution killed it (1789-94).

In England it was at issue between Charles I. and Cromwell. Charles lost his head. Later on, James II. dared to dispute with the nation, and William of Orange was called in and the English people definitely established two principles—

(1.) That a king could be lawfully elected by men; he was not appointed by heaven. People were not bound by hereditary monarchy.

(2.) Kings were not to be absolute. Parliament was to make the laws and impose taxes.

The divine right of kings was dead. It is generally agreed that England owes much to the excellent German family who accepted the throne, and faithfully observed the conditions presented for a limited monarch. We expect that that amiable English gentleman, George V. (for despite ancestry, birth and training have made him English) is a great deal happier than was Louis XIV. with his unlimited power.

But the doctrine of divine right is still alive. Servants and women are still ordered to "obey." Divine authority is said to command them to accept without a murmur all that their rulers command. Women are forbidden to ask for votes. Strikers are forbidden to ask for wages, because divine authority has ordered "obedience."

What would happen if this theory of divine right was carried out? Workers must again become slaves, the absolute chattels of their masters. George V. must go into private life, and yield his Crown to a German descendant of the Royal House of Stuart. The new king would rule, like the Czar, without any Parliament. Taxes would be paid at his bidding without complaint. He alone would make laws,

We do not think that the average working man is likely to be influenced by any assertion that his master has a divine right to his obedience. But employers are in need of cheap female labour, and the divine right of men to keep women in subjection is often urged as a reason against women organising or voting.

Some women have tender consciences, and at the words "divine right" resolve for ever to remain voteless. It is well therefore to point out the history of this theory of divine right; it is not a new thing; it was used by royal tyrants and by slave owners.

In the American civil war, Lincoln found very many clergymen in favour of slavery, because slaves should "obey their masters."

The word "obey" may have several different meanings. The misery, poverty, and wretchedness that have occurred in the past when the divine right idea was put into practice hardly convinces one that it is acceptable to heaven.

The absolute rule of Louis XIV. brought Louis XVI. to the guillotine a century and a half later.

Can the absolute rule of master over worker, man over woman, have happier results?

A GIRL'S DEBATING CLASS.

I have in previous issues of the *Workers' Republic* advocated our taking our fitting part, as intelligent and thoughtful Labour women, in the various women's movements of the day. We want school meals, Medical Inspection of School Children, women police and magistrates, milk for babies, new houses, etc., etc. But it is not enough to read about these things, one must also talk about them. We need effective women speakers in the Labour Movement. A hundred years ago or less it was believed that women could not speak in public—nay, more that it was morally wrong for us to do so! The same idea was held about a "College" education; women were unable to learn Latin, Law, or Logics! But when the Universities were opened and girls began to beat young men in these subjects, girl's debating societies were also formed, so that middle-class women to-day can hold their own with men as public speakers.

In England there are many working women orators. Why should Irish working women not be able to speak in public? The reason is simple—they never try. Now, it is hard to begin one's career by addressing a big public meeting. What is wanted is a Debating Society in which to gain confidence by practice.

I have been hoping that we might get together some girls and form a Speakers' Class or Debating Society, with a view to educating our girls in speaking. Two classes of girls should especially come—

(1.) Girls who know how bad things are and who want to improve them. They are probably shy and think they won't succeed. But it is their duty to try. A shy person can often move an audience.

(2.) There are the smart, ambitious girls who did well at school and would like to shine. I should love to have them.

I do not, of course, expect that every girl who reads this will resolve to come. I should be content to begin with six.

If, then, you would like to learn to speak, please let me know. You can do so—

(1.) By sending a Post Card to X.Y.Z., care of Editor, *Workers' Republic*, Liberty Hall.

(2.) Leaving a message at Co-operative Stores, 31 Eden Quay. Please say on what evenings of the week you are free.

N.B.—Girls only need apply, and they must of course be Trade Unionists, or the daughters or sisters of Trade Unionists. I hope we need make no charge at all, but that will be fixed later. Place of meeting is also to be arranged. Understand that our debates will be quite private to start with. No sneering brothers or joking elderly men admitted, at least until we have developed such brilliant eloquence that all and sundry will be squashed. I add a list of possible subjects—

- (1). "What I Think of Jim Larkin."
- (2). "Why Women Need Trade Unions."
- (3). "My Grievances."
- (4). "Why I Liked (or Hated) School."
- (5). "Should Wives be Paid?"

WHO MADE THE WORLD?

(By "J. J. B.")

Recent happenings in Ireland compel us to ask ourselves if our Catechism answered the above question correctly!

We were taught that God made the World, and some of us thought that God committed the awful crime of creating Irishmen to occupy a particular portion of the World, and left it to our own free will to decide whether we would live in Ireland or *die* "somewhere" in Flanders or elsewhere. Last week, however, "John Bull" demonstrated to the World that Irishmen have no earthly right to live in Ireland. And, from his actions, we must logically conclude that "John Bull" is under the impression that he made the World. Whether he is right in this presumptuous assumption or not "John Bull" thinks he owns the World, long ago, from speeches delivered at so much a word (see advertising rates in the *Slaveman's Journal*), by the "Irish" "Army and Navy on the floor of the House" that Irishmen have no right to *die* in Ireland, while the British Empire is in danger—our proper burial place at present being in Flanders, Avenging Bachelor's Walk or something else (see the Home Rule Recruiting Posters); and if our "Leaders" tell us we have no right to *die* in Ireland, "John Bull" need not scruple—telling us we have no right to *live* in Ireland!

If "John Bull" made the World, as he, honest Wholesale and Retail Small Nationalities Merchant that he is, believes he did, then we may expect to see him putting into operation a scheme of Human Redistribution that will scatter humanity.

This Redistribution of Humanity Scheme is not by any means a new one. "John Bull" put it into force in Ireland in the good old days, when he kindly sent over a mixed "Plantation" to run (or rather *ruin*) this country, and sent Irishmen and Irishwomen, as slaves, to Plantations in the West Indies! At that time "John Bull" was only beginning to realise his responsibility to *his people*. On more than one occasion since, he has shown that he is perfectly well aware of the fact that it is necessary for him to look after the interests of the people, or race that is not *strong* enough to take care of itself, and to do this thoroughly he must take possession of the country inhabited by that people or race. Having tackled all the *weak* races, "John Bull" is now engaged on a more elaborate job, and when he is *finished*—but we can only "Wait and See."

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EDITED BY JAMES CONNOLLY.

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Office, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

"An injury to one is the concern of all."

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1915.

IRELAND'S TRAVAIL AND IRELAND'S RESURRECTION.

NEVER did Ireland see a more soul-stirring outpouring of the Gael than was witnessed on last Sunday, August 1, 1915.

We do not know whether the McManus Funeral—to name the occasion with which it is most customary to draw comparisons—was or was not more imposing in point of numbers than the turn out in honour of O'Donovan Rossa, but we do know that in all other respects this latter called for a greater exercise of courage and faith in the future than either the McManus or any other demonstration ever seen in Ireland. Let us set forth the position clearly to our own minds.

The McManus Funeral was the first sign of the uprising of Irish Nationality after the shameful, sorrowful days of 1847-48 and 1849. Ireland had, in the words of Fintan Lalor, "sank and surrendered to the famine," and with no resistance of the importance even of a riot had gone down before the blows of the enemy. So completely had she gone down that many of her rebels formally gave up the struggle, and announced their belief that the cause of Ireland's separate existence was a lost cause. The case of M. J. Barry, the gifted author of that splendid revolutionary song, all too seldom sang now-a-days, "Bide Your Time," may be cited as a noble example. But this surrender of Ireland, this defeat of Ireland, was a surrender and a defeat inflicted by the enemy against the protests and vain struggles of the representatives of the Irish people.

All the organised life of Ireland protested against the means by which the potato blight was used to create a famine, against the methods employed to make that famine subservient to English policy. Their protests were ineffectual, they who were willing to let the case go to the arbitrament of battle waited too long and lost their chance, and they who were not so willing were equally unable to stem the tide of demoralisation. "The soul of Ireland sank where that of other nations would soar," and the cause was lost. But the issues were left clear in the public mind. It was still the existence of Ireland as against the public policy of England.

For the year preceding the Rossa Funeral the conditions of Ireland were entirely different. The cause of Ireland as a separate nation, as a nation with a separate life, history and individuality of its own was again looked upon as a lost cause, and the fate of Ireland was again accepted as being irrevocably and finally blended with that of the British Empire.

But unlike the days of '48 the days of the past twelve months were remarkable for the fact that the abandonment of the cause of Ireland as a separate nationality, the merging of the hopes of Ireland in the success of England, the definite declaration that the British Empire could count Ireland as finally conquered and made "loyal"—all this came not from without, not imposed upon us in the hour of our weakness, but from within, and accepted in the moment of our greatest tactical strength by the leaders trusted by the majority of our people. For twelve months—twelve long dreary agonising months—we have seen war in Ireland, war upon the soul of the Irish people, war upon the traditions, the religious spirit, the holiest aspirations, the centuried hopes of the martyred men and women who had made Ireland famed and respected wherever there are gathered men and women capable of honouring fortitude in disaster, and sublimity of soul in the midst of defeat.

Never has a nation suffered such an onslaught. Belgium in its agonies under the heel of the invaders nor Poland in its awful travail cannot claim to have suffered as Ireland has suffered since war was declared. Betrayed and deserted by all but a faithful few Ireland was attacked by every poisonous agency ever brought to bear upon the mind and soul of a people. Her religion, her love of nationality, her strict sexual morality, her natural affection for the weak, her sympathy for suffering and distress—every high and noble instinct implanted in her by ages of suffering was appealed to that her children might deny the past of their country and surrender their hopes of moulding its future. Ireland was asked, nay was ordered, to deny all that her martyrs had affirmed, to affirm all that her martyrs had denied. And this assault upon the soul of the country was planned and carried out to all its minutest and most revolting details by the men whom a cruel fate had allowed to become the leaders and guides of Irish public opinion.

The fight in Belgium and in Poland are fights for the material possession of town and cities, the fight in Ireland has been one for the

soul of a race—that Irish race which with seven centuries of defeat behind it still battled for the sanctity of its dwelling place.

Old mediæval legends tell us how in the critical moments of the struggle of an army, or the travail of a nation, some angel or deliveror was sent from above to save those favoured by the Most High. To many people to-day it seems that the Funeral of O'Donovan Rossa came to Ireland in such a moment of national agony—came on such a mission of divine uplifting and deliverance. The mists and doubts, the corruption and poisons, the distrust and the treacheries were blown away, and the true men and women of Ireland saw with pleasure the rally of the nation to the olden ideas—saw the real people of the country solemnly bearing witness to the faith and wisdom of those who had

"Fought a good fight, and kept the faith."

The McManus Funeral rallied the people of Ireland after their defeat by the enemy; the Rossa Funeral rallied the people of Ireland after the onslaught of her faithless leaders.

Will the rallied Irish people stand fast as well as he whom they honoured?

LAST MONDAY'S SPORTS.

One of the finest Exhibitions of Hurling by Ladies ever seen in the City was witnessed by a great crowd at Croydon Park last Monday, and the Promoters of the Sports are certainly to be congratulated on having been able to secure the services of two such able exponents as the "Drums" and "Crokes."

A Varied and Interesting Programme has been arranged for Next Sunday, and another Great Day is anticipated. First Event at 3.30 p.m. sharp. Kinsaley (I.T.W.U.) Team, St. Margaret's, Santry, Baldoyle (I.T.W.U.), Cullen, Allen, Wallis's, and City of Dublin Teams will compete.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A Public Meeting for all Women and Girls engaged in working for wages will be held

IN LIBERTY HALL.

ON

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10th, AT EIGHT P.M., for the purpose of re-organising the above Union.

Special Invitation is given to all Past Members.

All Girls who Suffered Imprisonment for the Union during the Great Lock Out are Entitled to Enrol themselves Free as Honorary Members for Life.

Several Speakers, including Councillor Partridge and James Connolly, will Address the Meeting.

RALLY TO THE OLD FLAG.

JAMES CONNOLLY,

Acting General Secretary,

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The front room at Liberty Hall will be open, and a girl in attendance, for the enrollment of members beginning Friday, August 6th.

N. J. Byrne's TOBACCO STORE,

39 AUNGIER STREET,

(Opposite Jacob's),

FOR IRISH ROLL & PLUG.

HUMILIATION.

[By X. Y. Z.]

The Capitalist Press has lately had a great deal to say about "humiliation," great Conservative organs have sadly and solemnly informed the aristocracy that they (England) are humiliated by the Syndicalist victory and the Government in North Wales. Now, why should mighty English Peers confess to feeling humiliation? Well, they might say so because they thought a convenient lie would put the workers off the scent. Possibly they are so pleased that the men did not insist upon the mines being nationalised that they seek future safety in pretended "humiliation" and sorrow.

But if really feeling humiliated by the simple fact that dead men cannot work (thus preventing authority being enforced by wholesale executions) why have the wealthy classes so confidently told us so? It seems strange to own one's downfall to the very people who caused it. The French nobility on their way to the Guillotine in 1789-94 did not prate about their humiliation, but went gaily to their doom. Why do the coal lords whine about their defeat? I believe that the strange truth is that they really believe the workers' care. They think that the Welsh miner or Dublin labourer will be wounded and grieved at knowing that the employing classes are annoyed. But why should the workers fret at having displeased them? How can it concern us? The miners are probably quite pleased at knowing that the employers are in sorrow.

Then the Kaiser is supposed to be pleased! A quaint idea! Imagine William the great exponent of kingly authority and "Divine Right" gloating over the defeat of authority and the supreme proof of its powerlessness! Were the miners "disloyal" to England? Did their action encourage the German militarists to attempt the Conquest of England? What could the Kaiser do to 300,000 strikers? Shoot them down and replace them by Germans! Please get out your handkerchiefs, put them to your eyes, and seriously consider the unhappy position of the poor Kaiser, faced a little later with 300,000 German miners on strike in Wales! There is a science called economics and those who study it will appreciate the difficulties that would beset a victorious foreign government who tried to rule England against England's will. If England could not rule Ireland, what makes you think Germany could rule England and Ireland, Mr. Emigration Agent?

Really the English owe a debt to the syndicalist for showing plainly how impossible and unprofitable it would be to attempt to "rule" Wales by force. You cannot reason from the middle ages to our modern industrial civilisation. Wealth cannot be produced without willing workers. War and anarchy destroy trade and commerce. Well organised Trade Unions of men and women are a better defence against conquest (German or Times) than Conscription could ever be. Military defence ends on the battlefield, but strikes go on for ever.

Think of victorious Germany's difficulties if, while trying to "rule" England and Ireland, she was attacked by Japan or China!

Perhaps our rulers are really humiliated because they see that "Syndicalism" is such a good weapon with which to defeat Prussianism.

Then the Primate of All Ireland, Rev. Dr. Crozier, is humiliated because Warrenpoint recruits cost hundreds a piece. I believe he rather advocates conscription, but what a humiliation to have to confess that England had to have conscription because men did not think her worth fighting for! England's real humiliation lies in the fact that, in her hour of need, Irishmen will not freely help her. That humiliation would only be increased if she took steps to force them. I mean the fact of having to try force would be humiliating.

Dr. Crozier's real humiliation lies in the fact that after seven hundred years' intimate acquaintance with his class the Irish people do not trust them, and are indifferent as to their wishes. Unionists have failed to persuade Ireland to be Unionist; that is their humiliation.

Confessions of humiliation are always amusing. Nothing is more humorous than the man who objects to women voting, organising, or even working on the grounds that an independent woman would not want to marry. The idea that woman must be kept dependent, uneducated, and without any power, in order to force them into marriage, is certainly humiliating to men.

The English House of Lords rejected a Women's Suffrage Bill by a majority of 2 to 1. The Irish Trades Union Congress of 1914 unanimously passed a Suffrage Resolution! What does this show? Surely it proves that Irish workingmen have good consciences and know that their women will help them and be friendly no matter what happens. The English aristocracy, on the other hand, are so afraid of women that they dare not let them Vote!

There is no greater humiliation than to know that your power depends, not on love and mutual respect, but on ignorance and force! That is why aristocrats like John Redmond and Lord Curzon are in a humiliating position as compared with Transport Workers! On the one hand there is abject fear as to what women would do if in power; on the other there is trust and confidence based on good treatment in the past! English Conservatives "dare" not free Ireland, because Ireland "might" help England's foes, that fact is humiliating to England! That humiliation can only be removed by the English people treating Ireland so generously that old wrongs will be forgotten! The fact that the "subjects" of England's aristocracy—be they Welsh miners, Irish Nationalists or the mothers that bore them—cannot be given freedom for fear they will use it to repay the wrongs the aristocracy made them endure, is the very worst kind of Humiliation any rulers could be obliged to acknowledge!

AERIDHEACHT MOR.

What promises to be the biggest Aeridheacht of the season, is announced for the last Sunday in August—Sunday, August 29th—at St. Enda's College, Rathfarnham. Besides the Concert proper to which the best of Dublin Talent will contribute, and the usual out-of-door attractions, there will be Tea Rooms and Tea Gardens, Motor Drives, Bands, and Dancing Hall.

A special feature is to be made of displays and competitions for Volunteers. Details will be announced later. Open Handball Competitions will also take place. There will be Tug-of-War Competitions—The finals of the former Tug-of-War Competitions of the last St. Enda Aeridheacht will be pulled off. Pipers' Bands will attend. A Motor service will run from trams to College grounds which will be opened for visitors. Prizes will be offered for the various competitions. A big rally of Volunteers, Workers, and all Gaels is expected.

ROSSA FUNERAL.

The fine turn out of the Irish Volunteers on Sunday was viewed with great satisfaction by the members of the Irish Citizen Army and its allied bodies. It showed that Ireland still has fighting men. We have been informed also that the Citizen Army were a surprise packet to the onlookers, few of whom ever dreamed that such a splendidly equipped body with such perfect discipline and substantial membership existed in Dublin. At least 500 of our men paraded under arms.

A wreath from the Citizen Army was placed upon the coffin of the dead patriot.

NORTHERN NOTES.

ULSTER WAS THERE.

A thousand passengers travelled on the two special trains from Belfast to Dublin for the Rossa funeral on Sunday, and were much impressed by the national tribute to the great Fenian. The greatness of the funeral procession, the holding of Dublin by Ireland's armed men the fine display of the Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army, and the splendid spirit and bearing of the best of Ireland's manhood and womanhood will live for ever in the memory of all who were in Dublin. The Belfast national societies were well represented both in the procession and on the line of march. No list of the delegations is available but I noticed amongst the Belfast contingents representative bodies from the Martyrs' Commemoration Committee, Irish Volunteers, Irish Transport Workers' Union, Cumann na mBan, Irish Textile Workers' Union, Gaelic League, Gaelic Athletic Association, A. O. H. (American Alliance), Na Fianna Eireann. A small party of National Volunteers attended and the Belfast Irish Volunteers were at full strength except for the Chairman and Treasurer who are imprisoned. Volunteers, Gaelic Leaguers, etc., came from Derry, Lisburn, Newry, Dungannon and other centres bringing with them veterans of '67. Several wreaths were sent from Belfast, including one of heather from the Cave Hill. The North was well represented, and not a few of those who made the journey will pray with those at the graveside that out of the graves of Rossa and his companions may come the freeing of Ireland.

BUIDHEACHAS.

This is no occasion for proposing votes of thanks, but it would be ungracious of the Northerners not to acknowledge the kindness, encouragement and attention they received in Dublin. To the officials of the Memorial Committee, and of Liberty Hall and the Officers of the Irish Volunteers the Belfast people are grateful.

THE TRIALS.

On Thursday Denis McCullough and Herbert Pim were sentenced to imprisonment for four months and three months respectively. The court was crowded, and so much sympathy was shown by the spectators that the magistrate had the court cleared. The prisoners were loudly cheered as they were removed to the cells. Extraordinary interest was taken in the trials, and a strong and deep feeling of indignation at the sentences was expressed throughout the city. It is maintained with good reason that it was the trials that compelled the booking of a second train for Sunday. Ernest Blythe has not yet been convicted, and the authorities are undecided whether to take the proceedings at Belfast or at Lisburn. The new-made felons will not be forgotten in Belfast.

AFTER THE STEALING.

Joe Devlin's letter on the prosecutions calls forth little or no comment in favour of the "wee corporal." Here only one comment may be made: the present writer has his own opinion on the connection between the deportations and the Devlinite party, but that opinion does not prevent him seeing through the hypocrisy of Devlin's protest in public when the prisoners have been convicted, and only because the defence had suggested political blackguardism as the motive of the prosecutions. His own letter puts Devlin out of court as a virtuously indignant pleader. The remarks of the *Irish News* on this and other recent happenings are so contemptible that no space need be wasted on them.

NEW T. C. SECRETARY.

In place of John Murphy, resigned, D. R. Campbell has been appointed Secretary of the Belfast Trades and Labour Council.

CROBH-DEARG.

TRALEE NOTES.

[BY ROBAL.]

U.D.C. EMPLOYERS DISMISSED.

Seven of the U.D.C. street cleaners were dismissed last week, no reason being given. It appears two were temporary men, the remaining five permanent men, having different periods of service, ranging from nine months to twelve years. Up till their dismissal the staff was smaller than it was, say, eight years ago, and the keeping on of these seven men would not mean any increase in the local rates. Furthermore, the cleansing of the town requires the full staff, and it cannot afford to be diminished. Rumour is quite current that the men were dismissed by the direction of the Chairman, Jerry M. Slatery, "without the authority of a Council meeting." We wonder what the "Workers' friends" on the Council have to say to this autocratic action. The men, we understand, are Trades Unionists, and we hope they will get the support they deserve to resist the mean attack on them. Messrs. T. Kelliher, P. O'Connor, T. Dennehy, etc., have now an opportunity to see that justice is done, and let us hope they will act promptly and get these unfortunate men reinstated.

O'DONOVAN ROSSA.

The Kerry County Council decided to send representatives to O'Donovan Rossa's Funeral, but unfortunately Kerry people could not travel as there was no excursion on Sunday from Kerry. The Imperial wirepullers took care to see that Kerry's manhood would not be present to pay their respect and homage to the dead Chief at the graveside. However, the Tralee Irish Volunteers turned out in large numbers on Sunday, and, headed by the Strand Street Band, marched to the Manchester Martyrs' Cross at Rath Graveyard, where a firing party fired a volley. Similar parades were held in other parts of Kerry.

THE "THEATRE" ROYAL.

Under Jameson's new manager things are getting lively in the theatre. The Connolly trio, who supplied the musical accomplishments to the Pictures, have been dismissed all on account of the refusal of the Manager to allow their little dog to be with them in the theatre as formerly. Petty tyranny with a vengeance! We suppose the Aberdeenite Manager believes in plenty fresh air for man—and beast!

U.D.C. TENANTS.

It is rumoured that the tenants of the Urban Council cottages are to apply to the Council to reduce their rents. Seeing that the Council reduced Jameson's rent by £100, it is only right and proper that the rents of their other tenants should also be reduced. The cottage tenants are not by any means as well off as Jameson, and they are of more service to the town than he is. He might get his printing done locally and help some printers who are idle.

THE PICTUREDROME.

The Picturedrome Programmes are attracting large audiences, and, we understand, in response to a general wish, boxing bouts are to figure on the "bill" very soon.

CORK NOTES.

There is no place in Ireland where the people are so disinclined to do anything to further their own interests as Cork. There is no place where the people are so apt to forget an injury. There is hardly a place where the seed of national neglect has taken such firm root. We do not mean to say the spirit of nationality is dead in Cork. No, the apathy

and indifference of some have only served to make others more energetic and more determined. The evil is not far to seek. We are too prone to judge people by their everyday actions; the good deeds of to-day becoming the bad ones of to-morrow, and *vice versa*, the good and the bad alike being as readily forgotten. We suffer from what is known as short memories. Men elected to public positions might flout the opinions of their constituents with impunity, provided they have the good sense to mend their ways a few months prior to the time of seeking re-election.

Our people are too ready to place implicit confidence in the man or woman possessed of what is known as an oily tongue, or "the gift of the gab," forgetful—

"That words are like leaves, and where they most abound,

Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found."

Some types of public representatives are able to fool even intelligent men by their public actions. Some there are who make no attempt to conceal the fact that their positions on public bodies are an advantage and a source of income. Others there are who make the smallest action of their lives subservient to future expectations—as ready to promise as to break their words. They gull themselves into the belief that nobody knows their motives because nobody ventures to tell them what they think. It is a mistaken idea of politeness or want of pluck that gives to the exploiter and opportunist the power he now possesses. Gratitude also plays a prominent part. The majority of the working classes are prone to forget a man's faults in return for an act of kindness, and are often ready to sacrifice their best interests in return for a shady promise. Is it possible to make the working classes think? If it is, now is the time!

The new Labour Movement, started by the Trades and Labour Council, ought, if it only gets the support of the working classes, to do much to remedy the existing conditions, and help to protect the interests of the Trade Union Movement.

The National Relief Fund Committee evidently don't want certain people to know anything about their business. The United Trades requested them to allow Alderman Kelliher to act on the Committee instead of the President who was unable to attend. They refused. We can only say their action excites suspicion.

Within the past week two retired peelers secured very good billets—that body of Irish Nationalists known as the Cork Vintners' Association, securing the services of one as secretary, and the Great Sourface, the killer of Irish Industries by high freights, the other. We do not object to a policeman earning a living if his pension is not sufficient to support himself and his family provided he does not endeavour to deprive others of earning a livelihood by going for less pay. But from what we know the majority of them could very well live on their pensions. It is hard to see fathers of families walking the streets and some of those people drawing three men's wages. They seem to get a preference from all classes, even from the Sein Feiners. On the day poor O'Donovan Rossa was laid to rest the Barrack Street No. 1 Band played the National Anthem, "It's a long way to Tipperary" through Patrick Street. How has the mighty fallen? If Rossa had died before the advent of Home Rule on the Statute Book, all the Cork bands would have been at the Funeral.

Is it a fact, the employees of the local Co-op. are not members of their respective Unions?

One anyone tell us, what the approved societies are to do pending a settlement with the doctors? We must say the profession are giving fair play all round. We know of one small society paying 15/- per head per annum

for medical attendance alone whilst the doctors are giving medical attendance and medicine to members of the G.S.W.Rly. Sick Fund for a third of the money. We believe the doctors should be paid under the Act, but surely they cannot expect to get more than they charge they make to a big railway company.

THE OPENING OF THE NEW HOUSE IN COLLEGE GREEN:

CHARACTERISTIC ACTION BEHIND GRATTAN'S BACK.

At the last meeting of the Paving Committee Lord Mayor Gallagher and ex-Lord Mayor Sherlock, with Councillor Ryan in the Chair, gave permission to the Recruiting Committee for the erection of the monstrosity in College Green, opened to facilitate the execution of Irishmen. It is a strange coincidence in Ireland that those advocate the transferring of "decent" Irishmen to the Continent do not appear at all anxious to set the example. Perhaps this does not apply to them.

TO READERS OF THE "WORKERS' REPUBLIC."

The Central Branch Cumann na mBan, are holding an Aeridheacht and Military Carnival at Father Matthew Park on Sunday August 8th at 3 p.m., and look forward with pleasure to seeing all readers of THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC there. The programme will include a Display of Drill and Semaphore Signalling by members of the Branch, and a Competition for Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army in Drill, etc., the best Company to be awarded a handsome prize of a Bugle. A prize will be awarded to the best drilled, etc., Company of Fianna. Admission 3d.

BACHELORS' WALK SHOOTING.

MEMORIAL TABLET ON VIEW.

Visitors to Headquarters Irish Volunteers, 2 Dawson Street, will be given an opportunity of viewing the above which is now ready for laying.

WORKER'S CO-OPERATIVE STORES,

31 EDEN QUAY, DUBLIN.
NOW OPEN.

MEN'S WEAR:

MEN'S SHIRTS from 1/-, 1/11, 2/3, 2/6, 3/3, 3/6.

MEN'S UNDERCLOTHING from 1/11.

MEN'S SOCKS, Hand Knitted, 1/6.

CAPS, MUFLERS, BRACES.

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BLOUSES, GLOVES, CORSETS, APRONS, PETTICOATS AND UNDERCLOTHING, at Lowest Prices.

CHILDREN'S WEAR:

FROCKS, OVERALLS, PINAFORES AND :: UNDERCLOTHING, :: at Lowest Prices.

THE WOMEN'S CRUSADE FOR PEACE.

During the past months of almost world-wide war two constructive developments of the women's peace movement have taken place under the eyes of the present writer. One of these is the Women's Party in the United States, an organisation which was definitely founded last January in Washington as the outcome of a popular campaign lasting only three months. This organisation has now spread with amazing rapidity from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, and has received endorsement from every great woman's organisation in America. It was in a position at the beginning of April to send 47 delegates to the International Women's Congress organised by the women of Holland at The Hague. That Congress was the outcome of the second development of the Woman's Peace Movement. It marked the birth of the international organisation of the world's womanhood in the name of human solidarity.

The importance of these developments as a reinforcement to the general Peace Movement is not appreciated perhaps at its full value. All the forces in the nation that can be directed to the creation of a new public opinion with regard to war—finance, labour, literature, religion—all have an important part to play. But in women's latent consciousness of collective responsibility for the welfare of the human family lies undeveloped a greater influence for the peace of the world than has yet been realised.

We represented at The Hague many nationalities, but a common grief made us one. Prejudices and preconceptions melted away in that shadow of death that was upon us. We spoke as those speak who hush their voices in a house of mourning. The sorrow upon us was a three-fold sorrow. One and all, we were mourning our dead. Ever present also was the knowledge of the unspeakable wrong done to women—who endure in warfare such anguish and terror as no man in the field is ever called upon to face. Beyond the death and dismay of the moment, there was with us as women the thought of the impoverished generations to come. Once in that large building wherein we were assembled all speaking ceased and the hearts of thirteen hundred women were convulsed in a sob which swept through the silent place.

But it was something more than the sorrow of women that found expression at the Hague Congress. The awakening mind of womanhood rose up, the long slumbering collective will spoke. With unanimous voice we claimed our right and our determination to be heard in the councils of the nations that decide the course of human destiny.

Sentiment found no place in the short practical speeches wherewith the business of the Congress was conducted. No voice there uttered a cry for peace at any price. The peace demanded was the peace that is based on reason, on justice, on national independence, and upon the liberty of the people. "War at any price" was realised as hysteria and mania, destructive of humanity and of civilisation. "War at any price" was seen to be the dream of the sentimental, the impractical; the dream—nay, the nightmare, of sleepers drugged with abstractions.

The Belgian delegates brought the practical issues of the Congress most vividly home to us. They had seen their country ruined by a hostile invasion, they had been living for months in Antwerp under alien domination, and even during the terror of the bombardment had never left their posts, nor failed in their task of giving comfort and protection and care to the wounded and destitute. No wonder that the whole meeting rose to its feet as they entered the hall and ascended the platform. They came ready to protest against any suggestion of peace dishonouring to their dead or humiliating

to their nation. Yet none realised more deeply than they did that peace secured by negotiation and based upon national independence and liberty would save Belgium, while a prolonged continuance of the war, whatever the outcome in the end, would destroy Belgium as a nation for many years to come. Their attitude to all the questions involved by the occupation of their country was one of plain commonsense, and was entirely removed from that frame of mind that deals with abstractions. That they could endure all, that they could give all, had been proved by the way in which they had braved the bitterest ordeal that can be faced by women—the ordeal of the invasion of their homes.

Three searching questions were put to these Belgian delegates in my presence and were answered with simple directness and without qualification. These women were asked in the first place whether, if the choice were in their hands, they would prefer that the Germans should evacuate Belgium as the result of a settlement, or that the Germans should be driven back into their own country by force of arms. They answered without hesitation, "We should, of course, prefer that it should be brought about by a settlement." They were then asked if they could tell what proportion of Belgians took the same view as themselves. "There is not a person, man or woman, in Belgium," they said, "who is not of the same opinion." "But is there not a desire for revenge, in view of what Belgium has suffered?" "Of what use is revenge if Belgium is destroyed?" they answered. "Already a great part of the country is ruined, and what is lost cannot be replaced, but if the tide of war proceeds step by step across Belgium till the Germans are driven out, there will not be a house left standing or a field that will not have been trampled down. No Belgian can possibly wish for that development to take place."

These answers were typical of the point of view taken by the women of all the nationalities that were gathered together. Instead of "the enemy" we saw men and women and children, instead of "the target" we saw the human life that had cost so much to produce and so many years to rear. The deliberations of the congress of women at The Hague was the appeal away from passion and insane hatred to balance of judgment and to ruth, inspired by reason.

The twenty resolutions that were passed with practical unanimity stand as a proof of women's intellectual grasp of the situation. They are a proof that women realise as much as men that they are dealing with an issue that presents many problems and many complications, that the tangle of international politics is so difficult that only by the utmost patience and skill can the knot be untied. These resolutions that have been published elsewhere deal specifically with principles upon which a permanent peace could be secured. They deal with arbitration and conciliation from a practical point of view, they confirm an unswerving respect for the rights of nationality, deny the right of conquest, urge that there shall be no transference of territory without the consent of men and women residing in that territory, that autonomy and a democratic Parliament shall not be refused to any people. They recognise the right of the people of every nationality to self-government. They deal with the kind of international pressure which can be brought to bear upon any country which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation. They discard the idea of an international police force as impractical and undesirable, and urge that international pressure upon a recalcitrant nation shall take the form of moral and economic pressure. Recognising the fact that war is very seldom brought about by the mass of the people, but is

caused by groups representing particular interests, they urge that foreign politics should be subject to democratic control, that all secret treaties shall be void, and that for the ratification of future treaties the participation of at least the legislature of every country shall be necessary, and they place it on record that the Congress can only recognise as democratic a system of control which includes the equal representation of men and women.

SHOULD BE IN EVERY HOME.

THE RE-CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

By JAMES CONNOLLY.

(Author of "LABOUR IN IRISH HISTORY").

The book is indispensable to all who wish to understand the many forces making for a regenerated Ireland. It deals with: The Conquest of Ireland, Ulster and the Conquest, Dublin in the Twentieth Century, Labour in Dublin, Belfast and its Problems. Woman, Schools and Scholars of Erin, Labour and Co-operation in Ireland, Re-Conquest, The Appendix contains: Mr. George Russell's "Letter to the Masters of Dublin," and an exhaustive quotation from the "Report of the Inquiry into the Housing of the Working Classes of Dublin."

Indispensable alike to the Social Reformer and the true Patriot.

PRESS OPINIONS:

Catholic Times: "We can heartily commend Mr. Connolly's pamphlet."

Forward: "'The Re-Conquest of Ireland.' By James Connolly. Published at Liberty Hall, Dublin. Sixpence. Sixty-four pages, brilliantly written as Connolly's work usually is, of modern Landlordism and Capitalism in Ireland, and the struggles of the working class for freedom. It ought to have a wide sale among Irishmen."

Irish Citizen: "'The Re-Conquest of Ireland' is an unpretentious little brochure, far less ambitious in scope than Mr. Connolly's other well-known book 'Labour in Irish History', but it bears in every way the stamp of a clear and fearless thinker, and is an exceedingly valuable contribution to contemporary Irish thought."

"This courageous little book should be read and pondered by every progressive spirit who desires to get a clear grasp of the various forces which are at work to-day, making slowly but surely for the regeneration of our common country."

Irish Times: "Mr. James Connolly . . . has written a pamphlet which is on the same high level of lucid thinking and vigorous diction as his earlier book. Whatever may be the merits of his industrial and political gospel, he at least expresses it forcefully and well. . . . Mr. Connolly's review of the more recent history of Ireland, though not always impartial is interesting, and gives food for thought, which revolving in the minds of practical men, may result in some desirable reforms in industry."

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JAMES CONNOLLY. M. MALLIN.

GUERRILLA WARFARE IN INDIA.

[By MICHAEL MALLIN, Irish Citizen Army.]

In June, 1898, the British Government in India sent an armed force to collect taxes in one of the tribal lands in the North West Frontier. The tribe had resented the imposition of this tax, and hence the attempt to collect it by force of arms.

The column was made up of Ghurkas and Sikhs with some mountain guns and a detachment of British soldiers. The whole were under the command of British officers. The tribesmen on this particular occasion were ill-armed but well led. Their arms consisted of about 200 rifles, of which 50 were Martini Henry and Lee Metfords. The remainder were old obsolete muzzle loaders. The feature of the fighting was the excellent tactical disposition of the tribesmen.

Approaching the principal village of one of the leading tribes the British force halted about 300 yards outside the village, on almost level ground, the outskirts of the village almost directly to their front. The officer in charge placed sentries some forty or fifty yards out with strict orders to note and report every move in the village. His guns he placed directly opposite the village, so as to batter down the walls of the houses, or to stop a possible rush.

Having completed the arrangements to his entire satisfaction he then gave orders to the troops to prepare their dinners. Directly in front of the village, running parallel with the British front, was a dried ditch, or nullah, which had not been seen owing to the nature of the ground. In this and in the houses on the fringe of the village were concealed about fifty of the best shots among the tribesmen. On the right of the British the ground was of a very broken nature for a considerable distance. On their left were low hills running back to their rear for about two miles or more.

Whilst the men were at dinner one of the sentries reported a large force of natives moving across their front, as if to get at the right flank of the British column. He could not say whether they were armed or not, as they were so far off. As a matter of fact it was the old men and boys taking the women and cattle out of the way, but the tribal leader used them to distract the attention of the invading British and the ruse succeeded. The British officer in charge became alarmed, and thinking the natives were about attacking his flank ordered the guns to be changed in the new direction. Immediately the men of the batteries began to place the guns on the backs of the mules the tribesmen hidden in the ditch in front of the British, and in the houses beforementioned, opened a deadly fire, directed particularly at the guns. Nearly all the gunners were killed or wounded, the mules broke loose and stampeded, kicking and plunging amongst the men, and causing considerable confusion in the ranks.

With the supposedly large force moving on his right, and not knowing the exact number on his front, the British commander decided to take up a position on the hills or rising ground on his left, as to a certain extent this ground

commanded the village. Anticipating some such move the tribesmen had cleverly laid their plans, and here I wish to emphasise the exceeding usefulness of their arrangements. At the beginning I pointed out that they had only about two hundred rifles or firearms of all descriptions. With the exception of about fifty placed in the ditch and in the houses of the village, the leaders organised all the others into parties of from fifteen to twenty strong, with instructions to them to act either independently or jointly as occasion required.

Running along the foot of the hills was one long nullah or dried up watercourse to the extent of about a mile and a half, and about four feet deep by six feet wide. Smaller dried up water courses or nullahs ran into this main one, much in the nature of lanes leading into a street, or traverses crossing a trench.

To the tribesmen knowing every foot of the ground these nullahs were of the greatest assistance; to the troops who were strangers in the country, and did not know whither they led, these nullahs and water courses were to the last degree dangerous. The natives took up their positions in the main nullah, each party keeping one of the connecting nullahs at their back, so as to retire into it if necessary. In many cases reserves lay in wait in the connecting nullahs. As soon as the troops got within one hundred yards of the nullah a hot fire was opened upon them. The officer in charge gave orders to drive out the enemy. Immediately any considerable force got too close the natives retired along the connecting nullah, and coming into the main one further down took up a new position. In some cases detachments of troops followed into the connecting nullahs, and were ambushed and destroyed by the parties lying in reserve, as were the Northampton later on in the war against the Afridis. Pressed from the direction of the village the British troops had to retire, and with this new danger arising from the operations of the enemy in the nullahs their position soon became desperate. The officer gave orders for a general retirement (or, as the military apologists called it, "A Demonstration in force followed by retrograde movements for tactical reasons"). Their position soon became worse. The men from the village pressing on their rear, and all the time a galling, flanking fire from the nullah. Any detachment that entered the nullah in pursuit was cut to pieces and never seen again. The retreat soon became a headlong panic-stricken flight, and thus ended the attempt to collect taxes by force.

REMARKS.

You can understand twenty or thirty men defending a barricade in a main street, and on the troops pressing them too closely retiring down one of the side streets. Further on in that main street is another barricade. The troops cannot leave it behind them, and at best can only send detachments after the men who have taken to the side streets.

To parties defending their own cities in such a manner the lanes and side streets are of incalculable value. They retire from a position on the main thoroughfares as soon as it becomes untenable, and retiring up one of these intersections come down upon it again further on just as the tribesmen did with the nullahs I have tried to describe. In such fighting the lanes and alleys are a great source of danger to regular troops, they lead to nowhere but to the street fighters, organised in squads of eight or sixteen, they have a very definite place in their scheme of fighting. Led by resourceful leaders such bodies do incalculable damage, and are all the more dangerous from the fact that they do not need rifles, nor guns, machine or otherwise. A disciplined force in reserve they do

need, but the real dangerous demoralising fighting is done by small irregular bodies, hastily dividing, using anything capable of killing or wounding that lies ready to their hand.

Such is the lesson of this incident I have just described, as it is the lesson of the irregular fighting dealt with by our Commandant in previous issues.

IRISH CITIZEN ARMY.

All Ranks will parade under arms in Croydon Park on Sunday at 6.30 p.m.

Special Drill and Instruction.

JAMES CONNOLLY,
Commandant.

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All Boys to attend Drill on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8 o'clock in Croydon Park, and on Saturday in Liberty Hall, at 4 o'clock.

By Order,
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Boys wishing to join can do so on any Drill Night.

Come and help us to win Ireland for the Irish.

THE HOME-COMING OF O'DONOVAN ROSSA.

Slow the conquering hero came
From out the misty West;
Over waves no longer ruled
At England's proud behest.

Slow and kingly came he home,
By Church and People blest;
Borne by patriots' eager hands,
To Erin's throbbing breast.

He, the felon, outlawed, banned,
Disowned, but ne'er despised;
Brought as Victor to his Land,
E'en by past foemen prized!

There he takes his well-earned rest
Among the strong and true;
The faithful dead of Ireland
Who died for me and you.

Who lived and died that Saxon Rule
Might cease our Land within;
And Freedom's noblest virtues bloom
Where rankled Wrong's red sin.

There he lies, the mortal frame,
For ever stilled and cold;
But lives his spirit bright to-day
Within the young and bold.

Oh, Padraic, Colm, Labhras,
Keep watch by Rossa's bed;
Asking the High King's holy peace
For Ireland's dauntless dead.

And great Rath-Dia on the work,
There's yet for men to do;
Blessing the "Pass" our o'glagh hold
Against dark shame and rue.

Keep guard, too, over prison cells,
Where live, by England's grace,
The men who'd fight for Liberty,
As fits a "fighting race."

Pray comfort for their durance,
Ask strengthening for the Right;
God's smile on Eireann's Banner,
Sure Victory for her Fight.

GRAVES O'MARA.

ROOMS TO LET

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TO SOCIETIES,—Rooms to Let.
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Printed and published by Irish Workers' Co-operative Society at Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, Dublin.