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Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 22.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:

Detective Department,

Dublin, 7th. January, 1916

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 6th. Inst., the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows:-

With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St., John McDermott, for a quarter of an hour between 4 & 5 p. m. William O'Leary Curtis for a few minutes at 4-30 p. m. Pierce Beasley from 7-30 to 8 p. m. James Stritch for twenty minutes from 8-30 p. m.

John Nolan at Cork Hill between 11 & 12 a. m.

Bulmer Hobson, Herbert Mellows and Michael O'Hanrahan at 2, Dawson Street at 12-30 p. m.

M. J.

The Chief Commissioner.

The Under Secretary
Submitted

W. E. Johnston

Comm 7/1/16

The Under Secretary
41 York St is the Workman's Club & the Secretary is Alderman T. Kelly -

W. E. Johnston

cc 7/1/16

Under Secretary
Submitted

W. E. Johnston

Ch. Secty.
To see the

"Defence of the
Realms Act in
Ireland" pamphlet.
C. J. Kelly 9/1
W. E. Johnston 7/1

Comm C. Secy.
A. P. M.
8/1/16

M. J. O'Rahilly at 2, Dawson Street at

2 p. m.

W. P. Partridge and P. T. Daly in Liberty Hall between 2 & 3 p. m.

J. J. Walsh in his shop, Blessington Street, between 6 & 7 p. m.

Gerald Griffin and Thomas Byrne, together on Parnell Square at 8-30 p. m.

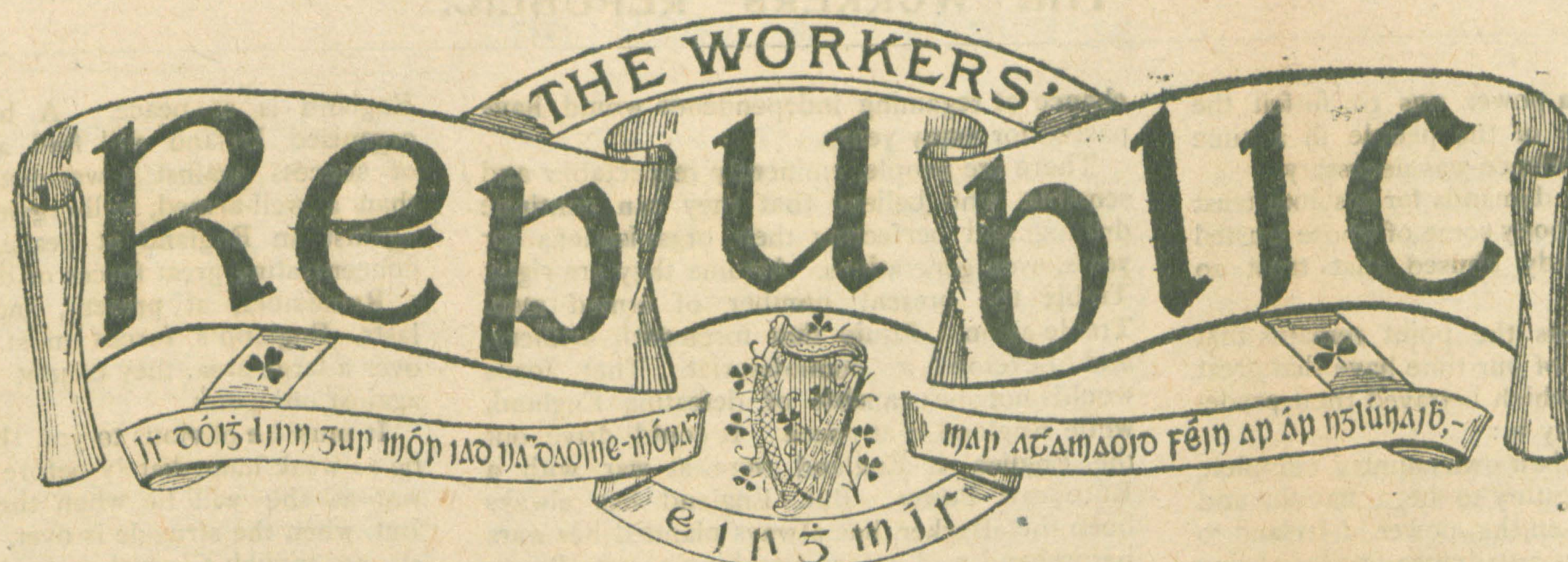
Attached is a Pamphlet on Defence of the Realm Act, as are also Copies of this week's issue of Nationality, and The Workers Republic which, with the exception of a few paragraphs does not appear to contain anything of a serious nature.

It is announced in "Nationality" that a new monthly paper - "The Irishman", will be published, and for sale on the 15th inst.

Owen Breen
Superintendent.

FOR LATE NOTES SEE PAGE TWO.

PRICE ONE PENNY.



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

Vol. I., No. 33.]

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1916.

[Weekly.

OPPORTUNITY!

She stands outside our prison gates—
Who ne'er again may come our way;
She points the road, where Freedom waits,
And bids us haste ere wanes the day—
*The wretched gates with rust are brown,
Yet none essay to break them down.*

Wide arms she opes to daring souls,
Adventure beckons from her eyes;
How shall she tempt such prudent moles
To trust the promise in their skies?
Tho' absent they had sung her charms,
Her coming fills them with alarms.

She says—"On sea and plain your foe
Has gone to meet a tyrant's fate.
"Dare you not then your new strength know
That dazed, irresolute you wait—
"Of what avail brave gun and sword
"If there be none dare give the word?

"On foreign fields your brothers fight
"Your tyrant's shamed cause to save.
"Dare you not risk as much for Right
"Can only traitors then be brave.
"F'en now the sun to West doth face,
"And Ireland runs not in the race."

MAEVE CAVANAGH.

Notes on the Front

THE VOLUNTEERS OF '82.

A correspondent has written to us asking whether there is not a great similarity between the position and actions of the Irish Volunteers of our day, and that of the Volunteers of '82. He points out that the Volunteers of '82, despite the eulogies lavished upon them by the writers of Irish history, were a ghastly and inglorious failure, and that they were so because they lacked the revolutionary quality. They had England at their mercy, and feared to strike, but when England had them at her mercy she struck without hesitation and without scruple.

The comparison is good, but not perfect. Indeed, no comparison is ever perfect.

All comparisons and analogies from history fail in some degree, or at some point. If the circumstances are the same the characters of the actors are different; if the characters of the actors are the same the circumstances are different. Usually there is alike a blending and a dissimilarity on both essentials.

A great Socialist writer, Karl Marx, has said that history repeats itself—once as tragedy, and once as farce. We suppose that the real explanation of the supposed tendency of history to repeat itself lies in the tendency of human beings to imitate whatever action has impressed itself much upon the imagination, just as in a company of individuals we generally find some

persons almost unconsciously imitating the mannerisms of any obtrusive personality in the group.

Take any great historical crisis, and you will find that whenever a similar crisis arises thereafter there will develop amongst the minor actors in the latter a tendency to pattern themselves after the outstanding figures in the first.

And a still greater tendency amongst the unthinking multitude to insist upon all the actors in the second crisis being invested with all the merits and demerits of their forerunners.

In the case we are considering it is indubitable that the Irish Volunteers of our day deliberately patterned themselves after the Volunteers of Grattan's time, adopted their name, and many of their traditions. It is also true that the great international crisis that has since developed has given to the experience of our own Volunteers a great similarity to the experience of the Volunteers of '82.

The Volunteer's of Grattan's time were betrayed by their leaders, as the Volunteers of our time were betrayed by the Parliamentary Party. The Volunteers of Grattan's time broke up without having consolidated their legislative victory, owing to their leaders faith in the promises of English statesmen just as the Volunteers of our time were disorganised by the fact of their leaders trust in the promises of English statesmen.

Despite their enthusiasm for Ireland the greatest section of Grattan's Volunteers became active members of the yeomanry who afterwards achieved notoriety for their crimes against Ireland, just as a considerable section of the Volunteers of our day have become soldiers of the English army—active agents of the military arm of the oppressors of their country.

A poem written at the time of Grattan's Volunteers and the United Irishmen somewhat scathingly refers to them in the following manner:—

What did the Volunteers?
They mustered and paraded,
Until their laurels faded,
This did the Volunteers!

How died the Volunteers?
The death that's fit for slaves,
They slunk into their graves,
Thus died the Volunteers!

And our correspondent seems to infer that in this respect history is again about to repeat itself.

We respectfully differ with him. We can see no real analogy between the Volunteers of Grattan's time, and the Irish Volunteers since the split. Up till that period the analogy was perfect.

Up till that time the stage was set for just such another betrayal, for at least just such

another fiasco. But we cannot see that the present leaders of the Irish Volunteers can at all be compared to the crowd of aristocratic, clerical and capitalist reactionaries who steered the Volunteers of '82 to their destruction.

Nor, and this is even more important, is it at all conceivable that the rank and file of the Irish Volunteer movement could be betrayed as were their forerunners. These Volunteers of '82 were in reality English colonists with a distinctly anti-Irish upbringing and mental outlook. Their enthusiasm for Ireland was the enthusiasm of settlers for their new home, against the government in the home they had left. If they were hostile to English influence they were still more hostile to the vast mass of the natives of Ireland.

They considered themselves as British subjects in the first place, and only as Irishmen in the second place.

Their appeal was to the traditions of the British Empire, and to the memory of the "glorious Revolution" of 1688—the Revolution that set King William III. upon his Irish throne.

Irish traditions, Irish heroes, Irish martyrs for freedom, all, all were alien to them, and therefore their betrayal by their leaders was not in their eyes a national betrayal, but only an aristocratic defection in a struggle of two parties within the British Empire.

If you grasp that fact clearly enough you will understand why, despite our own criticism of what we deem their lack of vision, we yet refuse to accept our correspondent's comparison as we regard it as unjust to the leaders of to-day.

The present-day leaders of the Irish Volunteers do undoubtedly hold allegiance to Ireland as their first and most sacred duty. They are not merely dissatisfied subjects of the British Empire, they are dissatisfied to be subjects of the Empire at all.

Among them there may be some who hold that to have a Volunteer force at all is enough of a gain for one generation, there may be others who like to play at soldiers but shrink from the reality, and there may be others who were never more than wirepullers, and who have brought their wirepulling propensities into their new conditions.

No organisation can hope to be quite free of such undesirables, nor even sure of being able to recognise them.

But the one certain mark to distinguish the Irish Volunteers of to-day from their forerunners is the fact that in their allegiance they set Ireland first. Given that, and all other things can be forgiven them. True, the presence upon their Executive of some of the men who voted the betrayal to John Redmond and his party is a standing invitation to suspicion and distrust. These men were either false to their trust, or incapable blockheads. In either case they should have been sent back to the obscurity and harmlessness of private life to live under suspicion or pity the remainder of their days. To

place them again in power was to forfeit the complete confidence of the people in a time where complete confidence was necessary.

Yet we have heard demands for absolute trust and confidence in a body some of whose trusted members have already abused that trust so vilely.

But granting all this the point remains that the Irish Volunteers of our time have that great quality the want of which betrayed their predecessors. That quality is:

Complete faith in their own country, complete confidence in her destiny to be a nation, and complete reliance upon the power of Ireland to survive all the shocks an adverse fate may bring upon her.

IRELAND'S CHANCES AFTER THE WAR.

Sixty-six years ago, on December 27th, a great heart ceased to throb, a mighty brain was stilled. James Fintan Lalor was dead.

To-day he is almost unknown. Worse, there are some who misknow him. In a future time Ireland will honour him. Ireland will honour him when freedom comes. Ireland can only be free when Ireland hearkens to his teaching, for his teaching embraces the teaching of Tone and Mitchel, and much more.

He watched the dreary parade of a "constitutional agitation." He saw the advent of men who refused to believe that national independence could be achieved by moral force; men who said with him "Let England pledge not to argue the question by the prison, the convict-ship, or the halter; and I will readily pledge not to argue it in any form of physical logic. But dogs tied and stones loose is no bargain. Let the stones be given up; or unmuzzle the wolf-dog." He saw the preparations for revolution, and he saw the constitutional revolutionists fail. He tried, and he failed. He was a hunch-back, deaf, and weak-eyed. Had he been physically fit he would probably have led the first rising, and the result would not have been a Ballingarry.

We live in times similar to his. The word-squabbling has failed, except in the production of evil, and brilliant and strategic retreats. We have reached and developed the point of rejection of moral force doctrines. We have procured guns and are preparing for the fight. We have determined on physical force as the only practical means. Having so determined we must make the attempt before the European struggle ends.

At the moment England begins to suffer acutely from the strain of war, then she will favour thoughts of peace. When the impossibility of breaking Germany becomes clear, then England will bring about peace. England will not attack us now. Her hands are full. But, England will never allow us to perfect our schemes for her overthrow in this country. She will never oblige us by standing aside, that we may increase our number of armed men. England will strike at the fit time. That time will be after the war, when her resources can be concentrated against us alone. England will not scruple to destroy us. She has already attempted. She miscalculated in so far as she thought Redmond equal to the commission of the crime. He failed. England knows now that we cannot be bought, nor cajoled, nor terrorised. Force alone can destroy us. After the war, England, no matter how weak, will possess that force. Fools alone believe she will scruple to employ it for our destruction. Think of the result. We would fight and sell our lives dearly, even make England pay extravagantly. Our gallantry and the nobility of our cause would provide magnificent themes for the poets of a future time. But you know, you must know, we would be defeated; and Ireland's

chance of regaining independence would have passed for many years.

There are people, eminently respectable and sensible, who believe that they can continue drilling and perfecting their organisations for years, even generations. Assume they are right. Treble the present number of armed men. Treble again. Equip that force with artillery, and develop a commissariat. That force would not be capable of defeating England, while England is at peace. It could drive out the English, if England were at war with a European Power. But, England has always been the attacker, has always planned her wars beforehand, and before attacking a great Power she would inevitably destroy any large armed force in Ireland, that could effect her overthrow, while she was at war.

The people of this generation will not witness another war like to that which rages now. The Governments of Europe dare not enter another great struggle. The tax-burdened, war-weary peoples would revolt. Years well-spent endeavouring to repair the wastage.

Weak England, physically at peace with her neighbours, will be strong enough to crush us. She must crush us. Easier the task now, than in the future, when we have perfected our organisation, and procured the armament of war. England dare not allow us to become stronger and more efficient.

"There are men who speak much to you of prudence and caution, and very little of any virtue beside. But every vice may call itself by the name of some one virtue or other; and of prudence there are many sorts. Cowardice may call itself, and readily pass for, caution; and of those who preach prudence, it behoves to inquire what kind of prudence it is they speak of, and to what class of prudent persons they belong themselves. There is a prudence the virtue of the wisest and bravest—there is a prudence the virtue of beggars and slaves. Which class do those belong to who are prating now for prudence, and against premature insurrection, while rejecting every proceeding and plan for preparation?"

"Against the advice of those men, and all men such as they, I declare my own.

"In the case of Ireland now there is but *one fact* to deal with, and *one question* to be considered. The *fact* is this—that there are at present in occupation of our country some 40,000 armed men, in the livery and service of England; and the *question* is—how best and soonest to kill and capture those 40,000 men.

"Any man who objects to every plan of armed resistance that is proposed, while he produces none or no better one of his own—or any man who tells you that an act of armed resistance—even if made as soon as to-morrow—even if offered by ten men only—even if made by men armed only with stones—any man who tells you that such an act of resistance would be premature, imprudent, or dangerous—any and every such man should at once be spurned and spat at. For, remark you this and recollect it, that *somewhere*, and *somehow*, and by *somebody*, a *beginning* must be made; and that the *first* act of resistance is always, and must be ever, premature, imprudent, and dangerous. Lexington was premature, Bunker's Hill was imprudent, and even Trenton was dangerous."

Lalor addressed these words to his generation, that generation was willing to deal with the one immediate fact, was willing to consider the one question; as it was willing to challenge the power of England to kidnap John Mitchel; but the "bide your time" leaders were only playing at revolution.

His brave, truthful voice comes to us from the grave. His fearless spirit is abroad in the land. Are *you* willing? Will your leaders bid you bide your time, eternally?

Ireland can never fight England when

England is at peace. A badly armed, ill-organised Ireland will find a greater chance of success against a war-distracted England, than a well-armed, well-organised Ireland will against an England at peace, and capable of concentrating great forces of destruction.

Remember, at present, and while the war lasts, England's forces must remain spread over a large area, they cannot be concentrated against one point.

It must be obvious to you that England will be as weak immediately before the end of the war as she will be when the war is finished. But, when the struggle is over, England will be strong enough to crush you, because she can then concentrate her forces against you. England will recuperate her wasted strength more quickly than you will perfect your organisation. If she does not destroy you when the war has finished; if she allows you to strengthen your organisation and increase, even to a degree you never dream of, what will it avail you? Before England would engage in another war she must and would annihilate you. We have enough glory to our credit in history; we must win more than tear-gemmed glory *now*.

Doheny wrote of '48. "Ten thousand armed men successful against a garrison of five hundred would produce a more abundant crop of avenging warriors than the fabled dragon's teeth, and that simultaneously through every square mile of the inland. In ten days there would be two millions of Irishmen in arms. It may be asked, what arms? But even instinct will reply, what arms would be needed?"

England had in Ireland less than 40,000 men, and, without hazarding the question, how many of them could she rely on? It requires no consummate military genius to suggest how they could be dealt with by a simultaneous rising of the country. The arms of her enemies would then be hers. She would have time to form a regular army to aid her undisciplined strength. England's position at home, where she had not a soldier to spare; her condition abroad, where she was beaten to the wall; and her relations with foreign powers would achieve the rest.

We have guns. We have ammunition.

We have not quite enough of either.

We have enough of both to win a sufficient quantity.

To have a sufficient quantity of both while England is at war, and hard pressed—?

BRIAN FAGAN.

IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION
(No. 1 BRANCH.)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

IN

LIBERTY HALL,
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th, at 12 NOON.

BUSINESS:—Election of Officers and Committee.
Cards must be shown at door.

JAMES CONNOLLY,
Acting General Secretary.

PAISLEY
WOLFE TONE LITERARY SOCIETY.
LECTURE

By THOMAS McDONNELL (Glasgow),
In the Printer's Hall, Causewayside, Paisley.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 16th, at 4 p.m.
Subject: 'IRELAND AS SHE STANDS.'
ADMISSION - THREEPENCE.

DUBLIN TRADES COUNCIL.
A Meeting of the Council will be held on
Monday next, 10th January, at 8 o'clock.
A full attendance of delegates is requested.
WM. O'BRIEN, Acting Secretary.

SCOTS LABOUR MEN AND LLOYD GEORGE.

SOME STRAIGHT TALKING.

'It is doubtful whether a more misleading report of a public event was ever published than the official account of Mr. Lloyd George's visit to Glasgow, says the *Labour Leader*.

'Some months ago, when Trade Union officials travelled from Glasgow to London to seek remedy from the Minister of Munitions for grievances under the Munitions Act, it is alleged that Mr. Lloyd George told them that he would come to Clydeside and make a speech, and then things would be all right. Since then he has been challenged several times to visit the Clyde area, and finally the announcement was made that he would address a conference of Trade Union officials on December 23 on "The imperative need for some Labour dilution." It was stated that Mr. Arthur Henderson would act as chairman, but against this the Clyde workers protested, for the President of the Board of Education is no longer a favourite among the workers of Scotland.

'However, the local Trade Union officials made all arrangements for the conference and distributed some four thousand tickets to branch officials and shop stewards. On the morning of the conference they were surprised to learn from the press that it had been postponed till Christmas Day, so as to enable Mr. George to acquaint himself thoroughly with "the prevalent conditions" by conferring with the shop stewards at the workshops before addressing the mass gathering. On Thursday evening they met to consider the situation. They felt that the Minister of Munitions had treated them with contempt in postponing the conference without their consent, and by thirty votes to seven decided to have nothing to do with the Christmas Day conference.

'The decision was immediately communicated to Mr. Lloyd George, who deputed Mr. Henderson to interview the officials with a view to rescinding the decision. They agreed to hear Mr. Henderson, but when a vote was taken on the motion "to rescind or not to rescind" the decision to abandon the conference was upheld by a two to one majority.

'When the firmness of the officials was reported to Mr. Lloyd George, alarm held sway over the Ministerial Party. All through the night messengers in taxi-cabs sped about the city informing the shop-stewards that the conference was not abandoned. All mention of the officials' decision was kept out of the press next day, but knowledge of it soon spread among the rank and file and the greatest excitement prevailed in the workshops throughout Friday. On Friday afternoon the Union officials were called to a conference with the officials of the Ministry of Munitions and Mr. Henderson, and urged once again to co-operate in the conference "as it would be discourteous to Mr. George after he had travelled so far." *The Union officials refused to reverse their decision, and only four Unions, the Engineers, the Blacksmiths, the Painters and the Brass-Finishers, agreed to be officially identified with the conference. Over thirty Unions refused to attend the conference and their members boycotted it accordingly.*

'It was, therefore, a "scratch" gathering which Mr. George addressed on Saturday and among those present were hundreds of people who had no connection with Trade Unionism. All told, there were some three thousand present, as compared with the five thousand Trade Union officials and shop-stewards who would have attended had the original arrangements been proceeded with.

'The Clyde Workers' Committee and their followers were greatly in evidence, and when Mr. George came on the platform he was received with cheering and booing, the latter

being dominant. Then the "rebels" sang two verses of the "Red Flag," and the international sentiments of the famous Labour song were again voiced by hundreds of singers when he rose to speak. It was indeed strange reception for him, and must have impressed all present as a sign of the new times that are ahead. Mr. Henderson, as chairman was helpless to stop the singing, so he had to sit still and bear it.

'The official report states that "there was a good deal of interrupters and some singing of the 'Red Flag' by the Syndicalists and a small section, apparently opposed to the war. The interrupters, however, were in a distinct minority." To anyone who was present this statement will appear ridiculous. Those opposed to Mr. George were distinctly in a majority and could have prevented him speaking if they had desired. Mr. George appealed for a hearing, pointing out that even the worst criminal is accorded a fair trial. Having no desire to prevent Free Speech, the audience readily consented to hear the Minister, but only on the assurance, by sign, of Mr. Henderson that the delegate of the Clyde Workers' Committee, Mr. J. W. Muir, would be given an opportunity to reply to Mr. George. The Minister spoke for fully an hour and then proceeded to answer numerous questions which had been handed up in writing. As it was obvious, should this programme be continued, that the time allotted for the meeting would not allow an opportunity for their delegate to speak, the Clyde Workers' Committee asked that their case should immediately be heard. To the great surprise of the audience the chairman refused the request. Immediately there was uproar, and the platform party made a disorderly exit to the strains of the "Red Flag," which was repeated more vigorously than ever.

'The Clyde Workers' Committee's spokesman then addressed the conference, and at the close of his remarks the delegates filed outside, formed into processional order, and marched through the principal streets, to Glasgow Green, where they held an impromptu demonstration.

But if Mr. George and Mr. Henderson had a mixed reception at Saturday's conference it was plain sailing compared with their experience at the informal conference with the shop-stewards.

'On arriving in Glasgow on Thursday they proceeded to Parkhead Forge. The shop-stewards declined to open the conference until the officials, including the Master of Elbank, who accompanied Mr. Lloyd George and the Minister for Education, had left the room. One of the stewards then agreed to take the chair on condition that he should be allowed to question Mr. George. Then began what was surely one of the strangest conferences in the history of British Trade Unionism. All present except the two Ministers were workers at the bench, clad in their working clothes, their faces and hands begrimed, but the proceedings showed that their minds were clear and their souls without fear. The chairman opened by assuring Mr. George that the workers present regarded him with suspicion and would listen to what he had to say with suspicion. They had not forgotten that by the Munitions Act he had made them industrial slaves and Scotsmen did not like those who tried to enslave them. Here Mr. George, probably by way of a joke, declined responsibility for the Munitions Act and attributed the blame to Mr. Henderson and the Trade Unions, whereupon the chairman rejoined that Mr. Henderson, in Scotland at any rate, was no longer regarded as a representative of the workers, having forfeited his right to speak for the men the day he entered the Cabinet of the governing classes. Mr. George was completely disconcerted by the frank introduction of the chairman, whose words were endorsed by his comrades.

'From Parkhead Mr. George and Mr. Henderson, with their retinue, proceeded to

Cathcart where they hoped they would be accorded a warmer welcome by the shop-stewards employed at Messrs. G. J. Weir's, Ltd. A meeting had been planned, but when they arrived they discovered that the shop-stewards had unanimously declined to meet the Minister of Munitions on the ground that a lawyer could not teach engineers how to be better engineers! The shop-stewards were asked to reconsider out of courtesy to Mr. George, but they politely declined. The conference being "off," Mr. George made a hurried tour through the works. The cold reception accorded him must have opened his eyes. The official report says there was "a frank interchange of opinion" with the shop-stewards. It was indeed frank!

'After visits to a new shell factory at Houston and to Messrs. Lang's works at Johnston, where "a most interesting exchange of views took place" with the shop-stewards, he met in the evening a deputation of the Clyde Workers' Committee which did not mince matters. It made it clear that it was favourable to the dilution of labour on the condition that the munitions industry be nationalised and the workers given a share of control, but it firmly rejected all proposals of dilution so long as the industry is privately managed for private profit.

'The Clyde rank and file and the Union officials are to be complimented on their refusal to be talked over by Mr. George or Mr. Henderson. Throughout the visit the workers were dignified and courteous; had the Union executives observed the same upright attitude there would have been no Munitions Act blunder. Democracy is a sturdy plant on the Clydeside, and like the Scottish thistle it is not easy to trample on. The Clyde men are giving the workers elsewhere a fine lead. All honour be theirs!

SEIZURE OF "FORWARD."

The Glasgow police, says the Central News, on Monday visited various newsagents' shops and seized all copies of the current issue of the Scottish Socialist paper *Forward*.

The *Manchester Guardian* states that "the only full account" of Mr. Lloyd George's meeting in Glasgow on Christmas Day "that has appeared in print is in this week's *Forward*, a Socialist paper published in Glasgow."

CONNRADH NA GAEDHILGE.
(Gaelic League.)

BRITISH RAID ON IRISH EDUCATIONAL FINANCE.

A GREAT PUBLIC MEETING

of Protest against the withdrawal of GRANTS for IRISH by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction will be held in the

ROUND ROOM, MANSION HOUSE,

On January 17th, at 8 p.m.

EOIN MAC NEILL will Preside.

Gaels and all lovers of the Irish Language and of Ireland, come and tell the British Treasury what you think of their action.

Clann na n-Gaedheal Guala le Gualainn.

GO TO . . .

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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."

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31 EDEN QUAY, DUBLIN.

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TWINEM BROTHERS'**VOLUNTEER SAUCE**

The Workingman's Relish.

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7 TARA STREET.

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DUBLIN WORKMEN'S INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION, LTD.,**10 SOUTH WILLIAM STREET**

Office Hours—10.30 to 5.50 each day. Monday, Tuesday and Friday Evenings to 9. Saturday Evening, 7 to 10.30.

Manager—ALD. T. KELLY.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC.

EDITED BY JAMES CONNOLLY.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC will be published weekly, price one penny, and may be had of all respectable newsagents. **ASK FOR IT AND SEE THAT YOU GET IT.**

All communications relating to matter for publication should be addressed to the Editor; all business matter to the Manager.

All communications intended for publication must be delivered here on Tuesday morning. This rule will be strictly adhered to.

Subscription 6/6 per year. Six months 3/3. Payable in advance.

Office, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.*"An injury to one is the concern of all."***DUBLIN, SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1916.****A LESSON OF THE STRIKE**

The long-drawn out fight with the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company is one of the most striking lessons yet offered of the absurdity of our present social arrangements. Here we have the spectacle of one man being able to upset the business and destroy the happiness of a whole community, in order to gratify his personal spleen against men who refused to be lowered beneath the level of their fellows. We find the Chamber of Commerce, representing all their fellow-business men; the Lord Mayor, representing the interests of the city at large; the Under Secretary for Ireland, representing the British Government in Dublin, and the Chief Industrial Commissioner, Sir George Askwith, representing the Government of Great Britain, all anxious to have the dispute settled and the business of the port resumed. And this one man is able to set them all at defiance, and proceed on his own way, wrecking their hopes along with his own business.

The social system we live under is held by its apologists to be the one that gives the greatest freedom to the individual, combined with the fullest service to the community.

The work of serving the public is not undertaken by a public authority but is left to the haphazard enterprise of individuals spurred by the desire of gain. People are not fed, clothed, housed, or warmed because the feeding, clothing, housing or warming is a public duty; but because certain individuals think they can make

a profit by so doing. If at any time these individuals think that they are not making enough profit by performing these functions, then they cease rendering this public service, and the whole life of the community is thrown out of gear. This dispute is a case in point. Every shipowner on the quays of Dublin has learned that he can pay the rate of wages asked by the City of Dublin Company strikers, and make a profit while doing so. Knowing this to be the case they keep their boats running to serve themselves and the public. The Chairman of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company declares that he cannot make his boats pay under the same conditions as his competitors, and stops his boats accordingly. If his statement is true then it is a most lamentable confession of inefficiency and bungling mismanagement. Yet no power says to this man—

"Either run your boats, or resign and go out of business. You cannot be allowed to disarrange the business of half of the merchants in the city."

He as owner of the mail boat from Kingstown receives a large Government subsidy, and is thus in a better position than his competitors who have to make their business pay without any such aid. If he cannot make his business pay then he should be treated as he would treat a dock labourer who could not work under the same condition as his fellows—he should be fired to make room for men who can.

But just there is the weakness of the present social system. His is not a public service, and he is not a public servant. It is a private service for private gain, and he is a private individual out for private profit, and willing to punish all his associates in the business world in order to make that profit—or in revenge for not making a profit big enough.

Some day the world will wake up sufficiently to recognise that the capitalist conducting business on his own account is just as much a nuisance, and as bunglingly inefficient at the job, as were the soldier chiefs of the past making war on their own account. And when the world does so recognise the fact it will reduce private business enterprises to the same level as private armies and private wars. The nation will take over the work of organising the industries of peace as it has taken out of private hands the owning of armies and the conducting of wars for private profit.

And when it thinks about that matter the recollection of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company's war upon the interests of the port of Dublin will be of great service in educating the public mind to agree to the change.

IRISH WORKERS' DRAMATIC COMPANY

Will Present

"THE BISHOP'S CANDLESTICKS,"

and

"THE LAD FROM LARGYMORE,"

AT

LIBERTY HALL**SUNDAY, 9th JANUARY, at 8 p.m.****ADMISSION - THREEPENCE.**

"The Bishop's Candlesticks" took the imagination of the audience by storm. It was the sensation of the season.

TRANSPORT UNION FORGES AHEAD IN KERRY.

COUNCILLOR PARTRIDGE IN DINGLE ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING.

DINGLE, Tuesday.

A very large and enthusiastic meeting to forward the labour movement was held here last night.

It had been arranged that Councillor Partridge, Dublin; Mr. T. O'Gorman, President Tralee Trades Council, and Mr. M. J. O'Connor, V.P. Trades Council and Secretary Tralee Workers' Union, would attend. On their arrival by the evening train they were met by a large number, who escorted them to the meeting place.

A platform was erected at the end of the Mall, and long before the hour fixed for the meeting a vast gathering had assembled.

On the proposition of Mr. D. Corkerry, seconded by Mr. M. J. Moriarty, Mr. Thomas J. Baker, M.C.C., Dingle, was moved to the chair. On coming forward he was received with applause, and said it was his duty to thank them for conferring such honour on him as to appoint him Chairman at that very important meeting. That meeting, as they knew, had been called for the special purpose of uniting and strengthening the labour movement—the tradesmen and the labourers (hear, hear.) On very few occasions had his life ever afforded him greater pleasure than to lend that hard-working element of the population every assistance in his power to advance and foster their interests (hear, hear.) I know what trades unions are in other countries; I know that the more intelligent, the more up-to-date the nations are the more numerous these organisations are (cheers.) What would, for instance, the longshoremen do to-day were it not for organisation? What would the Railwaymen do were it not for organisation? What would the labourers do? What would anyone do without some agitation for their rights? Unity of this description will certainly band them together, protect their interests, and if any of them are harshly treated by their employers they have a united power behind them, a powerful organisation which will intercede on their behalf and redress their grievances (cheers.) No better method could be adopted by them. Nothing could be arrived at by the labour party except by uniting together, consolidating the party and show that one man's interest is the interest of all (hear, hear.) We never derive any benefit in this country without agitation—you must agitate. I am not trying to put forward anything unreasonable; I want to put you up on your own behalf. It is a well-known fact that the cost of living has increased by 50 per cent. (A Voice "70 per cent.") Continuing, Mr. Baker said—Will you point out any employer who is that decent to come forward and say to his employes, "£1 was better to you eighteen months ago than £2 to-day, and therefore I must raise your wages." Show me one of these employers. Therefore, the purpose of our meeting to-night is to try to better the position of the workers and it would only be a faint effort on my part if I were to go fully into the objects. I now have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. T. O'Gorman, President Tralee Trades Council.

Mr. O'Gorman said he was very pleased to see such a large and enthusiastic audience here this evening, notwithstanding the short notice and at such a late hour. As President of the Trades Council, Tralee, I claim as good a right

to address the workers here on matters concerning their interests as some of the fiery orators they had here lately. I am not a stranger to all in Dingle, for anyone who passed by the Munster Warehouse in Tralee for the past eight months, could see me marching up and down there. Speaker then gave details of the Munster Warehouse dispute. In conclusion, Mr. O'Gorman said: I appeal to all for our own sake and the sake of our common country to fall in with us and join the Union we are going to start here to-night (cheers.)

Mr. M. J. O'Connor who got a rousing reception, said that there in Dingle, speaking to such a vast, enthusiastic crowd, his only regret was that his knowledge of their own tongue was not sufficient to warrant his addressing them in it. There in the Western capital it could be said they stood upon the threshold of the Gael, where the English language and anglicising influences ended and Irish Ireland and all that the Irish language stood for, commenced (cheers.) They in Ireland, unfortunately; were speaking in a foreign tongue and they should do their best to restore throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, from north to south and east to west, their own sweet Gaelic tongue (cheers.) If there ever was a time in Ireland's history when Irishmen should be on the alert that time was the present. They of the working classes, were up against hard times. The prices of foodstuffs and the necessities of life had gone up enormously—the price of coal had gone up, provisions had gone up, flour had gone up, but the workers wages had not gone up (hear, hear.) They wanted to get wages for the workers which would give them a chance of bringing up their families and supporting them in a decent way. The wages obtaining at present were so low that it was a regular problem for an arithmetician to solve as how the average workingman could exist at all (cheers.) They wanted to get reasonable wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, and they wanted also better social conditions—better houses for the workers. They in Dingle were in the enviable position of living in a healthy district where God's invigorating air had full scope, but in the cities, and even in Tralee, there were so-called houses in the slums which were unhealthy, insanitary, and a veritable disgrace to their boasted civilization—houses which did not give the inhabitants a chance of living their lives as God intended ("shame.") Some well-to-do, well-fed gentlemen had a meeting in Dingle recently and they presumed to be very much interested in the welfare of the people. Well, charity began at home and before coming to Dingle, these gentlemen—men of wealth and influence—might try their hands at home in Tralee at remedying some of the crying conditions under which their unfortunate fellow-beings were forced to live (cheers.) He (speaker) had just put before them some of the grievances and injustices they suffered from and he would also put before them the remedy. The remedy was unity and organisation (hear, hear.) They had a magnificent example in the strike in the Munster Warehouse where the assistants were enabled to put up a good fight for their rights owing to having a powerful, strongly financed association behind them. They wanted the different trades in Dingle to form up and they wanted the unskilled workers to join an able Irish organisation, managed and controlled in Ireland by Irishmen—the Irish Transport Workers' Union (cheers.) He (speaker) had been dismissed from his employment for speaking at an anti-conscription meeting in Tralee but he said to-night again, "We won't have conscription." There was an old saying in Irish that the day of the wind was not the day of the scollops. Let them join the Irish Volunteers who stood for Ireland (cheers.) Their meeting there that night was, strange to say, a recruiting

meeting—a recruiting meeting for the grand army of organised labour, and he felt sure their appeal would not fall on deaf ears (loud cheers.)

Councillor Partridge of Dublin, said—Listening to the light-hearted laughter and witty interjections of the meeting before him—which characterises most Irish assemblies, he wondered if the persons who indulged in such amusement, or displayed such humour were really conscious of what was really taking place around them to-day did they realise that in all the sad history of their unfortunate country could not be found a parallel for the state of affairs to-day? Did they know that the trade of Ireland was being slowly transferred to England where workmen earned double wages for a week's work, and shop-keepers made more profits than ever;—while in Ireland men were sent adrift to starve, and the unfortunate Irish shop-keeper found it impossible to keep his doors open—because he could not recover debts from men who received no wages (cheers.) The speaker then went on to enumerate the numerous advantages derived from organisation, and in clear language set forth the special claim of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, which was a purely Irish organisation, absolutely controlled by Irishmen and concerning itself solely with Irish conditions and affairs (cheers.) In emphasising the necessity for organisation, Councillor Partridge declared that in listening to many public utterances, one was reminded of the words of the poet who declared:—

"Alas for our country, her day is gone by,

And the spirit is broken that never would bend;
O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh

'Tis treason to love her and death to defend
Unprized are her sons 'till they learn to betray;

Undistinguished they live if they shame not
their sires,

And the torch that would light them to dignity's
way

Must be snatched from the pile where their
country expires."

Yes! the men who stood for truth, justice, and Ireland to-day were the men who were derided and despised. He had heard the cry of "down with Sinn Fein," some twelve months ago in the town of Wexford,—Mr. John Redmond's own native town. On a memorable occasion a banner was there displayed bearing the words "Down with Sinn Fein" The stranger who sought the English translation of this inscription would learn with amusement that it meant "down with ourselves" (cheers.) Was there another land of God's earth—was there in other lands unthinking people who would foolishly raise a flag on which was inscribed "down with ourselves?" Yet such a flag was raised in Wexford—and such was surely the one result of Redmond's policy (cheers.) The policy of Sinn Fein in practice meant Irishmen supporting Irish Industry, helping Irishmen, and helping Ireland. Why then should Irishmen cry down that policy at the bidding of rival people or papers, or their paid traitors in Ireland? Was it because the words Sinn Fein were Irish that they received derision? Had it come to that in Ireland that the language Patrick taught and their own Bridget prayed, was not good enough for the people of the present? The language in which the people of Ireland spoke when Ireland became world-famous as the home of saints and scholars. The speaker then recounted the scenes enacted in Liverpool, when the Irish emigrants were assailed by an English mob of military age who were too cowardly to fight for their own flag. He appealed to the people to use their own brains, to unite together, and to stand by one man for their own country, and against any attempt to enforce conscription (cheers.)

A cordial vote of thanks to the chairman brought the meeting to a close.

NORTHERN NOTES.

COME OR BE FETCHED.

Conscription is the one topic that is the subject of everybody's thoughts and conversation in Belfast. In home and street, factory, mill and shop little else is discussed. But on all hands there is opposition. For once Unionists, Home Rulers, and Nationalists are at one in condemning compulsion. That is to say the rank and file of the political parties are openly opposed, and in private and public express themselves strongly. The Unionists are claiming that in the army and in munitions works they have given their share to the Empire. Home Rulers are claiming that they, too, have done their bit, and that Ireland's position demands separate treatment. Illogically enough both these sections exultingly declare that now at last the Nationalists will have to join the army, but they themselves are under no obligation to serve. In other words, they favour conscription for everybody but themselves. The Nationalists and those Labour men who remained true to their principles are opposed to conscription in every shape and form, and whether to Ulster, to Ireland, or to any section of the people.

THE LIARLESS.

The reptile daily press, of course, plays its usual role. For instance, the Devlinite *Irish News* held back for a day the news of the Cabinet's decision as reported in the other papers. Afterwards the ostrich could no longer bury its head in the sand, and it then announced that the Party—whether Dillon's or Redmond's it did not say—would secure the exemption of Ireland. The Unionist press is divided, but it is a division with a purpose. One section claims that the Unionists of Ulster have done enough, but the Nationalist areas should most certainly be conscripted. Another pretends that Ulster is just dying to fight, and that while conscription is unnecessary here it is a shame that Ulster should be excluded from the operation of any measure affecting this much dis-United Kingdom. Both agree that Nationalist Ireland should be conscripted which is really the only desire of both.

THE PEOPLE.

As I write it is stated by the Press Association that the Conscription Bill is to apply to Ireland. The general opinion here on that announcement is that this is a manoeuvre to give the Home Rulers an opportunity of obtaining separate treatment for Ireland by Parliamentary action so as to restore the ruined credit of the Party. To-day (Monday) Joe Devlin, the Party, the Government, the war and the whole kettle of fish the Home Rulers have cooked are being bitterly honoured privately and publicly by men and women once their stoutest supporters. Here is material for anti-conscriptionists and nationalists to work upon. Meanwhile the Belfast Irish Volunteers have issued the following statement, and are circulating it on handbills throughout the city:—

CONSCRIPTION
(Keep this Leaflet.)

CONSCRIPTION cannot be resisted by talk, nor merely by sympathy with the Volunteers.

Only an organised and armed force can withstand organised intimidation and compulsion.

We, the Irish Volunteers, will resist any form of Compulsion by all the means in our power. The bigger our numbers the more successful our resistance.

Strengthen our hands by joining our ranks NOW.

Drills:—Monday, 8 p.m.; Thursday, 8 p.m.; Sunday, 3 p.m. At the Huts, Willowbank.

GO SAORAIÐ DIA EIRE.

THE HOUR.

"1916! Thank God!" says Horatio Bottomley. Ireland may well say Amen. If Ireland is true to her pledges and true to herself she

may welcome Conscription, not for any virtue in the thing itself but for the consequences it may lead to the opportunity it will give. Conscription would clear the decks, but if it comes it must, as it is put here, be resisted with arms and no humbugging.

CROBH-DEARG.

CORK NOTES.

At last! The hour for which the Capitalist class yearned, schemed, and fought for, has come. The *Daily Mail* assures us "Everybody is pleased." This, of course, only refers to those whom they regard as somebody. The vast majority of the people don't count. Last week we were informed the Derby Scheme was a huge success; but the disappointed conscriptionists were not to be baffled. Now they want all single men in order that when the great war—the industrial war—comes, the war against starvation and tyranny, the only war which really concerns the working classes, those men will not be available, or, if available, it will be only to be ordered out to shoot down those who seek a living wage. We are told the Bill will not apply to Ireland. At the old game again. Divide and conquer. The working classes everywhere must be up and fighting against this, the very worst form of human slavery. If you submit to it, generations yet unborn will curse you for your treachery. Conscription is dearer to the Capitalist heart than the defeat of Germany. Now is the time to test the leaders of the men's Unions. Many of them have pronounced strongly against conscription, and their action during this crisis will prove their sincerity.

We differed from most of them on the war. Whose fault was that? Once a king of England "Cursed the laws that made such gallant soldiers foes." Since then those laws have not been repealed, and that is why the Irish people remain neutral. Of course, excepting those who are driven to take sides through hunger, starvation, want, drink, a love of adventure, to escape family responsibility, anxiety for a scrap, to vindicate the majesty of the law and various other reasons.

The following appeared in the *Echo* Scare Poster on Sunday:—"Riots in Berlin.—Hundreds Killed.—Thousands Wounded." Good value for a half-penny. Something for Sir Stanley, the workingman's friend, for the recruiting meeting that evening. Who is Lieutenant Guisani? Oh, we forgot. The coat makes the "Angel Warrior" now-a-days.

The manly and spirited protest of the Bishop of Kerry will do much to open the eyes of the people of Ireland, especially the war-mads, to the doings of the Defenders of Small Nationalities. We hope the other Bishops and heads of the Church will follow his example. Of course we don't expect some will.

Some people would like to know who the Censor is; that they should be trusted to read the private correspondence of the Ministers of God. So far as we can learn here in Cork the work is done by a number of military officers, much pleasanter work than dodging Jack Johnsons. It would be interesting to know how many Irishmen and how many Catholics are engaged in this work. Will some of our M.P.'s ask the question.

We wish to again direct attention to the doings of some of the local railway companies. We know some of them are working the men dangerously long hours. Others are driving a coach-and-four through their own and the Board of Trade regulations. We hope they will take the hint in time, otherwise we shall have to use the evidence against them. In case of an accident it would be much better to discontinue the practice before harm is done.

Another rise in the price of foodstuffs and no wonder. The milk ring whipped up their friends for the meeting of the Board of Guardians, and

succeeded in getting their illegal tenders passed. We hope the Local Government Board will step in and save the city from the baby-killers. We know of one firm selling milk in the centre of the city that is not up to the standard. What is the Inspector doing? Coal was tendered to the Union at £2 1s. and £2 1s. 10d. per ton. It will soon be £3 a ton to the poor. Then we have another threatened rise in the price of bread. Would it not be possible to appoint a Foods Committee, representative of every class in the nation, to regulate and fix the prices for the necessities of life. Let them do that before they talk of conscription.

IRISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION.
80 OLD GEORGE'S STREET, CORK.

FOURTH QUARTERLY MEETING of above will be held on SUNDAY, JANUARY 9th, at 12.30. All Members are earnestly requested to attend. Elections of Officers and other important Business to be transacted.

D. CAREY, Sec.

WEXFORD NOTES.

Nothing has since been done to try to bring the girls' dispute with Mr. Murphy to an end, which we think is a disgrace, as we are of opinion that somebody should act as an arbitrator, if it was for nothing else but the good of the trade and industry of Wexford. The girls are losing money, but Mr. Murphy is losing ten times the amount. We have to congratulate the girls for holding together so well, in spite of misrepresentations.

Much has been said in Wexford for and against recruiting, and the people who are bothered most about the Empire are most desirous that every other body should go and get killed but themselves. Amongst those is a young Englishman employed by the Postal Telegraph Department here as a linesman, who has been a trained soldier for the best part of his life, and has a perfect right to be at the war before anybody in town as his country is at war and not ours, and he ought to have sufficient shame in him to hold his tongue as to what Irishman should go, while he is shirking in Wexford in an Irishman's job. We might say that we have also under observation the fact that his apparel consists of an Irish Volunteer pants and putteys, while he is working for the Government. Of course if he would hold his tongue we would not say a word to him, as we would not send a dog to the trenches.

There is yet no sign of the promise of the Admiralty to return the "Wexford Coast" materialising, and if they were in earnest about carrying it out at all they have a chance of doing so now since the Dardanelles "Gamble" was given up.

TRALEE NOTES.

[By ROBAL.]

PROGRESSIVE WORK.

At the last meeting of the Tralee Workers' Union the President and Secretary referred to the working of the Union for the preceding 12 months. The membership roll showed a substantial increase, and hopes were expressed that the members would during the present year put their shoulders to the wheel, get in new members, and place the Union on a firmer and sounder footing. The Union has during the last two or three months, thanks to an effective and forceful propagandist campaign, gained fresh adherents to its ranks. There is still, however, a number of men eligible for membership who are outside the fold. These men by their inaction hinder the Union's activities, and are a stumbling block to its progress. The men in the Union are doing their part, but to be thoroughly effective the Union must have all eligible men under its banner. And the sooner those outside the Union realise their position and recognise that the only sure way they can better their condition and redress their many

grievances is by becoming members the better for themselves. We hope that these non-members will evacuate their present position of aloofness and fall in with their fellow-men who are bravely fighting the Trades Union battle for right and justice.

THE SLATTERYS.

At the meeting of the Union, one of the oldest members, William Nammock, said he was one of those who had been dismissed by J. M. Slattery and Sons, Limited, Bacon Curers, after some twenty years' satisfactory service. No reason was given on the night of his dismissal, but happening to meet Mr. J. M. Slattery on Christmas Day he approached him and made his grievance known and was told "Slackness of Work," but in the course of the conversation elicited the information that if he gave up the Union he would be taken back. This, however, he refused to do. This is only an instance of the manner in which the Slatterys treat their employes. J. M. Slattery and his sons are loyal Empire builders, and boast of the fine laws of the Empire. But at the same time they deny their employes the right to join a Trades Union, a right which is recognised by the Empire's laws. Hypocrisy could no further go!

SHOUTING.

With the exception of a lot of shouting on the public thoroughfares, the holidays passed off peaceably. The shouting, it is interesting to note, emanated from "warriors" home on furlough. Their conduct was really disgraceful, but no notice of it was taken by the police or their English D.I. However, the police were very active in bringing a summons against two sober, highly respected young "natives" on a charge of shouting, their crime being that they sang a song which did not meet with the sunshine of the Policeman's Smile. There is nothing strange in this. After all we are living in peculiar times, when khaki-clad "heroes" can with impunity act as they please and civilians, especially if they belong to the Irish Volunteers, are the sport of every man in blue who wishes to vent his spleen on them. But what matter. Ireland is free, Home Rule is on the Statute Book, and Ireland's sons are fighting for Christianity, Civilization, Humanity, Religion, Catholicity, and Small Nationalities!

CORRESPONDENTS.

THE MAN OF TO-MORROW.—How can you expect us to take notice of the advice of a correspondent who does not give his name or address for our guidance.

IRISH VOLUNTEER.—You are quite wrong. Despite what you term our "sarcasm" we have more faith in the Irish Volunteers than they have in themselves. Indeed, that is our chief criticism of them.

GARRITTEER and JOHN CLINTON.—It is not our policy to take any notice of the matter you mention. It will die for lack of nourishment.

W. CHASE,

Tobacconist, Stationer, Fancy Goods,
Chandler, & General Hardware Stores,
115 PARNELL STREET,
DUBLIN.

N. J. Byrne's TOBACCO STORE,

39 AUNGIER STREET,
(Opposite Jacob's),

FOR IRISH ROLL & PLUG.

Don't Forget LARKIN'S

LITTLE SHOP for GOOD VALUE
in Chandlery, Tobacco, Cigarettes, &c.,

36 WEXFORD ST., DUBLIN.
IRISH GOODS A SPECIALITY.

SPEECH BY F. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON.

The meeting in Foresters' Hall, Dublin, to hear Mr. F. Sheehy-Skeffington on his return from America was a gratifying tribute to one who had shown his readiness to suffer for his ideals. Besides the principal speaker, the platform was occupied by Mrs. Connery, Madame Markievicz, and James Connolly.

Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, after premising that he spoke as an individual, and that the Irish Women's Franchise League must not be held responsible for anything he might say, said that his impressions of America were summed up in the reply he made to those who advised him to remain in America rather than face imprisonment by returning:—"It is better to be in jail in Ireland than out of jail in New York." He said that without prejudice to the many friends he had made in America, belonging to all the races who made up the American nation—people of cultured thought and progressive zeal, who were working to make their country and the world better than they found it; but they were not sufficiently numerous or influential to counteract the general impression of dislike for the country and its mammonized condition. His experiences were, however, confined to the Eastern States; and in Chicago, the furthest western point he touched, there was a better spirit. The psychology of the American people, their superficiality and readiness to be carried away by sensation, explained the readiness with which they had, in the main, adopted the English view of the war. German press propaganda had appealed to the reason and had failed; English press propaganda, which was extraordinarily active and skilfully organized in the United States, had appealed to the emotions, with stories of Belgium and the like, and had succeeded. The German psychology, with "thoroughness" for its special note, was the very opposite of the American; the German press propaganda had accordingly been clumsy, and had repeatedly rubbed American sentiment the wrong way. Only where the Germans were guided by the advice of the Irish had they been in any measure successful. That advice had been freely given; for the Irish in America, so far as they were organised and articulate, were entirely pro-German. Redmond's hold on them had absolutely disappeared; and such delegates as he sent out were unable to address a meeting. Under the pressure of the war, the Irish and the Germans in America were cementing a strong political alliance. England was allied with the dominant Money Power, which was the real ruler of the United States. He narrated several incidents to show the absolute control exercised by Capitalism and its open supremacy to "law and order." There was, therefore, every reason why Irishmen should stay at home; and though the "Saxonia" incident illustrated in a marked way the callous indifference of England to Ireland's welfare—stopping Irish emigration only when the Irishmen were wanted as food for cannon—yet he was glad those emigrants had been stopped. The place for Irishmen to live in and work in and die in was not America, and still less Flanders and Gallipoli, but Ireland. Dealing with the Suffrage movement, he said the women of the Eastern States, despite their energy and enterprise, were not politically as ripe as the women of either England or Ireland; they were afraid of ideas, and particularly afraid of being associated with Labour or Socialism. In Chicago he found a great difference; the Suffragist meeting he attended there, in its freedom of spirit and deep-rooted reforming zeal, reminded him of the Irish Women's Franchise League. He told how many of the younger Irish Americans, under the influence of Larkin and Lehané, were ranging themselves up with the advanced Labour movement, while Labour was also

becoming increasingly imbued with sympathy for the Irish victims like themselves of the same Money Power in another of its manifestations. Finally, he dealt with the various peace movements in America, real and bogus; and paid a special tribute to the nobility of ideal underlying the Ford Peace Mission—which was being attacked because the munition makers of America did not want the profitable war to be stopped too soon.

IRELAND AND CONSCRIPTION.

We are told that the whole Irish Party are opposed to conscription, and that for that reason it will not be applied to Ireland. But we remember when the whole Irish Party laughed at and ridiculed the idea of the Exclusion of Ulster, and declared they would fight it to the death—and unanimously accepted it a few weeks afterwards. The following extract from the *Freeman's Journal* shows of what value the protests of the Irish Party are:

London Correspondence.

Freeman's Journal, 19th November, 1913.

"The *Times*' latest canard regarding the alleged Government offer to exclude Ulster temporarily from the operation of the Home Rule Bill has had an even shorter life than the majority of its predecessors. With practical unanimity the entire Press of Great Britain, Unionist as well as Liberal, has scouted the story as being devoid of the smallest foundation. Indeed the Unionist organs are equally, if not more, emphatic in their denials than those on the Liberal side. Nothing, for instance, could be stronger than the *Daily Telegraph's* declaration that it was "officially" informed that there was no truth in the report, and its further statement that 'no communication of any kind has been received by the opposition leaders.' Even the *Pall Mall Gazette* has withdrawn its support from the *Times* in the matter, and in a contribution personally signed by Mr. Garvin admits that no such decision as that alleged has been come to by the Government. All that Mr. Garvin will now say is that it is what the Government 'intend' to do, though how they can be said to 'intend' to do something they have not 'decided' to do only a Mr. Garvin could explain."

A few days after this outburst the exclusion of the North East counties of Ulster was officially accepted by the Home Rule Party.

CITY OF DUBLIN CHRISTMAS FUND

Dublin Trades Council, £10; United Corporation Workmen's Trade Union, £5 5s.; Postmen's Federation, £1; E. M. de Butler, £1 1/-; "Socialist," 10/-; William O'Brien, 10/-; W. Martinson, 5/-; K. M. S., 5/-; Joseph Cleary, 2/6; Michael Comerford, 2/6; "Peter," 2/6; Fear Bhocht, 2/-; T. Jones, 1/-; An Irish-woman, £1; Gas Workers per W. Darby, 6/6; Miss M. A. Flanagan, 5/-; Kennedy's Bakers, Parnell Street, 5/-; T. R. F., 2/6; Members and Friends, High Street, per J. Bohan, £2; J. P. Stokes, and E. O'Neill, per J. J. Nolan, 10/- each.

COLLECTED BY MR. JOSEPH GORDON, 14 LOGIE STREET, GOVAN, GLASGOW:—

Daniel M'Leod, 6d.; Andrew King, 6d.; G. M'Neill, 6d.; Robert Hamilton, 6d.; Charles Collins, 6d.; Hugh M'Lindon, 6d.; W. Douglas, 6d.; Thomas Murphy, 1/-; Thomas Smith, 6d.; James Savage, 6d.; H. J. Buchan, 6d.; Edward Fitzgerald, 1/-; Peter Mullany, 6d.; Hugh Graham, 6d.; P. Donnellan, 6d.; M. Farlen, 6d.; Joseph Gordon, 1/-; John Farrell, 6d.; Joseph Graham, 6d.; Patrick Sands, 6d.; C. Fay, 6d.; A. M'Dermott, 6d.; Joseph Pollard, 6d.; J. Reilly, 6d.; Mrs. Daly, 6d.; James Hume, 6d.; D. Breen, 6d.; T. Fenlon, 6d.; William Daily, 6d.; P. Clancy, 6d.; W. Rogers, 6d.; William Reardon, 6d.; Jack Foley, 1/-; P. Cunningham, 6d.; N. Larince, 1/-; Patrick O'Neill, 6d.; Philip Carroll, 6d. Total, £1 1s.

Irish Citizen Army

Headquarters: LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

COMMANDANT: CHIEF OF STAFF:
JAMES CONNOLLY. M. MALLIN.

RECRUITING!

FOUNDED ON THE PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH
MOTTO:—

*"God is good and the Devil's not a bad fellow
either."*

You all have heard before to-day of the place
that lies below,

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

A Public Meeting there was held a day or two
ago.

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

'Twas the Devil that presided, and then it was
decided—

That the only way to see the matter through,
An' to keep the British Nation at its present
elevation,

Was to hasten on Conscription, Tooral oo!

CHORUS:—

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

To keep the British Nation at its present
elevation

Was to hasten on Conscription, Tooral oo!

Then the Devil sent his agents out to gather in
recruits—

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

To preserve our glorious Empire and destroy
the German Brutes.

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

You'll get a welcome hearty from the gallant
Irish Party;

Tell them to preach and spread what isn't true—
That no Gael can enter Heaven, as 'twas written
by St. Kevin,

Unless they dyed the Green, Red, White and
Blue,

CHORUS:—

The first man that they brought in, sure they
found in lands afar—

Of his name indeed they couldn't get a clue.
In a Jungle wild in Asia, on the map called
"Verdon Bar,"—

When they found him he was shoutin'
"tried and thrue."

Ses the Devil, "Sure he's dotin'; he asked me
was I votin'?"—

Just then the prisoner shouted "Pillaloo!"
The Devil got a turn—but 'twas only Alphy
Byrne.

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

CHORUS:—

The next they brought 'twas Nugent, poked the
Devil in the ribs,

As he asked him in a whisper for a chew.
Have you ever tried for bold recruits in the
Branches of the Hibs,

The members there are very loyal to you!
These vile pro-German swabs are all bailiffs
mixed with scabs;

To let them enter here now wouldn't do.
So if you've any jobs for storemen, or for
uniformed doormen,

The Hibernians are the very men for you!

CHORUS:—

The next the agents brought along had said he'd
right the Huns,

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

For the sake of Erin's virtue and the holy priests
and nuns—

An' he wanted notbin' for it—Tooral oo!
Ses the Devil—"Fetch a barrow, now Mr. Kelly
Sparrow,
I'm not bad enough to work along with you."
They caught hold of poor Saturnus and they
dumped him in the furnace,
Then they ran for respirators, Tooral oo!

CHORUS:—

Then the next man that they brought in looked
a fierce and dreadful Tyke—

The Devil's Heart with terror quickly fills.
He was dressed all out in Khaki and was
mounted on a bike,

In his hand he waved a box of Beecham's Pills.
Ses the Devil—"Morrow" mildly; but he
shouted at him wildly,

I'll kill the German Kaiser and his crew!
Now dear England needn't falter, for she's got
J. C. M'Walter—

Tooral, ooral, ooral, ooral, oo!

AN GALL FADD.

(This song should, if possible, be sung by
one dressed as an Imp, a la Juvenile Mephis-
topheles carrying in his hand a miniature Union
Jack.—A.G.F.)

WOMEN! WELCOME CONSCRIPTION!

ENGLAND IS UP AND DOING!

At long last Compulsion is to be applied to
the young unmarried men who have shirked
their natural duty. We are not in the least
sorry for the slackers. Why did they not all
get safely married before Registration Day
came? We Irishwomen have a lesson to learn
from the failure of our English sisters. If need
arises we must see to it that there are no un-
married men left in Ireland.

Serve the men jolly well right. Why did they
not provide themselves with a wife, or with a
gun?

There are other reasons why women should
regard English Conscription as a blessing in
disguise. Once get the men away, and the women
called in to do the work will be able to organise
and get decent pay!

What a pity that the energies of our Suffra-
gettes were not devoted to organising women
workers instead of blindly following a con-
temptible English job hunter. We might then
have had a general strike for the Vote. Con-
scription emphasises the need for men. Men
cannot come into existence without the consent
and co-operation of women. You cannot have
compulsory motherhood because physical force
would kill the unborn child. The hunger strike
has killed the argument that men or women can
be compelled to obedience.

With the need for men comes the recognition
of the National Importance of Motherhood.
We have expert meals for nursing and Expectant
Mothers, Baby Clinics, Medical Inspection,
Pensions for Widows and all those other marks
of civilization that has given Germany strength
and fighting men.

We ask the same things from our Volunteers.
Conscription is forcing women to do men's
work. It is well that women should learn to
respect themselves and to realise their own
abilities. Remember, it is no disgrace if you
are not as strong as some men are. Men have
only to work, but women have also to be
mothers. They do a double share of the world's
work, and I cry shame on the men, many of
them unmarried, who reproach women because
their power to do manual labour is less than
some men's. Remember the man's deficiencies.
He cannot bear the race!

Pacifists, too, will welcome Conscription.
When the war began we were told again and
again that the time for idle talk was over. Social
Reform Cranks were silent for ever. Strong,

silent soldiers would control all our affairs, and
we would have a reign of efficiency and content-
ment.

Alas! Where are those so efficient, practical
rulers now? Blunders and mistakes have once
more convinced even England that all men are
fallible, and that the perfect soldier exists only
in militarist dreams.

English troops, you may remember, were to
enter Berlin, hang the Kaiser, bomb and blow
down the houses and dictate the destruction of
Germany amid the blackened ruins of Berlin!

Who is going to do this to-day?

It is said that England has two or three
millions of men in her armies. In order to
carry out the Berlin programme a number of
conscripts are to be raised. They are said to
number 100,000 to 500,000. With their aid
England is to win the War.

What does win the war mean?

Does it merely mean that Germany will not
ask an indemnity, or does it mean that Germany
will be smashed?

If England gets her hated Conscription, and
still does not succeed in winning great battles
and marching to Berlin, what then?

Will there not be a great reaction; will not
the electors make the Government pay dearly
for their share in the war?

The Conscriptionist's fate, in the event of a
German success, will not be a happy one!

But then, unlike women, the Conscriptionist
is a person who cannot see further than his own
long red nose. Knock a man down and he is
done for. He forgets that men and nations
rise again. Mothers, see to that!

One important branch of work is agriculture.

"Twenty years ago I drilled secretly for Ire-
land, to-day I bake bread for Ireland, that is
progress," says a speaker in "Patriots." He is
right.

Ireland's Freedom depends on Ireland's food.

Let us suppose that England does win this
war and worse—that the Conservatives and
Unionists came back to power. True, we have
the Volunteers, and England's military power
will be diminished, however victorious.

Will England fight on land? No. Carson
will order out the British Fleet to starve us into
subjection. They will prevent us getting any
food until we become submissive and obedient.
Our remedy against sea power—English, Ger-
man, or Japanese—is to grow our own food.

With enough to eat, we may laugh at any
fleet. Everyone who grows an extra potato is
forging a useful weapon against the Unionists.

Through Conscription, the sovereign remedy
of the passionate, hot-headed warrior, comes
common sense, and the reaction of constructive
womanhood against the senseless murderings of
men.

X. Y. Z.

J. J. WALSH (Of),

26 BLESSINGTON ST. } DUBLIN,
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For Tobacco, Confectionery, News, Hairdressing.

News Parcel—"Nationality," "Spark,"
"Republic," "Volunteer" and "Hibernian,"
post free, 6d. Weekly.

Support A Victim of British Militarism.

ESTABLISHED 1852.

FOR RELIABLE PROVISIONS!
LEIGHS, OF BISHOP
STREET
STILL LEADS.

Printed and published by Irish Workers'
Co-operative Society at Liberty Hall,
Beresford Place, Dublin.

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Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland.

(PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC
SAFETY,
41 YORK STREET, DUBLIN.)

1915.

PREFACE.

Mr. Redmond, recently interviewed by a representative of the "New York World," said:—

"Ireland is in a state of profound peace. No meetings are suppressed, or have been suppressed. Freedom of speech has not been interfered with. Three or four men have been imprisoned for short terms for open pro-German declarations, for which in similar cases they would have been shot in Germany. Indeed, my only regret is that these men were lifted out of their obscurity by being prosecuted, as they were incapable of doing any real harm."

In June last Mr. Birrell, in answer to a question in the House of Commons by Mr. Ginnell, said that "action regarding offences under the Defence of the Realm Act would be confined within the **narrowest limits consistent with the safety of the Realm and the successful prosecution of the war.**"

The aim of this pamphlet is to demonstrate the inaccuracy of both the above statements, and to reveal the Defence of the Realm Act as the latest and worst form of English Coercion Acts. Originally intended to meet the case of the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland by Germany, it has in Ireland been used as an instrument of terrorism, of petty persecution and bullying, and has been the means of depriving Irish men and women of their livelihood in numerous cases on the mere report of a police spy. In country districts especially it has been used to harass and to bully inoffensive people against whom the local authorities or the politicians had a private grudge, with the result that kicking a recruiting poster, failing to answer questions put by the police, writing on a board at Howth Station the words "God bless Germany," writing on recruiting posters the words "War is Murder," criticising a drunken soldier, rescuing a son who gave a false age, talking in the Blarney train about the war, hissing military photos at a cinema show—in short, the most trivial and absurd offences have been made the grounds of prosecution for endangering the safety of the Realm: free speech has been abolished, freedom of the Press utterly destroyed, trial by jury suspended and mock trials put in its place, where a police magistrate convicts on the mere word of a military

officer, all evidence being refused on the flimsy pretext that the Realm would be endangered by telling the accused of the charges brought against him. Compared with such travesties of justice, the trials of Robert Emmet, John Mitchel, and Michael Davitt seem fairness itself; in those days at least men knew what they were being tried for, and the simulacrum of justice was given them. It has been estimated that there have been more imprisonments, police raids, suppressions of papers, in Ireland recently than have been known throughout the whole course of the Land War, while deportation orders, on the one hand, and forcible detention in Ireland of would-be emigrants on the other, have created a state of tyranny that Russia would find difficult to equal. And this in a "free" Ireland, supposed to be giving "the free gifts of a free people," with a Home Rule Act on the Statute Book.

It has been impossible within the limited space of this pamphlet to contrast the working of the Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland and in England, but it will be obvious to all that while the Act in Ireland has been used as a repressive measure against political opponents, in England it is applied with discrimination and administered with a certain element of justice and proportion. Trial by jury is still used for such cases in Great Britain, and to take but one example, a much greater freedom of comment and criticism is accorded to the Press in Great Britain—witness the "Times," the "Daily Mail," and other Northcliffe organs. In the case of the "Labour Leader," even the greater fairness evidenced by the authorities during the raid and at the trial is in marked contrast to the sudden slaughter without even a pretence of "trial" of the Irish Nationalist organs.

In England, moreover, deportation orders are used sparingly, and usually against "aliens" or paid spies, whereas the authorities confine their attentions to limited areas in England, they have made Ireland itself a forbidden "area" when it suits their purpose.

The following brief examination of the working of the Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland is intended to show that far from Ireland being regarded as a free country, with the rights enjoyed by a free democracy, it is **still governed as a subject province held against its will by force of arms.**

The Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland.

IRISH JURIES FAIL TO CONVICT.

The Case of John Hegarty and James Bolger.

John Hegarty was arrested in Enniscorthy on the 24th of February on a warrant, which charged him with issuing certain seditious notices, which had previously appeared in various parts of the County Wexford, and which urged the people to disobey the orders issued by the police to be followed in the event of a German invasion.

Mr. Hegarty had been in the employment of the Post Office for about fifteen years, and had resided in the City of Cork up to a few months before his arrest. Shortly after the outbreak of the war he was ordered to leave Cork for Derby. In accordance with a common custom among P.O. officials, he offered to find a substitute, as a transference to England would be fraught with considerable inconvenience to a married man. This offer was refused, and Mr. Hegarty was ordered either to go to England or be dismissed from the service. He accepted the latter alternative. In a short time he received from the military authorities an order that he should leave Cork City. In compliance with this order he moved to Ballingeary, Co. Cork, where his wife's family resided. But the military again pursued him, and he was served with another notice, ordering him this time to leave the County of Cork. He then went to Enniscorthy to the house of a friend, Mr. Laurence de Lacy, and in this house he was arrested.

When the police searched Mr. de Lacy's house they discovered a number of dynamite cartridges and percussion caps, together with a fuse, in the bedroom occupied by Mr. Hegarty and Mr. James Bolger. As a result of this discovery, Mr. Bolger was arrested the following day, and a warrant was

issued for the arrest of Mr. de Lacy, who, however, made good his escape, and, after some time succeeded in reaching America. Both prisoners were brought to Dublin and lodged in Arbor Hill Military Detention Barracks.

At the date of the arrest prisoners arrested under the Defence of the Realm Act could only be tried by military court-martial; but an Act had been already introduced in the British House of Lords giving a civilian arrested under the Defence of the Realm Act the power to select for himself whether he would prefer a military tribunal or a jury to try his case. This Act is commonly known as Lord Parmoor's Act, having been introduced by Lord Parmoor. This Act became law on March 16th, some weeks after the arrest of Messrs. Hegarty and Bolger, and they were allowed the choice of tribunal which it offered. They at once elected to be tried by a civil court, and were accordingly transferred to Mountjoy Prison, where they remained until the 8th of April, when they were both arraigned at the Commission for the City of Dublin, Mr. Justice Kenny presiding. Both were indicted on several counts, the principal being:—

- (a) Having explosives in their possession in the vicinity of a railway, without a permit from the competent military or naval authority;
- (b) Failing to inform the military that de Lacy was in possession of the explosives;
- (c) Aiding and abetting de Lacy.

In the case of Mr. Hegarty there was a further count of "Issuing written notices stating that 'when the Germans would arrive they would come as friends, and to put an end to English rule in Ireland, and that all corn, stores, etc., taken by the Germans would be paid for by them.'" It will be remembered that it was on this charge that Mr. Hegarty was arrested.

As the prisoners refused to join in their challenges to the jury, Mr. Bolger was put back and the case against Mr. Hegarty proceeded with. At the outset an objection was raised by Mr. Healy, K.C., M.P., representing the prisoner, to the case being tried in Dublin at all. He urged that as the alleged offence was committed in the County of Wexford, and as the arrest was effected there, the prisoner should be

tried in that county. He pointed out that if this matter were allowed to pass unchallenged, the authorities might on another occasion think fit to bring a prisoner to Belfast, or perhaps to London, for trial. The objection was overruled by Judge Kenny and the evidence called. The same objection has been repeatedly raised since in the cases of other prisoners under the Defence of the Realm Act, but always without success.

Evidence of arrest was given by the District Inspector, who described the finding of the explosives; and by a chemist, who testified to the quality of the dynamite found, and to the effects which could be produced by means of it. Major-General Friend, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, also gave evidence to show that he was the "competent military authority" in Ireland, and stating that he had never given the prisoner permission to have the explosives in his possession. Major-General Friend also gave a list of some of his activities in his capacity of competent military authority—for Ireland. He stated that he had suppressed many newspapers, and had issued orders to various persons, commanding them to leave certain areas. In fact, he seemed to regard himself in the light of military dictator and supreme authority in Ireland.

When the hearing was concluded, the jury, after a considerable absence, found the prisoner **Not Guilty**.

A new jury was then sworn to try the prisoner on the charge of issuing the seditious notices. Evidence was given by various police constables from the County of Wexford, testifying that in January, 1915, when it was thought that a German force might land in this country, orders were issued to the inhabitants of various maritime counties, directing them, in the event of the arrival of the Germans, to withdraw inland, taking with them all the stores, live stock, etc., that they could, and destroying any corn, etc., which they would be forced to leave behind. The evidence went on to say that on the Sunday following the issue of these orders, written notices appeared in various parts of the County Wexford. These notices were usually found affixed to the gate-posts of Catholic Churches. In them the people were told to take no notice of the police order that they should leave their homes, and it was stated that when the Germans came, they would

come as friends, and to put an end to British rule in Ireland. It was further stated in the notices that any corn, stores, etc., taken by the Germans would be paid for by them. The wording of all these notices was identical.

Mr. Wedlake, formerly Postmaster at Cork, then gave evidence, identifying certain letters as having been written to him by John Hegarty. He was then handed some of the notices on which the prosecution was based, and gave it as his opinion that they were in the same handwriting as the letters written to him by the prisoner. Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, the witness stated that, since the arrest of Mr. Hegarty, he had been transferred to Reading. Mr. Healy suggested that, when Mr. Wedlake's evidence was first taken before Major Price, the witness confined himself to identifying the letters written to him by Hegarty, and that he was transferred to Reading after he had declared himself unable to identify the seditious notices as being in Hegarty's handwriting. In reply to these suggestions, the witness stated that he had been transferred to Reading on promotion, and that he was not asked to identify the notices on the occasion when his evidence was taken with regard to the letters.

Two other officials of the Cork Post Office, Messrs. Wallace and Herbert, stated that they were familiar with the prisoner's handwriting, and gave it as their opinion that the notices found by the police were written by Mr. Hegarty. In cross-examination of Mr. Wallace, Mr. Healy suggested that the latter had a religious and political animus against Mr. Hegarty, and was the instigator of his dismissal from the Postal Service. Witness admitted that an inquiry was held a few years ago in the Cork Post Office, as a result of which certain entries made in the record book were ordered to be erased. He (Wallace) had made these entries, which were comments on the suitability of certain members of the staff for promotion.

Sergeant Whittaker gave evidence that the prisoner on the night of his arrival in Arbor Hill wrote out two telegram forms in his (the witness's) presence. These forms were produced, but were not put into evidence for identification, nor was any expert evidence as to handwriting called. After an absence lasting some time, the foreman of the jury declared that they could not agree as to their verdict. The jury was

accordingly discharged and both prisoners put back to the next Commission.

A motion to admit the prisoners to bail was brought before the Justices of the King's Bench on April 22nd, but was refused, and they were kept in jail until the 8th of June, when Mr. Hegarty was charged with "Making statements likely to cause disaffection and to prejudice recruiting," these statements being, of course, contained in the notices, on which the previous prosecution was based. The evidence given was practically the same as on the previous occasion, and need not be re-capitulated. The jury this time found Mr. Hegarty Not Guilty. He was, however, not put back again. Mr. Bolger was released on July 10th, and Mr. Hegarty some days later.

These cases were the first Irish cases under the Defence of the Realm to excite widespread interest, and there are several points in connection with them deserving of emphasis.

The charges against Mr. Hegarty are the only ones of the kind which have been tried before a jury in Ireland. Three successive juries failing to convict Mr. Hegarty, the **authorities decided to have no more trials by jury**, but to bring all future cases before a court of summary jurisdiction; in other words, before stipendiary magistrates. Thus, yet another of the people's rights has been filched from them.

It is also to be emphasised that Mr. Bolger was kept in prison for nearly four months, and was then released, **without being ever brought to trial**. A greater travesty of justice can scarcely be imagined. It is held to be an elementary principle of British Law that no man shall be imprisoned without a trial, and again, that every man is entitled to be tried by a jury of his peers. The case of John Hegarty and James Bolger shows that, in the opinion of our governors, both of these principles may be set at naught in Ireland.

In the old coercion days, in the days even of Emmet and Mitchel, prisoners accused even of high treason, were granted trial by jury. The Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland (perhaps because juries cannot so readily be packed) eliminates the jury, thus nullifying for Ireland (though not for Great Britain) the benefits of Lord Parmoor's Act.

TRIAL BY JURY ABOLISHED IN IRELAND.

Cases of Sean McDermott, Sean Milroy, and F. Sheehy-Skeffington.

The next cases of note under the Act were those of Sean McDermott, Sean Milroy, and F. Sheehy-Skeffington. The offence in case of all three was a speech, and the Government, having learned wisdom, determined to trust no more to trial by jury, and had the defenders tried before a police court magistrate. Mr. McDermott was arrested for a speech delivered in Tuam, Co. Galway, on May 16th, after a meeting which he had addressed. All three were tried in Dublin before Mr. Mahony, Police Court Magistrate for the Southern Division, Mr. McDermott's case being taken first in order.

The evidence given by the police (there were no civilian witnesses in any of these cases) was contradictory and incoherent in Mr. McDermott's case. It was admitted, in cross-examination by Mr. Healy, that Mr. McDermott was suddenly "pounced upon" without warning, that no attempt was made to suppress the meeting, that the notes of the prisoner's speech were not taken at the meeting, but compiled from memory later. Mr. Mahony decided that the speech constituted "a very grave offence," and sentenced Mr. McDermott (who had already been in prison for five weeks) to four months with hard labour.

The central authorities, whose hands apparently were forced by the local authorities, having noticed Mr. McDermott's speech, could not ignore longer a series of speeches addressed every Sunday from the outbreak of the war (there were over forty in all) by Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, and later by Mr. Milroy and others. The meetings were held in Beresford Place, Dublin, and were mainly directed against conscription. At each a resolution was passed stating that Ireland had no quarrel with Germany, that it was not the duty of Irishmen to help England in her struggle for naval supremacy, and pledging to passive resistance of conscription if enforced in Ireland. The speakers discussed the war, and based many of their statements on pamphlets issued by the Independent Labour Party in England, reading extracts from various English newspapers, including the London "Times." On May 21st Mr. Milroy was arrested for a speech made the

previous Sunday. On the Sunday following Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington again spoke, and on Saturday, May 29th, an hour before midnight, he was arrested for his speech on the previous Sunday, the substance of which was admitted by the Crown (in both cases) to have been similar in character to all previous speeches, save that passive resistance to conscription was more strongly emphasised. In all three cases the accused were denied the right of trial by jury or court-martial, by either of which they would have had a fairer hearing than from a police magistrate whose office it is to deal summarily with trivial cases of obstruction of traffic, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, obscene and profane language, etc. In Mr. Skeffington's case the magistrate inflicted the maximum penalty within his power—namely, six months' hard labour and six additional months in default of bail. Mr. Skeffington (who defended himself) demanded the treatment of a political offender, protested against the denial of trial by jury,* and maintained that he had a constitutional right to preach passive resistance to conscription just as much as Sir E. Carson, then Attorney-General for England, had to preach armed resistance to Home Rule. He also maintained that he had the same right to comment on the war as the "Daily Mail," and the same right to criticise the secret diplomacy that was responsible for it as had various writers in Great Britain. As a protest against his sentence, he refused all food from the day of his trial—stating that long before the expiration of his sentence he would be "out of prison alive or dead." He was released on the following Tuesday, or the seventh day of his hunger strike, in a very critical state. He was released under the "Cat and Mouse Act" passed by Mr. M'Kenna to coerce militant suffragettes, and now applied for the first time in the case of a non-suffragist offence—an example of how British Coercion Acts find their way to Ireland, while British Acts like Lord Parmoor's, intended to mitigate coercion are not applied. The licence expired on June 30th, since when Mr. Skeffington has been liable to re-arrest and commitment to prison without trial. Up to July 31st, when he left for a lecturing tour in the States, he had not been re-arrested.

On Wednesday, June 16th, Mr. Milroy was sentenced to

*See pamphlet "Speech from the Dock."

three months' hard labour by Mr. Mahony. Mr. Healy pointed out how the prisoner had been deprived of every advantage usually given to a prisoner, contrasting his treatment with the immunity enjoyed by Lord Northcliffe. Mr. Mahony condemned Mr. Milroy to three months with hard labour (he having been already five weeks in prison). Mr. Milroy, on leaving the dock said: **"You have power to send me to jail, but you have no power to make me a criminal."**

It is perfectly clear that had these three prisoners been given a fair trial with a Dublin jury they would have been acquitted.

ATTEMPTED DEPORTATION OF IRISHMEN.

The Cases of Herbert Pim (A. Newman), Denis McCullough, Ernest Blythe, and Liam Mellowes.

Shortly after the outbreak of the European War, the military authorities in Ireland, making use of their powers under the Defence of the Realm Act, began to issue what were known as "deportation orders," i.e., written commands issued to certain individuals to depart from a certain district, county, or group of counties. The first such order was issued to Captain Monteith, of the Irish Volunteers in Dublin, in the Autumn of 1914. We have already seen how Mr. John Hegarty was ordered out of Cork. In June, 1915, The O'Rahilly, one of the founders of the Irish Volunteers, was ordered to leave the Counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry; and numerous other cases could be cited. All these orders were issued to persons who were connected in one way or another with the Irish Volunteers. Apparently, it was found that the procedure of ordering men from one part of the country to another did not meet the case, and the military authorities determined accordingly on a bold stroke. On July the 10th, 1915, orders were issued to Messrs. McCullough, Pim, Blythe, and Mellowes, commanding them to leave the country within seven days. Mr. McCullough was Chairman of the Irish Volunteers in Belfast, and the other three gentlemen were organisers for the same body. The orders were served on Messrs. Pim and McCullough in Belfast, on Mr. Blythe in Ennistymon, Co. Clare, and on Mr. Mellowes in Athenry, Co. Galway.

On the 16th of July, the day before the men were due to leave Ireland, a public meeting was held in Belfast, which was addressed by three of them. Mr. McCullough stated that he had been served with a notice ordering him to leave the country, and that the notice required that he should go somewhere, anywhere, so long as it was to a place approved of by the authorities, and did not come within the scope of the Aliens Regulation Act. He was born in Belfast, his parents were of Irish birth, but some person named Friend had found that he was an alien. Being an Irishman, and having a firm belief in the right to freedom of every Irishman, he was not going to leave this country. He did not recognise the right of any Englishman or any other man not directly authorised by the Irish people, **to order any Irishman out of his native land**, and he, for one, should absolutely disregard it.

Messrs. Pim and Blythe also declared their intention of disregarding the order. Within the next few days all four were arrested, Messrs. Pim and McCullough being apprehended in Belfast, Mr. Blythe at Mahernahanney, Co. Monaghan, and Mr. Mellowes at Courtown, Co. Wexford. On July the 29th the two first-named were put on their trial in Belfast. The charges were the same in both cases: "That you did fail to comply with an order dated the 10th day of July, 1915, made by Major-General L. B. Friend, C.B., the competent military authority for Ireland, under Section 14 of the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914, directing you to leave Ireland before 10 o'clock p.m. on the 17th July, 1915. That you did at Belfast, on the 16th July, 1915, make statements likely to cause disaffection to his Majesty, and statements likely to prejudice recruiting for his Majesty's forces."

The case against Mr. Pim was taken first. Major Price gave evidence that the notice served on Mr. Pim had been issued by General Friend. Witness refused to state who set General Friend in motion in this matter, who brought the names of these men before General Friend, whether the preliminary investigations had been conducted through the ordinary channels of the police, or whether he had received written reports from the police touching these men. In his refusal to answer these questions, Major Price was supported by the magistrate. The witness concluded by saying that he refused to give any reason for the order beyond saying that General Friend had documentary evidence before him.

Mr. Hanna, K.C., for the prisoner, said his defence would be that the military authorities had been set in motion by the civil authorities, and that the civil authorities were set in motion by the political opponents of Mr. Pim. The prisoner had been identified with the official Irish Nationalist Party, but seceded from it when the Volunteer split took place. Since that time he had been persecuted, in season and out of season, by the leader of that party. He (Mr. Hanna) had asked Major Price what he considered to be relevant questions, in order to show that the military authorities were acting not upon well-grounded facts, but on rumours, set going by political opponents. He asked these questions so as to find out what Mr. Pim had done prior to the 12th July that might justify the suspicion that his conduct was prejudicial to the safety of the Realm. Mr. Birrell had said in the House of Commons "it was always very difficult to know what to do with persons who were thought at the present time to be dangerous. He could, however, assure Mr. Healy that it was not proposed to banish anybody from Ireland, nor had anyone been banished for making foolish speeches. The four persons in question had fallen under the lash of the military authorities for what they had done, and not for what they had said. It was their action, a deliberate course of action, and the method that they had pursued, which had brought them under the operation of the Defence of the Realm Act." If he (counsel) was not entitled to ask what his client had done, what was the use of his appearing there at all? The military authorities came there and said that for State reasons they could not disclose what was in their minds. If Mr. Birrell's statement was true, that Pim was being impeached for what he had done, then his Worship should discharge him. If the deportation order was conclusive, then the Defence of the Realm Act was a travesty of justice. It was open to the prosecution to give evidence of what this man had done. Why had they not done so? Because they could not. When Major Price refused to give any information, the Court could not act judicially, because it had no evidence. The real reason for the action against the accused would not bear the light of day. This man had lived in Belfast all his life. Was he to be banished as a felon to God knows where, on the mere ipse dixit of an officer in a law-office in Dublin?

The magistrate sentenced the accused to three months' imprisonment for disobeying the order, and the second charge was then withdrawn.

In the case against Denis McCullough, somewhat similar evidence was given for the Crown. District Inspector Dunlop, questioned by Mr. Power, B.L., on behalf of the prisoner, stated that he was not aware that the accused men had been denounced by the member of Parliament for West Belfast in a speech delivered the day before the expulsion orders were issued; he was also unaware that that gentleman had declared that Pim and McCullough should be out of West Belfast.

In his speech for the defence, Mr. Power stated that he had little to do but protest against the methods that were now being employed to govern this country. **Never in the history of the country before had people been transported without trial.** No charge had been made against the accused, and, if he was guilty of an offence, why was he not prosecuted in the ordinary way? If Major-General Friend had absolute power in this country, then the Defence of the Realm Act was a travesty and a farce.

The accused was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Liam Mellowes was brought before a Dublin magistrate on July 30th, accused of "having, on July 22nd, resided in Ireland, contrary to an order made on July 10th, by Major-General Friend, the competent military authority, under Regulation 14 of the Defence of the Realm Act, prohibiting defendant from residing in or entering Ireland, and requiring him to leave Ireland before 10 o'clock on the night of July 17th." The solicitor for the prosecution stated, in opening the case, that an order of the kind would not be made unless the military authority considered it desirable that it should be made.

Major Price, examined by Mr. O'Byrne, B.L. (for the prisoner), stated that most of the facts submitted to General Friend were in writing. He refused to produce these documents, declaring that it would endanger the safety of the realm if he did so.

Mr. O'Byrne—Has this present defendant been banished from Ireland for what he has done, or for what he has said?

Major Price—Better ask the General that. I cannot give you any reason.

Mr. O'Byrne, in cross-examination of the District Inspector, who served the order on Mr. Mellowes, said he wished to find out if these proceedings were not taken for the purpose of driving the defendant out of the country, because the police, after watching defendant closely for several months, had found absolutely nothing against him.

The magistrate disallowed this question, and added that it was absurd to suppose that General Friend made the order without good reason. He (the magistrate) considered himself bound hand and foot by that order, and would sentence accused to be imprisoned for three months.

Ernest Blythe was brought before the Belfast magistrates on August 5th, charged with failing to comply with the expulsion order, Mr. Power, B.L., for the defence, elicited from Major Price the information that **the military authorities did not hold themselves bound by promises made by Mr. Birrell in the House of Commons.** Major Price admitted further that the authorities had at their disposal all the machinery necessary for trying offences against the Defence of the Realm Act, but declined to state why Blythe was not being tried for whatever offence he had committed. He added that it was more expedient to turn these men out than to try them.

Mr. Power—Was it about something said that this trouble arose?

Major Price—Now, you are trying to get behind the order. I am going to give you no more information. You have the order. General Friend had documentary and verbal evidence before him at the time he made it. What that evidence was, or what those documents were, I am not going to tell you. General Friend exercised his own discretion.

Do you suggest that the Irish Volunteers are acting in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the realm?—Certainly.

Mr. Power stated that in the interval which had elapsed since the previous trials a new regulation had been made to the effect that these expulsion orders would prove themselves on production without any evidence being given as to their validity. **That regulation put an end once and for all to the ordinary laws of proof and laws of evidence** to which they were accustomed in civil courts. The position of the military authorities was that of an absolute autocratic governing power. The magistrate held himself bound by the order,

and sentenced the accused to three months' imprisonment, dating from the day of his arrest.

From these cases, we see that if a man be for any reason obnoxious to the military authorities, and cannot be accused of anything, the authorities have at their disposal a very simple procedure. An expulsion order is issued ordering him to leave his native country, break the ties that bind him, give up his business, and go to a foreign land to make his livelihood as best he can. If a man refuses to obey this order, and questions the right of anyone to make him leave his country without showing cause, he is brought before a police magistrate and imprisoned for disobeying the order. By such means are crimes manufactured, and a pretext found for the imprisonment of all Irishmen whose opinions render them suspect to the authorities, but against whom no legal charge could be sustained. But there is more to follow. Of the four men sentenced to imprisonment by these means, Mr. Blythe was the first to be released. On the expiration of his sentence he was served with a notice, of which the following is a copy. In due time his fellow-prisoners got similar notices:—

Headquarters, Irish Command,
Parkgate, Dublin,
1st October, 1915.

TO MR. ERNEST BLYTHE, OF MAGHERAGALL, LISBURN,
CO. ANTRIM.

WHEREAS an Order under No. 14 of the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914, was made by me on 10th July, 1915, directing you to leave and cease to reside in or enter Ireland (for non-compliance with which Order you have been convicted and imprisoned).

AND WHEREAS the said Order was made by me in consequence of there being reason to suspect that, as an organiser of the Irish Volunteers, you were, by your propaganda, prejudicing the recruitment of Irishmen for his Majesty's Forces, in contravention of No. 27 of the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914.

NOW, NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN YOU that action under the said Order is suspended from the date of your release, subject to the condition that should your conduct at any time in future give grounds for suspicion that you are again endeavouring to prejudice recruiting or the public safety, the original Order will become effective, and, if necessary, be enforced summarily by powers recently given.

Signed at Dublin this 1st day of October, 1915.

L. B. FRIEND,
Major-General.

Commanding Troops in Ireland,
Competent Military Authority in Ireland.

Headquarters, Irish Command,
Parkgate, Dublin.

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the end of Regulation 14 the following paragraph shall be inserted:—

If any person remains in or enters any area in contravention of an Order under the Regulation he may be removed therefrom by the direction of the competent naval or military authority.

This order is instructive in many ways. First, it acquaints us with the fact that it is possible to imprison a man for three months, and, on his release, intimate to him the ground of his imprisonment! He is in effect warned not to repeat the offence, but as to the nature of which offence he has hitherto been kept in the dark. Secondly, it tells us that Mr. Blythe and his colleagues were served with expulsion orders, **“there being reason to suspect** that as an organiser of the Irish Volunteers, he was, by his propaganda, prejudicing the recruitment of Irishmen for his Majesty's Forces.” Note that there was reason to suspect this. Had Mr. Blythe been put on trial on this charge, mere “suspicion” would not have sufficed to secure a conviction. A superstitious belief still lingers that proof of a charge must be given before conviction. Everyone will accordingly agree that it was much simpler and more expeditious to issue an expulsion order against each of the suspected men. If they obeyed it, the Government would be saved the worry and publicity of a prosecution; whereas, if they disobeyed it, they could be imprisoned for their disobedience. Thus the Government was bound to gain in either event. Thirdly, we see that “action under the said Order is suspended from the date of the release.” Having inflicted sentences of imprisonment on their victims, the authorities are willing to let the expulsion orders drop for a while. The main point was to get the men imprisoned on the suspicion of a charge which was never proved, and which was only intimated to the accused on their release from prison. Lastly, this instructive document informs us that if the men again act in such a way as to give rise to “suspicion” in Government circles, they may be deported by force, without an appeal to a tribunal of any kind.

The Cases of Alfred Monaghan and Desmond Fitzgerald.

On October 13th, 1915, Alfred Monaghan, Irish Volunteer Organiser for the County of Cavan, was served with an order

from General Friend, commanding him to leave the County of Cavan within forty-eight hours. Having ignored this order, Monaghan was arrested and lodged in Belfast Jail. He was brought before a Resident Magistrate on October 26th, charged with having made statements calculated to prejudice recruiting.

At the outset of the proceedings Mr. Power, B.L., on behalf of the prisoner, took objection to the magistrates' jurisdiction to try the case. Accused was arrested in Co. Cavan, the offence was alleged to have been committed in Co. Cavan, and the accused was entitled to be tried in that county. This objection was overruled and the case proceeded with.

In opening the case for the prosecution, the Crown Solicitor stated that the accused had made a speech on September 30th, in the Co. Cavan, in which he made use of language that, in the opinion of the authorities, was calculated to prejudice recruiting in the district.

In cross-examination of Colonel Hill-Trevor, Mr. Power stated that he had asked for the attendance of General Friend, but that the latter was not present. Counsel was proceeding to ask witness questions as to what passed between him and General Friend, but these questions were disallowed. Colonel Hill-Trevor said that he was authorised to read a statement from General Friend, but on Mr. Power objecting, permission to do so was refused.

Sergeant McMullan gave evidence that he was present when accused addressed a meeting at Cornafean, Co. Cavan. The meeting was held in a hall; he (witness) was **outside the hall**; he reduced his recollection of the speech to writing **on the following morning**. Referring to his notes, witness stated that accused had asked the people to join the Volunteers and be in earnest. He made use of the expression, "Remember, your duty is not in the trenches." He also said: "Do not let yourselves be bullied by the police, who are circulating the rumour that where Volunteer forces are formed will be the first places where conscription will be enforced."

When asked if he would swear that he was quoting these expressions in their context, or picking out from the speech such sentences as suited the prosecution, witness declared that he did not understand the question.

Mr. Power—Did accused mention recruiting for the British Army by name?—No.

Mr. Power—Did he tell anybody not to join the army?—No.

Witness admitted that accused had reported him to his superior officer for following him about; also that he had been for some time on the alert to find something against accused.

Constable O'Brien corroborated evidence of last witness, and declared that he had heard accused make use of the expression, "Remember, your duty is not in the trenches."

Henry O'Reilly, of Gowna, Co. Cavan, next gave evidence. He was present at the meeting in question, and was absolutely certain that accused did not make use of the words, "Your duty is not in the trenches." This evidence was corroborated by Paul McShane.

Mr. Power stated that his client was prepared to stand by every word he said, but he would not have words put into his mouth. The whole case turned on the question, "Did the accused use the words complained of, or did he not?"

The curious point in the case was that accused had been served with what was known as a deportation order. Why was he not tried for disobeying the order, as other men had been? The machinery for carrying deportation orders into effect had been perfected since the previous cases. Why was that machinery not made use of now? The Irish Volunteers were a perfectly legal body, and were in existence before the Defence of the Realm Act was thought of. Yet from the first moment when this man was appointed Organiser he had had trouble with the police. Accused was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

In the month of January, 1915, Desmond Fitzgerald, who resided at that date in Dingle, Co. Kerry, was served with an order commanding him to leave the Counties of Kerry, Limerick and Cork. A week previously the Admiralty had taken possession of the house occupied by Mr. Fitzgerald with his wife and family. Mr. Fitzgerald came to Dublin, but was there served with another order to leave the City and County of Dublin. He then took up his residence at Bray, Co. Wicklow. No further proceedings were taken, and, after the lapse of some months, he addressed the following letter to Mr. Birrell:—

10th September, 1915.

Augustine Birrell, Esq.,

Dublin Castle.

Sir—In the month of January, 1915, the D.I. of Police for Dingle, Co. Kerry, handed me an order, requiring me to take up residence outside of Kerry and of certain other places. The order required me to leave my house, of which the Government took possession without my consent. My wife and children were thus obliged to leave their home.

Again, in the month of February, I received another order, prohibiting my entering the County or City of Dublin or any other prohibited area in Ireland.

Now, after the lapse of nearly eight months, during which no explanation of these proceedings has been forthcoming, I have decided to regard the conditions imposed upon me as having no justifiable grounds, and I shall act henceforward as if no such order had been received.

2 Loretto Villas,

Bray, Co. Wicklow.

To this communication Mr. Fitzgerald received no reply.

On September 26th a meeting was held at Bray with the object of re-organising the Irish Volunteers. This meeting was presided over by Mr. Fitzgerald. He was arrested on October 18th, and brought before Bray Petty Sessions Court on October 30th, charged with having made statements likely to prejudice recruiting for his Majesty's Forces, and to cause disaffection to his Majesty the King; also with having entered the County of Dublin without permission.

In support of the first two charges the Crown Solicitor quoted the following passages from the speech made by Mr. Fitzgerald:—

"I have to lay stress on the fact that we stand for the service of Ireland only, because during the past 12 or 15 months an attempt has been made—I might say there has been a conspiracy—to seduce Irishmen from the service of Ireland."

"The cause of Ireland a Nation is the supreme cause, and it is superior to every other possible cause that can happen in Europe or in the world. Therefore, I have to point out to you that we stand only for the cause of Ireland."

"No other authority or any other country has any right

whatever to dictate to us as to the manner of government we shall have, as to the principles of assessment, and the collection of taxes, as to the declaration of war and the making of peace or the making of particular treaties with foreign countries. No foreigner has any right whatever to interfere with the liberties of Irishmen. It is no matter whether we do right or wrong—that is for us to decide.”

“I say that against the sword of Irish Nationalism, England or any other foreign power is powerless. Although England may seek to seize the manhood of Ireland forcibly to fight her war, we have no intention of doing so, and I say here plainly that under no circumstances, or at no time whatsoever, or in no place whatsoever, will I fight for any country save Ireland, whether force is brought to bear on me or not.”

The defendant stated that he had delivered a speech very similar to the one read out. He continued: “I made that speech as an Irish Nationalist. I did my best to explain what I understood was Irish Nationalism. I have nothing to withdraw from that speech, and I stand by everything I said.” Accused was sentenced to six months’ imprisonment. The charge of entering a forbidden area was then withdrawn.

In these two cases we see that the authorities issued deportation orders, but preferred to prosecute their victims on other charges, thus reversing their previous procedure in the cases of Messrs. Pim and McCullough. Then, too, there were the double charges of disobeying the military order and of using language calculated to prejudice recruiting, but the men were prosecuted on the first charge only. In the interval the authorities evidently arrived at the conclusion that prosecution for disobedience to a deportation order was an unpopular procedure. All over the country resolutions were being passed protesting against trying men without formulating charges. Hence the new method which was used in the cases of Messrs. Monaghan and Fitzgerald. If a deportation order be disobeyed, there is a second charge in reserve; but if the defendant be acquitted on this second charge, proceedings can still be taken under the deportation order, when conviction is assured.

THE SUPPRESSION OF IRISH NEWSPAPERS.

On December 2nd, 1914, the military authorities opened

their campaign against all such Irish newspapers as had ventured to retain their independence. On that date a force of military and police visited the printers of various Irish weeklies, and of one Irish daily paper, and gave warning that if they should print matter likely to cause disaffection, or to interfere with recruiting, they should render themselves liable to trial by court-martial under the Order in Council, in addition to which their plant and type would be seized and destroyed. Among the papers printed by the firms thus warned were "Irish Freedom," "Sinn Fein," "Ireland," "The Irish Worker," and the "Irish Volunteer." At the moment when the military visited the premises the week's issue of "Sinn Fein" was already in type ready for publication next day. The printers, intimidated by the military, refused to go to press, and the paper did not appear again. On the same day the police entered the establishments of various city newsagents and seized all available copies of "Irish Freedom," which had been issued the previous day.

On December 3rd the police re-visited Mr. Mahon, the printer of "Ireland," and handed him the following statement:—"In the opinion of the military authorities, there is matter in the issue of 'Ireland' which comes under the terms of Section 27 of the Regulations made under the 'Defence of the Realm Act,' and if any future issue appears with matter of the same character the Military Authorities will proceed under the Regulations." "Ireland" appeared next day for the last time, accompanied by the following statement, signed by Arthur Griffith and Seaghan T. O'Ceallaigh, editor and manager respectively of "Ireland." As will be seen by this statement, the military had already taken drastic steps against the printer of the "Irish worker":—

TO THE READERS OF "EIRE—IRELAND."

"Yesterday the 'Irish Worker' appeared with its leading columns blank and an explanation that the editorial had been declined by the printer 'on the very reasonable grounds that it was against the Government, and he had been notified by the military authorities that if he printed any criticism of the Government, or against recruiting, he would be held responsible, that his place would be closed—and himself arrested.'

"Nevertheless, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a force of

British military and Dublin Metropolitan policemen, accompanied by Chief Detective Inspector O'Brien and Inspector Willoughby, proceeded to the premises and took possession of them. All MSS., receipts, accounts, books, and documents on the premises were seized. The printing machinery was also removed and the premises dismantled.

"About fifteen uniformed policemen and a body of twenty soldiers, according to the 'Evening Herald,' occupied the premises, while two uniformed policemen were stationed at the door, with instructions to allow no person ingress.

"Simultaneously police and detectives entered the shops of the Dublin newsagents and seized the unsold copies of the 'Irish Worker.' According to reports from Cork, the 'Irish Volunteer' has been seized there. 'Sinn Fein,' 'Irish Freedom,' the 'Irish Worker,' and possibly the 'Irish Volunteer,' have been suppressed. The printer of the 'Worker,' although he endeavoured to comply with the demands of the British military authorities, has had his private property seized and his means of livelihood taken away. In the circumstances, the printer of 'Ireland' has felt himself unable to continue printing that journal.

"The editor of 'Eire' wishes to add that the printer of 'Ireland' has acted throughout with courage, and if he cannot further continue to print the journal in view of the fate of a man whose printing office has been invaded by armed force and whose property and means of livelihood have been summarily confiscated, despite the fact that to the best of his judgment he complied with British military orders, no reflection rests upon Mr. Mahon."

While these occurrences were taking place in Dublin two weeklies published in Cork, "Fianna Fail" and the "Cork Celt," were also suppressed. At the same time steps were taken by the Postal authorities to prevent the circulation in Ireland of various American newspapers, notably the "Gaelic American" and the "Irish World."

The editorship of the "Irish Volunteer" was taken over by Eoin Mac Neill after the incidents set out above, and continued to appear weekly without intermission.

For three months matters now slumbered. On March 2nd, 1915, another raid was made on the editorial office of "Scissors and Paste," and on the printing premises where this journal

appeared. "Scissors and Paste" was a bi-weekly paper, **consisting exclusively of extracts** from other Irish papers and such foreign journals as were allowed to circulate here. The last number previous to the suppression had appeared on February 27th, and consisted of extracts from the following papers:—London "Times," "Morning Post," "Daily Mail," "Daily News," "Daily Express," "Labour Leader," and "Spectator;" Dublin "Evening Herald," "Irish Times," "Catholic Bulletin," "Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart," and "Freeman's Journal;" Glasgow "Forward," and "Benziger's Magazine" (New York). It also contained an extract from a speech by Henry Grattan, and another from the Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Mercier. In the entire issue there was not one single sentence which had not already appeared elsewhere without exception being taken to it by the authorities.

In the "Independent" of March 3rd, 1915, we read that "the printing-press and copies of the paper were at once seized and the machinery dismantled. The police carried away with them a quantity of type and printing material." The "Irish Volunteer" had, up to this date, been printed by the same firm as "Scissors and Paste." As a result of the removal of the machinery the former journal was prevented from appearing the week in question. On March 11th Mr. Tennant, questioned in Parliament by Mr. Ginnell as to these proceedings, replied that "Scissors and Paste" was a sheet consisting of cuttings from papers selected for their derogatory references to the cause of the military operations of the Allies, and for their praise of the methods and success of the enemy. Mr. Tennant stated further that he could not find that any action against the "Irish Volunteer" could be traced; but he was informed that the paper did not appear last week owing to a raid on the printing works where this paper, in common, he thought, with the "Irish Worker" and other papers, was printed.

"The editor may, of course, have been warned," added Mr. Tennant, "against printing anything contravening the Defence of the Realm Act regulations, and may have considered it wiser to suspend the issue of the paper." these replies were not only disingenuous—one is accustomed to that in Ministerial replies to questions concerning Irish affairs—but are full of glaring inaccuracies.

Was Mr. Tennant unaware that the "Irish Worker" had been suppressed three months previously? It is difficult to imagine anything more egregious than that a Minister who undertakes to answer Irish questions should be ignorant of occurrences in Ireland which had been ventilated in the entire Irish Press, including the Government organs.

With regard to the suggestion conveyed in the last paragraph of Mr. Tennant's reply, as given above, Mr. Eoin Mac Neill wrote in the "Irish Volunteer" of March 20th:—"The Government has not sent any warning to me in any form. It has merely prevented publication for one week by seizing machinery." He went on thus: "If I thought the Government capable of keeping any compact, I would be inclined to make then an offer. The offer would be to ask their Oriental Satrap at Dublin Castle to read my proofs in the interests of the 'Defence of the Realm,' on condition that there should be no interference with my telling the people of Ireland, and particularly the Nationalists of Ulster, that the Government which they kept in office on as distinct an understanding as was ever put in black and white, has broken faith with them, and has no intention of keeping faith with them."

On March 27th Mr. Mac Neill wrote:—"The attempted suppression of this paper has not the remotest connection with the regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act. Notwithstanding anything that Mr. Tennant, Under Secretary for War, has suggested to the contrary, I have never received any warning or even hint that a single line in the "Irish Volunteer" was or appeared to be in contravention of the regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act.

"It is now evident that, whatever the military authorities had in mind, the political side of the Government, while they ostensibly stopped Mr. Mahon's printing works in order to prevent the publication of "Scissors and Paste," hoped at the same time to silence the political criticism of the 'Irish Volunteer.' They made no complaint against the 'Irish Volunteer,' but when they found that this paper was being printed by another printer they immediately endeavoured to stop its publication. It can be proved to the hilt that this attempt was set on foot as a purely political measure and not as a military measure."

In the issue of the "Irish Volunteer" of April 17th the

editor complained that his correspondence with his printers in Belfast was frequently delayed forty-eight hours in transmission, and that this procedure rendered it almost impossible for him to produce the paper. Some days later Mr. Ginnell asked the Under Secretary of State for War whether the "Irish Volunteer" newspaper, under its present editor, has contained any breach of the Defence of the Realm Act; if not, will he say on what grounds its publication continues to be thwarted, first by seizing the machinery of its printer, and now by delaying the editor's correspondence with its present printer forty-eight hours on a route traversed by other letters in three hours; why has the editor's public offer to allow his proofs to be read by a nominee of the Government before publication not been availed of; whether the registered letter addressed to the editor recently, officially opened and re-closed in the Post Office, contained any breach of the Defence of the Realm Act; and why the paper is not either dealt with openly if violating that Act or let alone if not violating that Act.

Mr. Tennant—Any action in regard to the "Irish Volunteer" is in pursuance of the regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act. The authorities must necessarily take, from time to time, such precautionary steps as seem to them to be called for.

Mr. Ginnell—Will the right hon. gentleman answer the question on the paper?

Mr. Tennant—I can only answer it in a general way. The fact was that the printer of the paper was prevented from issuing because he had issued another newspaper which contravened the regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act.

Mr. Ginnell—Will he say whether or not this paper has committed any breach of the Defence of the Realm Act?

Mr. Tennant—I never said it had, and probably it has not.

Mr. Ginnell—Then it has not. Will he answer the question on the paper—whether the registered letter recently opened and re-closed contained any matter in contravention of that Act?

Mr. Tennant—I don't think I can answer that.

Mr. Ginnell—Will he say whether this paper will be prosecuted or brought to trial of some sort if it has violated the Act, or let alone if it has not?

Mr. Tennant—I can certainly promise him that it will be prosecuted if it violates the regulations.

Mr. Ginnell—Will it be let alone if it has not violated the regulations?

Mr. Tennant—Oh, yes; if it does not do so it will be let alone.

Mr. Ginnell—Why is it not let alone? No answer was returned!

From these proceedings it is apparent that the military authorities have determined that in the event of a journal criticising the manner in which this country is governed, the printer of that journal shall be deprived of his means of livelihood. Up to now it has been held that the person responsible for the treasonable or seditious publication was, in the first instance, the author. There have been cases where printers have been prosecuted for such publications, but in these cases the authors were anonymous. No such plea could be urged in the case of these newspapers; the names of the editors were known to everyone, and the practice of the law has always held an editor responsible for any matter appearing in his paper, even though written by another. Since the outbreak of the war, and subsequent to the events we have described as taking place in Ireland, the "Times" newspaper published an article which was held to contravene the Defence of the Realm Act. Was the printer of the "Times" told that he was rendering himself liable to trial by court-martial? Were the printing machines broken up? By no means. The editor of the paper and the writer of the article in question were summoned before a magistrate and fined. There the proceedings began and ended. So the time-honoured tradition of administering the same laws in one way in Ireland and in another way in England continues in force. The advantages to the authorities of the methods used in Ireland are obvious. If the editor of the paper or the printer (if the latter be held to be the responsible person) were brought to trial, the authorities would be compelled to state what articles rendered the paper obnoxious to them, and to prove that these articles contravened the law. The result would be **publicity, a thing feared by the authorities above everything.** How much simpler it is to intimidate a printer, and, if he persist in earning his livelihood, deprive him of the means of so doing

in future. His treatment will have the extra advantage of dissuading other members of his trade from exposing themselves to similar risks. The case of Mr. West, the printer of the "Irish Worker," would be enough to prevent anyone else in Dublin undertaking the printing of any paper under the same management. After being warned by the authorities, Mr. West endeavoured to comply with their demands by refusing an article containing criticism of the Government. The paper appeared with a blank column in the space intended for this article; but, nevertheless, Mr. West's machinery was dismantled and removed to Dublin Castle. His crime apparently consisted in his having presumed to print the paper at all after warning had been given! The object of the authorities when they gave that warning was not merely to prevent criticism of the Government from appearing in future, but to suppress the paper completely.

"Whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad." This sentence is perhaps a clue to the action of the Castle authorities when they decided to suppress "Scissors and Paste." As has been already pointed out, this journal consisted altogether of extracts from other papers, which circulated without let or hindrance. Its suppression is interesting as establishing the principle that a paragraph may be perfectly harmless when it appears in the London "Times" or "Daily Express," but becomes a menace to the safety of the realm when re-printed in a Dublin paper.

The "Irish Voluneter" has never been actually suppressed. With the exception of the week ending March 6th, 1915, it has continued to appear without intermission since its inception, but short of actual suppression, every available means has been made use of by the authorities to thwart and hinder its publication. In December, 1914, it was seized by the Cork police at various newsagents in that city, although no intimation had been given to its owners that the issue of that week was objectionable. On this occasion the disturbance appears to have been purely local; nothing was heard of it elsewhere.

When "Scissors and Paste" was suppressed, the "Irish Volunteer," after one week's interval, began to be printed in Belfast. The authorities then descended to such petty and contemptible tactics as delaying correspondence in the

post, hoping, apparently, by these methods to render the production of the paper impossible. We have already seen that Mr. Ginnell found it most difficult to obtain a direct answer in Parliament to his repeated inquiries concerning the reasons for this treatment. The Minister responsible declined at first to state whether the paper had contravened the Defence of the Realm Act. When pressed, however, he admitted that he was unaware that anything had appeared in the paper containing a breach of the regulations, and added that it was probable that no such article had appeared in it. Questioned further as to why the paper was interfered with, this being the case, Mr. Tennant returned no answer. This evasiveness was accompanied in some of Mr. Tennant's replies by gross inaccuracies, and in one case, which has been already referred to, by a directly false statement.

In July, 1915, Mr. Mahon was anxious to obtain a contract for the resumed printing of the "Irish Volunteer." He wrote to the authorities asking permission to undertake the contract, pointing out that the paper had been printed in Belfast for four months without interference. He was informed that there was no objection to his printing any paper which did not transgress the Defence of the Realm Act regulations, but that if he should again offend the forfeiture of his press would be final. Mr. Mahon wrote again, asking for a more definite permission, and enclosing a copy of the last issue of the paper, together with a daily paper containing Mr. Tennant's statement that he was not aware that the "Irish Volunteer" had transgressed the regulations. After a considerable delay he was informed that a further communication would be sent to him should it be decided to entertain his request. Some days having elapsed, he again wrote asking the authorities if they considered that the paper had transgressed the regulations, or that he would be transgressing them by printing it. In reply, he was curtly informed that copies of the Defence of the Realm regulations were available from Messrs. Ponsonby. Pressed further by Mr. Mahon, the authorities wrote that he was allowed the same liberty as any other printer in Ireland to print any paper which did not transgress the Regulations. As the paper had been printed in Belfast for four months, Mr. Mahon took this as an intimation that he might print the "Irish Volunteer," and he has been doing so ever since.

All this goes to show the methods employed by the Government. Rather than prosecute an editor, they prefer to intimidate a printer. If they cannot intimidate him, they deprive him of his means of livelihood. In addition, it is sought by petty methods to hinder that which they apparently fear to attack openly. Inquiries in high places are met by evasiveness, inaccuracies, untruths, and finally by silence.

Miscellaneous Cases Under the Defence of the Realm Act.

In addition to the above, there have been since the passing of the Act numerous cases throughout Ireland of prosecution under the Act on all kinds of trivial pretexts where it would be grotesque to suppose, by any straining of the imagination, that the realm could possibly be endangered by the acts or speeches complained of, making the Act indeed but a by-word. Mr. Devlin himself found himself obliged to protest against these "senseless prosecutions," stating that the Irish Party had remonstrated with the Government on the subject. As the remonstrance was private, and as the wording of the protest has never been published, it is impossible to say whether it affected the Government in any way. Apparently it was entirely ignored, for these absurd prosecutions still go on, and not a week passes without references to such cases in the Dublin and provincial Press. The authorities did indeed so far notice the frequency of such cases that they issued instructions to the Press to ignore them as far as possible, and not to publish details of evidence or give any undue publicity. This attempt at suppression does not, however, appear to have been successful.

It is not possible to give details of the various cases in the scope of one pamphlet: it will be sufficient for the present purpose to indicate the nature of the offence and the punishment inflicted in certain typical cases.

On June 6th S. Jordon, Athenry, was sent to jail for one month under the Defence of the Realm Act for hissing certain military photographs at a cinema theatre. In July Edward Downey, Co. Cork, was sentenced in Cork to two months' hard labour for talk overheard in a Blarney train. Patrick Tobin, County Wexford, was sentenced on July 3rd to five weeks in jail for tearing down a recruiting poster. Michael

Farrell, of Castletownbere, got one month with hard labour for "uttering false reports." John Kinsella, of Cahirciveen, was sentenced to fourteen days' hard labour for "acting in a manner prejudicial to recruiting." His real offence (as testified to by civilians) seems to have been that he resented insulting references to Ireland by some drunken English sailors, who set upon Kinsella, knocking him down and kicking him, and afterwards, by the aid of the local Inspector, had him brought up on the Defence of the Realm Act! Inspector Hicks asked each witness for the defence "how much German gold did you get for coming here to give evidence?" This case is typical of what has been done throughout Ireland in the name of the safety of the realm.

In all these cases Mr. Birrell, in answer to a question by Mr. Ginnell, M.P., admitted that there were **no civilian witnesses called**. Mr. Ginnell has done splendid service (all the more praiseworthy because almost entirely unsupported by his colleagues) in demonstrating in Parliament by questions to Mr. Birrell on the working of the Act in Ireland how it has been used as a means of penalising and persecuting Irish Nationalists. But in spite of his exposures, in spite of Mr. Birrell's assurances that "prosecutions are being confined within the narrowest limits," arrests, fines, imprisonments, and deportations go on unchecked, their number far exceeding those which took place under Balfour's Coercion Act. In fact, since the preparation of the present pamphlet for the press there have been sufficient cases to fill another volume, and the reign of military and police terrorism goes on unchecked in the sacred name of the "safety of the Realm."