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

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Detective Department,

Dublin, 2nd. December, 1915

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 1st. Inst., *The Under Secretary*  
the undermentioned extremists were observed  
moving about and associating with each other  
as follows:-

With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St.,  
Joseph Murray from 11. 45 a. m. to 12 noon.  
Thomas Byrne for close on an hour from 3.30  
p. m. Joseph McGuinness and John McGarry  
for a quarter of an hour between 5 & 6 p. m.  
C. Colbert from 7. 30 to 8. 15 p. m. M. W.  
O'Reilly for half an hour between 8 & 9 p.m.  
M. O'Hanrahan and Wm. O'Leary Curtis for  
twenty minutes between 9 & 10 p. m.

Bulmer Hobson; M. O'Hanrahan; H. Mell-  
ows; E. O'Duffy; and P. Ryan, in Volunteer  
Office,  
The Chief Commissioner.

*Submitted*

*W. J. O'Reilly*

*Comm. 2/12*

*Under Secretary*

*E. J. O'Reilly*

*Seen by the Sec. 2/12/15*

*Cl.*

*Wm.*

*6/12*



Office, 2, Dawson Street, at 12 noon.

James Whelan at 12, D'Olier Street

between 12 & 1 p. m.

Gerald Griffin with J. J. Walsh in

shop of the latter, 26, Blessington St.

between 1 & 2 p. m.

M. J. O'Rahilly; P. H. Pearse; Jas.

O'Connor; John Fitzgibbon; E. De Valera;

Geo. Irvine; H. Mellows; P. Ryan; T. J.

Sheehan; James Whelan; and E. O'Duffy in

Volunteer Office, 2, Dawson St. together

from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m.

Attached are copies of this week's

issue of Nationality and The Irish Vol-

unteer, both of which contain notes of

an anti-British character.

Owen'Brien

Superintendent.



# NATIONALITY

Vol. 1. No. 25.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1915.

One Penny.

## Notes.

### Diarmuid MacMurrough, Dillon and Redmond.

Diarmuid MacMurrough, who introduced the English into Ireland in 1167, has emerged from Tophet. A letter appears from him in the "Independent," in which he declares for Enlistment and Conscription of the Irish in the armies of his old allies. It is interesting to recall that Diarmuid's bosom friend among the English invaders was Raymont le Gros—the ancestor of Messrs. John and William Redmond. As Mr. Dillon is at present organising a series of bogus conventions to brost himself into the leadership of the Party, *vice* Redmond whose extinction has been decreed by Dillon, Devlin, and T. P. O'Connor "at the end of the war," MacMurrough attacks Dillon in favour of his foster-nephew, who, we read in the daily papers, has just returned from a visit to the back of the Front. Diarmuid's protege, although he coyly refuses to address recruiting meetings in Ireland, addressed one in London last week—choosing the anniversary of the murder of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien for the great occasion.

### Viviani and the Board of Erin.

M. Henri Mamel, photographer of Paris, has published a photograph of the historic reception of the "Board of Erin" by the head of the French Grand Orient. M. Viviani sits in the centre, with T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and Condon, M.P., on his right, and Devlin, M.P., and Gallagher, Lord Mayor of Dublin, on his left, while Law, M.P., Keating, M.P., Donovan, M.P., and J. D. Nugent, M.P., Secretary of the A.O.H. (B.O.E.), stand behind him. A copy of this photograph should be in every B.O.E. Hibernian's home, together with a brief memoir of their leaders' patron describing how M. Viviani seized and confiscated the funds subscribed in France for private Masses, removed the last emblems of Christianity from the French Law Courts, and expurged the last mention of the name of God from the French school-books—on which great occasion he made the historic boast that he had "Put out the Light of Heaven." Reproductions of the photograph may be obtained from Printing-Choix, Paris.

### A Leitrim Joke.

One T. Fallon, J.P., who presides over the Leitrim County Council, announces that that body will enter its "solemn protest" against Conscription, but if the English Government ignores the "solemn protest," the Irish "will have to go." Out of what pit did the people of Leitrim dig T. Fallon, J.P.?

### The Vigilance Committee Humbug.

There is a body in Dublin styled the Vigilance Committee, ostensibly formed for the purpose of checking immoral and anti-Catholic English newspaper circulation in Ireland. A fortnight ago a notorious English paper, which some of the "leaders" of the Vigilance Committee may be seen each morning reading with gusto, published a leading article calling an Irish Catholic Bishop "a Liar" and "a Traitor." The Vigilance Committee met, ignored the ruffianly English paper's foul slanders, and decided that—after the war it would be excellent to have munition works carried on in Dublin! Hypocrisy and Humbug are rife in Ireland, but the Dublin Vigilance Committee can hold its own with either.

### The Small Nationalities.

Admirers of England as the Protector of Small Nationalities are requested to refrain from looking at Persia just now, and as far as possible to forget Greece. It is, of course, regrettable that England should have to blockade Greek commerce to try and compel her to violate International Law, but business is business. The following admirable suggestion for teaching the Greeks that they cannot abide by International Law when it injures England, we take from the "Daily Mail," contributed by Mr. A. Norman Flack:—

"Sir—If Greece continues stupidly obstinate, let us all be patriotic and refuse to eat currants."

### "Moral Suasion."

Mr. W. J. Hanna, of the Newry No. 2 Rural Council, announced himself at a recent meeting of that body as in favour of "moral suasion." Therefore "Every man of military age employed by the County Surveyor should be turned out of his work" to force him to join the British Army. The employees of the County Surveyor will, we presume, morally persuade Mr. Hanna that his knowledge of the English language lacks precision.

### The Subsidised Cunarders.

The Granard Board of Guardians has adopted unanimously the following resolution:—

"That we, the members of the Granard Board of Guardians, desire to express our emphatic condemnation of the action of the Cunard Shipping Company in refusing to carry out the contracts entered into by their agents, and refusing to allow Irish emigrants to travel by their vessels while allowing English passengers, similarly circumstanced with regard to age, etc., to travel by the same ships. This Company's invidious action is only in keeping with their boycott of Irish mails on a former occasion. And

we hope the Irish people at home and in America will note the action of the Cunard Company and refuse to travel on their vessels for the future."

"Mr. Ginnell," said one of the Guardians, "is the only M.P. who is doing anything." "He has a lone battle," quoth the Chairman. As we have already told our readers, the Cunard Company is supplied with capital by the English Treasury, and, in addition, granted a subsidy of £50,000 per year—raised out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

### The "Expenses" Brigade.

Here is an interesting question and answer (suppressed, of course, in the Dublin daily papers) recently asked and answered in the English House of Commons—

Sir Arthur Markham asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office if any members of this House have received payment for expenses or for their services for addressing recruiting and munitions meetings during the war; and if so, what is the total amount?

Mr. Tennant—I understand that no member of the House has received any payment for his services in the connections mentioned, but that claims for expenses have been made and paid. I cannot state what the total amount involved is. (Hansard, Nov. 10, 1915.)

All members of the English Parliament engaged in denouncing "the Huns" from public platforms are at present receiving, in addition to their £400, liberal payments classified as "Expenses" out of the public funds. Similar liberal payments under the heading of "Expenses" are made to the stump orators who perform nightly in Dublin and elsewhere under the auspices of recruiting committees. The "Expenses" of Mr. John Redmond for his trip to the back of the Front and his speech at the subsequent recruiting meeting in London have been calculated on as liberal a scale as the "Expenses" of the "All-Ireland Recruiting Meeting at Warrenpoint"—where the Record in Expenses was touched. A blessed word "Expenses," but the Irish taxpayers will have to pay for the Irish adventurers who are waxing fat on its golden sound.

Ten pounds a speech, we understand, has been allowed in some cases "inclusive of travelling expenses." We observe that Long John, the M.P. for North Kildare, is Increasing his Bit in some parts of that constituency, which he "represents" in the intervals of acting as a Crown Prosecutor in England for the Government. Mr. O'Connor, whose classical knowledge is unique, informed those who assembled that the Huns destroyed the Roman Empire and the Roman Republic. We suggest the Expenses should be increased by an addition permitting M.P.'s to purchase "The Child's Guide to Knowledge."



**Note Well!**

Bishop Donnelly, the colleague of Errington at the Vatican in the English Government intrigues against the Irish National movement thirty years ago, quietly left Dublin one day last week and has reappeared at the Vatican. Lord and Lady Aberdeen are at present in the United States furnished with letters from Cardinal Logue, the Bishop of Cloyne and Mr. John Redmond. Lord Aberdeen is, of course, ignored and the letters are addressed to her ladyship. This is Mr. Redmond's letter:—

September 17, 1915.

Dear Lady Aberdeen:

I have received your letter of the 15th inst., and I am rejoiced to hear that you are about to visit America and Canada in the interest of your public health movement, which has undoubtedly done a great deal of good in Ireland. Especially I commend that portion of your work which deals with infant mortality. I need not say I wish you every success in your *mission* and I feel sure that all my friends in the United States will give you their assistance.

Very truly yours,

J. E. REDMOND.

We believe Cardinal Logue and the Bishop of Cloyne are quite innocent of what the Aberdeen mission to America and Canada really is. Mr. Redmond, however, is not. Lady Aberdeen, who has already performed work for the Secret Service of England in establishing in Ireland a branch of that institution under the guise of The Overseas Welcoming Club, has been commissioned to investigate and report on the Irish-American attitude towards England in the present war, and the best methods of undermining it.

**Anton Long slain.**

One piece of news comes from the Austrian front which may console Viviani and Dr. Frosini for their ill-luck elsewhere. Anton Long, the peasant who enacted the part of Christ in the famous Oberammergau Passion Play, has been slain fighting for his country against the army of the Grand Orient.

**Spain and England.**

The London "Times" published a leading article last week in which it grovelled before Spain, assuring that country of England's profound respect and admiration. After reading it we have come to the conclusion that a passionate love of Spain has animated the English heart since the days of the Spanish Armada or thereabouts. Nothing, in fact, can exalt Spain more in the English mind or ensure that country England's reverence and friendship, after the war, than Spain's continued Neutrality—and forgetfulness of Gibraltar. And it is only yesterday we learned from our English Press of how "besotted," "ignorant," "priest-ridden" and "decadent" the Spaniards were—only the day before yesterday that the Marquis of Salisbury, then Premier of England, jeered at Spain as "The Dying Nation." It is evident the English are a most misunderstood people. All the time they held Spain and the Spaniards in high esteem.

**Unchanged and Unchangeable.**

The "Irish Times" (November 24) reports that in Cardonagh, Donegal, the Castle Constabulary tore down from the notice-boards of

the Catholic Church—the "Irish Times," of course, calls it "Chapel"—the recent letter of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick. The last occasion on which a similar action was *officially* taken by the English Government in Ireland was, we are informed by a clerical authority, in 1723—when the Penal Laws were at their maximum fury. It is right to add that the "Catholic" Press of the country has sung dumb on the outrage.

**The "Independent" and the Pope.**

The "Freeman" and the "Independent" both suppressed Bishop O'Dwyer's letter. The "Independent" did more. For some time past it has been troubled with doubts as to the orthodoxy of the Pope on the present war, and on Wednesday of last week it published the following:—

**PROTESTANTS IN ROME.****STRONG SPEECH BY THE POPE.**

("Times" Telegram—Press Association Copyright.)

ROME, MONDAY.

Yesterday the Pope celebrated his 61st birthday, receiving in audience the members of the Society for the Defence of the Faith. His Holiness delivered a strong speech regarding Protestants in Rome. He said people would hasten to protect a brother attacked by brigands. Their brothers in Rome were exposed to attacks from worse robbers, for Faith is more precious than any material possession.

The Pope proceeded:—"What do these emissaries of Satan do who in the midst of the Holy City erect pestilential cathedrals to spread errors; who scatter falsehoods and calumny against the Catholic religion? These devilish arts are so many assaults against the Faith of the sons of Rome; assaults the more insidious because often accompanied by the line of material advantages."

As this stands it implies that the Pope attacked Protestants as *qua* Protestants, and is eminently calculated to help the English Government's work of keeping Catholic and Protestant estranged in Ireland the better to plunder and exploit both. On turning to the "Times" Telegram as printed in the London "Times" itself, we find that the "Independent" performed a usual trick of dishonest journalism by cutting off the pregnant sentences. Here is the report as it appears in the London "Times" itself—we italicise the words omitted by the "Independent":—

What do these emissaries of Satan do who in the midst of the Holy City *raise temples where God is denied true worship*, who erect pestilential cathedrals to spread errors among the people, who scatter with liberal hand falsehoods and calumny against the Catholic religion *and its ministers*? These devilish arts are so many assaults against the faith of the sons of Rome, *assaults the more dangerous because of their frequency*, and the more insidious because too often accompanied by the lure of material advantages. *Oh! Poor fathers of families who are offered free education for their children as the price of their separation from the Church; poor sons who are offered help for their parents in their declining years, if the parents of the children give their names to an evangelical sect!*

It will be seen that what the Pope attacked was not Protestants nor Protestantism, but the species of people known in Ireland as "Soupers," who degrade all religion by offering bribes to the poor and needy to change their

creed. There is no true Protestant who does not condemn these people as strongly as the Pope. The Irish Catholic who depends on the "Freeman's Journal" and the "Daily Independent" for accurate reports about the Vatican or the Pope's utterances forgets Nathan.

**An Appeal to the Bullocks.**

A most delightful example of British tenderness for the Irish comes from Meath. Some years ago a whole district was depopulated by an English army officer, who drove the small tenant-farmers to the workhouse or America. One day last week a detachment of the British Army, *led by the grandson of the Exterminator*, marched into the district to beat up recruits to Fight for Civilisation. The reception was warm and the retreat hasty. The parting injunction of the sons of the survivors of the Extermination, to tell England to enlist the bullocks, we commend to the British Government. *They* could not deny that England is fighting for Civilisation.

**When — Fall Out.**

Signor Nathan, of Dublin Castle, Super-Editor of the "Daily Independent," has lost his job, through delaying to comply with a Friendly Request. Accordingly the "Independent" on Saturday published a leading article denouncing Nathan—on *public* grounds.

**The Ascendancy and "Erin-go-Bragh."**

"The injustice which imposes compulsory Irish on the sons of Protestant ratepayers who want to take advantage of these (County Council) scholarships is not the less flagrant because they have grown weary of protesting against it."—"Irish Times," November 26, 1913.

"More Irishmen Wanted."

"Message from Sir Bryan Mahon"

"To the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

"The Tenth Irish Division wish you all success in your recruiting undertaking."

Erin-go-Bragh."

—"Irish Times," November 27, 1915.

Sir Bryan Mahon ("Protestant Ratepayer" and cousin of Sir Edward Carson) pronounces it "Erin-go-Bray."

**A Suppressed Letter.**

The recent bogus "Convention" at Maryboro' invited the parish priest of Ballyfin to attend. He sent the following reply, which the Chairman suppressed, and which we herewith publish:—

"Ballyfin, November 21.

"To the Chairman and the Secretaries.

"Messrs.—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to the Convention to be held to-day in Maryboro'. You have not stated the object of this Convention. If it be to protest against Conscription in Ireland, then I wish every success to the Convention. Conscription in England is right and proper, but 'twould be neither proper nor right in Ireland. If the object of the Convention be to pass resolutions of confidence in J. E. Redmond and the Irish Party, then I entirely dissent and totally dis-



## Where the best and cleanest pictures are first shown: ::

PILLAR PICTURE HOUSE.  
MARY STREET PICTURE HOUSE.  
PHIBSBORO'.—The House at Blauquiere Bridge.  
THE VOLTA, MARY STREET.

approve it. For the record of the Irish Party since Redmond became Chairman is one, not of triumphant success, but of abject failure, of subservience and allegiance to the Liberal Party for the purpose of personal aggrandisement.

"Its principal achievement is a Home Rule Act, which may well be described as an *empty egg shell*, since it really confers no benefit on Ireland—nay rather it may be compared to a *rotten egg*, since it contains many provisions which are insulting and odious to the last degree. To say that this proposed Parliament is better than Grattan's or Gladstone's, or any other proposed measure of Home Rule, is to say what is not true, and none believe it true, except those who have not examined the Bill and its provisions. How few there are who have read an analysis of the Bill! Not one in a thousand, nay not one in ten thousand—and thus they ignorantly believe what is told them by their deceitful guides.

"Other achievements of the Redmondite Party are the imposition of the Budget on this country in opposition to the decree of a Convention held in Dublin to consider the matter. This Budget means the further unjust taxation of Ireland, to the amount of nearly two million pounds per annum—our faithful guides telling us 'twould be less than half a million, if, indeed, anything at all. The mendacity of some is astonishing!

"The Insurance Act—another achievement of this subsidised Party—was also passed against the expressed wishes of the country. This Act, which imposes another heavy burden of taxation on Ireland, is most unpopular, because most unfair and unjust. It was passed by the Party for the benefit of a certain secret Society, called the Board of Erin, which certainly has not the approbation of the Church.

"I fail to recall any Act passed by the late Illiberal Government for the benefit of Ireland, through the instrumentality of the Redmondite Party. I can very well remember, not one, but many Acts passed by this hostile Government, with the aid and connivance of the Redmondite Party, for the further oppression and degradation of our country.

"Yours truly,

"J. J. KELLY, P.P."

### The National Campaign.

We are unable, through lack of space, to give any adequate reports of the great National meetings held during the past few days in Galway, Derry, Monaghan, Cork, Kilkenny, Cavan, Tyrone, and Belfast. Not since the early days of the Land League has such enthusiasm been manifested. The speakers included The O'Rahilly, Messrs. Herbert Pim, Seaghan MacDermott, Piaras Breslin, Very Rev. Father O'Loony, Father Meehan, Father O'Connolly, Father O'Flanagan, P. H. Pearse, etc.

### The Wearing of the Green.

Mr. M. J. Lennon writes to us:—

"Your issue of yesterday contains a corres-

pondence which leaves the impression that Synge Street Christian Schools have ceased to be National. I am an old Synge Street boy; I don't believe my old school has ceased to be National, and I have not yet met any old Synge Street boy whose opinion on the matter differs from mine.

"We are told that a boy in these schools was ordered to remove the Irish colours. He declined to do so, and was refused admission into the schools. Is the tricolour the Irish colour? In Dublin it is largely regarded as a party emblem, and *Nationality* of 7th August last, in explaining the meaning of these colours, admitted a prevailing ignorance of their meaning. Surely, two Christian Brothers, advanced in years, might know as little about the tricolour as the average citizen. The tricolour is at present worn in these schools, without let or hindrance. This I can swear to, and if anyone cares to count the number of English flags worn by the boys as they leave at three o'clock, it will be found a very easy task.

"In one class, and in one class only, the boys were forbidden to wear any emblems. My informant was a pupil in this class, and, presumably, such an order was necessary to preserve discipline in this particular class. This order forbade the wearing of the Union Jack, a highly dangerous proceeding nowadays. In my view, the tricolour would be a meaningless emblem to a Brother who was so ignorant of present public affairs as to put the discipline of his class before the Defence of the Realm Act.

"We also learn from the correspondence that the Christian Brothers in Synge Street prefer works published by Blackie's to those published by a Catholic firm. Anyone who has ever been in a school, even on a visit, should know that only certain books meet the requirements of a particular class, and these books have to be got, irrespective of where they are published. However, I always thought it was the British Government, and not the Irish Nationalist, which sought to classify the Irish on a religious basis. The 'Blackie' incident is very like the homely amusement of mud-slinging.

"It is a pity that we Nationalists have a M'Cann case in our midst."

The facts as published by us are accurate in every particular.

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## Ireland's Poverty.

There are still in Ireland a few people who do not believe that the impoverishment of Ireland is the settled policy of England. These people's intellectual level is such that they cannot unaided discover the relationship between population and prosperity. To them a reduction of population from eight millions to four millions means simply the riddance of a surplus of four millions. They may be got to admit that the Ireland with a population of eight millions had a population able to support two for every one of the Ireland with a population of only four. It must not, however, cause disappointment to find that such people will accept no explanation of this industrial decay except the one which England, to cover her own sin, has given to the world. They say that the decay is due to Irish ignorance, Irish lack of skill, Irish laziness, and the Irish double dose of original still.

It may therefore be useful to hear what an English economist, who cannot be accused of traditional hatred of England or of making rash statements prejudicial to English Government in Ireland, has to say on the subject.

Mr. J. W. Welsford, a former Fellow of Cambridge University, in a work entitled "The Strength of Nations," published in 1907, writes:—

"The advantages which England enjoyed under the protective system were so great, that the prospect of sharing these blessings caused Scotland to desire the closer commercial and political union, which was accomplished in 1707. Unhappily, the request of the Irish to be admitted to this Union was refused, owing to the fear of Irish industrial competition, which English merchants loudly expressed." (XV. 13.)

"In the beginning of the eighteenth century, before the Union of England and Scotland was accomplished, Ireland had expressed a strong desire to join the Union; but such serious alarm was felt by British manufacturers at the effects which would follow, if the industrious Irish were allowed to compete freely with them, that the English Government refused the Irish request. Ireland therefore remained in a provincial condition. She had, it is true, a Parliament in Dublin, but this Parliament represented only a part of the Protestant minority, who were practically a British garrison occupying a hostile country. The Presbyterians of Ulster were persecuted as well as the Catholics, and there was during the century a constant stream of Irish emigrants to the American Colonies. In the War of Independence the Irish-Americans made Great Britain pay dearly for the wrongs which had been inflicted on their fathers in Ireland at the request of the selfish merchants of Great Britain.

"Not only did the Irish Parliament fail to represent the Irish people, but the British Parliament also claimed the right to legislate for Ireland. Under this extraordinary dual form of government, Acts were passed which ruined

(Continued on page 7.)



**AONACH NA NODLAG.**

# Annual Christmas Sale Of IRISH GOODS,

## Exhibition Rooms, Rotunda, DUBLIN,

### From Thursday, December 9th, to Saturday, December 18th.

2 p.m. till 10 p.m. each Day.

Admission :: 3d  
Season Tickets, 1/-



Irish Art Industry,  
Music and Song.

GAELS! SUPPORT THE GAEL!  
M. O'Peapagall,  
HOMESTEAD DAIRY, DONNYBROOK.  
BRANCHES—52 Denzille Street,  
135, Brunswick Street, and 2 Deane Street.  
Pure New Milk, Finest Cream Butter, New Laid Eggs.

### Volunteers will resist Conscription!

but they cannot resist being attracted to the

**Foresters' Hall, 41 Parnell Square,**  
**On Monday 27th December, at 8 p.m.,**

TO THE

### SPECIAL ENTERTAINMENT,

including an important event (further particulars  
will be announced later),

under the auspices of F. COY. 2nd BATT. I.V.

Volunteers and Friends note Date, and keep it open  
for THE EVENT OF THE SEASON.

There is still on hands a small stock of

### "The Voice of Freedom,"

A selection of the best articles and poems from the early  
numbers of "Irish Freedom," in book-form, neatly  
bound. Price 7d; by post, 8d.

Also a few Bound Volumes of "IRISH FREEDOM,"  
November, 1912, to December, 1914. This includes all  
the War numbers of the paper, up to the time it was  
suppressed by the British Government.

Price 5/-. Postage 6d. extra.

Write c/o THE MANAGER,

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### The Four Gospels.

First Catholic Publication in Irish.

Each Gospel, 6d. net.

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No. 9.

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A. NEWMAN.

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get, if you haven't got them, the first eight  
tracts.

Wholesale from

**WHELAN & SON, 17 UPPER ORMOND QUAY.**

Price 1d.; one dozen or over post free.

## NATIONALITY.

Saturday, Dec. 4, 1915.

All literary communications for "Nationality" should  
be addressed to the Editor.

All business communications to the Manager,  
12 D'Olier Street, DUBLIN.

**SUBSCRIPTION.**—*Nationality* will be posted  
free TO ANY ADDRESS for one year at a cost of 6/6;  
for the half-year, 3/3; for the quarter, 1/8.

Cheques and Postals should be crossed and made  
payable to the Manager, *Nationality*.

## BELGIUM AND IRELAND.

The Unionists of military age who write the  
leading articles in the "Irish Times," the  
"Daily Express," and the "Evening Mail"  
exhorting the Irish non-Unionists to go forth  
and die for England, have made some further  
discoveries. Mr. Stanuel, a Unionist gentle-  
man, lectured in Dublin recently on the Pro-  
gress and Prosperity of Belgium—and suc-  
ceeded in concealing the cause of both.  
Enlightened by Mr. Stanuel, the young men of  
the "Irish Times" drew their pens and wrote  
a leader in which they announced to their  
Unionist world that

Belgium is about one-third the size of  
Ireland. It supports a population more  
than four times as numerous.

It has coal, and consequently important  
manufactures.

Its soil and climate are not better suited  
to agriculture than those of Ireland.

Its agricultural produce is sufficient for  
the needs of its dense population.

We regret our contemporary did not, by re-  
ferring to an encyclopedia, make these remark-  
able discoveries as far back as 1909, when in  
its leading columns it pictured the Belgians as  
a race of white savages living on the exploita-  
tion of red rubber from the Congo. Now that  
it has discovered Belgium, it urges Ireland to  
emulate her. And how shall Ireland emulate  
Belgium—how shall it increase its population  
from 4½ to 23 millions? How shall it support  
that population on food of its own growth?  
By becoming free as Belgium was free? By  
"dissolving the Union" as Belgium dissolved  
the Union? Not so—by "advancing co-opera-  
tive principles."

Belgium, whose prosperity and independence  
were simultaneously born in 1830, did certainly  
adopt Co-operative Principles in that year, but  
they were co-operative of lead and steel. In  
the year 1814 England handed wriggling and  
protesting Belgium over to Holland, and

Holland "incorporated" the victim in a  
"Union." She gave Belgium "representation"  
in Parliament, but she took care that the "re-  
presentation" would be no more effective than  
Irish representation in the British institution.  
She taxed the Belgians merrily, and set up the  
Supreme Court of Belgian Appeal in the Dutch  
capital—just as the Supreme Court of Irish  
Appeal is set up in the English capital. She  
bribed with gold and ribbons the Belgian rich  
to betray the Belgian land. She banned the  
tongue the Belgians spoke and thrust her own  
upon them. In the spirit she acted towards  
the Belgians as the English do towards the  
Irish under the Act of Union. In the fact she  
never treated the Belgians with an equal rigour.  
For instance, she did not afflict them with an  
artificial famine.

However, as the Belgians were discontented,  
she formed a Belgian Unionist party—a party  
which had a "Belgian Times" as its organ  
and which taught that Religious Morality, Re-  
spectability, and the Interests of the State  
demanded that the Union should be preserved  
and the Dutchman for all eternity be carried  
on the back of the Belgian. In 1830 the  
Belgians revolted, smashed up the Union,  
kicked the Dutch King's crown into the sea,  
and proclaimed—against the effort of Dear Old  
England to prevent her—Belgium an indepen-  
dent State. And lo! for seventy years there-  
after she waxed until on a soil a third the area  
of Ireland she nourished a population twice as  
great as that which England permits to exist  
in this much-obliged Island.

Not co-operative principles, but national  
principles made Belgium free and prosperous.  
Not soil or climate, but national independence  
and manly virtue are the roots of a nation's  
strength and prosperity. Belgium became pros-  
perous when Belgium became free. This is the  
fact that Mr. Stanuel and the "Irish Times"  
dodged. "Remember Belgium" is not intended  
to apply to remembrance of how Belgium  
threw off a foreign yoke and became one of the  
richest countries in Europe. When the "Irish  
Times" can explain how Ireland benefits under  
alien rule by steadily losing her population—  
how this steady loss involves her in loyalty to  
the Government under which it proceeds—how  
she is blessed by having one man on three acres  
where Belgium has six, the Unionists of Mil-  
itary Age who write the "Irish Times" will not  
have lived in vain.

## AONACH NA NODLAG.

LARGE CONCERT HALLS, ROTUNDA,  
9-18 DECEMBER.

The only purely Irish Exhibition of Home  
Manufactured Goods will open in the above  
hall on Thursday evening, the 9th December,  
at 8 p.m. The halls will be filled with interest-  
ing exhibits of all classes of Irish manufactured  
goods, which will Dublin citizens an unequalled  
opportunity of supporting our own products.  
The Exhibition will also include an interesting  
exhibition of Irish art pictures by well-known  
painters.

On Monday night, the 20th inst., the Aonach  
Committee have arranged for the production  
of "Fear na Millian Punt," by Piaras



Biasley, and "May Eve at Stephen's Green," a lovely operetta.

On Tuesday night, the 21st inst., we will have a lecture from Rev. M. O'Flanagan, C.C., on "How to Feed the Irish," followed by a musical programme.

On Wednesday night, 22nd inst., there will be a grand closing Ceilidhe.

## The Manchester Martyrs.

### THE DUBLIN PROCESSION.

On Sunday week the 47th Anniversary of the judicial assassination of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien was commemorated in Dublin by a procession to the Cenotaph of the Martyrs in Glasnevin Cemetery. From mid-day thousands thronged the streets in anticipation of the procession, and on all sides the green, white and orange tricolour was seen.

The St. James' Band occupied its usual place at the head of the procession, and was followed by the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers, nearly two thousand strong, the majority of whom carried rifles. They were followed by Na Fianna Eireann, many of whom carried guns with fixed bayonets. The members of Cumann na mBan, in their neat uniform and with ambulance outfit, were quite a surprise; their numbers and military bearing were excellent.

The members of the Dublin Trades' Council attended, and were followed by the Irish Citizen Army (carrying rifles), the Irish Transport Workers' Union, the A.O.H. (American Alliance), the Girl Scouts, and the Irish Women Workers' Union. A Company of Irish Volunteers formed the rearguard.

The procession saluted at the Cenotaph, which was almost hidden by numerous wreaths and floral tributes. Wreaths were also laid on the following graves and monuments, most of which were visited by large numbers of people during the evening:—John O'Mahony, Sergeant M'Carthy, Dan Reddin, T. B. M'Manus, P. W. Nally, P. O'Donnell, J. K. Casey (Leo), Anne Devlin, John O'Leary, James Stephens, O'Donovan Rossa, Ned Duffy, James F. Egan, Stowell Brothers, W. Rooney, James Fintan Lalor, John Farrell, Stephen O'Donoghue, James Clarence Mangan, Terence Byrne, John (Amnesty) Nolan, M. J. Seery, James Boland, also on the site of the Wolfe Tone Memorial, the graves of Thomas Davis in Mount Jerome, the Brothers Sheares, Oliver Bond, etc.

The arrangements were, as usual, in the hands of the Executive of the Wolfe Tone Memorial Association, and the Headquarters General Staff of the Irish Volunteers had charge of the marshalling.

S. Mac G.

## THE NORTH IS UP!

### GREAT NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATION IN BELFAST.

The anniversary of the Manchester Martyrs was commemorated by the Nationalists of Belfast on Thursday last in St. Mary's Hall. Since the announcement was made that the

Rev. Michael O'Flanagan, late of Cliffoney, would deliver the address on the occasion, considerable interest was manifested in the meeting, but even those most intimate with the trend of National feeling in the city did not anticipate such a great gathering as filled the commodious hall. The proceedings constituted one of the greatest Nationalist demonstrations held in the northern capital within the memory of the present generation.

The meeting was announced to commence at eight o'clock, but for fully half an hour before that hour the building was crowded, and so many of the later arrivals were unable to gain admission that the idea of holding an overflow meeting occurred to the minds of many. It was estimated that more than two thousand people were assembled in the building, and hundreds more, for whom there was no room, thronged the thoroughfare leading to it.

As was fitting on such an occasion, the Belfast Regiment of the Irish Volunteers were mobilised, and there was a splendid turn out of the men, most of whom carried rifles and equipment. They were accompanied to the hall by two pipers' bands.

The proceedings commenced shortly after eight o'clock, when Denis Mac Cullough—who, it may be mentioned in passing, has quite recovered his usual good health—took the chair amidst general enthusiasm. From the very outset the unanimously enthusiastic spirit of the gathering was made evident, and as Father O'Flanagan proceeded with his address there were frequent and unrestrained outbursts of cheering. "There were," said a Belfast Unionist organ in its report of the meeting, "such vociferous outbursts of applause that the curiosity of the crowd on the street was greatly aroused as to what was happening inside."

After a few introductory remarks by the chairman, the Rev. Father O'Flanagan rose to address the meeting. On coming forward he was greeted with a great demonstration of enthusiasm which lasted some minutes. In the course of an inspiring and fearless address—one of the finest heard in Belfast for some time—the reverend speaker said he had been puzzled to know why it was that Allen, Larkin and O'Brien had been singled out from all the rest of the martyrs of Ireland and given the central place upon the altar of Irish patriotism. Other men died for Ireland in circumstances as glorious as they did—Brian Boru, Shane O'Neill, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmet, and the Brothers Sheares; and yet not one of them, no, not even Emmet, young and holy as his place is in the hearts of the Irish people, had been placed as high as the Manchester Martyrs. And he had come to the conclusion that it was not the deed that they performed, great as it was, nor even the death that they suffered, heroic as was the example of it, that earned for them that place in the hearts of Ireland's people, but it was the words that issued from their lips as they died upon the scaffold—the words that contained the deepest inspiration that had ever issued from the bleeding heart of Ireland—the words—"God Save Ireland."

At the conclusion of a great address, the Chairman made an appeal to the audience to become members of the Irish Volunteers. The

proceedings terminated, with the singing of "God Save Ireland," in which the entire audience, rising to their feet, joined.

It is significant to note that the local Devlinite organ completely ignored the meeting.

## Waterford Declares for Ireland!

What was universally admitted to be the finest meeting since Parnell's great meeting at the height of the land campaign took place in Waterford Town Hall on 23rd November. The Mayor and many well-known citizens were present. Mr. Woods occupied the chair, and the panegyric of the Martyrs of Manchester was delivered by Mr. Herbert Pim (A. Newman). Votes of thanks were proposed by Father Ormonde and Mr. O'Brazil.

The following day Mr. Pim was formally received at the Town Hall by the Mayor, and according to the ancient custom of the town, he was placed in the great chair of the Council Chamber, and later invested with the Mayor's chain of office. Afterwards he was received at the De la Salle College, and in the afternoon at the Convent of Mercy, where he addressed the community.

At eight p.m. Mr. Pim and Captain O'Connell appealed for recruits at the Volunteer Hall, and fifty men responded. These, with the original Volunteers, headed by the Finna and pipes, marched to the Mall, where a mass meeting was held. The thanks of the Volunteers are due to the Mayor for providing a platform.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Pim said that he desired to say a kind word for Mr. Redmond in his own town. Mr. Redmond had put up a good fight against hopeless odds. From the inception of Home Rule he had been faced by a coalition, by which the Tories were pledged to vote with the Liberals if Mr. Redmond tried to force the pace by throwing out the Government.

As a constitutionalist Mr. Redmond had acted perfectly logically. He asked the people of Waterford not only to pledge themselves to resist Conscription, but to boycott any employer who attempted on his own initiative to put Conscription into force by discharging his employees.

The utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and the meeting unanimously declared that it was a lie to say that Ireland was in a state of profound peace, and that no persons had been imprisoned except three or four men guilty of open pro-German declarations, for which under similar conditions they would have been shot in Germany.

These words, as Mr. Pim explained, had been attributed to Mr. Redmond by the "Independent," "Freeman," and other papers, and it was therefore Mr. Redmond's duty to deny that he uttered them.

"Is it a lie or is it the truth?" demanded Mr. Pim.

"A lie," roared the vast assemblage.

"Then Mr. Redmond cannot have told a lie," continued Mr. Pim, "and he is bound to preserve his honour by denying that he uttered these words, or to declare openly that they did not refer to my friend and myself."



## The London "Times" and the War.

I have been glancing over back numbers of the "Times"—I mean the London "Times" and not its colourless and weak imitation the "Irish Times." Now the London "Times" has been denouncing its English contemporaries for hiding the truth about the war and for taking roseate views of the prospects of early victory. Therefore if the London "Times" took optimistic views at various periods of the war from August, 1914, onwards, and if these optimistic prophecies were never fulfilled, some idea can be obtained of the hysterical plight in which other English newspapers were involved that did not boast of its restraint. Here are some extracts from the London "Times," showing how that so-called sober-minded and critical organ deceived its readers about the progress of the war:—

"We are told that the bombardment of Namur has begun, but Namur is perfectly capable of taking care of itself for the next three months, and is certainly not yet invested."—"The Times" leading article, column 1, page 7, Monday, August 24th, 1914.

That evening it was announced that Namur had fallen.

"A long dispatch from our St. Petersburg Correspondent, received late last night, fully explains the magnitude and importance of the Russian victory. The Russian troops already hold Insterburg, and we may quickly expect to hear of the investment of Königsberg, though that serious undertaking will assuredly not delay the main Russian advance. The march to Berlin is a long one, but the Russian army moves with the consciousness that it has inexhaustible numbers of men."—"The Times" leading article, Monday, August 24th, 1914.

Under the heading of "Russia's Victory—A Nut between Crackers," the following paragraph appeared:—

"The one who is entitled to rank foremost as the organiser of victory is compelled to remain far from the battlefield. I refer to General Sukhowlinoff, the Russian Kitchener, who is reorganising the Russian armies. Thanks to him the Tsar's armies are irreproachably equipped."—From the Correspondent of the "Times" in Petrograd, August 24th, 1914.

Sukhowlinoff, twelve months later, was dismissed for incompetency. Under the heading "Stonewalling and Steam-rolling," the Russian advance was alluded to as follows:—

"Russia has the most brilliant role in this war, and the success of the Allies depends very largely upon how she fills it. . . . Her armies are closing in upon Galicia, to hold distracted Austria in check, while in Russian Poland the main army moves on *via* Posen and Frankfurt-on-the-Oder to the Brandenburg Tor. Masses. Dense masses. Two million men in the front line and two million men assembling in the rear. . . . Remembering the seasons and all they mean, Russia must reach Berlin within a couple of months, and if at the end of that time our claws are still fast in the German armies in the west, and Serbia has still her teeth in Austria's back, the strategic and political object of the war will be achieved."—The Military Correspondent of the "Times," Saturday, August 29th, 1914.

As regards recruiting in England, the "Times" also at an early stage professed itself as well satisfied.

"The rush of recruits which has marked the second stage of enlistment during the last few days should gratify Lord Kitchener,

reassure the nervous and appease the indignant. Our young men are answering the call and presenting themselves for enrolment faster than the recruiting stations can deal with them."—"The Times" leading article, Saturday, September 5th, 1914.

A year later the "Times" was complaining of the millions of slackers in England.

The utter defeat of the Austro-Hungarians was foreshadowed in the following words:—

"A Russian force has crossed the crest of the Carpathians and is descending into the great Hungarian plain in pursuit of the fragments of the Austrian army. The advance thus announced has great political as well as military interest. . . . The Hounded, the Hungarian national troops which bar their path, are practically first line troops, but are not likely to resist very effectually a determined Russian movement upon Budapest. . . . There can be little doubt that the Russian army can now reach Budapest without heavy opposition if it desires to do so."—"The Times" leading article, Wednesday, September 30th, 1914. The impregnability of Antwerp was commented upon in the same article:—

"The Germans are said to be making ostentatious preparations for attacking Antwerp. . . . The defence of Antwerp rests upon the field army even more than upon the forts, and the army should be equal to any demands made upon it. Moreover, the ultimate defenders of Antwerp are the allied armies upon the Aisne, the Oise, and the Somme, which should not be long tied to their present positions. Once the German line in France gives way we shall probably hear little more about besieging Antwerp."—"The Times," Wednesday, September 30th, 1914.

The impregnability of Antwerp was again commented upon in the issue of October 1st:—

"Even if the biggest German siege guns were brought up, and if the forts were knocked to pieces, we doubt whether the enemy would find themselves very much nearer the Place Verte. Antwerp is not so much a fortress as a fortified position, and the field entrenchments ought to be able to hold out for a very long time. The Belgians are holding one of the strongest places in Europe, they must have at least 120,000 troops at their disposal, they possess an open seaport, they have only second line troops against them, their outer defensive works are the newest and most formidable of all, and they know that the huge armies of the Allies are on the verge of victory and must within a limited time come to their rescue. We do not think that there is any need to worry about Antwerp."—"The Times" leading article, Thursday, October 1st, 1914.

Under the heading of "Russia Ready to Strike," the onward march of the Russians was referred to as follows:—

"The steady and irresistible movement of our Russian Ally is the most majestic feature of the war. The march of the Russian armies is like the flow of a great river in flood. They pass onward with a magnificent inevitability which impresses the whole world. . . . To try and stop the tide of Russian soldiery now is like trying to hold back the sea when the dykes have broken down."—"The Times" leading article, Saturday, October 3rd, 1914.

The situation was becoming a terrible one for Germany. The Russians were within 20 miles of Cracow and Thorn, whilst East Prussia was once more about to be overrun.

"They (the Germans) are not enough to hold the Russians back, and Germany has to choose between the invasion of her own territory and the abandonment of part of her pretensions in the West. It is a hard choice to make, and possibly the inevitable decision will come too late."—Military Correspondent of the "Times," Friday, Nov. 13th, 1914.

In a leading article Mr. Belloc was praised for insisting on this point of view:—

"The principal business of the Allies, Mr. Belloc rightly says, is to defeat the German armies in the field; but if they can strike at the manufacturing provinces they will be dealing a vital blow at Germany's continued resistance. We think this view is so sound and important that it must take a prominent place in any speculations about the future course of the war."—"The Times," Friday, November 13th, 1914.

German strategy was severely criticised about this time by the Military Correspondent of the "Times."

"German strategy has been poor. It has never long continued in one stay. It has shown signs of diversified counsels. . . . There has been no evidence of ability in the German command. . . . Moltke—the great Moltke—would be back on the Rhine in the West, but such a decision is not to be expected of the present German command, which is mainly governed by military pride. . . . When the Preohajensky Guards are approaching Potsdam and some Cossack ataman is riding through the Brandenburg gate, the ultimate German schoolboys and old men of the Landsturm will still be found breaking their necks upon the granite walls of the Western Allies.—Military Correspondent of the "Times," Wednesday, November 18th, 1914.

That it was right to look to Russia for an invasion of Germany was emphasised as follows:—

"If it has been customary in the West to look hopefully towards Russia as destined to accomplish the first great invasion, there are good military reasons for this sanguine expectation. . . . The real reason why so many hopes are built upon the Russian advance is that whereas the line of the Rhine has become the most formidable military obstacle in Europe, the Eastern frontier of Germany is far more vulnerable."—"The Times," Tuesday, November 24th, 1914.

In December the invasion of Hungary was prophesied as certain in the spring:—

"Hungary already sees very clearly the fate that awaits her in the spring. . . . By the time the snows are melting, the Hungarian plains will be open to the invader, and there will be no turning back until the domes and spires of Budapest are in sight. When that day dawns Austria-Hungary can expect no help from Germany."—"The Times," Wednesday, December 16th, 1914.

Although about this time Mr. Hilaire Belloc warned the public about the seriousness of the position in the East, the "Times" continued to head its correspondents' messages:—

"AUSTRIAN ROUT IN GALICIA.

ARMY IN FULL RETREAT."

("Times," Monday, December 28th, 1914.)

"THE MASTERY OF THE CARPATHIANS."

"CHIEF PASSES IN RUSSIAN HANDS."

("The Times," Tuesday, December, 29th, 1914.)

On December 30th the leading article, under the heading of "Germany Held Fast," dwelt upon the fact that the situation on all fronts was favourable from the point of view of the Allies.

Throughout the months of January, February, March, and April of 1915 it was the same. On April 8th the Military Correspondent of the "Times" waxed witty at the plight of the German General Staff:—

"Since the collapse of the great Austro-German offensive against Russia the German Higher Command has been in a state of suspended animation. It has almost forgotten to announce victories which never happened,



The enemy is clearly puzzled and does not know what to be at next."

Again:—

"Rather pricked bubbles most of these German leaders. Von Falkenhayn's genial plan of encircling 3,000,000 Russians by 2,000,000 Austro-Germans has smiled neither on Euclid nor on the multiplication table. Hindenburg has prescribed all his recipes for beating Russians, but none of them has worked. Von Mackenson's corps lost half their strength in their joy-ride to Warsaw.

The Austrian Grand Dukes struggle manfully in the mountains, or at least their men do, with a tendency to backwardness, and the supply of single tickets from Hungary to Vienna has run out. Kusmanek is a captive, and poor Potiorek, they unkindly say, is mad. Back comes Von der Goltz from the rather less Golden Horn than usual and with legends of multitudinous Turkish armies, but nobody minds him."

After a reference to the fact that the Germans were in a clear inferiority to the extent of a million men in the West, and that a similar state of affairs prevailed in the East, the Military Correspondent indulged in more sarcastic humour as follows:—

"What on earth is to be done? Can we attack? If so, where? What course shall we take if the defensive has become inevitable? How about President Wilson? Is the Peace Palace at the Hague ready for occupation?"

The preponderance of force necessary for an invasion of hostile territory was stated to have gone from Germany, and her weak points were mercilessly exposed:—

"The weak point of the German position, exclusive of certain sectors in the West, is the Austrian front. Hungary is exposed to an enveloping attack, and both Budapest and Vienna are liable to danger."—Military Correspondent of the "Times," Thursday, April 8th, 1915.

In all this there was no sign of the prescience which the Harmsworth Press would have us believe should have been available if the reverses of this year were to have been avoided. The above extracts, filled as they are with wit and optimism, appeared within three weeks of the great Austro-German offensive on the Duvajec. If the "Times" would have us believe that offensive should have been foreseen and prepared for in London, its Military Correspondent certainly gave no hint of it in advance.

Afterwards it was easy to be wise. This sort of wisdom, however, has been shown on many occasions by the "Times," as can be proved also by extracts from its articles on the Balkan situation before the decision of Bulgaria became known to the world.

The "Times," from which the above extracts are taken, was tame in comparison with other English papers. The "Morning Post" during the whole of the terrible Russian retreat lasting from May to October, assured its readers day after day that the Russians were luring the Austro-Germans on into a trap. The placards of the Dublin daily Press shrieked victories by the hundred.

Yet there are simpletons who believe in the reports in the English and Irish newspapers.

**D. M'CULLOUGH,**  
Music Dealer and War Pipe Manufacturer,  
8 HOWARD STREET, BELFAST.

**BUSINESS AS USUAL**

## IRELAND'S POVERTY.

(Continued from page 3.)

Irish commerce in the supposed interests of British industry. When the American Colonies revolted, the Irish seized the opportunity to attack the authority which the British Parliament claimed. In 1783 Britain's fortune was at a low ebb, and fear compelled the British Parliament to yield. . . . In the same book ('Two Centuries of Irish History,' edited by Bryce) Dr. Sigerson, who wrote the history of Ireland during Grattan's Parliament, describes fully the extraordinary revival of Irish industry, which was destroyed by the Union.

. . . In 1785 a great effort was made to establish fair trade relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Eleven resolutions, intended to form the basis of a commercial treaty between the two islands, were passed in the Irish Parliament. . . . The resolutions were returned to Ireland with conditions attached which prohibited Irish trade from passing the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. . . . In spite of this failure and in spite of the want of adequate protection for Irish manufactures, Ireland was prosperous. . . . Abandoned by Parliament, Irish patriotism enforced the sternest form of protection, absolute prohibition. . . . Dr. Sigerson and Dr. Bridges are agreed in attributing the ruin of Irish manufactures to the system of free trade which was introduced with the Union in 1800. The Irish tariff was gradually reduced, possibly in order to arrest a sudden catastrophe . . . and with the tariff and bounties Irish manufactures passed away. It is often urged that Ireland has been unfairly treated in financial arrangements made with Great Britain, and that her poverty arises from this cause. But Ireland's great loss was experienced when her manufactures were ruined, and the inequality in financial relations is due mainly to the increase of wealth in Great Britain and its decrease in Ireland. . . . Obeying, as they thought, the teaching of Christ, our ancestors used to prohibit the export of grain in famine years, keeping it to feed the starving. . . . There is no evidence of the need in England being more dire than in Ireland at the time of the Great Famine; in fact, everyone knows that the distress was confined to Ireland. Yet when the potato crop failed and Irishmen and Irishwomen were dying of famine, in obedience to the teachings of British economists, there was no prohibition on the exportation of foodstuffs from Ireland. Grain, meat, and even potatoes were freely shipped to England, and the Irish were literally murdered by free trade. During the last sixty years economists have succeeded in reducing the population of Ireland to half its former number. . . . (XVIII. passim.)

"This folly, however, seems almost trifling when contrasted with Peel's action in 1846. Then the Irish Famine was made the excuse for depriving Irish farmers of their protected market in Great Britain, a market for which Ireland had paid dearly by the ruin of her manufactures." (XIX. 16.)

"Emigration, the remedy for Irish distress which Cobden had advocated in 1835, was now systematically tried. The Insurrection of 1848 was sternly suppressed. Coercion Acts and

Encumbered Estates Acts were passed to facilitate the removal of ruined tenants and ruined landlords from the soil of Ireland. The market was glutted by this forced sale of Irish land, and business men, who were prepared to work the land on the principles of the Manchester school, picked up excellent bargains. In order to work the land on business lines, the ruined peasantry were evicted during the great clearances. In a very large number of cases death solved the difficulties which economists had created; but many evicted tenants sailed for the United States in ships which private enterprise, unfettered by Government inspection, provided. The horrors of this emigration were only equalled in the worst days of the slave trade: 89,783 persons altogether embarked for Canada in 1847. The Chief Secretary for Ireland reported with regard to these that 6,100 perished on the voyage, 4,100 on arrival, 5,200 in hospital, 1,900 in towns to which they repaired." (XXX. 18.)

"When Gladstone tried to make the umbrella cover the Irish as well as the English, the task proved impossible. . . . The increase in the population of Great Britain and the decrease in the population of Ireland prove, more forcibly than words, that Britain's gain has been Ireland's loss, and explains why Gladstone failed when he tried to deal with the problem of Ireland." (XXIX. 14, 15.)

These extracts cover a period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, and the writer further admits that the pernicious policy was still in force in 1907.

If anyone is deceived by the veil in which the resources of civilisation have wrapped the policy to-day, he has only to exercise his memory. He need not dwell on the blow at Queenstown as a port of call, nor the undue injury to the cattle trade inflicted as a result of the foot-and-mouth disease with its mysterious origin. It will suffice to take two instances with which is connected the name of a chief of a Government Department who is stumping the country expressing the most laudable sentiments in connection with the development of agriculture. After the outbreak of the war the English Press went into ecstasies at the prospect of the establishment of a sugar refining industry. They flattered themselves that they would emulate the action of Napoleon in France. A Northern M.P. wrote to Mr. T. W. Russell regarding the facilities for such an industry in Ireland. Mr. Russell's reply was published in the press. He admitted that the soil and climate in Ireland were admirably suited for the growing of beet, but he added "the Irish farmer prefers to grow turnips to beet, and for economic reasons it would be hard to say he was wrong!" The economic reason to which Mr. Russell referred was that Ireland's gain would be England's loss. With this sophistry and this high conception of his duty towards the Irish farmer the question of a sugar refining industry for Ireland was settled.

We in the country were gladdened when we heard the news that a glass factory was to be established in Dublin with the assistance of Belgian exports. We grew suspicious when Mr. T. W. Russell announced that he was "facilitating" the Belgians in their experi-



ments to prove that white glass could be made from Irish sand. As if every Irishman does not know that glass-making was a thriving industry in Ireland until it was destroyed by England, and that the secret of the wonderful Waterford glass is not yet discovered, because it died with the ruined proprietors. When Mr. T. W. Russell later announced that he had sent the Belgian refugees to the English glass manufacturing centre in St. Helens—to prove that white glass could be made from Irish sand—we knew the fate of the glass industry was settled also. No further announcements were made, and we made no further inquiries.

Father Peter O'Leary in his autobiography tells a story of the famine. A family in his neighbourhood was reduced to dire straits. One evening they stretched themselves in their weakness on the kitchen floor. The coldness of death came over the child, who with the father, mother and brother, a stalwart young man, constituted the family. The young man arose, went into the fields of a neighbouring farmer, slew a head of cattle, and provided a meal for his parents and himself. Not many days elapsed until the parents as well as the son were locked in prison for this heinous crime. That family is symbolic of Ireland to-day, except that the children Eire has lost must be counted in millions and not in units. And it is symbolic of the times that some honest sons of Eire are behind prison bars. X.

## IRELAND and CONSCRIPTION.

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Feb. 6—The Bruce Invasion ... Áit ó Spriobca  
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„ 20—Celtic and Irish Law and its Administration ... Eoin Mac Néill  
Mar. 5—The Leinster Tribute ... Cú Ulaó

„ 19—Ireland and the Spanish Armada ... Arthur Griffith  
„ 26—The Battle of Benburb ... Capt. ó Conaill

Apl. 2—Irish Military Organisation ... Eoin Mac Néill  
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# THE IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

Vol. 2. No. 52 (New Series).

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1915.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

## NOTES

Various reports of cases of economic pressure exercised by employers on men are going the rounds. Some people seem to think that it is enough to report such reports. It is not enough. They ought to be verified. The facts should be at once reduced to writing and properly attested. I am told of one Dublin firm which has dismissed or threatened to dismiss fifteen young men, but this has only reached me as a carried story.

Most people in Ireland are so thoroughly accustomed to see through pretences and regard only facts that they entirely accept the position that constitutional government and civic rights exist here only in name. They take the violation of their rights by Government, its officials, and its privateer instruments, as a matter of course, just what the mere Irish have to expect. If a policeman, on Castle instructions or on the instructions of any underling of the Hicks variety, walks into a country shopkeeper's place, or even into a shop in one of our large country towns, and demands to be informed what customers are supplied with certain newspapers, or goes so far as to say that it would be better for the shopkeeper not to keep certain publications for sale, such outrageous and illegal behests are not seldom received with submission. The thing is itself a complete illustration of the character of the Government to which, Dr. Starkie says, hostility is a greater crime than to neglect the morals of school-children. I say, on the contrary, that hostility to such Government is a public and private duty, and that a National Teacher who would teach his pupils to refuse submission to such lawless forms of Government would be acting well within his duty and his rights. If Dublin Castle sent a policeman to Dr. Starkie to demand information of what papers Dr. Starkie bought or read, or to threaten Dr. Starkie that it

would be better for him not to buy this or that paper, I am perfectly certain that Dr. Starkie would have sufficient zeal for the protection of his own liberty to tell that policeman to mind his proper business—even though political prejudice might make Dr. Starkie disposed to accept a privy commission from Dublin Castle to execute decrees when the Castle itself shirked their execution. For a man who will not suffer the oppression of his own rights may make himself a volunteer bailiff to oppress the rights of others when it gratifies his own political animus.

The humblest citizen in Ireland is under no obligation to answer questions by the Government or by any agent of the Government, unless such questions are put under the authority of a legal tribunal or of an express statute. If questions are put without such authority, and answers demanded as though the Government were entitled to them, it is a public duty to refuse any answer, because every compliance with an unlawful demand of the Government is aiding and abetting the illegality of the Government and strengthening the Government in its policy of oppressing the rights of citizens. If any Government agent threatens a citizen with vague or definite consequences for doing what the citizen has a legal right to do, or for not doing what he has a legal right to refuse to do, then to submit to such a threat is a surrender of liberty.

It is quite true that we are not free in Ireland. There is only one freedom in Ireland and that is for those who make themselves the allies and adherents of the tyranny. But we should exercise constant pressure for the recovery of their freedom in all things, small as well as great. It is a mistake to dispise the small things. It is making the game easy for the oppressors. A powerful tyranny may be able to withhold the higher liberty of a nation, it can never resist the unrelenting pressure of millions who are determined to have more and

more of their rightful liberty in personal and local matters, until they have it all. We Irish have been contending since O'Connell's time for the recovery of more or less of our rights and liberties as a Nation, and all the time we have tamely suffered the systematic infringement of our rights as citizens, acquiescing in every sort of minor oppression and illegality. In my opinion, that is a bad policy. People who have learned to disregard the liberty of the individual make bad material for winning the liberty of the nation.

## MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

We regret that pressure on our space prevents us from reporting a series of splendid meetings which have been held all over the country in honour of the Manchester Martyrs.

In Dublin the Round Room of the Mansion House was packed to overflowing, and hundreds were unable to gain admission. Eoin Mac Neill presided, and Bulmer Hobson delivered the oration.

In Cork Sean Mac Diarmada and A. Newman addressed the biggest meeting held there for years.

In Waterford, A. Newman; in Carrickmacross, P. H. Pearse; in Belfast, Rev. Father O'Flanagan, and in Strabane, O'Rahilly, spoke.

The great meeting held in Athenry recently and other events of importance to the Irish Volunteers have also been crushed out, but it is hoped that arrangements can now be made to reporting the progress of the I.V. from week to week.

## THE GAELIC LEAGUE.

Readers should make a point of attending the lecture which will be delivered in the Hall, 25 Parnell Square, on Sunday next, the 5th inst. The lecture will be delivered by Arthur Griffiths, who will deal with "The English Invasion of 1167." Tickets (3d. each) may be obtained at door on night of lecture.



## Hedge-Fighting for Small Units

### DIRECTION OF THE FENCES.

At first sight it might not seem that the direction of the fences could make very much difference to the conduct of a fight, but a closer examination will show that it must have a very big effect. Taking the direction of the defender's front as a standard of classification, we find that fences can be divided into three classes.

1. Those parallel to the defender's front. These obviously favour the defender. They are nothing more nor less than so many successive obstacles to the advance, and so many successive positions to be occupied by the defenders.

2. Those perpendicular to the defender's front. These favour the side that knows how to use them best. They may be used to screen a small party of the attacking force filing along towards a point whence it hopes to enfilade a part of the defender's line. Or, on the other hand, a sniper well posted at the angle may single-handed terribly punish any such attempt.

3. Those which are neither parallel nor perpendicular to the defender's front, but run diagonally. These to a large extent favour the attacker, because he can advance along his own side of the diagonal—which thus serves the purpose of a covered approach—trench in siege warfare. Of course, a fence of this type equally helps out the defender counter-attacking along his side of the diagonal. The aim should always be to use a diagonal fence leading beyond the section of the line to be attacked.

When firing from behind a wall or bank it will often be found useful to rest the rifle on the parapet, pressing the butt well into the shoulder **with the left hand**. In this position the soldier can get much closer up to the cover, and his head and shoulders are better protected. The piece is naturally very steady in such a case, and very little training will enable the men to fire comfortably in that manner whether standing or kneeling.

### CHAPTER II.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF ROADS.

It stands to reason that in enclosed country all movements of large bodies of troops are confined to the roads. This is the case with all artillery and wagons, and with practically all the cavalry and infantry. Naturally, then, control of the roads would be much more important in Ireland than in a country where large formed bodies could move direct across country. This is equally the case for the defender as for the attacker. The latter must control a road if he seeks to advance along it, but the former must

also control it if for his part he wants to prevent the other passing along it. Especially important is the case of a cross-roads. If an advancing enemy can get hold of an important road junction, he secures power to move in any direction he pleases. But if the defender anticipates him at the cross-roads he is absolutely held up on that section of the front; besides the defender has so many choices of direction for his counter-attack.

#### ROADS AS POSITIONS.

It might sometimes happen that the road itself might be suitably held in a tactical way. The roads are often so strongly enclosed as to present formidable firing-positions against an enemy advancing across country. In that case the road is a very suitable avenue for bringing up reinforcements, ammunition, etc., and for the evacuation of the wounded. It is in fact a regular covered-way. Commonly it will be easier to hold a by-road than a main road in this way: the concealment may be better, and it is more difficult for artillery to range on. Even if a lateral road is not held as a fire-position, it may be found useful as a station at which to hold reserves concentrated. Special care should be taken in this case to prevent hostile snipers working round and firing into these bodies, as the author has seen done on a field-day with ruinous effect. Supports or reserves concentrated on a road in rear should be kept lying down on the sides of the road as much as possible under cover.

#### SKIRMISHES FOR CROSS-ROADS.

Some of the fiercest combats would take place for the possession of cross-roads, and the attack and defence of these require careful study. The best method for defending a cross-roads is to occupy a position adjoining from which the road junction proper can be swept by fire at close range. Such a position will be almost everywhere available, and is much more effective than to hold the roads themselves, for in that case your exact situation is known to the enemy. Patrols should be pushed out along the roads. In the case of the attacker, his first care, after securing possession of his objective, should be to secure himself against a counter-attack. His troops should be instructed to instantly take up the best cover they can get, and make sure of the ground they hold without trying to press forward until that is secure.

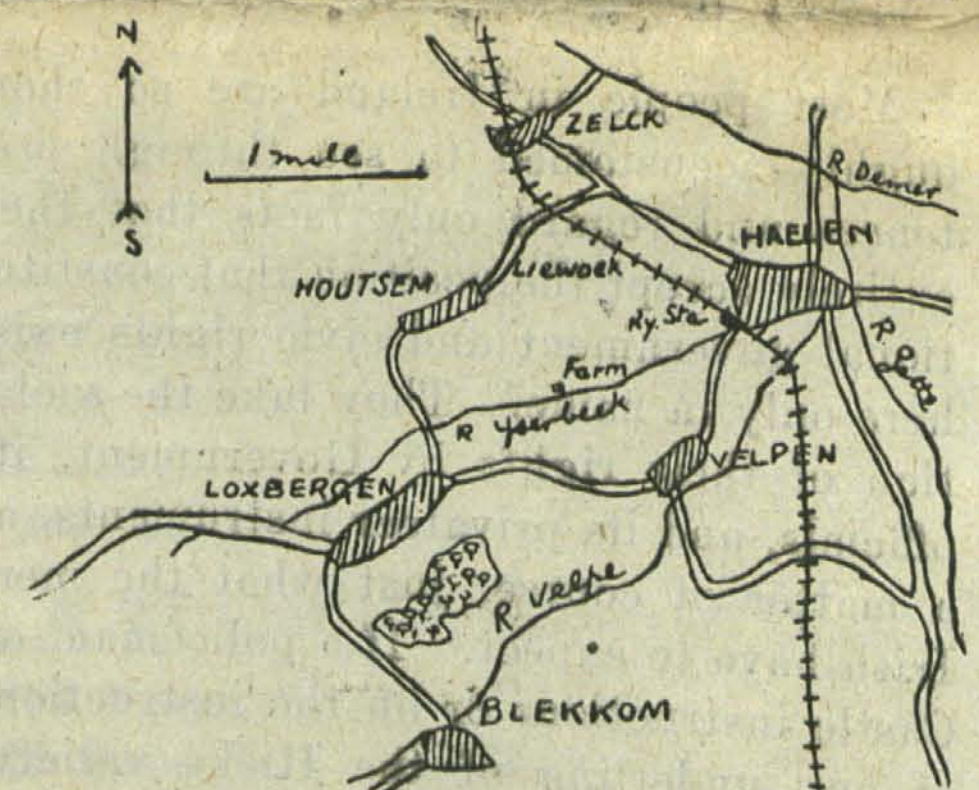
Other instances might occur where it would be necessary for a small force to hold a road at all hazards. For example, a section of pikemen might be required to hold a bridge against cavalry: in this case barricades of thorn bushes or the like might be found very useful. Similar barricades, trip-wires, etc., are very useful to block a dark section of a road at night; and should be frequently resorted to.

Occasionally—as in the case of most roads over bogs—the road is raised and straight and unfenced. It is then liable to be swept by fire, and any force advancing along it may be stopped by a few picked shots posted at one end.

## Operations of Belgian Cyclist Troops

The excellent account of the operations of the Belgian Army compiled by the Commander-in-Chief gives some very instructive particulars of the work of their cyclists in the first operations of the war. The action at Haelen especially gives a very notable example of their usefulness. There the Germans numbered 4,000 cavalry, 2,000 riflemen and 18 guns against 2,400 sabres, 410 cyclists and 12 guns. The engagement took place on August 12th. The Belgian account runs thus:

"The enemy attacked at about 8.30 a.m., employing dismounted cavalry in some force, as well as riflemen. For nearly two hours the 3rd Coy. of Carabineer Cyclists held them in check, supported at about 9.30 by the 1st Coy. posted at the south of the village. But at about 10 o'clock the German artillery came into action, and its fire soon rendered the outskirts of Haelen untenable,



ENGAGEMENT AT HAELEN

while the enemy was considerably reinforced. The Carabineer Cyclists, after blowing up the bridge, retired on to the railway line, where they continued the action until noon.

"At that moment four squadrons were deployed in rear of the 1st and 3rd Coys. of Cyclists about the farm of Yserbeek; on their left was the 1st H.A. Battery, escorted by two squadrons of the 5th Lancers, the two other battalions being in echelon north-east of Hontsem. The flanks were protected at Zelck by a squadron of the 4th Lancers and two platoons of cyclists, and at Velpen by two squadrons of the 2nd Guides. Three squadrons of the 1st Guides were in reserve at the edge of the Blekkom Woods.

"At noon the enemy attacked simultaneously Zelck and the railway station at Haelen. He was driven back at Zelck, and came under artillery and machine-



gun fire at Haelen. He then brought up fresh troops and threatened to turn the cyclists, who thereupon retired slowly towards the farm of Yserbeek.

"It was about 1 p.m. when an attack was launched against the cyclists; dense lines of riflemen debouched from Haelen; the cyclists who had been fighting for nearly five hours fell back. Immediately a squadron of dragoons appeared and charged them; it was destroyed by rifle fire. The charge was repeated twice, and each time met with the same fate. The enemy then put in his reserves, which deployed on the front Velpen to Liebrseck, supporting his riflemen everywhere by numerous machine guns, while his artillery engaged the 1st Horse Battery energetically. The farm of Yserbeek was attacked and taken, and the enemy's success seemed to be assured——"

"But at 3 p.m. four battalions of infantry and three field batteries arrived from Heacendover after a forced march of 16 miles. This, of course, turned the matter of numbers overwhelmingly in favour of the Belgians, with the result that the Germans were driven off into the village of Haelen, where they managed to maintain themselves. The noteworthy points are the use of cyclists to protect the flanks, their capacity to occupy position after position very close behind one another, and how much greater is their ability to get instantly into action dismounted than that of cavalry in the same case?"

"Haelen was a case of successful employment of cyclists in a big conflict of advanced guards: the other instances of their operations were on a smaller scale. "On August 13th at Boneffe a German detachment consisting of 300 sabres, 400 cyclists and some machine guns, had established itself to the north of that village, and was surprised and dispersed by two Belgian squadrons and two Cyclist companies." This time the Belgians would be considerably inferior in numbers, but had the incalculable advantage of surprise. On August 18th "at Diest two platoons of cyclists and a company of pioneers held their own for an hour and a half against a brigade of all arms;" but here the position was strong and the attack subsidiary.

Finally in the sorties from Antwerp the Cyclists were of the highest value for raiding purposes, as the following will abundantly prove: "The railway system of the country provided the enemy with great facilities for supplying and transporting his troops. The Belgian Army Command wished to interfere with this; and accordingly ordered the formation of seven detachments each consisting of 100 cyclist volunteers, intended to carry out demolitions of the railway lines in the region occupied by the enemy. On the 22nd September these parties left Antwerp, each having a special zone of

operations assigned to it. The greater part succeeded in getting through the German lines and in reaching the selected points, where they cut the principal railway lines of Limbourg, Brabant and Hainaut, causing considerable disturbance to the enemy's transport. Most of these detachments were able to rejoin the army, but some came in contact with the German troops and were surrounded or surprised.

### The Crossmaglen Conspiracy

(Continued.)

Of the six less important witnesses, the remaining three were policemen. One of these was Constable Martin, in charge of Silverbridge Barracks, adjoining Mr. McGough's residence. Yet, in his evidence, there was not a word about protecting that gentleman, or about any suspicion of his being in danger. He swore that from instructions, and information received, he kept a watch on the prisoner, Nugent, who frequently visited his district (Nugent lived only a mile from his district, and his wife was a native of it); but that he never saw him at night but once, when he was alone. This constable testified likewise that in his judgment the burning of McCullagh's mill, the only outrage pretended, at any of these trials, to have been committed in the Crossmaglen locality, was undoubtedly accidental. That it was manifestly so, and the result of McCullagh's own neglect, was decided by more than one Grand Jury and by other tribunals. Moreover, it had occurred months before the pretended establishment of the Patriotic Brotherhood. A good deal more will be heard of it as we proceed. The next of these three policemen was Sub-Constable Dempsey. Same that unexpectedly, and to the great disappointment of the police and Castle lawyers, his evidence helped to fix irrevocably in favour of the prisoners and against the Castle informer the pretended or alleged attempt to shoot Mr. Brooke on a Sunday, in July, 1881, to the 24th of the month—a thing which Mr. Brooke's evidence also did—there was nothing of importance in this policeman's evidence until the trials in Belfast. The third police witness, whose deposition at the time seemed of comparatively little importance, was Martin Phelan, then stationed at Silverbridge, but formerly under Constable Gartland at Crossmaglen. He produced in Court some hand printing and writing, both of which he had got the lad Michael Watters, now one of the prisoners, to do at his request in a harvest field, where young Watters had been working with his uncle and others on the 19th September, 1881. This, however, was the evidence that

was to prove subsequently that young Watters was the writer of certain threatening letters, as well as of the terrible documents, as we shall see, known as the "Crossmaglen Book," and Secretary also of the dynamite and murder society of the Crossmaglen Patriotic Brotherhood; his name being entered in the "Book" as such. This writing and hand-printing in the harvest field, which was certainly done by young Watters, was the only document that the Castle expert in hand-writing, Mr. Inglis, could not recognise at the Assizes as done by Michael Watters, because, forsooth, he was not told so by Major Blair, R.M., who had instructed him on the matter. But we will see more about this affair at the trials in Belfast. Save, then, that it will all be found valuable afterwards, as favouring the prisoners, the testimony of these six witnesses does not much concern us at present.

The evidence, on the contrary, of the pretended informer, Duffy, at this magisterial investigation, as well as that also of Constable Gartland, architect-in-chief of the Crossmaglen Conspiracy, must be given in full. This is so for two very special reasons. The first is that this will enable us to exhibit and to dispose beforehand of some striking examples of the huge mass of perjury we will have to handle at the Assizes in Belfast; the second, that it will enable us to see and realise for ourselves how wonderfully the Crown evidence changed and altered, grew and multiplied, as the trials proceeded, and exactly as the pressing exigencies of the Castle lawyers required that it should change, grow, and multiply.

In like manner, as Dr. Boyd was sent down specially from Dublin to conduct this case to a successful issue for the Castle, it will be necessary to watch and examine, with something of a scrutinising and critical eye and mind, his mode of procedure; particularly as regards the documents known afterwards as the Crossmaglen and Mullaghbawn Books. For it will be seen that these forged and fabricated documents were the evidence on the pretended genuineness of which the poor prisoners were wrongfully convicted in the end. The deceitful legal artifices, and dishonest Castle quibbles by which their bogus entries and other contents were kept secret and made evidence against the prisoners, without the possibility of examination and refutation, which would otherwise have been quite easy in the case, are therefore altogether as important as even the forgeries and perjuries, if not, indeed, a great deal more so.

(To be continued.)

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## HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN

Tionól do bí ag Comhairle Shóta Féinne fáil ina nDúnport tráchtóna D. Céardaoim an 24ú lá de'n mí ro agus an tOide Eoin Mac Néill, Uachtarán, ina ádairleas oiréa.

Do léigead na gnáth-tuairgseála ar cúrraib Oirúighe, Oirúighe, Oileanna, Armála, Feara, agus Aisio, agus do rocuigead a lán ceirteann do bain leo.

Do príot cunntair ó timtírib agus ó múinteoirib atá ag obair i gConntaetib áta Cliaí, Cille Mannáin, Cille Dara, Ceataraí, Cille Coinnig, Tiobraid Árann, Corcaige, Luimnig, na Gallimhe, agus an Cábáin.

Dothairt Riardaí an Oirúighe go raibear ag glaoí ag timtírib ina lán áiteann agus nárb' féidir fearat ar gac aon áit toirg san a nódáin timtírib do beir ag an gComhairle Shóta. Do haontuigead go n-ainmneóirí a tuill-eaó timtírib dá mbeaó fianna na gConntae ina mbeirí ag obair fáirta dul pá eirí de'n córtar.

Dothairt Riardaí na nOileanna go raib clár Sgrúdaí na nOifigeaó beag-naé réir 7 go mbeaó gearr go gclóbaileirí e.

Do haontuigead go n-éanfaíre áireamh ar an luét tráctála atá ag imirt éigin ar a luét oibre toirg beir ra bfeinn nó d'aon tuirar cum a eirí d'fíadaib oiréa dul i n-áimh Gall, agus go b'fíadaib do'n bfeinn agus dá cáiríob san áirgeaó do eirí i b'fíadaib an áireama réamháiríre.

Do rinnead tagairt do luét Conganta na Féinne agus do haontuigead náir móir glaoí ag a bfuil de cáiríob ag fiannaib fáil i n-éirínn ceangal leir an áruing rin mar taca leir na fiannaib.

Dúnport na Féinne,

Át Cliaí, 24 Sam., 1915.

ainmnighe.

SLUAG ÁTA CLIAÍ.

An Céad Cat.

An Lear-Captaon Ioc. P. Ó Dálaig cum beir ina Ceann Innealltóiríreáta.

An Ceann Roinne Éamonn Ó Morcáin cum beir ina Máor Campa Conganta.

AN DARA CAT.

Complaet D.

An Lear-Captaon Uac. Peatarr Ó Ragallag cum beir ina Captaon.

An Lear-Captaon Ioc. L. Mac Ionhpaic cum beir ina Lear-Captaon Uac.

An tÓglac Miceál Ó Murchada cum beir ina Lear-Captaon Ioc.

AN TREAS CAT.

Complaet E.

An Lear-Captaon Uac. L. Tannam cum beir ina Ceann Complaetá.

RÁTORAIC MAC PIARAIS,

Ceann Cata.

Riardaí an Oirúighe.

Dúnport na Féinne,

Át Cliaí, 24 Sam., 1915.

The Central Executive of the Irish Volunteers met at Headquarters on Wednesday evening, 24th inst., Professor Eoin Mac Néill, President, in the chair.

The usual reports on Organisation, Recruiting, Training, Arming, Communications, and Finance were submitted and a number of questions arising out of them discussed.

Reports were received from organisers and organising instructors operating in Cos. Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Galway, and Cavan.

The Director of Organisation reported that applications for organisers were being received from many parts of the country, but could not be attended to, the Headquarters organising staff not being large enough to cope with all the demands that were being made upon it. It was agreed to increase the staff provided county units were willing to bear portion of the expense of organisation in their respective areas.

The Director of Training reported that the revised programme of Examinations for Officers was nearly ready and would shortly be printed.

It was decided to compile a list of the business firms which are penalising their employees for being members of the Irish Volunteers or with a view to forcing them to join the British Army, and that Volunteers and their friends should be called upon not to support such firms.

Reference was made to the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary, and it was agreed that all sympathisers with the Irish Volunteers unable for any reason to drill should be asked to join the Auxiliary as the most effective means of supporting the movement.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 24th Nov., 1915.

## AN CUMANN COSANTA.

All Irish Volunteers are expected to join An Cumann Cosanta, which insures its members against dismissal by their employers on account of their political opinions.

Volunteers who are not themselves in danger of dismissal will help others by joining.

Particulars from the Secretary, Headquarters.

## THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS' AUXILIARY.

Every sympathiser with the Irish Volunteers who is unable to drill should join the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary. It is the most effective means of giving the Irish Volunteers the moral and material backing which they need.

Particulars from the Secretary, Headquarters.

## Notes from Headquarters

## STRIKING BACK.

The Executive has been considering ways and means of striking back at the anti-Irish employers who are victimising employees on account of membership of the Irish Volunteers or with a view to forcing them into the British army. One obvious step has already been decided upon. A list of such employers will be kept, and Irish Volunteers and their friends will be asked **not to deal with them**. Clean Irishmen will support their friends, not their foes.

## TWO WAYS OF HELPING.

An Cumann Cosanta and the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary can be used as powerful aids in the fight against coercion. The Executive reminds every Volunteer of his duty to join An Cumann Cosanta, and every friend of the Volunteers (who cannot drill with a Company) of his duty to join the Auxiliary. It is not merely victims and potential victims that are wanted in the Cumann. Everyone that joins helps the victims and does his bit to smash the coercionists. As for the Auxiliary, if properly supported it will double the influence of the Volunteers, strengthening their hands in the fight against conscription and coercion, and helping them to complete their armament. As noted last week, priests are thronging into the Auxiliary, an excellent sign.

## CORK IN THE VAN.

Cork is magnificent. In almost every corner of the county the Irish Volunteers are establishing themselves firmly. There are five organised Battalions in the Brigade, and training is being carried on eagerly in every Battalion district. Three new Companies were started last week in one small area. Much of the good work is due to the fiery energy of the Cork City Battalion, which spreads itself over the whole county every Sunday.

## LIMERICK MOVES.

Limerick County has been long ripe for a forward move, and the move has come. A whole area in the west county is organising itself, and linking up with the already well-organised district round Limerick City. Very shortly Clare is to be roused.

## THE SOUTH-EAST.

Kilkenny and Carlow are being brought into line, and, when properly organised, will be put into close touch with the Wexford Brigade. The fine spirit which is animating the South and West is yet to seek here, but it is coming. Wexford itself plods steadily.



## A MILITARY CAUSERIE

### HOW BULGARIA MAKES WAR.

The average Irishman has probably very little realisation of what the Bulgarian army was like. He imagines that they were highly trained troops, uniformed and disciplined. They were not. They were most reservists taken straight from the farms, partially trained and slightly disciplined. They mostly wore their ordinary clothes, and had a certain amount of equipment, but had excellent rifles and plenty of ammunition, and were backed up by a most modern artillery. The great majority were very poor shots, but they were a nation in arms (every man from sixteen to sixty went to the front), and they were and are the greatest fighters in Europe.

When a nation in arms sets out on a definite task it sticks at nothing. Bulgaria commandeered everything she wanted for the war without scruple or hesitation. The Bulgarian farms were swept clear of everything that might be useful, and the women, children, and old men were left behind in empty homesteads. The English journalist who pitied these desolate people found his pity thrown away. These women gave their husbands, their sons, and their property courageously and willingly to the common cause. Thus the nation went to war.

The Bulgars, poor shots as they were, distrusted the rifle and loved the steel. It was all their officers could do to keep them back from those terrible bayonet

charges which won them their battles and cost them so heavily. When released they rushed over their own piled up dead into the face of trenches or artillery with the most desperate courage. The war cost this small nationality 70,000 men. But they won.

It will be interesting to note whether, in view of changed circumstances, the Bulgars will have lost their traditional affection for "that peculiarly British weapon," the bayonet. We shall probably soon hear of them scampering away, after the manner of certain other Huns, from the glittering steel in the hands of the British bulldog.

The Bulgarians published no casualty list during the war. The soft heart of the English journalist was sore-smitten at the cruelty of this, and he mentioned the matter to a Bulgarian officer. The answer he received is typical: "It is cruel, but it is necessary." That is the spirit in which Bulgaria fights. A nation when she is fighting has not time to weep. There is time enough afterwards. A nation fighting cannot count the cost. The sacrifice of young lives is cruel, but it is necessary.

This is the spirit in which a nation fighting for a great cause must fight. Our English journalist complacently remarks that England need not be too proud to learn a lesson from Bulgaria. Let Ireland with due humility learn hers.

E. O'D.

## Cumann na mBan

The Limerick Branch engaged Mr. Michael O'Callaghan, B.C., to give a lecture in their training hall recently. The subject was "Ireland and War." The various wars in which England engaged since Grattan's Parliament were dealt with, showing the consequences to England and Ireland respectively. The subject was most instructive, and made a very good impression on the audience, as can be judged by the large number of recruits who joined the Irish Volunteers immediately afterwards.

### NOTES ON TRAINING.

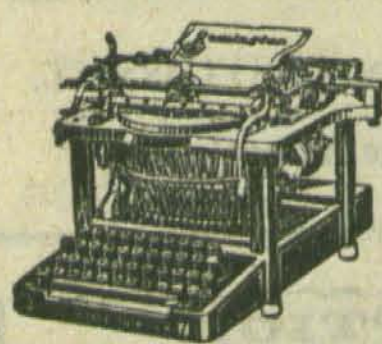
Branches should be formed into squads of 6, including squad leader. Six of the best signallers should form a special signalling squad. The rest of the squads should be comprised of First Aid and Home Nursing only. The squad leader should be chosen for having the best knowledge of the work in which the squad is engaged in. Two squads form a section, which is supervised by a Section Commander, who is also selected on merit only. The Branch Commandant will direct and supervise generally.

### MOBILISATION.

The Squad Commander should have the names and addresses of her squad, and the Section Commander should also have the names and addresses of the whole section.

The Commandant issues orders to the Section Commanders, who notify the Squad Commanders, whose duty it is to call up the members of their squads. When mobilisation orders are expected, members should leave word at home as to where they can be found, if they are going away from home. Quick mobilisation is most imperative, and should be practised often and at all hours, until you can bring out your branch on parade on the shortest possible notice.

Next week we will deal with squad training. In the meantime organise your branches in the way prescribed.



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## Nathanal Education.

The subjoined is a continuation of the correspondence which appeared last week.

Office of National Education,  
Dublin, 26th August, 1915.  
Co. Kerry. Roll, No. 12701. School—  
Filemore B.

REVEREND SIR—With reference to the letter of Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell, teacher of the above-named school, which was forwarded with your letter of the 21st inst., I am directed by the Commissioners of National Education to inform you that they must decline to enter into any discussion with Mr. O'Connell regarding the character and aims of the Irish Volunteer organisation.

I have again to remind Mr. O'Connell of the Commissioners' decision already communicated to him in regard to his active membership of the Irish Volunteers, and to advise him that if, within fourteen days, he does not furnish to them the required evidence of his resignation from the body in question, they will proceed to consider the question of his dismissal from the service.

The newspaper forwarded by Mr. O'Connell is herewith returned.—I am, reverend sir, your obedient servant,

W. J. DILWORTH,  
Secretary.

Very Rev. P. Canon Browne, P.P., V.F.,  
Cahiriveen.

1st Sept., 1915.

DEAR DR. STARKIE—I have just learned that your Department has ordered Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell, of Cahiriveen, under pain of deprivation, to cease all connection with the Irish Volunteer organisation, assigning the ground that this organisation "is openly hostile to the Government of Ireland and the recruitment for the forces of the Crown." I have further learned that Mr. O'Connell has replied to your Department pointing out that a large number of teachers under the control of your Board have been and still are permitted by the Board to become and remain members of the Ulster Volunteer Force, and that your official reply to him **refuses to discuss this point.**

I observe that, in assigning grounds for their order to Mr. O'Connell, your Department adopts a phraseology already found in letters of similar purport previously sent by several Government Departments in Dublin to their officials. It is evident that the action of these other Departments and of your office is directed from a common centre—namely, the Under Secretary's office in Dublin Castle.

Your charge against the Irish Volunteer organisation that it "is openly hostile to the Government of Ireland" takes the form, as you must fully appreciate, of a journalistic or electioneering political phrase. It deliberately avoids stating any offence or illegality known to the existing law. You must be well aware, and the high judicial authorities who are your colleagues on the Board must be able to confirm your recognition of the fact, that charges couched in such a form are themselves lawless and oppressive, and that to use such charges as the basis of penal action towards individuals, if it does not amount to unlawful conspiracy against the rights of individuals, is certainly a gross impropriety on the part of any person or persons holding public office.

Your Department does not substantiate either this charge or their second charge of "open hostility to recruitment for the forces of the Crown" by an atom of evidence. Public right demands that penal action, or even the threat

of penal action, on the part of a public authority shall have some better basis than the mere opinion of the individuals vested with authority. If you and your colleagues and others who hold like power for the time being are able to deprive public officials of their livelihood on no better grounds than that you have formed an opinion politically or otherwise adverse to the acts of your subordinates, you are clearly engaged in an invasion of public liberty, and your action is lawless, oppressive and intolerable.

It may be convenient for your Department to ignore Mr. O'Connell's point with regard to their attitude towards your subordinates who are connected with the Ulster Volunteer Force, but the point is nevertheless a valid one, and the public, you may be assured, will not allow it to be ignored. Unless absolute equality of treatment, as between these two bodies, the Irish Volunteers and the Ulster Volunteer Force, is scrupulously observed by your Department, your conduct here once more will appear plainly lawless and oppressive.

I write to you, because the action with which you are associated, as I apprehend, is not merely hostile to the liberty of your own subordinates. It is also hostile to my liberty and to the liberty of many thousands of my fellow-countrymen over whom you hold no power of penalisation. The right which your Board denies to Mr. O'Connell is the right to associate with me and others for objects which have never been legally impugned. Therefore, in attacking Mr. O'Connell, you attack me likewise and you oppress my liberty, though it is not in your power to oppress my livelihood.—I remain, dear Dr. Starkie, yours sincerely,

Eoin Mac Neill.

September 13, 1915.

DEAR PROFESSOR MAC NEILL—You say in your letter of 31st August last that it is evident that our action in the case of Mr. O'Connell, of Cahiriveen, has been directed from a common centre—namely, the Under Secretary's Office in Dublin Castle. This being so, it seems to me that your letter should have been addressed to Sir Matthew Nathan, and not to me. Though this is my view, I do not mind telling you that "absolute equality of treatment" is "scrupulously observed" by this department between the Irish Volunteers and the Ulster Volunteer Force, and I may also say, the National Volunteers. By the rules and practice of the Board, National Teachers are not permitted to connect themselves with any of these bodies.—I am, yours faithfully,

W. T. M. STARKIE.

It will, however be seen from Dr. Starkie's letter of October 4th that the Board's attitude was for the first time "defined by a resolution on August 31st last," nearly two months after the Board ordered Mr. O'Connell to be deprived of his salary.

B.O. 4.9.15. C.L. 1051/15.  
12701—Filemore Boys' Nat. School, Co. Kerry.  
Office of National Education,  
Dublin, 17th Sept., 1915.

SIR—Adverting to the communication addressed to you on the 9th July last regarding your membership of the Irish Volunteers, I am directed by the Commissioners of National Education to refer to subsequent correspondence on the subject through the manager of the above-named school, and to the fact that you have not yet furnished the assurance required by the Board.

The Commissioners now instruct me to acquaint you that salary will be withdrawn from you forthwith, unless you notify them on or before the 25th inst., that you have ceased your

connection with the body in question.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

N. W. BONAPARTE WYSE,  
Secretary.

Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell,  
Filemore Nat. School,  
Cahiriveen, Co. Kerry.

Co. Kerry. L. 15866/15.  
12701—Filemore Boys' National School.  
Office of National Education,  
Dublin, 23rd Sept., 1915.

SIR—In reply to your inquiry of the 21st inst., I am directed by the Commissioners of National Education to inform you that, as already advised to you, should you fail to comply with the condition specified in the letter addressed to you on the 17th inst., salary will be withdrawn from you forthwith as a teacher of the above-named school; and I am to state that you will be ineligible for further employment in any capacity in a National School without the special sanction of the Commissioners.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

N. W. BONAPARTE WYSE,  
Secretary.

Mr. Jeremiah O'Connell,  
Filemore Nat. School,  
Cahiriveen.

Roll No. 12701.  
Filemore B.N.S.,  
Cahiriveen, Sept. 24th, 1915.  
The Secretaries to the Commissioners National  
Education.

GENTLEMEN—I am in receipt of your letter of 17th inst., and also of your further communication of 23rd inst., both informing me that unless I sever my connection with the Irish Volunteers salary shall be withdrawn from me on 25th inst. My reply to this order of the Board has already been given in my letter of the 20th ult. I ask that that letter be read before the Board.

I have not transgressed any rule of the Commissioners; I am not a member of an organisation which has been condemned by law—on the contrary, it has been declared perfectly legitimate. The Volunteer organisation is not a political one.

I cannot therefore recognise any right that the Commissioners have to order me to sever my connection with this organisation; and their doing so is an attempt to reduce me to the condition of an absolute slave. I cannot, without being false to my manhood, obey this order of the Board.—I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

JEREMIAH O'CONNELL.

(To be continued next week.)

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