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(1858.) Wt. 5333—66.4000.12/14. A. T. & Co., Ltd.
(6553.) Wt. 3103—96.20,000.8/15.

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

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:

Detective Department,

Dublin, 24th. September 1915

Secret

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 23rd. Inst.,
the undermentioned extremists were observed
moving about and associating with each other
as follows :-

With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St.,
John McDermott for half an hour between 11 &
12 a. m. John McGarry and Thomas Byrne,
from 12. 30 p. m. to 1 p. m. Frank Fahy
and C. Colbert for half an hour between 7 &
8 p. m. J. O'Connor for twenty minutes
from 9. 45 p. m.

M. J. O'Rahilly, H. Mellows, and M.
O'Hanrahan in Volunteer Office, 2, Dawson St.
together for half an hour between 11 & 12 a.
m.

John M^c Dermott

The Chief Commissioner.

The Under Secretary

Submitted

W. Johnston

Comm. 24/9

Under Secretary

Submitted

W. Johnston

24/9

27/9

Chapman

2138

John McDermott left Kingsbridge by

3 p. m. train en route to Limerick. R.

I. C. informed. Peter Hourihan, who

returned to Mallow by same train, but in

a different compartment, was seen on the

platform in conversation with McDermott.

J. J. Walsh, in his shop, 26 Bless-

ington St., between 9 & 10 p. m.

Attached is a Copy of this week's

issue of The Workers Republic, also two

pamphlets of the fourth Series of the pub-

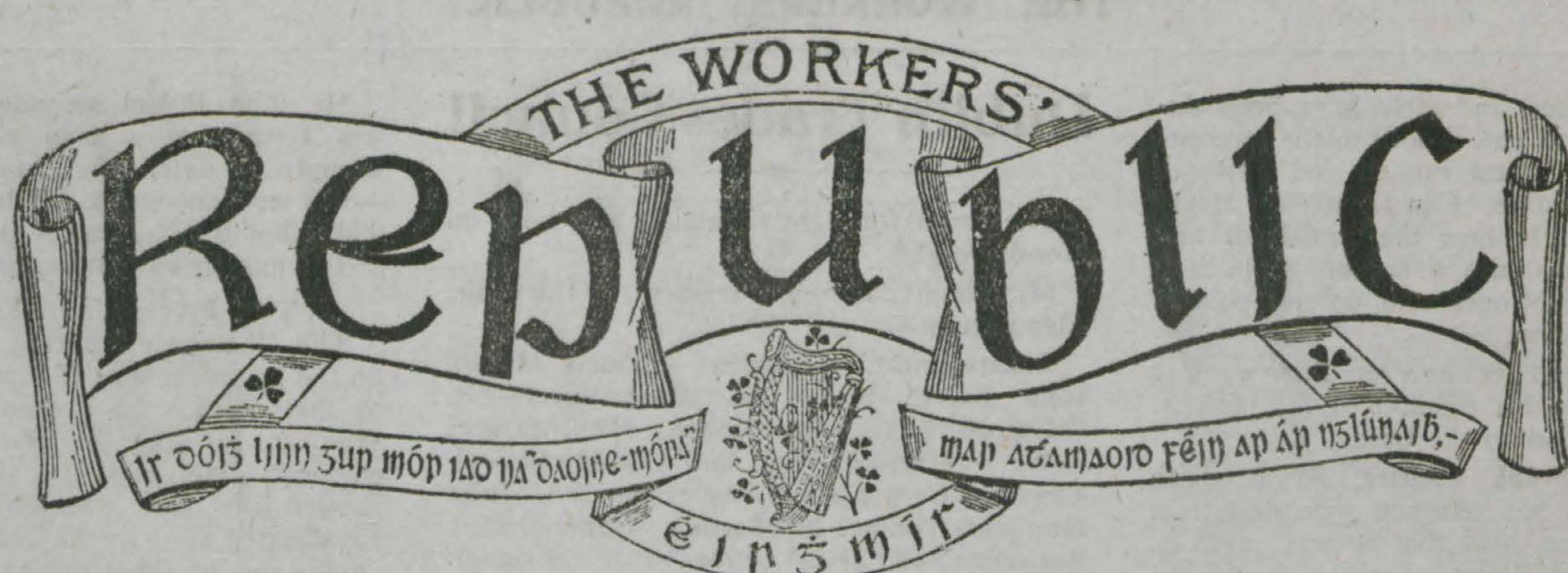
lications circulated by the Cumann Na m-

Ban, 12 D'Olier Street.

Owen Brien

Superintendent.

PRICE ONE PENNY.



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

Vol. I., No. 18.

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1915.

Weekly.

Notes on the Front

We reprint the following letter from the Dublin Daily Independent. It is a gem:
To the Editor Irish Independent.

SIR,—
Being much astonished at seeing the statement "Jim Larkin Astonishes the Americans" on the poster for the last issue of the *Workers' Republic*, I purchased a copy, and was much interested to find how the redoubtable "Jim" had astonished the Americans.

It appears from a report quoted from an unnamed American Socialist paper that an immense crowd in Court House Park, in Fresno, California, listened to "Jim Larkin—a striking personality and a most enlightened and convincing speaker."

One cannot be surprised at the astonishment of the Americans when one finds that he stated: "My crime in my own country consisted of preaching solidarity. The workers said: 'We will not move one wheel; and we won the Dublin strike.'" At such a statement the Dublin workmen will be even more astonished than the Americans.

NO INFLUENCE.

I have before me some letters from America which have something to say about Larkin, and may help to show how much the Americans are astonished by him.

FROM CHICAGO:

"We have heard of 'Jim' Larkin in several of our New England towns. At the present time he is not associated with any of the well-recognised organisations, and he has done nothing to draw public attention particularly to him."

"While James Larkin has made a number of speeches I do not believe his influence has been at all marked."

FROM NEW YORK:

"With respect to Larkin, none of our people here know anything about his movements in this country."

FROM KANSAS CITY:

"As regards Larkin, from what I am able to learn from better grade of Labour leaders, his movement is utterly unsuccessful. He has not been recognised by the better class of Labour leaders. The only impression he has made, if any at all, is with the I.W.W.'s, who are themselves thoroughly discredited by the general public, as well as by sensible Labour men."

Such is the astonishment of the Americans.

"PERPLEXED."

Dublin, September 14, 1915.

The reader will observe that this letter writer in making his attack on Larkin does not give his own name, nor in quoting the opinions of his correspondents in America does he give their names. It is easy filling up space in that fashion, but is there anybody fool enough to take stock in such anonymous stuff?

Following his example we quote here some letters this office might have received from various quarters about William Martin Murphy and his friends:

FROM PETROGRAD:

"We sadly missed Murphy's trams in our recent brilliant advance backwards from Warsaw. Often when the German guns were booming in our ears we strained our eyes anxiously for the promised relief forces led by the commander from Dartry Hall."

FROM GALLIPOLI:

"The brilliant genius who organised the attack upon the people outside the Imperial Hotel is badly needed here. We were to be through the Dardanelles in March, but the military forces of the allies have as poor a footing in the peninsula as Murphy's scabs have upon the port of Dublin. It is almost October, and the promised Expeditionary Force led by General Martin Murphy and ably captained by Tom McCormack, Barry, and Matty Long has not even sailed, and we are in despair."

FROM FLANDERS:

"The Germans have just attacked us with great fury. They said they heard that we were eating Jacob's biscuits. We sent for reinforcements to General Joffre, but he said that if the report was true he could not help us; that we must be a rotten lot. A German chemist taken prisoner said that eating Jacob's biscuits is in violation of the Hague Convention, and a contravention of the rules of Civilised Warfare, as these biscuits were infected by the scab."

FROM SOUTH WEST AFRICA:

"Anxiously awaiting the arrival of the last tram from Dartry. We hear that Guinness' Fleet have anchored outside of the Thirteenth Lock and threatened to throw a shell into Richmond Barracks, and that the Colonel in charge defiantly declared that he did not want a shell but could do with a couple of barrels. The last of the German forces here had strongly entrenched themselves, and were prepared to resist to the last cartridge, but gave up in despair when they heard that Lorcan Sherlock, Alderman Farrell, Alf Byrne, Lord Mayor Gallagher, High Sheriff Scully, Shackleton, of Lucan, J. D. Nugent, Wee Joe Devlin, and Paddy Meade, of the *Telegraph*, had joined the Pals Battalion, and were last seen advancing in skirmishing order upon Mooney's pub."

That kind of thing is easy. As the Americans would say, "it is as easy as falling off a log."

Just try it and send us in the result for publication in next week's *Republic*. Just try your imagination and the result will be as trustworthy as the letter of the correspondent of the *Independent*, or as a Russian account of a victory.

We have pointed out in this page before now that all sorts of people are engaged in hoodwinking the Censor under pretext of writing loyalist letters, and making loyalist speeches. Here is another sample of how the poor, dear man is being fooled. It is an account in the daily press of a recruiting meeting:

BALLYBOUGH RECRUITING MEETING.

"Mr. James Brady, Solicitor, presiding at a largely attended recruiting meeting held at the Tramway Terminus, Ballybough, last night, said he was accompanied by his son, Private Matt Brady, who came over with the Canadian contingent and had been through the battlefield of Flanders, and was there to ask his old pals in Dublin to help to rid Europe of the Germans. He was also accompanied by Lieutenant Maurice Healy, a member of a well-known Nationalist family, who had done good service to the country. Addresses were also delivered by Mr. J. C. Percy, J.P.; Private Bray, Private Trower, Professor Edmund Burke, B.A. Lieutenant M. Healy, of the Dublin Fusiliers, said if the war were lost Great Britain and Ireland would be saddled with the cost, which would amount to twenty thousand millions, and represent a tax of £250 on every man, woman and child in Ireland."

Now if that is not rank treason I do not know what is. Lieutenant Healy said in effect that it would cost every man, woman, and child in Ireland the sum of £250 if England lost the war and Ireland was left under the British Empire. If that is so then every man, woman, and child in Ireland should leave no stone unturned to destroy the British Empire which would tax them each £250 for a war about which they were never consulted. Lieutenant Healy is trying to frighten the Irish people into hatred of England, for if you ask any sensible person in Ireland if he or she is willing to pay £250 for the privilege of being in the British Empire then that sensible person would surely answer that his or her share in the British Empire would be dear at the price.

When the average Irish workingman or woman is out looking for a job and can't get it their share of the British Empire would look very insignificant compared with £250, or, indeed, compared with a week's rent for a room in a tenement.

We would advise Lieutenant Healy to run along and play at marbles or some other job suited to his intellect. And while he is looking for somebody to play marbles with him let him exercise his poor little brain upon this problem:

[CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO.]

Over fifty women and girls have been dismissed by Williams and Woods in the interests of cheap labour. These women and girls are in danger of starvation. Can Lieutenant Healy tell a waiting world how the British or any other Empire can raise a tax of £250 each from these sisters of ours who do not possess two pence halfpenny.

Another returned hero at a recruiting meeting at Stillorgan gave his opinion of the national demand for Ireland for the Irish. Read:

"Captain Frank Crozier, Royal Irish Fusiliers, who has returned wounded from the Dardanelles, said that he was proud to have joined the Army, where he found the best men in the world. Speaking of the fighting at Suvla Bay, Captain Crozier said that he saw one Irishman taking off his clothes on the beach. When asked whether he was going to bathe, he said, 'It is something tickling my back.' The something was a big wound, but the man fought another two days before a bullet in the leg made it imperative for him to go to hospital. He had heard a lot about Ireland for the Irish, but there was a better cry in 'Irish regiments for the Irish.' There were big gaps to be filled, and he wanted the men of Stillorgan and Foxrock to come back with him and carry rifles. They would never regret it."

Here you have condensed in a phrase the real loyalist opinion about Ireland and the position a kind providence allots to Irishmen.

Ireland for the Irish is ridiculous. Ireland for the classes who live on rent, profit and big Government sinecures and fat jobs, and Irishmen for the regiments recruited in Ireland to fight abroad for the above classes who plunder them at home, and insult them whilst doing so.

Captain Crozier is back from the Dardanelles. The published casualties there last week were 87,630, an enormously large proportion of whom were Irish. What interest had these unfortunate countrymen of ours in the Dardanelles? What interest the people of Stillorgan and Foxrock? The unfortunate farm labourers around that district dare not join a trade union for fear of being dismissed, blacklisted, evicted and starved by the Croziers and their kind, and yet it is those poor slaves who dare not call their souls their own, who must criage and crawl and lick the dust before their squireen employers, it is they who are asked to carry rifles, and add to the number of Irish corpses that manure the hills and ravines before the guns of the Turk.

Tommy Atkins does not talk of the Dardanelles. He calls it the "Garden of Hell." And he is not far out. It is either a garden or a gateway.

Or a suicide club!

If you have not the ready money convenient here is an Irish Establishment which supplies Goods on

EASY PAYMENT SYSTEM.

IT IS THE

DUBLIN WORKMEN'S INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION, LTD.,

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

Manager—ALD. T. KELLY.

PLEASE SUPPORT
OUR ADVERTISERS

Dublin Trades Council

The usual fortnightly meeting was held on Monday night.

Mr. Thomas Farren, President, in the chair. Also present—

Bakers and Confectioners—Francis Moran, John Barry. Brick and Stone Layers—R. O'Carroll, T.C.; John Meehan. Brushmakers—W. J. Murphy. Cab and Car Owners—J. Lawlor. Carpenters (Amalgamated)—John Simmons, Thomas MacPartlin. General Shop Assistants and Clerks' Union—J. A. O'Connor. Carpenters (General Union)—M. Culliton. Corporation Labourers—A. Kavanagh, D. Magee, R. Farrell, J. Bermingham, P. Bowes, R. Tynan. Electricians—C. Woodhead. Engineers—J. Bowman. Farriers—B. Drumm. Fire Brigade—P. T. Daly. Irish Drapers' Assistants—C. F. McLoone, E. J. Hayes. National Union of Clerks—E. A. Bannister. Irish Transport Workers—John Bohan, Joseph Metcalfe, James Connolly, Thomas Foran, P.L.G. Lithographic Artists and Engravers—J. MacManus. Mineral Water Operative—J. Courtney. National Telephone Employees—John Lennon. National Union Assurance Agents—James Byrne. Painters (Amalgamated)—J. Farrell, P.L.G.; M. Smith. National League of the Blind—M. Winston. Painters (Metropolitan)—P. P. Macken. Paviers—E. Hart. Printers (Typographical)—Michael A. Brady, D. Holland. Saddlers—Doyle. Sawyers—E. Paisley. Slaters—P. D. Bolger. Stationary Engine Drivers—J. Flanagan, P. Carey. Stonecutters—T. Farren. Tailors—William O'Brien. Sheet Metal Workers—John Farren. Iron Dressers—John Duffy. Visitors—M. Conway.

Minutes of former meeting and of the E. C. read and adopted.

Correspondence was submitted from Messrs. M. O'Flanagan, D.T.P.S., *in re* Harbour Division Parliamentary Election; Thomas Boniface, Sec. Brassfounders and Finishers, *in re* Action of Trades Council on the Making of Munitions; James Twiss, Sec. Smethwick Trades Council; J. J. Welsh, Sec. Dublin Municipal Mechanics' Association; Thomas Murphy, P. Tobin, Sec. Improvements' Committee; M. J. Fitzpatrick, Sec. Committee for the Prevention and Relief of Distress; Thomas O'Dwyer, Secretary Citizens' Association; W. R. Box & Co., Alderman Alfred Byrne, *in re* Harbour Division; F. Black, Sec. Glass Cutters, and Councilor R. P. O'Carroll, Ancient Guild of Brick and Stone Layers.

Mr. Carey raised a question in reference to a resolution submitted by his society—the Irish Stationary Engine Drivers.

Mr. O'Flanagan moved that the reference to the resolution be deleted from the E. C. Minutes.

Mr. Carey seconded.

Mr. P. T. Daly moved that the Minutes be varied, and that the question of the Engineers be left an open question.

Mr. D. Holland seconded.

Messrs. Lawlor, MacPartlin, P. Bowes, and J. Metcalfe opposed. Messrs. J. Connolly and J. Farren supported the motion, which was carried.

ELECTRICIANS' STRIKE.

Standing Orders were suspended to take into account the dispute in the Electrical Trades. Mr. Chas. Woodhead (Electrical Trade Union) said that one of the wounded Belgian soldiers was scabbing on the men on strike. He moved:

"That the Labour Party be informed of the facts with a view of getting a question in the House of Commons."

Mr. John Bohan seconded the motion. It was strange if a man who was too badly wounded to defend Belgium—his own country—was well enough to be bad enough to scab. They should "Remember Belgium" (laughter). The motion was carried unanimously.

THE FITTERS AND ELECTRICIANS.

The Chairman reported that he had waited on the Improvements Committee with reference to their action in appointing a mechanical engineer to take the place of an electrical engineer. He said the Executive minutes showed that this question had already been adjudicated upon by the Trades Council on the application of the Corporation. He felt that the matter complained of would be put right.

Mr. Macken supported the Chairman's statement.

Mr. Woodhead returned thanks on behalf of his Society.

THE DUBLIN TECHNICAL SCHOOLS AND MUNITIONS.

Mr. MacManus reported on the question of the Technical Schools Engineering machinery and the making of munitions. He said the delegates of the Council had carried out the policy of the Council. They had registered their votes against making a gift of the machinery of the Technical Schools (applause). They found however at the meeting men who claimed they represented trades represented there on the night when they got their instructions unanimously advocating a different course at the Technical Schools. He found a man named Lord alleged to represent the Engineers, the three other members of the same Society represented three other unions which were never in existence, together with a representative of the Cabinetmakers and of the Brassfinishers.

Mr. McPartlin said that these trades either knew what they wanted or they did not. If they did, then their delegates should have registered their votes as their trades desired and as he believed they had. If that were so, then the Lordly deputation to the Dublin Technical Schools was a fake and a hollow fake at that. Mr. Lord of the I. L. P., making munitions was a joke which should secure Mr. Lord a "rise in his screw" in the S. D. U. (laughter.)

Mr. John Lawlor moved:

"That the Council endorse the action of their representatives on the Technical School Board in reference to lending the school machinery for the purpose of manufacturing war munitions."

Mr. T. Foran, P. L. G., seconded the motion which was carried by acclamation.

THE HARBOUR DIVISION.

Mr. John Lawlor moved:

"That a candidate be selected to contest the Parliamentary vacancy in the Harbour Division in the interest of Labour."

Mr. Thomas Farren seconded the resolution. Mr. Thomas MacPartlin proposed:

"That the question be deferred pending the issue of writ" as an amendment.

Mr. MacLoone seconded.

Mr. James Connolly opposed. He did not see what use the fight would be to labour. The Government could not hang together, and there would be a general election. At any time they could take the seat (applause).

The amendment was put to the meeting and carried.

PRESENTATION TO MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, THE FORMER PRESIDENT.

Mr. John Simmons read the following Address, which was beautifully designed from An Leabhar Breac, and illuminated by Charles R. Millen, Litho. Artists Society, Dublin:

"TO MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN,
"President of the Dublin Trades Council.

"DEAR SIR,—

"Your term of office having expired, we deem it our duty to mark the appreciation which has been felt and expressed at the dignity and ability with which you have carried out the duties which appertain to the position to which delegates of the Trades and Labour bodies elected you. Your interpretations of the rules of procedure have been marked with wisdom and impartiality, and your decisions have been invariably accepted, no matter what divergence of opinion existed, with feelings of satisfaction.

"A great many questions of vital interest to the workers have arisen during your occupancy of the Chair, and to each and all of these questions you have given unremitting attention and devotion.

"Amongst these questions of special import may be mentioned the one of Labour Representation, to which you have given time and ability.

"Another matter of importance, and which is collateral with Trades Unionism, has received marked attention from you—namely, Co-operation, and we feel sure that in due course of time your efforts in that direction will fructify.

"Nor has the vital subject of the Housing of the Workers been neglected by you; on the contrary, your evidence before the late Committee of Inquiry has been lucid and convincing.

"In short, it may be said that whenever you have been called on to assist in righting the wrongs, and improving the condition of your fellow-workers, your services and time have been unsparingly given.

"Though officially the duration of your position has terminated, it is a gratification to know that you will still be amongst us as representative of your trade, and your advice and assistance as before, available.

"Wishing you many years of usefulness,

"We remain, on behalf of the Trades Council,

"Yours faithfully,

"THOMAS FARREN, President.

"JOHN LAWLOR, Vice-President.

"JOHN FARREN, Treasurer.

"JOHN SIMMONS, Secretary.

"Trades Hall, Capel Street,

"April, 1915."

The President, in presenting the Address, said that it was one of the most pleasing functions he had had to perform. Mr. O'Brien was a credit to the movement. He had been for years one of their hardest workers, and a man who had always acted as he considered right and who always fought his "corner" (applause). He hoped O'Brien would long be with them to cheer and encourage them, and to abuse them when they did wrong (loud applause.)

Mr. O'Brien briefly replied. He felt very grateful for their kindness. He dwelt on the different movements. He was glad to know during the term of his office the labour movement had shown a unity of force—when all sections of the workers went solidly as one man into one of the biggest fights in which organised labour had ever entered upon (applause.) He thanked them for the kindly worded Address which he would always treasure. He reciprocated the expressions of feeling which the Chairman had voiced that night and he was conscious of the fact that when it came to "talking" to people he had been succeeded by a very able man (laughter.) He would be with them in the future and he would endeavour to do his duty (applause.) He tendered them his thanks for their beautiful Address (applause.)

After which the Council adjourned.

A TRIBUTE TO THE "WORKERS' REPUBLIC."

A LIGHT IN ISRAEL.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC.
Waterford, Sept. 19, 1915.

SIR,—

The splendid leader in last week's issue should appeal to all that is really sound in our country to-day—God Help the Poor Irish! No wonder Lord Salisbury once remarked that "to Irish gullibility there is absolutely no limit" seeing that it is to fellows of the type represented at the British Trade Union Congress recently we are invited by our so-called representatives to look for Irish "freedom," and with it the progress of democracy generally in these lands. No doubt all the enemies of popular reform must be laughing heartily—that is if laughing is permitted during the period of the war—at all the "tomfoolery" and "resolutions" carried on for years by the alleged Labour(?) and Irish Nationalist(?) Parties, both inside and outside the House of Commons; for when the time for definite action came both these parties proved reneegades to all their former loud-mouthed professions to the people who foolishly trusted them. A few soft words from their ancient foes carried them off their feet; and now of course the Government don't take these men seriously. It must be noted also that the Radical papers of England are playing the game of the capitalist class in regard to this war for which the democracy are in no way responsible, and we can read nothing but leading articles in "Reynold's Paper every week as "Jingo" and "undemocratic" in tone as any of the Tory papers could be, though that paper used for many long years refer to the members of the present Government contemptuously as the "Stupid Party," but now all that is changed, and Messrs. Balfour, Bonar Law, Asquith, and that great and good friend of democracy(?) Lord Lansdowne, are lauded to the skies as the saviours of the "Empire" which we were told at least a thousand times by "Reynold's" they were unfit to rule. It would be most interesting to learn from the Editor of "Reynold's" Paper how he "suddenly discovered" the great "capacity" of the men mentioned above to manage the affairs of the British Empire in an exceptionally difficult crisis seeing that (according to him) they proved unequal to the task in times of peace. As for the Irish Nationalist dailies they have gone to the devil. Under such extraordinary circumstances it is the greatest boon to the friends of freedom, justice, and right, to have such a brilliantly written paper as the WORKERS' REPUBLIC to turn to for light and leading; and I am glad to know that the intelligent members of the community properly appreciate its value to them. One thing at any rate affords ground for consolation, and that is that the Ben Tillets, Barnes, or Seddons, in England, or the Redmonds, Carsons, Dillons, or T. P. O'Connors, of Ireland, cannot fool all the people of both countries, as a large and growing section are, thank God, beginning to see through such leaders(?) and to despise them. The antics of the Irish Party here at home and the Labour Party across the channel at the present time would be regarded by most people as delightful comedy only that the sad consequences to the cause of true progress and freedom renders it rueful tragedy. But your paper is a light in Israel, and it is educating the masses to a real grasp of the situation, and in time even the infatuated amongst us will be converted from the error of their ways.

Success then to THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC and the cause it stands for; to Mr. James Connolly, its able Editor; and to the Citizen Army, all of which forces are striving for noble ends.

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS KEANE.

CRUMLIN CONFLICT.

Mr. Laurence Mooney, Stanway, dismissed his agricultural labourers when asked to pay £1 per week. John Mooney, Publican, told Councillor Partridge that a pound per week was too much to pay a labouring man, and Henry Mooney, Kingfield House did not pay the advance. Consequently 19 men and 11 women became unemployed.

Last week we gave a list of the aristocratic scabs who are assiting the three Mooneys of Crumlin to resist the reasonable demands of the workers. This week we give the names of the four farm labourers of the trade of Judas. Creatures who came out with their comrades, received dispute pay from the Union, and then sold the pass. The farm labourers of Ireland would do well to cut out this list and paste it on the walls of their cabins:

C. Morris, Innismore Terrace, Crumlin,
W. Young, Captain's Lane, Crumlin,
F. Furlong, Captain's Lane, Crumlin and
F. Slattery, Whitehall, Crumlin.

It would require too much space to give the names of all who decline to enter the scab public house. Next we will give the names of the Bricklayers who are members of the Cuffe Street Society.

The three labourers employed by Mr. Begg, the few dairymen, and one or two other individuals who insist on supporting the scab employer—the publican who said £1 per week was too much for a labourer.

Our friends in the City Markets and in D'arcy's Brewery where John Mooney removes grains, will understand that the strike in Mooneys' of Crumlin is on—and will remain on until declared off in this column. The report that it was settled last week was a bogus one circulated so that they might carry out their work with scab labour.

A very successful meeting of the women of Crumlin was held last Monday night in the Union Rooms, Crumlin, and arrangements were made for the holding of a public meeting on Wednesday night following; to found a Branch of the Women Workers' Union. It is up to the farm labourers, who fought the farmers' fight in the past, to now lend a hand in a struggle that is solely their own.

VOTE OF CONDOLENCE.

At a specially summoned meeting of the G. S. and W. Railway Employees held in the Emmet Hall, Inchicore, on Tuesday evening last to consider the question of wages. The chairman referred to the death of the late Joseph Meehan, and a vote of condolence was passed to his family and friends, expressing deep regret for the sad occurrence, and calling upon the Great Southern and Western Railway Company to make provision for his two little orphans.

W. CHASE,

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

N. J. Byrne's TOBACCO STORE,

39 AUNGIER STREET,
(Opposite Jacob's),

FOR IRISH ROLL & PLUG.

TWINEM BROTHERS'

MINERAL WATERS
The Workingman's Beverage.

TWINEM BROTHERS'

DOLPHIN SAUCE
The Workingman's Relish.

Factory—66 S. C. ROAD, and 31 LOWER
CLANBRASSIL STREET. 'PHONE 2658.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC.

EDITED BY JAMES CONNOLLY.

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

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

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

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

Office, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

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

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1915

Some Irish Slaves and Slavishness.

At last meeting of the Dublin Trades Council the secretary of a small affiliated body, the Brassfounders, wrote in intimating the withdrawal of his society from the Council. The reason alleged was that the Council had instructed their representatives on the Technical Education Committee of the Dublin Corporation to oppose the loan of some valuable and delicate machinery to the Government for Munitions Work. The Council and, as it transpired, the majority of the Technical Education Committee took the view that the machines would be rendered useless for the delicate work of the school by such employment, and that a Government that can spend about five millions a day on the war could easily afford £2,000 in buying these machines from the Corporation. If the Government really needed the machines let them buy them as they buy horses, mules, or provisions at top prices from farmers or merchants.

Surely no more reasonable offer was ever made! In the Technical Schools of England there are hundreds of such machines, and in no one case have these been even asked for on the same terms as these machines were asked for in Dublin—indeed nowhere has an English Technical School been asked to do or give anything without payment. In this as in all others greater sacrifices are asked from Irishmen than from Englishmen, and unfortunately it would appear from the letter spoken of at the beginning of this article that there are Irishmen slavish enough in spirit to deem it right that it should be so.

But the men who ordered this letter written, and the men in the Technical Education Committee who supported the proposal to give away the property of the citizens of Dublin should be made to understand in what company they belong.

What is that company? When a foreign invader plants himself in a country which he holds by military force his only hope of retaining his grasp is either that he wins the loyalty of the natives, or if he fails to do so that he corrupts enough of them to enable him to disorganise and dishearten the remainder.

The chief method of corruption is by an appeal to self-interest. To illustrate: At one time in the history of Ireland the presence of an English garrison in a city or territory was a hateful thing in the eyes of Irishmen, and ever and anon some Irish chief and clan would swoop down upon that garrison and exterminate it, and all who had dealings with it. But gradually with the growth of the capitalist system the English garrisons found Irishmen who for the sake of the gain in gold they would make by supplying the garrisons with food and supplies were anxious to see garrisons amongst them and over them. Hence we have seen the spectacle of Irishmen posing as patriots actually petitioning the English Government to establish military garrisons in their districts. Willing that a foreign army should be in a position to coerce them, that their sons may be lured into its bloodstained service, and their daughters ruined by its lustful military—willing to help all this iniquity along if only they were allowed to make a profit by selling something to the army that stood between their country and its freedom.

By such means the invader tightens his hold upon the country. The profit of the merchant supplying the garrison is followed by the jobs and pensions of that portion of the natives which sells itself to assist in administering the laws of the invader, and that again by the smaller jobs and more pitiful pensions of those who sell themselves as bludgeon men in the police or hired assassins in the army which holds the natives down and prevents them ruling and owning their own country.

If you throw a stone into a pond it will make a small ripple upon the smooth surface, but gradually the ripple spreads, ring follows ring until the effect is felt upon the farthest shore. So with the spread of corruption in a subject nation. Corruption sends out its waves over the souls of the people, and evil begets evil until its loathsome effects are all pervading.

The Trade Union that secedes from the ranks of the Labour Movement because that movement scorns to aid the invader in his murderous conspiracy against a free nation, the trade union that exults in the prospect of being allowed to prostitute its skill in the furtherance of the work of making weapons of murder which may first be used on its own fellow citizens, the trade union that rushes in to proclaim that Irishmen should sacrifice more for the British Empire than Englishmen should—that trade union is a worthy descendant of those who in the past in the armies of the invader saw not the assassins of their country's liberty, but only prospective customers from whom an Irish slave might derive a slave's profit.

We do not believe that the members of the Brass Founders Society ever were consulted before their officials rushed in to proclaim their baseness to the wondering world.

In fact we know they were not consulted. What are they going to do about it?

LABOUR AND THE BUDGET

INDIGNATION MEETING.**A MONSTER MEETING**

WILL BE HELD IN

BERESFORD PLACE

ON

Sunday, Sept. 26th,

AT 8 P.M.

To call upon all Sections of Labour to Oppose the attempt of the British Government to heavily tax the food of the people to pay War Expenses.

Conscription means stealing our bodies to fight their battles, but this Budget proposes to steal the food out of the mouths of the poor to pay for the wars of the rich.

Come in thousands to the Meeting and let your slogan be—

LET THE RICH MEN PAY!

The following Speakers have been invited: Councillors R. O'Carroll, W. Partridge, and P. T. Daly. Also Messrs. W. O'Brien, Thomas Lawlor, and Thomas Farren, President Trades Council.

JAMES CONNOLLY,
Acting General Secretary.

HAIRDRESSING!**IRISH WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE
HAIRDRESSING SALOON.**

Under the Management of a First Class Barber we have Opened the Premises

29 EDEN QUAY,

(Late Shipping Federation Office)

As a Co-operative Enterprise of The Transport Union, for our Members and the General Public.

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USUAL HOURS. CLEANLINESS A SPECIALITY.

RAZORS CAREFULLY GROUND & SET

Pay your Contributions at Liberty Hall, and then come around the corner and get a Shave or Hair-cut from your Union Barber.

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

By THEODOR SCHIEMANN.

(Professor of East European History in the University of Berlin.)

Those who predicted that soon after the beginning of the war a revolution would break out in Russia were not familiar with the true conditions of the country.

The agrarian reform inaugurated by Stolypin had given the Russian peasant land; he was now told that the war would bring a great increase of territory to Russia, and that during and after the war the land of all the "aliens" in Russia would be handed over to the orthodox peasant of Great Russia. Hence the peasantry was for the war.

The "aliens" themselves, in Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, and in the Ukraine, could not rise while the concentration of the huge army was taking place in the western territories inhabited by them. The whole official world, rabid pan-Slavists to a man, convinced that Russia would be victorious, were for the war, which largely increased their incomes.

Finally, martial law, handled in the most rigorous manner, kept down any attempt at rising.

SOCIALISTS AGAINST WAR.

Only the Socialists and the Labour Party stood resolutely against the war. Their representatives in the Imperial Duma, enforced by the Central Committee of the party, unanimously refused the demand which the Belgian Minister, Vandervelde, communicated to them that they should unite with the Socialists of Western Europe in fighting "Prussian militarism" with all the means in their power as the deadly enemy of Socialism.

On the contrary, the Russian Socialists at once declared against the war, concluding all their proclamations with the cry, "Down with the Czar! Down with war! Long live the Revolution!"

It was they, too, who everywhere informed the people of the disastrous course the war was taking, with its hecatomb of senselessly butchered soldiers. Meanwhile the more disastrous the defeats of the Russian army were, the more sanguine became the official versions of the war reporters, and the more ruthless were the means employed by the military authorities under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief to keep the truth from the people.

Those who but passed an unfavourable remark on the situation, or said anything but what the official statements contained, were fined 3,000 roubles (1,500 dollars), or imprisoned for three months. The same punishment was meted out to those who merely put a question about the events of the war to a wounded soldier, even though he were a relative, to a hospital nurse or doctor. Every letter was to be read by the censors established at all post offices, and as that proved unfeasible, many letters were destroyed unread.

No lists of the losses were published, or, at most, incomplete ones, delayed for many months. On the other hand, the enormous number of the wounded and sick who poured back into Russia spread dismay everywhere.

By the autumn of 1914 these had, in the governments of the south and center, increased to such an extent that the towns could no longer contain them, so that they had to be sent to the neighbouring villages.

Every one who is familiar with the filthy, floorless huts of the Russian peasants, in which they live under the same roof with pigs and

chickens, and who knows their often harsh brutality, will realise that this must have spelled death to many of the wounded. The result of a senseless organisation and of the lack of the simplest remedies has been that at most 5 per cent. of the wounded can return to the front.

EXPERTS AGREE ON HORRORS.

In this the testimony of all trustworthy army surgeons who have had a scientific training agrees; they speak with a shudder of their colleagues from the interior of the empire and declare themselves wholly paralysed by the lack of organization and a system that sends the wounded before they are completely healed into central Russia and beyond, merely to make room for the incessant stream of new victims.

While all this was going on, the daily official reports spoke of nothing but new glorious victories, of the insignificance of the Russian losses as compared to the enormous losses suffered by the "insolent and malignant enemy"—the official designation of the German and Austrian armies.

No wonder that as early as October the masses became greatly agitated, and thousands of people in the great cities, as in Charkow, for example, besieged the offices where the official telegrams were issued, demanding tumultuously that they should be told the truth. The government replied by dispersing the crowds with the knout and saber of Cossacks.

DISORGANISATION EVERYWHERE.

The badly tended wounded, clothed in rags, came into all houses and begged for food and tobacco. Army orders were issued strictly forbidding any begging by soldiers, but were ineffective to stop it. Add to this that the many thousands who were dismissed from the army as unfit for further service told everywhere on their return home the same story, that they had been badly nourished and wrongly led, that the officers caroused and revelled and were incompetent and helpless in battle.

When soldiers would not advance they were knouted by the Cossacks and compelled by machine guns and artillery to attack.

They described how they had to wait without rifles in the trenches until their comrades had fallen, whose rifles they then picked up, and how different all this was with the enemies; how well these were fed and cared for, how their officers were like brothers or fathers to the men, and how terrible they were in battle. The burden always was, "It is impossible to beat the Germans."

These returned wounded soldiers who had been dismissed as unfit for service spread like a net all over the empire until they had affected all sections of the people by their narratives, and had everywhere spread doubt, dismay and agitation.

NEW LEVIES OF RECRUITS.

Then followed the new levies of recruits and the calling out of the Landwehr, from the West to East Siberia, first in October, 1914, when the quota for 1914, who were not due till December, were called out; then in January those of 1915, not due till December, and lastly, in May, 1915, those of 1916, not due till Dec. of that year, while at the same time the rumour spread that in August, 1915, it would be the turn of the youths, who were not liable under ordinary conditions to be called till December, 1917, two years and a half in advance.

"What has become of our army?" was the question rising ever more threatening on every lip.

The Government began to be seriously disquieted. In December, 1914, a secret meeting of the cabinet was held. It was recognised that it would be quite impossible to call out the Landwehr, or Reichwehr of the second class—i.e., those from 38 to 45 years, as that would immediately cause a revolutionary outbreak, and that it would be immediately preferable to order the levy of recruits in January and May.

COULDN'T SUPPORT FAMILIES.

Besides, the Government had no means at its disposal to provide for the families of the Landsturm left without their breadwinners. It was this lack of money that induced the Czar in the spring of this year to sign a proclamation to the effect that the families of all soldiers who were taken prisoners would no longer receive any Government support.

What this means may be realised when one thinks of the million and a half prisoners in German and Austrian hands, and considers further that the Russian peasant marries early, often before he is 20. What a mass of families unprovided for, what fuel for discontent, which can only be combated by force and the laws of censure.

As to the lack of officers, that has been great from the beginning of the war, for no one offered himself voluntarily. The reason for the lack of officers is to be sought in the fact that the whole Russian nobility has changed into a venal, corrupt officialdom, so that the old recruiting ground for officers no longer exists.

As for the other strata of Russian society, they afford a still more useless material. Moreover, all officers who could possibly manage it got themselves by legal or illegal means sent back from the front.

HOW OFFICERS ARE RECRUITED.

As no volunteers were coming forward, the plan was conceived of calling out the two younger quota of all university students (who under ordinary circumstances need not serve until their twenty-eighth year) in order to give them a four months' training as officers (from January 1st to May 1st), and in that way to find 10,000 lieutenants for the army.

But in the same secret Cabinet meetings of December last, mentioned above, it was realized that this plan would be identical with a complete revolutionizing of the army. So at the end of December the students were informed that they might continue their studies, so many young men having volunteered as officers that all the training schools were crowded. That was an official lie, for not a soul had volunteered. But a wretched crew had been hurriedly got together and put into the training schools, a poor lot that will never be able to perform their duty.

The training schools were filled with Government clerks, lower grade officials, policemen and the like. These people and the recruits of January and May, lads of nineteen and twenty, insufficiently trained in a few weeks under wholly incapable drill-masters, now form the reserve formations of the routed Russian army.

As they have all been influenced by revolutionary propaganda since the beginning of the war, their being drafted into the army must hasten the final collapse.

J. J. WALSH (Of Cork),

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19 BERKELEY ST. }

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CORK NOTES.

We have waited and waited in vain to see what attempts would be made to organise the Quay Labourers as the result of the recent meeting. We fully realise the difficulties, and for that reason are more inclined to leniency. There is but one society in Cork catering for those men, and the local officials seem to be either unable or unwilling to undertake the task. If that is so, it is the duty of the Cork United Trades and Labour Council to invite the heads of that organisation in Dublin to take the matter up. We refer to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. The officials of that Society would, we are sure, if invited by the Trades Council, be only too happy to do the needful. There seems to be an amount of doubt, uncertainty, and suspicion in connection with the whole business. Plain speaking is necessary. The men are waiting to be organised. We believe the Transport Union is the only Union for this work. If the local people cannot see their way to tackle the problem then why not invite the heads of the organisation.

Mr Connolly or one of his clever lieutenants would be doing a good day's work by staying here till they got the men together, and put things in working order. They could then leave the matter in the hands of some trustworthy person, if they could not see their way to stay themselves. Nor are the Quay Workers the only people who would benefit by having a local branch of the Transport Union in the hands of some capable, clear-headed person. What of the Women Workers. Is there anybody more in need of protection than the women and girls, who work in mill and factory, workroom and warehouse, for a miserable pittance, not forgetting those engaged in domestic service, and a large number of others, both male and female, for whom the doors of other Societies are not open. All these require looking after, especially in view of the after effects of the war. With increased taxation and the fearful increases on the prices of the necessities of life, now in contemplation, we cannot too often impress upon our own class the absolute necessity of self-preservation.

Contemplating the future as we do, we feel it would be criminal on our part if we did not warn the workers of our city, and Ireland generally, of the danger that now beset them—dangers which can at least be minimised if the workers themselves join a real live Union, while there is yet time—a Union that has for its motto, "An Injury to One is the Concern of All."

We always had a suspicion of the Labour Exchanges, and that suspicion has blossomed into real live certainty, especially since the passing of the National Health Insurance Act. We are of opinion, though both did not spring into existence at the same time, that one was the forerunner of the other, and the aims and objects of the promoters were to cripple the powers of the Trades Unions.

Whatever may be the objects of the promoters, the Act is now being used to create unemployment to reduce wages; to destroy the power of the Trades Unions; to help the Capitalist; to encourage blacklegging; to penalise the workers and assist recruiting. We trust the discussion at Thursday night's meeting will be the means of inducing men to come forward and expose the doings of the Labour Exchanges.

Men of family are compelled to go from town to town at their own expense and work considerably under wages, at the same time having to keep two houses, and if they refuse they are deprived of their unemployment benefit under the Act, and it appears some societies will not pay out-of-work benefit. Of course, they have the Court of Referees, another method of dealing with blind justice. This Court consists of one employers' representative,

one representative of the working men, and a chairman whose sympathies are entirely on the side of the workers. The Court sits about 3 or 4 in the afternoon to suit the convenience of the workers' representative, who usually arrives late, if he can come at all.

We appeal to the Parliamentary Committee to inquire into this matter, otherwise the districts that pay low wages will soon be able to secure the services of highly skilled men at the rate they previously paid for an inferior class of work.

NORTHERN NOTES.

BELFAST NEXT.

It is likely that Belfast people will be given an opportunity of following the lead given by Dublin at the Phoenix Park meeting. At least there is a strong feeling in many quarters that the Dublin resolutions should be carried at a protest meeting on the Falls Road. Nothing is definitely settled yet, in fact the suggestion has not been formally discussed; but since the Dublin meeting the feeling—widely expressed just after the arrests—that a Belfast protest is more than desirable has been growing stronger. Not that a protest in itself is worth any trouble or effort but the educational effect is well worth striving for. This applies more particularly to Belfast where the people are altogether at the mercy of the most unscrupulous gangs that ever cursed a country. It is to be hoped the meeting will be held and that it will be representative.

THE COUP.

The revelations in last week's WORKERS' REPUBLIC have been the talk of the town. That such an outrage should be concealed from the people is only what might be expected in these times. The poor Dublin devils who were the victims of the outrage have no friends in high places in the North and hence the criminal silence of the Home Rule organs. But the people feel that the outrage affects not only the five soldiers but that it is a direct attack on themselves.

WHAT MATTER ANYWAY?

The wordy battle of conscription has aroused more than ordinary interest in Belfast. The interest is not so keen in the question of conscription itself, as in some of the consequences a big split in the British Cabinet would bring about. A general election, for instance. People are discussing the fate of West Belfast if things come to that pass. The odds at present are decidedly against the present member and it is taken as a certainty that Joe would get an opportunity of entering somewhere else by the front door, or the back, if that be necessary. Should that happen there would be no heart-burnings except amongst those whose rewards for service are becoming due. By all appearances they will have a much longer time to wait than had, say, Martin J. Burke.

FAILTE.

His Belfast friends send hearty greetings to Seaghan MacDermott and hope his sojourn in Mountjoy will not prevent Ireland from benefitting from his wise counsel and straightforward example.

CROBH-DEARG.

Irish Transport & General Workers' Union.

80 OLD GEORGE'S STREET, CORK.

Quarterly Meeting of above will be held on Sunday, October 2nd, at 12.30.

Important Business to be Transacted.

All Members earnestly requested to attend.

D. CAREY, Secretary.

WEXFORD NOTES.

The Transport Union is now in full swing in Wexford again, the Dockers having fully realised that it is absolutely impossible at present to get along without Trade Unionism. Three weeks ago they put in for an increase of wages which was immediately granted, the merchants knowing that the men had come together again to prevent themselves being exploited, as they have been this last twelve months; and we are glad to be able to chronicle the fact that to-day the Wexford Dock Labourer is better off for wages than any tradesmen in the town.

At the last monthly meeting of the Wexford Corporation, the Dublin and Limerick Resolutions with reference to the imprisoned Volunteers came up for the adoption, but the sturdy representatives of Rebel Wexford refused to adopt same by sixteen votes to five. David Roderick Keating, Wexford's Municipal Gas Bag, who has politics for every day in the week, made a terrible onslaught on the parties which he said the resolutions emanated from, forgetting for the moment that his Grand Master, Viviani Nugent, was amongst the number that voted for the Dublin Resolution at the North Dublin Guardians.

We take the following comment from the Dublin *Leader* on Keating's action in the matter:—

"Mr. Keating was vigorously in favour of the protest, but whether or not it is because he has his eyes rivetted so much outside Ireland at present we cannot say, but he is very ignorant of current Irish history . . . besides showing his ignorance and misrepresenting the Dublin and Limerick Corporations, he does a dis-service to Mr. Devlin and the Irish Party in this matter, for notwithstanding the secret protest of the Party . . . there has been no new trial, and Mr. Pim is still in jail."

When the *Leader* people know D. R. as well as we know him here in Wexford they will not waste either ink or paper dealing with him. He has been a wind bag all his life, at least since he came to Wexford, for he is an import, like some more of them who pretend to be anxious about the town's welfare.

It has been reported to us that a Rate Collector in the employ of the Wexford Corporation has followed so well in the footsteps of J. D. Nugent, M.P., whom we have been led to believe was a bailiff, is to be entrusted with the now, thank God, very unusual job of emergency man for the firm of Little and Nunn. It appears that the brave Tom was sent to Waterford a few weeks ago to turn out of their homes a woman and ten children. We have not heard whether he carried out the order or not, but this much we do know, that he could not get a jarvey in Waterford to drive him to the place he was ordered to go, and we also know that Hugh M'Guire met him on Waterford Quay and gave him a bit of his mind for daring to introduce Nugentism in the ranks of the Molly M'Guire's again.

TRALEE NOTES.

[By ROBAL.]

EX-U. D. C. EMPLOYEES.

The adverse criticism indulged in by Messrs. Kelliner and Denny, U. D. C's. towards the Trades Council was effectively answered by that body at their last meeting. These Urban Councillors are very fond of fault finding in connection with the Trades Council since the Trades Council exposed the shameful dismissal of seven unfortunate employees of the U. D. Council. They have not justified the sacking of the men and the public can easily understand why they attack the Trades Council.

THE THEATRE.

As anticipated the doubling of the prices in the popular parts of the Theatre "Royal" last week resulted in small "houses" each night, so much so that on Thursday night the doubled prices were reduced. Jameson and his Aberdeeneite Manager must think that Tralee people are fools, but experience ought to have taught them otherwise. Some of the items were of a "shady" character, and a recurrence may mean a repetition in Tralee of the action taken in Jameson's Limerick Hall when he put on a suggestive and indelicate "Revue," which was quickly stopped by the audience.

ORGANIZING MEETING.

Though the Trades Council are doing very good work they do not apparently intend to rest on their oars and are about to make a big effort to get every local non-Union man to join his particular Trades Union. A large public organizing meeting is to be held in the near future and besides inviting organisers of the trades affiliated to the Council, Mr. James Connolly is to be asked to attend also. We sincerely hope he will come, we bespeak for Jim a royal Kerry welcome. His presence would do a lot to unite the much harassed workers whose only hope lies in organization and solidarity.

AMERICANS ON BRITISH SHIPS.

Some few days ago a New York paper said that every time somebody in Europe punched the head of John Bull the English newspapers immediately asked what was America going to do about it. It would seem from the following cutting, that quite a lot of Americans agree that America is not bound by duty to "protect the English."

Resolutions condemning Americans who imperil their nation by sailing on English munitions ships merely to win the plaudits of English society and secure introduction into English court circles were drafted by the Publicity Committee of the Friends of Peace to-day and will be presented to the National Convention in Chicago. September 5 and 6, for adoption. The resolutions state:

WHEREAS, A state of war exists between Germany and England and English munition vessels engaged in the traffic of war materials to kill German soldiers have been frequently sunk by German torpedo boats, and

WHEREAS, A war zone has been declared in the waters encircling the British Isles and it has been declared dangerous to travel on vessels, especially English vessels, engaged in carrying contraband of war, in the said war zone, and

WHEREAS, There are American vessels abundant to carry all passenger traffic between Europe and America at this time, and our people have been assured that passengers may travel on the American passenger vessels under the American flag in perfect safety, and

WHEREAS, English society has made it a practice to smile on wealthy Americans who travel on English munition ships, and has invariably secured their introduction into court circles, and

WHEREAS, We recognize it as our national duty to uphold the honour of the American flag, and to guarantee the safety of all who seek protection under that flag when in its legitimate purposes, and we pledge our lives in the defense of the American flag, and

WHEREAS, British munition ships engaged in carrying implements of war to kill German soldiers do not sail under the American flag but under the British flag, and

WHEREAS, This country not being a British possession, we are in no wise obligated to the protection of the British flag, and England has no right to call on us for help in protecting the British flag, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Committee of the Friends of Peace do hereby deplore the con-

duct of wealthy Americans who so wilfully jeopardise the safety of our nation by travelling on British munition ships at this time of war between Germany and England, and be it

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of these wealthy Americans to the fact that it is we—the common people—who will be forced to do the fighting and bear the brunt of the terrible struggle if this nation should be drawn into war with Germany, and that many thousands of our lives would have to be sacrificed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our national pride makes us appreciate the high social recognition that English society sees fit to bestow on our society leaders, but we do not think it right for our wealthy classes to imperil the lives of our people and the safety of our nation in order to secure such social recognition, and we do not think it right that our government should call on our sons to sacrifice their lives in such a cause, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we most respectfully and earnestly beseech and implore the wealthy people of our nation to consider the awful toll of life and misery that would be demanded if their actions should draw this nation into war, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we beg of them for the sake of our sons whom we love and are willing to sacrifice for the nation's honour, that they desist from travelling to and from Europe on British ammunition ships, and instead secure passage on American passenger vessels, sailing under the American flag, which we recognise it our duty to protect.

AWAITING THE SIGNAL.

TO THE IRISH CITIZEN ARMY.

Morrow by morrow brighter glows
The hope that baffled Time and Death,
And hourly now, the harvest grows
Riper, winnowed by Freedom's breath;
Close by my faithful reapers stand,
Eager for signal and command.

In the red gateways of the West,
In War's bright vestiture arrayed,
My hated foe again I breast,
I whom the nations deemed decayed;
But fiercer flame is mine to-day
Than ever lit my pilgrim way.

I know my time is near. I know
Around me shrieks the battle gale—
That once again brave blood must flow.
This, too, I know. *I shall not fail.*
Tho' God willed other—even so,
My soul at bay should thunder: *No!*

MAEVE CAVANAGH.

ANCIENT GUILD OF INCORPORATED BRICK AND STONELAYERS.

49 CUFFE STREET.

General Meeting of above will be held in the Hall, Cuffe Street, on Sunday 26th September, at 12.30 sharp. All Members are requested to attend, By Order,

JAMES COX, President

R. O'CARROLL, Gen. Secretary.

BOOTS! BOOTS!

Special Value in Ladies' and Children's Boots and Shoes.

Irish Workers' Co-operative Stores,
31 EDEN QUAY, DUBLIN.

COME AND INSPECT OUR STOCK

BRITISH—AND PROUD OF IT!

By "J. J. B."

The bulk of Ireland's sons, living and dead are now Britishers (see the Casualty Lists in the "G—man's Journal," etc). Strange to say, there are still a few Irishmen who are not Britishers, but, like the British Navy, when the German Navy pays it a visit, they are of "no military importance," or rather nothing to speak of—when "G—men" and "G—women" are knocking around! As I said before, we are now Britishers—and Proud of it! We have good reason to be proud of it, too. Fancy the dirty, drunken, ignorant Irish, being allowed the privileges of calling themselves Britishers, and fighting for freedom, along with the angels at Mons, under the "Union Jack," that noble emblem of Small Nationalities and Civilisation! The very idea is enough to make Cromwell and his "Pals" come back to Erin and join the next detachment of the "Dublins" for the Dardanelles. The only thing that prevents them doing so is the fact that Hell, not being a Small Nationality, is Natural!

Britishers—and Proud of It! If you will look over the History of Ireland, you will come across Ireland's Roll of Honour, the Roll of Honour of those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of Ireland, and you can then better appreciate the glorious termination of a Nation's sorrows, sunk so low, that it is like a prostitute, at the beck and call of England! Good God! Why did not Emmet, Tone and all those who died for Ireland become Britishers and die for England? Oh, that we had had a few four-hundred-pounders to impress on our people that we were all Britishers, and that the first edition of the British Empire was as good as is the last? Why did the Almighty God allow the children of Ireland to suck from their Mother's breasts that love for Ireland, which, sooner or later, in every generation, turns naturally into hatred of Ireland's oppressor? Why does every town and village that is today left in Ireland bear witness against the guilt of the English? Where are the descendants of the millions of our race who lived and had their being in the now deserted villages and plains of Connaught, Munster, Leinster and Ulster? Wipe out all of this, it is a thing of the past, we are all Britishers now—and, My God, we are proud of it! And, because we are all Britishers (and proud of it!) this is Ireland's War, and we must teach the dirty Huns that they have no right to imitate Cromwell on poor little Russia!

Britishers! What an honourable name for Irishmen? We will be respected by the Zulus, the Indians, the Boers, and all peoples shall call us blessed! Dirty, drunken, foolish will never be flung at us as long as we remain Britishers! It is rumoured that some Britishers have even found their way into Heaven, so now that we are all Britishers we should have an equal chance of gaining admittance. But we must be very careful, having acquired such distinction in the eyes of the world, not to do anything to bring discredit on the grand old dame Britannia! We must all study the British Sunday Papers, etc., to gain a good idea of the "moral ascendancy" cult—the Brides in the Bath case, the War Babies, and cases of women found drowned since the war started! When you have digested all this, "Read the Truth about the German Atrocities," recorded by some truth-loving Englishmen, and you will wonder at the incompetent way the thing is written. Anybody, after studying the British Sunday Press for a few weeks, could do it far better! Perhaps it is intentional incompetence on the part of these truth-loving English authors. Anyway it is your duty, as Britishers, to see that no slur shall stain Dame England's gown, and uphold against the world the innocence and Kultur of the Mistress of the Wait and Seas.

Irish Citizen Army

Headquarters: **LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.**

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

Number 1 Company will Parade at Liberty Hall on Sunday, September 26, at 11.30 a.m. Full Equipment will be carried.

FINTAN LALOR BAND.

Members of the Band in Costume will meet in Band Rooms, 77 Aungier St., on Sunday, at 12 noon, and join the Citizen Army when it reaches the Aungier Streer Rooms on its march to Crumlin.

CRUMLIN.

In connection with the Strike at Crumlin a Mass Meeting will be held in the Village at 1 p.m., Sunday, 26 September. Citizen Army and Fintan Lalor Pipe Band will attend.

COUNCILLORS P. T. DALY and WILLIAM PARTRIDGE will ADDRESS the MEETING

The attention of the Bricklayers Union is drawn to the conduct of certain of their Members who persist in drinking in a Public House owned by one of the men now Fighting Trade Union Labour.

DRILL FOR RESERVES

The Army Council have set aside Monday evenings for Drill for our newly enrolled reserves. All members of same are urged to attend on that evening, and help forward the work of preparing for the efficient performance of their special duties. Members of No. 1 Company are notified to leave the Drill Room on that night free to the members of the Reserve Force.

IRISH CITIZEN ARMY SCOUTS' CORPS

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

By Order,

COMMITTEE.

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

Come and help us to win Ireland for the Irish.

UNIFORMS.

The Army Council of the Citizen Army desire to place an order for a New Batch of Uniforms. Any Member desiring to secure a Uniform and willing to pay a Substantial Deposit is invited to leave his name with the Secretary.

GIRLS' AMBULANCE CLASS.

This Class meets every Tuesday Evening at Eight p.m., and all Members of the Irish Women Workers' Union are cordially invited to attend. A competent doctor is in attendance, and the lessons are bright and interesting. Names of intending members should be handed in to Miss Molony, Sec., at Liberty Hall, or at 31 Eden Quay.

Don't Forget **LARKIN'S**

LITTLE SHOP for GOOD VALUE
in Chandlery, Tobacco, Cigarettes, &c.,
36 WEXFORD ST., DUBLIN.
IRISH GOODS A SPECIALITY.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

On Sunday last a very successful and high-class concert was produced before a crowded house at Liberty Hall. This was the first of a series of concerts and dramatic performances which will be held fortnightly in the future. The Cookery Class and First Aid Lectures were well attended during the week, but the attendance at Drill was disappointing last week. The Committee would like to impress on all the members the urgent necessity of regular attendance at this instruction. We Workers—women as well as men—have often indulged in sneers at the sham sort of Volunteers who carry dummy rifles, and play generally at being soldiers. Yet every one of these corps have an auxiliary body attached to them who are trained in First Aid and Home Nursing, and who work hard in many cases collecting money to defray the expenses of their men. Are the Women Workers going to be the only slackers?

We have secured the services of an expert instructor, have excellent premises, and all things needful to make a large and efficient Section of the Citizen Army, and yet the attendance has been disappointingly small. We look to our members to change this during the coming week.

On Monday last a Branch of the Women Workers' Union was formed at Crumlin, and ways and means of getting in every woman worker in the district were considered. In the course of a few weeks we are confident of making Crumlin a stronghold of the Women Workers. Various schemes for amusements as well as Industrial Co-operation are being formulated, and will be announced in due course.

The Secretary begs to remind members of over-due subscriptions, and will be glad to receive same.

All Girls who are out of Employment are requested to Register their Names at Liberty Hall, whether they are Union Members or not.

The following Programme has been arranged for the coming week:—Friday night, 8 p.m., Irish Dancing only. Sunday night General Dancing, Admission of 2d. will be charged. Monday night, 8 p.m., General Dancing, and Cookery Class, under the direction of Miss Gifford. Tuesday, First Aid and Ambulance Lectures by Dr. Kathleen Lynn, F.R.C.S.I. Wednesday, General Dancing. Thursday, Debating Society, from 8 to 9. Thursday, 9 to 10, Squad Drill. Instructor, Mr. Jackson. A Special Class for Writing and Composition has been formed. Members wishing to become Pupils will kindly give their names to Secretary.

WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE

STORES,

31 EDEN QUAY, DUBLIN.

NOW OPEN.

MEN'S WEAR:

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

MEN'S UNDERCLOTHING from 1/11.
CAPS, MUFFLERS, BRACES.

WOMENS' WEAR:

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

CHILDREN'S WEAR:

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

LOW WAGES AFTER THE WAR.

In thanksgiving for the willingness of British Trade Unionists to surrender all their rights during the war a prominent member of the British Aristocracy, Lord Headly, proposes that they shall continue in the good work and work for lower wages after the war. The report says that speaking at the inaugural luncheon of the Confectioners' and Bakers' and Allied Trades Exhibition at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, yesterday afternoon, Lord Headly (who presided) said the British bakers and confectioners could easily be enabled to regain the trade they had lost. It seemed to him that as we were all going to be poorer after the war, the British working man would consent to work for somewhat lower wages than heretofore, and thus help the country to supply itself and himself with necessities without having to wander abroad for them.

STARVATION DURING THE WAR.

At the inquest at Hackney yesterday on John Euesden (50), bricklayer's labourer, of Dalston, who committed suicide by taking spirits of salts, a married daughter said deceased told her that whenever he went for work he was informed he was too old. He told her that he had been to Woolwich Arsenal in order to get work, that he had been kept waiting all day, and that he was then informed that there was nothing for him as they had not "sufficient stuff."

The Coroner: Some malignant fate seems to overhang Woolwich Arsenal. This is the second inquest I have held in two weeks on men who have been to the Arsenal and been unable to get work.

The jury returned a verdict of "Suicide during temporary insanity," and one of their number remarked that he was connected with a trade union which had had many complaints about men not being able to get work at the Arsenal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BLACKPOOL FACTORY GIRL. Cannot publish letters when the writer declines to send the name as a guarantee of good faith.

HIGH STREET CORRESPONDENT. We have only contempt for anyone like you who writes vilifying his branch officials under cover of an unsigned letter. If your charges are true why not be a man and stand up to them.

CITIZEN ARMY. We agree with you. Any man who obtained a weapon from the Citizen Army and does not attend drill, but uses his weapon for sporting purposes is worse than a scab, he is a traitor. The need for his gun and his cartridges may come at any moment when we are least thinking of it, and then good men and true might lose their lives because this traitor was absent or had wasted his ammunition. Help us to weed these traitors out.

IRISH REPUBLICAN. Your sentiments are all right, but your method of expressing them is too raw for this journal.

VICTORY IN SLIGO.

Our esteemed comrade, Alderman John Lynch, of Sligo, President of the Sligo Branch of the Transport Union, has just succeeded in gaining an increase of 2/6 per week for the Lamplighters of that city. So it goes on. This is the sort of trench that is worth capturing from the enemy.

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

ROSSA

BORN 1831.

DIED 1915.

BURIED GLASNEVIN CEMETERY, DUBLIN,

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1ST, 1915.

***"Oh, do not fear for Ireland,
For she has soldiers still."***

SECOND EDITION.

Published by the O'Donovan Rossa Funeral Committee,
41 Parnell Square, Dublin.

Price ONE PENNY.

ROSSA

BORN 1831.

DIED 1915.

BURIED GLASNEVIN CEMETERY, DUBLIN.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1ST, 1915.

I.—THE ENGLISH LIE.

England's chief weapon in her long struggle with Ireland is the English lie. Every Irish Nationalist knows this. And every Irish Nationalist ought to know it is a weapon for use, unscrupulous, treacherous, far-reaching and deadly. Most of us thought we had comprehended the English lie, and some of us prided ourselves on not underestimating it. But till Rossa died not one of us had the exact measure of its possibilities; and now we can only know that as there are infamies in Hell which we cannot fathom, we henceforth must be ready against every surprise of Hell. For Hell is the source of the Lie. From the agony of his prison Rossa cried out: "They can lie like Hell," and even then with all the revelations that revolted the world we did not realise that this was literally and exactly true, that, black and infamous as the pit from which their inspiration comes: they can lie like Hell. But now when Rossa's body is hardly cold in death, the lie is flashed across the Atlantic, that not only was he reconciled to England, but he even called to us to fight for her as he died; and we begin to realise that the Lie like Hell is unfathomable. Our answer is the fit answer. We rally to the graveside of the heroic dead and show we are not deceived; and by that graveside it would be fit also to repeat what Rossa said and wrote, that those who have not heard may now be wise. To the good people at home who counselled surrender he wrote: "I am sorry that I forfeit the esteem of any of my people on account of my firm adherence to the principles of my life." To

those who believe in parliamentary agitation he wrote: "With the history Irishmen have or ought to have, by heart, it is surprising how easy it is to lead them to expect redress for their grievances from the Parliament of England—from that Parliament that has so often cajoled and deceived them, that Parliament whose proper function is to rivet the chains by which they are held in bondage." Of how to fight England he wrote: "I believe with John Mitchel that for Ireland's wrongs, her artificial famines, her packed juries, her perjured judges, her grinding landlords, there is but one sole remedy—the edge of the sword." And he made this acute maxim of his own: "The work that England fears most is the work that Irishmen should practise and study most." But it is when we come to his prison experiences, when the enemy had their grip on his throat, and the Lie in all its hellishness used against him, that we get his most passionate utterances; and we begin to get some measure of the lie that flashed out at his death. "They will never scruple to carry out their ends by falsehood, and here we are not able to meet them," wrote Rossa of the false evidence sworn against him and others in connection with the Phoenix Society on the occasion of his first arrest. But not until he is undergoing penal servitude for his work in the Fenian movement is he fully in the meshes of the Lie. Rossa himself only gradually realised it and then it became one long struggle to get the truth to the outer world. He was allowed to write to his wife, but if he wrote about his prison treatment his letters were intercepted. When given a chance to write another letter in place of one that was stopped, he always accepted the offer, but made it a point to repeat what was in the first. This may seem strange till we read his own explanation, and it shows how keen he was in meeting his enemies: "I was by this time wide awake to some of their trickery. If I refused to write they would put my refusal on record, and thus gain a strong point against me in that battle with public opinion to which I was determined to bring them, if at all possible. If I wrote out a letter, stating nothing of my treatment, while they were treating me in a manner calculated to bring me to an early grave, they, in case I died, and that any question was raised about my ill-treatment, would cry out, 'It is all false. Look at his last letter to his wife; see if there is a word in it about ill-treatment.' Acting with the doom of death staring me in the face, I, every time I was allowed to write a letter to my wife, wrote of my prison life. For three years they kept suppressing these letters, during which time she never heard from me. The reflection that she might imagine I did not care about writing to her was painful enough to me, but I had put everything into the fight, and I made up my mind to sacrifice everything before I would play into the hands of such a hypocritical, heartless, merciless enemy as I had to deal with." When he was denied open communication, he resolved to try other means. He writes: "I went back to my cell and determined that, right or wrong, by fair play or by foul,

I would never stop till I found some means of reaching the world, and getting out an account of our treatment." From that forward the ingenuity he displayed in getting through fellow-prisoners bits of pencil and bits of paper and trying to smuggle out letters is astonishing. In the end he succeeded. But before his success he was being constantly detected, and discovery was always followed by punishment. The story of his first effort to get out a letter secretly will show how the Lie goaded him through every punishment till he at last laid it bare. He got the materials and he wrote his letter; and he tells us: "As I feared that letters addressed to 'Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa' would be opened in the post office, I directed this one to the mother of Michael Moore, and on the cover of the envelope I wrote in very small writing the words 'For Mrs. O'D.' But the letter was discovered. One of the prisoners who promised to get it smuggled out was suspected and searched before he could get it away. And Rossa was brought before the Governor, and the Governor said: 'You are charged with endeavouring to get a letter out of prison surreptitiously to the wife of another prisoner.' This was actually recorded against him on the books as an intrigue with another prisoner's wife. Rossa took it at first as a joke, but he found it was no joke when he tried to have it corrected, lest as he says, "it might remain on record and be brought forward at some time to defame my character—for this is a trick England plays on dead enemies." Mark those prophetic words: "This is a trick England plays on dead enemies." Keep them in mind now and in the future; and think how Rossa must have felt when he was brought to see—that not only his body and his life but his very character itself was at the mercy of his unscrupulous enemies. It nerved him to persevere till he at last reached the world. Something got into the press; then came exposure, the Commission of Inquiry, and revelations. But first Rossa had to suffer for years the dread of dying in prison, branded before the world, and the agony of that fear will remain in mind as long as his words, literally true, remain: "They can lie like Hell." Yet despite of it the Master Lie itself comes forth to proclaim that Rossa yielded at the end, but we nail the Master Lie with Rossa's own words:

"I have made no peace with England. I am at war with her, and so help me God! I will wage that war against her till she is stricken to her knees or till I am stricken to my grave."

II.—THE PHOENIX SOCIETY. ENTER ROSSA.

It was necessary to dispose of the lie before taking a brief view of Rossa's career. That career in its National activities begins with The Phoenix Society, which was later merged in the Fenian Movement. In his "Recollections" Rossa tells us how it came into

being : " I remember when Gavan Duffy left Ireland. I think it was in 1854. He issued an address to the Irish people in which he said that the Irish national cause was like a corpse on the dissecting table. Yet, the cause was not dead though it was certainly stricken by a kind of *trom-luighe*—a kind of heavy sleep that came upon it after the failure of '48, and after the recreancy of the Sadlier and Keogh gang of parliamentary patriots. The " corpse " came to life again. Thus he throws some light on the state of the country and he goes on to say : " Two years after the time I am speaking of a number of young men in Skibbereen, realising the sad state of things came together and started The Phoenix National and Literary Society. I think that Society was started in 1856. I remember the night we met to give it a name. Some proposed that it be called the Emmet Monument Association.' Others proposed other names. I proposed that it be called the Phoenix National and Literary Society—the word Phoenix signifying that the Irish cause was again to rise from the ashes of our martyred nationality. My resolution was carried, and that is how the word ' Phoenix ' comes into Irish National history." Nothing particular happened for a couple of years ; but the Society kept together somewhat like the Celtic Literary Societies we have known in our own day. The members celebrated their first anniversary on the 2nd January, 1858, the consequences of which were far-reaching. The proceedings were reported and the reports reached James Stephens and John O'Mahony. Stephens was in Paris, and Rossa thinks O'Mahony was, too. " Anyway," Rossa writes, " they were in communication with each other, or got into communication with each other." The report of the Skibbereen meeting showed them that the old cause was not dead ; that the seed of national life was in the old land still. They agreed to start into action. James Stephens was to act in Ireland and John O'Mahony was to act in America. From that the Fenian movement grew. Before passing on to consider it, interest will be found in some extracts from the speech Rossa delivered on the occasion of the anniversary. It will show how the report brought encouragement to Stephens and O'Mahony. Rossa spoke to the toast of " Our Country." How apt the following is to-day : " Too much talk and too little action have been the characteristics of Irish patriotism during a large portion of the last half century ; and as we are supposed to learn from experience, it is believed that less of the former and a corresponding increase of the latter will, in the future, serve our country's cause best and our enemy's cause least. . . . It is an established fact that we have no country. We are the most cosmopolitan race in the whole universe ; but Irishmen **should** have a country ; they have a right to the country of their birth. By the use and aid of one steel—the pen—our committee have taken possession of that right, and as their title one day may be disputed, I trust they will be able and willing to prove it by the aid of another steel—the sword." The boast of " The Times " that the Irish were

gone with a vengeance was still recent. Rossa replies: "The Irish are not gone, but part of them are gone, and in whatever clime their pulses beat to-night, that 'vengeance' which banished them is inscribed on their hearts, impregnates their blood, and may yet operate against that oppressor who, by his exterminating and extirpating laws deprived them of a means of living in the land of their fathers." And here is how Rossa concludes: "It shall ever be my pride to stand, as I stand here to-night, amongst men who are prepared to assist in any and every agitation or undertaking to obtain their rights, or an instalment of their rights, which may ultimately result in qualifying them to write the epitaph of Robert Emmet." By the report—which appeared in "The Dundalk Democrat" of the time, to which paper it was sent—the proceedings were enthusiastic. From the temper of Rossa's speech we can understand the encouragement to Stephens and O'Mahony. Stephens lost no time in coming to Ireland. And this brings us to the Fenian movement.

[III.—THE FENIAN MOVEMENT.

James Stephens came to Skibbereen in May, 1858. In his "Recollections" Rossa says: "He had a letter of introduction from James O'Mahony, of Bandon, to Donal Oge—one of our members. He initiated Donal Oge (Dan McCartie) into the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. Donal Oge initiated me the next day; I initiated Patrick J. Downing and Morty Moynahan the following day; and so, the good cause spread." In his "Prison Life" Rossa gives an account of the promises made by Stephens. "In the month of May, 1858, one of my companions called into my residence in Skibbereen and asked me to take a walk with him, as he had something of importance to communicate to me. I went out, and during our ramble up the Steam-mill Road he informed me that on the preceding evening he had received a note of introduction from a stranger, given to him by a mutual friend in Bandon. The stranger told him that the Irishmen in America had resolved to aid us at home in achieving the independence of Ireland, and the aid was to consist of arms and men. If we had a certain number of men sworn to fight, there would be an equal number of arms in Ireland for these men when enrolled, and an invading force of from five to ten thousand before the start. The arms were to be in the country before the men would be asked to stir; they would not be given into their hands, but they were to be kept in hiding-places until the appointed time, when every centre would take his men to the spot and get the weapons. As soon as we had enrolled the men willing to fight we were to get military instructors to teach us how to do as soldiers. I jumped at the proposition of 'joining'; and

next day I inoculated a few others whom I told to go and do likewise. The stranger who came to the town that May evening was Mr. Stephens, and I was promised an introduction to him in a short time if I would work well." Rossa tells us they had about one hundred members in the Phoenix Society at that time and, he writes, "before a month had elapsed from the day of Mr. Stephens' visit we had over ninety of them enrolled in the new movement. Before the autumn months had passed away we had the whole district of country in a blaze, and in October we had a drill-master sent to us from Dublin." Soon other districts were ablaze and the fire spread; and Rossa was able to write: "In Ireland, when it was a question of uniting to fight against England, we were too fast for our brothers across the Atlantic, for we had the men ready to fight before they had given us the arms to do so." Of course the Government took alarm, as the Government always does when Irishmen begin to drill and look for weapons. And before the end of the year Rossa and some twenty of his friends—arrested in Skibbereen on 5th December—were lodged in Cork jail. Some Bantry men were also arrested and all were held in Cork awaiting evidence on a charge of conspiracy.

Rossa calls this the "arrest of the Phoenix men," which keeps it distinct from the arrest of the Fenian leaders seven years later in 1865. But it was, of course part of the Fenian movement in its beginnings and had a very direct bearing on the 65 trials, especially as it touched Rossa himself. All the men arrested were released on bail except Rossa and five others, who were detained in prison from December, '58 to July, '59. The Government then offered to release them if they would plead guilty. This they had already refused to do; but they were now offered the release of a friend who had been sentenced to ten years penal servitude on a similar charge (Daniel O'Sullivan, Agreeem, convicted at the March Assizes in Tralee). They took counsel at this and decided to accept the terms. John O'Leary says in his "Memoirs" that word was sent to them **not** to plead guilty. Rossa says they never got such a message; but that they understood from men in Cork with whom they were in touch that the work seemed dead and they might as well accept the terms. The temptation to secure the release of their friend from penal servitude won them over; but the terms were fatal for Rossa himself in the sequel; for they (the prisoners) were bound to come up for judgment on the plea of guilty, if ever there was a repetition of the charge against them. So, when Rossa was brought up again for trial in '65, there was no escape for him.

Notwithstanding the danger, Rossa was active again soon after his release. In his "Prison Life" he writes: "I recommenced my pursuits, political and commercial, a few months after my release from prison, and I found it much more difficult to be successful in the legal than the in-illegal one. . . . For, of course, the stock-in-trade lies were told of us, that we were going

lords, and overturn altars." Still the movement seems to have practically dropped for a couple of years. Rossa speaks of a new stir in 1860, but the great stimulus came with the McManus funeral in '61. Rossa writes: "The McManus funeral tended very much to increase the strength of the Fenian movement. Men from Leinster, Ulster, Munster and Connaught met in Dublin who never met each other before. They talked of the old cause and of the national spirit in their respective provinces and each went back to his home strengthened for more vigorous work." And the work went ahead. "The Irish People" newspaper was established in '63, and Stephens invited Rossa to become its manager. This brought Rossa into touch with the movement through the whole country; and thenceforward it was constant activity with him up to the seizure and arrests in September, '65. From this we will pass on to consider his attitude at the trial.

"The jury was duly packed," writes Rossa, "and . . . I resolved to throw up my counsel and to commence my own defence on Monday morning." To Judge Keogh he said: "I believe this trial is a legal farce, and I won't be a party to it by being represented by counsel." And he began his defence. He made use of the occasion not to defend himself, but to expose the court and chiefly Judge Keogh. He spoke for eight hours. This will give some notion of how he worried and baffled the court, to get an adequate idea of which one must go to the report of the trial itself. At six o'clock in the evening he asked for an adjournment, which was refused, whereupon he threw up his defence. Next day when the usual question was put asking him to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he said: "With the fact that the Government seized papers connected with my defence and examined them—with the fact that they packed the jury—with the fact that the Government stated they would convict—with the fact that they sent Judge Keogh, a second Norbury, to try me—with these facts before me, it would be useless to say anything." And he was right. The sentence was penal servitude for life. When asked subsequently why he took the defiant course at his trial, he said: "I saw myself doomed, and thought I might as well have the value of my money out of them as be standing in apparent awe, silently looking on at the farce of giving me a trial." Bear in mind that he had pleaded guilty to the charge against the Phoenix Men in '59, and they had him at their mercy. There were adverse comments on the course he adopted, but Rossa himself was satisfied in having the approval of men whom he respected, such as Mitchel, who wrote: "Your readers must have followed with intense interest the reports of the trials (as they were called) in Ireland. Our poor friends who have been called upon this time to stand before courts and juries have all behaved nobly; but to my mind the conduct of O'Donovan Rossa was the noblest of them all. It was very imprudent of him to take this course, and, in fact, it brought on him a sentence for life."

instead of twenty years. But at any rate, he did the thing that was right, and just, and manly."

IV.—PRISON TORTURES.

It would be quite impossible in the brief space here to give even a faint idea of the presistent hellishness with which Rossa's jailers tortured him in prison. Examples may be quoted to show that, not content with starving and torturing and chaining the body, they struck at his mind by heaping on him shame, disgust and insult. For these fiends made the infliction of pain such a devilish art, that they passed from the torture of the body to the torture of the mind. Rossa speaks of the shame of the first examination in Pentonville Prison. Six of them were ordered to strip naked. He writes: "There we were in a row, quite naked, before the gaze of these officials, and then commenced that examination of us which cannot well be described, but which left an impression on our minds never to be effaced. These English people speak of their sense of decency—nay, they have laws in the interest of morality that punish wanton exposure of the person, but such gross ruffianism as attended our entrance into a residence in the civilised city of London is something that should be put an end to, even in a convict prison." But this shame was pushed to the uttermost. When later on he was in Millbank he had to submit to it every day for a period of three months. He writes: "For three months, day after day, two of these officers came and put me through the same process. I felt it more than anything connected with my prison life; and when the supervision came so close upon me, that, when taking a bath, a jailer had to stand over me, I have no words to describe my feelings of shame. I am not very sensitive, nor very thin-skinned, not very refinedly fashioned, but I owe to some early association the possession of some very strong prejudices against my fellowman looking at me in a state of nature." But Rossa had to endure the shame. Here is how they added disgust. A jailer ordered two men to clean a closet one day. Subsequently, he told Rossa that his turn would come next. Rossa appealed to the Governor, but he had to submit. The jailer noted this and improved the occasion. When Rossa went out he (the jailer) said: "You went to the Governor to know if you would be made to clean the closet, but now instead of having two of you to clean it once every three weeks, I will make you clean it every Monday morning." Rossa told his companions he would refuse, and they remonstrated with him. Luby spoke of the example of Mitchel in submitting to prison discipline as more in accordance with the dignity of the Cause; but Rossa could not imagine Mitchel

shovelling dung out of a closet. Rossa, however, yielded on John O'Leary's argument: "that some four or six of our party had cleaned the closet before me, and my refusing to do it would look like a reflection on their spirit or a presumption of my own superiority." But the temptation to resist became a resolution when to shame and disgust was added insult, studied and continuous. One day his jailer said to Rossa, "You're a man that would suck another man's blood." Rossa complained to the Governor and was told not to be "too sensitive," and the Governor added to the insult, "nothing can make you more degraded than you are." Yet with this treatment Rossa had to stand to attention and salute the Governor. This was the last straw. He says: "While undergoing punishment in solitary confinement, I began to think these salaams meant nothing more than my humiliation, and with that came into my mind all the vile words of wanton insult heaped on me from time to time by Director and Governor, such as—'Do you think I can believe you convicts?' 'You're better fed than when you fed yourselves.'" Rossa resisted, and his resistance culminated in his refusal to salute the Governor. More, he resolved to turn the insult over on the enemy. He tells us: "I had determined when the Governor came for his salute to-morrow to have my slop-pail full of water, and to pitch it right into his face, and once I had made up my mind to do it it was done." The morning came, and with it the Governor. The officer outside cried, "Attention; salute the Governor." The Governor looked through the bars to see where I was, and as he did he got my salute right full in the face. It was the fairest shot I ever saw, and while the water was streaming down his clothes—'That,' said I, 'is the salute I owe you,' and then laying hold of the timber door, I slammed it with a force that shook the building." Rossa could see a touch of humour in his darkest hour, and he does not omit to tell us how the warder cried out to the Governor to console him, "Oh, sir, 'tis clean water." But for this he had to suffer savagely. His hands were handcuffed behind his back from morning till night for thirty-five days, except at meal time, when they were handcuffed in front, which required him to lap his food like a dog.

In these days of dubious atrocities it is well to know that the English atrocities above set down are authenticated by the English Press itself. It all came out at the Commission of Inquiry. "The Spectator" wrote: "It is true, then, we are sorry to say, that the complaints so angrily and persistently made in Ireland for the last three years, regarding the treatment of the Fenian prisoners detained in English jails, have been, if not literally maintained, certainly in their substance justified. . . . In one case, the case of O'Donovan Rossa, punishment was carried to the extent of torture—torture of a novel kind, certainly, but quite as brutal as the boot, and protracted with a vindictive pertinacity unprecedented, we hope and believe, in this century on this side of the equator."

V.—ROSSA'S RESISTANCE. THE MOTIVE.

A few words may be said of the motive and spirit of Rossa's resistance, since his friends at first tried to dissuade him from it. He saw that his jailers were bent on humiliating him in the hope of crushing his spirit, and he says: "I determined that there was one man who would go to his grave before he gave them the satisfaction of seeing they could lash him into submission, by insult, chains, and bread and water." His resistance was studied, well planned, and kept up with astonishing perseverance. The preserving of his spirit unbroken required that he should fight. His temperament made it so, and in the spirit and character of his resistance his temperament is clearly seen. Here he is a contrast to John O'Leary. O'Leary had all the restraint and dignity of a Roman stoic; he scorned to argue with the enemy. But Rossa had that irrepressible disposition that must, not only act up to but, speak out the truth that is in him or die. To argue with his jailers brought him punishment; he took every punishment rather than be silenced. He and O'Leary were equal in constancy though the character of their constancy made such contrasts. Another thing to note about Rossa is that with his inflexible determination he united a high good humour. In fact to his disposition to joke in his misfortunes he attributed his life: "To this disposition of mine I believe I owe the fact of my wife not being a widow to-day, for had I given way to passion on every indignity being heaped on me, I would have burned myself up long ago." Where O'Leary would have been cold with withering disdain, Rossa burned with passionate indignation. That was why Rossa had to fight; and when he began to fight that was why he had to joke. His humour runs all through his resistance. Sometimes as you read of his prison treatment and feel like cursing his jailers for their savagery, you suddenly catch yourself chuckling at his remarks. On one occasion he was undergoing starvation punishment and the Deputy Governor came to visit him. When the lantern was held into the black hole where he was lodged, Rossa hailed the Governor: "Governor, is there any chance at all of getting eggs for breakfast here?" But his jailers were hopeless. He was reported for insolence and asking for an "extra breakfast." That was how they took the joke. It is but one of many examples. What we should bear in mind is that Rossa's was no passing misfortune in which many of us might make a virtue of forcing a joke; we have to remember the implacable savagery he was enduring for years, that for years he was trying without success to get a word of truth to the world—and suffering for every failure, and in spite of it all keeping his gaiety alive: when we think of it, we see how just was Mitchel in paying tribute to the nobility of the man. Kickham, too, among others, paid Rossa his tribute. From his estimate as genuine as Mitchel's, we can take one word which perhaps more aptly than any other single word can be used to sum up the character of Rossa—indomitable.

VI.—ROSSA'S CHARACTER AND FENIAN DIFFICULTIES.

A little further consideration of Rossa's character will throw more light on the man and on some difficulties of the movement. While he had the resolution of a man, he was as open as a child. He was frank with every one and perfectly candid in stating his views. We have seen that where injustice had to be met, he would speak his mind at any cost; and this characteristic appears frequently when there was trouble with the priests over the Fenian oath. Rossa always resented the charge that they were irreligious, and fought with anybody and everybody who brought it forward. He stated the simple truth when he said: "Those who were banded together to fight for civil and religious liberty would be the first to stand in defence of their faith if any foe threatened their altars." On the question of the oath he always held with the view of John O'Mahony expressed in his correspondence which Rossa published in his "Recollections." O'Mahony wrote in 1859: "Our association is neither anti-Catholic nor irreligious. We are an Irish army, not a secret society. We make no secret of our objects or designs. We simply bind ourselves to conceal such matters as are needful to be kept from the enemy's knowledge, both for the success of our strategy and the safety of our friends. I hold that I do not exceed the bounds prescribed by my religion when I swear this, nor shall I ever tax my conscience with it in the confessional." That was the view held generally by fenians. In publishing the letter Rossa writes: "I bring into my book that letter of John O'Mahony's that it may live in the history of Fenianism, to stand against what may be said about the movement being opposed to the Church." But Rossa even went further. He said: "I do not wonder that any priest would turn away from his confessional any Irishman who would kneel at it, confessing to him as one of his sins, that he had taken a pledge or an oath to fight as a soldier for the freedom of his country." But sometimes a priest would put the question himself in confession, and so a fenian could not be sure of escaping the difficulty by simply obeying his own conscience; and many of them were troubled. Rossa, who was faithful to his religion in every difficulty, always sympathised with these difficulties of his comrades. He generally found a way out himself and was glad to record: "It is right also to add that there was no diocese in which there were not many priests to bless the labourers and wish God-speed to the work." In another passage he summed up the situation very accurately: "The majority of them (the priests) are rebels at heart; the minority pro-English. But in consequence of the discipline or of the government of the Church, this minority could speak and did speak; the majority could not speak and had to remain silent." Those who read Rossa's books with understanding cannot fail to see his genuine loyalty to his religion. Little touches bring it out better than long arguments. When he was approaching manhood he became familiar with Davis, Meagher and

Mitchel through their writings and he says: "I well rememay, how sorry I felt that these men were 'Infidels.' I used to s be what a pity it is, little dreaming that I, in my own day, was to be the victim of denunciations similar to those which were hurled at the '48 men." In his manhood he wrote: "No man can find his way to my heart more easily than the good priest, the soggarth aroon." And in his old age he wrote thus of his childhood: "That time, when I was only a very little boy, I must have been a very big sinner, for I remember the day of my first confession, when I came out the chapel door, relieved of the weight of my sins, and faced the iron gate that stood between me and the main road, I felt as though I could leap over that gate." How many of Rossa's critics would fail to produce so natural and so true a touch as this. I, myself, saw Rossa in his old age going to his Easter Duty in the Cathedral at Cork; and the picture I have in mind of him, then, taken with that picture he himself gives of his childhood, makes for me a perfect picture of the consistent life. Rossa never wavered in his allegiance to God or country. He could speak for eight hours together in defence of his faith as he did at his trial, but he could also condense his faith into a line, as in this: "I believe in God, but I defy the Devil." If we all have as pure a faith as Rossa's and act up to it with as fine a constancy, Ireland shall have no need to despair.

VII.—ROSSA AND THE LANGUAGE.

Rossa was a native Irish speaker. As a child he lived for years with his grandfather and there he tells us his tongue learned to carry the Irish language without any strain. "The Irish language was the language of the house at my grandfather's place. It was the language of the table, the language of the milking baan, the language of the sowing and reaping, the language of the mowing, the "mihal" and the harvest home. The English language may be spoken when the landlord or English-speaking people came the way, but the language natural to everyone in the house was Irish, and in the Irish language I commenced to grow." Not only were there native Irish speakers in the ranks of the Fenians, but there were native speakers and scholars among the leaders; and if the Fenian movement had triumphed, the cause of the language was safe. Rossa had a proper conception of the value of the language. He wrote: "Notwithstanding all that English laws have done to blot Irish history, the Irish people in the Irish language still hold their own. That is why England has tried hard to kill the Irish language." And that is why the first principle of the Language Movement now should be to kill English rule in Ireland. That is the obvious moral. Let those learn it, who at the mention of it

hold up their hands, crying "politics"; and yet who plead to have Ireland made wholly Irish. For they are very illogical. When Ireland was wholly Irish, Ireland was wholly free.

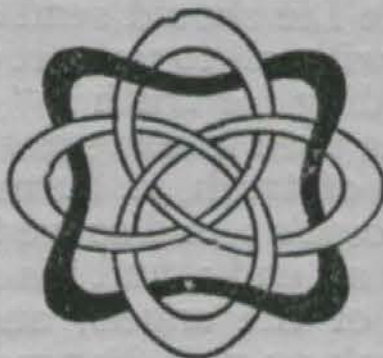
VIII.—THE LESSON FROM ROSSA.

And what, in conclusion is the lesson to be drawn from Rossa's life? It lies in that word of Kickham's, indomitable. Where we mobilise in our armed thousands to receive his remains, his spirit cries to us: "Be indomitable." And that resolution should be formed and fixed in every heart if we have caught the inspiration from his soul as we march to the grave with his body which we are privileged and proud to guard. And we should remember that oath of his to make no peace with England as a sacred pledge true to his faith. "I believe in God, but I defy the Devil"—a renunciation of English rule as a sacred necessity like to his Baptismal bond to renounce the Devil and all his works and pomps. This is literal truth. Rossa hated English tyranny as Mitchel hated it, and, like Mitchel, he made no compromise. But, like Mitchel, too, there was no more malice in his heart then in the heart of a child. He never nursed a personal wrong. Even before he left the shadow of Chatham prison he could write like this to a sympathiser, apparently an Englishman: "I should wish to see Irishmen and Englishmen friends as well as neighbours. . . . No course of life will ever find me fostering ill-will between Englishmen and Irishmen." Like Mitchel, Rossa saw that friendship between neighbouring countries should be natural, but it could only come with the breaking of the political bond; and against that bond the oath stands. He never ceased to warn his people against English laws, English statesmen, and English promises; and we are not deceived to-day; but if ever the disciples of the Lie should send a cloud across our judgment, the voice of Rossa will call to us as it came years ago from the agony of the prison, pleading for truth: "They can lie like Hell." When a phrase, some time used in exaggeration, is suddenly spoken with the utter nakedness of truth, it burns with a fierce meaning. So it is with that cry of Rossa's; and so we take his meaning to-day. But his torture is now at an end; and his spirit we can be assured is proud with the pride of the angels, and free and happy. He must be happy, too, to look on us. For we recall the time in early days when he told us how he exhibited a rifle and other weapons on his premises to prove to his timid friends that they were entitled to possess arms; and now he can see us marshalled in thousands as soldiers and carrying our weapons bravely in the sun. In our weapons lies our assurance for the future: they are the symbols of our faith, our strength and our discipline: they are the pledge of our preparation for battle. When or how that battle may come

we cannot say ; that there will be vicissitudes is probable ; but that there can be but one end is certain ; and the end is victory. Whatever checks we may yet receive, and for however long, we have won ground that can never more be lost ; and the question of Irish freedom is but a question of time. Be indomitable. The battle will come ; and with the promise of Ireland's freedom would we not all pray to survive—to survive and proclaim her victory, to assert her greatness, to build up anew the foundations of her glory : that is something to live for—the goal of a life's ambition. But in the battle some must fall. Be indomitable, and who can be sure which is the better part ? Think of Rossa, gone to join the spirits of O'Leary, whom he revered, and Kickham whom he loved, and all their comrades ; and think of the gathering to meet them of the noble spirits of the earlier years—the martyrs of many a persecution, and the heroes of many a field—we can imagine them gathering together to await the issue of the last fight. Why, then, pray either to stand or fall, when either way we are happy ? But pray for courage and constancy. And if we survive, we shall rejoice in putting Ireland, as Lalor dreamed, at the head of the nations : and if we fall, our spirits rising from another battlefield shall be found worthy to enter what must surely be one of the noblest companies of Heaven.

TERENCE J. MACSWINEY.

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