

THE

IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

Vol 2. No. 48 (New Series).

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1915.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF IRISH VOLUNTEERS

The second Annual Convention of the Irish Volunteers was held on Sunday, October 31st, in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin at 11 a.m. Eoin Mac Neill presided, and the following delegates attended:—

Central Executive and General Council—Eoin Mac Neill, O'Rahilly, T. MacDonagh, J. Plunkett, P. Beazley, P. Macken, J. Fitzgibbon, P. H. Pearse, P. O'Ryan, Bulmer Hobson, C. Colbert, E. Kent, J. MacDermott, J. O'Connor, W. Mellows, C. O'Loughlin, F. White, Art O'Connor, L. Synnott, P. McCann, T. MacCurtin, James Ledden, L. Lardner, P. Hughes, J. E. Daly, F. Lawless.

Antrim—Belfast City, T. Smith.

Clare—Carron, T. O. Murthille; Inagh, Sean Mac Cumann.

Cavan—Ballinagh, James O'Sullivan.

Carlow—Bagnalstown, Peter Carton.

Cork—Cork City, C. Company, John Jennings; A. Company, Sean O'Sullivan; B. Company, Sean O. Murchadha; D. Company, P. O'Gorman; Courtbrack, D. O. Loingsigh; Kanturk, J. J. Walsh; Mounse Abbey, Iain De Roiste; Knockaduff, Tadgh Barry; Mitchelstown, Sean Cathasigh; Tracton, Michael F. Lynch; Fermoy, Thomas Kent; Cove, Liam O'Brian; Dumanaway, T. Mac Suibhne; Kilmora, Raitha De Barra; Ballinadee, Thomas Hales.

Dublin—Lusk, Liam Rooney; Skerries, Seamus Mac Domhnaill; St. Margaret's, Thomas O'Reilly; Dalkey, R. MacDermott; Swords, C. Moran; Donabate, M. MacAllister; Tallaght and Clondalkin, Michael Ryder.

Dublin City Regiment—1st Battalion, A. Company, E. J. Duggan; B. Company, J. K. O'Reilly; C. Company, J. E. Lyons; D. Company, Sean Mac Aodha; E. Company, F. O. Loingsigh; G. and H. Companies, J. Alwright; 2nd Battalion: B. Company, T. Hunter; C. Company, E. Price; E. Company, T. Wafar; F. Company, M. O'Reilly; G. Company, P. Galligan; 3rd Battalion: A. Company, J. O'Connor; B. Company, M. Ryan; C. Company, M. Malone; D. Company, C. MacDowell; E. Company, W. Tannam; 4th Battalion: A. Company, J. Murphy; B. Company, G. Irvine; C. Company, T. MacCarthy; D. Company, W. O'Brien; E. Company, F. Macken; F. Company, P. S. Doyle. Dublin County Board, L. Raul.

Galway—Loughrea, O'Flaherty; Oranmore, M. J. Howley; Spiddal, Eamonn Breathnach; Ballinasloe, Joseph Gaffney; Athenry, John Cleary; Clarenbridge, P. Cullinan.

Kildare—Naas, Thomas Traynor; Maynooth, Domhnall O'Buchalla; Athgarra, Eamonn O'Modhrain.

Kerry—Cahiriveen, Sean O'Ceallaigh; Dingle, J. J. Malone; Lissle, Tomas Aghas; Listowel, Edward Leahy; Listlilick and Oakpark, Mac Langner.

King's County—Tullamore, S. O'Braonain; Edenderry, Sean O'Shea.

Kilkenny—Clomantagh, Sean Mac Giobain; Kilkenny, P. De Longhrey.

Louth—Drogheda, Sean Nicson; Dundalk, Francis Coburn; Grangebellew, N. Butterley.

Limerick—Angleboro, W. J. Ryan; Doon, Padraig O'Riain; Meelick Cross, M. J. Bren-

nan; Ardpatrick, D. P. Manahan; Hospital, Sean O'Gearbhaill; Kilenan, B. Laffan; Castleconnell, J. Herbert; Ballylanders, J. J. Condon; St. Ita's (Limerick), Proinsias O Gaortha; Limerick City—A. Coy., Colivert; B. Coy., James Ledden; C. Coy., R. P. O'Connor; D. Coy., E. Walsh; Dromcollogher, Dr. Hayes; Foynes, A. Ua Caomhleathan.

Derry—Newbridge, A. Newman; Magherafelt, Louis Smith; 1st Battalion, Derry, James Kavanagh.

Monaghan—Ematras, E. Blythe.

Meath—Dunboyne, J. Boylan; Kells, Liam O'Brien.

Queen's County—Vicarstown, F. J. McEvoy. Silgo—Tubbercurry, Alex. McCabe; Clifoney, Charles McGarrigle; Keash, A. McCabe.

Tipperary—Fethard, W. Cantwell; Clonmel, Frank Drohan; Dualla, Owen Keeran; Galbally, Wm. Quirke.

Tyrone—Benburb, John Shields; Coalisland, Hugh McRory; Sixmilecross, Peter McGirr; Clougher, Patrick Quinn; Tromogue, Michael McCartan.

Waterford—Waterford City, Peter Woods.

Mayo—Castlebar, Patrick Moneley.

Wexford—New Ross, P. Lennon; Ferns, W. J. Brennan Whitmore; Wexford, Patrick Furlong; Gorey, J. R. Etchingham; Enniscorthy, Seamus Doyle.

Westmeath—Athlone, Sean O Mairthille.

Wicklow—Bray, S. McCarthy.

England—Bootle, S. Hennessy; Liverpool, T. Craven.

Scotland—Glasgow, A. Company, J. Robinson.

A message of greeting was received from the annual Convention of Cumann na mBan, which was meeting at the same time at Volunteer Headquarters. The following message was also received from An t-éagair Clement Ó Luagha, O.S.C.: "So gcuirtear Dia céan míle uaire níos mó ndur plúige ir go neartuigir De le Clainn na Maccabéac go reiptora beiré gac noma éireann amac. Amen."

The President, Eoin Mac Neill, in opening the Convention, spoke as follows:—

At the opening of this second Convention of the Irish Volunteers, it is my duty to review the position of our organisation since the first Convention, and to say something with regard to the year's work before us. By a system of gradual pressure and inducement, efforts were made to divert the Irish Volunteers from their original and only proper objects to which every man of us had pledged himself. In our very councils the doctrine was boldly proclaimed that our duty was, not

to follow that standard of principle, but to support the changing decisions of a political leader. We were not even to ask whether these decisions were right or wrong. The public were told, as we were told, that to raise any question of that kind was forbidden—that it was the work of factionists, cranks, and sore-heads, of shriekers and kickers, of no-bodies and disgruntled people and Mrs. Gummidges. Anything that was not the faithful echo of the ever-changing voice was declared to be "a slur on Mr. Redmond" or "at attempt to stab him in the back." In short, we were asked to submit to the rule of an autocracy which claimed to be infallible and which looked with disfavour on any expression of opinion that did not take the form of a vote of confidence.

There might be something to be said in defence of a national autocracy in a time of national crisis, but what we were asked to obey—not only we Irish Volunteers who had pledged ourselves to certain definite objects, but all the Nationalists of Ireland—was a changing policy dictated and exacted by a combination of English party leaders. It is my belief that this combination, always potentially present, came into activity in order to make Ireland powerless in anticipation of the war which afterwards broke out.

This is not the time to describe how every effort was made and every point was strained on behalf of the Irish Volunteers to maintain national unity and a basis of common action during the months which followed the adoption of the partition policy by a Government pledged to one Home Rule for all Ireland. If the reproach is made that some of us, in our anxiety for unity and in the hope that national principles would prove superior to minor claims, yielded too much and strained too many points, I offer no defence, beyond saying that national unity has claims on us that are only second to nationality itself. Our endeavours to secure unity had little chance of success with those who made personal authority the supreme test, at a time when that personal authority was exerted under the progressive compulsion

of English parties. The breaking point, as you know, was reached when we were called upon to cast aside our pledges and to become a British Imperial organisation. We took issue on that demand, and reaffirmed the original purpose of our enrolment. To that purpose, and to no other, we will adhere. The Irish Volunteers have been, are now, and must continue to be a national defence force for Ireland, for all Ireland, and for Ireland only.

The decision you took a year ago left you for the most part without money, but with men, and with a clear purpose and a clear policy. That decision has since then been amply justified. It has been proved that a shifting policy, based on Imperial demands, cannot create among Irishmen that enthusiasm which alone money, of energy, the discipline, the patient perseverance, the indifference to the whole machinery of oppression, which are necessary to a voluntary organisation like yours. We have passed through a year during which every effort has been made to discourage and intimidate us. The entire daily Press of the country has subordinated Nationalism to Imperialism. Wealth and vested interests have been in league against us. We have been denounced to persecution by spokesmen of the dictated policy, and the Government has gladly taken advantage of such denunciations. It has suppressed most of the periodicals that took a purely national stand, and where it has not ventured to suppress, it has sent its officers to intimidate those who kept publications for sale. Houses have been broken into and searched, with and without legal warrant. The Defence of the Realm Act has been used as an engine of political oppression. Men have been deported and imprisoned for no known or stated reason except that they have been engaged in organising Irish Volunteers. Large bodies of police with firearms have been sent to interfere with public meetings. The Government has acted over and over again in disregard to its own law. It has been at special pains to find victims in Ulster and among Ulster Nationalists. The natural outcome of these proceedings has been to convince ever-increasing numbers of our people that the real issue in Ireland is the old issue between the Irish Nation and English domination.

In your name, and, I can say with confidence, in the name of the Irish Nation, I offer the tribute of honour and respect to all those who have had to bear the brunt of Government hostility to the Irish Volunteers. I know no instance where that hostility has had to be faced in which man or woman has flinched. The cowardly combination that opposes us makes the lying pretence that their acts of persecution are done in consequence of the present European war, but I reminded you a year ago that their hostile attitude

towards the Irish Volunteers began the year before the war. It was what we had to expect from them, and we take it as their testimony to our fidelity to the cause of Ireland a Nation. Special honour is due to those who have suffered imprisonment because of their activity and efficient work in the organisation of the Irish Volunteers.

Irish public opinion has been ashamed to see the action of the Government incited, encouraged and condoned by a few men, some of them holding for the present most prominent positions in Irish politics, who, while claiming to be Nationalists, have behaved during this national crisis in the meanest spirit of faction. I could give details that would put the agents of compulsory political service to shame before the world, but our war is not upon Irishmen even of the meanest sort, and I could only wish that the baser side of the campaign waged against us through such instruments might pass for ever from our memories.

In the meantime, the British Government has ceased to be bound by any engagements towards Ireland, and has imposed on Ireland a ruinous burden of taxation, in which the Parliamentary representatives of Ireland have been obliged to acquiesce; and the Irish Party has been reduced to this position, that a cry of alarm on its behalf has been raised to defend from destruction the Coalition Government which was formed in spite of the Irish Party. It follows that the need for the Irish Volunteer organisation on its original basis is greater now than ever before.

When Mr. Redmond forced the issue on us last year, the great majority of the Irish in America, including most of those who had been supporters of Mr. Redmond's former policy, decided in our favour. It is necessary to state this, in view of many attempts that have been made to persuade people in Ireland to the contrary. The funds generously supplied by Irishmen in America during the past year have enabled us to make great progress with the necessary equipment for the Volunteers. At the same time, it should be known that arms and ammunition have been purchased by the Irish Volunteers themselves up to many times the value of all funds subscribed by their friends and supporters.

Reports dealing with different aspects of your organisation during the past year will be brought before you. With regard to the coming year, the main point that I wish to impress on you is the maintenance of a thorough discipline, not merely in the stricter sense of carrying out orders on each occasion, but in the wider sense of maintaining the general order. Every company should fulfil its own place in the organisation. This depends, in the first instance, on affiliation maintained without neglect. Affiliation involves the pay-

ment of a fee at stated times to the Central Treasury. The fees are not large, and will not be irksome unless they are allowed to fall into arrears, and to let them fall into arrears is not consistent with discipline. In regard to expenditure, it should be the guiding principle that the regular income from affiliation fees should defray the regular expenses of organisation and administration, and that no part of these expenses should fall upon funds available for other purposes. Unless your regulations upon the payment of affiliation fees are observed in a disciplinary spirit, this principle cannot be observed, and we get into the very undesirable position of making up for neglect by waste.

Further, I will only say that we ought all to adhere faithfully and strictly to the objects, the constitution and the policy which we have adopted. We will not be diverted from our work by tactics of provocation. We will not give way to irritation or excitement. Our business is not to make a show or indulge in demonstrations. We started out on a course of constructive work requiring a long period of patient and tenacious exertion. When things were going most easily for us, I never shrank from telling my comrades that success might require years of steady perseverance — a prospect sometimes harder to face than an enemy in the field. The dweller on a dangerous frontier region is always ready armed and his mind is always familiar with the resources of his locality for defence and attack. For us, as our history shows us, the whole of Ireland is that danger zone, and our object should be to be always and everywhere ready and to know the least thing among all our surroundings that can be turned to good account for the defence of our national rights and liberties. Great progress has been made, more must be made. The one thing we must look to is that there shall be no stopping and no turning back.

REPORT OF THE HON. SECRETARY.

The Hon. Secretary (Bulmer Hobson) presented the following report on the year's work:—

The progress that we have to record after our year's work is that we have turned an organisation having in many places a nominal existence into an organisation that is in an active and vigorous condition, having over 200 companies actively training, and of which it can be truthfully said that any estimate of its strength based upon the reports received at Headquarters is an underestimate.

GENERAL COUNCIL.

Immediately after the Convention last year the Executive took steps to hold an election in each of the counties in which there were three or more Volunteer Companies in order to carry out the scheme of

county representation on the General Council of the Irish Volunteers. At the beginning of December Wexford, Queen's County, Cork City, Kilkenny, Limerick County and City, Kildare, Kerry, Louth, Galway County, Dublin County and City, King's County, Tipperary, Belfast, Derry County, and the North of England and Scotland had each elected their representative on the Council, and the first meeting of the General Council was held at Headquarters on the 6th December. Since then little has been done to extend the system of county representation, and throughout the year the General Council has not had anything like its full strength. Ten meetings were held during the year. It will be possible in the coming year to have representatives from nearly every county in Ireland, and the making of the General Council more representative of the less well-organised districts will have a beneficial effect on the movement.

HEADQUARTERS STAFF.

One of the first things taken into consideration by the Central Executive after the Convention of last year was the thorough organisation of the Irish Volunteers as a military body. The first effective step towards this end was taken early in December, when the Executive decided to recommend the General Council to appoint a Headquarters Staff. The following compose the staff:—

Chief of Staff.

Director of Arms.

Director of Training.

Director of Military Organisation.

Quartermaster.

Director of Military Operations.

At a much later date was added a Director of Communications.

As a report is submitted from the Headquarters Staff it is not necessary for me to refer further to their work.

ORGANISERS.

In order to carry out the work of training the corps it was necessary to appoint a number of organising instructors, and in October, 1914, Captain Liam Mellows, who had been acting as Secretary to the Central Executive, took up duty as an organising instructor in the country. A month later Captain Monteith, who had been acting as Instructor in Dublin, was ordered to leave Dublin under the Defence of the Realm Act. The Central Executive thereupon appointed him organising instructor, and he took up duty immediately in Limerick City and County, where he did excellent work up to very recently. In January the Central Executive decided to appoint two more organisers. For the first six months of 1915 these four organisers were at work in different parts of the country, but in July Messrs. Mellows and Blythe received orders to leave Ireland under the Defence of the Realm Act, and upon their

declining to obey, were sent to prison for a term of three months. Mr. A. Newman, who had also been employed upon special work, received the same order, and underwent the same term of imprisonment. The Central Executive immediately upon their arrest appointed several new organisers to take up duty in their place.

A fortnight ago Mr. Monaghan received an order under the Defence of the Realm Act to leave Co. Cavan, and having ignored the order, is at present in prison. Desmond Fitzgerald has also been arrested, and is in gaol under the Defence of the Realm Act. In addition, several Dublin Volunteers gave up their holidays to organising work last summer; while in several centres—notably Cork City—the local Volunteers have done much to organise the surrounding country. It is hardly necessary to speak of the excellent work done by our organisers in the country, but I am glad to have this opportunity of saying that their devotion, capacity and energy has been beyond all praise.

RECRUITING.

In addition to the work of the organisers, the Director of Recruiting organised several conferences when opportunity offered of getting any considerable number of Volunteers from different parts of Ireland together, with a view to spreading the organisation. At a later date County Conferences were arranged. Some of these have already been held, and it is expected that they will become in future a regular part of a system for recruiting existing corps and spreading the Irish Volunteer organisation where no corps exist.

THE "IRISH VOLUNTEER."

Towards the end of November, 1914, the proprietors of the IRISH VOLUNTEER informed Mr. Mac Neill of their intention to discontinue publication of the paper. It was decided that it should be taken over, and since 5th December, 1914, it has been edited and managed at Headquarters, and has been most valuable as a propagandist organ throughout the year. The Editor is particularly indebted for the unflinching supply of articles on military subjects which have been contributed by two officers attached to Headquarters.

In addition the office at Headquarters has constantly during the year supplied the provincial Press with articles, reports and items of news concerning the Irish Volunteer movement, and many of the provincial newspapers rendered good service by publishing all the matter supplied.

CAMPS.

Early in the spring the question of organising training camps throughout the summer was considered by the Execu-

tive, and by the General Council, and the General Council decided to allocate the sum of £100 for the purpose.

It was found that there was much difficulty in procuring camping equipment from the regular manufacturers owing to the number of contracts placed by the English War Office. Apart from this, the type of tent most desirable for the Irish Volunteers, in view of our special necessities, would be more expensive than the English military tents, and it was necessary to effect economies. In consequence a special Volunteer tent was designed and their manufacture was undertaken at Headquarters. As a result all the tents needed for the training camps, in addition to a large number which have been sold to Irish Volunteers, were made at Headquarters. In use they have proved to be excellent, while their cost has been very considerably below the prices charged by the regular manufacturers. The first Summer Camp was held in the middle of July in Co. Tyrone. In August two camps were held, one in Wicklow and one in North Co. Cork, and in September one was held on the Shannon in County Galway. About one hundred men in all attended at these camps, and benefitted greatly from the course of training. It is to be hoped that next year similar camps will be organised in various parts of the country on a much larger scale and much more frequently than was found possible on the first occasion.

AN CUMANN COSANTA.

The last Convention recommended to the Central Executive that a Defence Fund should be opened in order to assist Irish Volunteers who were prosecuted on account of their adherence to the movement. Very recently a Defence Fund was started which has been used solely to defray legal expenses in connection with the various trials.

Early in the year, however, the Central Executive and the General Council both had under consideration the position of men who were imprisoned or who lost their employment on account of their connection with the Irish Volunteers. It was felt that the best way to meet such cases was to establish a mutual insurance society and to offer to Irish Volunteers the opportunity of insuring themselves against loss of their means of livelihood on account of their connection with our movement. For this purpose An Cumann Cosanta was started, a large number of Volunteers have availed themselves of the facilities it offered, and are insured with it.

Since An Cumann Cosanta was started the Society has been able to meet all the claims that have

(Continued on page 6.)



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Thursday
Nov. 4th
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MITCHEL CENTENARY COMMEMORATION

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Musical Director: G. Crofts

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Seachtmáin na Samhna.

IRISH REVIVAL WEEK.

NOVEMBER 1ST TO 6TH.

Monday—Public Meeting in Mansion House.

Tuesday—Dramatic performance in Abbey Theatre.

Wednesday—Concert in Abbey Theatre.

Saturday—Ceilidh in Mansion House.

Turkeys (with (a) "Little Greece")

Hams, Geese, Cigars, etc., etc.

Tickets for the great annual Irish Volunteer Goose Club are now available and can be had at Headquarters, Larkfield, Kimmage, every night (except Wednesday and Saturday) from 8 p.m., or from the members of the Companies. Those living in Inchicore District can secure tickets at Emmet Hall, Headquarters of Company F.

Object: To provide Arms and Ammunition.

Tickets only 3d each.

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The Irish Volunteer

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1915.

Headquarters Bulletin

Tionól do bí 45 Comraíle Snóca Féinne Fáil ina nDúnport O. Céadóin, an 20a Lá de'n mhí ro agus an Ceann Caca pádraic Mac Piarais ina cacaomleac oirca. Do léigead na snóc-tuairgibála ar céirraib Oruigte, Dhortuigte, Oileamha, Ámála, Feara, agus Áirgeo.

Do príot cunntar ó timthriab agus ó mhúinteoirib atá 45 obair i gConnraeib Corcaige, Laoighe, Cille Dara, Áca Cliait, agus an Cábáin.

Do príot tuairg bail ar an bail óglac do bí i mBaile Áca Cliait an 24a Lá de'n mhí.

Do léigead 7 do rsnánuigead tuairgibála bliadantamla na 5Circioin, an Rúnaide, agus na Dúirne Ceannuir agus do haontuigead a scur of comhair na Comóála. Do criochnuigead fae ullmúacán eile i gcomhair na Comóála.

Do rinnead pointt oirigead o' ainmigeat, Dúnport na Féinne,
Ác Cliait, 27 O. Fogs, 1915.

OROUŠAÓ.

SUAŠ ÁCA CLIAIT.

Oruigtear Complaet Táimleacat agus Cluana Dóidán do ceangal leir an 5Ceatpáid Cat agus Complaet 5 do saim de.

ainmniúte.

An Ceatpáid Cat.

Complaet O.

An Congantóir Complaetá Liam ÓDúin cum beir ina lear-Ceapáin foc.

Complaet 5.

An tÓglac Seán de Scáin cum beir ma Ceapáin.

An tÓglac Seorán Mac Uistéir cum beir ina lear-Ceapáin Uac.

An tÓglac Seán Ó Muineacán cum beir ina lear-Ceapáin foc.

Míre,

pádraic mac piarais,

Ceann Caca,

Riarráde an Oruigte.

Dúnport na Féinne,

Ác Cliait, 27 O. Fogs, 1915.

MANCHESTER MARTYRS' COMMEMORATION.

The Manchester Martyrs' Anniversary Commemoration will be held this year under the auspices of the Fianna Éireann Headquarters Staff in the Round Room, Mansion House, on Monday, 22nd November, at 8 p.m. The address will be delivered by Mr. Bulmer Hobson (Chief of Staff), and Professor Eoin Mac Neill, President of the Irish Volunteers, will take the chair.

1st BATTALION DUBLIN REGIMENT.

Drawing for model of O'Sullivan Beare's Castle took place at 41 Parnell Square Monday evening, October 18th.

Winning number, 3858 holder J. J. Moloney, B. Company.

AN ARD-CHRAOBH.

The attention of non-Irish-speaking Volunteers is drawn to the advertisement of the Central Branch of the Gaelic League which appears in our column this week. If you cannot read your Irish notes every week you should begin at once to study the language.

IRISH THEATRE, HARDWICKE STREET. "THE PRIVILEGE OF PLACE,"

A NEW PLAY IN THREE ACTS, BY

EDWARD MARTYN,

Will be produced on

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8th,

for six nights, at 8.15, and Matinee, Saturday,

November 13th, at 2.30.

ADMISSION - - - 1s. and 6d.

Your chance to secure one of my famous Cycles, all prices reduced. Repairs to Cycles, Motors, Small Cars, etc., at D. T. O'Sullivan's Cycle and Motor Cycle Garage, Cook Street, Cork.

NOTES

October, 1913, saw the beginnings of the Irish Volunteers. There was no European war at that time and no Defence of the Realm Act. Nevertheless, the Asquith Home Rule Government at once attacked the Irish Volunteers with a hostility they never showed before, then, or since, towards the High Tory Pogromites. Then, just as now, the real legislature of Ireland was the English Privy Council.

October, 1914, saw the first Convention of the Irish Volunteers. In the meantime Ireland had passed through political experiences that seem like a wild dream, without coherence, but which were perfectly coherent, the connecting thread being the attempt of the Unionist and Liberal combine to coerce the Nationalists of Ireland. The English Privy Council is not a Home Rule club. In November, 1913, it tried to kill the Irish Volunteers by forbidding the importation of arms into Ireland. The Irish Party leaders were compelled to acquiesce in this. In December, 1913, under the same pressure, Mr. Redmond, using Mr. Hazleton as his mouthpiece, denounced the Irish Volunteer movement. In January and February, 1914, arms in large quantities were imported and distributed among the Ulster Partitionists without any interference from the Government, and Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Willoughby de Broke and others were allowed to get up an English organisation for the invasion of Ireland in the event of Home Rule. In March, 1914, the Unionist and Liberal combination compelled Mr. Redmond to accept the Partition, which involved the abandonment of the Government's pledges to the Irish Party and the Irish electorate, and the Junta of British officers at the Curragh declared open defiance. It would be a hypocritical sham to say that they defied the Government or that the Government resented their defiance. They defied the Irish Nation, and in Buckingham Palace, where the English Privy Council had opened war on the Irish Volunteers, their defiance was effectively supported.

In the meantime the Irish Nation, notwithstanding all the open bullying and private wirepulling, adopted the Irish Volunteer policy, and corps of Volunteers sprang up in every district. The Irish Party leaders were now subjected to a fresh turn of the screw. They must either master or disrupt the Volunteer movement. A secret circular was sent through the country, instructing local politicians how to get control of the local Volunteer Committees. I have a copy of

that circular. Other efforts were made by negotiation to enable Mr. Redmond to "control and dominate" the Volunteers, Mr. Redmond being then, as he has been since then, controlled and dominated by English statesmen of both parties. When these negotiations failed, the policy of "domination or disruption" was openly proclaimed by Mr. Redmond in May, 1914. In June, in order to avert disruption and the destruction of the Home Rule Bill, the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers accepted Mr. Redmond's terms. In July, the Provisional Committee successfully carried through its plan for the landing of a cargo of rifles, notwithstanding the attempt of Dublin Castle to prevent the landing by armed force. The outmanoeuvred forces of the Government took satisfaction by shooting down defenceless people on the streets of Dublin. The Government was then making active preparations for war, and got up a sham inquiry to stave off the indignation of the Irish people. I pass over the action of Mr. Redmond's most active supporters on the Volunteer Committee at this period. While these things were going in Ireland, the Buckingham Palace conference—Buckingham Palace for the third time—was going on in England, and the parties to that conference knew that the European war was at hand. With this knowledge, the anti-Irish combine was permitted to browbeat Ireland.

In August came the outbreak of war, and Mr. Redmond was summoned in haste to London, and Sir Edward Grey, knowing what was coming, said "Ireland was the one bright spot," and Mr. Redmond made his great pronouncement accordingly, and the New Era began. Ireland was to be forgiven for all her crimes against England. The satisfied Government put Mr. Redmond's epoch-marking speech into the dustbin, and commenced an intrigue on its own account for the control and domination of the Irish Volunteers. Then we had in quick succession the Mansion House meeting, surrounded by an Imperial guard, Mr. Redmond's repeated announcements that Home Rule was an accomplished fact, and finally the Woodenbridge declaration declaring that the Irish Volunteers had "a double duty"—the duty to which they were pledged and the duty of serving the pledge-breaking Government. This was the breaking point. The Irish Volunteers shook themselves free from controlled control and from dominated domination.

Their first Convention marked the beginning of a new period of development in their organisation. In arming, in training, and in discipline, they bent their backs to the task, and they have never ceased to progress. The extra-

ordinary events of the Sharp Curve policy cast the majority of the people into temporary confusion, but the truth has stood out more clearly every day, and the Irish people have recovered their grasp of the national situation. The forces of Whiggery, emerging from the hiding-places into which first Parnell and Biggar and afterwards the Irish Ireland movement had driven them, thought that the time was come again for them to take charge of Ireland. It was only a soft day in the beginning of winter for them. They have been buzzing around like bluebottle flies in the sunshine, and the frost is coming on them once more.

The pledged and pledge-broken Government escaped from its difficulties in Ireland, but not from its dishonoured, by committing suicide; and now those who hung on the skirts are trembling with alarm lest a similar end may come upon the unpledged Coalition!

Intimidation, open and secret, has been used all through the past twelve months to break down the Irish Volunteers. Again Mr. Redmond has been put under compulsion and forced to become an aider and abettor of the old iniquity. There is not a shadow of difference between either the policy or the methods practised by Dublin Castle against the Irish Volunteers and the policy and methods practised against the Irish land-reformers, but Mr. Redmond is now a supporter of Dublin Castle and a guest at the Vice-regal Lodge and a defender of their policy and their methods, on what pretext? On the pretext that England has kept faith with him and with Ireland!

The second Convention of the Irish Volunteers was marked by discipline, order, restraint, unbroken firmness and unity of purpose and cheerful comradeship. When the agenda was gone through, the delegates, awaiting the result of the election, spent half an hour singing the songs of Irish nationality.

Government intimidation is our certificate of sincerity. Private intimidation is another matter. The cowardly private employers who are trying to penalise poor men and drive them out of the Irish Volunteers may know that a record of their infamous conduct will be kept for the time when the Irish Nation will have the power of constituted judgment in its own hands.

The Castle has not been slow to take its cue from the suggestions conveyed through the "New York World." Alfred Monahan was arrested for disobeying a deportation order, he being engaged as an Irish Volunteer organiser in Ulster. In accordance with the suggestions conveyed, and to avoid the appearance of

repeating the "senseless prosecutions" for refusing to be deported, the Castle changed its hand and brought Alfred Monahan from Cavan to be tried in Belfast for an alleged speech, "proved" by testimony of the Crossmaglen variety. He was sent to jail in Belfast for three months, as a warning to Sir Edward Carson against encouraging "illegalities which are not crimes." Similar tactics were adopted in the case of Desmond Fitzgerald. Having disregarded a deportation order, he was tried on the charge of having made a speech obnoxious to the "Defence of the Realm" **five weeks previously.** As he had not committed the crime of organising Irish Volunteers in Ulster, he was not dragged across half the country to be made an example of in Belfast, but was tried in Bray, where he was arrested and where his offence against Dublin Castle was committed. One of the magistrates quoted the "New York World" interview in delivering sentence.

EOIN MAC NEILL.

19 Herbert Park,
Dublin, 28th Oct, 1915.
To the Editor.

SIR—I have a crow to pluck with your printer. In your issue of last week he attributed to me the words "I had wrote," and this week he makes me say: "The men of '98 represented the victims of patriotism, decency, honesty, etc." I can only suppose that he considers that I should extend my hostility to England to the extent of making war upon the English language, and changed the word "virtues" into "victims."

I rely upon you to admonish your printer, and enable me to preserve what shreds of reputation the Garrison have allowed me to retain.—Your obedient servant,

A. NEWMAN.

THE CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 3.)

become due without making any call upon Volunteer funds. It is to be hoped that during the coming year An Cumann Cosanta will be spread throughout the whole Volunteer movement, as it will introduce a financial solidarity that would enable the movement to come practically unaffected through any regime of coercion that may be instituted.

THE IRISH VOLUNTEER AUXILIARY.

Recently the Central Executive decided

to start an Irish Volunteer Auxiliary organisation to meet the wishes of many people who for various reasons were unable to join an Irish Volunteer Corps and take part in training. The members of the Auxiliary pay an annual subscription to the Irish Volunteers, and are expected to become armed and to learn to shoot. The extension of the Auxiliary throughout the country would add greatly to the strength of the movement.

The Treasurer (O'Rahilly) presented his report on the finances, together with the audited balance-sheet report and certificate of Messrs. J. H. Reynolds and Co., auditors. The Treasurer's report and balance-sheet were considered in detail by a Committee of the Convention, and their report to the general body expressed complete satisfaction with the financial state of the movement.

Reports were read from the Headquarters Staff, the Director of Military Organisation, Director of Recruiting, Director of Training, Quartermaster, Director of Communications, and Director of Arms. The following is a summary of their reports:—

HEADQUARTERS STAFF REPORT.

Commandant Plunkett reported on the formation of the Headquarters Staff of seven members, each in control of a department, who would presently give their own individual reports.

The Director of Organisation reported that a special scheme of organisation had been drawn up to suit the particular needs of the Volunteers, which had been followed with success. Its object was to combine flexibility with cohesion. The organisation of the smaller units was almost complete; that of the larger units was progressing satisfactorily. To keep the work of organisation going visits of inspection were necessary, and the Director had personally visited the better organised districts, while the Headquarters Organisers had been working in all parts of the country, and this work was going on undeterred by the periodical imprisonments of individual organisers.

The appointment of officers and the maintenance of discipline were other branches of this department's work. Breaches of discipline were of extremely rare occurrence.

In the sub-department of recruiting the work divided itself into the strengthening of existing units, the formation of new units, and the enrolment of individuals and small groups. Recruiting literature, window cards, etc., had been circulated, and recruiting bodies established.

The Director of Training reported that a special scheme of training adapted to the needs of the Volunteers had been published, and where it was followed had proved a success. A drill-book had been

written, and would soon be published. During the winter the Dublin Brigade had undergone special practice training, and in the summer Volunteers from all Ireland had received instruction in the camps.

The Director of Arms reported that in spite of all opposition, the Volunteers were steadily arming themselves. The main difficulty lay in awakening the companies to the imperative necessity of taking up at a reasonable price every arm that became available. Every Volunteer, he said, must be armed, and armed immediately.

The Quartermaster reported that a large number of tents had been manufactured at Headquarters, and had been found very successful at the camps. They were also available for sale to Volunteers. Military equipment had also been manufactured at Headquarters.

The Director of Communications reported that numerous lines of communication between Dublin and the provinces had been established.

A number of amendments were introduced into the Constitution dealing with the number of members on Central Executive and similar matters. The declaration of Policy adopted by the last Convention was reaffirmed without alteration. It is as follows:—

DECLARATION OF POLICY OF IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

1. To maintain the right and duty of the Irish Nation henceforward to provide for its own defence by means of a permanent armed and trained Volunteer Force.
2. To unite the people of Ireland on the basis of Irish nationality and a common national interest; to maintain the integrity of the nation and to resist with all our strength any measures tending to bring about or perpetuate disunion or the partition of our country.
3. To resist any attempt to force the men of Ireland into military service under any Government until a free National Government is empowered by the Irish people themselves to deal with it.
4. To secure the abolition of the system of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle and the British military power, and the establishment of a National Government in its place.

Motions dealing with the institution of a system of examination for officers, provision of arms, organisation, communications, and finance were dealt with.

Professor Eoin Mac Neill was unanimously re-elected President of the Irish Volunteers, and the following were elected members of the Central Executive:—O'Rahilly, Bulmer Hobson, P. H. Pearse, Sean MacDiarmada, E. Ceant, J. Fitzgibbon, T. MacDonagh, Seumas O'Connor, J. J. O'Connell, Liam Mellows and Joseph Plunkett.

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Cumann na mBan Convention

The annual Convention of Cumann na mBan was held at Volunteer Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street, Dublin, on Sunday, October, 31st.

Mrs. Wyse Power presided, and there were present 8 members of the outgoing Executive and delegates from the following branches: Ardpatrick, Athenry, Belfast, Ballylanders, Cork, Castlebar, Dublin (Central Branch), Dublin (Inghinidhe Branch), Dublin (Fairview), Limerick, Liverpool, Lusk, Tralee. Apologies for non-attendance were received from Glasgow, Dingle, Drumcollogher, Castlegregory, Westport.

It was decided, on a motion proposed by the Central Branch (Dublin), that a President and Vice-President be appointed, and Mrs. Wyse Power and Madam O'Rahilly agreed at the unanimous request of those present to fill these positions. After the Secretaries' and Treasurers' reports had been read and adopted, and those motions dealing with the constitutions and rules of the organisation discussed, the meeting proceeded to the election of an Executive Committee for the following year. The result of the election was as follows:—President, Mrs. Wyse Power; Vice-President, Madam O'Rahilly. Committee: Miss Bloxham, Mrs. T. Clarke, Miss Gavan Duffy, Miss MacMahon, Miss MacSwiney, Miss P. Plunkett, Madam O'Rahilly, Miss M. Ryan, Miss Trench, Miss Tuohy, Miss M. J. Walsh.

The Convention sat until 5.30, and discussed many motions re organisation of the movement. Few questions of policy came up for debate, as the objects and principles of Cumann na mBan have not changed and require no re-affirmation.

The following message (in Irish and English) was proposed to be sent to the Irish Volunteer Convention, then sitting, and was unanimously agreed upon:—

"Molann Cumann na mBan ar dómáit Ógláigh na h-Éireann mar gheall ar a bfuil déanta acu ar fionn cúlra na h-Éireann agus geallann rian go searbhóid go fíad agus go fearfach leo iad sa chéad tairnead a déanfaid cum muintir na h-Éireann ro d'ádháil ag obair i Seirbhís na h-Éireann."

Before the Convention was ended, the following reply was received and read with acclamation:—

"Deannuigeann Comháit Féinne Fáil Cumann na mBan i agus iad gurá na Féinne, go h-éireadóir le Cumann na mBan t-ádháil de'n obair acá roir lámáib acu i gcomártaidheas le Fianna Fáil."

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Comhar na Saobhge—Speat Léigeact, 1915-16.

- 7/11/15—The Celtic Colonization of Ireland. Coín Mac Néill.
- 21/11/15—The last King of Tara and his Times. Cá Utaó.
- 5/12/15—The English Invasion of 1167. Apr 6 Spioibéa.
- 12/12/15—The Battle of Anghrim. Capr. 6 Conaill.
- 9/1/16—The Celtic Social System in Ireland. Coín Mac Néill.
- 23/1/16—The Council of Drumceat. Cá Utaó.
- 6/2/16—The Bruce Invasion. Apr 6 Spioibéa.
- 13/2/16—The Battle of Kinsale. Capr. 6 Conaill.
- 20/2/16—Celtic and Irish Law and its Administration. Coín Mac Néill.
- 5/3/16—The Leinster Tribute. Cá Utaó.
- 19/3/16—Ireland and the Spanish Armada. Apr 6 Spioibéa.
- 26/3/16—The Battle of Benburb. Capr. 6 Conaill.
- 2/4/16—Irish Military Organisation. Coín Mac Néill.
- 16/4/16—Irish Schools.—Cá Utaó.
- 30/4/16—Fifty Years of Irish History (1840-1890). Apr 6 Spioibéa.
- 14/5/16—Humbert's Campaign. Capr. 6 Conaill.

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