

THE

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EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

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The British Liberals and Ireland.

A Chapter in Modern History.

The pamphlet, "Ascendancy While You Wait," by one of England's criminals or enemies—to the chivalrous and virtuous mind of the Predominant Partner, whoever is believed to be an enemy is necessarily a criminal, for only wickedness incarnate could be the enemy of virtue incarnate, and thus it becomes a pious duty to attack, and if possible destroy, the character of those who are the enemies of so much holiness—the pamphlet is a study of the mental life history of the British Oligarchy. The British Oligarchy professes a high code of honour, and takes great care to let the world know about it. When the hypocrisy of the thing is laid bare—for example, by George Bernard Shaw—the British Oligarchy neither winces nor blushes, but goes its way unchanged. It gives its Shaws and its Chestertons what we call in Ulster "a fool's pardon." They are its licensed jesters. Their duty and office is like that of the charioteer in the old Irish stories, who stimulated his master the hero by taunting and reviling him. Superb virtue can afford to keep such amusing critics on its staff, and to pay them well. Does not virtue become superb in the very act of paying hard cash for the vilification it undergoes?

The most wonderful thing about the British Oligarchy's code of honour is its geographical or tribal boundary. It does not extend to aliens. The same is said to be true of savage heathen tribes. We read that the tribesmen hold themselves bound by no law of honour, honesty, or any sort of morality towards any but those of their own tribe. That this is true of heathen savages I am not at all convinced. There is a universal law in the conscience of men, though the law may be obscured by enmities and prejudices; but so far as it resembles truth, it is a case of extremes meeting. The British Oligarchy is the cream and champion of civilisation, and I can undertake to fill a volume with incontestable proofs showing that its code of honour is bounded by the tribe, and that, beyond the tribal boundary, as the Imperial eulogist has sung, "there ain't no Ten Commandments"; that "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear

false witness," "Thou shalt not covet," are wholly null and void.

Ireland is outside of the tribal boundary. The most honourable members of the British Oligarchy will do things in Ireland and in what concerns Ireland that they would shrink with horror from doing within their bounds. What British Minister would employ thieves and prostitutes in England on special service against British political opponents? We remember the "Marconi Scandal." It was thought even a scandal to bring it forward, to suggest that British Ministers and their friends could stoop to make money out of Cabinet secrets used as Stock Exchange tips. We have seen how the largest part of the British Press counted confidently on horrifying the British Public by harping on Lloyd George's denunciations of mere aristocratic rapacity. Throughout all Ireland, Unionist as well as Nationalist, these delicate degrees of British virtue excite amusement and derision, for all Ireland knows that both sides of the British Oligarchy, the horrible and the horrified, are equally prepared to further their political objects in Ireland by packed juries, corrupt officials, perjury, forgery, bribery, intimidation, oppression, violence, sectarian fury, extermination, murder and bloodshed on any scale. There are honest Englishmen who will admit that such arts of government have been employed in Ireland on behalf of England in the bad old past. Let the dead bury their dead! But what has to be made clear is that every one of these arts of government is still a living thing in Ireland, kept living by the living representatives of the government of Ireland by England.

Within the tribe, the code of honour is doubtless powerful, well-nigh omnipotent. We behold a group of honourable men, men of gentle breeding, University men, men of high position and trust. Though they take different sides in British domestic politics, they honour one another, and each of them also receives from the others by reflection a share of the honour which he sheds upon them. They permit themselves to reproach each other with reactionary or revolutionary tendencies, with rashness, with muddling, with improvidence—but with disgraceful and dishonourable conduct never, or if ever, only in the last resort. Consider the long roll of British Ministers during the last two hundred years, and recall, if you can, an instance of one of them who, in a dictionary of biographies, is plainly described as a dishonourable man. Almost to a man they

have been faithful to the tribal code. Ask honest Englishmen to believe that such men, many of them, have behaved dishonourably and disgracefully in Ireland and towards Ireland, and you will ask in vain. Things went wrong, no doubt, but—well, Ireland is a strange country, and there must be some other explanation.

The present Minister "for" Ireland, the Chief Secretary, is an honourable man. Mr. Arthur Balfour, a former Chief Secretary, is an honourable man. They have ruled Ireland under honourable Prime Ministers. The late Mr. W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary "for" Ireland, was an honourable man, and his chief, Mr. Gladstone, was a very Bayard of honour, without fear and without reproach. These honourable men, when their sphere of action passes over the Irish Sea, become afflicted with a pitiable calamity—

"Nothing of them
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

Not many years ago a gentleman of high station was sent over here by the British Government on a special mission of great importance to the Government. A friend of mine, who knew this gentleman well and knew that his mission had a particular interest for me, assured me in conversation that he was a most honourable man and incapable of being used as a mere tool of policy. "Wait one moment," I replied, "and you will see what use is made of your honourable men when the ends of Irish Government are to be served." I produced the evidence, which was incontestable. My friend could only exclaim, "Well, is not that abominable?"

In a recent number of "America," Mr. Cecil Chesterton shows from documents how Gladstone tried to use Cardinal Newman as his tool for a particular expedient in the government of Ireland. Mr. Chesterton's conclusion from the evidence is "that Gladstone stands, to use his own energetic expression, a disgraced man." Mr. Chesterton may learn by degrees that Gladstone's disgrace was merely normal and typical, and that every English Minister who governs Ireland must be disgraced—whether the truth comes out or not—disgraced either by what he does or by what he conceals. There never was a moment in which British Government in Ireland was not disgraceful.

Mr. W. E. Forster was an honourable man, as honourable as Mr. Birrell. The "Irish Volunteer" has arranged to publish in succes-

sive numbers the history of "something rich and strange" in the Irish administration of Mr. Forster, under the Premiership of Mr. Gladstone. The other day I happened to stand among a group of educated Irishmen and Irishwomen looking out from the top of the castle that crowns Cuchulainn's fortress, near Dundalk. The castle is now a museum, and the keeper of the museum was pointing out to us the places visible around the wide horizon. North-westward, he said, you can see the tower of the Catholic Church of Crossmaglen. "Crossmaglen!" I said; "that is interesting. The day before yesterday a friend told me from memory two quatrains written by a young man from Crossmaglen. I wrote them down, and have them here." I read out the verses, and gave their history in brief. One quatrain was this:—

A scaffold on the Crumlin Road,
Or prison cell for ever—
But perjurer, before my God—
Informers—never! never!

The other is quite distinct in theme:—
In all this world I've one true love,
She's dressed in emerald green;
My life, my love, my liberty,
I pledge to Rosaleen.

The writer of these verses was a young National teacher, Michael Watters, of Crossmaglen. The first quatrain was written in his Majesty's prison, Crumlin Road, Belfast; the second, I think, in his Majesty's prison of Mountjoy, Dublin. For the benefit of any foreigner who may read these words I may explain that Dark Rosaleen is James Clarence Mangan's version of Róisín Dubh, "the dark little Rose," which is a poet's name for Ireland.

Michael Watters, under twenty years of age, was arraigned by the Government of Gladstone and Forster for conspiracy to murder landlords and overthrow the Queen's Government. Eleven men from the Crossmaglen district were arraigned with him. All twelve were entirely innocent. The evidence against them, as will appear, was a mass of perjuries and forgeries, paid for by the Government. The character of the evidence was well known to those who conducted the case for the Government. The case was so rotten that these officials were forced, by the necessities of British Government in Ireland, to seek to better it by bribing and intimidating some of the accused to do additional perjury. The hand of God, in a wonderful way, revealed the abominable secrets of their plot. "More of the old bad past!" your honest Englishman may say. Not so long past, however. When Michael Watters lay in Belfast Gaol, I was a student in St. Malachy's College, separated from the gaol by a high wall. Not even so far past as that. Some of those who took a prominent part in the ghastly plot are still alive and are still engaged in the government of Ireland.

The character of the young teacher, Michael Watters, needs no testimony beyond his own simple lines, almost miraculously preserved. Michael Watters was tortured by the British Government to make him become a perjured informer, and withstood the torture. That is the subject of his first quatrain. Then the allurements of an attractive young woman were

brought to bear upon him. The second quatrain is his answer. Then Michael Watters was murdered in prison, so that he might never reveal these infamies. And yet after his death God enabled him to reveal them.

"Surely," said a lady to me that day on Cuchulainn's fortress; "surely you will make these things known!" "Yes," I said, "they shall be made known, with the help of God, and I hope to live to see a monument to Michael Watters in Crossmaglen with his verses inscribed on it."

The history of the Crossmaglen Conspiracy will be published now in full for the first time, written by one who knew the men, who knows the facts, and is intimate with every item of the perjuries, forgeries, subornments, bribes, intimidations, corruptions of government and of justice that made up the case for the Crown. This history will be continued from week to week in the columns of the "Irish Volunteer."

The Government had a special reason for selecting Crossmaglen as the scene of its conspiracy. The Protestant farmers in that district were becoming Land Leaguers. The "continuity" of the government of Ireland—it was the Viceroy of that time, Lord Cowper, who laid down the maxim that "the government of Ireland is a continuity"—this continuity, since Castlereagh's time, has depended on "hallooing Protestant against Catholic and Catholic against Protestant." The history will show how, while Gladstone was trying to use the Pope and Cardinal Newman against Catholics, his subordinates were appealing to the most extreme Protestant feelings to keep Ireland divided.

Rifleman or Cannon Fodder.

Modern warfare consists for the most part in feeding that voracious monster, the Big Gun. Men are his food, and he will swallow a Company of them with ease, and leave very little of a Battalion behind. The modern soldier going out to die for his country becomes a grain in a bundle of cannon fodder. Many of us will perhaps think that our country asks too much of us in requiring us to sink our individuality to such an extent in making the great sacrifice. We would like to have a fight—a genuine fight—before we die, and as modern warfare appears to give us little chance of that we hesitate to become soldiers.

But a civilian is out of place to-day when the bulk of the male population of Europe is out in arms. Under existing conditions who knows what will happen to the unarmed and untrained? Who knows when his life and the lives of all who depend on him may not require the defence of his strong right arm and the weapon in it? There will soon be no room for civilians. Let him who would survive be a soldier.

Now, a man can train himself to be a soldier without necessarily becoming a grain of cannon fodder. Let us consider the principal characteristics of a soldier, and think how we can acquire them.

First, there is the ability to kill without being killed. Some of us, being sportsmen, are already gifted that way. We are well able to track and shoot game. This is a great step

on the way to becoming a soldier. Indeed, was the sole military attainment of the Boer, and we know what use they made of it. The of us who are not shots can easily make ourselves so with a certain amount of trouble at small expense. We can buy an air-rifle fifteen shillings, and a thousand rounds of ammunition for sixpence; we can ask an informed friend to show us where is the sight and where the backsight, and to tell their respective use; we can retire to a secluded spot and set up a bottle to shoot at; and there we are. By the time we have expended a few rounds we ought to be able to hit the bottle every time at 50 yards. We ought then to be able to declare war on those destructive House sparrows, and this will practise us in the art of not being killed; not that this type of Hun is likely to defend itself when attacked, but because the better we hide ourselves from more of them can we kill. The man who can hit a sparrow three times out of five at thirty yards is beginning to be some use to his country.

Perhaps our aspiring soldier is more ambitious or more wealthy than I have hinted. Perhaps he is prepared to pay a couple of pounds for a miniature rifle, and to shillings a thousand for cartridges. If so, the better. He will smell powder early, and I am sure he will want to go on smelling it. When an obliging friend, or a penny book on musketry, has given him a fair idea of the workings of his infernal machine he can start practising on target cards (which are cheap) at 25 yards. When he can score 50 per cent. he is beginning to be a useful member of society when he can score 75 he is a shot. He can now make an assault on the trenches of those Hun rabbits. When he can stalk one of these so as to put a bullet in him at 30 yards he may take it from me that he is on the road to becoming a good citizen.

One word of warning. If you want to find out whether your rifle is loaded it is better not to look down the barrel while your toe is resting on the trigger.

The first step towards becoming a soldier is now accomplished. The rifleman's second necessity is a sound body, a body that is capable of standing the maximum of fatigue with the minimum of rest. For, if he is ever to stand up against cannon fodder, he must be able to go twice as fast and twice as far with half as much sleep. To begin with, he should curtail his tobacco expenditure, if he has not already done so to pay for his rifle, and he should smoke a pipe in preference to cigarettes. He can then easily train himself for marching by walking distances he would otherwise travel by carriage, tram, or train.

The third necessity is discipline, i.e., the habit of obeying orders promptly and cheerfully. Any man can attain this by carrying on his own work, whatever it may be, in this spirit. A soldier often has to obey unquestioningly what appear to be unreasonable orders.

Finally, the elements of drill are necessary for the rifleman in order that the other three attainments may be properly used. If he cannot join any corps of Volunteers he can at least watch them, or any of the other armies that occupy Ireland, at drill. Then, when his marching orders come, he will be ready to fall in, and he will have a satisfactory answer to

give on that future day when he is asked the question we see on the recruiting posters: "Father, what did you do when Ireland fought for Freedom?"

O'Donovan Rossa's Last Days

"Conciliation" Rumour Denied

Interview with Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa.

When I called on Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa at her hotel the other day I was specially anxious to find out if there was any truth in the English "Daily Telegraph's" statement that Rossa became reconciled to England in his last hour, and hoped that Ireland would assist in crushing "the common enemy of civilisation." I therefore introduced the matter into the conversation as soon as possible. Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa indignantly denied that her husband had ever wavered in his opinions. She had been married to him for fifty years, she said, and during all that time he had consistently maintained that absolute separation from England was Ireland's only hope, and that this could be obtained only by fighting. Moreover, she added, Rossa spent the last two years of his life in a semi-comatose condition, and was incapable of forming a new impression during that time. He could hardly be made to understand that the Irish Volunteers had been formed, and only dimly realised that a European war was raging. The news that the Home Rule Bill was on the Statute Book merely elicited the exclamation "Humph!"

During his last days Rossa became, if possible, more purely Irish than before. His wife and daughters addressing him in English could get no answer; but if anyone spoke to him in Irish his face would light up, and he would keep up the conversation in that language till he was exhausted.

"Once," said Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa, "a young student came to visit him and tried to talk to him, but Rossa took no notice of him. The young man was on the point of going away in great disappointment when I suggested he should try to speak to him in Irish. Rossa at once appeared to wake up, and they talked together in Irish for half an hour."

She went on to tell me that during his last years Rossa was possessed of a ceaseless longing to return to Ireland. "Take me home," was his continual moan. They then took him away from hospital to his house. But he still continued to implore them to take him "home." Then they knew that it was Ireland he meant, but it would have been impossible for him to travel such a distance.

"What did Rossa think of Home Rule?" I asked.

"He always said that England would never give Ireland Home Rule, but, supposing that by some chance she did, Ireland should only take it as a step to complete separation. 'But,' he said, 'England will never give it, or if she gives it she'll make it useless. I have always preached this to the people, but they wouldn't listen to me.'"

Thus O'Donovan Rossa died as he had lived.

E. O'DUFFY.

A Lesson in Close Fighting from Hooge.

The following detailed description of the method followed in pushing a small local attack at Hooge some weeks ago should prove very useful for the guidance of the Irish Volunteers. On the occasion in question the attack, as is usual now in the Flanders area, followed on the explosion of a mine under a section of the German trenches.

"The assaulting party was quickly followed by the bombers, who immediately set about extending our gain. The crater was soon put into a state of defence, with suitable breast-works, and the bombers split up into three parties, and started working down three different German trenches, driving the enemy before them.

"Bombing is hazardous work. Every trench is protected at frequent intervals by traverses, and behind these, of course, the enemy endeavoured to seek shelter. Accompanied by a comrade with fixed bayonet, the bomber

possible to effect a surprise and throw him into confusion. If that is done he becomes at once an easy prey. It does not signify very much whether you are attacking or defending—in either case the enemy may be upon you from any direction with practically no warning whatever. The things that bring you salvation are quickness of thought and action: ability to bring your piece to bear on the instant, superior skill in hand-to-hand combat, &c. Above and beyond all it is in this kind of work that thorough scouting and protection of the neighbourhood tells most. The best informed force will get sudden chances of attack that may give it the decision—and in addition is far the less likely to be surprised.

THANKS!

It is impossible to thank individually all those who have sent me messages of comfort and congratulation. And I hope that this acknowledgment will suffice until I am liberated.

A. NEWMAN.

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advances down the trench dropping a bomb into every dug-out he passes on the chance that a German is hiding within, till he reaches a traverse. Here a halt is made, and then the bomber gently lobbs one of his missiles over the top of the traverse. Immediately the bomb has exploded, the man with the bayonet advances round the traverse, and deals with any enemy he may find there. By this method considerable progress is made, and such an advance is very hard to check as long as the supply of bombs is kept up."

The lesson conveyed by incidents of this kind is that considerable advantages can be gained by even very small bodies of men if they only are brave and determined, and keep their wits about them. The cautious advance along the narrow space of a trench is exactly similar to that of men creeping in single file along a hedge ready for a desperate encounter at every angle and gap.

In such cases everything depends on getting your blow in first. Even if the enemy is in greater force than yourself it may be quite

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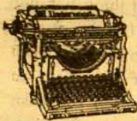
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The Irish Volunteer
SATURDAY, AUGUST 7th, 1915

Prosecution of Irish Volunteer Organisers.

In the Belfast Custody Court, July 29th, before Mr. John Gray, R.M., the prosecutions by the Crown under the Defence of the Realm Act of certain members of the Irish Volunteers came on for hearing. The court was crowded.

Herbert W. Pim, otherwise "A. Newman," was first put forward. The charges against him were of having failed to comply with an order dated 10th July, made by Major-General L. B. Friend, C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, under the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations, 1914, directing him to leave Ireland before 10 p.m. on the 17th ult., and he was also charged with having made statements likely to cause disaffection to his Majesty and to prejudice recruiting at Belfast on the 16th ult.

Mr. Moorhead, in stating the case for the Crown, said the prosecution was brought under the 14th section of the Defence of the Realm Regulations (Consolidated), for failing to comply with the terms of a notice served upon him at the instance of a competent military authority for Ireland requiring him to leave the area stated in the notice, namely Ireland, and not to return to Ireland unless upon the written permission from himself or some other competent military or naval authority. The 14th section of the Regulations read:—"Where

a person is suspected of acting, or of having acted, or of being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the realm, and it appears to the competent naval or military authority that it is desirable that such person should be prohibited from residing in or entering any locality, the competent naval or military authority may by order prohibit him from residing in or entering any area or areas which may be specified in the order, and upon the making of such an order the person to whom the order relates shall, if he resides in any specified area, leave the area within such time as may be specified by the order, and shall not subsequently reside in or enter any area specified in the order, and if he does so he shall be guilty of an offence against these Regulations.

Major Ivan H. Price, intelligence officer, Irish command, gave evidence to the effect that the prosecution had been brought under the notice of Major-General Friend.

Mr. Moorhead asked if the terms of the Defence of the Realm Regulations had been complied with.

Mr. Hanna objected to the question on the ground that the regulations imposed upon General Friend the obligation of exercising his judgment upon the question. Whether he had exercised that judgment or not could not be proved by another gentleman. It must be proved in a regular way.

The Resident Magistrate—It would be better to have General Friend here.

Mr. Hanna—I expect the law of evidence to be regarded in this case as in every other. The liberty of the subject is as important as the convenience of General Friend.

Witness produced the expulsion order against the prisoner, which was signed by General Friend.

Mr. Moorhead said he would prove the service of the order upon the prisoner, and that Pim had not complied with it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hanna, witness declined to state who had set General Friend in motion.

Mr. Hanna—Who was it brought the names of Pim and two others before Major-General Friend?

Witness—I decline to give any information as to what guided Major-General Friend in making the order.

COUNSEL AND PRIVILEGES UNDER THE ACT.

Mr. Hanna, addressing the Resident Magistrate, submitted that that was not a Star Chamber in which a military officer could refuse to answer a reasonable question which might affect the magistrate's judgment in determining the case.

Witness—I object to answer the question on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the safety of the realm.

Continuing, witness said he was acting on War Office instructions issued in regard to all those cases. He had not got any instructions *ad hoc* in that case.

Mr. Hanna—Did you bring the case before Major-General Friend?

Witness—No.

Then it was not the intelligence officer of the army in Ireland who brought it before him?—I am not going to answer any questions of that kind.

Mr. Hanna—But you have answered it.

I want to make it clear that it was no active mind of the intelligence officer of the army in Ireland that brought it before Major-General Friend.

To witness—Did you make any investigations?

Witness—Certainly.

Did you make those investigations through the ordinary channels—the police?—I am going to answer that.

Did you receive any reports in writing reference to this?—I am not going to answer that.

Later there was an outburst of applause from a number of people seated in the public gallery and standing in the passages, and the Magistrate peremptorily ordered the court to be cleared.

Resuming his cross-examination, Mr. Hanna said—I take it your attitude is that you will give no information, even though it may assist the prisoner, if in your opinion it prejudices the safety of the realm?

Witness—My attitude is this: General Friend has made the order. I am not entitled to give any reason for the order.

Constable James Leavy said the prisoner was one of the speakers at a public meeting held in Clonard Street on the night of the 16th ult. Pim stated that he would not comply with the notice that had been served upon him, and that he had received messages of sympathy from all parts of the country.

Head-Constable Baird, recalled, gave evidence to the effect that the notice served on the accused expired at 10 p.m. on Saturday, the 17th ult. On the following day witness arrested the prisoner.

Mr. Hanna—You are the most experienced detective in this city. Did you ever hear of a notice being served on any man ordering his expatriation from his own country for a minor offence?

Witness—I never did.

Mr. Hanna—Or nobody else.

Mr. Hanna, addressing the Court, said he would like to emphasise that suspicion was something more than acting upon mere rumour, and the reason he asked Major Price what he considered to be relevant questions in the interest of the liberty and freedom of the subject was to show that the military authorities were acting, not on well-grounded facts such as reasonable men would take as a basis of suspicion, but on rumour set going by political opponents. He had been endeavouring to find out what Mr. Pim had done prior to the 12th July that might justify the suspicion that his conduct was likely to prejudice the safety of the realm, but there was absolutely nothing to justify the suspicion. If he (Mr. Hanna) was not entitled to investigate the grounds of the suspicions on which the order was made, if he was not entitled to ask what he had done, what was the use of him appearing there at all. Why did not the military authorities court-martial the accused? Instead of that, however, they came there to that court with a pretence of fairness and said for reasons of State they would not disclose what was in their minds. Where, asked counsel, was the evidence of prejudice to the realm? Major-General Friend had made an order—

NOTES.

The war in Ireland is progressing. Four Irish Volunteer leaders have been made prisoners of war by the Coalition, after an unsuccessful effort to make them leave Ireland. For some unexplained reason, there has not been a single word of jubilation in the Coalition press over this achievement.

The Irish war policy of the Coalition, like the Coalition itself, is a bit mixed. Having first arraigned Herbert Pim—in docking him of the meaningless English “mister,” I follow the example of the Coalition Under Secretary for War—for refusing to be banished, the Coalition mended its hand, and decided to prosecute him for the speech in which he announced his refusal at a public meeting in Belfast. Then the Coalition discovered that its cue in Parliament was to deny the fact that the Irish campaign had a political aspect, and it once more mended its hand and withdrew the charge based on Herbert Pim’s speech. Also, for some unexplained reason, the Coalition came to dislike the notion of taking prisoners, and appealed to its prisoner to accept banishment. The prisoner rejected the appeal and affirmed his own decision.

Denis McCullough has the honour of receiving a sentence of a month’s longer imprisonment than his fellow-prisoners. As the same charge was made against him and them, and the same offence and no other proved against all, it is to be presumed that the aggravation lay in the fact that Denis McCullough, having been president of the Belfast Irish Volunteer Committee since its formation, continued in that office after Mr. Birrell had pronounced his decision that the Irish Volunteers did not come up to his standard of “loyalty.”

The Coalition, naturally enough, began its banishment campaign with three Ulstermen. This Friendly act was duly interpreted by the poor exuberant fellows who declared war on the Christian Brothers at Ballycastle. I don’t agree at all with the journalists who throw the chief blame on the local offenders. The attack on the Christian Brothers was a natural and intended consequence of the British Government of Ireland, and those who vent their indignation on the tools and let the Burglar go scot free are fools that play the Burglar’s game.

Leaving my house the other day, I found myself under the observation of three of Mr. Birrell’s employés stationed at different posts. One of them was able to signal to the other two that I had boarded the Dalkey tramcar at Ballsbridge. The discovery and report of this event was not a bad day’s work for three well-fed able-bodied men. Further on, I bought an

evening paper and read in it that an old man and his wife had been battered to death in the next county and their savings stolen. This is not to be wondered at while Mr. Birrell is compelled to keep his forces at full strength watching and reporting the movements of dangerous criminals like me.

Commenting on the letter in which Mr. Redmond announced that it would be “bad faith on our part” to demand Home Rule in September and adopted the sanctimonious Asquith-Crewe formula that “the coercion of Ulster is unthinkable,” the Liberal Imperialist “Westminster Gazette” shows an intelligent appreciation of the situation by testifying that Mr. Redmond has “relinquished a victory.” Those traitorous Welsh miners did not relinquish a victory. Like the four Irishmen, they disobeyed the Government’s war orders, and the whole 290,000 will no doubt be sent to prison.

Why would it be “bad faith on our part” to demand Home Rule in September? What agreement have “we” made that would be broken by the demand? These are very plain questions.

Sitting beside Cardinal Logue at the Oireachtas, I could not help wondering whether, in the still protracted process of the searching of souls, the coercion of Armagh was thinkable.

The Pope has addressed a letter to the heads of the belligerent states. The Pope adjures the Empires to “put away the mutual desire for destruction and reflect that nations do not die. If humiliated and oppressed, they prepare to retaliate by transmitting from generation to generation hatred and the desire for revenge.” Those whose part it is to keep the Pope informed regarding this nation will be able to make clear to His Holiness that we Irish, though humiliated and oppressed, do not wish to perpetuate hatred but to be rid of the systematic perpetuation of hatred, and that we do not desire revenge but only the recovery of our national rights and liberties.

Our Christian forefathers looked upon “the perpetuation of hatred” as a characteristic mark of paganism. The very words of the Pope are found in the Book of Armagh, where the writer tells how King Laoghaire refused to abandon his pagan principles: “[Patrick] journeyed once more to the city of Tara, to Laoghaire son of Niall. But Laoghaire could not accept Christianity, saying: ‘For my father Niall did not allow me to become a Christian, but [ordained] that I should be buried, [after my death], on the heights of Tara, as men stand face to face in battle, I the son of Niall, and Dunlaing’s son [the King of Leinster] in Mullaghmast in the plain of Liffey, for the perpetuation of hatred (*pro duritate odii*).’” But Ireland is now a Christian

Mr. Moorhead—That is conclusive.

Mr. Hanna said if that was conclusive—and he would accept the words for the purposes of his argument—was not the Defence of the Realm Act a travesty of justice? What was the meaning of it? If Major-General Friend said “So-and-so,” was the magistrate to say “Cuckoo?” Was that law; was that justice?

Mr. Gray said the order made against the accused had been disobeyed, and he would direct Pim to be imprisoned for three calendar months.

Mr. Moorhead said he did not propose to give any evidence in regard to the second charge, and he would consequently withdraw it.

The accused was then removed in custody, his sympathisers cheering as the prisoner was being conveyed across the courtyard from the Custody Court to the cells in the Central Police Office.

CASE AGAINST D. McCULLOUGH.

Subsequently Denis McCullough, who carries on a piano and organ business at 8 Howard Street, Belfast, and who is also a member of the Irish Volunteer organisation, was charged with having failed to obey a similar military order, requiring him to leave Ireland.

Mr. J. R. Moorhead prosecuted, and Mr. Charles Power (instructed by Mr. James O’Connor, Dublin) appeared for the accused.

District-Inspector Dunlop gave evidence as to having arrested the accused at 9-20 p.m. on the 21st ult. This was twenty minutes after the extension of time that had been granted conditionally.

Major Price said the question of the prosecution was brought under the notice of General Friend, who ordered that the accused was to be proceeded against by summary jurisdiction.

Mr. Power said in view of his Worship’s decision in the case against Mr. Pim there was really little left for him to do except to protest on behalf of his client against the methods now being employed to govern the country. They were faced with a new state of affairs in Ireland. If Mr. McCullough had done anything against the Defence of the Realm Act why wasn’t he prosecuted in the ordinary way. They were living absolutely under a regime of martial law. It was always one party that was being harried by the Dublin Castle authorities. He did not know whether the Castle authorities were behind that prosecution or not, but he had a very good idea. The men whose leaders were being sent to gaol would carry on the movement, for martyrdom of that kind only strengthened it. All through the country there were armed followers of these men, and he asked the Government if they were going on harrying this one political party whose followers were armed. If the Government were prepared to drench the country in blood then on their own heads be it.

FOUR MONTHS’ IMPRISONMENT.

Mr. Gray said that case differed from the previous one, because the accused was granted an extension of the time limit upon certain conditions which he failed to keep. The sentence was four months’ imprisonment.

As he was being escorted from the dock McCullough shook hands with several friends in court.

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nation, and the perpetuation of hatred is the special business of Empire and its adherents in Ireland.

According to the same Liberal Imperialist organ that praises Mr. Redmond for relinquishing victory, the Pope's statement that the desire of the Empires for destruction is mutual "must be disallowed." The "Pall Mall Gazette" says: "Unfortunately it does not seem to be recognised at the Vatican that we of the Quadruple Alliance *do not admit* that we share in the responsibility and guilt of the war."

EOIN MAC NEILL.

O'Donovan Rossa's Funeral

The public funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa took place on Sunday afternoon from the City Hall, Dublin, to Glasnevin Cemetery. During the three days when they lay in the vestibule of the City Hall the remains, which were encased in a coffin with a plate glass lid, exposing the features to view, were visited by thousands of citizens. The public funeral yesterday, as a pageant, was remarkably well organised, and was carried through without a hitch.

This duty devolved on the officers of the Irish Volunteers. Thomas MacDonagh acted as Commandant-General; Mr. Daly was in charge of the military bodies, which included the Irish Volunteers, the National Volunteers, and the Dublin "Citizen Army." This was the first occasion in which these three bodies have united in one public procession. The Nationalist societies of Dublin, which were well represented, were in charge of O'Rahilly, and Mr. Joseph Plunkett was in charge of the delegations.

THE STREET PROCESSION.

The coffin was conveyed from the City Hall to the four-horse bier in waiting at 2.25 p.m., and fifteen minutes later the *cortège* started, headed by a guard of honour of the Irish Volunteers with rifles, a mounted guard being supplied by the same body. The coffin was thickly covered with wreaths, and an open carriage behind was also filled with floral tokens, whilst many of the contingents carried wreaths to be placed on the grave. Immediately following the bier were a number of old friends of the deceased, including some from America, Liverpool, Cork, and representatives of the Urban Council of his native town of Skibbereen. Following were carriages containing the widow and daughter, some clergymen, and representatives of various public bodies. Immediately following these came Irish Volunteers with arms reversed; the National Volunteers, who were allotted a position about the middle of the procession, did not carry any arms. Contingents of Volunteers, as well as the representatives of the several trade societies and branches of the G.A.A., I.N.F., etc., were headed by their own bands, who played the "Dead March" when the signal for starting was given, but subsequently marching airs were played through the streets. The procession, marching four deep at a slow pace, took a little

over fifty minutes to pass the corner of Dame Street into George's Street, and there was no delay in marshalling any of the contingents. A conservative estimate of those who actually took part in the procession gives the numbers as exceeding ten thousand, and there must have been at least ten times this number lining the streets.

The funeral came into College Green about 3 o'clock, headed by a body of Volunteers, with the St. James's Band. To describe its passing this historic point is to describe the even tenor of its way to Glasnevin Cemetery. There was no rise or fall of grief in the procession. The slow music of the bands sounded forth. The Volunteers, with arms reversed, paced slowly to its strains, company after company. Apart from the great number of Volunteers, the procession was remarkably long, taking an hour to pass any point.

AT GLASNEVIN.

It was nearing 6 o'clock when the hearse passed through the main gates of Glasnevin Cemetery. The avenue leading to the mortuary chapel was lined by detachments of Volunteers. The prayers in the chapel were said by the Rev. D. Byrne, Chaplain. Several priests then accompanied the coffin to the grave, which is situate just beyond the eastern fringe of the O'Connell circle, close to the graves of two other prominent Fenians, John O'Leary and James Stephens. The Burial Service was recited in Irish by the Rev. Father O'Flanagan, Sligo.

Mr. P. H. Pearse delivered a panegyric on O'Donovan Rossa. He said that he spoke on behalf of a new generation, that had been baptised in the Fenian faith, and had accepted the responsibility of carrying out the Fenian programme. He proposed that by the grave of that unrepentant Fenian they should renew their baptismal vows. Deliberately they avowed themselves, as O'Donovan avowed himself in the dock, Irishmen of one allegiance only. The Irish Volunteers and others associated with them in the day's task and duty, were bound together henceforth in brotherly union for the achievement of the freedom of Ireland. They knew only one definition of freedom; it was the definition of Tone, Mitchel, and Rossa. In a closer spiritual communion with Rossa, and with those who suffered with him in English prisons, and with their own comrades of the present day who were now suffering in English prisons, they around Rossa's grave pledged to Ireland their love and to English rule in Ireland their hate. Their foes were strong, wise, and wary, but still they could not undo the miracles of God, who ripened in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation. The seeds sown by the young men of '65 and '67 were coming to their miraculous ripening to-day. Rulers and defenders of realms had need to be wary if they would guard against such processes. The defenders of this realm had worked well in secret and in the open. They thought that they had pacified Ireland, and purchased half of them and intimidated the other half. They thought that they had foreseen everything, but the fools had left to them their Fenian dead, and while Ireland held those graves Ireland unfree would never be at peace.

A firing party then fired a volley, the "Post" was sounded, and wreaths were laid on the grave.

It is estimated that at least five thousand rifles were carried in the procession.

Banishment Order

CASE OF MR. MELLOWS.

A sentence of 3 months' imprisonment on Friday last, imposed by Mr. Swift, of the Southern Police Court, on Wm. Mellows, of Mount Shannon Road, Kilmainhagh, Dublin (an organiser of the Irish Volunteers), on a charge of having, on the 22nd inst., resided in Ireland contrary to an order made on the 17th ult. by Major-General Friend, the commander-in-chief, military authority, under the Defence of the Realm Regulations, prohibiting defendants residing in, or entering, Ireland, and requiring him to leave the country by the 17th ult.

A copy of the military order was served on the defendant in Athenry, on the 11th, the period mentioned in the order having expired, and defendant being still in the country, he was arrested at Courtown Harbour, Co. Wexford. Evidence was given by Major Price, who said that Major-General Friend, the facts having been submitted to him in writing, decided the case should be tried summarily, but the witness declined to produce a written statement on the ground that it would prejudice the defence of the realm. Neither would he say by whom oral facts were submitted, nor give any reason as to why the order was issued. The facts, Mr. Swift remarked, might be of a highly confidential character.

NO REASONS GIVEN.

Witness admitted, in cross-examination, that he heard Mr. Birrell's statement quoted in the Belfast press the previous day to the effect that those who had come under the lash of the military authorities had been ordered to leave Ireland for what they had done and not for what they said. When he was asked, however, if the present defendant had been banished from Ireland for what he had done or said, he replied, "Better ask the General that. I can't give you any reasons." "Something like what is popularly considered Prussian methods?" "I don't know; we have to defend the realm anyway."

Disposition of a Small Force on the Defensive.

In the present article it is proposed to suggest a few general rules for the guidance of a small force of Volunteers—say a strong company or a weak battalion. This would be the normal strength of a Volunteer force on active service; and we will assume that the style of country in which the force is acting is normal Irish country. If any of the suggestions put forth are opposed to the text-books, the reason is that they are based on the more recent experience of the present European war. These lessons can be added to by carefully studying the more detailed accounts of the

fighting which appear in the papers from time to time.

"The first requirement of a defensive position should be concealment, and not a field of fire at long distances. Sacrifice the field of fire, as long as you get cover from view. . . . Trenches are very effective if you get a field of fire of about 100 yards." Such are the words of Capt. Levey in a very instructive little book, entitled "Five Instructional Lectures to Regimental Officers on the Western Campaign," which can be recommended to Volunteer Officers. In another passage Capt. Levey says: "At the beginning of this campaign, from a tactical point of view, we always advocated a field of fire being the first consideration for a fire trench. A field of fire is no longer the first consideration. Concealment is more important."

This is of particular interest in Ireland, where it would never have been possible to obtain the extended field of fire laid down in former text-books. It is also of interest for the further reason that it does away with the need for great range in the fire-arms of the infantry engaged. There is no fire-arm that will not kill a man 100 yards away, if only he is hit. The upshot of the whole matter is that a force of men with fire-arms well hidden behind a fence, with a level field of ordinary size in front, is formidably posted. In Ireland these conditions could be reproduced times without number.

In the matter of concealment hedges are of the very highest value. Troops lying close under hedges are invisible to any scouting—even well-handled aeroplanes. All that is needed to prepare a hedge is to thin out the growth between the stumps of the bushes, and also such branches as prevent the men working in close under the hedge. The bank on which hedges usually stand can be strengthened, if necessary, by cutting down to a required thickness, by building up with extra earth, or by backing with stones. The greatest care should always be taken to make no changes in the appearance of the hedge on the enemy's side.

We will suppose, then, that the firing line of the Volunteer force is posted somewhat as described. All that remains for it to do is to open a sudden and well-directed fire when the attacking enemy comes into sight. It will frequently be possible to overwhelm him in this way without further trouble. The one essential factor is that the men keep their guns flat and take steady aim: if they do this, every shot should tell, and the assault must fail.

PIKEMEN FOR THE COUNTER-ATTACK.

There remains to be considered the question of supports. It may happen that the fire of the firing line is not by itself sufficient to repel the attack, and that a counter-attack may prove necessary. For this, the dependence must be upon the supports, who should be held in a distinct body. Experience in Flanders has proved that the best method of action by the supports is as follows:—They are posted as near the firing-line as circumstances allow, and when advancing do not fire at all, but rely on the bayonet.

This again is a point of special interest to the Volunteers. From the nature of the case it has been found advisable to arm a certain proportion of the men with pikes; and these,

evidently, are the men to form the supports. They are posted within easy rushing distance—say 50 yards or less: they are fresh, and have the advantage of surprise in their attack. In such a case their action should be instantly and speedily effective. All that is needed is proper foresight in deciding on the direction of the attack. It should always be delivered against a flank if possible.

This will often be decided by the following circumstance. Frequently in a combat of this nature the assailant will expose a flank: in fact, for every separate field he advances across he exposes two flanks—and he is powerless to avoid this. Hedges and fences running parallel to the direction of the advance and perpendicular to the line of the defender's position inevitably split up his front into fragments. Consequently it will often be possible to select the point of counter-attack well ahead and take suitable measures for the disposal of the supports accordingly.

It will form a very instructive exercise for the commanders of Volunteer corps to carry out a defence on lines like those indicated—the attacking force being imaginary. Half the corps with rifles form the firing-line, and the other half with pikes the supports. The point is that if proper use is made of the enclosed nature of the country a force half armed with pikes can be considered as fully armed. At all events, that is the experience of the French and German armies.

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