

THE

# IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

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## NOTES.

A letter signed "Traveller" in the *Irish Times* makes some remarkable statements. The writer poses as a strong opponent of militarism, when it is German militarism. Like many others of the same school, he quite unconsciously endorses the whole militarist programme, forgetting that any recognition of the right of militarism to dominate nations is a condonation of militarism in general. If militarism is allowed to be a main factor in international relations, then the better organised and more efficient militarism is worthy of the highest esteem. To my mind, such a doctrine of world politics is sheer barbarism, whether it is praised by Thomas Carlyle, preached by Bernhardi, or accepted by a correspondent of the *Irish Times*.

"A few days ago," says this correspondent, "I asked a very strong Irish Nationalist why he did not go in for an Irish Republic"—the very strong Nationalist to whom so treasonable a question was propounded was naturally not one of the not very strong new Imperialist brand—"and his brief answer was, 'Because I fear Germany.' My friend meant that if England gave up Ireland, Germany would seize the Gateway of the Great West, as I once heard a German characterise Ireland. And he was right."

So, according to this antagonist of militarism (when it is German militarism), the right and natural function of Ireland is to be a gateway for this or that Empire, to be held by force and only given up to force. Ireland is to be the victim and the tool of one militarism or another. She is always to stand in fear of England or Germany or whatever other Empire may be in the ascendant at the time. Her choice is always to be between two loveless masters, the choice that Deirdre rejected, choosing death in preference. If England holds Ireland as her gateway, can any intelligent man be surprised to find that Irishmen who are not captives in soul look on English denunciations of militarism as rank hypocrisy?

The testimony of this conversing and conversant "Traveller" is remarkable. The section of Irishmen who have put Sir Edward Carson in power are unfortunately deluded by

Imperial arts into the notion that their advantage lies in sectarian strife, but they are not deluded so far as to believe in the rectitude of British Imperialism. Accordingly this "Traveller" has found that, "if they are not exactly Pro-Germans, they are not enthusiastic over the present war." He also "was more than amazed to find that some Irish Catholics in the east of Ireland were Pro-German in their sympathies." He deprecates this attitude, because "Germany neither loves nor admires them, and, if they come under her militarist heel, their lot will be a hard and bitter one." Perhaps, if this traveller was less of a traveller, if he was more at home in Ireland, if his outlook on Ireland was less foreign, if he could see the inward and the outward designs and consequences of English rule in Ireland since the Union, he would not be so much amazed.

"I have lived in Germany," he writes, "and know what the typical German thinks. I invariably found that, while the German hated the English with a perfect hatred and rather liked the Scotch, he utterly despised the Catholic Irish—they were lazy, dirty, behind the times, superstitious, and very little in advance of primitive savages." Did it ever occur to our traveller to inquire how, where, through what channels the typical German, living in Germany, acquired these notions of the Irish? Whose interest has it been to keep before the world this picture of the lazy Irish, the dirty Irish, the backward Irish, the superstitious Irish? Whose policy and what policy was this picture of the Irish calculated to justify to the minds of Continental peoples? Of course, just now the lazy, dirty, backward, superstitious Irish have become the valiant Irish.

If most Irishmen are not absolutely and recklessly Pro-German or Pro-Turkish, it is not the fault of English domination up to date. Our country has been depopulated, our people degraded, our industries destroyed; an incredible plunder, amounting to thousands of millions sterling, has been exorted from us; we have been set at each other's throats. If Hell itself were to turn against English policy, as it is known to us, we might be pardoned for taking the side of Hell. Those Irishmen who surrender to the prospect that the world must remain at the mercy of militarism, may believe that Ireland, like Deirdre, has no choice except between two masters, and such people, if

experience has forbidden them to be Pro-English, will naturally at present be Pro-German. But there is a saner belief abroad in Ireland, and a sounder purpose; and we may thank God that Ireland, amid this present orgy of militarism, is shaping her resolve to be no master's bondmaid and no empire's gateway.

To "Libertas Deo juvante,"—the answer is, not till this time. Another correspondent writes to ask me whether it is consistent with Irish Nationalist principles to enter the Civil Service under the British Government. I make no pretence to be the keeper of other people's principles, and when a question of principle arises, it is clearly every man's duty to decide how his own conduct is to be governed. It is clear enough to me that an Irish Nationalist ought not to make himself the servant and instrument of any Government for purposes which are directly connected with keeping Ireland in a state of subjugation. He ought not to accept a position in which he must expect to be required to use his own bodily and mental powers in personal conflict with his fellow-countrymen in their rightful efforts to keep the Nation alive, and to make it free, prosperous, and honoured. If he finds that he is required to act in that way, it is his duty to refuse. He ought not to accept duties that involve spying and reporting on the rightful political actions of his fellow-countrymen, applying the anti-national action of anti-national laws to them, or using force or oppression to suppress their rightful activity in the National interest. If his duties are of a vague and general character, but if he is called upon to do anything in particular that he knows to be anti-National, he will refuse to do that thing.

Apart from governmental work which necessarily or usually involves anti-National activity on the part of those engaged upon it, there are other classes of governmental work which are necessary for the transaction of public business under any political system. It is true that, while the system in existence is anti-National, every person employed in its administration helps in a way to keep it in existence. But the same may be said of other people not in government employment. In making use of the machinery of government, they help in a way to maintain the existing system. Everyone who takes



an action at law, or even who defends an action at law, who sends a letter by post, who pays taxes, who draws cheques, who joins an insurance society, becomes to that extent contributory to the stability and permanence of the existing system of government. In order to carry the principle of non-recognition out to the full—as apparently the signatories to the Ulster Covenant undertook to do in the event of Home Rule—a man must either join in establishing another system of government at once or become an outcast and an outlaw. Since that is not what I advocate, so also I cannot advocate as a National duty that Irish people who use the existing law should not engage in any work involved in the proper administration of law; or that Irish people who send and receive letters by post should not take service under the existing postal authority; or that Irish people who pay taxes and make use of the machinery of public order maintained out of those taxes, are bound to take no part in the collection of taxes—and so with regard to other governmental functions which are of a kind indispensable to public order and public business. \* \* \*

There are government services of a mixed kind, indispensable to the community, and yet occasionally or incidentally hurtful to the community as a Nation. In regard to these, it is hard to draw the line. A postman is a very necessary public servant. The postal revenue may press unfairly on the Nation, and if it does, every man in the postal service gives some help to the government in doing this injustice, yet I cannot pretend to lay down that every postal official in such a case is an offender against the Nation. There are other services which, though necessary to public business, yet involve duties of an essentially political character, and require those who discharge them to become agents, not merely of the necessary functions of all government, but also of the particular policy of a particular government or system of government. The person who undertakes such duties under an anti-National government can hardly hold himself blameless for what the government does against the Nation. \* \* \*

It is argued that the abstention of Irish Nationalists from service under the English Government of Ireland would result in great injury to Ireland through the complete staffing of the public service with persons hostile or indifferent to Irish Nationality. I will only say of this argument that it can be pushed, to a very dangerous length. In the first place, it can be used to justify persons, while still claiming to be Nationalists, in seeking and holding offices officially associated with an anti-National political policy. In the second place, it can be used to justify and facilitate the bribery of weak Nationalists with offers of Government favour. In the third place, in the case of the unpaid magistracy, to which the admission of Nationalists on a large scale has been advocated, on the plea of securing just treatment for the majority, it is doubtful whether the loss has not been greater than the gain. There have certainly been many men who seem to have accepted and to cherish the office of J.P. as a sort of minor rank of nobility, instead of a duty to the public. If an unpaid service can have this effect, what are we to expect from

services connected with salary and promotion? But as regards the political service of the Government in Ireland, as we know it, it is infinitely better and healthier for Ireland that that service should be exclusively staffed by those whose personal disposition towards this Nation is a true and exact reflection of the spirit of the Government—not of this or that Ministry or Chief Secretary, but of the Continuity from the Union to the Famine, from the Famine to the Land War, from the Land War to "Parnellism and Crime," and from Balfour to Birrell. It is a misfortune for Ireland when any phase of this Continuity is enabled, by means of what are called popular appointments, to masquerade before the Irish people and disguise its burglars with the trappings of patronage. It was thought by some to be a great thing for Ireland when O'Hagan became Lord Chancellor in 1868. That was one of the New Eras we hear about in every ten or twenty years, and no more need be said about it. \* \* \*

A further point is that Irish civil servants in many departments are liable to be assigned to work in Great Britain and separated from the national life of their own country. Every youth who proposes to enter the Civil Service must also recognise that he proposes to surrender an important part of his liberty as an Irishman. Even in branches of National activity which are not forbidden to him, he may encounter hostile influences from anti-National or servile official superiors. Mr. Birrell has recently laid down the law that Irish Civil Servants must be "loyal." As there is no definition of loyalty known to the law, Mr. Birrell's decree makes himself a political tight-rope walker, and his officials the arbitrary judges of loyalty, which at present means Jingo Imperialism. Several of Mr. Birrell's official subordinates, and apparently also the Board of "National" Education which is said to be independent of political control, acting on some central inspiration, have agreed to interpret this decree to the effect that Civil Servants and National Teachers in Ireland may without reproach be members of General Richardson's Volunteers, who, as the *Irish Times* "Traveller" tells us, "if they are not exactly Pro-Germans, are not enthusiastic over the present war." Though no Civil Servant is supposed to take an active part in politics, Civil Servants in the Richardson ranks may bear arms in a force from which all Catholics and all Nationalists are excluded, and they are assured by their Commander-in-Chief that their non-political purpose under him is to "send Home Rule to the Devil." The same Government departments, acting on Mr. Birrell's lead, forbid their subordinates to be members of the Irish Volunteer organisation. Here we see the Continuity undisguised, and the amount of liberty it allows to Civil Servants who wish to be loyal to Ireland. \* \* \*

I can see from the tenor of my correspondent's letter what his real difficulty is. He is thinking of young men like himself who have come through a certain course and kind of education, only to discover that the Government service is practically their sole prospect of a livelihood. What a commentary on English Government and Irish education! He is

making no mistake. The avenues of work and still contracting for young Irishmen, when under any decent Government and under any sort of National Government, they would be expanding. Except a few limited professions the Government service, and emigration, will anyone tell me what chance in life is visible for the majority of young Irishmen who have passed through our secondary schools? Moreover, the Intermediate School System, administered and planned, opens a way to the few professions, to emigration, and to the Government service. If it gives a definite or indefinite lead in any other direction, perhaps Dr. Starkie and his colleagues would oblige anxious parents and pupils by issuing an explanatory statement on the subject. \* \* \*

I can see one advantage that the Government service and the preparation for it can sometimes confer on young Irishmen. It can give them a certain degree of discipline. In spite of every disadvantage, Irish people have retained a high quality of mental as well as physical energy. They need development or training in two things, moral courage and discipline. I am firmly convinced that, with discipline, the Irish people have no superiors and few equals. For this advantage among others, Ireland should look to the Volunteer movement. The Volunteers should answer their country's expectation in this as in other respects, and should recognise that discipline will make them better men and better Irishmen. \* \* \*

Mr. Dillon writes to a meeting in Roscommon appealing for National unity. I am not going to rake up bygones. Let us see how Mr. Dillon's colleague, the genius of the entanglement of the Irish Party in the Liberal net, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, understands National unity. He is writing at the same time as Mr. Dillon, but not for the same readers. He is writing for "Reynolds' Newspaper," so as to provide food for scoffs in the "Belfast News-Letter." He is telling the readers of Reynolds about the difficulties Mr. Redmond has to overcome. One difficulty is the want of sympathy in Ireland for what is called "atheistical France." There is no ill-will in Ireland towards the French nation. The sneer at the French as a "decadent Latin race" has come from the once boastfully Teutonic "Anglo-Saxons," not from the Irish. Another difficulty is the "Sinn Feiners," meaning the Irish Volunteers. Mr. O'Connor backs up Mr. Dillon's call for unity by declaring that the Irish Volunteers are "knaves that pretend to be fools." \* \* \*

This is a most interesting declaration. Was Mr. T. P. O'Connor one of the resolvers of the Irish Party resolution against the "senseless prosecutions?" No wonder Mr. Asquith and Mr. Birrell did not honour that resolution with a reply. They must have winked at each other when they read it. If Mr. O'Connor denounces the Irish Volunteers as knaves to the Cockney public, we may imagine how he speaks of them in his private interviews as go-between. Truly, unity is a grand word. But people in Ireland have little regard for Mr. T. P. O'Connor's condemnation. It does not surprise them to find him thus vindicating dear pious Mr. Birrell for the persecution of Irish Volunteers.



What will interest them is the innocent complaint against the Irish Volunteers that they "pretended to be fools." This means that Mr. T. P. O'Connor has discovered the Irish Volunteers to be not quite the fools he took them for, when he was finding a soft place for his Ministerial friends to land on in their leap from the pledged position of Home Rule for all Ireland. He thought that his friends would find it as soft a job to manage Ireland as he finds it to manage the U.I.L. of Great Britain. He now confesses that the Irish Volunteers are not fools. They were only pretending to be fools, just to give Mr. O'Connor a drop when he tried to execute what he himself has named "the sharp curve." Knaves is what they are, good Cockney friends, and if Birrell acts on the suggestion, who can blame him?

Mr. Dillon has also written in censure of some movement or other to set Mr. Redmond aside from the chairmanship of the Irish Party. This reminds us of what Col. Moore said at Omagh about differences, and of Mr. Redmond's own complaints about pessimists and Mrs. Gummidge. Herbert Pim, now in jail, has written a novel called "The Pessimist," himself being an incurable optimist, who believes with the Irish poet of a thousand years ago that "God's design for Ireland's greatness passes the power of telling." Where are the pessimists, the Mrs. Gummidge, and the disgruntled people? Last week, I was at an Irish Volunteer review amid the glorious surroundings of Loch Goir. The young men assembled there remembered Limerick and Limerick's Treaty, and Ballyneety, and the last words of Sarsfield, but their hearts were glad and their faces were to the future, and their voices raised the confident chorus of

Horo! se do bheatha abhaile  
Anois a' teacht an tsamhraidh.

Next day, I read that these men are knaves, according to the gospel of unity preached by Mr. T. P. O'Connor and paid for by the British Democracy. They will laugh to hear it, for nothing of that sort will be able to stir their resentment.

I have received for the Irish Volunteer Prisoners' Defence Fund, up to the end of last week, £27 4s. 6d. EGIN MAC NEILL.

## St. Enda's Tournament

The following are the results of the various competitions at the Tournament held at St. Enda's College on Sunday, September 5th:—

### DRILL DISPLAY.

1st Prize—A Coy., 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers.

2nd Prize—Irish Citizen Army, No. 1 Section.

### TUG-O'-WAR.

Set of Medals won by E Coy. (Rathfarnham), 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade; Runners-up, C Coy., 1st Batt.

TUG-O'-WAR (FINAL OF 1913 COMPETITION).

Set of medals won by Cloughran Team; Runners-up, Ballyboden Team.

### SHOOTING.

Medal won by Volunteer J. Bolger, E Coy. (Rathfarnham), 4th Batt. Score, 28 out of 30.

## Irish Volunteers. Prisoners' Defence Fund.

We would again remind our readers that the Central Executive of the Irish Volunteers has opened a fund to defray the expenses incurred in defending the Irish Volunteer prisoners arrested under the Defence of the Realm Act.

These men were ordered by the military authorities to leave their country, and were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for refusing to do so.

They were charged with no offence, and no reason was given for the issuing of these banishment orders.

As this is a matter which concerns not alone the Volunteers, but the people of Ireland as a whole, being an infringement of the rights and liberties of Irish people, it demands the serious attention and support of all Irishmen. Expressions of sympathy have been received from all parts of the country, and it is expected that the Fund will be a success. As the matter is one of great urgency, however, we would urge all those intending to subscribe to do so without delay.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Sec. Irish Volunteers, 2 Dawson St., Dublin.

## FINANCIAL OUTLOOK.

The "Times" of Sept. 11th says:—Further proposals adjusting the national finances will certainly have to be brought before Parliament at an early date. So far, we have had

### NO BUDGET

in the accepted sense. Mr. Lloyd George, in May, contented himself with expounding the figures for the past year, and outlining vaguely what might be required this year on the hypothesis whether the war lasted six months or a year. It must now be clear the continuance of war expenditure

UP TO THE END OF NEXT MARCH must definitely be contemplated, and that a Budget in a proper sense must, therefore, be brought in.

It would have been better if some additional taxation had been imposed at once, and collected during these months. The finance of the whole year must be put on a proper basis, and the country must face the outlook as it exists. In one respect, unfortunately, the outlook has not improved since Mr. McKenna carried the new War Loan to a success. The rate of current expenditure has gone up in a rather disquieting way. We doubt whether the country or Parliament quite realise the position. Up to June 19th the total Exchequer issues were 280 millions for eighty days. From June 20th to September 4th the total expenditure was 520 millions, giving a

DAILY AVERAGE OF 6½ MILLIONS.

This included 160 millions repaid by the Government to the Bank of England for promissory bills of exchange and other items.

This was about double what Mr. McKenna in June had seemed to indicate as due to the bank, and its magnitude has led to a good deal of comment in financial circles. But in any case the expenditure has averaged

4½ MILLIONS A DAY.

while the revenue, apart from borrowings, is only three-quarters of a million a day.

The importance of this rise lies in its bearing on the estimated total for the whole year. In May Mr. Lloyd George assumed there might be 1,132 millions due to an under-estimate of a million a day. At the present rate the figures will be 1,500 millions as against 270 millions. Of revenue borrowings this year will account for 900 millions. Out of the new War Loan 452 millions has already been spent. General public economy cannot be obtained without a considerable extension of taxation on articles of consumption. We should all like to see war profits brought fully under contribution.

## Enniscorthy Prisoners' Defence Fund. RESULT OF DRAW.

First Prize—Winning Ticket No. 1519.

Second Prize—Winning Ticket No. 1485.

Third Prize—Winning Ticket No. 3368.

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**The Irish Volunteer**  
SATURDAY, SEPT. 18th, 1915

## Headquarter's Bulletin.

Tionól do b'as Comhairle Shóca Féinne Fáil ina nDúnroir i mBaile Áca Cluac, Uia Céadaoin an 25ad Lá de mhí na tuáir, 1915, agus an Ceann Caca pápaire Mac Pápaire ina cácaoirleac opta.

Do léigead tuaragbála ó'n mBuidin Ceannuir i ocaoid Opuirte, Oileamha agus Amála na féinne, agus i ocaoid cúppaib aigro.

Tuag an cácaoirleac cumnta ar obair na féinne i gCoearg agus do móir oirgig agus fip Caca Coearg go mór.

Tionól eile do b'as an gComhairle Shóca Uia Céadaoin an céad Lá de mhí Meadon an fómair ag agus an Ceann Caca pápaire Mac Pápaire ina cácaoirleac apir.

Do léigead tuaragbála na buirne ceannuir ar cúppaib opuigte, oileamha, agus amála, agus do léigead tuaragbál an cúppaib ar cúppaib aigro.

Do phiof tuaragbál ar lonspoit na nSultie agus do biotar an-éarta te mero na hoirpe do pinnead i nC na reachtaine ann agus leir an maitear do pinnead pan fceannir. Do rocuigead a lán neite do bair le lonspoit na Sionnaine.

Do haimmigeat pinnt oirgeac. Aduipad go mbeici ag fáil go fceang-lóad a lán fceadeal le Cumann Con-ganta na féinne.

Dúnpoit na féinne—  
Ac Cluac,  
1ao Meadon fómair, 1915.

[TRANSLATION.]

The Central Executive of the Irish Volunteers met at Headquarters on Wednesday evening, 25th August, Commandant P. H. Pearse in the chair.

Reports were received from the General Staff on Organisation, Training, and Armament, and on matters connected with Finance.

The chairman reported on Volunteer activities in Cork, and highly commended the efficiency of the officers and men of the 1st (Cork City) Battalion.

The Executive met again on Wednesday evening, 1st September, Commandant P. H. Pearse again in the chair.

The reports of the General Staff on matters connected with Organisation, Training, and Armament were submitted, and also the Treasurer's report on Finance.

A report was submitted on the Galtee Camp, and much satisfaction was expressed with the amount of work accomplished during the week's training and with the good effects produced in the district. Arrangements were completed with respect to the Shannon Camp.

Certain appointments were made.

The hope was expressed that the Irish public would join the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary in large numbers.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 1st September, 1915.

## ainmniú.

Tuigead go bfuil na hoifigis roleanar ainmniú:

Durdean Riapaire an Opuirte—An tOglac Miceál Ó Stáin, cum beir ina leas-Ceapaoir Uaclaip.

Durdean Riapaire na hOileamha—An tOglac Tomás Ó Maolúin cum beir ina leas-Ceapaoir Uaclaip.

Míre,

pápaire Mac Pápaire,

Ceann Caca,

Riapaire an Opuirte.

Dúnpoit na féinne—Ac Cluac,

1ao Meadon fómair, 1915.

[TRANSLATION.]

APPOINTMENTS.

The following appointments are made:

DIRECTOR OF ORGANISATION'S STAFF.

Volunteer M. Staines to be 1st Lieutenant.

DIRECTOR OF TRAINING'S STAFF.

Volunteer Thos. Meldon to be 2nd Lieut.

P. H. PEARSE, Commandant,

Director of Organisation.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 1st September, 1915.

## NOTES FROM HEADQUARTERS.

### an fceadeal.

Saéit pinne agus ní heol dúinn Sup náin dúinn é. Dúimr fceadealac map pin. Cpaob-rsaonirteap opuigte agus tuaragbála na féinne i nSaeidiz fearca. Cúppaib aigruagad Deapla leo ionnur go ocaidiz fáll-Saéit 1ao, acé déanad fáll-Saéit beirp agus na fceadealac o'foglum, map caicpimo an Deapla leat-caoid com luac agus ip péirp linn é. Tuagad go bfuil opaim an Deapla do éleacaid i n-aon cop.

ní beag nod.

Tá a lán Complaic ar fuo na tife o'féapad a fceud oirpe, nó a leat ap cuma ap bí, do déanam i nSaeidiz. Níop móir pin do déanam fearca. Tá fálgead

Deapla labrócar o'fáliz ip amair ip fá complaic amair i mBaile Áca ina rocuann an capaoir ceat fceadealac na fearaib uair fa treacat Deantap amair i gComplaicab eile

## IRISH IN VOLUNTEER WORK.

The Irish Volunteers stand for Ireland. They seal their allegiance by the mental test of language. To speak Irish once the simplest and the grandest way of claiming an allegiance purely Irish. The of the Irish language would also have important advantages from the military point of view. Its adaptability to the discussion of Volunteer strategy and tactics is obvious. There is really no reason why the word command in every Volunteer Company should not within the course of a few months be Irished. Headquarters will lead the way in issuing its official bulletins and orders in Irish henceforward. A translation will be added to the benefit of the half-Irish. The translation will be discontinued when the half-Irish have been given what seems a reasonable time in which to become Irish.

## THE ST. ENDA'S DISPLAY.

The demonstration and Volunteer display at St. Enda's College on Sunday week last was in its way one of the most remarkable events in the history of the movement. Sections of seventy Companies competed in drill, including two from the Citizen Army and a section of Fianna officers. Four thousand people were present to witness the display. Three hundred and fifty-three competitors for the silver medal shot at the target, in addition many hundreds who joined in the general shooting. The adjudicators pronounced the work of the competing sections in close and orderly drill as, on the whole, excellent, especially as showing continuous progress in the right lines since the first competitions of the kind held some weeks ago. The faults that emerged—and there were faults—will probably form the subject of training lectures during the coming season. The weakest point may be stated in a word: fire-control. This should be looked to.

## BRIGADE OPERATIONS.

The whole Dublin Brigade will carry out field operations on Sunday next, 19th inst. under the direction of the General Staff. It is expected that every Company will muster at full strength. The operations will occupy the whole day from 8 a.m. till dusk. Men will therefore carry a full field kit and a day's rations.

## STAFF WORK.

In addition to the training of men and officers, the operations will have in view the giving the Battalion staffs an opportunity of practising staff work on a large scale. The matters to be attended to chiefly are communications, despatch work, and scouting. Query: Has every officer his field message book and his road-map of Co. Dublin? Both will be found essential on Sunday next.

**DRAWING FOR MODEL OF  
O'SULLIVAN BEARE'S FORT**  
POSTPONED UNTIL  
MONDAY, 18th OCTOBER, 1915.

All Blocks and Cash to be returned as soon as possible to  
CAPT. O'SULLIVAN, 41 PARNELL SQUARE.



## VICTORIES OF IRREGULAR TROOPS.

### The Liberation of New Granada.

In 1815 King Ferdinand of Spain determined to put an end to the revolutionary movement in his South American colonies. He therefore despatched General Morillo with 12,000 reinforcements to the Royal troops. Venezuela was soon subdued, and Cartagena was besieged, and, after a four months' struggle, surrendered. Morillo now marched on Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of New Granada, almost ravalling on the way the atrocities committed by the English in Ireland seventeen years before. Fierce reprisals on the part of the insurgents followed, and the war became a war to the death.

At this time Simon Bolivar, the Venezuelan patriot, was engaged in making plans for the liberation of his country in his refuge in Jamaica. He now left Jamaica and went to San Domingo, where he obtained the aid of the President, Petion, and of a Dutch ship-builder called Brion. The latter placed seven schooners and 3,500 muskets at Bolivar's disposal, and joined in the expedition himself. In 1816 they landed at Oayos de San Luis, where the leaders of the insurrection made Bolivar their general and Brion their admiral. At the island of Margarita these appointments were finally made, and the war began.

Besides Bolivar's party there were several independent guerilla revolutionary forces, operating on the banks of the Orinoco, and on the plains of Barcelona and Casanare. The exploits of these bodies are too numerous to describe here, but one bold deed of one leader, called Paez, is worthy of special mention. On June 3rd, 1819, when opposing Morillo's advance, he swam the Orinoco with 150 horsemen, and made for the Spanish camp. He was promptly attacked by 800 Spanish cavalry with 2 guns. Retreating towards Las Querasas del Medio, he drew the enemy into an ambush of infantry near the river, then, splitting his own men up into small parties, he charged so as to push the Spaniards under the guns of the infantry, who did great execution. Paez lost 2 killed and half a dozen wounded.

This is only one of many incidents, not always successful for the rebels, as might be expected. In fact, in these first years of the war defeat and victory were pretty well mixed up.

Meanwhile, the Napoleonic wars being over, the insurgent leaders were able to raise disbanded troops in Europe. There was a large English contingent, a small German contingent, an Irish Legion, and a few others. With these troops to assist him, Bolivar was able to take a decisive step. Sending a large supply of muskets and some officers to General Santander, the leader of the patriots in Casanare, he directed him to menace the frontier of New Granada. Santander inflicted a small defeat on General Barreiro, who was in command there, and Bolivar, abandoning his unsuccessful efforts to drive the Spaniards out of Venezuela, decided to cross the Andes and march to help him in winning New Granada. He set out with 2,500 men, crossed seven rivers in his course, and got in touch with

Santander in the middle of June, 1819, at the foot of the Andes. The two armies crossed the mountains by the Paya pass, under great



### O SANTA FE DE BOGOTA

difficulties, and with much loss, both through death and desertion. Once they had to dislodge an outpost of 300 men, but met with no other opposition from the enemy, who did not believe the mountain passable at that season. On the 6th of July they emerged in the heart of the province of Tunja, where they waited some days for stragglers.

Barreiro, having at last discovered the proximity of the rebels, occupied the heights of Vargas, barring the way to Tunja. On the 25th of July a five hours' battle took place, ending in victory for the rebels, but leaving the Royalists still barring the way to Tunja. Bolivar therefore retreated during the daytime, and then by rapid night marches passed the royal army by, took the town on the 5th of August, and so cut Barreiro's communications with the capital.

Barreiro now fell back on Venta Quemada, where he was again forced to fight. Bolivar stood up to his enemy with a small force on a short front, leaving the majority of his troops in ambush on the flanks, and sending his cavalry to ride round on to the enemy's rear. Bolivar's front was driven in, but the Spanish flank and rear were cut to pieces, 1,600 prisoners being taken. Bolivar lost 13 killed and 53 wounded. This action is known as the battle of Boyaca, and it finished the war. On the 10th of August Bolivar entered Santa Fe de Bogota.

### COMMENTS.

Future commanders of irregular troops, note the importance of *achieving the impossible*. That is the way to surprise your disciplined enemies. Bolivar's plan was to leave his enemy manoeuvring and calculating, while, by *marching over impassable roads* he concentrated a superior force at some unexpected point, and so achieved very easy victories. This is the only hope of success for irregulars, and has been shown over and over again.

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## Dublin's Protest Against Realm Act Prosecutions.

Over ten thousand people assembled in the Nine Acres, Phoenix Park, on last Sunday afternoon to protest against the prosecutions and the attempted deportations under the Defence of the Realm Act. The meeting was convened by a representative committee of Dublin citizens, and was addressed from two platforms by speakers of all shades of national opinion. The proceedings were characterised by the greatest unanimity and enthusiasm. The meeting, which was the largest held in Dublin for many years, was a remarkable example of national solidarity. The James's Gate Brass and Reed Band, the Fianna and Fintan Lalor Pipers' Bands were in attendance, as well as the Dublin Fianna Companies and a detachment of the Citizen Army fully armed. Not the least interested spectators were some soldiers who were attracted by the meeting, and a force of police with the necessary superintendents, inspectors, and detectives.

### RESOLUTIONS:

#### 1.

"We protest against the attempted deportation of Messrs. Herbert Pim, Denis M'Cullough, Ernest Blythe, and William Mellows, without evidence of any charges against them, and against their subsequent sentences and continued imprisonment. We also protest against the arrest, sentence, and persecution to which Seaghan MacDermott, Seaghan Milroy, and Sheehy-Skeffington, and many of our countrymen and women have been subjected during the past thirteen months on the pretence of offences against the Defence of the Realm Act.

"We demand the immediate release of Seaghan MacDermott, Herbert Pim, Denis M'Cullough, Ernest Blythe, and Liam Mellows, and of all the others of our countrymen and women still unjustly in jail, with reparation for the injuries inflicted upon them."

#### 2.

"We declare our determination to uphold the right to liberty of opinion and to free speech, notwithstanding all attempts to suppress both by whomsoever made. We are of opinion it is essential for the public safety that a committee should be formed to investigate the circumstances of arrests and prosecutions and violations of the right of liberty of opinion and freedom of speech. We request the promoters of this meeting to establish such a committee, and keep the public from time to time informed of the facts."

### PLATFORM NO. 1.

The chair at Platform No. 1 was taken by Alderman Laurence O'Neill, who said that the meeting was called in the interests of no political section, but of the personal liberty of Irishmen. If the military were to be the judge and jury in this country, if the preachers of civil war got a seat in the Cabinet while Irishmen were sent to jail without even a charge preferred, then it mattered little to them whether they were governed by Prussian, Russian, Turk or Empire. (Applause.)

Councillor Briscoe proposed the resolutions. He said they stood for Ireland and cared nothing for any other country. They were determined to preserve the right of Irishmen to a fair trial and to remain in the land where God placed them. (Applause.)

Mr. Sean Milroy, who was received with loud applause, seconded the resolutions. He gave an interesting account of his experiences in Mountjoy, and his fellow-prisoners of the Irish Volunteers. Protests by public meetings, he said, were of little avail. It was the men who joined and worked in the Irish Volunteers, the



Citizen Army, ay! and the National Volunteers who were providing the argument that would tell. The bullying of the Government would only serve if they were all weaklings and cowards. (Applause.)

Mr. L. Ginnell, who received a hearty reception, said that the Constitutional Government of England had abolished personal liberty and established the very militarism in Ireland from which they assured us they wished to save Europe. The Defence of the Realm Act nominally applied to England as well as Ireland, but it was never intended to put it in force in the same way in England. They dared not. No person in England had been imprisoned without trial or accusation. No honest man could find fault with the programme of the Irish Volunteers, which was to unite Irishmen and seal animosities; yet the fomenters of discord were rewarded with seats in the Cabinet, and the Irish Volunteers were sent to jail. This method of stifling public opinion was the surest means of bringing British rule in Ireland to an end. (Applause.)

Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington said she had the honour to be married to one of the victims of the Defence of the Realm Act. (Cheers.) The Government had tried to pack juries in the cases of Hegarty and Bolger, but the juries would not pack. The juries declared that these Irish Volunteers had committed no crime in being true to their country. So now the Government had abolished trial by jury.

Capt. Piaras Beaslai said that that great meeting might be the beginning of a new unity among Irishmen. It would be a proud thought for the prisoners if by their sacrifice they brought about such a movement. Prisoners or free, they had won; they had defied the deportation order, had struck a blow for the liberties of Irishmen, had made the Defence of the Realm Act odious and ridiculous in the eyes of all Irishmen.

The Chairman put the resolutions to the meeting, and declared them carried unanimously, amid loud cheering.

#### PLATFORM NO. 2.

Mr. Thos. Farren, President Dublin Trades' Council, who presided at this platform, said they were there to protest against Irishmen being sent to prison for no other reason than that they were Irishmen, and intended to remain Irishmen. They would form a Committee to protect these men and any others who would be similarly treated.

Mr. Henry Dixon, who proposed the resolutions, said they were not there to speak in terms of apology of the men who had been so outrageously treated, neither would they ask for favours on their behalf. They were there to show that the arrest of these men is a scandal unknown in other countries, and is absolutely in accord with the methods of English Government in Ireland. Whether one examined English rule in Ireland before the Penal days or since, the only difference is that the method is more cunningly suited to the experience and the times, but in point of contemptible meanness and refined cruelty it stands without parallel in the history even of Russia. English hypocrisy is shown in the fact that, while condemning the treatment of political prisoners in Naples, the English jailers were torturing in Dartmouth jail O'Donovan Rossa and other

Irishmen. Russia sent political prisoners to jail openly. England tried to banish Irishmen from county to county, and then from Ireland itself. The thanks of all Ireland is due to the men who refused to leave Ireland at the order of British authorities. At present we were suffering under the disadvantage of a Press which, through fear of the censorship, is afraid to uphold the rights of the people. So they were assembled there, and will continue to come there so long as it is necessary, to assert their rights. For the past twelve months in isolated places this man and that man had been convicted on the slightest pretext and on the worst of evidence. It was sufficient for the magistracy for a man to be charged that he should be sent to jail. One would expect that some little ray of intelligence would be left in those who governed this country, and that they would know that, notwithstanding postal inspection, information of these facts would leak out to those at the front. From that day a committee would be formed to watch with vigilance all cases of arrest and closely examine the evidence, and let their people at home, as well as our exiled countrymen, know the whole facts.

Alderman Alfred Byrne, who seconded the resolution, advised Volunteers of both sides to keep on drilling and get armed for the day they would be called upon to look after their own country. He drew attention to the difference in treatment under the Defence of the Realm Act in England and in Ireland. The Government thought if they took the leaders the men would disband. He advised them to stick together and remember what the Welsh miners did with an Act of Parliament.

Cathal O'Seanainn, of Belfast—He came to say a few words on behalf of the Belfast men in jail. There was no use in protesting against the law, as there was no law in Ireland. England, while ostensibly fighting militarism on the Continent, is putting them under militarism in Ireland, putting them in shackles that she would not dare to put on her own people in England or Wales. No friendly commander of the forces in England has ordered a single Englishman out of England. These men were brought before a court of summary jurisdiction, because the British Government were afraid even of a packed jury. Why should they not be much more afraid of the Irish Nation? These men were not struck at because they were Sinn Feiners, but because they were the men in the gap, because in their persons the British Government struck at the Irish Nation.

Mr. Jim Connolly—He recognised the wisdom of the Volunteer Executive in not calling a meeting to protest against the imprisonment of the Volunteers. It was not their place or duty to call for public sympathy; but as the commander of a military body that is out to establish militarism in Ireland, he felt it his duty to bring at least a company of them here to show that in Ireland to-day whoever strikes at the Irish Volunteers strikes at the Irish Nation. We in Ireland to-day are a slave nation kept down by armed force. He was glad that the Redmonds, Dillons, and O'Briens, the Kettles, Gwynnes, and others of their kind are appearing on recruiting platforms telling us we are partners in all the quarrels and responsibility of the Empire. The Irish race is under a deep debt of gratitude to General Friend.

He has stripped the veil from our eyes and shown us what we are. We are told the crime of the Kaiser can only be wiped out in blood. He (the speaker) did not know in what fluid they would wipe away the guilt of those leaders who sold the Irish race.

Padraic O'Maille, Oughterard—He came from the West to show that the people there were behind that protest. They saw what was the case of the Volunteer leaders yesterday might be their own to-morrow, if the Irish people did not band together and fight for their rights.

Alderman T. Kelly—Admitting that when a State is at war, it is necessary for the protection of that State to have laws different than in time of peace; admitting that England needs the Defence of the Realm Act, it is not being administered in Ireland as it is in England. The offices of the "Labour Leader" were raided in Manchester and certain papers and pamphlets taken away. Legal proceedings were subsequently taken, and what were the proceedings for? To show cause why certain pamphlets and certain copies of the paper should not be destroyed. What happened in Ireland? What did they do in the office of the "Irish Worker" and in "Sinn Fein," and to Paddy Mahon, the printer? With base brutality they stripped the offices and broke the man's machinery. The more they imprison and the more they persecute the stronger and more virile will our nationality become. The Government tries in fits and starts if a policy of persecution will succeed here. He observed some of the leaders of public opinion agree with the Government's action. Smyth, M.P., wishes every man of Sinn Fein opinions were in jail. Redmond called their papers "wretched little rags." Nugent referred to German gold, but an Englishman admitted the men who were accused of getting German gold could not be purchased by German or British gold. The general body of the people, no matter what leaders they follow, have shown they have no sympathy with the persecution of their fellow-Irishmen.

The O'Rahilly—He enjoyed the honour of possessing a certificate signed by General Friend stating he was not a proper person to live within the counties of Cork, Kerry, or Limerick. The men who left the counties in which they were residing did not do so because of the Government's order, but because they belonged to the disciplined organisation of the Irish Volunteers, and they obeyed the instructions of their Executive. If every man in the crowd joined the Irish Volunteers and possessed a rifle and a thousand rounds of ammunition, there would be no Defence of the Realm Act in Dublin to-day. If Ireland wants equal treatment with England, Ireland must maintain a National Army.

Sean Etchingham, Wexford—When England acted the role of cruel stepmother, Ireland became herself again. These persecutions were necessary for the people of Ireland to realise their duty. None of the men who were imprisoned would have it otherwise than that they should suffer that the cause might prosper. The greatest insult that could be given these men is sympathy. They want the rest of the people to do the work they have been doing. Let those who have not done so as yet join the Irish Volunteers or the Citizen Army.



Sean O'Murthuile, Cork—They should also protest against the action of weak-kneed employers in obeying the order of the British Government in dismissing their employees who held Nationalist opinions. Before they were much older they would learn that the Board of National Education, which dismissed Mr. Mansfield, was about to dismiss a Kerry teacher because he was an Irish Volunteer. That man must get the support of the whole Irish people.

The resolutions were then put to the meeting and carried with enthusiasm, after which Sean Connolly (Citizen Army) sang "The Felons of Our Land" and "A Nation Once Again," and the proceedings terminated with loud cheers for the men in jail.

### Diary of the Galtee Camp.

Tuesday, 24th—When breakfast was finished tents were struck, and we moved off for Kilmineane. We felt at home with the people of Galbally from the minute we first came amongst them, and left them with many a pang of regret, and some of us indeed with a feeling that we were losing dear old friends. The Cyclists and Infantry had arrived, and the camp-fire was burning brightly when the Q.M., with the transport, reached Kilmineane at 4 o'clock. Plenty of fuel had been supplied by some of our Volunteers in the village. Tents were pitched and dinner served in quick time, and that both these operations were well done may be judged from the picture of the camp which was taken there and then. We had a visit in the evening from the local corps of Volunteers and its Ardpatrick Auxiliary, and after some Close Order Drill on the camping ground we had a parade through Kilmineane. As a result of this we got two "recruits" for the camp, and woke up many of those who had been sleeping while their country was in danger! Kilmineane is now on the road to National recovery.

Wednesday, 25th—Some light skirmish work occupied the early part of the day. After dinner we again got ready for the road, and moved off to Ballybrien. The main body reached its destination at 9.30. The Q.M. and transport arrived about an hour and a half afterwards. By the way, it may be as well to explain that it is not always possible to get a suitable horse and cart for transport work, but in the present case the delay was due not alone to the peculiarities of the least (it was all right for climbing hills, but had to be pulled down them!), but to the faulty loading of the tents, traps, and stores in the yoke, in consequence of which some mishaps occurred at the early stages of the journey, and eventually the baggage, etc., had to be unloaded and re-loaded correctly. One of our motor cyclists met the transport as it was passing through Ballylanders, and the Q.M. gave him a supply of "emergency rations" to bring on in advance, but the transport had reached Ballybrien and was unpacked before the motor cyclist (who took a wrong turning) put in an appearance. A large pot had been "commandeered" from an adjacent farmhouse, and the water was boiling when the "grub" turned up. Four minutes later the ever-welcome whistle for "mess-tins" was sounded. After tents were pitched for the night, and the

men, leg-weary, fell asleep before they knew where they were.

Thursday, 26th—This was a cold morning, and a heavy mist from the bog around hung in the air. Breakfast as usual—only more of it!—was again the order. Tent striking and pitching competitions, after which we had a march to Mitchelstown, and a parade through the town. A large basket of apples was presented to the camp by the Ballylanders Cumann na mBan. Arrangements were made with the Mitchelstown Corps to deliver a night attack on a field (not the camping ground), which we were to defend. In the absence of our men, however, a section of the Angelsburg Volunteers took the camp by surprise, made an attempt to capture a pot of stirabout, and would have succeeded had not the Q.M., by a strategic move to the "grub" tent at the rear, managed to save the situation (and the supper) by distributing some apples amongst the "ruthless invaders," through which they "hacked a way." A sing-song round the camp-fire followed. The attack on our position not having developed up to 11.30, the C.O. decided to return to camp. The "enemy" was not far off, however, and jumped up and cheered us as soon as we began to move off. It was nearly one o'clock in the morning when our men returned to camp, in good form for a mug of stirabout after a strenuous night's work.

Friday, 27th—Musketry, double time, and an advance across difficult country to the attack on a given position constituted the morning's work. After dinner we had a tent-striking competition, and moved back to Ballylanders. A company of cyclists went on in front to arrange about a camping site, as usual. The transport on this occasion was exceptionally good, and kept in touch with the infantry throughout the journey. The "final" of the tent pitching competition resulted in Mitchelstown and Dublin being adjudged the winners. And the winners had the honour of pitching four tents for the C.O., the Q.M., the stores, and the guard. Practice makes perfect! Fuel was scarce, and it was some time before a decent fire could be got going. However, we eventually coaxed the water to boil. The tea was worth waiting for, as the Cumann na mBan presented the camp with more apples and "tons" of cakes. These cakes brought back sweet memories of Galbally, and the Q.M. called for three cheers for Galbally, which were given with a heart and a half. Three cheers for Ballylanders followed. We had a sing-song on the roadside afterwards, and all the village "mobilised" for the occasion. After roll call, valuable presentations were made by the camp to the C.O. and Q.M.

Saturday, 28th—The Kerry, Kilkenny, and some of the Dublin Volunteers left for home this morning, and we saw them off at Knocklong Station. In the evening some from Cork City departed, and the remainder were invited to a dance given by the Cumann na mBan in the village.

Sunday, 29th—Church Parade at 8.30. After early dinner we marched to the sports at Galbally, accompanied by the Cumann na mBan and the local Company of Irish Volunteers. We met old friends and made new ones. Back to the camp for tea, and then a farewell dance with the Cumann na mBan.

Monday, 30th—After early breakfast, camp was struck. Our transport had a "forced march," but made the ten to nine train at Knocklong in great style.

It was a great week, spent in a great country, amongst a great people!

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