

# THE IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1915.

Price One Penny.

## NOTES.

Mr. Birrell is not responsible. He is also not responsive. As I write, it is more than a fortnight since Mr. Devlin's letter was published, and still dear Mr. Birrell has not responded. In that letter, Mr. Devlin stated that a resolution with reference to the "senseless prosecution" of Irish Volunteers, moved by himself, was adopted at a meeting of the Irish Party and forwarded to the Government. The public is entitled to know the terms of the resolution. They are also entitled to know the date of the resolution. The Irish Party is not a secret society, and presumably it does not take secret action on a matter of such public importance as the liberty of Irishmen. Has the Government vouchsafed any reply to the Irish Party? If so, what was the reply? If not, is the Irish Party satisfied to have its resolution put into the dustbin? Has the reply or the ignoring of the resolution been communicated to the members of the Irish Party? It was their resolution, not merely Mr. Devlin's, and they are entitled to an answer or at least an acknowledgment. We know that Mr. Birrell "doesn't care two straws," but at least some pretence might be expected of acknowledging the right of the Irish Party, with Home Rule enacted, to make representations to the Government about Irish affairs, and to receive some sort of answer to their representations.

General Friend, the responsible military authority in Ireland, had only a limited knowledge of civil and political affairs in Ireland. To supply the defect, Mr. Birrell placed one of his subordinates, Mr. Price, a county inspector of police, at the general's disposal. In this way, Mr. Birrell ceased to be responsible and to care two straws for anything that Mr. Price, now Major Price, may advise to be done. General Friend cannot well go behind the advice of Major Price, his Intelligence Officer, since without the Major the General would be without intelligence. The Major, for his part, refuses in court to go behind what the General does on the Major's advice. The Crown explains in court that "there was the parallel of the Dictator in ancient Roman history." It is not a bad parallel for the champions of liberty and nationality in the twentieth century. The Dictator of Ireland is evidently the gallant Major, who has reached

his military honours by a short way from Tipperary, where he completed his qualifications in "intelligence" as a police inspector under Mr. Birrell. The General is naturally dependent on whatever advice the Major wishes to dictate. The Major is Dictator, with full power over the liberty of the subject.

The Major, having advised the General, who would be acting in the dark without the Major's intelligence, admits in Court that "the military authorities," the Dictator and the General, "are responsible to the nation." The Nation Once Again!—the Irish Scottish Welsh English nation to which Lord Mayor Gallagher belongs. "There never was a Defence of the Realm Act passed before," says Major Price to the Court. That is true. Never, until we got Home Rule on the Statute Book, was it in the power of one policeman to consign Irishmen to banishment without even stating the evidence in Court. "What that evidence was, I am not going to tell you," is the Dictator's own statement. Formerly, as in the Crossmaglen case, when there was no evidence, it required at least the hard swearing of two police witnesses to destroy an Irishman's liberty. Now that we have Home Rule on the Statute Book, we have changed all that, and it is a change for the better. It obviates hard swearing, which, however necessary, is never pleasant. The Defence of the Realm Act makes for veracity.

It makes for extraordinary candour. Even in Ireland, police officers are trained to express the spirit of Government with a certain amount of discretion and reserve. But when a police officer suddenly becomes a Competent Military Authority, responsible to nothing more real than Lord Mayor Gallagher's Nation, no bird released from its cage can throb with a greater joy of freedom. The once discreet and restrained interpreter of British liberty to Irish subjects at once becomes delightfully outspoken, and we are permitted to see the idea of Government so long concealed under a dark uniform. "Is it not possible to try a man for acting in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the realm?" His Majesty the Dictator of Ireland does not deny that even the Defence of the Realm Act makes a trial and the production of evidence possible, but he says, "We"—myself and the General—"find it more expedient to turn him out." Remark the bold free Anglo-Saxon phrase, "turn him out."

"I think we are dealing with them very gently," Major Ivan Price—his name suggests the Ancient Briton—no doubt regrets that we have not yet progressed to the stage of a former Turn-out in the region of Belfast and Lisburn, when an Ernest Blythe would have been shot at his mother's door. The spirit is willing but the flesh indeed is weak.

During that Turn-out, as O'Connell wrote, "the officers had recognised power of life and death. The Ancient Britons and other private soldiers took that power." Now that the cause of liberty, civilisation and small nationalities pleads for gentleness, we just "turn him out" or send him to jail if he won't go out. "They can go to England or Scotland or Wales. All we want is for them to go out of Ireland." Considering that "we" have succeeded in forcing millions of people out of Ireland during the past seventy years, now that "we" merely issue four banishment orders in one week, who can deny that "we are dealing with them very gently." If they obeyed the Dictator, and went to England, Scotland or Wales, "I do not expect," says the Dictator, "they would listen to them on the other side or tolerate them either." Observe how the Defence of the Realm Act makes for candour in a police inspector. Note also the suggestive significance of this utterance in a Belfast Court. Then, if you are fools enough, go passing resolutions condemning the Ballycastle outbreak.

Ernest Blythe's counsel skated in Court that "a new regulation [under the Defence of the Realm Act] had been issued during the past week—it had not been published in the paper—which was apparently the result of the prosecutions there a week ago [when the President of the Belfast Irish Volunteers' Committee and Herbert Pim were sent to jail in Belfast]. The effect of it was that those deportation orders would prove themselves on production, without any evidence being given as to their validity or as to the accuracy of the signature to them. That regulation put an end once and for all to the ordinary laws of proof and laws of evidence to which they were accustomed in civil courts." Thus the law governing the liberty of citizens is changed from day to day and nobody knows what the law is. In this case, Mr. Birrell cannot disclaim responsibility, for the regulations governing or rather freeing from government



the "competent military authority" are made by the authority of the British Government, supported by Mr. Redmond, the Botha of Ireland.

\* \* \*

"There are illegalities which are not crimes," says Sir Edward Carson. There are also legalities which are crimes. For organising Volunteers, Sir Edward Carson has been made a Cabinet Minister and Attorney General for England, and Denis McCullough, Herbert Pim, and Ernest Blythe are shut up in Belfast Prison, and Liam Mellows in Mountjoy Prison. There is nothing to prevent the military Dictatorship from destroying the liberty of any obnoxious Irishman without the semblance of evidence, with or even without a secret report from a policeman—all purely and piously in defence of liberty and small nationalities.

\* \* \*

I willingly accede to the request of a friend who asks me to remind the Postmaster General, if his newly discovered plan of "serving God and Mammon at the same time" leaves him any time for less exacting duties, to be good enough, when several letters are opened simultaneously, not to have them closed up in the wrong envelopes. This has occurred several times recently, and is inconvenient. I know of an instance in which a letter written to a Catholic priest in Belfast found its way into an envelope addressed to a Protestant rector in Tyrone, was duly delivered to him, and was by him forwarded to the original addressee. No doubt, as the Major says, "the Realm must be defended anyway."

\* \* \*

The "Irish Times" found a place for the Bishop of Limerick's letter to Mr. Redmond on the page devoted to horseracing and cricket, and a place for Mr. Redmond's reply in the first column of the page devoted to the war. The "Irish Times" can however explain that, to deal satisfactorily to himself and the "Irish Times" with the Bishop's appeal of 179 lines of print, Mr. Redmond only required fifteen lines.

\* \* \*

Mr. Redmond, as Mr. Balfour would say, is not uneloquent. Let us see, then, how he manages to dispose of the Bishop with such startling brevity. The Bishop begins by drawing attention to the Pope's appeal for peace, addressed to the belligerent powers. Mr. Redmond's reply ignores the Pope's appeal. The Liberal Imperialist "Westminster Gazette," which praises Mr. Redmond for "relinquishing a victory" by acquiescing in the postponement of Home Rule, also declares the view of our Rulers in Downing Street and Dublin Castle about the Pope's plea for peace, which, it announces, "must be disallowed." What must be, must be, and so we see that the Pope's plea actually is disallowed. The coercion of Downing Street is unthinkable.

\* \* \*

The Bishop's second paragraph makes a "solemn appeal" to Mr. Redmond, in terms that can only be described as respectful and deferential, "to throw the weight of his influence strongly on the side of peace." Mr. Redmond answers that to comply with the Bishop's appeal, "to the best of his judgment,

would not be calculated to promote the cause of peace." The answer is capable of more than one interpretation. The Bishop suggests a conference of the powers, "either directly with one another or through some neutral, to see if it is possible to find terms or even an approach to terms." Mr. Redmond disallows the suggestion, and counters it by saying in effect that Germany must be forced to yield.

\* \* \*

The Bishop censures "the shocking and un-Christian statement that to talk of peace at the present moment is immoral." Mr. Redmond replies that he would not be "justified" in talking of peace to the British Government. "Our Holy Father," writes the Bishop, "speaks words of sober truth and reason; and the impartial judgment of neutral nations and much more of history will utterly condemn those who refuse to hear him." Mr. Redmond has nothing to say on this point.

\* \* \*

Dr. O'Dwyer then puts some very pertinent questions about the prospects of the war. Mr. Redmond ignores these questions. The Bishop passes on to a matter of particular and grave concern for Ireland. "The first Budget after the war," he writes, "will probably reach the astounding figure of £400,000,000, of which Ireland's share will be one-twentieth, or £20,000,000. Do you think that any measure of prosperity will be possible under such a burden? Where will the money come from, unless perhaps they tax the land and undo all the good of Land Purchase, which has cost the country so dearly?" Mr. Redmond's reply takes not the slightest notice of these questions. They are questions about Ireland, and Mr. Redmond's reply has nothing to say about Ireland.

\* \* \*

Mr. Redmond commits himself to one positive statement only, that "the German Powers have been the aggressors in this war." Downing Street says so too, and Downing Street is now the pillar and the ground of truth. Whatever is not according to Downing Street, even if the Pope should say it, "must be disallowed." The pamphlet "How the War Came," issued by the English Independent Labour Party, does not accept the Downing Street doctrine. It prefers the evidence of British, French, and Russian diplomatists. Mr. Redmond says that the German Powers "show no sign of any disposition to repair the wrongs they have inflicted upon Belgium and our other Allies." The German Powers are at war with England and her allies. Mr. Redmond refuses to use any influence in favour of peace. It is not usual for war to repair the wrongs of war. But what about the wrongs of peace. In my pamphlet "How Ireland is plundered," I say that "the most frightful wars in history have not brought upon any equal area of inhabited land a sum of economic evils as great as a century of Imperial peace has inflicted on this small country;" and I give the items. Mr. Redmond dare not controvert my statement. Notwithstanding their hostility from November, 1913, till this hour to the Irish Volunteers, our masters in Downing Street pretend to be at peace with the Irish Nation. There is nothing preventing them from showing signs of any disposition to repair

the wrongs they have inflicted upon Ireland. The Home Rule Act, even if the Attorney General for England and his English Tory Liberal supporters allowed it to be a *fait accompli* contains no reparation. On the contrary reserves for them full and unchallenged power to inflict upon Ireland further wrongs which if we submit to them, will, in the Bishop's words, "impoverish and cripple this country for generations." What matter? Redmond's concern is for "Belgium and other Allies." I suggest that his letter be the subject for another round of votes of confidence.

\* \* \*

Mr. Redmond has not ventured to controvert the Bishop of Limerick's forecast of £20,000,000 a year to be levied on Ireland if Ireland submits. He has avoided the disagreeable subject, and blinked the Bishop's questions. Mr. John J. Horgan of Cork, I mistake not, is a supporter not merely of Mr. Redmond's authorised electoral mandate but Mr. Redmond's various unauthorised disbursements in accord with the allowances and disallowments of Downing St. I find in Mr. Horgan's book on "Home Rule: a Critical Consideration," published in 1911, some figures worth comparing with the prospect of £20,000,000.

\* \* \*

In the "balance sheet presented by Mr. Gladstone to illustrate the working of the Bill of 1886, Ireland's total revenue is £8,350,000, her total expenditure, including Imperial charges, £7,946,000. Speaking to the balance sheet, Parnell said, "I cannot admit either the liberality or the justice of the standard of comparison which the right hon. gentleman has taken" (in fixing Ireland's Imperial burden). Mr. Horgan says: "Ireland could not have paid such a contribution. It was not an equitable contribution, and she should not have been asked to do so. One thing is quite certain—she will never be asked to do so again, or being asked, she will never consent." Now the contribution proposed by Gladstone was a fixed one for thirty years, not liable to increase as under the late or present or future Home Rule Act. Mr. Redmond has recently told us that this Act is a better measure than the Bill accepted by Parnell. Had that Bill become operative, no additional war taxes could have been levied on Ireland before 1917, and we may safely say that in 1917 no British Government would have ventured to impose an additional twelve millions of war taxes on Ireland.

\* \* \*

Under the Bill of 1893, the Treasury prepared a balance sheet in which the total revenue of Ireland appeared as £6,922,000, which is little more than a third of £20,000,000. For 1910 Mr. Horgan estimates a total Irish revenue of £11,420,000. In 1911, he declares, "Ireland is on the way to national bankruptcy." Recent Liberal legislation, we are told, has practically extinguished Ireland's Imperial contribution. Will anybody give an intelligible answer to the question—why should Imperial burdens ever again be imposed on Ireland or accepted by Ireland? Don't ask us to take the arguments of "Prussian domination" for an answer.



Lord Escher, we read, in the course of a letter to the Press, says that from the outset of the war he had been thrown into the company of all the leading statesmen, and found them all wrong in their forecasts without exception. "They believed in a short war. They prophesied its conclusion in anything from three to nine months, and hardly one of them but held that before now the British would be marching through Berlin. If German statesmen miscalculated, so did ours." Precisely! These were the forecasts, prophecies, and confident beliefs that were allowed to dominate the whole course of action of the Irish Parliamentary leaders last year, and are still dominating it. Our own three-ply Cabinet was also "thrown into the company of leading statesmen," and now we know the sort of assurances they got about the war, and why Ireland's opportunity was mortgaged to the miscalculators. At present, the grand new policy has come to making acts of hope that the British Democracy will "be decent"—which is a fine line of activity for four score able men at £400 a year each. If British statesmen miscalculated, so did ours! Last autumn, it was to be a triumphant march over the prostrate "Nobodies." Of course the other forecasts may still come true. Let us hope they will; anyhow, and pass round the hearty vote of confidence.

EOIN MAC NEILL.

### Wicklow Training Camp. From the C.O.'s Diary.

Sat., July 31st—The first contingent fell in at Dundrum station at 6 p.m., and marched to the camping-ground near Tinknock. All the stores and baggage were already there in charge of the Quartermaster. The camping-ground was reached about 7 o'clock, tents were pitched, and tea served. From that time on it rained steadily all night.

Sunday, August 1st—Practically the entire camp was sodden wet, and the outlook for O'Donovan Rossa's funeral—to which the men were to march from camp—looked anything but bright. After breakfast, the men drew lots for who were to be the two to remain behind in camp on guard. Presently the men marched off by Dundrum, Miltown and Leeson St. to Dublin. The march was so timed as to bring them to Stephen's Green in time for twelve o'clock Mass. The long wait in church turned out very opportunely in view of the tiring day before the men. The camp contingent fell into the procession immediately in rear of the fourth Battalion, and turned back just outside of Glasnevin Cemetery, returning to camp the same night.

Mon., Aug. 2nd—Still raining heavily, and the men breakfasted in "Lamb" Doyle's hall. Later on it cleared up, giving an opportunity to do some Section Drill. In the afternoon Three Rock Mountain was climbed, the military features of the district noted, and the Volunteers completely defeated by a weasel, whose skilful use of cover baffled all their efforts.

Tues., Aug. 3rd—Camp struck and the march to Glencree begun, the infantry moving across Two Rock and Tibbradden Mountains, and getting caught on the steep southern slope

of the latter in heavy rain. Thereafter they proceeded by road, reaching camp about five. They had been preceded by the cyclists, who had two not very serious casualties on the way. That night was again very wet.

Wed., Aug. 4th—A day of strenuous work. One party of cyclists was instructed in erecting sangars—six men throwing up kneeling cover for themselves in 19 minutes. The other part was given a thorough course of training in field work. In the afternoon the whole force was put through the attack on a position and worked as an advance guard, the flankers having to traverse very rough and difficult country, and performing their task very well.

Thur., Aug. 5th—In the morning the cyclists—one-third of the party—acted as rear guard to an imaginary force retreating on Enniskerry, the infantry acting as advance guard of the pursuing force. Two skirmishes took place—the first ending in a victory for the infantry, the next for the cyclists. In the afternoon camp was struck. The infantry, under the C.O., left Glencree at 2.30, the cyclists, under the 2nd C.O., followed 15 minutes later. The transport waggon, under the Quartermaster, following a few minutes after. The first two units marched over the mountains by Lough Bray, Sally Gap and Lough Tay to Roundwood. The cyclist advance party—three in number—reached Roundwood at 4.15 p.m., where they chose a suitable camping-ground. The main body of the cyclists, drenched with rain but in good spirits, free-wheeled in about half-an-hour later; and dried themselves before a warm fire preparatory to taking an excellent tea at the Royal Hotel. At 7 o'clock the infantry—sodden but singing—appeared in the main street, and occupied the dining-room, which was promptly evacuated by the cyclists. An hour later the transport arrived, and—as it was then 400 late and two wet to pitch camp—the "brutal and licentious soldiery" was billeted on the hapless inhabitants.

### Cumann Na mBan.

A feature of the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa was the large number of women who marched to Glasnevin to pay their last tribute to the Great Dead.

The executive of Cumann na mBan was represented by Mrs. John Mac Neill, Mrs. Wyse Power, Miss Trench, Miss Walsh, and Miss Bloxham. Among the branches which sent contingents were the Central Branch, Inginiúda na hEireann, Caitlín na hUllacáin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and Liverpool.

At a time like the present, instead of lamenting over those who have fallen away from the service of Ireland, it is good to dwell on the knowledge that through all the dark times of our country's history there were those who, like O'Donovan Rossa, remained steadfast to the end; it is good also to remember that we have many amongst us in whom flames the old passionate devotion. Those who listened to the words of Commandant Pearse at the graveside realized how a lament for a hero can be a psalm of triumph when uttered by one in whom the spirit of the dead Fenian is a living force.

We women had reason for pride when we

looked on the noble dignity of the woman who had shared the life of O'Donovan Rossa—a woman great enough to put aside for a time her own personal sorrow so that at the last her husband's message should ring clear and true for friend and foe alike.

E. B.

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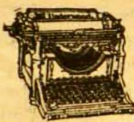
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**The Irish Volunteer**  
SATURDAY, AUGUST 21st, 1915

## Headquarters' Bulletin

The General Council of the Irish Volunteers met at Headquarters on Sunday, 8th August, Professor Eoin Mac Neill, President, in the chair.

Reports were received from the Headquarters' General Staff on the various branches of Organising and Training, and important proposals submitted by the Staff were agreed to.

The decision of the Executive to add a Director of Communications to the Staff was ratified.

The satisfactory progress of An Cumann Cosanta (which insures Irish Volunteers against arbitrary dismissal by their employers) was noted.

A committee was appointed to collect funds for the defence of the Volunteers who have refused to obey the military order of banishment from Ireland.

It was decided to hold the second Irish Volunteer Convention in Dublin on 31st Oct. next. Companies formed after 30th Sept. next not to receive representation, and all Companies claiming representation to pay up their affiliation fees.

The central Executive met at Headquarters on Wednesday evening, 11th August, Commandant P. H. Pearse in the chair.

The usual weekly reports were dealt with. Various appointments were made or ratified.

The successful launching of the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary was reported.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 11th August, 1915.

## IRISH VOLUNTEERS' AUXILIARY.

THE ENROLMENT FORM.

1. By a printer's error (the compositor's eye having apparently skipped over some lines) the declaration embodied in the enrolment form to be signed by all members of the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary was printed incorrectly in last week's issue of the IRISH VOLUNTEER. The following is the correct text:

"I, the undersigned, desire to be enrolled as a member of the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary. I have made myself acquainted with the objects of the Irish Volunteers, and I declare that in joining the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary I set before myself those objects and no others."

2. Copies of the enrolment form, together with full information about the Auxiliary, can be obtained from the General Secretary.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 11th August, 1915.

## APPOINTMENTS.

The following appointments are hereby made by Headquarters:

HEADQUARTERS' GENERAL STAFF.

DIRECTOR OF MILITARY OPERATIONS' STAFF.

Volunteer Colm O Lochlainn to be 2nd Lieut.

Volunteer George Plunkett to be 2nd Lieut.

DIRECTOR OF TRAINING'S STAFF.

Volunteer Domhnall O Rioghbbhardain to be 2nd Lieut.

P. H. PEARSE, Commandant,

Director of Organisation.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street,

Dublin, 11th August, 1915.

## NOTES FROM HEADQUARTERS.

THE DANGER GAP.

The Irish Volunteers may without any undue imaginativeness of language be described as the men in the danger gap. Two members of our General Council and three members of our Organising Staff are in jail. Some fifty of our comrades have suffered legal penalties in the various shapes of imprisonment, deportation, banishment orders, etc., etc. Our movement has been officially described as constituting a danger to the Defence of the Realm. Any one of us is liable at any moment to be shot, hanged, imprisoned, deported, banished, or ordered off the earth. It is all very exhilarating. It is all, in the homely saying, "just like old times." For our part, we enjoy it. And any clean, true Irishman would enjoy it. Every clean, true Irishman must feel that his proper place at this moment is with the men in the danger gap. And clean, true Irishmen everywhere are joining us. Our Companies are filling up. Dead Companies are coming to life again. Dormant Companies are awaking. Companies that had taken the wrong side are, by a true and noble instinct characteristic of Irish tradition at its best, coming over bodily to the right side—the dangerous side—in its hour of need. The young manhood of Ireland is pressing with wonted valour into the Bearnna Bhaoghail. We shall very soon again have all the fighting

material that is left in Ireland in the Irish Volunteers.

## THE AUXILIARY.

And those who for any reason are unable at the moment to take their place in the first—the Irish Volunteers—can take their place in the second line—the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary. By doing so they will give valuable financial and still more valuable moral support. It will be a great thing to feel that we shall be able to feel if the Auxiliary assumes the proportions we expect it to assume that the unpurchased manhood and womanhood of Ireland stand behind us. Everyone who cannot drill should join the Auxiliary. Women, clergymen, students in colleges, men too old to drill, men who cannot risk loss of employment by joining the Volunteers, men living in isolated or hostile districts where even Scouting Section is not possible, Irishmen and Irishwomen temporarily or permanently abroad—all these can join the Irish Volunteers' Auxiliary. By linking themselves with us in this way they will be doing the best and most courageous thing that their circumstances permit them.

## THE DEFENCE FUND.

It is unnecessary to say a good word for the Prisoners' Defence Fund. The funds at the disposal of Headquarters are for the sole purpose of arming and training the Volunteers and will not be diverted from that purpose even for so urgent a need as the defence of Volunteer prisoners. Every comrade of the men in jail, great though the sacrifices he has already made may be, must come forward and contribute his mite towards the special fund for defending them. It is not merely a duty, but an honour of which we should be proud.

## NO RETURNS.

Forms in connection with the Register of workers for war purposes have been distributed in Ireland during the past week. Such forms are not to be filled up by Irish Volunteers. And this rule, involved by the public declaration made by the Irish Volunteers at their first annual Convention, binds Volunteers resident in the four areas in which registration is "compulsory" equally with those resident in the rest of Ireland where it is not compulsory. In this important matter Irish Volunteers everywhere must stand together as one man.

## COMPETITIONS.

Several competitions which have taken place or are to take place at Aeritheachta in or near Dublin have given a very healthy stimulus to rifle-practice and to skirmishing-practice among Dublin Volunteers. Such friendly rivalry as competitions of the kind beget is all to the good. At the Cumann na mBan Aeritheacht on Sunday week last a section of the Citizen Army obtained the award for general efficiency and smartness over two Volunteer sections that competed against it. The alertness of the Citizen Army men was what pleased the judges. Keen interest is being aroused by the inter-Company competitions in shooting and in drill (including skirmishing work) which are to take place at St. Enda's College on September 5th. A large number of Companies have already notified their intention to compete.

## A CHANCE FOR SECTION COMMANDERS.

In all such contests competing sections



should be in charge of Section Commanders, and one of the most useful things about competitions of the kind is that they give the Section-Commanders a chance of showing their fitness for executive control and responsibility. In small Companies—and in some large Companies—there is a tendency on the part of Commanding Officers to do all the work themselves, leaving little or no responsibility to their subordinates. This is a very great mistake. In actual war conditions the responsibility thrown on Section Commanders is often immense. They should be carefully trained to undertake such responsibility.

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## The History of the Crossmaglen Conspiracy.

BY ONE DIRECTLY-COGNISANT.

VAGUE KNOWLEDGE IS POWER WITHOUT CONTROL.

The tragic story of Ireland's wrongs and sufferings throughout the seven centuries and a half since Strongbow first landed on her shores is one that has long since taken its honoured place in the literature of every civilised nation. In the railway carriage, at the hotel, among politicians and men of travelled experience, the stranger in European countries, if known to be an Irishman, is very often agreeably surprised to find the thrilling narrative of his country's wrongs and of her indomitable heroism turned into the subject of sympathetic conversation. It is the same in every grade and rank of professional and military society; while at the schools and universities of the Continent, one is astonished at the intimate knowledge of Ireland's past history which he finds so frequently displayed, and at the eager desire of these people to know more about her heroic sufferings. Even among the more illiterate, the name of Ireland, like Poland with us, connotes a nation and a people that have patiently endured centuries of martyrdom for faith and fatherland.

So much for this general knowledge of Ireland's past treatment at the hands of her "Predominant Partner," which is so universally diffused through European countries. We all know, of course, how Ireland's sons, and her daughters too, with their descendants through many generations, have carried the same story of their country's wrongs, told, perhaps, in an even more embittered strain, through every rank of life on the great continent of America, or wherever else, on the world's wide surface, fate—the fate of a cruelly persecuted race—has cast their lot. In the debates in the House of Commons on the Home Rule Bill, particularly in 1883, this universal condemnation of the cruel misgovernment of Ireland by her English rulers was one of Gladstone's most powerful and convincing arguments in favour of a full and generous measure of justice and self-government to Ireland. Nor does it behoove us, at this particular time, to let these things of the past, as well as of the present, be entirely forgotten either at home or abroad.

However, though this general knowledge is so widely diffused, there is still too often a vagueness about facts and details in our country's history—a vagueness which is quite explainable in the circumstances, but which in many cases is somewhat disappointing to the more inquisitive reader. There are, moreover, many glorious and thrilling episodes and incidents well deserving of special record in its annals, episodes and incidents, too, which are highly illustrative of its sad and chequered

memories, but which have been lost for ever, or have only come down to posterity in sadly mutilated and frequently unreliable forms. To rescue, therefore, from this neglect and oblivion one of these—the invincible heroism of the Dublin Castle victims of the Crossmaglen sham conspiracy case in the early eighties of the last century—is the main object of the following papers. They are, however, intended to be something more than a mere tribute to the recognized worth, as we shall find it, of the poor Crossmaglen prisoners.

TESTIMONY OF PARNELL AND HEALY.

Writing of this case in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 24th April, 1884, T. M. Healy, no incompetent judge of such matters, tells us that the facts disclosed therein reveal "as astounding a conspiracy against the liberties of innocent men as ever adorned the pages of any sensational novel." And Mr. Healy had then before him only some of the very many extraordinary facts of the case, all of which however will now, for the first time, be fully detailed and overwhelmingly proved. Again, on the night of February 13th, 1888, Mr. Parnell, in a crowded House of Commons, made an astounding revelation which, we are told, gave its members a startling and painful shock. It was to the effect that Earl Carnarvon, as Conservative Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had declared his intention, in 1885, of forthwith liberating the Crossmaglen prisoners, he having examined, for his government, the evidence on which they were found guilty, and discovered that they were wrongfully convicted; and that yet, under another Conservative Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Londonderry, Dublin Castle authorities, in 1888, more than two years after, had still these innocent men locked up in Mountjoy prison. Nor, indeed, did these authorities liberate the last of them until twelve months later, slipping them out gradually and stealthily, as they imagined, in order not to attract public attention.

THE MURDER OF MICHAEL WATTERS.

But already in 1883, while the Liberal Government, under which only a few months previously he had been convicted, was still in power, one of the prisoners, Michael Watters, a boy barely out of his teens, had died on the 23rd October in Mountjoy prison under cruel circumstances for which Dublin Castle was entirely responsible, and which, when only partially revealed in the House of Commons, caused one of its members to exclaim, "If such a case as this had happened in Bulgaria or Turkey" (instead of in Ireland), "and if a Tory Government" (instead of a Liberal) "were in power, the Liberals would come back to power on that case alone; and Midlothian would be harangued from one end to the other on the barbarities of Turkish rule and the inherent wickedness of the Tory Government in tolerating such things in the Balkans." It was only in Ireland, however, and an innocent

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Irish boy cruelly done to death in Great Britain's Imperial prisons, and therefore the outside world had no right whatever to be prying into anything about it. Dublin Castle saw to that.

These are undoubtedly astounding revelations of Government procedure and of Dublin Castle practices, and they are revelations which no advocates of the "Predominant Partner," quibble as they might, have ever publicly dared to challenge or question. They are, however, only outlines, and therefore, besides establishing the prisoners' innocence and recording their heroic truth and lealty, it will be the business of these papers to fill in with redoubtable facts and proofs this full picture of government and official perfidy.

#### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

To visualize, however, in their true perspective these facts and proofs of which we have spoken, we must review some at least of their historical surroundings and their bearings on the case, and some also of the lights and shades in which they lie, in other words, premise and investigate the originating causes and motives of this strange Crossmaglen or Gunpowder-plot Conspiracy, and the corrupt means and agencies by which it was carried into execution.

Though its hurricanes, in subsequent times, swept through every nook and corner of Ulster, County Armagh from the days of Elizabeth was the one constant storm centre of religious bitterness and persecution in the Northern province. As time went on, in addition to the officials of Dublin Castle and the State Church, the landlords there became also active and bitter persecutors of the Catholics, their object being to enrich themselves with the confiscated property of their Catholic tenantry, just as, at other times, these same landlords had shown themselves quite as ready to sacrifice their Protestant tenants to the same selfish greed. Thus, after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, several of the more intolerant landlords sought to exterminate the Roman Catholics root and branch, and to effect for personal ends a new and complete Protestant plantation. In many parts of Ulster, but particularly in North and Mid-Armagh, the Catholic population was in this way either completely exterminated or enslaved, those that remained becoming hewers of wood and drawers of water for their Protestant taskmasters.

#### THE LATER AGRARIAN STRUGGLE.

In South Armagh, however, and in the adjoining districts of Monaghan, a stout resistance was offered to the exterminators, the people in these parts clinging to the homes of their forefathers with a pertinacity which nothing but death, and, in many cases, not even death itself could overcome. In the famine years, for instance, many of these poor peasants preferred to die of hunger and starvation in their miserable cabins, sooner than accept government relief at the expense of renouncing their birthright to the little holdings and homesteads they had inherited from their fathers. These at the cost of their very lives they preserved and handed down to their children and yet unborn descendants.

Especially in the district of Crossmaglen, in

the Southern extremity of Co. Armagh, from 1837, or earlier, until the commencement of the Crimean War, this struggle between landlords and tenants, embittered by racial and sectarian rancour, was waged on both sides with all the fury and fierceness, I might say, of civil war. This was proved at the Devon Commission which terminated its sittings in 1845, and before various Parliamentary Committees which investigated the same subject during the following ten or fifteen years. In most cases, however, these struggles finally terminated with what may be considered complete victory for the tenantry; for under pressure of a general public opinion founded on the reports of the Commission and Committees, the evictions had to be dropped; and either the evicted tenants had to be reinstated and secured in their holdings, or the evicted farms remained derelict.

The result was that for the next quarter of a century or more, as far as land troubles were concerned, the neighbourhood of Crossmaglen remained one of the most peaceful in the world; and evictions, as well as sectarian and racial hatreds, were almost unheard of or undreamt of in the district. Hence also, in the late seventies of the last century, though the Land League was in full swing through the length and breadth of Ireland, there was no move whatever from that direction by the people of the Crossmaglen district, a proof in itself that its people, if reasonably treated, are no lovers of agitation.

But the landlords and their agents, forgetting the past, or taking this pacific state of the locality as a proof that the spirit of independence had deserted the people, began once more the work of extermination; and very soon more than half the tenant farmers were, by undue, and in most cases illegitimate, pressure of the law, turned into caretakers of their own holdings for the landlords.\* Some evictions from these holdings had already taken place, and many others were daily threatened, and it soon became evident that a most extensive campaign of extermination was about to be launched once more in the district. This, in fact, was the cry that went forth from every rent office, particularly in 1879, when the whole neighbourhood was in the throes of a devastating famine.

#### THE LAND LEAGUE IN CROSSMAGLEN.

"Quem teus vult perdere prius dementat" is, I believe, an old pagan saying, and there seems to be a great deal of philosophy in it, men's misfortunes are very often the result of their own folly. The people thus harassed and menaced were compelled to seek the assistance and protection of the Land League, and a branch in consequence was established at Crossmaglen in 1880, which soon became one of the strongest in Ireland in the number and unanimity of its members, and in the honesty of their purpose.

All the Protestant householders in the district became members. The first president of the branch was a Protestant, as was its secretary also. There could, therefore, be no tinge of bigotry about it. Nor could there have been any illegality, for none of its acts,

\*This plan of extermination was afterwards Imperialised by Mr. A. J. Balfour in the "eviction-made easy" clauses of an Act of Parliament.

though they were public to the world, were ever successfully challenged by Crown authorities. Once only was then a ridiculous attempt made to do so, when local police summoned a lad of twelve for posting up some printed resolutions of the local committee; and Mr. McCullagh the resident magistrate presiding at Petty Sessions, bound the lad under bail to appear for trial before the County Court judge. So ridiculous and manifestly illegal was this decision, that Mr. McCullagh himself, ten days after the decision, and without any further investigation, or any concurrence of fellow-magistrates, had to send the Petty Sessions Clerk, James Smyth of Fockhill, five miles to beg the lad to accept the annulment of the decision, and to give bail instead to be of good behaviour in the future. The decision was annulled, but the young culprit would give no security whatever as to his future conduct, saying that it was the magistrates themselves that should be bound to good behaviour. Another secretary of the branch, for the edification and enlightenment of the police and magistrates, posted up the harmless resolutions, for the next Petty Sessions day, opposite the police barrack and court-house. Thus ended the sole and only case in which the legality of any of the actions of the Crossmaglen branch of the Land League was ever questioned by any of the law officers of the Crown. It proves, therefore, that whatever illegality there was in the district—and this is all-important owing to subsequent developments—was not to be found on the part of the League, but on that of the law itself, or rather its administrators.

### Some Aspects of Irish Patriotism.

The uses of adversity is a subject regarding which we in Ireland ought to be able, as a nation, to give an expert opinion. The English poet—and it may incidentally be remarked here that the Germans educated them into whatever appreciation they have of him—told his countrymen that its uses were sweet. We, who, as I have already stated, are indisputably entitled to discuss this point, have, so far, not been able to perceive the sweetness. If it ever comes to their lot, it will be interesting for those of us who are there to see it to note how far they, who, for our own good naturally, have unmercifully made us the subjects of their death-dealing processes, will themselves point the moral of the poet's lesson.

But though not sweet in its sadness, yet is the lot of Ireland great and the destiny of her patriots enviable. We all know how the world was redeemed by the highest sacrifice within man's power to conceive, and we reverently contemplate the impressive beauty of that life, and try to realise with all the intensity of feeling of which humanity is capable the immensity of the offering. He made when He suffered death at the hands of men to redeem us from the slavery of the devil. The consideration of this, the highest of all subjects, brings us consolation in our own earthly struggles. Have we in Ireland not known, do we not know of those who have made, and



make, a voluntary offer of their lives to save their fellow-countrymen from the tyrannous oppression of the conqueror? For she has never concealed her capacity for punishment any more than she has been able to conceal the insidious nature of her rewards. In the one hand she holds a direful fate, refusal to a soldier of Ireland the honour of a soldier's death, pretending by every species of mockery and scorn to despise him, while in reality dreading him, rending the emotions of his soul asunder, while taking care to show him that if he will but cast aside the mantle of his virtue, and, letting his baser nature triumph, garb himself in the cloak of apostasy, in her other hand she holds for him rewards sufficient to make a miser happy. How sad a fate it is to be in thralldom to such a nation as this, that, arrayed in garments "steeped in all dishonour," seeks by the bastardy of her awful power to pervert men's minds, and by endeavouring to blind them with the glare of the base temptations to low, material desire, to render them morally and physically unfit to serve any cause save those approved by her! She would have them like beings cradled in dark and low-roofed cellars, who, when they emerge, instinctively do not dare to look up, and are unable to brook the pure, white gleam of day. But to shirk his duty to Ireland is inconceivable to a true Irishman, as he knows, once in the power of his implacable foe, escape to be impossible. The fatal challenge of the world's highwayman incessantly rings in the ear of his imagination long before he hears it actually—"Stand and deliver, your principles of Nationality or your life!"

While the heroes of Ireland suffer thus, the women of Ireland, who love them, suffer more passionately still. The heart of every true Irishwoman beats in sympathy with theirs, and each pang of anguish suffered by each of them penetrates hers like a two-edged sword. Yet is her sad destiny not without high consolation. The women of Ireland have known of a Queen beloved of Christ, whose crown was one of sorrow, who watches with them throughout the long night of their trial, and who with a sad smile of sympathy encourages them to be brave and cheerful, for there is no grander privilege on earth for a woman than to suffer and be strong. As for those who are prohibited from effective participation in the struggle, but who wave a God-speed to the workers from a distance, so to say—even so little is worth giving, for those who receive it cherish it as a token of encouragement, and those who give have also their reward.

It is no small privilege for anyone to be able to say that he has known a human ideal whose feet were not of clay, and who typifies in his eyes, pre-asserts for him, man's claim to eternity by the eternal qualities of an untarnished soul. To have lived a life that evokes such an acknowledgment as to engraft, as it were, on the serene, deep-rooted outgrowth of a vigorous heart a beautiful emotion that sends forth its tender blooms to mingle with the robust, evergreen memories of the great soul that lived and that thus still lives, is to have lived a life that, through the intertwining of the weak with the strong, uplifts all who come after, and forces them to the utterance that such a cause is the cause of all

time men and that is glorious to die for it.

To those Irishmen, then—unworthy of the name—who have learned England's sordid lesson to us of what they, like their imperial mistress, insidiously and erroneously call "common sense"—that is, forget our national dignity and patiently draw her chariot (they tell us she will withhold the lash if we do it obediently and pull hard); to those Irishmen, I repeat, who in their smug prosperity, her inevitable reward for renegades to their country, assure us with a forcefulness of language proportionate to their salaries present and to come, that if we make her cause ours she will do great things for us, our reply is No, a thousand times No. The nature of the work for which alone she gives rewards here in Ireland is such as to sicken the soul of an honest man, and her promises are words, words, words. "Words, without deeds, never to heaven go!"

But then we must put our own house in order, and the quickest and most effective remedy for disorders therein existing is to begin to think *nationally*. Success would be the sure outcome if we did. We have furnished the world with sufficient illustrations of that great lesson, well worth the teaching, of "how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low successes." So indisputably have we established its worth and so widely have we caused its truth to be recognised, that we have thereby added fuel to the fire of England's racial hate of us and made it burn with a fiercer glow. But there should be no more talk of failure. To think *nationally* is the first step to success, then shall we act nationally. Those who are not fit for the actual combat can lend those who are their moral and material support. Men, whose days of physical strength for the conflict are past, children, whose fighting days are to come, we all, men, women and children of Ireland, can now take up our stand openly and resolutely by those who are organizing the great campaign for Ireland's freedom. Such a support is beyond price to the cause, of the highest value to our friends, and not likely to be underrated by our enemies. It is a lesson of Irish History—and those who have devoted their lives to its study, and whose duty it is to teach it, assure us that the fact is not to be questioned—that the only period of prosperity enjoyed by Ireland since her fatal connection with England, she gained through her Volunteers. Hence it is clear to every intelligent, thinking mind that support of the Irish Volunteers is plain, common sense.

If we will but think *nationally*, when the opportunity comes this time we will not fail.

ESTLIN O'RUAIR.

## Volunteer Defence Fund.

The imprisoned Irish Volunteers have been guilty of no crime. Sir Edward Carson, Cabinet Minister and Attorney General for England, says "there are illegalities which are not crimes," but the four men recently imprisoned have been charged with no illegality except refusal to leave Ireland at the command of a military officer, and the Volunteers previously arraigned and imprisoned have been dealt with under military law. All these prosecutions have been of a purely political character, directed by English Imperialism against Irish Nationalism. While sentences of three, four, and six months' hard labour are inflicted on Irish Volunteers, and a fine of twenty pounds is imposed for an alleged obstruction of a trifling character to a recruiting officer, a violent sectarian outbreak is encouraged by the authorities, who "punish" three out of a much larger number of offenders with sentences of two months' imprisonment and a fine of twenty shillings. Readers of the "Irish Volunteer" are requested to obtain subscriptions for the defence of the Irish Volunteers prosecuted and imprisoned by the Government, and to forward subscriptions specially marked for the "Volunteer Defence Fund" to the Irish Volunteer Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street, Dublin. This fund will be kept separate, and subscriptions will be acknowledged in the "Irish Volunteer."

## Defend Your Defenders.

It was Parnell's principle to defend every Irishman who was struck at by the British Government on political grounds.

The present Government has struck at four Irishmen, ordering them to leave Ireland, and subjecting them to punishment for refusal to obey the order.

Will you help to defend them?

The Executive Committee of the Irish Volunteers are making an appeal for funds to defray the expenses incurred in defending their members arrested under the "Defence of the Realm Act." Under this Act several Volunteers, whose real offence is their activity in pushing on the work of the Volunteer Movement, are now in prison. The cost of the legal expense incurred in defence of these men has fallen on the Irish Volunteer Executive. These expenses have been considerable, and the Executive have decided to appeal to the friends of the movement to assist them. The Irish Volunteer Funds cannot and will not be used for such purposes. They have been subscribed and will only be used for the arming and equipment of an Irish Volunteer Army. It is therefore necessary that we ask the friends of the Volunteer Movement to subscribe to a special fund for the defence of the imprisoned Volunteers. You can help by subscribing what you can afford to the Irish Volunteer Defence Fund. Subscriptions will be received at Headquarters or by any officer of the Irish Volunteers.

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