IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

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NOTES.

The true state of British political parties has already been described in these columns. There is a privileged class, the class of feudal ownership, of great wealth, and of the aristocratic and plutocratic universities. Toryism is their natural domain, but for fear that the democracy might become democratic, they lend it a batch of clever men to keep it in order. The British democracy has no love for Ireland, the plutoaristocracy bates Ireland.

In the present crisis, the old militarist aristocrats and the young bloods of the Liberal wing of the Oligarehy see an opportunity for forcing the democracy under militarism. England has always been a militarist power, but for a long time past she has been accustomed to rely on her navy. The present attempt is to commit the democracy to an army establishment on the scale of the Continental land powers. The wisdom or unwisdom of this attempt is not our concern. Ireland has decided definitely against conscription, and Ireland will make good that decision.

The Irish Volunteers were established to safeguard the rights and liberties of all Ireland and of all the Irish people against militarism. That is not the work of a day or of a year. The war came upon us unexpectedly, but was not allowed to destroy the foundations laid for a free Ireland. The Irish Volunteers will continue to build up the National defences until, if possible, every man and youth who is able and willing to defend the Nation has the necessary training, discipline and equipment. Training for National defence will become a household tradition throughout the land.

That is a totally different aim from militarism. The purpose of militarism is to dominate over other peoples. The purpose of National defence is to be free from the domination of militarism. Our ancestors embarked on a course of militarism for a brief spell in their history. They were saved from becoming a militarist nation by becoming Christian. Since they became Christian, they have never once molested any other nation or country. There is no Imperialism in their blood. They have no wish to dominate or to-

share in domination. Their umost political ideal is to be free. The peoples that live by the sword will perish by the sword. This Nation will become neither militarist nor a partner in militarism.

The Venerable Bede, the first historian of the English, tells us that down to his own time the Irish, with all their warlike traditions, were peaceful towards neighbouring nations and friendly towards the English. In the year 684, while Bede was in his boyhood, " Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sent Beorht, his general, with an army into Ireland, and miserably wasted that harmless nation, which had always been most friendly to the English; and this army, in its hostile rage, spared not even the churches or the monasteries." The Irish, we are told, repelled force with force, but made no reprisals. Nor, since they became Christian, have they ever sought to dominate the freedom of any other people. The ideal that animates young Ireland to-day is not aggression or the rule of force. It is the ideal of selfsacrifice, of readiness to part with all they hold dear in this world, if by doing so they can help to bring the right of might into disgrace and discomfiture, and to leave to those who will come after them a strengthened purpose to make this island a place of liberty and justice.

It is interesting to watch the desperate efforts of the English Oligarchy to use this war for liberty and civilisation as an opportunity for gaining a stronger hold for militarism. Lord Kitchener has already been declared a potential Dictator, and we are told that he has only to say the word, and "the country" will have to submit to compulsory military service. Perhaps. There is another side to the story, and the Socialist writer, H. G. Wells, has not lost sight of it. If compulsion begins, it will not end with personal service. It may please the aristocrats and the plutocrats to lay down the doctrine that the farmer's son and the shop assistant must place their lives, which are all they have, at the disposal of the wealthy and the powerful. The farmer's son and the shop assistant have a plain answer. They will say to the aristocrat and the plutocrat: "Show us the example. Do first what you ask us to do. Hand over all that you have, before you ask us to give all that we have. Give up your estates and your wealth to the 'national service.' Mr. Winston Churchill demands that " we exert our strength to the very limit of human and national capacity." Is this demand to be made only on the soldier and the worker? When the war is over, will Mr. Churchill's cousin, Lord Londonderry, remain in full possession of his great estates and wealth in Ireland and in England? Is that what Mr. Churchill calls "exerting our strength to the very limit?" If it is, then one of the objects of this war is to use up the lives and labour of poor men to keep rich men rich. "National service." in that sense, means the service of Mammon, which, according to one of Mr. Churchill's colleagues, can now at last be called the service of God. Certainly, the Oligarchy are providing the Socialists with munitions of war to be stored up for future use.

A fortnight ago the Department of Agriculture in Ireland published a report on agricultural labour. According to this report, which does not seem to have received much attention. the number of migratory labourers from Ireland had fallen off from 32,000 in the year 1900 to 13,000 last year. We may be certain that the figures for the present year will show a further very large reduction. These migratory workers go mainly from the north-west, where the harvest is very late. A large proportion, probably the main part of them, belong to the working farmer class. They return from harvest work in England and Scotland to de the harvest work on their own holdings in Ire land. It will be remembered that large num bers of them left off work in Great Britain this year and came back to Ireland when the Registration Act was about to be put in force, and that they were mobbed on the other side and assailed with the cry of "Cowards." Their "cowardice" consisted in making sure that they would not be compelled, during a temporary stay in England, and by a law which did not operate in the same way in their own country, to lose the whole fruit of their work at home and to leave their families in destitution. Every one of these migratory labourers does farm work in Ireland, and the only reason why they have to migrate in summer is the undeveloped or rather decayed condition of Irish agriculture under Engli 'a Government. More than a century age we had migratory harvest labour in Ireland, but the "Spailpin Fanach" of that time found employment in the richer agricultural districts of his own country, and his labour, besides repaying himself, went to increase the wealth of Ireland. The Depart

ment's report also places on official record the facts that for many years there has been a marked scarcity of agricultural labourers in Ireland and that the farmers' difficulties in this respect have been intensified since the outbreak of the present war. Farmers have been induced to greatly increase their tillage this year, and the area under wheat alone has been increased from 37,000 acres in 1914 to 87,000 in 1915.

The Local Government Board, in a report published at the same time, shows that in the year ended March 31st last there was an increase of £1,800 in the expenditure of poor rate, notwithstanding that there was a decrease in the population, a decrease in the number of paupers, a large new expenditure by Government on the families of recruits, a certain amount of food sent over from Canada to relieve distress during the war, and a large amount of relief expenditure from private sources. The report makes it quite clear that, apart altogether from Imperial taxation, this country must expect to be faced in a short time with a serious aggravation of its burdens under the Poor Law. The English Poor Law was forced on Ireland after forty years of the Union, as a remedy for the economic distress which was a consequence of the Union.

*

* The cry raised by the Oligarchy in favour of compulsory military service will not be altogether in vain if it succeeds in diverting public attention from the forthcoming Budget. The grand War Loan has been followed, at the meeting of Parliament, by a fresh vote of credit for £250,000,000. At the same time, we are told that negotiations are in progress for raising a joint English and French loan of £500,000,000 in America. The rich people have been very energetic in telling poor men their duty. How would it do if a committee of poor men were to get up a series of recruiting meetings throughout all the wealthy centres of Great Britain, and send speakers to address the rich people, inviting them, as a "National service," to give up, not all they have, but just a minor part, say a third or a fourth part, of their accumulated wealth? We should then be enabled to see what exactly some people mean by patriotism, etc. The project would be all the more to the point, since already moderate incomes have been supertaxed, and there is talk of taxing still smaller incomes and even the wages of working

In matters of taxation, Irish people must look at Ireland as a commonwealth, not at the effect of this or that tax on this or that person. The facts are that England has thriven on Imperialism while Ireland has been one of the victims and has steadily declined; that Ireland under the Union has paid "an Empire's ransom" in over-taxation, and a far larger sum in land tribute, for the benefit of England; that Ireland cannot bear any further increase in taxation, having no margin at all for her own necessary development; that any increase in Irish taxation must necessarily result infurther economic ruin to Ireland, in depopulation, impoverishment, and industrial calamity. This is not a matter to be avoided or to be met

with any sort of empty rhetoric. We hear a great deal about past services. No appeal to past services can avail the general, the officer, or the soldier who fails to do his plain duty in a critical moment for his Nation. Increased taxation means the ruin or Ireland.

We have seen in the Press that a deputation from the licensed traders of Ireland has already gone to London to safeguard the interests of their own trade in view of coming taxation. The vigilance and promptness of this particular trade, where its own profit is concerned, are always commendable, and it would be a good thing for Ireland if other Irish interests were so well looked after. But the Government will have to raise an enormous sum of increased taxes, and if there is less taxation of one kind there will be more of another kind. The farmer, the ordinary trader, the professional man, will be asked to pay, and none of these have sent deputations to London. The working man is perhaps the greatest sufferer of all, and he has no deputation in London. These classes, if they are not as well organised as the licensed trade, have the same right to be considered, and they had better keep a sharp look out and take care that those who have a voice in this matter defend the National interests all round, and not merely the interests of those who are able to bring prompt pressure to bear at the moment. Any increase of Irish taxation must be disastrous to Ireland, and Ireland has no means of repairing the disaster or recovering the loss. We have it already on the testimony of one government department that Ireland is reduced to such an economic condition that she is unable to retain enough labour for her present greatly diminished agricultural work; while another department testifies that, in spite of a great deal of special provision from other sources, the burden of supporting the poor has increased and is likely to increase very much in future.

One sage gentleman has written to the Press to say that he cannot understand why the war should be followed by a heavy fall in the prices of produce and by widespread distress. "Your daughter," said a music teacher to an aspiring Seoinin, "would do well at music-if she only had a capacity." "That will be all right," said the coming man, "I'll buy her a capacity." EOIN MAC NEILL.

REVIEW.

Mr. Denis Carolan Rushe, Secretary of the Monaghan County Council, has followed up his "Historical Sketch of County Monaghan by another volume entitled " Monaghan in the Eighteenth Century."* Much of the history in this volume is taken now for the first time from the records of the county. The facts are set forth in a calm dispassionate way. Many such local and special histories will have to be written before any complete history of Ireland can be produced, and it would be well if every part of Ireland possessed historians endowed with the zest and diligence and knowledge of

the country that are characteristic of Mr.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Irish Nation might have been thought to have passed utterly away. Each of the three generations of the previous century had seen such blows inflicted on the ancient Nation as were thought at the time to be mortal strokes. Each one of these "conquests" was quite as complete as, in other countries, has sufficed to finally uproot and destroy the national organism. But, if the English policy in Ireland has been a continuity, the vitality of the Irish Nation has been a still more tenacious continuity. " Past telling has been, in every age, the design of God for Ireland's greatness, Those who think in these days that Ireland can be conquered or that Ireland ought to accept conquest as an accomplished fact will do well to reflect on the former conquests of Ireland. They will see that the Provincialists of one generation are the parents of the Nationalists of the next generation.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the flower of Irish manhood and valour was fighting the battles of Europe, while the Government of Ireland, too secure to cloak its intentions, ruled the country in "the English interest," introducing the forever infamous Penal Code and openly suppressing the industries of Ireland. The Castle kept its public register of Irish priests, just as it now has its secret register of Irish Nationalists. In 1913, the Government issued Proclamations to prevent the arming of Irish Nationalists. Exactly two hundred years earlier, the Castle issued similar Proclamations. On the 12th of April, 1714, the Sheriff of Monaghan writes to Dublin Castle, saying that he has received and distributed the "Proclamations relating to Papists carrying arms." The previous Sheriff had received and published Proclamations declaring schoolmasters as well as priests to be outlaws. The outcome of these measures of government was the "hedge schoolmaster" and the Rapparee. In 1731, the majority of the parishes in Co. Monaghan had no places of Catholic worship except altars, sometimes made of earth and stone, and in the open air. Only six parishes are returned as having "Mass houses." In the dangerous times of "the '45, Lord Chesterfield was sent to Ireland as Viceroy, to relax the persecution of the Catholics. When the trouble was over, he was withdrawn. By the middle of the century, we find Protestants combining with Catholics against legalised oppression. In 1763, a rising of farmers, mainly Protestants, endeavoured to surprise the military station at Belturbet and possess themselves of its munitions, but were anticipated and defeated. The Government and the County magnates tried to secure the conviction of a large number of the men on the charge of high treason, but the trials that ensued resulted in acquittals. This "Ulster Land War gradually died away," but "one result was the establishment of the Ulster Tenant Right Custom," the basis of what is called "Ulster prosperity." "Another result was the emigration to America of over 400,000 Ulster people,"-Anglo-Saxons of course! A third result was the growth of National feeling among the Ulster Protestants. In 1780, the Grand Jurors and Freeholders of Co.

^{*} Printed, with numerous illustrations, by the Dun-dalgan Press, and published by Messrs. Gill of Dublin, and Tempest of Dundalk.

Monaghan met and adopted a declaration, "lest our rights and privileges should seem to be lost in the joy which attends a partial restoration These words, which are the plainest common sense, if they were to be embodied in a declaration nowadays, would be denounced by certain patriots as "a slur on the Irish Party" and "an attempt to stab our trusted leaders in the back." The Monaghan declaration affirms "that no Parliament had, has, or of right ought to have any power or authority whatsoever in this kingdom, except the Parliament of Ireland." The Monaghan Grand Jurors and Freeholders of 1780, like O'Connell sixty years later, make it plain that they prefer separation to subjugation, for they declare that "on this principle the connection between Great Britain and Ireland is to be founded." Again in 1782 the Monaghan Grand Jury unanimously declared, "respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this Nation, that we will in every station of life and with all the means in our power assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this Kingdom to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes except such as derive authority from said Parliament, pledging ourselves to our Country and to each other to support with our lives and fortunes this our solemn declaration.

The historian goes on to show how Co. Monaghan shared with the rest of Ireland in the development and prosperity that were the natural outcome of a National government. The history closes with Monaghan's protest against the Union. "The High Sheriff, John Hawkshaw, summoned a meeting of the Freeholders of the County, which was held on the 28th January, 1799, and at it strong anti-Union resolutions were passed." The Government agents first intrigued in vain against the meeting, and then endeavoured to get up a counter declaration, which ventured no farther than to reserve condemnation of the Union until its terms were made known. Only thirty-three out of six or seven hundred freeholders in the county could be induced to subscribe this document.

The blight of the Union fell heavily on Monaghan County, as did the consequent blight of the Famine era and the later Land War; but the Irish Nation does not die, and Monaghan, like the rest of Ireland, is still unconquered.

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Why Irishmen Should Arm.

In every free country a considerable proportion of the money raised by taxation is expended in the upkeep, arming, and training of a military force to defend the country against invasion. Year after year the sum necessary to keep the national defence force in a state of efficiency is voted, before any other expenditure is considered. The governments and the people of these different countries know that this is the most necessary expense, and that without it they are powerless to oppose the acts of aggression of their avaricious or tyrannical neighbours.

What is necessary for a free country is equally, if not more, necessary for one which, like our own, is not free. Our rights and liberties are as dear to us as the rights and liberties of other peoples are dear to them. We also require a strong military force to protect our rights and liberties. It is therefore the duty of every Irishman to arm and train himself to protect his country against further acts of aggression.

In the Irish Volunteers we have already a strong military force. We have, however, no parliament to raise taxes, or to vote the money necessary to arm and train that force. Up to the present the Volunteers have themselves borne the expense of arming and training themselves. But more money is necessary to continue the work, and the Irish Volunteer Executive look to the people of Ireland to supply the funds. They know that they will not appeal in vain. Everyone is expected to subscribe according to his means. From those who cannot subscribe a pound a shilling will be welcome. Those who can afford a pound will not subscribe less. Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Secretary Irish Volunteers, 2 Dawson Street, Dublin.

Irish Volunteers. Prisoners' Defence Fund.

The appeal issued on behalf of the Irish Volunteers Prisoners' Defence Fund has, up to the present, been fairly well responded to. The costs of defending these prisoners were very heavy, and a large sum has yet to be subscribed before the debt can be cleared off. Most public boards have passed resolutions condemning the action of the Government in arresting and imprisoning these men, and public meetings of protest have been held. The best way to show the sincerity of these protests is by subscribing to the Prisoners' Defence Fund. Those of our readers who have already subscribed should draw the attention of their friends to the Fund, and we trust that those who have not yet done so will not delay.

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Shooting on Range and Field.

The Volunteer who can score nine bull's eyes out of ten must not imagine himself a crack shot. Anyone with a modestly good eye and steady hand can hit a still target if he has unlimited time at his disposal. But for practical purposes, a man who can hit the mark twice out of five times in thirty seconds is of more use than the man who can hit it every time, but takes five minutes over it.

Remember what happens in action. The enemy is advancing by alternate rushes of 25 yards. He is exposed for 6 seconds each rush. Where will your marksman be who has to dwell on his aim? He won't even get a shot in. Moreover, slow firing has no effect on men who mean business.

Rapid aiming and firing is of special importance to us Volunteers, most of us being without magazine rifles. We should, therefore, as soon as we are capable of hitting the bull, begin setting ourselves a time limit. Thirty seconds for five shots should be ample as a start, and the time can be reduced later. Practise firing from all positions, standing, kneeling, and lying, as all will be required later on. It is a good thing also to run a certain distance (say 25 yards), carrying your rifle, and then to fire five shots, all in 70 seconds.

Plenty of time should be given to firing at moving targets. Rabbits and sparrows are handy and plentiful. The latter are very nice when plucked, roasted, and served up on toast. Quite like partridges, in fact.

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2 Dawson Street, DUBLIN. All communications re Advertisements to be addressed to the

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Cheques and Postals should be crossed and made payable to the Manager, Irish Volunteer.

The Irish Volunteer

SATURDAY, SEPT. 25th, 1915

Headquarter's Bulletin.

Cionol vo bi as Comainte Snota Feinne Páit má nOúnpopt O. Céadaoin, an 8mad Lá ve'n mi ro, agur an cliactapán Com Mac Heill ina cataoipteac opta.

Το μιπιεαύ ταξαιρτ το δύργαίο αιρξίο na Féinne agur το ξεαμάνατ νας μαίδ na Comptacta as foc a noiotarbeact painte map bat coip. Δουδρατ πάρ πόρ το 5ac Comptact a quatgar to coimtionat 1 סדבסום מח בוחקום.

Cionol to bi as Comainte Corceann na Peinne O. Domnait, an 12mao La, agur an tuactapan Com Mac Neill ma cataoiptead onta.

Do leigead cuaparguata i ocaoib Opouiste, Oileamna, agur Apmala na Peinne, 1 ocaoib Aingio, 1 ocaoib an Cumann Coranta, agur i otaoib na Comvala ro van zeionn. Do rochuigeav a tan neite as bainc teir an scombail.

Cionot oo bi as an scomainte Snota O. Céadaoin, an 15mad tá, agur an Ceann Cata Paopaie mae Piapair ina cataoinlead onta.

Do léigead na gnát-tuanarsbála, agur DO pinnead point oirigead d'ainmningad. To caspar to studipeace na hoibpe ina Lan aireann agur to biotar an-trarta teir man rseat.

Oundone na Feinne. át Chat, 15 m. pos., 1915. [TRANSLATION.]

The Central Executive of the Irish Volunteers met at Headquarters on Wednesday, 8th inst., Professor Eoin Mac Neill, President, in

A discussion took place on the financial affairs of the Volunteers, and the complaint was made that many Companies are remiss in forwarding their affiliation fees. The hope was expressed that all Companies would punctually fulfil their obligations in this respect in future.

The General Council met on Sunday, 12th inst., Professor Eoin Mac Neill, President, in the chair.

Reports were submitted on Organisation, Training, Arming, Finance, An Cumann Cosanta, and the forthcoming Convention. Various arrangements in connection with the Convention were completed.

The Central Executive met on Wednesday, 15th inst., Commandant P. H. Pearse in the

The usual reports were submitted, and some appointments made. The progress of the work of the Volunteers in several districts was referred to, and satisfaction was expressed with the encouraging accounts to hand.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street, Dublin, 15th September, 1915.

> ammniste. mop-Cat Ata Cliat. An 3man Cat. Comptact C.

An Ceann Roinne Siomon O Dongaite cum beit ina Lear-Captaon Uactain. An Congancom Comptacta O Maoiteoin cum beit ina lear-Captaon loctain.

mire, Parpare Mac Prapare,

Ceann Cata, Riaparde an Opromite.

Ounpope na Peinne,

át Cliat, 15 m. pos., 1915.

[TRANSLATION.] APPOINTMENTS. DUBLIN BRIGADE. 3rd Battalion.

C Company. Section Commander Simon Donnelly to be

Company Adjutant Malone to be 2nd Lieut. P. H. PEARSE, Commandant, Director of Organisation.

Headquarters, 2 Dawson Street, Dublin, 15th September, 1915.

NOTES FROM HEADQUARTERS. LOCT.

Loct atá an a lán Ceann Complact i. gan beit rapta te n-a noualgar pein be'n obain to deanam act obain na 5Ceanna Leat-Comptact agur na gCeann Roinn no tappains cuca. Hi bero tear an aon Complace ina noganann an Captaon an obain an paro. Hi bero na hoipigis eite abatra an a Scion rein ve'n obain vo beanam Hi berd na rip oilte ap geillead Do na horpigeadaib eite. An ta bear an Captaon an iapparo bero an Comptact rin San ceann San theoin. Caitrean réacaint

cuige po i n-am, no berò an reeat go ho ina tán áiceann

Tuillead ros.

Tá an toét céanna an curo ne i Ceannait Cat. bionn plat as cup ipres an na Ceannait Comptact ta ptuaigio, n an na Ceannaib Roinn Fein. Dat cean go ocuispidir nan einig an oa thais ma teir an ngobavan.

[TRANSLATION.] A FAULT.

The fact that some Companies are failing to produce good Section Commanders and goo Lieutenants would seem to point to a fault of the part of Company Commanders to which these Notes have already drawn attention The over-zealous Company Commander insists on doing the whole work of the Company himself. He teaches his men to form fours; he teaches them signalling; he collects their subscriptions; he rides round on his bicycle to mobilise them when he receives a mobilisation order from his Commandant. To do all these things himself is to neglect his fundamental duty as a Company Commander, for his fundamental duty as a Company Commander is to see that his subordinates do their work, not to do it for them himself. His own work is supervision and command. The proper training of Section Commanders is of the utmost importance, and a Captain could pass no severer criticism on his own Company than to say that he must do the work himself since his Section Commanders are not competent. It is his business to have competent Section Com-

DELEGATION.

Similarly, there is a tendency among Battalion Commandants to infringe on the sphere of Company Commanders. It is very important that every commander, from the lowest to the highest, should have full responsibility for his own unit. The more work a commander can delegate with safety to his subordinates the better for his command. Battalion Commandants again should train their Battalion staffs to relieve them of all the mere routine part of Battalion work. In the field the Battalion Commandant should be a calm and authoritative person with a staff of busy aides coming and going about him. His function is to command; the function of the others is to do. He is the brain; the Staff are the nerves; the Battalion is the arm; the Companies are

A 36-Mile Recruit March.

Cork Volunteers have already attained a reputation as good marchers, having last February gone 24 miles with rifles. On Sunday, 5th inst., this was outclassed by a march with heavy packs from Headquarters to Noboval, in the Kinsale postal district and due south of Cork on the south coast. Nohoval is 16 miles from the city, but Minane Bridge and Ballyfeard had to be taken in, and these added some extra miles to the march. The march began near midnight on Saturday, when about 60 turned out. They marched through the city, and then via Douglas and Carrigaline, to

Tracton, where they arrived at 4-30 a.m. Tea was served out here to such as wished, and the men slept for two hours in the barn of Mr. Lynch (brother of Mr. Diarmuid Lynch, G.L. Envoy). The bugle went at 7, and all rose to make their own breakfasts. Mass was heard at Minane, and meetings were held at Minane and Nohoval, after which dinner was enjoyed at Mr. Lynch's, vegetables being kindly supplied by the host. The march home began at 5 o'clock, and Headquarters were reached at 9-15. Sinn Fein weather favoured the march, which was thoroughly enjoyed, only one member falling out on the journey. The corps were under the command of the Adjutant, Captain Daithi De Barri, and Captains P. Cottes and Scanlan. The experience at bivouacing and cooking was appreciated by the men, who will be able to improve on their preparations for such in future. The men are to be congratulated on the manner in which they carried out such a heavy day's programme and the example which they showed to the people of the districts visited in discipline and stamina in undergoing such a gruelling march for the sake of Caitlin Ni Houllacain.

THE SPARK.

We recommend our readers to procure a copy of the first volume of "The Spark," a tiny paper which has appeared weekly in Dublin since the suppression of larger periodicals by the Home Rule Government in the interest of the Small Nationalities. The Editor of "The Spark" prefers to hide his identity under the name of "Edward Dalton," whose articles and those of his staff have done much to bring home to our green people the realities of the government system with which we are blessed. "The Spark" is one of the "rags" which our sublime leader periodically disowns on the floor of the House. We opine he finds a sting in it. Likewise it is difficult to extinguish a spark, and at any moment it may become a flame.

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Diary of the Athlone Camp.

Volunteers coming to join the Camp at Ath lone reached the town by different lines on Saturday night, the 4th September, when we were met by Captain O'Connell and Quartermaster Burke. About 7-30 p.m. we formed up and marched off to the camping ground, near Coosan, on the shores of Lough Ree, about two miles from Athlone. The fents were pitched in a field of Mts. Blayney, and the hour being then late, tea was served in the house of our good hostess with native Irish hospitality. It was soon despatched. Guards for the night were set, and we turned in-it was about 11 o'clock p.m. Orders were given, "Lights out-11-30 p.m. Silence 12 o'clock." And in a short time most of us were for the first time sleeping soundly on the breast of Mother Earth, and our life in camp had be-

Sunday, September 5-On the stroke of 6 o'clock a.m. Reveille was sounded, and the Volunteers were on the alert. We woke to hear that the guards had been reinforced and that two police had kept a weary vigil behind the hedge through the watches of the night. Poor fellows !- but I don't believe it. They only arrived on the heel of the dark-I hope soon enough to watch the unusual sight of a number of hardy Volunteers having a morning dip in the lough. After a wash breakfast was served, and despatched with the expedition of healthy and hearty appetites. Then we got our first insight into camp discipline. We all have a good notion of the mess a field is left in when a picnic party has fed in it: we were to learn now how it should be left. We were formed up to 'clear' the "breakfast table,' which, like our bed, was also generous Mother Earth. Dressing at intervals, we were marched in line across the field to clear all waste, having to pick up even such things as half a match or a crumb of bread-we were as thorough as the Huns; and when that "table" was cleared no one would have believed a company of Volunteers had breakfasted there. Next order was to stow tents and make up kits, after which we were formed up and marched to town to Mass. Mass was at 10 o'clock. There was no time to lose, and we got plenty of doubling. The Captain is never so happy as when he has a genuine reason for making the boys double, and we doubled to his satisfaction. Though one of us says it, we made a good impression on the town. We had been told it was none too friendly, but not an unfriendly eye received us-and how could it be otherwise, when our strapping boys in their jackets green came in perfect order and at the double into Mass. After all, even our critics get a secret satisfaction from seeing the discipline, competence, and confidence of our Irish Volunteers: for they at least are a sure line of defence. Mass being over, we were marched back to camp, and got a " dismiss " till dinner hour, 2 o'clock. The boys, hot from doubling, bad thoughts of a strenuous day, even though Sunday, and were delighted at the unexpected "dismiss. The weather had got gloriously fine, and very hot to boot, and in a thrice a number of the Volunteers were disporting themselves in the

lough, filling the interval very pleasantly Strenuous work was not to begin till to-morrow. After dinner, another "dismiss"-boating this time. Two boatfuls of the boys were off over the splendid reaches of the lough. A couple were crowded out of the boats, but they had the first essential of the Volunteer resource, and they were soon happily employed. They found their pleasure by showing two charming girls the sights of the lough through their fieldglasses-and the inevitable walk followed! When they returned later, all were happy, each of the boys wearing a flower-the badge of conquest. So training is not all roughing but this was only Sunday. After tea, the whole company was in the height of satisfaction, wanting one thing only-music. But it was very hard to get a start. A bright thought struck one who knew the effect of marchingget us on the march and the song would come. An officer was pitched on, the men got into line, and out on the road we went; and in a short time the shores of the lough were echoing to many a hearty chorus. We struck the lough at Coosan Point, singing with great gusto, "The West's Asleep," the most appropriate song, seeing we were actually bound for Aughrim's slope, and were now encamped "by Shannon's wave." Back again to camp, still singing, where the example was infectious. The whole camp was soon echoing to the chorus; and so the day closed. Roll-call at 9-30 p.m.; guards mounted at 10 o'clock; lights out and silence 10-30 p.m. And the vigil of the watch began.

Thus we prepared for a very strenuous week.

(To be continued.)

TERENCE J. MACSWINEY

Sham Fights for Small Forces.

When an irregular army comes to blows with a regular one, its operations, at any rate during the earlier stages of the conflict, will consist principally of delaying actions, small raids, and small ambushes. To stand up to the regulars in line of battle before they had begun to get seasoned would be fatal. Small companies between 30 and 60 strong can easily practise these minor actions by themselves. The methods set forth here were used with great success in the summer camps.

The Company Commander should act as Umpire. He should be mounted, so as to be able to go from one force to the other quickly. He should divide the company into two unequal parts, the smaller to act on the defensive. (The better the position the fewer men will be required to hold it.) Several types of delaying actions may now be tried.

(1) A small force of cyclists is protecting the rear of a retreating force of irregular infantry. Their task is to hold up the advance guard of the enemy (infantry) for a certain specified time. The object of the other side is to amphilate or break through the cyclist force within that time. The cyclists will endeavour, by alternately halting in good positions whence they can inflict loss on the enemy, and retiring back to other positions, to demoralise and delay their pursuers. The infantry must seek out the enemy's positions by means of sconts

(who in actual practice at the camps were generally found to be too slow and cautious, thereby delaying the advance much more than the enemy could), and then drive them out or outflank them. The latter is often the best course, as the infantry have the advantage of knowing that cyclists cannot move far from the road for fear of being separated from their machines. When time is up the men should be whistled in, and a decision given. It is a good thing to allow a certain amount of discussion on the points illustrated.

- (2) A force of infantry is protecting the rear of a retreating irregular force. They are pursued by a slightly stronger force of cyclists. In this case the defenders cannot easily stand and retreat alternately in a body, and should do so by alternate halves, thirds, or quarters, one division retreating while the others hold off the enemy. In this case also the enemy is the more mobile force, and by using side and back-roads should try to surround and cut off the defenders. The latter should keep a reserve in hand to counteract this.
- (3) A small force of infantry protecting the rear of a retreating force is pursued by a superior force of infantry. Here both sides are equally mobile or immobile, and the fight resolves itself itno a struggle between good ground and good cover. It will probably be found easier for the attackers to turn than to pierce the defending line.

Other varieties of action may be suggested by the nature of the ground and the strength and condition of the company. There are one or two general points to notice:-

- (r) The difficulty of piercing the defenders' line. Volunteer commanders of all grades seem to have a fondness for this costly method of attack. Especially in close country, they will find it easier to turn one or other of the flanks
- (2) The importance of counter-attacking on the part of the defenders. Nothing delays the enemy's advance so much as this. No matter how small his force, a commander should keep a small local reserve or reserves in hand for this purpose.
- (3) The importance to both sides of a General Reserve. We have often observed an attack fail at the last moment for lack of men to carry it out with. The firing line, exhausted and thinned by its efforts, requires a fresh infusion of strength at the point of assault. The possibility of the attack failing requires the presence of reserves to prevent defeat becoming disaster. Similarly the defenders require a Reserve to take the offensive with after the failure of an attack, or to come to the rescue if a flank is turned or the line pierced.

Small raids can easily be practised. Let a road or a village be the objective, and let it be protected by a small patrol or garrison of infantry or eyelists, and attacked by a larger body of the same. The raiders, of course, should have a time limit set to their task, their object being to destroy the patrol or garrison within that time.

Another type of raid to practise is when a long road or stretch of country is defended by a fairly strong force, and the object of the raiders, a small body this time, is to strike the line at any point, spend a short time there (to represent time required to cut telegraph wires or do other damage), and get away with

the minimum of loss. Or the third requirement may not be made, and it might be merely necessary to occupy the place for a certain time before the arrival of the enemy. As has been said in these pages before, a raider's fate doesn't matter when his task is done

Opportunities for ambushes constantly arise. It should be arranged for one party to make for a certain point, while the other is to ambush them on the way. The marching party should send its scouts well ahead, so that their caution will not (as we have often seen happen) reduce its progress to a snail pace. It is impossible to lay down any rules for ambushes, but the commander should see that it is not possible for his own men to fire into each other. For instance, they should not be arranged on both sides of the road in parallel lines.

A few words to scouts to wind up with: -

You are sent out as a protection to your own force and to locate the enemy. Therefore exercise all due caution, but remember that it is better to get killed in finding the enemy than to come back without finding him. Besides, in manœuvres, over-caution causes delay

Your object is to locate the enemy, not his scouts. In manœuvres, if you see an enemy scout, let him pass. Don't hold up the whole action while you argue which of you has captured which, and if he is fool enough to yield to you don't leave off your scouting to lead him off in triumph to your commander. action, if he is far away, leave him alone; if he is close at hand, bayonet him. Don't be squeamish about this, He'd do the same for

The Ukrainian Volunteers

Ireland is not the only subject nationality that has organised and equipped a Volunteer force. The Ukrainians of Galicia, or as they are sometimes called, the Ruthenians, have their Volunteer body, and as an independent unit the Ukrainian Volunteer Legion has played a remarkable part in the fierce fighting on the eastern front in the present war. An interesting account of its origin and campaign, which cannot fail to be interesting and instructive for Irish Volunteers, is given in the Revue Ukranienne for August.

Right at the outbreak of the war between Russia and Austria the Ukrainians of Easte Galicia and the Bukovina saw in front of the the prospect of an armed fight for indepen ence. That area of Ukrainian territo became the principal theatre of war. T Austrian Ukraine, soaked in blood, w occupied by the Russian troops. The nation, idea, now ripening to fruit, gave direction the thoughts of the Ukrainian people. Th Ruthenians knew that Russia was waging war not for the liberation of peoples, but for the possession of Galicia in order to smother the Ukrainian movement and put an end once and for all to the Ukrainian danger.

As soon as war was declared all the Ukrainian parties in Galicia organised a National Committee. This Committee united all their efforts towards one great end, the arming of the Ukrainian population. Thus was formed the Ukrainian Volunteer Legion, and a new era dawned for the Ukraine. And now the people have hopes of an independent national life, no longer an instrument in the hands of foreigners. The idea of an independent state, however theoretical it be, seems transformed into reality. All parties and all classes are united in its name. The great sacrifices the Ukrainian Legion is making in the war have fired the imagination of the Ruthenians, and given them the necessary force and faith. Whatever be the actual changes the issue of this war may bring, the fact that the masses of the people have taken part in the armed struggle will mean a certain advance of the political idea, and will influence the national psychology for all time.

The organisation of the military forces of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia and the Northern Bukovina in August, 1914, fell to the rifle clubs and scouting and gymnastic societies. These societies of "Sitchovi-striltzi" in their turn drew their strength from the older gymnastic societies, fire-brigades and mutual aid associations, the "Sitch" and "Sokal," At the beginning of the war the higher National Council, with the help of its organisers and its special committee, undertook the equipment of the national armies. The circumstances were everything but favourable; the official mobilisation, the lack of means, insufficient preparation, and finally the equivocal attitude of the Poles and the local and



THE GALTEE CAMP.

central authorities, all went to hinder their activities. The flood of Russian troops, too, spreading terror amongst the frontier population, was another obstacle. In spite of all, within ten days Galicia was literally covered with recruiting centres. From every quarter came masses of enthusiastic Volunteers, including not only the educated classes, but the middle classes as well, and above all the working classes. At the end of August the enlisted Volunteers numbered 30,000 men. In face of such a number the organisers were taken unawares. But now the government intervened and took them in charge. Lemberg was their training camp, and when Lemberg fell the Ukrainian Volunteers were sent to the Stryi, where their military instruction was continued. The Legion was sworn in on September 3, and sent to the Carpathians, near Munkaez. At the end of the month it received it baptism of fire. About the same time another body of mountain rifles, "Houtzoulski striltzi," was organised at Celatyne in the Bukovina, and it too has become a popular force.

The Ukrainian Legion has sought and been given very important services at the front. In the battles in the Carpathians, at Makiwka, Kobyla, Rojanka, Kloutch, etc., the legionaries have distinguished themselves by their courage, their daring and their endurance. By their military qualities of the first order they have won the confidence and praise of the high command, the affection of their brothers in arms, and the extraordinary sympathy of the people. Their great military spirit and achievements have revived the glory of the Zaparog Cossacks, who for centuries defended Europe against the Asiatic hordes and fought for the freedom of the Ukraine.

The Legion is organised on the model of the Austrian army, but its internal management and order, the designation of its sections, the language of command, and its flag remain the same as with the Cossacks of old. The command is made up, in the main, of national officers of the Austrian reserve. The commander-in-chief is Halouchtchinsky, principal of the Ukrainian *lycée* at Rohatyne, and an ardent patriot as well as an organiser of great ability.

An interesting feature in the Legion is the presence of young women and boys still in their teens. Amongst the former are Mlle. Hélène Stepanivna and Mlle. Sophie Maletchko, who have been decorated with medals for conspicuous merit and raised to the rank of officers. Amongst the youths is one, Lazar Melnitchouk, fifteen years of age, who liberated a hundred prisoners and captured a Russian officer in his native village.

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The Ukrainian Volunteer Legion has not only played a distinguished role in the fighting that preceded the Russian retreat from the Carpathians, but it has borne a willing share in the liberation of Galicia. It is an independent unit, and will be in a position to strengthen the national demands of the Ukrainian people, and back up its demands with very effective arguments at the making of peace.

C. UAS.

The Straw Showing How the Wind Blows.

A COOL PROPOSAL TO TAX IRISH EMPLOYERS.

Sir,-Under the "National" Insurance Acts the State comes to the relief of the low wage-earner-viz., the worker who earns less than 2/6 per day-by allowing him to pay for insurance purposes a penny per week less than the worker who earns a "living wage," the State paying over this penny on his behalf to the society to which he belongs. Under this arrangement £42,000 per year is paid by the Exchequer on behalf of all insured persons, men and women, in Great Britain and Ireland. Out of this sum Ireland receives £18,000 per year, as this country contains a far larger proportion of poorly-paid workers, especially among the women, than any other part of the so-called United Kingdom.

It is now an open secret that the Government are about to amend the Insurance Act so as to relieve the State of this grant in aid of the low wage-earner, and to compel the employer to pay it instead. If this proposal is carried into effect it would impose an altogether unjustifiable additional burden on the Irish taxpayer, a burden completely out of proportion both to the taxable capacity of Ireland and to its industrial status.

The relief hitherto given to the British worker by this low wage grant has been almost negligible. The combined insured population of England, Wales, and Scotland is about 12,030,000, of whom the vast majority are paid at the rate of over 2/6 per day. As a consequence, the State only pays £24,000 per year in low wage pennies in respect of these twelve millions of workers. In Ireland the total insured population is less than 730,000, but so large a proportion is engaged in poorlypaid occupations that the relief given by the State amounts to £18,000. The proposal to make the struggling Irish employers pay £,18,000 additional for 730,000 workers while the rich and prosperous British employers are let off with £24,000 for over twelve million workers is another typical example of the manner in which the British Government imposes a monstrously unjust load of taxation on Ireland under the guise of perfect equality of

If the Irishman protests he can be told that he has nothing to complain of, as Irish insured persons and employers are treated in exactly the same way as British insured persons and employers. Hitherto the State has paid a penny per week for every low wage earner, whether British or Irish, and all it proposes to do is to ask the employer to pay this penny instead. The British employer must pay his penny just the same as the Irish employer. What could be fairer? What could be more just? You can see that the Treasury Official has absolutely nothing up his sleeve! Result—Number of insured persons in Great Britain, 12,030,000—British employer pays £24,000; number of insured persons in Ireland, 730,000—Irish employer pays £18,000.

The British employer pays the one-hundredth part of a penny per each insured person in Great Britain; the Irish employer pays the four-sevenths of a penny per each insured person in Ireland.

£18,000 is a very small sum compared to £400,000,000 of a War Tax; but £400,000,000 is made up of a number of eighteen thousand pound items, and if each of these is about to be divided in the same ratio between Great Britain and Ireland, the prospect before the Irish taxpayer is a very cheerful one indeed.

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