

THE

# IRISH VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY EOIN MAC NEILL.

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## NOTES.

The necessity for a strong and efficient Volunteer organisation is now admitted on all hands. The Nation looks to every Volunteer and more especially to every Volunteer officer to keep working for strength and efficiency. The Nation's need forces certain questions to be repeatedly asked about every corps of Irish Volunteers. What is being done to get every man in your corps suitably armed? Is every man getting trained to shoot or to use his bayonet or his pike? Is every man getting the special training required for Irish Volunteers so that they will be able to make the most of the defensive features of the country? Is every officer applying his mind to a study of the country from the point of view of national defence? Are officers and men using their opportunities for field practice in the tactics of attack and defence? Is practice maintained in reconnoitring, scouting, cross-country movements, the use of cycle corps and cycle detachments? Is systematic and constant communication practised and maintained between each corps and the various corps in its neighbourhood or other corps at a distance? Is there periodical inspection of arms? Are the officers who are responsible for maintaining affiliation and communication with Headquarters performing that duty?

Last week's convention at Letterkenny marks a distinct improvement in the Irish political situation. The letter from the Bishop of Raphoe to the convention was a noteworthy pronouncement. "Like any other people worthy of freedom," wrote his Lordship, "we have, under God, to depend in the main on ourselves, the justice of our cause, our unity and strength." "Any weakness in Ireland at the end of the war would be a menace to our country's freedom and a loss to all her interests." "Now the power of taxation comes suddenly forward in a most important development under the Act itself." A self-reliant Ireland, a united Ireland, a strong Ireland—this is what makes a free Ireland, and in the face of such a union of qualities the Imperial legislature would find its work, as far as Ireland is concerned, reduced to accepting and placing on record Ireland's own measure of National right and liberty.

The question of maintaining an effective organisation to strengthen the position of the Irish Parliamentary Party was discussed at the convention, and on this point the "Irish Daily Independent" came in for its share of the anti-criticism. The position of the Irish Volunteers in this matter is clear and decided. They have never proposed to trespass on the proper sphere of the Irish Party or to put themselves forward as a party organisation. Last year, when the demand was made that they should be incorporated in the party forces under the control of Mr. Redmond, the obvious reply of the Volunteers, if they had been party men, would have been: "If we become a party organisation, we shall demand the full powers accorded to other party organisations—especially the power to take part in conventions and in the selection of representatives," and these powers could not have been denied them, with the result that the Volunteers would have become the dominant factor in politics, and politics would have become the dominant factor in the Volunteers.

The King's County election might have tempted the Volunteers to interfere, if they were open to temptation. The recent Dublin election did not tempt them. The Tipperary election did not tempt them. The impending Harbour Division election in Dublin will not tempt them. They have no desire to interfere in the domain of elections, and they are no less resolved not to be interfered with in their own business. They have given abundant proof that they can be trusted to look after their own business and to recognise their responsibility to the Nation—and they have made good notwithstanding the enormous difficulties surrounding them and the shameful hostility of Dublin Castle. The recent attacks of the Castle have resulted in doubling the organising energy of the Irish Volunteers.

In all this extraordinary situation, there has been no more gratifying and assuring feature than the discipline and self-restraint of a large and purely voluntary organisation of armed men, in view of the scandalous persecution of honoured and trusted members of their body. It shows that the Irish Volunteers understand their own purpose, and will not allow their policy to be thwarted or diverted by provocative attacks on their line of march. Why should they? Every week sees an improvement in their numbers, their training, their armament,

and the confidence reposed in them by their fellow-countrymen. Time is on their side, and if time allows the whole youth of Ireland to be trained and prepared for National defence and imbued with the spirit of National liberty, National unity, and National strength, who will complain of the temporary and futile provocations of Mr. Birrell and his subordinates? Some men have to suffer from these attacks, but who ever heard of an army that proposed to win victories without suffering wounds?

The Bishop of Raphoe's letter made a timely reference to the coming war taxation. In discussing the taxable capacity of Ireland, attention in the past has been directed mainly to the relative capacity of Ireland to bear taxes, in comparison with Great Britain. In making this comparison, Irish local taxation has usually been ignored, though it is plain that, when we are discussing the relative taxable capacity of two countries, the entire body of taxes, local as well as central, must be taken into account. If the finding of the 1893 Commission, of which Mr. Redmond was a member, is correct, that Ireland's taxation should not exceed one-twentieth of Great Britain's, it is clear that any such finding would be worthless unless it took account of the heavy local taxation of Ireland, made heavy by the destructive effects of the Union. But even apart from the question of local taxation, the taxable capacity of Ireland cannot be determined by any comparison with Great Britain. There is an absolute limit to Ireland's taxable capacity, and all taxation in excess of that limit is destructive to Ireland's prosperity.

Beyond doubt, the present taxation of Ireland is already far in excess of that limit. If the imposition of one-twentieth, or one-fortieth, or any other fraction of the Imperial budget means any increase in Irish taxation, it means the strangling of Irish enterprise, the checking of Irish development, and a continuation of the depopulation and decay that are the results of the Union. It will involve Irish Unionists and Irish Nationalists in one common disaster. Already both have joined hands and succeeded in defeating a taxation proposal that was a mere trifle compared to what may threaten them under an Imperial war burden of £400,000,000, likely to last until most of us have made room for the next generation.



There can be no political freedom without financial freedom. The nations of antiquity had no delusions on this head. To be free meant to be free from tribute. It was for this freedom that the English parliament made war on Charles I. It was for this freedom that the American colonies revolted from England. Legislative power is of little avail and can be made of no avail, if financial power is withheld. Ireland in 1782 had a much smaller population than at present, and many of her resources were far less developed. Financial freedom was what made her prosperous. There is not the slightest doubt permissible that, with full control of her own economic resources, Ireland will once more become prosperous, perhaps with no less rapidity than in the years of her independent Parliament. Old men may live to see her far advanced in prosperity. But the last hope of prosperity in our time will be ruined if Ireland is subjected to the financial burdens of this war. Is there any reason whatsoever for requiring her to submit to those burdens?

EINO MAC NEILL.

### Carrickmore.

An Irish Volunteer review and public meeting was held in the town of Carrickmore, which is central in Tyrone, on Sunday the 22nd. The following corps of Volunteers were present, under the general direction of Commandant MacRory:—Carrickmore, Tromog, Sixmilecross, Dunmoyle, Cappagh, Donoghmore, Clogher, Dungannon, Pomeroy, Kildress, etc.

The chair at the meeting was taken by Rev. Father Short, C.C., Carrickmore, who laid particular stress on the fact that the organising of Volunteers in Ireland got a place in the Cabinet for Sir Edward Carson, and imprisonment with hard labour for Messrs. Pim, Blythe, McCullough and Mellows.

Mr. Eoin MacNeill, speaking next, said that the imprisonment of these men was nothing surprising, for what they had done was the worst of all crimes in the eyes of the British Government, they had worked for the freedom of Ireland. He drew attention to the perfect order and good feeling that animated the meeting, and said that this explained the presence of a large force of police. Mr. Birrell refused the Irish police leave to join the British Army on the ground that they were needed to guard the coasts of Ireland, and the audience could not help being gratified to find this force so efficiently employed in guarding the coasts of Carrickmore. The speaker was pleased to see that the Irish Volunteer corps in the district were receiving a large number of recruits. He advised them to continue their training in every possible way, and to be provided with the arms they required. He warned them against the tremendous burden of taxes that they were threatened with, and said that recent events proved that the imposition of increased taxation on Ireland could be successfully resisted.

Father O'Daly, C.C., Clogher, addressing the meeting, said that Mr. Redmond weakened his own position and the position of Home Rule when he undertook the control of the Volunteers. He might have resisted any pressure from Mr. Asquith, by pointing to the Volunteers whom he did not control, and saying that

no abatement of Home Rule was possible that did not satisfy the Irish Volunteers.

Dr. MacCartan, in a brief address, referred to the meetings of last summer, when Sir Roger Casement was in Tyrone. The mention of Sir Roger Casement was received with a loud burst of cheers.

In addition to the Volunteer corps, there was a large attendance of the public from Carrickmore and other districts, who followed the proceedings with great enthusiasm. Father MacArdle, P.P., Beragh; Father Rogers, C.C., Carrickmore; Father O'Callaghan, P.P., Kildress, were among those who attended the meeting.

### Diary of the Wicklow Training Camp.

(Continued.)

Friday, Aug. 6th.—The early hours of the morning were spent in marking out the camp, pitching tents, and bringing all baggage from the village to the camp. After a breakfast somewhat later than usual, the entire command had a good spell of close order drill on the roads, as the fields were still too wet. After dinner, though, it was found possible to manoeuvre over them.

Sat., Aug. 7th.—Again very wet. Most of the forenoon was devoted to a lecture and discussion of the style of fighting most suitable to Ireland. In the afternoon exercises in attack, defence, and placing of outposts were carried out, the various duties being assigned to the senior officers attending the camp in turn.

Sun., Aug. 8th.—After church, preparations were made to move off. In the afternoon the whole force struck camp and headed for Newcastle, preceded by the cyclists. In all these later pitchings and strikings of camp a great improvement was necessary: the men took the intervals and distances for the tents accurately and automatically, ran them up and down quickly, deposited their belongings neatly, dug fire pits, collected fuel, &c., &c. In these respects huge strides had been made.

Mon., Aug. 9th.—This was the day of days. It happened that a blockhouse had been erected on the coast near Newcastle Railway Station to protect the cross-channel cable terminus. A force of police constituted the garrison. Finding such an excellent example ready to his hand, the C.O. marched his men down to it and began to point out the use of barbed wire, sandbags, &c., blissfully unconscious that he was thereby endangering the Realm. The sentry on duty, however, moved the sightseers on, and they practised extended order advances for a long distance along the seashore, coming back across country, and studying the different tactical aspects of the ground. After dinner there was an exercise in combat reconnaissance, and more across-country work. But what crowned everything was the Quartermaster's announcement on their arrival in camp that the owner of the field in which the camp was pitched had refused to allow it to remain another night, the only conceivable reason being the Defence of the Realm. But this trial was what really showed the mettle of the men. Never was a meal cooked or tents struck quicker nor a camp site left cleaner, and at a

quarter to eight the main body started night march towards Enniskerry. In day's work had been too hard, and the marching became very slow. In the G. the Downs all prospect of reaching kerry was abandoned, and a bivouac selected. The men lay on a pile of road which they pulled down to fit them; was the driest "bedding" in reach.

Tuesday, Aug. 10th.—The infantry marched in very leg-weary at 7 a.m. The cyclist Quartermaster were there ahead of them; a few tents had been pitched. Very little men cared whether there were tents or not. On the command "Fall out," each simply unslung his pack and lay down in sunshine where he stood. Badly-needed, figured largely in this day's programme, the camp was in an entirely unexpected condition.

Wednesday, August 11th.—Another day. In the morning, close order drill Protection at Rest. In the afternoon a series of advanced and rearguard actions—eye against infantry—were carried out. A considerable advance in the men's grip of tactics was observable in comparison with former occasions. On this evening Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald was so good as to invite the entire contingent to tea, and they spent very pleasant evening as her guests.

Thursday, Aug. 12th.—In the forenoon men were exercised in Close Order Drill Protection on the March, and were thoroughly grounded in the signals for extension, and especially in the proper manner of giving the to a force under their command. In the afternoon they were dismissed, being recalled 7-30 for Night Operations. A Night Attack on the Camp—which had only a skeleton defending force—was carried out by two sections operating by two distinct routes. The only coordination was by fixing beforehand the exact hour at which the assault was to be delivered. The attack was completely successful, and impressed all who took part with the extreme value of proper training in such operations.

Friday, Aug. 13th.—The last day in camp. The forenoon was spent in Close Order Drill and in an exercise in the reconnaissance of a position preparatory to an attack. The afternoon, which was wet, was partly spent in putting our house in order. In the evening we held a concert in Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald's house, after which took place the presentation to the three officers on the camp staff of some very handsome presents from the men attending the training course, which were suitably acknowledged by each.

Sat., Aug. 14th.—Camp was struck immediately after breakfast, and the site left as clean as the proverbial new pin. The infantry piled themselves on top of the baggage on the motor lorry, and looked forward to a magnificent joy-ride into Headquarters. Alas for their hopes! At the Scalp came an accident, and the rest of the journey was a forced march to Clonskeagh, which was completed in time that was a testimonial to the camp training. At noon everyone was in Headquarters again.

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## The Importance of the Section in Ireland.

All the Irish Volunteers are very careful students of the European War in the newspapers. Like everyone else they have become impressed with the great importance of numbers and of the ability to handle numbers. Besides, they all are aware of Napoleon's saying that "Providence is on the side of the big battalions."

All this tends to put into the background so modest a body of troops as a section; and yet in Ireland it is the section—the Sergeant's Command—that will win or lose battles. Practically the section would be the tactical unit. Once more, the reason lies in the nature of the country—as a little thought will show.

A firing-line cannot possibly contain more than one man per yard of front—if it does they have no room to use their rifles. The regulation strength of a Volunteer Company is three officers and 100 men. Consequently, one company will occupy at least 100 yards as its section of a firing-line. (It is to be noted that for the moment we are not talking about supports or reserves.) In other words, the greater number of Irish fields would be too small to afford fighting-room in the firing-line to a company of Volunteers. If it is decided to deploy the entire company in the firing-line, it will often have to extend into another field on either flank or both. If this is done it can no longer be regarded as a single unit completely in hand. The Captain can only be in one place at a given moment, and this means that all the time some fraction of his men will be out of touch with him.

The difficulty becomes much greater if it is a case of two or more companies side by side each divided between firing-line and supports and extending over a few fields of frontage. In this case one captain will be out of touch with either his men in the firing-line or in support—and he will often be better placed to take control of men on his right or left belonging to another company than their own captain could possibly be.

Now there is only one really adequate solution of this difficulty: *the Volunteers must be worked in sections instead of in companies.* This calls for a high standard among the N.C.O.'s, because it throws a very heavy responsibility on their shoulders. But if proper measures are taken to instruct the N.C.O.'s, it should be possible to have a fairly complete supply of suitable men. If a few sound principles are properly grasped the intelligent soldier may easily become a good sergeant. In turn, this throws far less of a strain on the company commanders. Any ordinary good officer can oversee the work of four good section commanders: no officer, no matter how good, can personally superintend 100 men in action.

It is a mistake to suppose that this making the section the tactical unit is something entirely new. The French in their Colonial wars have often followed this policy—in Dahomey, &c. They found the company altogether too unwieldy when the theatre of operations was densely wooded; units got broken up and control was impossible. Now when one

bears in mind the exceedingly high standard of training and efficiency of both officers and men in these French campaigns, it becomes quite clear that the Volunteers with their lower standard would hardly have any better results. The French found the system of working by sections—their sections numbered about 20 men—very profitable; and it is exceedingly probable that in our fairly similar circumstances would find the case the same.

There is a further point in this connection that deserves attention. Provision is made in the Volunteer scheme of Organisation for the formation of independent sections where companies cannot be formed. Here, then, we have an additional reason for forming such small bodies—for by recognising the tactical doctrine that the section is a recognised unit we bring the Organisation and tactical system completely into line with each other.

## Mr. Birrell's Political Victims.

The imprisonment of the Irish Volunteer officers, on the advice of a police inspector who refuses to give any evidence, is an act of the Government in spite of all Ireland. The persons responsible are the Lord Lieutenant and Mr. Birrell, but especially Mr. Birrell. His disclaimers of responsibility, his refusal to answer Mr. Devlin, deceives nobody. Mr. Birrell gave the lead by publicly declaring the Irish Volunteers to be "disloyal"—the good old word, which means loyal to Ireland. It was not General Friend who set the detective force upon the Volunteers or who ordered the armed expeditions of police in Tyrone and at Athenry. General Friend did not sign the Arms Proclamations of December, 1913. The imprisonment of Irish Volunteers for carrying out the original and unchanged programme of the Irish Volunteers is the act of Dublin Castle. Not one representative voice in Ireland has approved of it. The Irish Party has passed a private resolution condemning it, and has sent the resolution privately to Mr. Birrell, not to General Friend. Mr. Devlin has publicly denounced it as "senseless," and has written a public protest to Mr. Birrell, not to General Friend. Sir Edward Carson has publicly avowed the right of the Nationalists of Ireland to form a Volunteer force; and since the vast majority of his own Volunteer force has not been diverted from its original purpose by any subsequent crisis, his avowal of right stands good. The Irish Volunteer officers are in prison because they put the cause of Irish rights and liberties first and foremost, and because their doing so is "disloyal" in the eyes of Mr. Birrell. They are Mr. Birrell's political victims, and the Defence of the Realm Act, as used by Mr. Birrell, is just a revival of the arbitrary imprisonment of "Suspects" which Mr. Forster, a former pious Liberal Chief Secretary, tried and found wanting. The prisoners are political prisoners, and they are men of high character and stainless record.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 28th, 1915

## Lectures for Recruits.

### III.—CARE OF EQUIPMENT.

The good workman is known by his tools, and there is no workman of which this is so true as of the soldier. Everything the soldier wears or carries or uses in any way at all is of importance—a sudden defect in any of them may have fatal results.

First and foremost comes the rifle. If any man's rifle gets into bad condition he has only himself to blame. It was all right when he got it. Don't throw your piece around as if it was a spade—it's a complicated piece of mechanism. All the same, it's not so delicately made that you must put it in a glass case: it just needs ordinary care—a little less than a decent watch, and much less than a pair of spectacles. There are two ways in which it can get dirty: by fouling after use and by rust. You can prevent the first by always using a pull-through after firing. You can prevent the second by keeping it oiled. Any of the senior men in your company will show you how to do this, and you should know after seeing it once:  $\frac{1}{3}$  oil or  $\frac{1}{2}$  in 1 oil is the best.

The next most important part of your equipment are your cartridges. The only looking after these need is to be kept dry. When stowing them away see that they don't get damp. If you don't, you might as well never have bought them.

Chief after your arms and ammunition come

your boots. These are what you march with—just as the others are what you fight with. Have good strong boots, and see that the soles are kept solid: get them fixed, and get a few heavy nails or protectors in if there are any signs of their giving way. Keep them well dosed with castor oil to keep them soft. If they get soaked with wet, don't dry them over a fire: you'll be sorry half-way through the next march if you do. When they are dry again oil them the first chance you get. Don't let your socks get holed, or they will blister your feet. If necessary you should be able to make a shot at darning them yourself—it's not very hard, unless you've let them go too far.

If you are a cyclist, make it a point that your machine is always ready for the road. See that your tyres are in good trim and kept well pumped up. See that all the bearings are working properly—none of them loose. Above all, see that your brakes are working. If they are faulty you may break your neck. This is not very important: but you may cause a mishap to the column—and in that case your Commanding Officer should see to it that your neck is broken for you.

Always be perfectly sure that all the straps and fastenings of your pack, &c., are solid and strong. If they show any weakness fix them up at once—"a stitch in time saves nine." You can't help your knapsack, &c., getting hard usage—see that it's able to stand it. By the way, it's much better to have your knapsack, haversack, and water-bottle dyed the same colour as your uniform—grey-green, or some colour near that. Staring white or yellow fixings only makes you a handy target for the enemy.

Always keep your blanket and overcoat as tidy as you can. If they get wet, dry them at the first possible opportunity. If you let yourself collapse of cold or exposure you're just as much out of action as if you were shot. See that all buttons on overcoat, jacket, and trousers are always securely fastened on.

Finally, don't be careless of Headquarters' property, like tents, poles, bags, ropes, or the like, just because it doesn't belong to yourself. If you are of the right stuff you'll feel proud to have all these things in good, efficient condition, and looking smart and neat.

One last word: Keep your mess-tin clean, and clean it at once after using it. It looks like Hell to see dirty mess-tins lying around a camp—so don't let them be seen.

## Affairs of Outposts: A Lesson from Belgium.

The following is an extract from a communication issued by British Headquarters on August 15th, and from it many useful lessons as to the conduct of outpost skirmishes can be learned:—

"Night patrolling between the trenches is also an important feature. These expeditions, which are, of course, always made under cover of darkness, are attended with considerable danger and risk, but the men enjoy the excitement, and there are always volunteers who wish to go out and reconnoitre certain suspicious points along the enemy's trenches. One little party had an exciting adventure a few nights ago. A party of five men set out shortly before

midnight to explore a certain hedge running across a field close to the German trench. The hedge, it was thought, might conceal machine guns or defensive works. Making their way with the utmost caution across the rough ground separating the two trenches the little band at last reached the hedge. Suddenly a cough was heard on the other side, and the five immediately flung themselves flat upon the ground and waited. Another cough came in a few minutes, and then a German head poked through the twigs. Without a moment's hesitation the officer with the party shot the man dead on the spot with his revolver, and then, regardless of the numbers of the enemy that might be lying behind the shelter of the hedge, charged through it, closely followed by his four privates. Six Germans were discovered. Three were shot without any trouble, while the other three surrendered. . . . By this time, of course, the enemy had become aware of the struggle going on, and turned on machine guns in the direction of the noise, regardless as to whether they hit their own men or not. In face of the fire the officer had to leave his capture and crawl back to his own trench."

Leaving out of view the cautious advance of the English patrol, the first point to notice is the fact that when it came into action it accomplished a fairly complete success on a small scale, and this was entirely due to the prompt and determined action of the commanding officer in rushing the fence at once when his presence was discovered. This vigorous course took the Germans by surprise, and, though inferior strength, they were quickly overwhelmed. In all probability they believed the English to be in much greater strength than was the case; otherwise the attack would have appeared foolhardy. It simply shows what can be done by boldness and decision.

In the second place, note the promptness of the German counter-measures when once the alarm was given. The machine guns were in action right away. Probably the commander of the machine-gun section reasoned somehow thus: "They appear to have rushed us at this point, and perhaps it is a night attack in force. If I turn on the machine-guns at once I stand an excellent chance of repelling them. I may, of course, kill some of my own men, but there are only half a dozen of them there anyhow, and very likely half of those are dead already." Clearly his prompt use of the machine-guns would have saved the situation even if it had been a case of a real attack.

But the English made a great mistake in firing at all when discovered. They should have depended altogether on the layonet. Had they done so, they might possibly have actually secured a lodgment in the German trench and been able to summon reinforcements before any alarm was given. Then, indeed, a really important success might have been gained and a large section of the position rendered untenable. It was one of those opportunities—very rare indeed—where it falls to the lot of a very minor commander to play a big part: the English officer commanding the patrol failed to seize it. His prompt action indeed saved his own command; but a vastly greater result was just possible—and it was that he lacked the spark of real genius to realise.



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## The History of the Crossmaglen Conspiracy.

By ONE DIRECTLY COGNISANT.

(Continued.)

EARLY SKIRMISHING.

We have seen how, in their great anxiety to get even an indirect blow at the Land League, the agents of "Government" only succeeded in exposing themselves to shame and ridicule. But, balked in this case, they quickly sought other means of having their revenge.

The police barrack and a public-house on the Castleblayney road, which was then permitted to accommodate its frequenters night and day, Sundays and Saturdays, were now the two regular rendezvous of the dangerous characters that frequented the town. Those in charge of the police, under instructions from Dublin Castle, were their bosom friends and protectors, meeting them regularly at the barrack or, more frequently, at this public-house. Week after week, prominent members of the Land League were being insulted and attacked by these characters; while, for any one identified with the League, there was now neither law nor protection from either police or magistrates. And when complaints were made to the Chief Secretary in Dublin, and enquiries demanded into the conduct of policeman or sub-inspector, even through questions asked in the House of Commons, the stereotyped answer always was that "it was not for the public interest" that enquiries into such things should be granted or replies given. The shocking lengths to which this sort of thing was carried will be seen when we come to deal with the trials of the prisoners in Belfast in March, 1883. Suffice it to say here that every effort was now being made by certain of the police, including one or two in superior station—for they must not all be included in this category—to turn not only the town but the neighbourhood into a state of lawlessness and disorder. The object of this also will be seen as we proceed.

PEOPLE'S LAW AGAINST GOVERNMENT LAWLESSNESS.

There were, however, many evils connected with the Petty Sessions' Court and the police which, even despite Dublin Castle, the people were able to correct for themselves. In the past the local court had been crowded with petty cases about trespasses, rights of way, water courses, etc., etc., while quarrels and disputes arising from drunkenness had been another fruitful source of Petty Sessions' litigation. Some of these insignificant cases, starting out of trifles—nothing more perhaps than the barking of a dog—had gone so far that they had almost ruined the litigants on both sides with heavy costs in the superior courts. When these cases were subsequently withdrawn from the courts, and submitted to arbitration, it frequently transpired that both

sides had been encouraged to bring their cases into court, by the same magistrate promising both to speak beforehand in their favour to some of his fellow-members on the bench, and then carefully absenting himself on the day of adjudication. It was usual also for these magistrates to recommend particular lawyers to both parties. So that, while thus encouraging litigation and bleeding the poor foolish people to death, these magistrates were making friends of the mammon of iniquity for themselves not only with the litigants but with the lawyers.

To put a stop to all this, these parties were now induced to freely submit their cases to friendly arbitrators, whom they selected themselves, generally from among the more trusted and experienced Land Leaguers. The result was that every such case soon disappeared from the law courts, and were amicably settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. Moreover, owing to the salutary influence of the local Temperance Society, the cases arising from drunkenness also disappeared. So that the energies of the local police and magistrates were now almost exclusively limited to the three or four ballad singers or pickpockets who usually frequented the large monthly fair of the town. This was far from being satisfactory to either police or magistrates, particularly to those who had been carrying on the practices described above. In their eyes it was criminal sedition and illegal interference with the due course of law and its administration.

THE PEOPLE SCORE AN INITIAL SUCCESS.

In all these cases, however, with one exception, there could be no pretence whatever that compulsion of any kind had been used to force the litigants in question to submit their cases to arbitration. On both sides they had in every instance earnestly requested it, for they were sick of the sort of law they saw administered at the Petty Sessions' Court. The exceptional case was on the absentee Ball Estate, of which Mr. Brooke, J.P., a gentleman who will figure largely to the end in the Crossmaglen Conspiracy, was then agent. This case was one of quasi-landgrabbing, and had previously been the cause of much litigation between the evicted tenant and the agent. The man who now held the land had a mortgage against it at the time of eviction; and, being otherwise tenant on the Ball Estate, had been compelled to hold the evicted farm, as tenant also, under colour of the mortgage. The mortgagee, an extensive shop-keeper and farmer, had frequently been tendered his money, and was always anxious to be out of the transaction altogether; but, before the Land League came on the scene, he could not venture to do so, fearing the dangerous resentment of the agent. Now, however, though backed up by the whole landlord power not only of County Armagh, but of Counties Louth and Monaghan also, as well as by all the resources of Dublin Castle at the time, the agent himself had, under

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pressure of public opinion, to give way; and there was no one more delighted than the mortgagee to have the case settled, he himself selecting five members of the local Land League as the board of arbitration. The case was thus amicably settled, the evicted man went back into possession, and the agent had afterwards to admit him as tenant. This was a stunning blow, for heretofore Mr. Brooke was regarded as the protagonist of the landlords of the surrounding counties.

Supplemented by the other arbitration cases that we have seen, this one particularly was now represented by the landlord party as the decision of a lawless Land League court, compelling obedience to its illegal behests; and here we have the original germ which, though in the process of time and circumstances it changed its features completely, grew into the great Crossmaglen Conspiracy, costing the government £30,000 before it ended in their own eternal shame and disgrace.

#### LAWLESS LAW AGAIN DEFEATED.

But this was only the beginning of things on the Ball Estate. A number of tenants had been turned into caretakers, under warrants that were totally illegal. These warrants having been out of date and unrenewed before execution, the sub-agent or bailiff resigned his position, joined the League, and now revealed the fact of this illegal procedure. So that every one of the evicted tenants had to be reinstated, and liberal reductions in their rents granted in order to placate them. At the same time, Denis Nugent (afterwards one of the Crossmaglen prisoners) and others collected full accounts of the enormous amount of law costs which by this and other such means had in the past been extracted from the struggling tenants. They forwarded same to the landlords; but, as the agent always refused to reveal their address to anyone, these accounts had to be sent in a sealed envelope through himself, and it never transpired whether the landlords or their representatives received it. **NOBLESSE OBLIGE.**

There were many other incidents which made things very unpleasant between the Ball tenants and their agent. The landlords had promised a lease for an infant school, which was very much needed; but the agent would now neither grant it, nor permit any communication with the landlords on the subject save through himself; and the place had to remain for years without it. They had also promised, some time previously, to erect a town clock on the market-house and town hall. But to the astonishment of the natives, when the long-promised gift was placed by the agent and his workmen in its receptacle on the front of the hall, it turned out to be nothing more than a circular piece of board painted white, with the hands and hours of a clock rudely marked thereon in black.

This was turning tragedy into farce, and some local poet, whose identity has never been revealed—but generally supposed to have been Michael Watters, the youngest of the Crossmaglen prisoners, or Denis Nugent, another of them—celebrated the occasion in verses, which got into nearly all the local papers, and made the "Crossmaglen Clock" and its generous donor for many a day the standing gibe and laughing-stock of three counties. The present writer has extracted them from a newspaper of the period.

#### THE CLOCK OF CROSSMAGLEN.

High up above our market-hall, and looking  
o'er the Square,  
A strange and wondrous clock is seen, by  
skilful hands placed there;  
Admired by all, by young and old, by sage  
and learned men,  
And guarded as a treasure is the Clock of  
Crossmaglen.

Above our hall 'tis placed secure by workmen  
tried and true,  
And there 'twill stand for evermore exposed to  
public view;  
And future ages will combine to praise and  
bless the men  
Who planned this clock and placed it in the  
town of Crossmaglen.

I will not dare attempt the task, or try to tell  
in rhyme  
The beauties and the charms that deck and  
grace this work sublime;  
But may some gifted poet rise to trace with  
golden pen,  
And celebrate in worthy verse the Clock of  
Crossmaglen.

Your clumsy clocks must follow time, both  
minute hand and hour,  
But this great work has stopped time's course,  
and proved its magic power;  
Now, sneer not, cynic—'tis the truth—time has  
not moved since when  
This clock was placed amongst us in the town  
of Crossmaglen.

It has no wheels, it needs no weights, there is  
no tick or stroke,  
'Tis not of gold or silver wrought, but good old  
Irish oak;  
Yet stranger far than Strasbourg chimes, its  
hands at twelve past ten  
Full often fill with laughter wild the square  
of Crossmaglen.

Now 'twas our landlords gave this Clock, the  
truth I vouch to you;  
Then listen not to Parnell's cries, nor to his  
noisy crew,  
But, down with rent reductions! we'll prove  
true and loyal men,  
And stand by our dear landlords in the town  
of Crossmaglen.

Wherever these kind donors dwell, whatever be  
their name,  
They're worthy of unbounded praise and of  
immortal fame;  
For this great gift, this glorious deed, has  
proved them generous men,  
Whose names should be emblazoned on the  
Clock of Crossmaglen.

Whether intended by the writer or not, these verses, having become so public, had a wonderful effect in calling men's attention over a wide area to what, for a long time, had been occurring on the absentee Ball Estate, and to the public revelations, as seen, regarding the agent's conduct thereon; so that no one about home could attempt to defend or deny it. But while this was so at home, the absentee landlords—for there was more than one interested—instead of knowing anything about it, were led, as subsequently transpired, to believe that, in their interest, he was a kind of heroic martyr, whose life was constantly in imminent danger from Crossmaglen conspirators.

#### WORK FOR THE POLICE.

In the same way, when Mr. Brooke likely to meet Major Blair, the County Magistrate, or Mr. McCullagh, R.M. for Armagh, or when out with Mr. Barrington, Registrar for the County Court Judge, or Bailie, afterwards Clerk of the Crown, Monaghan, or with others likely to be things at headquarters at Dublin Castle, was invariably protected by police escorts. At other times, as will indeed appear, Crossmaglen trials, he rode about by himself on lonely roads for miles and miles by night and day, particularly through the Crossmaglen district, while nobody ever said one offensive word to him or attempted to molest him in any way whatever. In this way it soon became manifest that a part was being played at Dublin Castle also, the real meaning of which will be disclosed when we come to the trials of the Crossmaglen prisoners.

#### THE PEOPLE STILL WINNING.

So far we have seen something of the state of things on the absentee Ball property. On a second, known as the Reid estate, where a number of the tenants had also been made caretakers, and where legal proceedings, for the same purpose, were in progress against a still larger body of the tenantry, it was discovered that the evictor himself had no legal title to the lands. So here again the tenants had to be reinstated, the legal proceedings withdrawn, and an even greater reduction of rents than on the Ball estate granted to all the tenants. Later on, a bogus outrage perpetrated on this estate in the interest of coercion and under police protection will claim our attention.

In a third case, on the Biggar or Eastwood estate, the tenants were being proceeded against and turned also into caretakers for rents far in excess of those legally agreed upon by a former agent, who had some time previously resigned. Here, once more, the tenants were defended by the League, their rights were established, and the reduced rents fixed in perpetuity, or, at least, until the law should otherwise decide, as it has already done. But this did not exhaust the activity of the Leaguers in connection with the Biggar estate.

#### ATTACK ON THE BALLOT ACT.

At the Parliamentary election of 1880 one of the seats for Co. Armagh was successfully contested in the Liberal and Tenant Right interest by Mr. J. N. Richardson. But the bailiff on this estate was sent to every elector thereon to warn them individually not to dare approach the polling booth at Crossmaglen on the day of election, because the landlord would be there to see if they did, and to punish them for it. This was the first election in the district under the Ballot Act, and the tenants in some cases had still the old dread of incurring the landlord's hostility—both as landlord and magistrate—if they dared to disobey on the polling day. True to his threat, on the day of election the landlord was in the hall of the courthouse where the voting took place, accompanied by another local J.P., who was in charge of the polling station. But the Leaguers were there too, and quickly succeeded in evicting both the obstructors by crowding the hall with voters; so that the Biggar tenants who had been in hiding up to this could now in safety and security record their votes for



the Liberal Tenant Righter, while the landlord had to quit the scene, followed by the groans and execrations of the assembled multitude. In connection with this estate there will be unearthed another still more grave case of outrage-mongering than the former, screened also by the police, and kindly treated by the magistrates.

The Ball, the Biggar, and the Reid estates, of which we have just treated, were the three principal ones in the Crossmaglen district. On the Kelly, the Tullyadonnell Calaghan, the Neville, the Johnston, and the other small estates, the struggle was more or less the same; and the interests of the tenantry thereon were likewise vigilantly and vigorously defended by the League—defended within the law against the oppression and encroachments of landlordism and its agents outside and beyond it.

#### THE BALFOUR EVICTION POLICY ANTICIPATED.

At this period, however, or earlier, with a few honourable exceptions the landlords of the locality, as indeed of most other parts of Ireland, had entered into a league and covenant to defeat as far as possible, even before it became law, as well as after, the Land Court clauses of the Gladstonian Land Bill or Land Act of 1881. This was the meaning of endeavouring to turn as many of their tenants as at all possible into caretakers; for, as caretakers, they would have no rights in the courts, whereas as tenants they would be partners with the landlords in their holdings, and could therefore claim their share of the spoils.\*

Before the Bill passed, the landlords boasted that they had no less than 800 "caretakers" in the Crossmaglen area, though not all in the Crossmaglen parish; but such were the efforts of the local branch of the League that, a few months after the Bill had become law, they had not so much as one, and the only really evicted tenant was already restored.

In the eyes, however, of local landlordism, and particularly of its directors and faithful allies in Dublin Castle, this, with the rest of what we have seen at Crossmaglen, was worse than open rebellion or even Fenianism itself; it was nothing less than communism and the French Revolution over again. Castle lawyers and Castle judges will, beyond yea or nay, prove this for us at the trials in Belfast.

#### LIBERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE RESCUE!

But though so badly beaten in open warfare from all their trenches, the landlords had still the reserved resources and secret machinery of Dublin Castle to fall back on. Towards the end of 1881 the Foster Coercion Act had hundreds of innocent men in jail as suspects; and in November of that year the secret slipped out from the Crossmaglen and Newtownhamilton police barracks, as well as through another channel, that S. J. Bigley and Constable Gartland, with the aid of a few Co. Armagh magistrates, had got a number of the Crossmaglen Leaguers put on the list for arrest as suspects, and that Mr. Kaye, himself an Armagh Orangeman, and Under-Secretary at the Castle, had already promised their immediate arrest, but that it was discovered that this could not be done in the face of Parliament, as the locality was so peaceable. Like

munitions in our own day, crime and outrage was the thing required.

The Leaguers knew this, and now issued placards\* announcing their knowledge of what was going on, denouncing the posting up of threatening notices, the sending of threatening letters, and everything else that savoured of crime or outrage, as the work of the enemies of the people and the League, and warning the people against such things, but that they must instantly report to the League anything of this kind that might come under their notice.

With ten or twelve exceptions at most, every householder in the parish, Protestant and Catholic, more than 1,200 in all, were members of the League, so that it was nearly impossible that anything in the way of outrage could be attempted without being detected by them, for every man was on his watch. The local Temperance Society, embracing as it then did more than nine-tenths of the entire population from ten years of age upwards, nearly 3,000 in all, was quite as vigilant in this matter as even the Leaguers, and owing to its numbers even more effective. Things also had reached that pass that even the rowdies of the town and country, with six or seven exceptions, had abandoned Gartland and Bigley. In these circumstances there could not be more than twelve or fourteen probable outrage-mongers, all well known to the Leaguers. It was therefore surmised that it should not be difficult to watch and detect them if anything were attempted. Facts afterwards proved that this surmise was correct. The first attempt did come at about eight o'clock on the night of the 24th January, 1882, and before ten that same night the officials of the League knew all about it, and that it was carried out under police protection. It served its purpose, however, for two days after the first Crossmaglen suspect was arrested.

\* See evidence of Mr. Boyle, treasurer of the Land League at Crossmaglen, *Belfast Morning News*, 27th March, 1883.

#### Airidheacht and Military Display at St. Enda's College, Rathfarnham.

Volunteers will note the competitions to take place at above Airidheacht on Sunday, Sept. 5th.

1. Best display of close and extended order drill for section of 12 men under section commander. Entrance fee, 2/6 for section. A trophy and a second prize will be offered. Time limit for display, 10 minutes. General usefulness rather than mere effect will count in making awards. It is understood that Brigade Council sanctions carrying arms, and special note will be taken as to how same be handled. Bayonet work, the assault being principal exercise, may be introduced in display.

2. Tug-of-war competitions. Team, 10 men. Catch-weight, pull 20 ft. Entrance fee 2/- for team. Prize offered.

3. Shooting. Range 25 yards; miniature. Medal offered. Entrance fee, 3d.

Entries for competitions Nos. 1 and 2 to be made before Aug. 31st.

Comdts. De Valera and MacDonagh and Mr. Mallin, Chief of Staff, S. Citizen Army, assisted by other Volunteer officers, will act as judges.

Competitions to commence at 1 o'clock sharp on College grounds.

Cumann-na-mBan will give a display during the afternoon.

Besides this military display there will be a first-rate concert programme. Bands will attend. There will be dancing on an ideal floor. Pipers' bands, tea-rooms and tea-gardens, and motor drives will be among the numerous other attractions. Milford, the Irish Wizard, will attend. Admission to the grounds will be 3d. A motor service will ply between College grounds and tram. Fare, 3d. and 4d.

Already applications are coming in for entry in competitions, and many companies are giving men extra drill to get into good training. It is hoped re tug-of-war contests that Volunteer companies will enter. The training in this manly sport is excellent in itself.

WILLIAM PEARSE, *Hon. Sec.*,  
Captain.

#### Lessons from the Wicklow Camp.

Our manoeuvres through the thickly-wooded and mountainous county of Wicklow have taught us many lessons. One fact, however, that stands out clearly before all others is the enormous advantages of the defensive over the offensive; and this is probably the case over most of Ireland. Next to this the most striking thing is the great value of even slight offensive action on the part of the defenders. Our usual manoeuvres consisted of skirmishes between cyclist rearguards and infantry pursuers, and the former nearly always held off their opponents with very little difficulty. This was partly due to the infantry's failing to realise that cyclists cannot move far from the road, and having thus a false idea of their mobility, deployed themselves to an unnecessary extent. This should be noted for future use.

Another useful lesson was learned by our various advanced parties who had to choose our camping grounds. They will never again choose a steep slope, and they will always remember the question of fuel. They, and in fact all our cyclists, have also learned the danger of setting out on a campaign without seeing that the brakes and other parts of their machines are in good order.

Other lessons are chiefly hygienic. We consider it advisable that every man should carry a small bottle of Iodine and some Boric Powder. The value of the repeated instructions in the *Volunteer* on the care of the feet was brought practically home to some unfortunates; others discovered for themselves the ill-effects of drying damp boots too quickly.

These and other things we have learnt, but before all and above all, we have learnt Discipline.

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