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1916-1917

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National Economy.

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No
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Press Cuttings:- including
Pictures & reports about Keastwick 1916.
Pictures & report of Inquiry shooting of Gully Skiff-ton
Pictures of funeral Thomas A. he & report of Inquest
into Circumstances of his death

Scrapbook of

Revd Joseph O'Toole C.C.

Star of Sea Sandymount, Dublin

Died 11th October 1932.

Funeral Thomas Ashe July 1917.



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Revd Joseph O'Toole.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21.
BUREAU STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21.
NO. C. D. 227 / 357

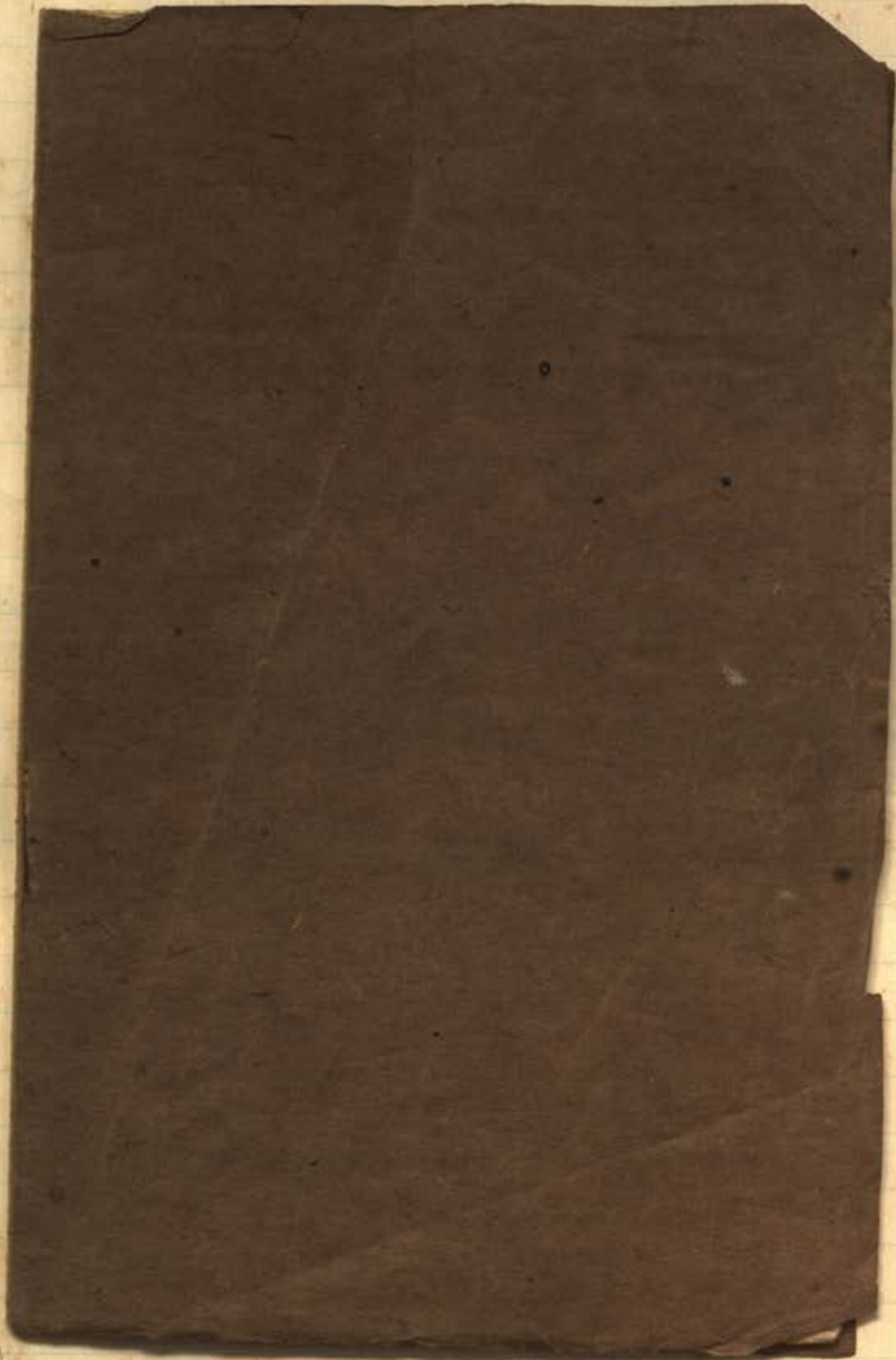
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MASS AT TRINITY COLLEGE.
Yesterday, for the first time in history, Mass was celebrated in Trinity College, Dublin, for the Irish and English troops who were stationed there.
Freeman Nov. May 1916
Probably Fr. Farnell. C.F.

UNIQUE AND HISTORICAL
Mass Celebrated in Trinity College

To the Editor of the "Evening Herald."
Sir—In your issue of yesterday I read the following interesting note:—
Yesterday, for the first time in history, Mass was celebrated in Trinity College, Dublin, for the Irish and English troops who were stationed there.
The statement is inaccurate. Mass was celebrated in the College Chapel in 1650, when the College was in the hands of James II.'s troops. The following interesting extract from the College Register for that year is quoted by Dr. Macneil Dixon in his history of Trinity College:—
"October 21.—Several persons, by order of the Government seized upon the Chappel and broke open the Library. The Chappel was sprinkled and new consecrated, and Mass was said in it; but afterwards, being turned into a storehouse for powders, it escaped all further damage (5). The Library and Gardens and Provost's lodgings were committed to the care of one Macarty, a Priest and Chaplain to ye King, who preserved 'em (sic) from the violence of the soldiers, but the Chambers and all other things belonging to the College were miserably defaced and ruined."
Further, it is interesting to note that in the same year a secular priest, Dr. Michael Moore, was appointed to the general charge of the College. It is to his care and that of another priest, Teigue Macarthy, the King's Chaplain, who was appointed to the custody of the Library, that the author whom I have quoted ascribes Trinity's
ESCAPE FROM RUTHLESS PILLAGE and destruction.
"Trinity College," says Dr. Dixon, "owes much to the affection and generosity of her own sons, but perhaps none of those bound to her by filial ties have a better claim to her remembrance than those strangers within her gates to whom at an evil hour her fortunes were committed."
The pride and interest which I believe all Irishmen feel in Queen Elizabeth's great foundation must be my excuse for the length of this letter.—Yours faithfully,
T. C. TOSIAS.
37 Dawson street, May 9, 1918.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21.
BURD STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21.
NO. C. D. 227/35



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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURD STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21
NO. C. D. 227 / 35

THE OPERA HOUSE.
"THE LILY OF KILLARNEY."

Harry Standard.

"Tenant-Right," Live and let Live.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1916.

best, that finds the opera...
the two following nights lagging...
in popularity the one it has replaced...
were hearing the opera for the first time...
vain for opportunities that would find Mr. M'Nally...
and Miss Burke revelling in their work as they did...
on the first three nights of the week. One oppor-
tunity the opera does afford Mr. M'Nally, however,
and that is to display more effectively than ever
how intensely dramatic can be his reading of a
part such as that assigned to him, "Danny Mann."
His dramatic and vocal powers were seen to advan-
tage in the Colleen Bawn song, and with unmis-
takable enthusiasm the audience insisted on a second
appearance. His correct interpretation of the part
came as a matter of course, and the audience was
not slow to recognise the hall-mark of the true
artiste. In "The Lily of Killarney" the audience
make the acquaintance of a new principal in Miss
M. Telford (the Colleen Bawn), a soprano of marked
ability. She used a voice of great beauty very
artistically, and at once became a great favourite.
For her very fine rendering of "I was alone" she
was rapturously recalled. Miss Joan Burke filled
the part of "Mrs. Cregan" with distinction, and
Mr. T. J. Young was very successful as "Myles."
Mr. A. Johnston's "Hardress Cregan" is also a
creditable piece of work. Miss May Barr is well
received as "Miss Ann Chute," and Mr. H. Coll as
"Corrigan." Miss M. McGiloway ("Sheelah"),
Mr. A. Carlin ("Father Tom"), and Mr. A. V.
O'Doherty ("O'Moore") are also in the cast. These
staging and dresses are excellent in every respect,
the setting for the scene of the attempt on the life
of the Colleen Bawn being greatly admired. The
treat "convivial" with which the opera opens
also a highly appreciated feature.

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MacDONAGH—Fourteenth Anniversary—In lov-
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of 9 Palmerston Road, Rathmines, who died
on Christmas Day, 1922. May he rest in
peace.—Inserted by his family.

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THE OPERA HOUSE.

"THE LILY OF KILLARNEY."

"Maritana" gave place to "The Lily of Killarney" last night at the Opera House, where Mr. Joseph O'Brien's Amateur Operatic Company is performing to crowded houses each night. The opera chosen for the last three nights of the week recalls the tragic story of the Colleen Bawn, and, so far as arresting interest is concerned, retells it rather indifferently. This it is, and the fact that there is small scope compared with what is afforded in "Maritana" for the principals to be heard at their best, that finds the opera chosen for last night and the two following nights lagging some way behind in popularity the one it has replaced. Those who were hearing the opera for the first time waited in vain for opportunities that would find Mr. M'Nally and Miss Burke revelling in their work as they did on the first three nights of the week. One opportunity the opera does afford Mr. M'Nally, however, and that is to display more effectively than ever how intensely dramatic can be his reading of a part such as that assigned to him, "Danny Mann." His dramatic and vocal powers were seen to advantage in the Colleen Bawn song, and with unmistakable enthusiasm the audience insisted on a second appearance. His correct interpretation of the part came as a matter of course, and the audience was not slow to recognise the hall-mark of the true artiste. In "The Lily of Killarney" the audience make the acquaintance of a new principal in Miss M. Telford (the Colleen Bawn), a soprano of marked ability. She used a voice of great beauty very artistically, and at once became a great favourite. For her very fine rendering of "I was alone" she was rapturously recalled. Miss Joan Burke filled the part of "Mrs. Cregan" with distinction, and Mr. T. J. Young was very successful as "Myles." Mr. A. Johnston's "Hardress Cregan" is also a creditable piece of work. Miss May Barr is well received as "Miss Ann Chute," and Mr. H. Coll as "Corrigan." Miss M. McGilloway ("Sheelah"), Mr. A. Carlin ("Father Tom"), and Mr. A. V. O'Doherty ("O'Moore") are also in the cast. The staging and dresses are excellent in every respect, the setting for the scene of the attempt on the life of the Colleen Bawn being greatly admired. The entertainment "convivial" with which the opera opens also a highly appreciated feature.

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MacDONAGH—Fourteenth Anniversary.—In lov-
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 of 8 Palmerston Road, Rathmines, who died
 on Christmas Day, 1922. May he rest in
 peace.—Inserted by his family.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 100332
 BUREAU STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21
 No. Q. D. 227 / 35

THE OPERA HOUSE.

MR. J. O'BRIEN'S AMATEUR COMPANY.

For the first three-nights of their week in the Opera House Mr. Joseph O'Brien's Amateur Operatic Company are appearing in the "Maritana," an opera rich in music that has become part of a great heritage, and which has given us songs that are enshrined in the realms of the immortal. The first performance was given on Monday night to a very large and delightfully appreciative audience. Let it be said at once that the high appreciation shown throughout the opera was not in the least degree misplaced. The high standing of the principals and the splendid support they received from a spirited chorus of over sixty voices fully justified this unqualified recognition of success, and the audience were eager for the few opportunities that presented themselves of showing Mr. O'Brien how deeply they felt the debt of gratitude they owed him and how highly they rated his merits as producer and conductor. Not the least pleasing feature of the performance was to be found in the work of the chorus. There was about all they were called upon to do that zest and understanding without which the presentation of opera becomes something to mourn over. They displayed a fine spirit, and their blend and expression left little to be desired so far as the general effect of the performance is concerned. When the principals come to be noted the good fortune of the company is evident immediately. Whether it was due the vigour of the orchestra at the moment or "finding the range" in regard to the acoustic properties of the place need not be dwelt upon, but in his opening Mr. M'Nally was not exactly the brilliant singer he was afterwards found to be by those who were hearing him for the first time. The recovery was as prompt and decisive, and from this on the well-known Irish baritone rose to great heights of interpretation and realism in the outstanding part of Don Jose de Santarem. He sang with dignity, fervour, and dramatic

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MacDONAGH—Fourteenth Anniversary—In lov-
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 of 9 Palmerston Road, Rathmines, who died
 on Christmas Day, 1922. May he rest in
 peace.—Inserted by his family.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 100322
BUREAU STAIRS MILITARY 100322

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power, and treated "Happy Moments" in a way that brought the enraptured listeners to their feet in an insistent recall. Not less satisfying was the singing and acting of Miss Joan Burke, contralto, who gave a most notable presentation of the tragedy, pathos, and courageous gratitude that mingle in the career of the boy servant, Bazarillo. She sang with great confidence throughout, and received one of the most enthusiastic encores of the evening.

In the title part Miss Lena Munro met with a fine reception. She is peculiarly qualified for interpreting music of the description heard in the days of wistful longing that follow the unsatisfying realisation of "Maritana's" dreams of wealth and station, and which inspires what is surely the most beautiful number of the opera, "Scenes that are brightest." The recall was as inevitable as when other songs whose names are household words were rendered, a tribute alike to the vocalists and the enduring quality of that which they sang. As Don Caesar de Bazan, Mr. R. M. Kent realised the necessary abandon and spirit of the careless but chivalrous scion of a family of high degree. He gave a magnificent rendering of "Let me like a soldier fall," and also sang with distinction "The memory of the past," responding to encores each time. Outside the more professional circles, special mention must be given to Mr. J. J. McCloskey's King of Spain. His study of the part has evidently been more thorough than is usually the case with amateurs, and his reading throughout revealed strength and considerable dramatic insight. Mr. Harry Coll was Marquis de Montefiore, Mr. D. Casey Alcade, Mr. A. Carlin Captain of the Guard, and Miss C. Kilpatrick the Marchioness de Montefiore. The stately measure in the ballroom scene was excellently done, and not a little of the great enthusiasm of the audience is inspired by admiration for the fine scenic effects and dresses.

"Maritana" was repeated to an equally appreciative audience last night, and will be given again to-night. On Thursday and for the rest of the week "The Lily of Killarney" will be staged.

MacDONAGH—Fourteenth Anniversary—In loving memory of Joseph MacDonagh, T.D., late of 9 Palmerston Road, Rathmines, who died on Christmas Day, 1922. May he rest in peace.—Inserted by his family.

EVENING TELEGRAPH

DUBLIN: TUESDAY, MAY 15, 1917.

HADDON HALL

Successful Revival

BY THE RATHMINES AND RATHGAR MUSICAL SOCIETY

The progress of the Rathmines and Rathgar Musical Society is one of the most gratifying things in Dublin artistic life to-day. It is apparently a well-managed concern from a business point of view, or it could not have attained its present flourishing condition in so few seasons. On the musical and dramatic side it has attracted all the best singers in the city. I looked with some apprehension, I admit, to the production of "Haddon Hall" as a test of the ability of the society to perform something more exacting than the Gilbert and Sullivan operas. In a sense such a work as "The Mikado," or even "The Yeomen of the Guard," plays itself. The dialogue is easy. You have but to repeat the lines distinctly, and the required effect is gained. Gilbert may be romantic for a moment or two, but his sense of humour saves him from sugary sentiment. No doubt, when Grundy collaborated with Sullivan in "Haddon Hall," he endeavoured to follow somewhat in the lines of Gilbert, and yet he tried in deference to the wishes of the composer to write a really romantic opera. From a stage point of view nothing could be more picturesque than "Haddon Hall." The terrace scene as depicted last night at the Gaiety Theatre, in the first act, showed that the Society had spared no expense in the production.

come to consider the most distinguished principals, though one or two of special prominence, it may be said is a strong one. I do not think that, while they rise and shine catch, the quest of skies." feeling. Mr. A. M. Cullin, will and is

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I now come to consider the most distinguished principals, though one or two stand out with special prominence, it may be said that the cast is a strong one. I do not

"The old green turrets, all ivy thatch,
Above the cedars that girdle them rise,
The pleasant glow of the sunshine catch,
And outline sharp on the bluest of skies."

Each subsequent scene was produced on the same scale of magnificence and beauty. The dressing, too, was superb, and the stage management, in the hands of Mr. A. M. Cullin, was not merely efficient but in its artistic grouping of the chorus, presented a series of pictures peculiarly attractive and fascinating. We must remember that in producing "Haddon Hall" the artists taking part were not imitators, as in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, but were creators, for I do not suppose that any of them ever saw the opera before. It must be twenty years since I heard the work performed, and yet it seemed as fresh and beautiful as ever. Why it has been so long neglected passes my comprehension. As a first performance last night's production was equal to any performance performed, under similar conditions, by any professional company. I am not disposed, therefore, to bestow on the Society the negative praise of saying it was "very good for amateurs." Mr. C. P. Fitzgerald, the musical director, directed the music with efficiency, despite a slight confusion which occurred in one of the encores in the first act. I thought he took the madrigal much too slowly. There was too much sentiment in the opening theme as sung by Mr. Irvine Lynch. It should be crisp and bright, as suggested by the phrase, "Earth was made for man's delight." With this possible exception the music was performed with much artistic power and dignity. The chorus, "Time the Avenger," was extremely effective. Indeed it is in the fine choral numbers that the Society excels. The ensemble is well balanced, and the enunciation unusually good.

Scottish accent might make any of us flesh creep; but we must forgive him and commend him for his courage in undertaking this difficult part, which he filled with so much distinction and invested with so much natural humour.

First we are capable of to any in her with an all part, with such to be st add first acted by Lucas. as Lady in her ss Burke Among was Mr. This is ie opera. n advan- st. He lost no dialogue. h a lover e roman- lyse his se some a keen out the gue with Crankie, h now as e indeed e present e sun, ore atten- beautiful— y Youth." one of the The pro- ticular care (Messrs. ish, W. E. Ger- lar's song, tributed a delibera- scenes in His a whole. an's in Hall" achieved So-

I now come to consider the most distinguished principals, though one or two stand out with special prominence, it may be said that the cast is a strong one. I do not think that Miss May Doyle is quite happy in the part of Dorothy. Of course she looks well—she could not help that—but her temperament calls for a light comedy character. Still, she sang with considerable feeling. Mr. W. Lewin's chief difficulty was in his acting. He speaks his lines clearly and fluently, he sings with considerable effect, but in his acting he rather gives one the impression that he came on to the stage against his will and is anxious to get off as soon as possible. As Rupert says to the Puritans, "Withdraw gracefully, if you can—but withdraw." It is not such an easy matter as one would suppose. Mr. John Coates once told me of a famous concert tenor who was anxious to appear in opera and asked him how to act. "I can stretch out my arm," he said, "with a fine broad gesture, but I can't get it back to its natural position with any show of naturalness or grace." Mr. Coates told him it was not a thing to be taught, but felt. If you get to the inner meaning of the text the gestures will come naturally. I have no doubt that Mr. Lewin's performance of John Manners will undergo a rapid improvement during the week, for he has an excellent presence and much artistic feeling.

As Sir George Vernon, Mr. Irvine Lynch was every inch an old English gentleman. The music was perhaps pitched rather high to bring out the fine natural quality of his superb voice, yet he sang the famous song, "In Days of Old," with a splendid resonant effect. A little more attention to the diction in the beautiful and tender duet, "Bride of My Youth," would have made this number one of the greatest successes of the opera. The pronunciation of the text requires particular care in this opera if it is to be convincing. Even Mr. Arthur Lucas might have been more crisp in his delivery of the pedlar's song, and Mr. P. A. Delany wants more deliberation of utterance in all his songs. His Scottish accent might make any Caledonian's flesh creep; but we must forgive him that and commend him for his courage in undertaking this difficult part, which he filled with so much distinction and invested with so much natural humour.

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I now come to consider the most distinguished members of the company. First we had Miss Florence Howley, the most capable of them all—one who would do credit to any company, however eminent. She has in her the true spirit of comedy combined with an excellent voice. Dorcas is but a small part, but Miss Howley sang and acted with such distinction that it never failed to be artistically impressive. I must add that in the duet in the first act the effect was greatly enhanced by the fine acting and singing of Mr. Lucas. Then we had Miss Joan Burke, who, as Lady Vernon, was profoundly impressive in her song, "Queen of the Garden." Miss Burke is a valuable asset to the Company. Among the male singers, the most prominent was Mr. T. W. Hall, who played Rupert. This is really the only Gilbertian part in the opera, and in this sense Mr. Hall enjoyed an advantage over the other actors in the cast. He studied the part very carefully, and lost no opportunity to make the most of the dialogue. The part is most attractive. Although a lover of Dorothy, Rupert is not in any sense romantic, but he is rather inclined to analyse his feelings as a chemist might analyse some mysterious concoction. Mr. Hall has a keen sense of humour, and he brought out the salient points of his songs and dialogue with excellent effect. The duet with M'Crankie, "If we but had our way," is as fresh now as the day it was written. There are indeed certain lines which are opposed to the present Summer Time Act.

" Like Joshua, we would stop the sun,
The thing is very simply done,
If we but had our way,
We'd pit an end tae heat and licht—
An' bring aboot eternal nicht,
If we but had our way. "

I must also mention the puritans (Messrs. Reginald Montgomery, W. G. Walsh, W. Comerford, Charles Jackson, and E. Germaine), whose combined efforts contributed great humour and enjoyment to the scenes in which they were engaged. Taken as a whole, I think the performance of "Haddon Hall" is the greatest artistic triumph yet achieved by the Rathmines and Rathgar Musical Society.

H. R. W.

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THE EVENING HERALD, TUESDAY, MAY 15, 1917.

"Haddon Hall" — Splendid Production.

"INTELLIGENT ANTICIPATION."

Mr. Irvine Lynch, very handsome as Sir
Richard gave his best vocally and drama-

When "Haddon Hall" was first pro-



another triumphant success! That is
 "Haddon Hall," produced for the first
 by the Rathmines and Rathgar Musi-
 Society at the Gaiety Theatre last
 night. Speaking of the production sceni-
 cally, I can only repeat what I wrote this
 morning in the "Independent." The
 setting is magnificent. For ornate set-
 ting, I must ransack memory to recall any-
 thing equal it in Gaiety triumphs. The
 costumes are works of art. The dress-
 ing was so beautiful I was surprised
 to be delighted. The production by
 the Gaiety Carte Company
 presents a finer stage picture than I
 have ever seen last night depicting the Long
 Gallery in Haddon Hall.

THE CAST.

- Here's the cast:—
- Mr. William Lewin
 - George Vernon ... Mr. Irvine Lynch
 - Lord ... Mr. Arthur R. Lucas
 - Lord Vernon ... Mr. T. W. Hall
 - McCrackie ... Mr. P. A. Delany
 - Lord Simeon ... Mr. Reginald Montgomery
 - Joy Candlemas ... Mr. W. G. Walsh
 - Edmund Knock-Knee ... Mr. W. Comerford
 - Thomas Bellows-to-Mend ... Mr. Chas. Jackson
 - Lord Domo ... Mr. Edward Germaine
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss May Doyle
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss Joan Burke
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss Florence Hosley
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss A. Carmichael
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss Lily Batty
 - Lordy Vernon ... Miss Molly Mason

of a century he would
 be amongst the Wells and Conan Doyle
 prophets of the war to-day, with Rupert
 the Roundhead as his oracle. Pay close
 heed to the interesting conversation be-
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 lugubrious Puritans and you will quickly
 grasp how pertinent it all is to present-day

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 JACQUES.

Another triumphant success! That is "Haddon Hall," produced for the first time by the Rathmines and Rathgar Musical Society at the Gaiety Theatre last night. Speaking of the production scenically, I can only repeat what I wrote this morning in the "Independent." The thing is magnificent. For ornate settings one must ransack memory to recall anything to equal it in Gaiety triumphs. The four scenes were works of art. The dressing was superb; the ensemble surprised and delighted. I venture to say that the D'Oyly Carte Company itself could not present a finer stage picture than the one we saw last night depicting the Long Gallery in Haddon Hall.

THE CAST.

Here's the cast:—

John Manners	Mr. William Lewin.
Sir George Vernon	Mr. Irvine Lynch.
Oswald	Mr. Arthur R. Lucas.
Rupert Vernon	Mr. T. W. Hall.
The McCrankle	Mr. P. A. Delany.
Sing-Song Simeon	Mr. Reginald Montgomery.
Kill-Joy Candlemas	Mr. W. G. Walsh.
Nicodemus Knock-Knee	Mr. W. Comerford.
Barnabas Bellows-to-Mend	Mr. Chas. Jackson.
Major Domo	Mr. Edward Germaine.
Dorothy Vernon	Miss May Doyle.
Lady Vernon	Miss Joan Burke.
Dorcas	Miss Florence Howley.
Nance	Miss A. Carmichael.
Gertrude	Miss Lily Batty.
Deborah	Miss Molly Mason.

be amongst the Wells and Conan Doy

Mr. Irvine Lyne
Glasgow gave his

"INTELLIGENT ANTICIPATION."

When "Haddon Hall" was first produced



MR. T. W. HALL.

duced at the Savoy Theatre, London, 25 years ago, the librettist, Sydney Grundy, put a note on the programme, "The Clock of Time has been put forward a century and other liberties have been taken with history." That note was reproduced in our programmes last night, and it has more meaning for us to-day than it had for our parents of quarter of a century ago. If Grundy had put forward the Clock of Time just a quarter of a century he would be amongst the Wells and Conan Doyle prophets of the war to-day, with Rupert the Roundhead as his oracle. Pay close heed to the interesting conversation between the entertaining Rupert and his lugubrious Puritans and you will quickly grasp how pertinent it all is to present-day

... comforter." They chant:

We'll back ourselves against the bowl

conditions. How's this from Nicodemus, "Nay, verily have we not closed all inns and taverns," which Rupert counters with "But I can give you my personal assurance that there exist scores of places where any quantity of deleterious concoctions can be obtained in a stealthy and disreputable

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MISS JOAN BURKE.

manner." Then, is there not a suggestion of food rations about Rupert's ditty:—

And to lunch off a moan
And to dine on a groan,
With a trickling tear for tea—
Well, it may suit you,
From your point of view,
But it doesn't at all suit me!

delectable from its being served up
nice helpings never heard

Mr. Irvine Lynch, very hands
George gave his best vocally a

THE KILL-JOYS.

This entry of the Puritans—a really excellent quartette of character studies—marks the sudden descent from the grand opera of the opening scenes to the burlesque of the "Up-to-date" travesties of twenty years ago. Almost the whole of the second act is opera bouffe. "Verily," sighs Killjoy, one of the stormed-soused group outside the banqueting hall, "we are all anachronisms." And Simeon follows back "Ah! but conscience is a great comforter." They chant:

We'll back ourselves against the howling
wind,

And the nocturnal cat
At two to one bar none
And not a layer find
Even at that.

These were the Kill-Joys conjured up by
Grundy. How racing men and others



MR. FITZGERALD (Conductor).

would chortle over their plight to-day! To their midst comes McCrankie, lean and long and lanky, and from that on the whole action and dialogue provide one half hour of screaming farce, all the more delectable from its being served up in nice helpings, never heaped up, and never splashing over.

The play picks up its grand opera threads towards the close of this second act, and gives us a feast of Sullivan's art at its best and richest. The "Brief is all Life" chorus at the slow curtain being as fine a sample of orchestral work as the composer has scored.

THE PRINCIPALS.

As to the principals, I place Miss Joan Burke (Lady Vernon) and Miss May Doyle (Dorothy) in the first flight. Of Miss Burke, I don't think I ever heard her sing and look to better advantage. Her finest number was her song in the third act, "Queen of the Garden Bloomed a Rose." Miss Doyle looked very tiny, indeed, in her trailing robes, but very charming, and everything she sang was good to hear. Her best perhaps was in the first act "When yestereve, I knelt to pray." The duet of mother and daughter at this stage was another pleasing item. Miss Florence Howley was again the little artiste she always is in pert parts like that of Dorcas, the maid. Her voice made a nice blend in concerted numbers. Misses A. Carmichael, Lily Batty, and Molly Mason were in the picture. Their trio in a kneeling posture, "Farewell, our gracious hostess," was not too happy, but then the prompt need not have been so insistent. Amongst the men Mr. Wm. Lewin was stage-frighty at first, but came to his part after the first entry and sang his way right heartily through the John Manners music. His sudden entry in heliotrope hose must not be repeated.

To-night Miss Lena Munro will appear as Dorothy.

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Mr. Irvine Lynch, very handsome as Sir George, gave his best vocally and drama-



MR. IRVINE LYNCH.

tically, but the honours of the night in the men's division unquestionably rest with the Puritan Sextette—Messrs. T. W. Hall (Rupert), P. A. Delany, R. Montgomery, W. G. Walsh, W. Comerford, and C. Jackson. The only note of criticism ventured is that if Mr Hall was mostly Hallish in his speaking lines his singing was always high water mark. In the minor role of Oswald Mr. Lucas was pleasing to listen to, but he might let himself loose as a lover.

Those to whom greatest honours are due come last. Mr. C. P. Fitzgerald, musical director, with a chorus of intelligent artistes and musicians at his command, has done splendidly. What he has done could only be possible by nights and days of unselfish labour. The enterprise of the Society in engaging the special services of Mr. A. M. Cullin, a Dublin gentleman with vast experience, to stage manage the performance, has been justified by results.

To-night Miss Lena Munro will appear as Dorothy.

JACQUES.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21.
BURD STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21.
NO. C. D. 227/357

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THE EVENING HERALD

MAY 21, 1917.

'HADDON HALL'—A RECORD

In the memory of the oldest theatre-goer in Dublin—and he is now going on to his eightieth birthday, and can talk interestingly of the glorious days of Italian opera at the old Royal—no musical engagement by amateurs in Dublin can compare in success with the "Haddon Hall" production which ended its brief season on Saturday night at the Gaiety.

The Rathmines and Rathgar Musical Society have set up a record. They have established a high standard in excellence for opera production which will tax imitators to their uttermost to even approach. Saturday night's audience was only a proportion of the numbers that clamoured for admittance. All the principals were recalled again and again at the close of the opera, and loud cheers were given for the musical director (Mr. Fitzgerald) and the stage manager, Mr. Cullin. Responding to requests for a speech, Mr. E. Lloyd, chairman of the Rathmines and Rathgar Musical Society, thanked the Dublin public for the support accorded the enterprise. "The theatre the old veteran, alerted, was heard to say: "These made just one big mistake; they've run for a fortnight. It would have booked out for the week, and I filled the vacant spaces with doors."

The Freeman's Journal



MONDAY, MAY 21, 1917.

...curtain and on the stage. Mr. Cullin, the producer of the opera, also expressed his thanks.

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AMATEURS' SUCCESS.—At the final perform-
ance of "Haddon Hall" at the Gaiety Theatre
on Saturday by the Rathmines and Rathgar
Musical Society there was a demonstration of
enthusiasm on the part of the audience. All
the artistes were called for, and in a special
manner Miss Joan Burke, whose Lady Vernon
was little short of an artistic triumph, was
the recipient of loud applause, and of a
floral tribute of prodigious dimensions. Mr.
Lloyd, the chairman of the Committee, being
called on for a speech, said the result had far
and away exceeded their most sanguine expec-
tations, and their audiences grew in numbers
and enthusiasm as the week progressed. To
Mr. Charles Hyland, the popular manager of
the theatre, their thanks were greatly due, as
well as to the local scenic artist, and to all the
officials before the curtain and on the stage.
Mr. Cullin, the producer of the opera, also
expressed his thanks.

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Leaving the theatre the old veteran, already quoted, was heard to say: "These young folk made just one big mistake; they should have run for a fortnight. It would have been booked out for the week, and could have filled the vacant spaces with the early doors."

The Drogheda Independent

OF FAITH
FATHERLAND

SATURDAY, MAY 26th, 1917.

OF

enjoyment to a crowded audience at Whitworth Hall on Tuesday evening last. The entertainment was in aid of the Sienna Convent Fund. The items generally and the large audience which displayed such unmistakeable appreciation, and the whole atmosphere of the entertainment were well worthy of that very deserving object. The consensus of opinion will vote the honours of the evening to Miss Joan Burke, Dublin (Feis Ceoil Gold Medallist) whose services the promoters were very fortunate in obtaining. The possessor of a contralto voice of magnificent range and exquisite timbre Miss Burke was heard to advantage in some splendid numbers, and on the two occasions she appeared literally "brought down the house." In the first part—the entertainment was divided into two parts—she sang "Come Rest in This Bosom" and "The Minstrel Boy." In the latter number she was particularly good, but, perhaps, her best efforts were "My Dark Rosaleen" and "O'Donnell Abou!" the latter of which she gave in response to a second insistent encore. Her rendering of "My Dark Rosaleen" was delightful. Miss Burke who also sang "Down Here" judging by the applause, won the favour of the audience, and was, by the way, amidst further plaudits, made the recipient of a presentation box of chocolates. Miss Veale (another Feis Ceoil Gold Medallist) who has a very sweet soprano voice but apparently suffered slightly from nervousness, was well received in "The Song of Glen Dun," and "One Morning Very Early," but Mr. W. Manahan (Gold Medallist of a few weeks standing) from whom great things in the tenor department were expected was not quite up to anticipation. He certainly cannot have been up to his Feis Ceoil form. His best was "When My Ship Comes Sailing Home." Another popular item was the violin solo, "Humoresk" (Anton Dvorak) by Miss Murray, who had to respond to an imperative "recall" which was repeated again and again on her subsequent rendering of "Souvenir." As to

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CONCERT IN AID OF SIENNA FUNDS.

Some Concert! Thus was tersely if transatlantically described the Grand Concert and Variety Entertainment which gave three hours real enjoyment to a crowded audience at the Whitworth Hall on Tuesday evening last. The entertainment was in aid of the Sienna Convent Funds and the items generally and the large audience which displayed such unmistakeable appreciation, and the whole atmosphere of the entertainment were well worthy of that very deserving object. The consensus of opinion will vote the honours of the evening to Miss Joan Burke, Dublin (Feis Ceoil Gold Medallist) whose services the promoters were very fortunate in obtaining. The possessor of a contralto voice of magnificent range and exquisite timbre Miss Burke was heard to advantage in some splendid numbers, and on the two occasions she appeared literally "brought down the house." In the first part—the entertainment was divided into two parts—she sang "Come Rest in This Boscum" and "The Minstrel Boy." In the latter number she was particularly good, but, perhaps, her best efforts were "My Dark Rosaleen" and "O'Donnell Aboo!" the latter of which she gave in response to a second insistent encore. Her rendering of "My Dark Rosaleen" was delightful. Miss Burke who also sang "Down Here" judging by the applause, won the favour of the audience, and was, by the way, amidst further plaudits, made the recipient of a presentation box of chocolates. Miss Veale (another Feis Ceoil Gold Medallist) who has a very sweet soprano voice but apparently suffered slightly from nervousness, was well received in "The Song of Glen Dun," and "One Morning Very Early," but Mr. W. Manahan (Gold Medallist of a few weeks standing) from whom great things in the tenor department were expected was not quite up to anticipation. He certainly cannot have been up to his Feis Ceoil form. His best was "When My Ship Comes Sailing Home." Another popular item was the violin solo, "Humoresk" (Anton Dvorak) by Miss Murray, who had to respond to an imperative "recall" which was repeated again and again on her subsequent rendering of "Souvenir." As to

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On the other vocal items, the best of the "locals" were
Mr. Tom Halpin, who sang "Believe Me If All
Those Endearing Young Charms," and was
encored; and Mr. John McGolrick who sang "The
Trumpeter," and would probably have to respond
were it not for the fact that encores were debarred
in the second part. Miss McQuaile and Mr. P.
McEvoy also sang. Other items were a comic turn
by Mr. S. Wright. St. Peter's Glee Singers did
ull justice to the different numbers allotted them
in the programme and are a credit to their trainer
Mr. E. Lambe. "Curtain Town," by the Pupils of
bienna Convent; an Eight-hand Reel also by the
upils; an Irish Jig by Miss C. Lyons, and an
ction song, which was particularly well received,
y Misses Moore and McNamara all highly appre-
iated. The entertainment was rounded off by an
xcellent cinema entertainment. The accom-
animents for the different items were admirably
layed by Mrs. P. Connolly while the Hall orchestra
ndered a delightful selection during the Bioscope
ntertainment.

The principal, if not the sole promoter of the con-
ert was Miss Lily Finegan, and its success was no
mall tribute to the lady's energy and organising
bility in the cause of charity.

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This young lady is a promising songstress, and she very feelingly interpreted 'The Song of Glen Dun' (Carl Hardebeck), and 'One Morning Very Early' (Sanderson). Local talent were well represented, and acquitted themselves very well. Misses Moore and M'Namara were par-

The Drogheda Argus.

CENTUM LUMINEUS CINCTUM CAPUT ARGUS
HABEBAT.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1917.

which each artiste was greeted with
acquitted themselves in highly creditable style.
The Whitworth Hall Orchestra augmented the
proceedings, and Mr J O'Mahony kindly gave a
bioscope display. St Peter's Junior Glee Singers
gave a rare exhibition of action songs in four part
harmony, and their tutor, Mr E Lambe, was
highly praised as to the pitch of perfection which
the youngsters have attained. The items
rendered in the opening part were:—'Bionn
Cuimne ag Furaildam,' 'An Spailpin Fanac.'
In the second part they made a welcome re-
appearance, and very sweetly sang 'Home, Sweet
Home' in three-part harmony. The pupils of
the Siena Convent evoked encomiums of praise
for the sprightly and agile way in which they
danced an eight-hand reel. They were obliged
to re-appear, and acquitted themselves admirably
in an action song, 'Curtain Town.' Mr W A
Manahan, a recent prize winner at the Feis Ceoil,
made his debut to a Drogheda audience for the
first time, and sang 'The Fairy Glen' (Marshall)
and 'Oft in the Stilly Night' (Moore).
This artiste is a delightful tenor and he had a
right hearty reception, especially when he re-
appeared in the second part of the programme
and beautifully rendered 'When my Ship Comes
Sailing Home' (Doree), and 'I Know of Two
Bright Eyes' (Clutsam). Another gold medal-
list appeared in the person of Miss Veale,

singing of 'A Nation Once Again,' by Mr
Manahan, the audience heartily joining in the
refrain. Great credit is due to the organisers of
the Concert for the musical treat provided, and
to Mr M'Evoy who acted as stage manager.

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This young lady is a promising songstress, and she very feelingly interpreted 'The Song of Glen Dun' (Carl Hardebeck), and 'One Morning Very Early' (Sanderson). Local talent were well represented, and acquitted themselves very well. Misses Moore and M'Namara were par-

CONCERT IN THE WHITWORTH HALL.

On Tuesday night last the Whitworth Hall, Drogheda, was filled with an appreciative audience, the occasion being a grand concert in aid of the Siena Convent Funds. Thanks to the assiduity of the ladies of St. Patrick's Stall, quite a galaxy of talent appeared, and judging from the rounds of applause with which each artiste was greeted they all acquitted themselves in highly creditable style. The Whitworth Hall Orchestra augmented the proceedings, and Mr J O'Mahony kindly gave a bioscope display. St Peter's Junior Glee Singers gave a rare exhibition of action songs in four part harmony, and their tutor, Mr E Lambe, was highly praised as to the pitch of perfection which the youngsters have attained. The items rendered in the opening part were:—'Bionn Cuimne ag Furailldam,' 'An Spailpin Fanac.' In the second part they made a welcome re-appearance, and very sweetly sang 'Home, Sweet Home' in three-part harmony. The pupils of the Siena Convent evoked encomiums of praise for the sprightly and agile way in which they danced an eight-hand reel. They were obliged to re-appear, and acquitted themselves admirably in an action song, 'Curtain Town.' Mr W A Manahan, a recent prize winner at the Feis Ceoil, made his debut to a Drogheda audience for the first time, and sang 'The Fairy Glen' (Marshall) and 'Oft in the Stilly Night' (Moore). This artiste is a delightful tenor and he had a right hearty reception, especially when he re-appeared in the second part of the programme and beautifully rendered 'When my Ship Comes Sailing Home' (Doree), and 'I Know of Two Bright Eyes' (Clutsam). Another gold medalist appeared in the person of Miss Veale,

singing of 'A Nation Once Again,' by Mr Manahan, the audience heartily joining in the refrain. Great credit is due to the organisers of the Concert for the musical treat provided, and to Mr M'Evoy who acted as stage manager.

This young lady is a promising songstress, and she very feelingly interpreted 'The Song of Glen Dun' (Carl Hardebeck), and 'One Morning Very Early' (Sanderson). Local talent were well represented, and acquitted themselves very well. Misses Moore and M'Namara were particularly good in an action song, 'I'm not Cross with You,' and although 'no encores' was supposed to be the order, still the audience were not to be denied, and the two juveniles had to reappear. Mr T Halpin, who is the possessor of a sweet tenor voice, sang Moore's masterpiece, 'Believe Me of All those Endearing Young Charms,' with delightful effect. Mr Peter M'Evoy sang 'Your Dear Heart,' with rare expression. Miss Clare Lyons neatly danced an Irish jig with that gay spirit of hilarity so characteristic of the race. Miss M'Quaile very sweetly sang Gordon Temple's pretty ballad, 'The Old Green Isle.' Miss Murray, who by this time is very popular with the Drogheda concert going people, contributed a number of charming violin solos, in the rendering of which she brought out all the nuances in Anton Dvorak's great composition. Mr John M'Golrick sang 'The Trumpeter,' and Mr Stanley Wright evoked much merriment by his mirth-provoking humorous songs. The star turn of the evening was undoubtedly Miss Joan Burke, a very mellifluous contralto and winner of many prizes. She quite captivated the audience by the way in which she sang Tom Moore's soul-stirring ballads 'Come rest in this Bosom' and 'The Minstrel Boy.' Then she sang Needham's 'Dark Rosaleen,' with beautiful pathos and charm, and as an encore, Barhe's 'Down Here.' All her songs were rapturously encored. A pleasing feature in the concert was the action song, 'Good Night,' with candles, by four gifted pupils of the Sienna Convent—Misses Sadie and Peggie Lyons, Misses M'Cullen and Sheridan. The tiny performers met with a great ovation, and acquitted themselves with great initiative and in artistic fashion. It should be mentioned that Mrs P Connelly acted as accompanist throughout in her usual faultless style, and the programme was fittingly brought to a close by the singing of 'A Nation Once Again,' by Mr Manahan, the audience heartily joining in the refrain. Great credit is due to the organisers of the Concert for the musical treat provided, and to Mr M'Evoy who acted as stage manager.

Note. In Ireland the question of Conscription, is not as in England for in Ireland it is Compulsory Conscription, as no one's opinion was asked.

Pledge against Conscription.

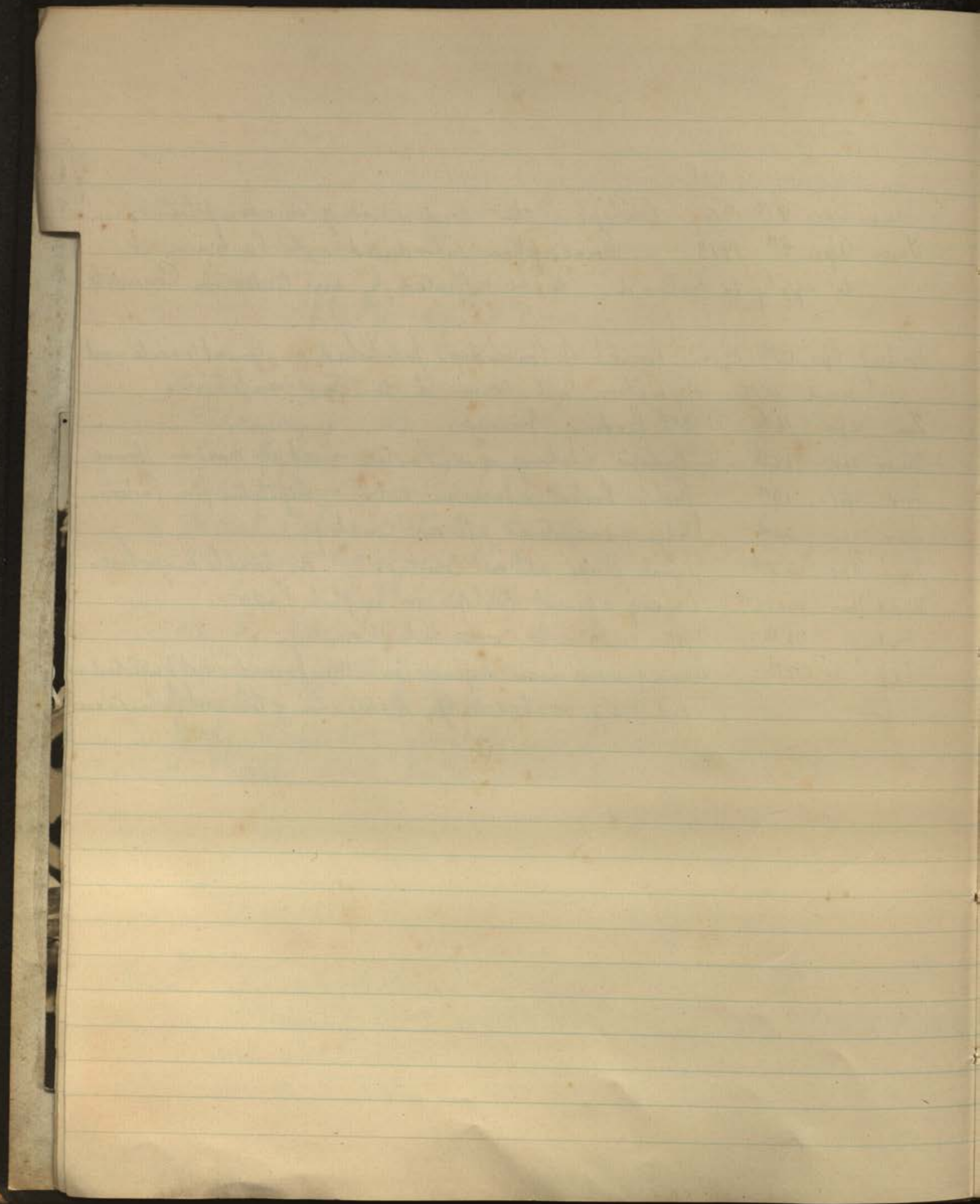
"Denying the right of the British Government to enforce Compulsory Service in this Country we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist Conscription by the most effective means at our disposal".

Published April 19th. 1918. by direction of all the Bishops of Ireland, assembled at Maynooth, and in conjunction with representative deputation from Mansion House consisting of De Valera Sinn Fein. Dillon Irish Party Healy Independent Nationalist Wm. O'Brien Trade Congress & O'Neill Lord Mayor of Dublin.

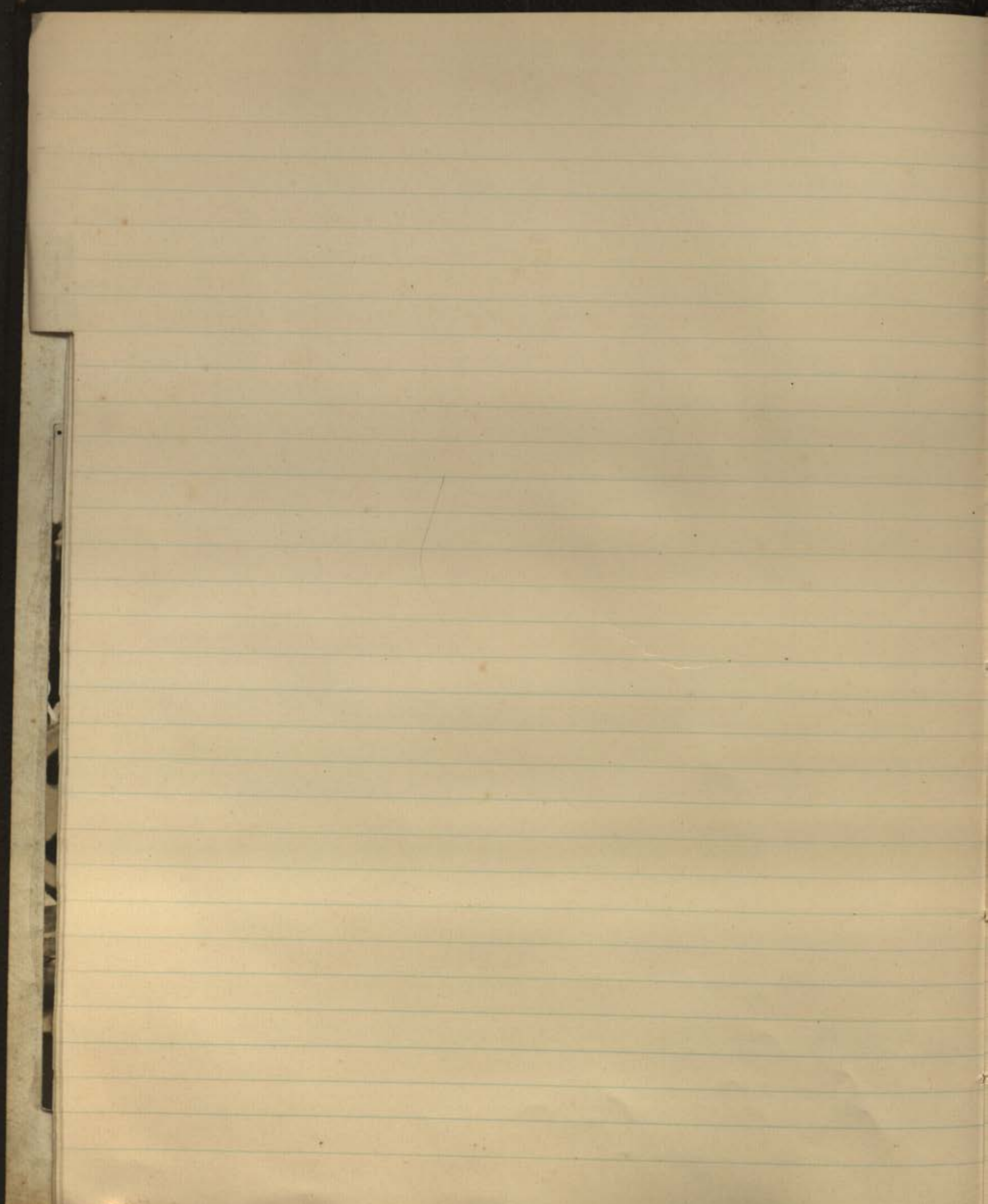
Note 2. Unionists & Protestants in Opposition to Conscription are sheltering behind the Nationalists & Catholics in this fight and while saying nothing, are willing to reap the rewards of any.

Tues Apr. 9th 1918. Bishop's Letter condemning Conscription.
 Tues Apr. 9th 1918. Conscription introduced into Parliament
 to apply to Ireland, to be effected by an Order in Council.
 Friday, Apr. 12th 1918. Result of Convention published. Great excitement
 and bitter opposition all round to Conscription.
 Tues. Apr. 16th. 3rd Reading passed.
 Thurs. Apr. 18th. Bishop's meeting + Parties meet at Mansion House.
 Frid Apr. 19th. Bishop's Protest + Issue an order. Deputation from Parties.
 Sun. Apr. 21st. Pledge administered all over Country.
 Tues. Apr. 23rd. General Strike, all over Country. No trouble anywhere.
 Wed + Thurs. 24 + 25th. Outcry against Bishop's in English Papers.
 Friday, 26th. Troops continue to come into Country.
 Sat. 27th. During week Local Defence Committees formed. Not Published.
 Lord Mayor asked to Go to Washington with Ireland's case.

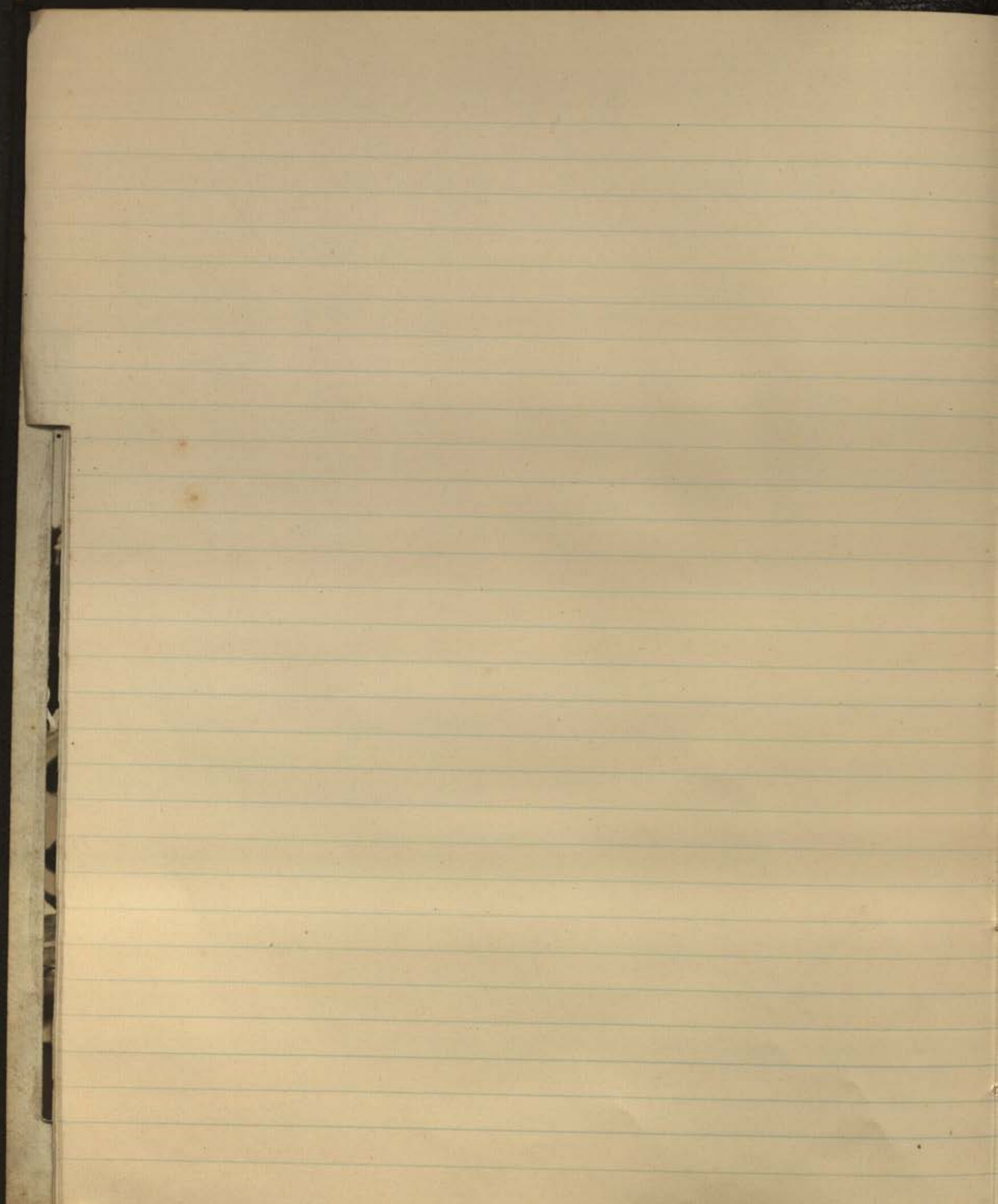
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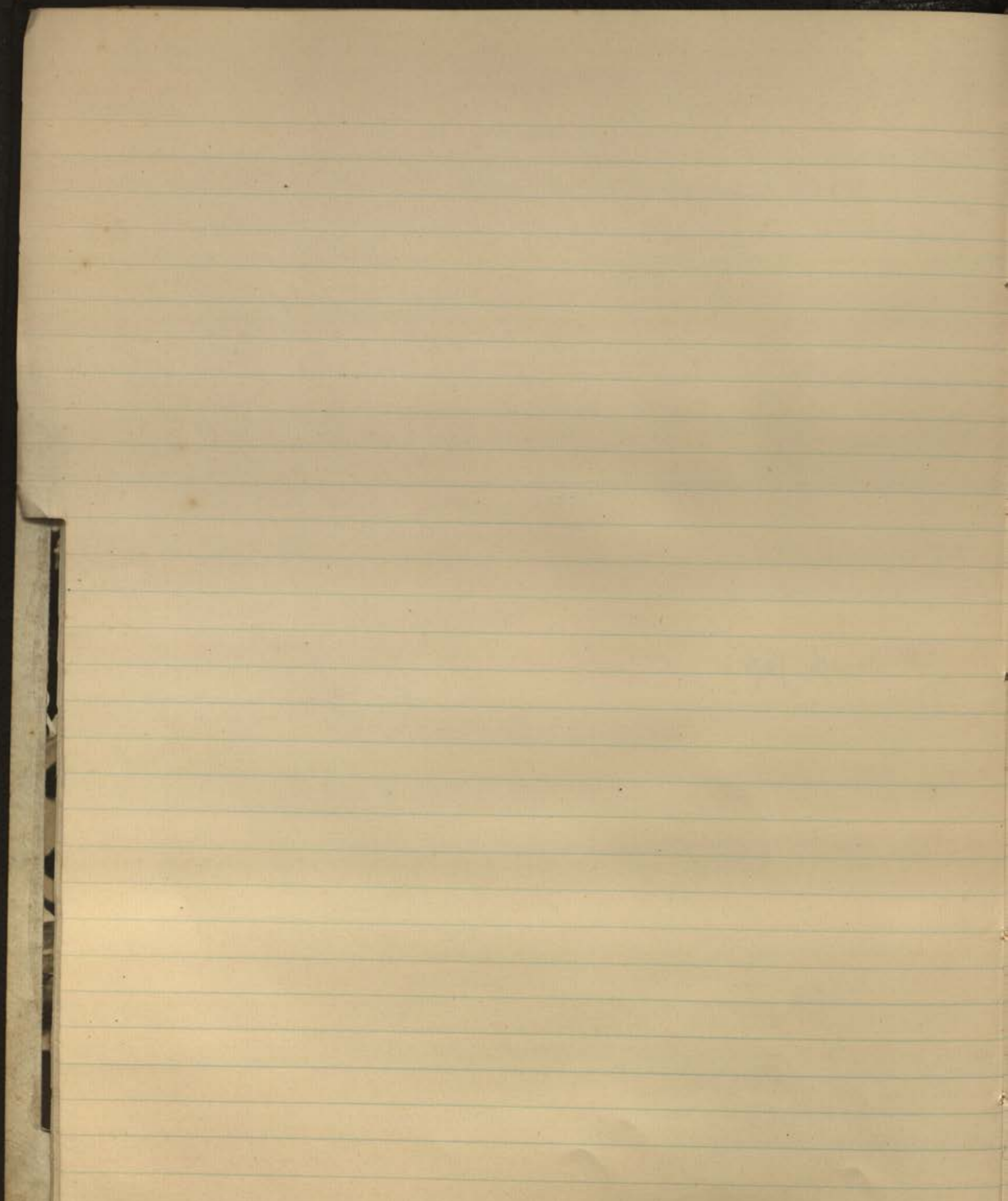


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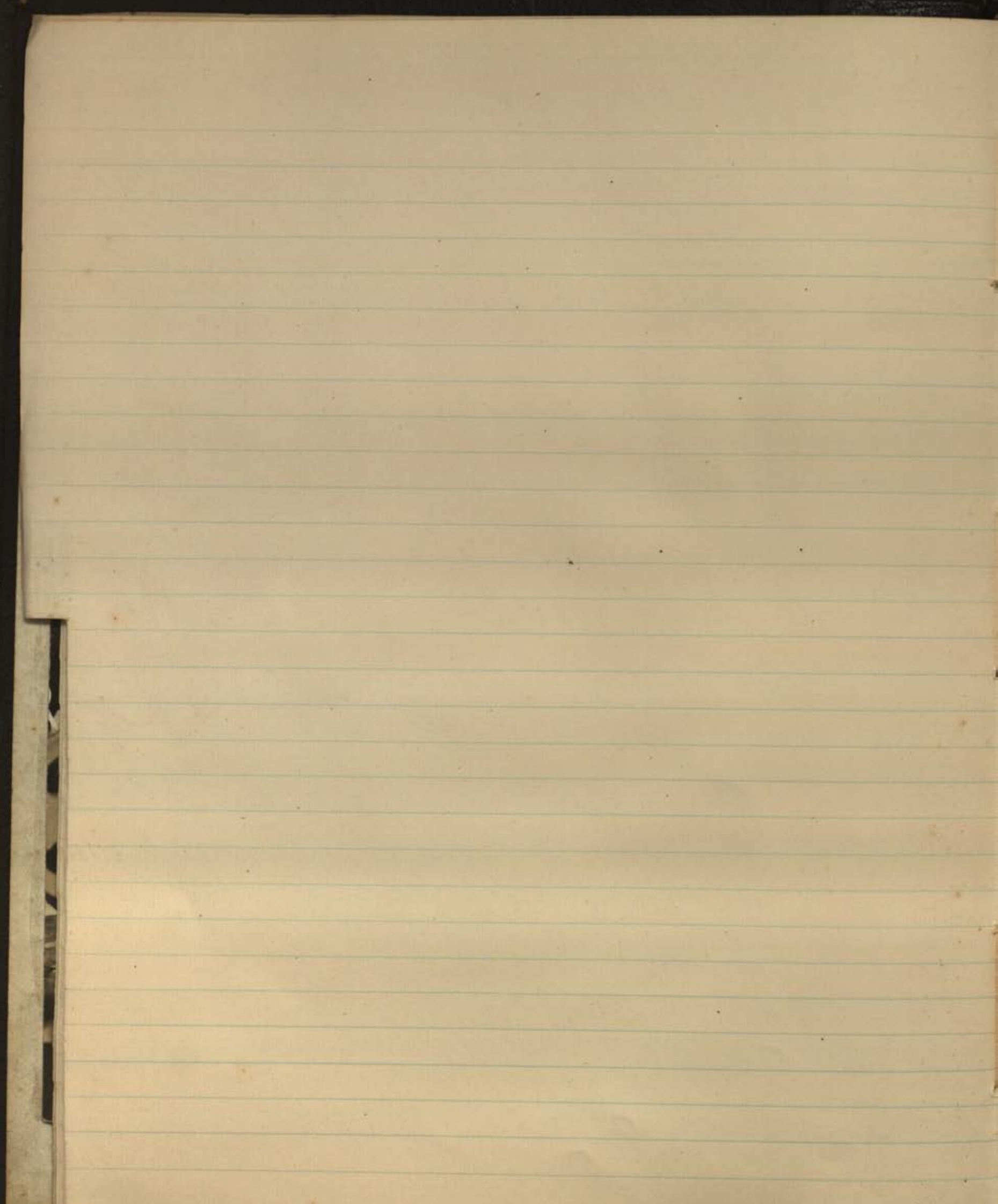


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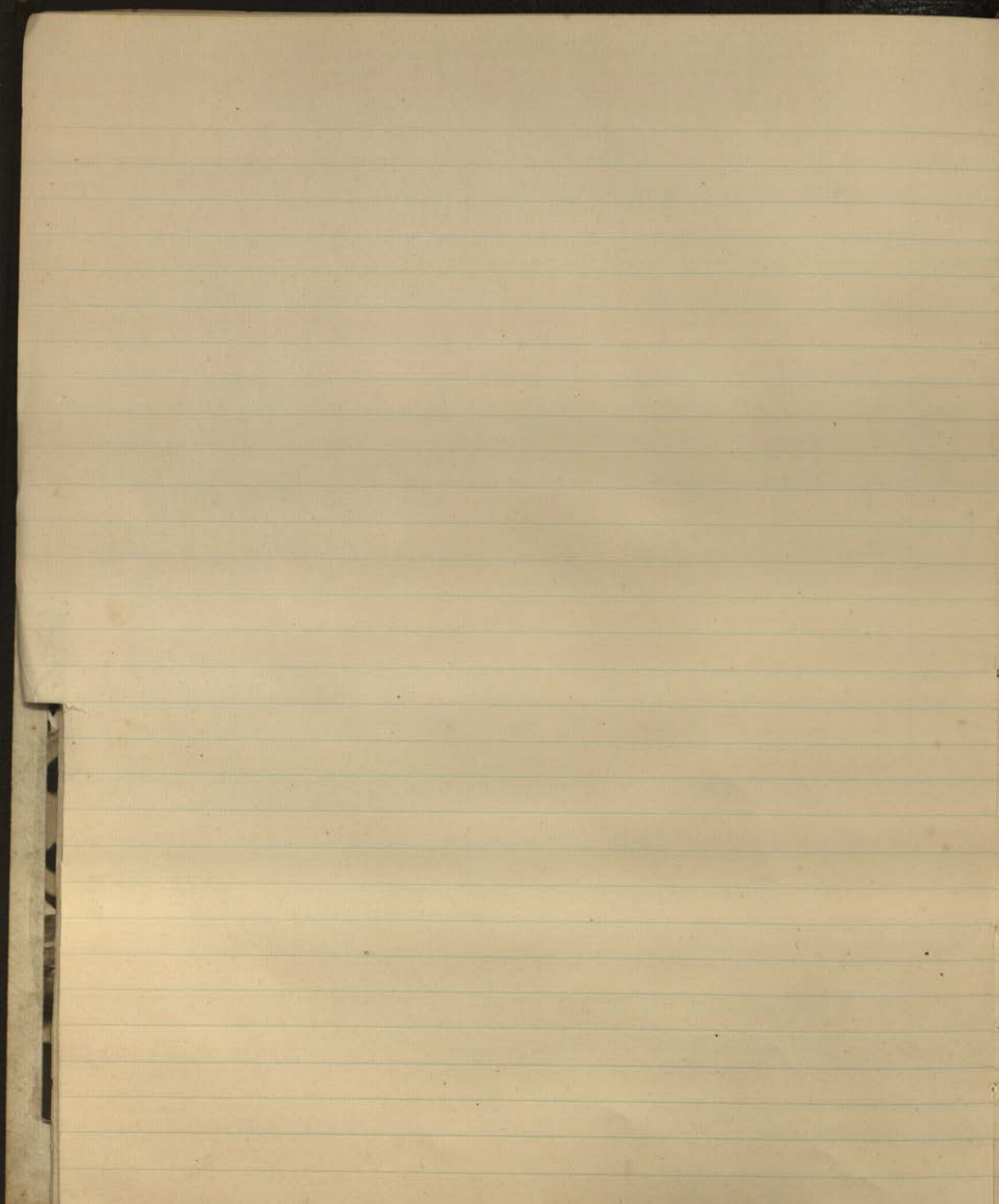
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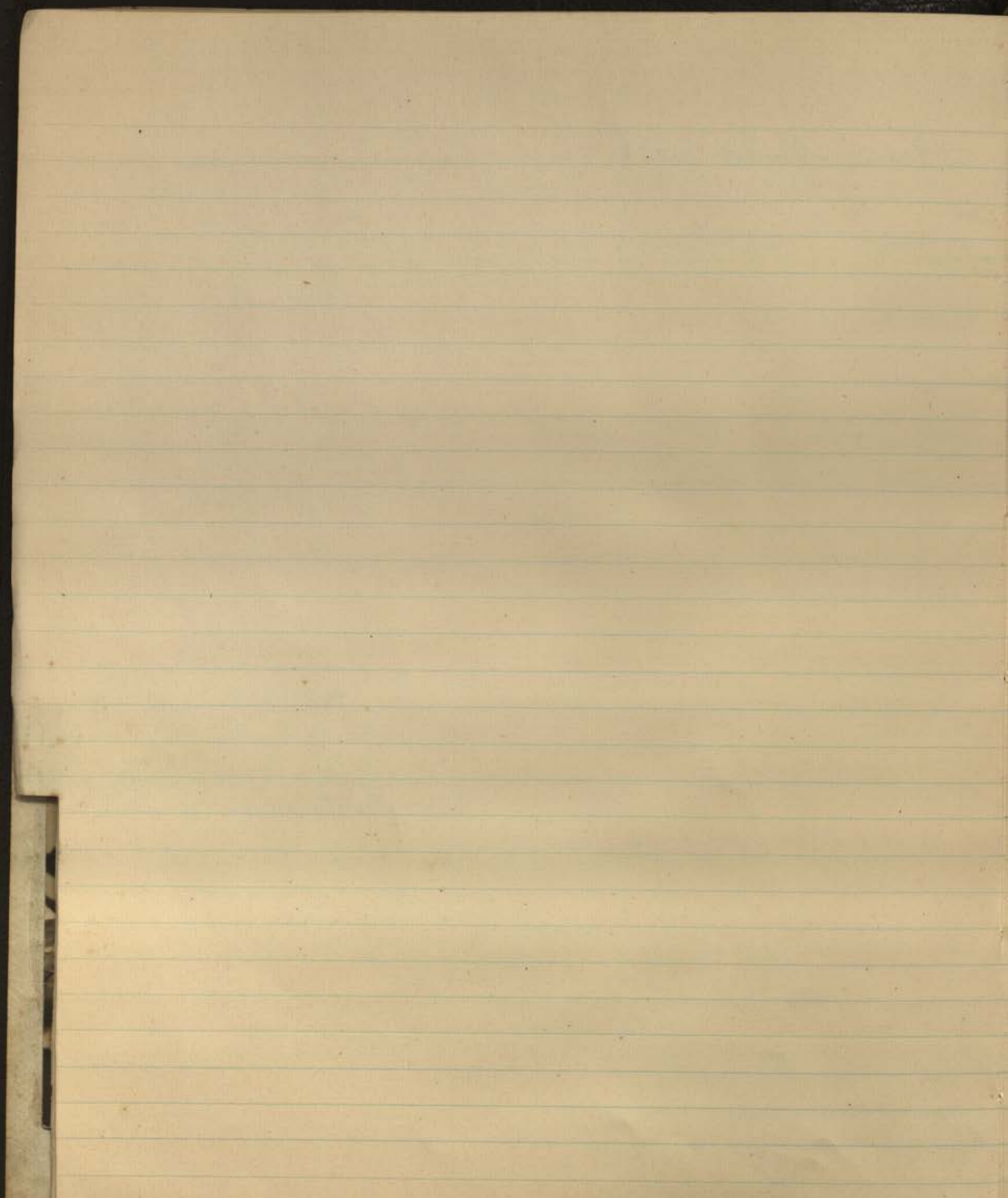


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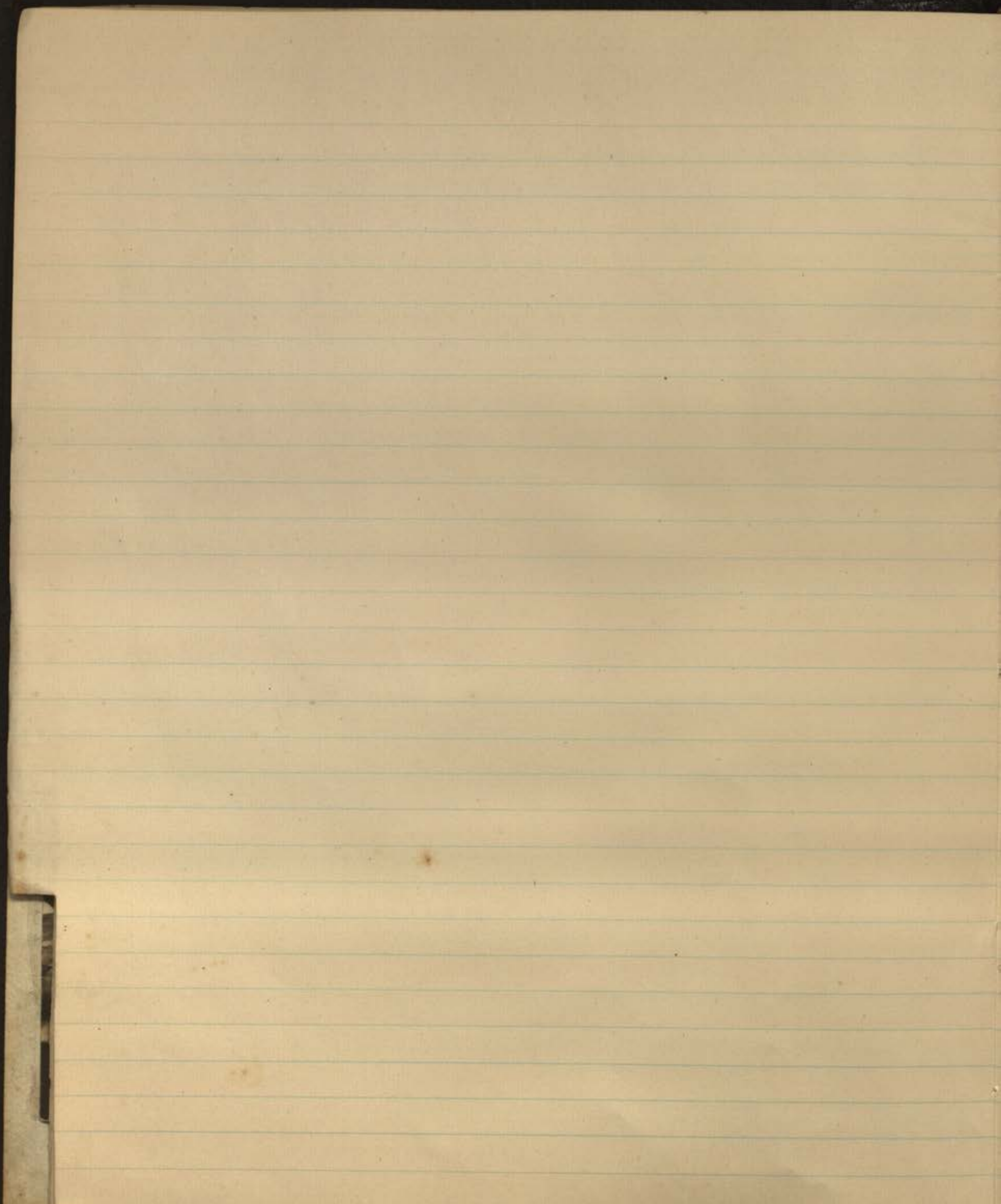


Pease & Plunkett page 1

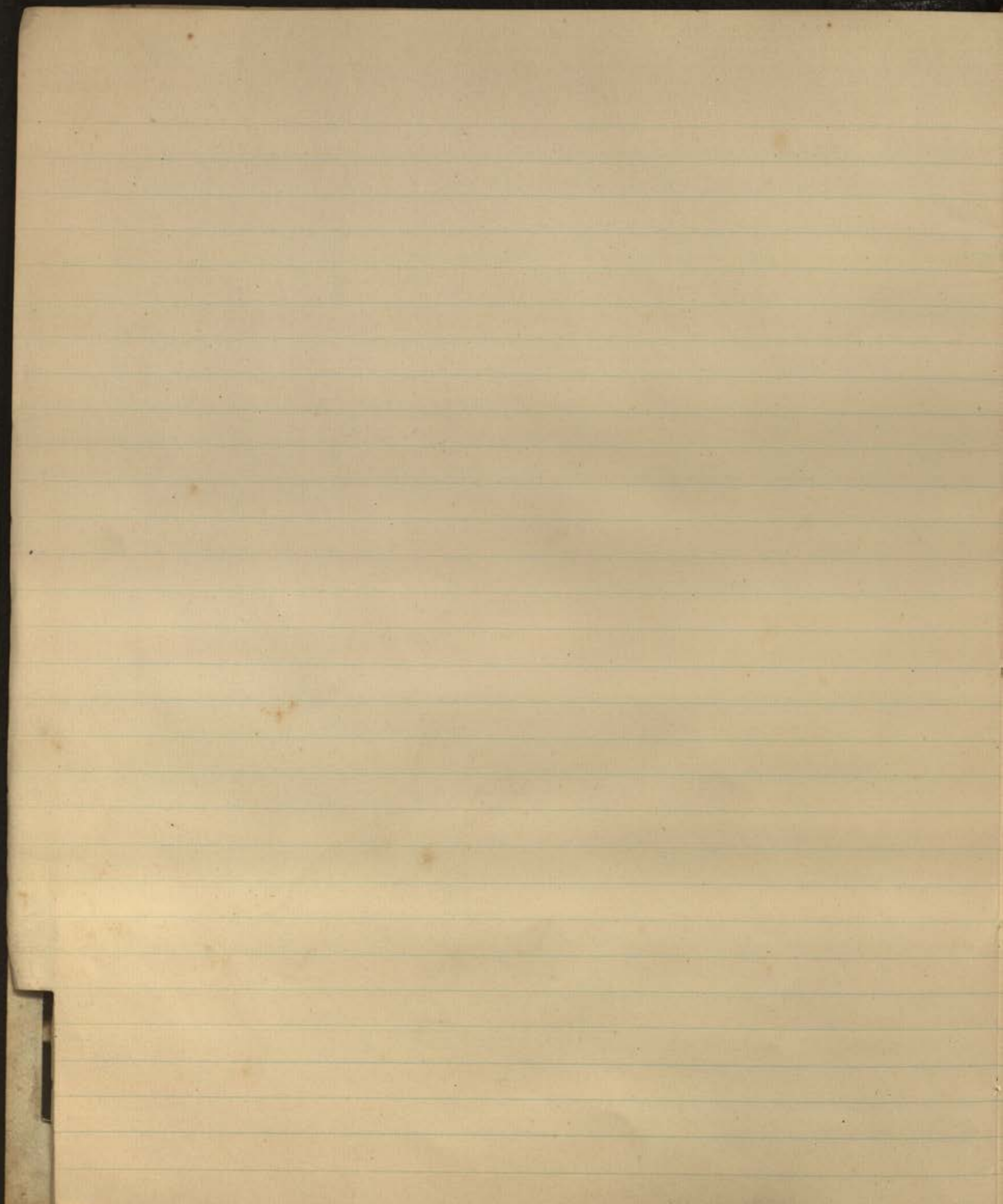
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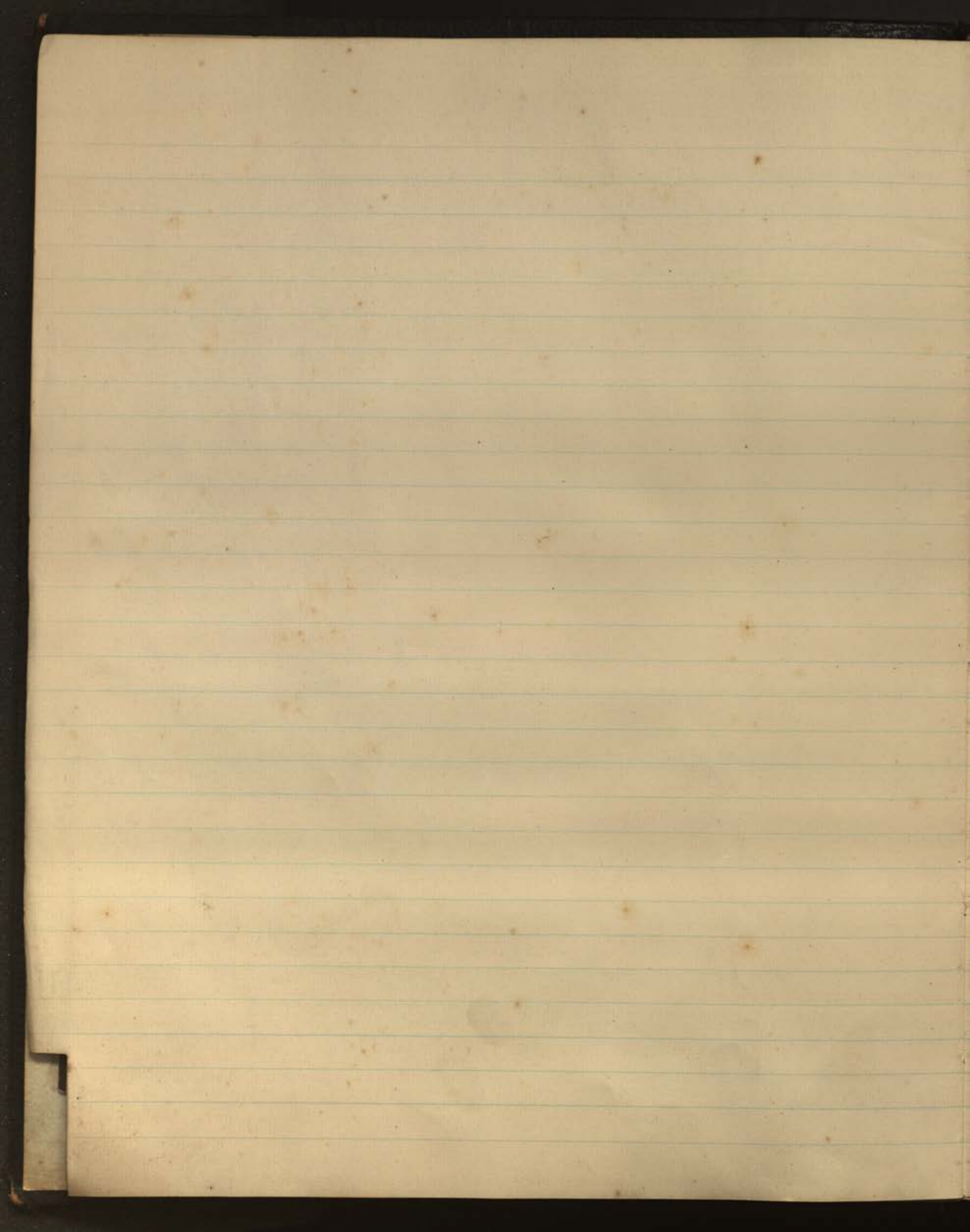
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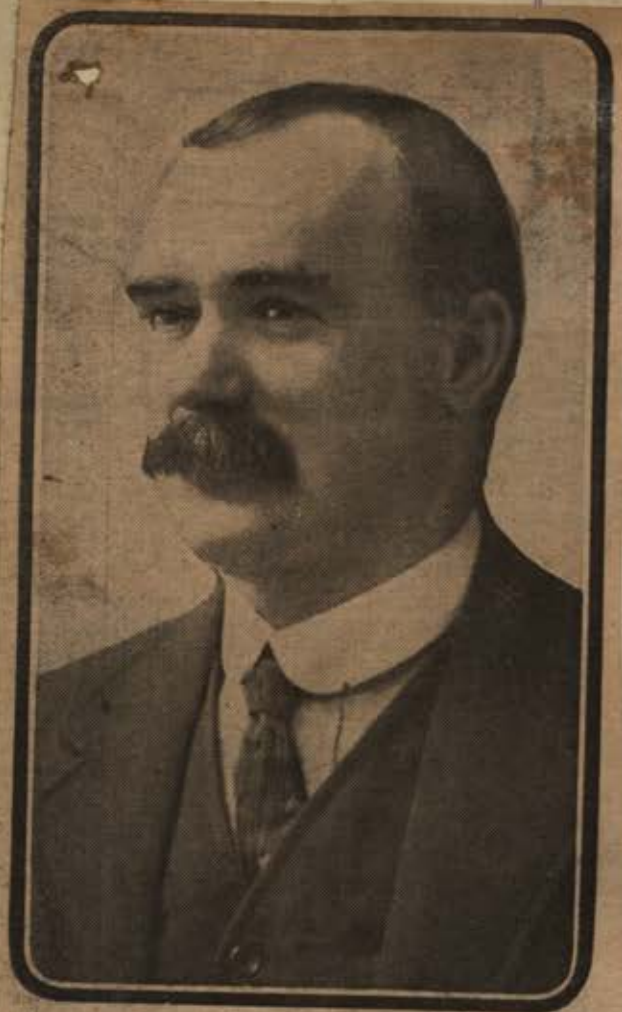
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Secret Orders issued to Military Officers.

The cipher from which this document is copied does not indicate punctuation or capitals.

"The following precautionary measures have been sanctioned by the Irish Office on the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland. All preparations will be made to put these measures in force immediately on receipt of an Order issued from the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, and signed by the Under Secretary and the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland. First, the following persons to be placed under arrest:— All members of the Sinn Fein National Council, the Central Executive Irish Sinn Fein Volunteers, General Council Irish Sinn Fein Volunteers, County Board Irish Sinn Fein Volunteers, Executive Committee National Volunteers, Coisde Gnota Committee Gaelic League. See list A 3 and 4 and supplementary list A2. . . . Dublin Metropolitan Police and Royal Irish Constabulary Forces in Dublin City will be confined to barracks under the direction of the Competent Military Authority. An order will be issued to inhabitants of city to remain in their houses until such time as the Competent Military Authority may otherwise direct or permit. Pickets chosen from units of Territorial Forces will be placed at all points marked on Maps 3 and 4. Accompanying mounted patrols will continuously visit all points and report every hour. The following premises will be occupied by adequate forces, and all necessary measures used without need of reference to Headquarters. First, premises known as Liberty Hall, Beresford Place; No. 6 Harcourt Street, Sinn Fein building; No. 2 Dawson Street, Headquarters Volunteers; No. 12 D'Olier Street, "Nationality" office; No. 25 Rutland Square, Gaelic League Office; No. 41 Rutland Square, Foresters' Hall; Sinn Fein Volunteer premises in city; all National Volunteer premises in the city; Trades Council premises, Capel Street; Surrey House, Leinster Road, Rathmines. THE FOLLOWING PREMISES WILL BE ISOLATED, AND ALL COMMUNICATION TO OR FROM PREVENTED:— PREMISES KNOWN AS ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, DRUMCONDRA; MANSION HOUSE, DAWSON STREET; No. 40 Herbert Park; Larkfield, Kimmage Road; Woodtown Park, Ballyboden; Saint Endas College, Hermitage, Rathfarnham; and in addition premises in list 5 D, see Maps 3 and 4."



Rebel James Connolly, reported killed.



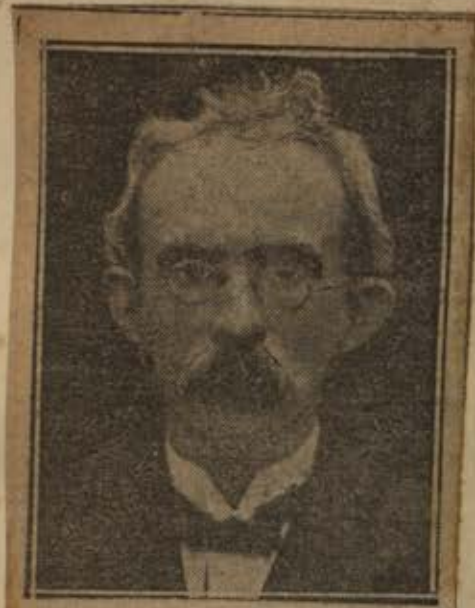
Patrick H. Pearse, the Dublin barrister who became self-styled President of the "Irish Republic" and Commandant-General of the rebels, was shot by sentence of court-martial.



Joseph Plunkett.



Thomas McDonagh, a University tutor and rebel leader, also shot by sentence of court-martial. His wife's sister married Joseph Plunkett in prison a few hours before the latter was shot.



THOS. J. CLARKE,

Shot following sentence of Field Court Martial, was one of the signatories of the Republican Proclamation, and an old Fenian. He kept tobacconist and news-agent's shops.

Keogh Bros.



MR. EAMONN CEANNT,

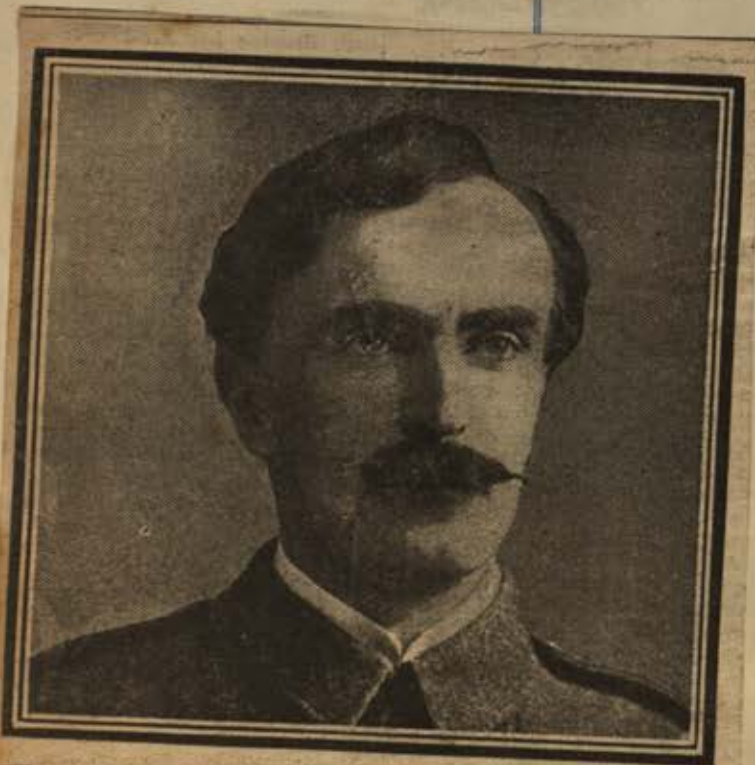
shot following sentence of court martial, was an accomplished linguist, and a brilliant musician. He was a member of the Coedú Gnótha.



MR. EDWARD DE VALERA,

sentenced to death; sentence commuted to penal servitude for life.

Keogh Bros.



The O'Rahilly, another prominent rebel, was killed outside the Dublin General Post Office while trying to escape after the troops had routed the Sinn Féiners.



MAJOR JOHN M'BRIDE,

Who was shot, following sentence of court-martial.

Keogh Bros.

PICTURES OF THE SINN FEIN RISING IN DUB

Daily Mail May 1st 1916



THE REBELS IN SACKVILLE-STREET.—General view showing the scene in Sackville-street, Dublin, opposite the Post Office, after the occupation of that building by the Sinn Feiners. A tramway-car disabled by the rebels is seen at the corner of Earl-street. Five of the shops in view were looted—a toy shop, two boot shops, a sweet shop, and a hatter's. The hatter's and one of the boot shops afterwards caught fire.



Countess Markievicz (x) and her sister Eva at Lissadell, their home in Sligo. It is a recent snapshot.



Countess Markievitz, who is said to be helping, has been wounded.

Countess Markievitz photographed through a cellar window in Liberty Hall while checking moneys received to relieve distress in Dublin during the strike riots.

Mr. Murphy, Larkin's great strike opponent, is helping the Government

The latest messages from Ireland indicate that the Dublin rebels have surrendered, while their leader, James Connolly, has died of wounds. The wild scenes of the past week recall the savage horrors of the Commune. Just as Paris in the days of the Franco-Prussian War suffered more destruction at the hands of its own insurgents than from the enemy's bombardment so does Dublin to-day, with its blazing buildings, shattered street-barricades, and piles of wreckage, present as tragic a spectacle as if the city had indeed been shelled by an invading foe.

Daily Sketch May 1st 1916

RIOTING IN DUBLIN: RUSSIAN COUNTESS SAID TO HAVE
DRIVEN MOTOR FOR THE REBELS.



The Dublin revolt. Previous stormy scenes in the Irish capital. Police making a baton charge.—(Photograph *Freeman's Journal*.)



A scene in the streets of Dublin. Armed sentries are posted all along the thoroughfares.—Inset is Connolly, the dead rebel leader.



Count Plunkett.



Mr. Jim Larkin with his children.



Jacob's biscuit factory, which was one of the rebel's "forts."



The Countess Markievicz behind the bars of Liberty Hall.

"VERY BADLY WOUNDED."



A picture in the window of Messrs. Chancellor, the well-known Dublin photographers, damaged during the rebellion.



Northumberland House
Corner of Haddington Rd.
Rented by a Mr. Curson.

Where the rebels fired their first shot.



A welcome rest and a cup of tea.



A convoy of military stores passing through a danger zone.



Mounted men in Sackville-street passing a horse lying dead in the road.

Good from
It was the
house next
door got all
the shells.



Ruins of Liberty Hall, the rebels' headquarters, which was shelled by a gunboat from the Liffey.

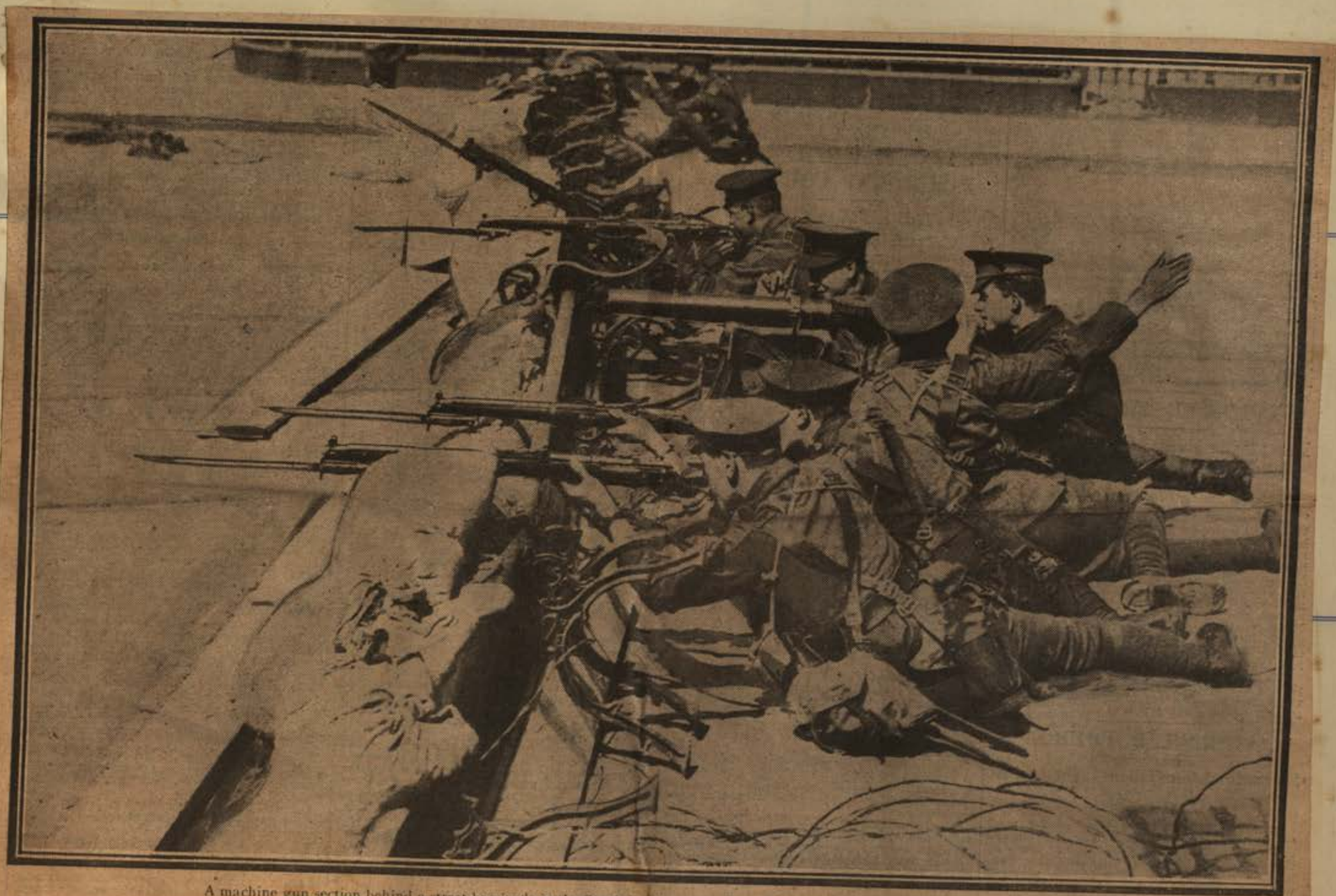


West side of Sackville-street, showing ruins, and the General Post Office, which was seized by the rebels.



A photograph taken in Sackville-street, which presents an extraordinary spectacle of wanton ruin. The heart of it has been completely burnt out.—(*Daily Mirror* photograph.)

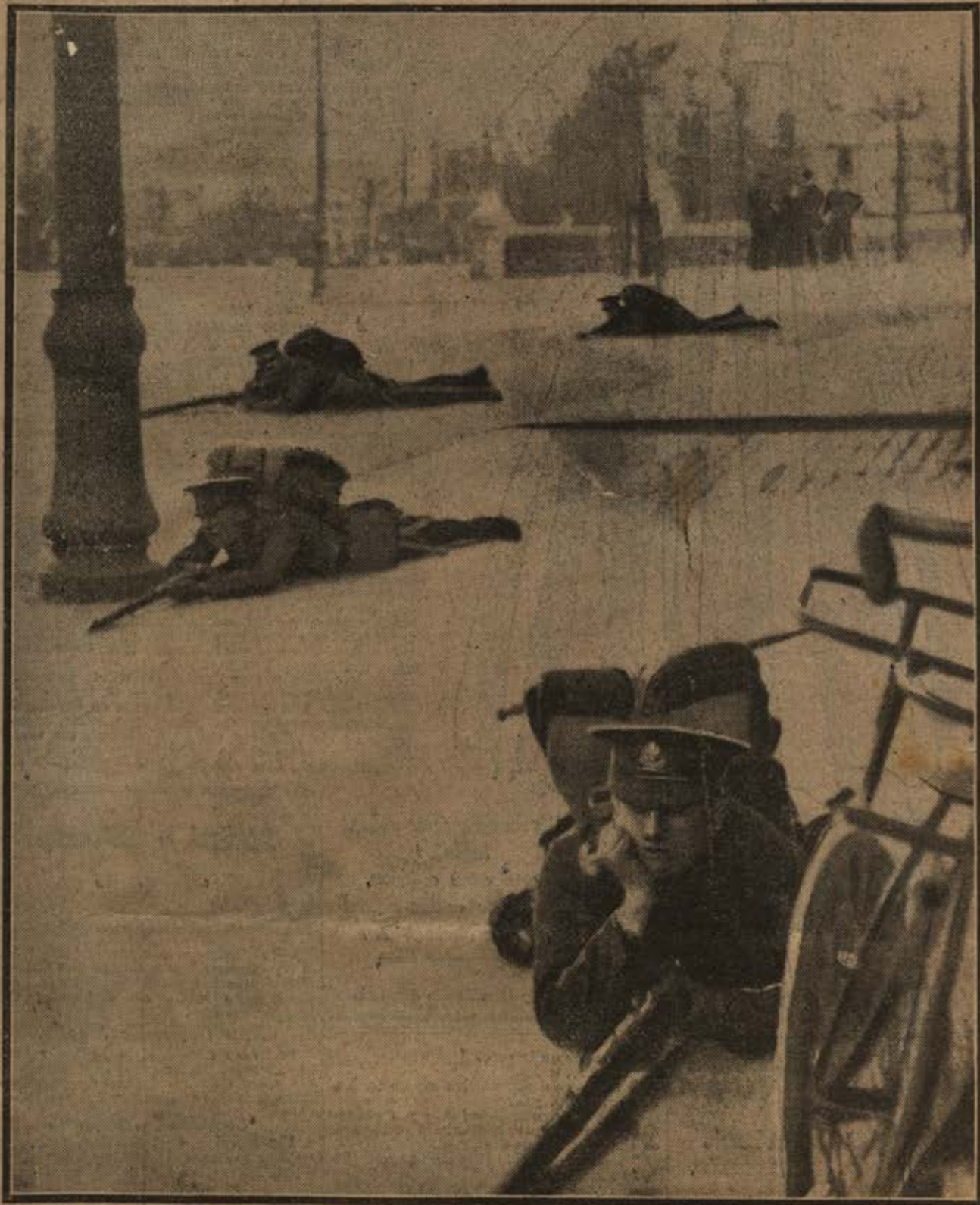
Not Sackville St.



A machine gun section behind a street barricade in the South Dublin area. The photograph was taken during the actual fighting.



"Commander-General" G. H. Pearse. He is seen standing bareheaded.



Daily mail May 3rd 1916

SOLDIERS SNIPING IN THE STREETS OF DUBLIN.—"It was enough to try the courage of seasoned troops, and it must be recorded to the credit of the men engaged, most of whom had never been in action of any kind, that they behaved with the utmost gallantry. . . . They lay on all fours at the corner of roads leading to rebel quarters watching them day and night for a chance to shoot a sniper." *[Exclusive "Daily Mail" Photograph.]*

This is evidently posed for. If there was firing at all likely when it was taken, the men in the background would not be there.

VICTIMS OF THE IRISH REBELLION.



Three victims of the Dublin rebellion. District-Inspector Smyth (left) was ambushed and killed, Father Walters (centre) was wounded, Lord Dunsany (right), the poet-peer, was shot in the street.—(Lafayette.)

Fr. Walters S. M.

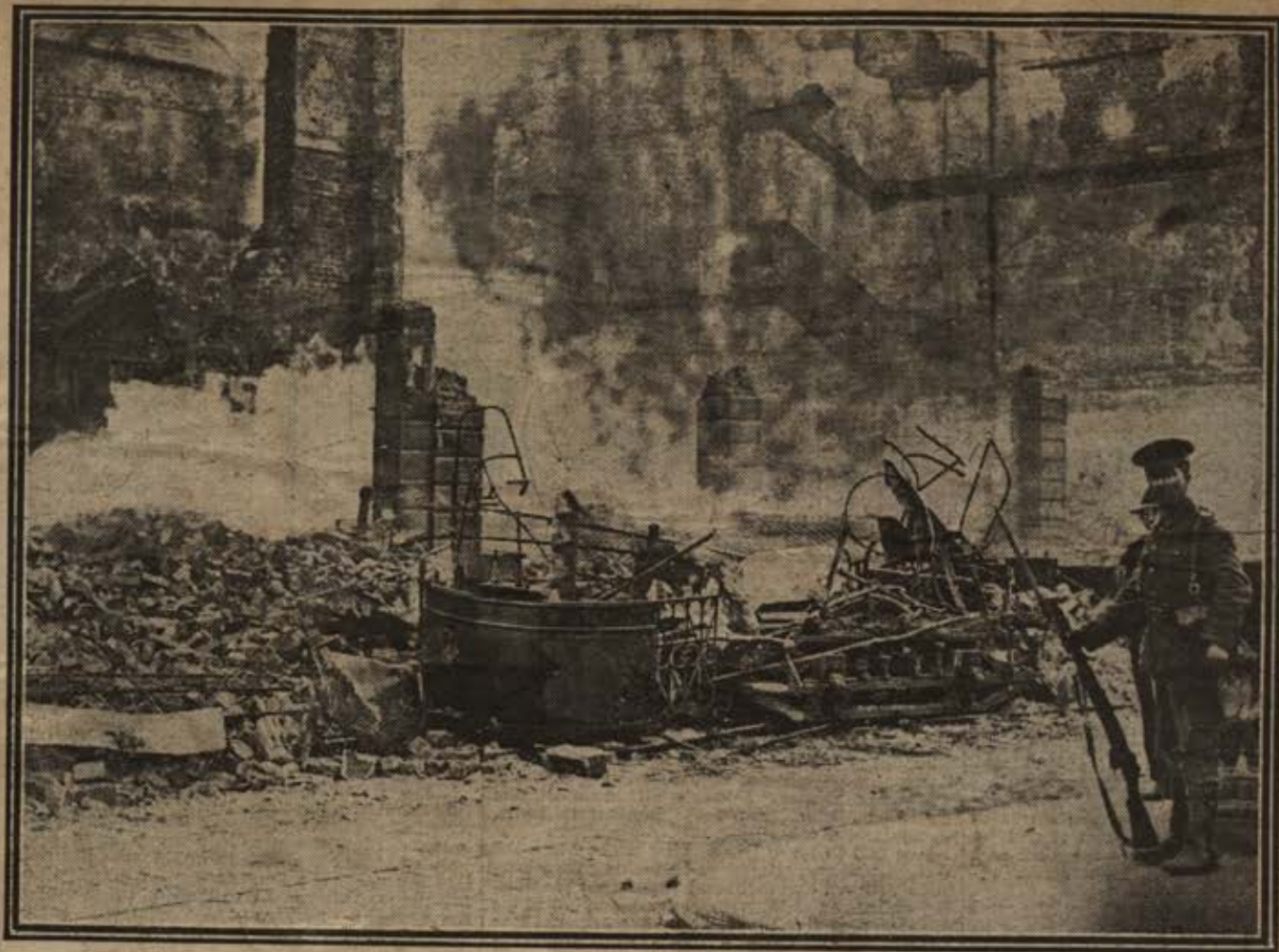


Types from the poor streets awaiting their share. Note the "little mother."

The children were innocent sufferers from the rebellion in Dublin, but they are not being allowed to go hungry. Convents and charitable institutions are the chief channels through which they are fed, and the Lord Mayor himself is working from dawn to dusk in personally supervising the food supply.—(Daily Mirror photographs.)



As the soldiers could not dig trenches in the Dublin streets they took cover behind barricades.



*A tram at Lyons
Corner Earl St.*

The smoking ruins of an overturned tramway-car.



This remarkable view of ruins to the north of O'Connell-street, Dublin, was taken from the top of the Nelson pillar.



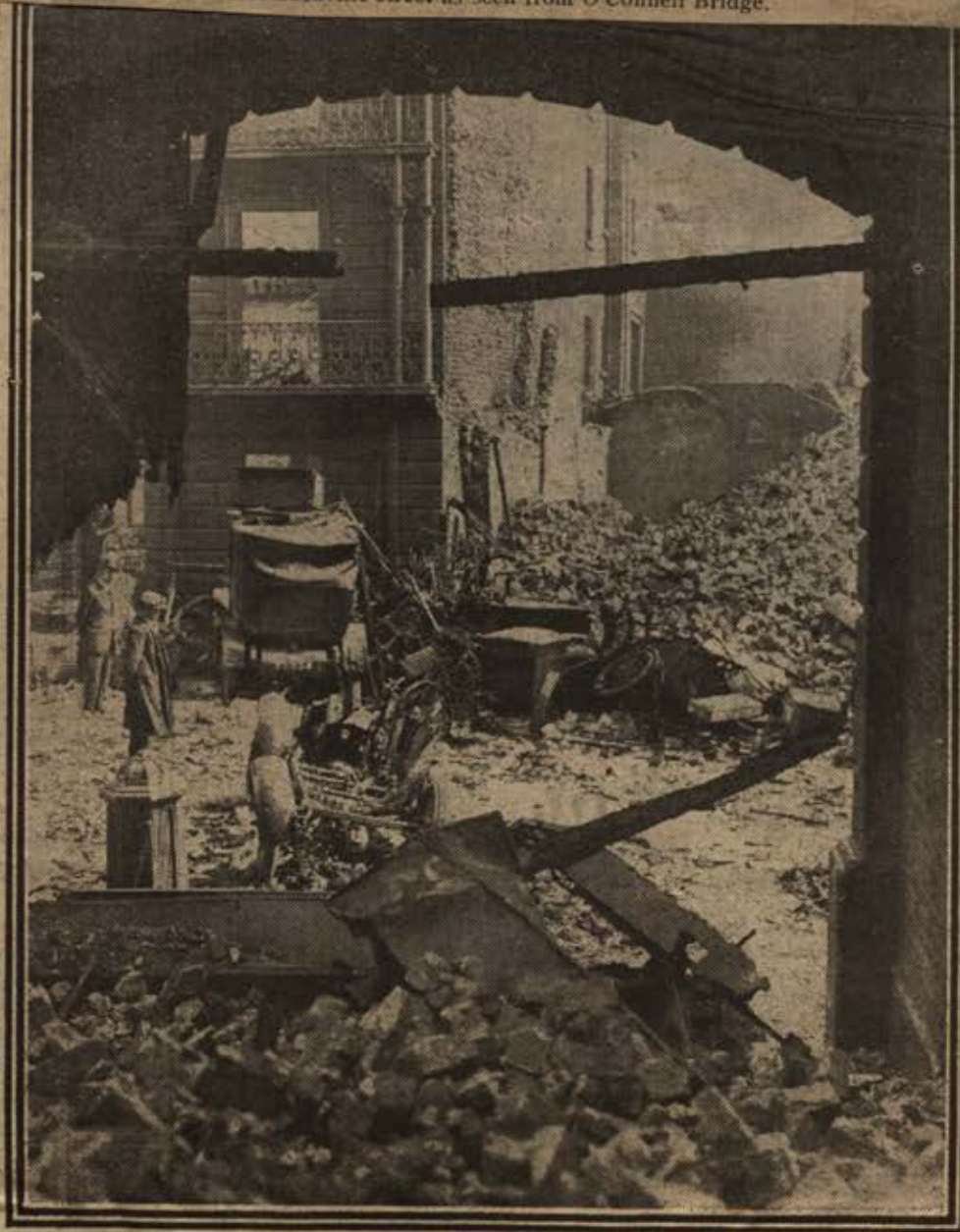
Eden quay, looking from Burgh quay. The whole block from Marlborough street to Hopkins' corner was destroyed, the premises including the London and North-Western Railway and Midland Railway of England Offices, Mr. Gerald Mooney's licensed house, Messrs. Wells and Holohan and Albert W. Hewett, shipping agents; J. Hubbard Clark, painter; Globe Express, Ltd.; Messrs. Henry Smith, Ltd.; the Douglas Hotel, and the Seamen's Mission.



The Corner of Lower Sackville street and Eden quay, as seen from Burgh quay. The high building is the shell of the D.B.C. Restaurant, and on the vacant space in Sackville street there were formerly the Great Western Railway of England Offices, Messrs. F. Smyth and Son, umbrella manufacturers; the Waverley Hotel of Mr. Robert Ross; Messrs. Hamilton, Long and Co., chemist shop; Messrs. William Scott and Co.'s tailoring establishment; and Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins, jeweller's shop, on the corner turning into Eden quay.



The east side of Sackville-street as seen from O'Connell Bridge.



A big hole, showing debris of motors and tradesmen's cycle carriers.

Figures have been issued which will give an idea of the cost in material damage of the Du rebellion. According to Captain Purcell, chief of the fire brigade, the value of the building

This shows what is left of the Hotel Metropole, seen from a gateway of the Post Office.



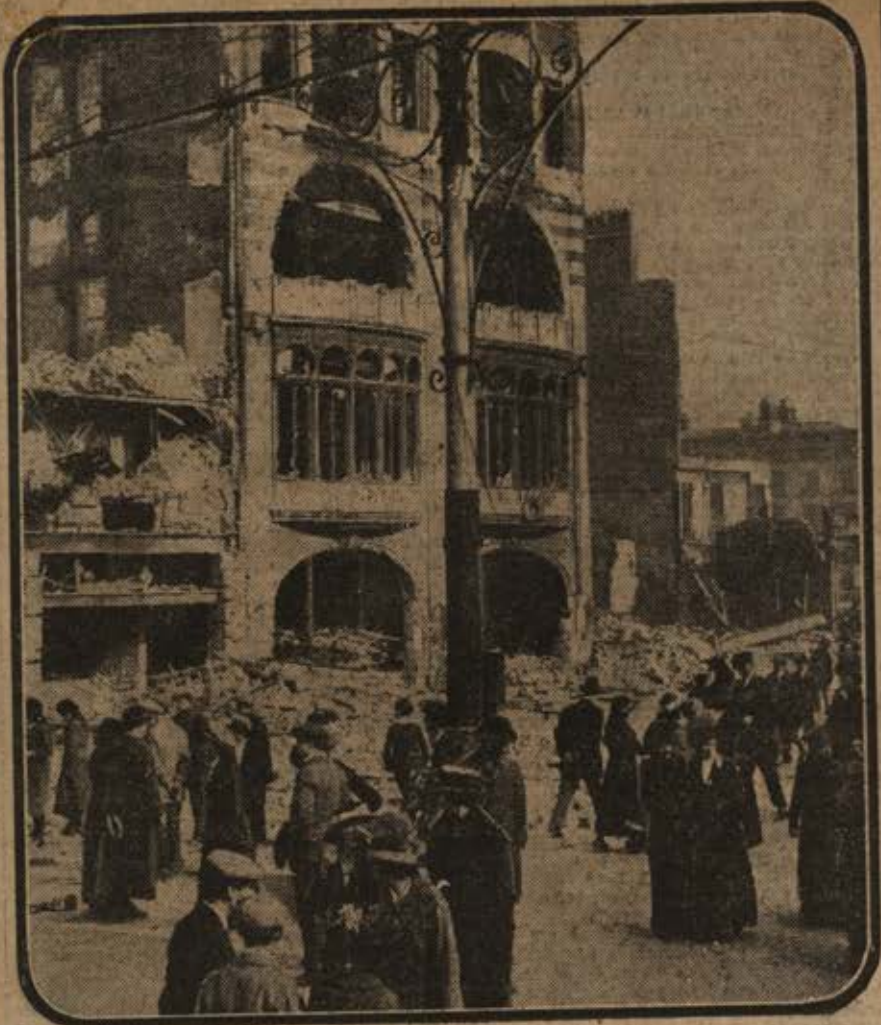
A view of Eden Quay as seen from the O'Connell Statue.



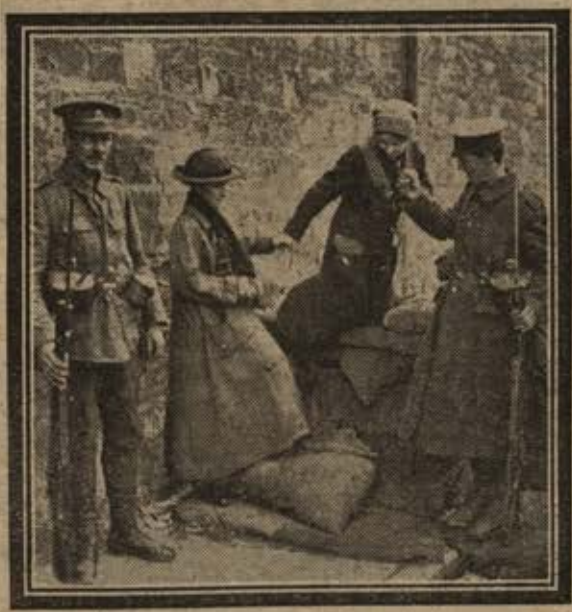
Keeping a sharp lookout for snipers.



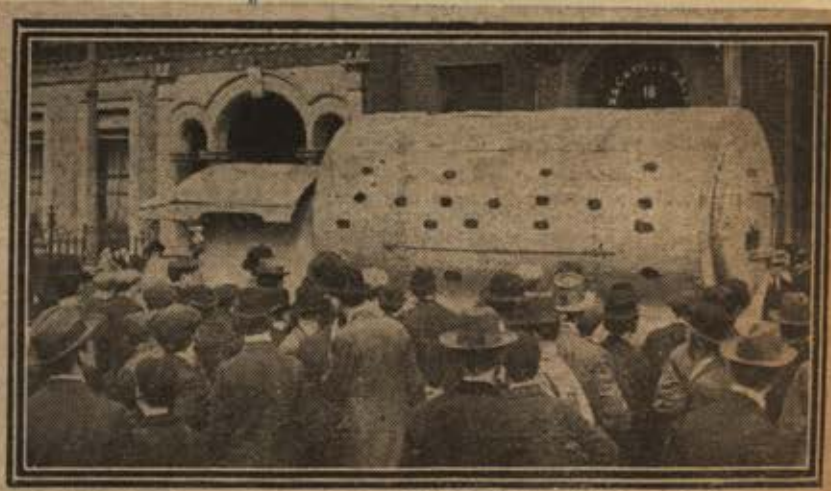
Dr. Hickey. Fr. P. Walsh
Soldiers stop priests in order to examine their papers.



THE RUINS OF SACKVILLE STREET.—All that is left on that part of Sackville Street where the rebels started their campaign. The ruins on the extreme left are part of the Hotel. ("Daily Mail" Photograph.)



Helping her across a barricade.



Armoured car in which money was taken to the bank.



INSIDE THE POST OFFICE.—"Fighting raged through the ground floor of the great building, which, after wild and furious resistance, was eventually cleared of the rebels at the point of the bayonet." This photograph shows part of the still smoking interior of the building after the rebels had been driven out. ["Daily Mail" Photograph.]



SEARCHING THE RUINS FOR BODIES.—Soldiers among the ruins of Kevanagh's public house which was burnt to the ground by the rebels; it is now nothing but a heap of charred bricks. ["Daily Mail" Photograph.]



Inside the Post Office, which has been reduced to a four-walled, roofless shell.

blin
s in | ruins is close on £1,000,000. The number of buildings involved in fires in the different areas of
the city was 179, with a rateable value of £33,875.—(*Daily Mirror* photographs.)



All that remains of the English and Scottish Law Life Assurance Buildings, of Messrs. David Drimmie and Sons', at 41 Lower Sackville street. The vacant space to the right was formerly the shop and library of Messrs. Eason and Son, Ltd.

At the Four Courts.



Originally made into a council chamber. Notice the upturned table before window as a protection from bullets.



Showing how the windows were barricaded with books.



Lower Abbey street, as it appears from where the Hibernian Bank Branch Office stood. The premises destroyed include the Royal Hibernian Academy, Wynn's Hotel, Messrs. Smyth and Co., hosiers; J. Ferguson and Co., hair-dressers; and Charles L. Reis and Co., jewellers.

...BREAD, WHICH THEY WERE TO RECEIVE.



Distributing bread in the streets.



Prisoners, of whom about 3,000 are now in custody, being marched through the streets under military escort. Many of them were mere boys.

This is evidently a scene in Thomas St. district.

THE ODDS AGAINST HIM: PRISONER'S STRONG GUARD.



A snapshot taken in Dublin while the rebels were being rounded up. The man had no chance of escaping from such a strong escort.—(*Daily Mirror* photograph.)



Searching a cart. Ammunition could very easily have been hidden under the straw.

THE REBELS' FLAG.



The "Republic's" flag at the Post Office.



BARRICADE OF BEER BARRELS.—Everything the rebels could lay their hands on they used to make barricades. Here is one they erected near Guinness's Brewery. It was captured by the soldiers.

["Daily Mail" Photograph.]

WHERE THEY SLEPT.



Rebels slept in the Four Courts.



The congested corner, where the Howth trams left Sackville street and entered North Earl street, has disappeared completely. The walls of Messrs. Noblett's sweets shop stand to the right of this picture. The building on the left was that occupied by Miss Nestor.

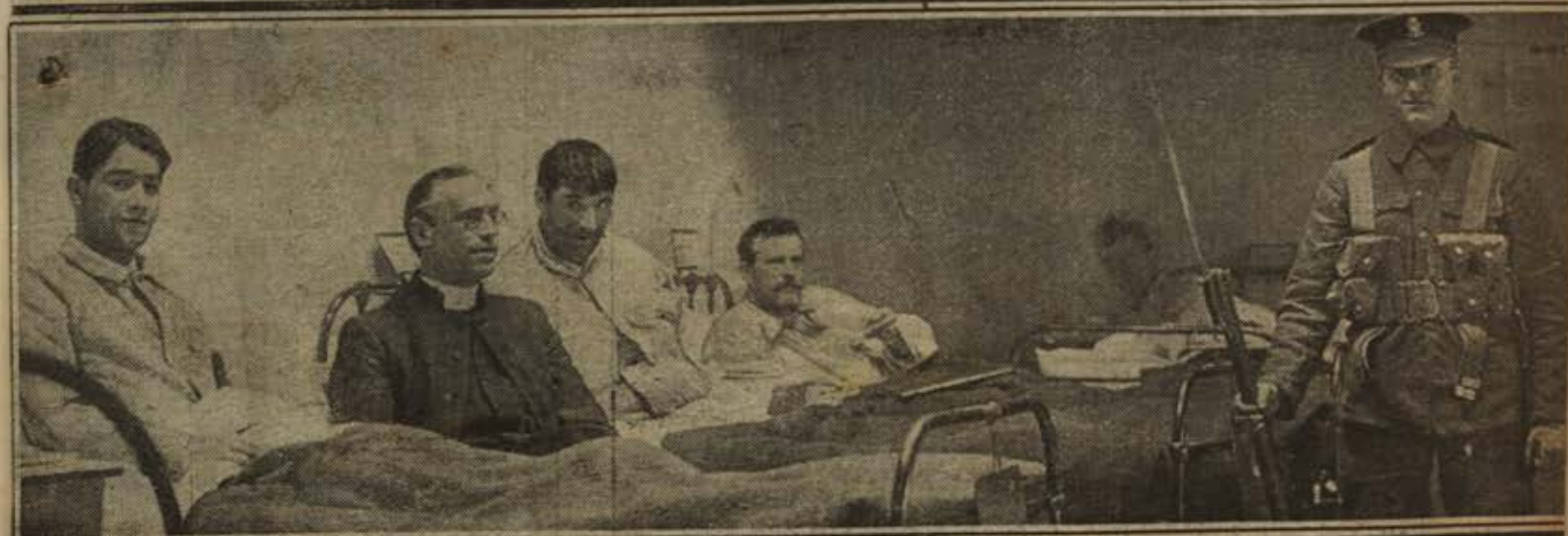


A ruined building in the act of collapsing in Dublin. A large crowd watched it from a safe distance.—("Daily Mirror" photograph.)

THE REAL SUFFERERS FROM THE REBELLION.



*Fr. Daly Francis St. at various
duties.*



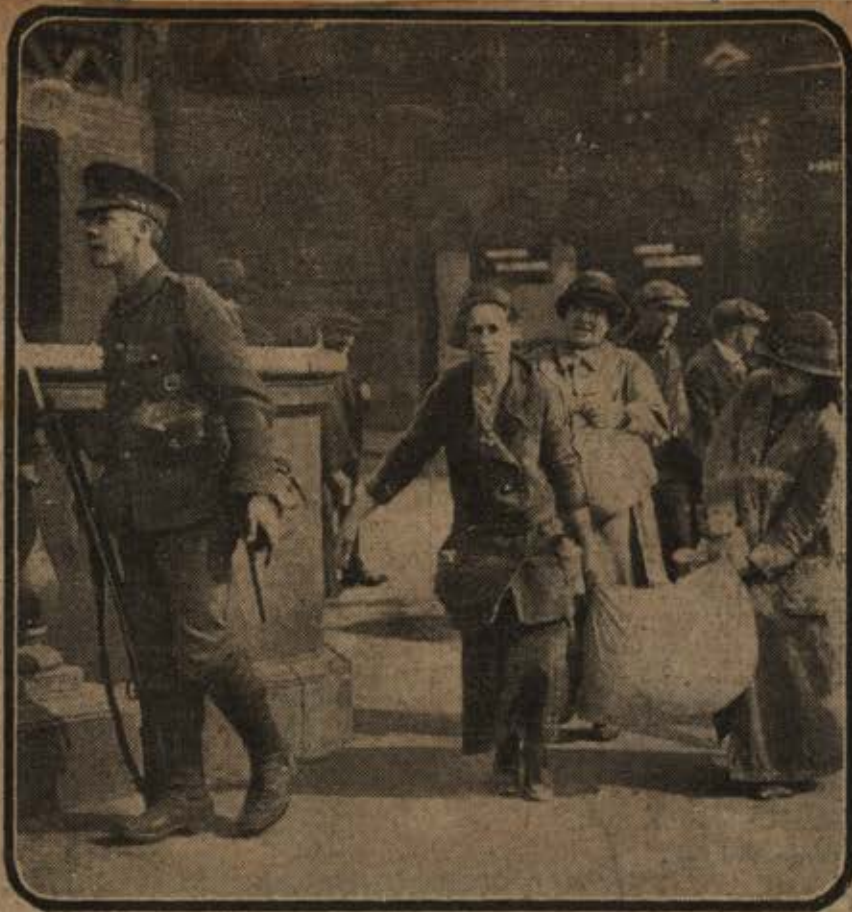
Several apartments in Dublin Castle have been fitted up as emergency hospital wards. In one of these lie a number of the rebels wounded during the fighting in the streets. They have a priest in attendance at their bedsides, while armed sentries mount guard over them.



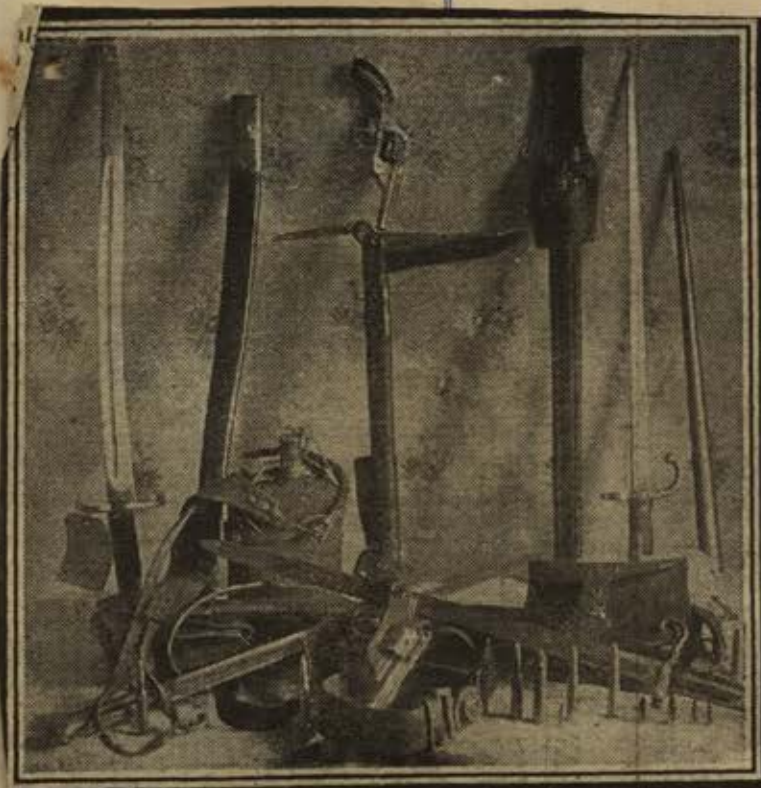
LIBERTY HALL AFTER THE GUNS HAD FINISHED.—The rebel headquarters as they look to-day after being shelled by a gunboat. The holes made by the shells can be plainly seen. The military are now in possession. [*Daily Mail*] Photograph.



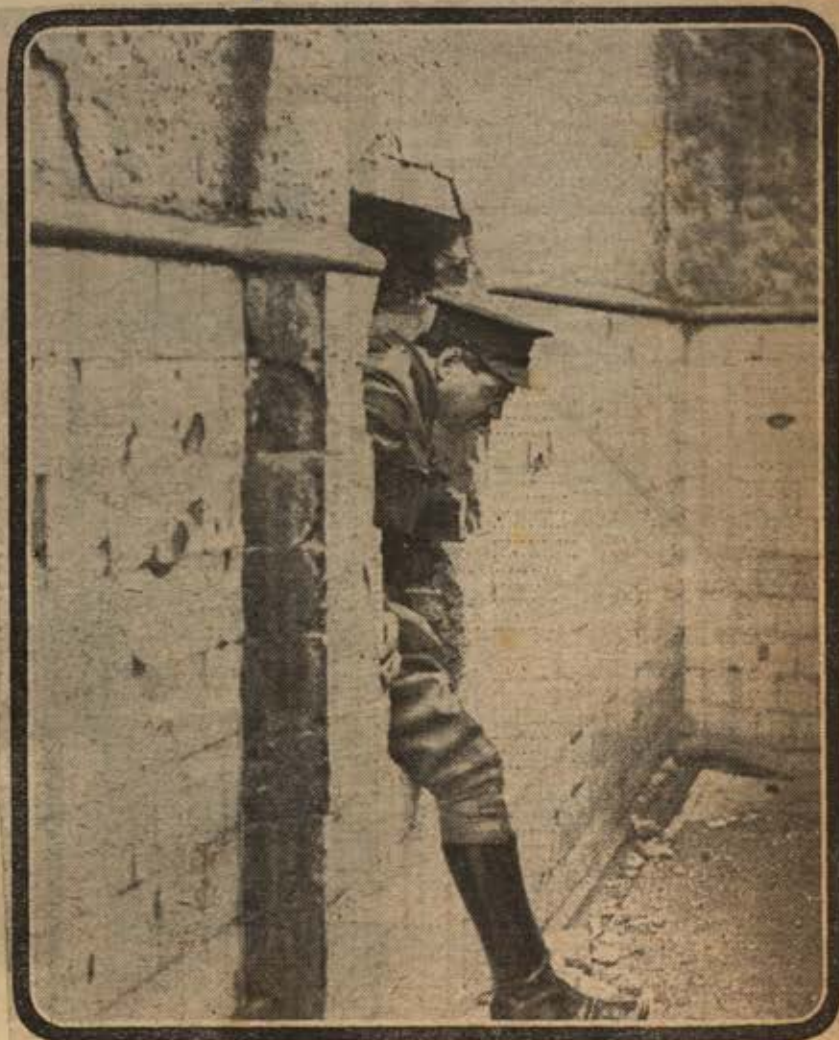
HOW THE REBELS BARRICADED LIBERTY HALL.—Tables and chairs were used to block up the windows of the now demolished headquarters of the Sinn Feiners. A wounded soldier is seen on guard; the bullet holes on the masonry are marked by arrows. [*Daily Mail*] Photograph.



SCARCITY OF FOOD SUPPLIES.—"Shopping was a desperate business during the week end. Supplies had practically run out." Bringing away flour from a military depot. [*"Daily Mail" Photograph.*]



doctor's collection of trophies taken from Sinn Fein rebels. It includes cartridges, haversacks, trenching tools, and, significantly enough, German sword-belts.



The rebels established communication between the houses by making holes in the walls large enough for a man to pass through.



Mr. Augustine Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, has resigned his position. This news, which was officially made known yesterday, was not unexpected, and is, of course, a sequel to the deplorable rebellion. He had held the post since 1907.



A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, an attempt, instigated and designed by the foreign enemies of our King and Country to incite rebellion in Ireland, and thus endanger the safety of the United Kingdom, has been made by a reckless, though small, body of men, who have been guilty of insurrectionary acts in the City of Dublin:

Now, we, Ivor Churchill, Baron Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant-General and Governor-General of Ireland, do hereby warn all His Majesty's subjects that the sternest measures are being, and will be, taken for the prompt suppression of the existing disturbances, and the restoration of order;

And we do hereby enjoin all loyal and law-abiding citizens to abstain from any acts or conduct which might interfere with the action of the Executive Government, and, in particular, we warn all citizens of the danger of unnecessarily frequenting the streets or public places, or of assembling in crowds:

Given under Our Seal, on the 24th day of April, 1916,

WIMBORNE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

SINN FEIN RISING IN DUBLIN.

Yesterday morning an insurrectionary rising took place in the City of Dublin. The authorities have taken active and energetic measures to cope with the situation. These measures are proceeding favourably.



A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, in the City of Dublin and County of Dublin certain evil disposed persons and Associations, with the intention of subverting the supremacy of the Crown in Ireland, have committed divers acts of violence, and have with deadly weapons attacked the forces of the Crown, and have resisted by armed force the lawful authority of His Majesty's Police and Military forces; and WHEREAS by reason thereof several of His Majesty's liege subjects have been killed and many others severely injured, and much damage to property has been caused; and WHEREAS such armed resistance to His Majesty's Authority still continues:

NOW WE, Ivor Churchill Baron Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, by virtue of all the powers thereunto enabling us, do hereby proclaim that from and after the date of this Proclamation, and for the period of one month thereafter, unless otherwise ordered, the City of Dublin and County of Dublin are under and subject to Martial Law; and WE do hereby call on all loyal and well-affected subjects of the Crown to aid in upholding and maintaining the peace of the Realm and the supremacy and authority of the Crown; and WE warn all peaceable and law-abiding subjects within such area of the danger of frequenting or being in any place in or in the vicinity of which His Majesty's forces are engaged in the suppression of disorder; and WE do hereby enjoin upon such subjects the duty and necessity, so far as practicable, of remaining within their own homes so long as these dangerous conditions prevail; and WE do hereby proclaim that all persons found carrying arms without lawful authority are liable to be dealt with by virtue of this Proclamation.

Given at Dublin

This 25th day of April, 1916.

WIMBORNE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The True Causes of the Sinn Fein Insurrection

In our issue of Saturday we drew attention to the fact that the root cause of the Sinn Fein Insurrection and of Dublin's week of horrors is to be found in Sir Edward Carson's campaign in Ulster. The formation of a body of Volunteers in that Province for the avowed purpose of armed resistance to the law; the deliberate use of the threat of armed rebellion as a menace to the King and Parliament and as a means of obtaining political objects; the weakness of the Executive Government in cowering before these threats, and in treating Privy Councillors, Peers, members of Parliament and magistrates who gloried in threats of treason and rebellion with consideration and deference; the Curragh mutiny, and, finally, the formation of the Coalition Government and the promotion to high Executive and Legal Office in the Government of the Ulster Leaders who had just been engaged in organising rebellion and glorying in armed defiance of the law and the Legislature; these were the prime causes which led up to the terrible events of the past fortnight. But there have been other causes at work within the household of parties professing to be Nationalist, causes not so manifest to the public eye, but none the less effective. For years a number of individuals and an influential section of the Irish Press have been sleeplessly at work to destroy the Constitutional Movement by poisoning the minds of the people against Mr. Redmond's leadership and the Irish Parliamentary Party and policy. In pursuit of this policy no means were considered too base or unscrupulous. Mr. Redmond has been denounced as a traitor to the National Cause, an incapable and a weakling, the servile slave of British Ministers. The Party has been held up to odium and distrust as the salaried hirelings of the Government of the day. Its members have been denounced as incompetent, corrupt and too cowardly and selfish to defend the interests of the people who had elected them. The country has been deluged with the most scandalous lies and misrepresentations. Scare after scare has been deliberately organised by certain organs of the Press: The Conscription Scare; The Land Tax Scare; The Over-Taxation Scare; each in its turn has served the common vile purpose. All had for their object, not the defence or the vindication of the national interest, but to undermine and destroy confidence in the Irish Party. By such means the soil was prepared for the foul seed which the German and American agents were so assiduously sowing.

Foremost among the agencies of distrust and despair has been the "Independent" newspaper. The method it pursued was skilful. From time to time a violently loyal and pro-Ally article appeared. But day by day its editorial and news columns were filled with matter calculated to arouse and extend the feelings and opinions in which the Sinn Fein Party found its best means of seduction. Had it not been for the Conscription Scare worked up so unscrupulously by the "Independent" there would have been no insurrection. Thousands of young men were captured by the Sinn Fein Organisation during last summer and autumn by the cry that Conscription was coming, and that the Irish Party were too slavish and too corrupt to resist it. The Scare was worked to the very last hair among their younger dupes by the insurgents, and many of them went to their death under the belief that they had taken up arms to prevent the Secret Session of Parliament from agreeing on Conscription for Ireland. Had it not been for the great and, to a large extent, the successful exertions of the Party to defeat and expose the Scare, the Insurrection when it did come would have been of a vastly more extended and dangerous character. The time has come to speak plainly; and we are glad that the "Independent" of Saturday challenged the issue. The last of these Scares worked up by the "Independent" was what has been described as the Anti-Taxation Movement.

In reference to this the "Independent" says:

"The grotesque insinuation has been made and it is worthy of the quarter from which it emanates, that the critics of Mr. Redmond are in some inexplicable way and to some undefined extent accountable for the rising. . . . To try to connect the Sinn Fein Movement with protests against Over-Taxation or Land Taxation is but another specimen of the methods which have been resorted to in order to mislead the Irish public."

That is a straight challenge, and we have no hesitation in accepting and replying to it. We do distinctly assert that the manufacture of scares and the persistent attacks upon the Constitutional Leaders as incompetent and corrupt and slavish and incapable of protecting the people from the attacks of a Government represented as determined to take advantage of the War to oppress and plunder the Irish people was calculated to prepare the ground for, and immensely facilitated the work of the Revolutionary Organisers. Anyone who is intimately acquainted with the feelings of the Irish people knows perfectly well how great and widespread was the use made of these manufactured scares in pursuit of their work by the organisers of revolt. They showed their appreciation of the work of the "Independent" by preparing the way for the last of the scares. The Mansion House Meeting, which was the starting ground of the Anti-Taxation Scare, was notoriously organised and controlled by the men who organised the Insurrection; and we have no doubt upon our minds that their purpose in starting the movement was to draw the whole people of Ireland unawares into a conflict with the Government at the moment chosen for the revolt.

So far as regards the arguments against the Constitutional Movement and the necessity for some fresh departure if the people were to be saved, the "Independent" and what has come to be known as the Mosquito Press were at one. True, the "Independent" stopped short of drawing the Sinn Fein moral. Having proved to his satisfaction that Mr. Redmond was a contemptible and cowardly slave of English Ministers, and that the Irish Party were incompetent and corrupt, and that the Government were about to take advantage of the state of affairs

- I. To impose Conscription on the country against the will of the overwhelming majority of the people;
- II. To put a tax upon the Land;
- III. To ruin the country and reduce the people to poverty by unjust over-taxation,

Mr. Murphy stopped short. He was not prepared to take the responsibility of forming a new Party upon Constitutional lines to afford the people a means of protecting themselves against outrageous misgovernment. He stated the premises and described the emergency and left the conclusions to be drawn and pointed by the American and German agents who were preparing for revolution. It is now perfectly well known that thousands of young men who had no sympathy with Germany and no sympathy with rebellion were seduced into joining the ranks of the Sinn Fein Volunteers, and placing themselves at the mercy of the leaders who are responsible for this wicked and insane revolt, by the propaganda. Their confidence in peaceable and Constitutional agitation had first been sapped and ruined by the Carsonite movement in Ulster, and was finally destroyed by the "Independent" scares, and the so-called critics of the Party. Many of the victims are in their graves. The ruins that they have made are around. But the scare-makers and angels of despair are as brazen as ever and as busily at work.

The Coming Inquiry.

The announcement of the Prime Minister that there is to be an investigation into the circumstances of the Insurrection will be welcomed by the Irish public. In connection with it they have but one demand to put forward and that is, that the inquiry will be thorough and complete. A mere inquiry into what happened at the Castle during the past few days or the past few months will not satisfy the Irish public. Responsibility must be fixed not only upon the Ministers or officials whose action or inaction made the outbreak possible, but upon all the agencies that facilitated the preparation of the revolt, and placed its organisers in a position to gather their forces and befool their dupes. The movement of which we have seen the tragic and fatal issue did not begin yesterday or the day before. It has had distinguished patrons and wealthy supporters. If report be true it or its agents have had encouragement from and been in touch with the most surprising people, people without any sympathy for Irish National aspirations, or any feeling towards Irish freedom but one of antagonism. If the investigation is thorough-going we shall know all these things, and the Irish as well as the British public will receive enlightenment that will be of the utmost profit to them both. For that reason the terms of reference to the proposed Commission and the persons of whom it will be composed are of the first importance. We trust that they will be made known in Parliament before the Commission actually issues, so that it may be made certain that the inquiry will not be partial and a sham. We must have no covering up of tracks, or obscuring of determining causes and events, or masking of individuals in the matter. If we have none, then we shall have an instructive lesson, not least upon

the interests that think they can be served by the promotion of disorder and illegal violence in a peaceful Ireland.

Keeping up the irritation

"DUBLIN—THE NEXT PHASE."

Letter from the Protestant Archbishop

The following letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Bernard, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, appeared in "The Times." In the "Daily Mail" it was falsely attributed to his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Wadsh.—

Sir—A disquieting rumour is prevalent here that the officials at Dublin Castle are anxious to dispense with martial law, and to take up the reins of government again at an early date. I desire to say two things.

First, martial law is the only security for life and property at present in the City of Dublin. The danger, which has been much graver than the Government will admit, is by no means past. If the Prime Minister thinks otherwise, he is as badly informed as he was when he told the House of Commons that the rebels had no machine guns. Many armed rebels are at large in Dublin still, and the danger of another rising can only be averted by the adoption of the sternest measures. As I write there are snipers on the roofs trying to shoot any officers that they may see. This is not the time for amnesties and pardons; it is the time for punishment, swift and stern. And no one who lives in Ireland believes that the present Irish Government has the courage to punish anybody.

Secondly, in place of Mr. Birrell we ask that we shall be sent a man, who will reside in the country which he is paid to rule, and a Secretary of State who will do his best, without fear or favour, to help and not to hinder the police.

Yours, etc.,
JOHN DUBLIN.

The Palace, Dublin, May 3.

A bloodthirsty Bishop.

Written a week after rising was quelled.

He is clapped on the back by the Irish Times for the above letter.

To the Editor of the "Evening Mail."

Sir—I shall be glad if you will allow me to say that I have received a letter from the General Commanding-in-Chief the Forces in Ireland, expressing the high appreciation of, and thanks for, the services rendered by the clergy of the Church of Ireland during the recent disturbances in Dublin.

I am writing to Sir John Maxwell

to assure him that our clergy will be much gratified by his approval of the help which they were all glad to be able to give to the wounded and the helpless in the dark days of Easter week.—I am, yours faithfully,

JOHN DUBLIN.

The Palace, Dublin, May 10, 1916.

The Irish Times.

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1916.

Rebellion and After.

It is reported that Mr. Lewis Harcourt will succeed Mr. Birrell as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and that Sir Robert Chalmers will replace Sir Matthew Nathan. Ireland knows little more of Mr. Harcourt than that he is the son of a famous Liberal statesman and was a satisfactory Commissioner of Works. Sir Robert Chalmers's career, like Sir Matthew Nathan's, is chiefly associated with Colonial and financial administration. The report is unofficial, and may not be true. In any case, we shall not prejudge the coming Chief Secretary's fitness for his work. Whoever he may be, his politics and his antecedents will be of little account if he has the qualities which, at this crisis, the Irish Chief Secretaryship demands. It is incredible that, after Mr. Birrell's failure, the Government will dare to send an incompetent man to Ireland. It will be the new Chief Secretary's task to undo the evil consequences of all the inefficiency and maladministration of the last ten years. He must be wise and firm, patient and courageous. He must work for the whole of Ireland, not for any party or class in Ireland. He must not be afraid to incur unpopularity or to have his motives and actions misrepresented in the House of Commons. We shall welcome any man of this character, whether he be Mr. Harcourt or another, and we shall judge the new Chief Secretary by his work alone. It will be a work of many phases—social, industrial, and economic; but its most important aspect will be the reconstitution of Ireland as a peaceful, law-abiding, and well governed country. When the last remnants of sedition have been crushed it will be the new Chief Secretary's main business to make absolutely impossible a recurrence of the terrible conditions which brought Sir John Maxwell and his gallant troops to Ireland.

This is no time for newspaper controversy, but the public interest requires us to notice an attack which the *Freeman's Journal* made on us yesterday in its first issue since the beginning of the insurrection. The question in argument is one of vital importance. Is the *Sinn Fein* conspiracy to be killed or merely scotched? Are we to have peace and security in Ireland for at least another century, or is all the recent trouble to be renewed within the next five or ten years? The *Freeman's Journal* accuses us of instigating an Alva's campaign in Ireland. We said, and we repeat, that the surgeon's knife of the State must not be stayed "until the whole malignant growth has been removed." The *Freeman*, it would seem, wants to leave an undefined part of the malignant growth

untouched. Our demand that the elements of rebellion should be finally extinguished is represented as "blood-thirsty incitement to the Government." Our readers know that all this is wicked nonsense. We have called for the severest punishment of the leaders and responsible agents of the insurrection; but we have insisted that there shall be no campaign of mere vengeance. We desire for the ignorant dupes of the real agitators such punishment only as will give them cause and opportunity for reflection, and will make them rejoice at some future day that the State has saved them from themselves. Certainly, the *Freeman's Journal* cannot base its claim to wisdom after the event on any prescience before it. Ten days before the outbreak it was still exhorting its readers to ignore the coming danger. It begged the Government not to advertise the "mosquito Press" or the "hot-air merchants" by State prosecutions. It said that the seditious movement was making no way in Ireland. "Our *Sinn Feiners*," it declared, "are not half so numerous as the conscientious objectors in Great Britain." It needs some little hardihood to resume dogmatism after so recent and so disastrous an experiment in prophecy. The *Freeman* and the Nationalist Party were mischievously in error when they connived at Mr. Birrell's inaction. The *Freeman* is equally in error to-day, though with even less excuse. Confronted, amid the ruins of Prince's street, with the fruits of its timidity and nervelessness, it is timid and nerveless still.

Justice, patriotism, and common-sense demand that Ireland shall be redeemed from the menace of sedition once for all. We ask for no campaign of persecution, but only that civilised government shall be re-established and vindicated in Ireland for the lifetime of our children's children. It would be the worst kind of folly and the poorest sort of economy to shear the stalk of sedition and to leave the roots uninjured. We owe the complete suppression of sedition in Ireland not only to ourselves, but to our brave soldiers in France, to the United Kingdom, and to the whole Empire. All risk of renewal of the shame and loss of the recent outbreak must be utterly eliminated. We print to-day the King's fine letter of thanks to his troops and police in Ireland, and the Lord Lieutenant's warm appreciation of the devotion of the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary. No tributes were ever more thoroughly deserved, and the Irish people will endorse every word of them. But the work of the troops and the police is not finished. The King refers to the insurrection as having been "finally quelled." Fortunately, the statement is true as regards the desperate attempt to establish an Irish Republic, but the sure foundations of peace have not yet been laid. In his letter in *The Times* of yesterday the Archbishop of Dublin, whose tolerance and patriotism have been eulogised more handsomely by no Irish paper than by the *Freeman's Journal*, speaks the simple truth. The country would regard with deep disquiet a too hasty resumption of the control of Irish administration by the officials at Dublin Castle. They failed to avert disaster; we may well doubt whether they would be capable of repairing it. Martial law, as Dr. Bernard says, is still the only real security for life and property in Dublin. Unless the Cabinet, like the Bourbons, knows nothing, and, unlike the Bourbons, forgets everything, the new Chief Secretary will not supersede the military authorities, but will be strictly instructed to give them his full and hearty co-operation.

Mr. BIRRELL has taken the only course that was open to him by giving up the office which he had held but never administered. If he had attempted to retain it public opinion would have indignantly demanded his dismissal. Smoothly-phrased compliments and regrets by political associates in Parliament do not really accord with the feeling of the people in Ireland or Great Britain. Mr. Birrell cannot free himself of the moral responsibility for a condition of affairs in this country which for the time covers Ireland with discredit before the world. We have been virtually an absentee Chief Secretary, seldom setting foot in Ireland, in which, since the war began, he has only delivered one recruiting speech. His treatment of the Covenanted campaign in Ulster was a monument of ineptitude. He hoodwinked his colleagues in the Liberal Cabinet so far that when the movement had gained strength they were astounded and fell into a panic, thus exposing themselves to the contempt of those whom they were afraid to grapple with. But besides Mr. Birrell there are other members of the late Liberal Ministry who countenanced the Ulster parades and threats, and they should not now be allowed to escape scot-free from the consequences of their failure. A peculiarity of Mr. Birrell's position was that he was the only Chief Secretary in recent years who was immune from constant criticism by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Predecessors in office who had conferred practical benefits upon the country greater than Mr. Birrell ever offered to Ireland, were abused and attacked by the Irish Party, but Mr. Birrell discovered a new method of governing Ireland and having a quiet life. In the disposal of patronage he gave a ready audience to suggestions from quarters whence, if the Home Rule Act were to come into operation, such patronage might flow direct. In more respects than one was Mr. Birrell's administration injurious to Ireland.

Whilst agreeing that the outbreak of last week was the natural result of Mr. Birrell's policy, we must say that the comments of the Orange Press in Ulster and the Unionist Press in Great Britain might well be more restrained. These same newspapers grew almost hysterical in their encouragement of the Ulster Covenanters to come out in open rebellion. Many prominent members of the present Coalition Government openly sided with the treason-mongers, and Sir Edward Carson was acclaimed as a saviour of his country by persons of eminence in Society and politics in both islands. It cannot, however, be forgotten that if the leaders of the Sinn Fein outbreak acted under German direction, Sir Edward Carson's movement undoubtedly encouraged Germany to precipitate the war. If Ulster had not led the way, and if there had been no Larne gun-running, there would have been no gun-running at Howth, no armed and drilled Sinn Feiners, and, consequently, no scenes of horror such as were witnessed in Dublin last week. We have strongly condemned this outbreak, and we have no sympathy with the insurgents, but with the terrible effects before our eyes we are naturally impelled to seek the causes which have produced them. As regards the leaders of the revolt who have been sentenced, any feeling of sympathy with them in Ireland will be

checked by the thought of what their mad venture has cost Dublin and Ireland in blood and suffering. But we believe that the irresponsible and misguided young fellows who were carried away by the excitement of an adventure, whose end they could not see, should be treated with exceptional leniency. Special consideration should also be extended to those who, having gone out for what they expected to be a long march, found themselves entrapped.

It has been stated that Sir Edward Carson's offer of the Ulster Volunteer Force to the Government had been accepted, and that this decision meant the official recognition of that body. If the Government have actually consented to this being done they have again shamelessly truckled to an armed faction. They have allowed the most dangerous elements in the nation, North and South, to arm themselves with deadly weapons, to drill openly, and to carry on through the Press a treasonable propaganda. This arming and drilling of irresponsible bodies of men has been defended on the ground that it is the right of all free men to bear arms. We deny this proposition absolutely. Such bodies if not under the control of the head of any constituted State are a public danger, calculated to lead to civil strife and to the oppression of the general community of unarmed citizens, who will be no longer free men, but slaves to the armed faction. This country has no use for any armed force "to defend the shores of Ireland," or "to keep Home Rule on the Statute Book," or to prevent it from coming into operation. In a country like ours, where there is such sharp division between North and South, irregular forces of any kind are a public danger, and military service should be confined to the regular army.

Ireland has been without an Arms Act for some years in order that a Liberal Government might boast how successfully they were governing the country without exceptional legislation. We see the result in last week's outbreak, which could not have taken place if people were not allowed to arm and drill openly for the attainment of unavowed objects. There is no shame for a community to be under an Arms Act. There are such Acts in American States and in most civilised countries. Under Mr. Birrell's regime the recognition of a right to carry arms was all the while a grave menace to popular liberty.

The "Daily Chronicle" lays at Sir Edward Carson's door—the gravest of all—the ultimate responsibility for the catastrophe. It also asks where was General Friend, the officer commanding in Ireland, when the outbreak occurred, and how came it that a large proportion of the Dublin and Curragh officers were away at a race meeting. "How was it," it asks, "that the rebels had Dublin so much to themselves on Monday, and that effective military operations against them only began on Tuesday, when they had had time to seize and fortify so many important build-

ings commanding such a considerable part of central Dublin on both sides of the river?"

The Cork Harbour Board expressed "abhorrence of the terrible tragedy in Dublin," attributing it to the action of a few misguided men, instigated by the German Government, and placed on record the members' loyalty to the Crown. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Dennehy said the trouble in Dublin was due to the example set by Sir Edward Carson, and Capt. Collins endorsed this view, declaring that Sir Edward had defied the Government; that he was the first to import arms, and that "he ought to be put out of Parliament," as "such a man was dangerous." Mr. Dennehy wished to add words to the resolution placing the responsibility on Sir E. Carson's shoulders, but this was not pressed.

UNFAIR TREATMENT.

Mr. E. J. Quinlan, J.P., Chairman of Fermoy U.C., said it was right they should express horror and disgust at the rising, which was the outcome of the unfair treatment meted out to the people who held that Sir Edward Carson and the "Wait-and-See" policy of the Government were responsible. Mr. J. Sheehan stated that there should not be different laws for the Northern Volunteers and those in the South. "If General Gough and Sir Edward Carson had conformed to the laws of the land," said Mr. Quinlan, "this unfortunate outbreak would never have taken place."

The police authorities, on their own initiative, did all that men could do in the Larkin strike. It was, however, only with the greatest difficulty and after a long delay that a few resolute men, who saved the situation, got some grudging military support to put an end to the state of anarchy into which the city was plunged for nearly five months. The Dublin public will remember the inquiry by a curiously-constituted tribunal before which Mr. Larkin was allowed to deliver his famous harangue, in which he made outrageous charges against citizens of the highest character without adducing any evidence in support of them. Then came the report of the tribunal, which was no credit to the impartiality of its author. This was followed by a trial of the police for doing their duty and risking their lives in what was little, if anything, short of civil war in the city. Before the strike was well over the "Citizen Army" was being organised with the tacit acquiescence of the Government. The men who, unarmed, had acted lawlessly for months, were armed and drilled under the eyes of the Government, who would not interfere. We see the result, for the "Citizen Army" were the backbone of the insurrection which has brought such ruin and misery on the city of Dublin. The influence of Liberty Hall and of sympathisers of the type of the Countess Markievicz was distinctly sinister, and it was shrewdly surmised that the "Citizen Army" were burning for a revolt and trying to precipitate it any time since last December.

THE INVESTIGATION

ITS NATURE AND SCOPE.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.

After paying a warm tribute to Mr. Birrell, the "Daily News" says:—"But the personal issue, however largely it may bulk on the day of an important resignation, is altogether secondary and subordinate. The supreme task is to probe to their depths the origin of the present revolt, to expose the influences that drove thousands of light-headed boys to the murder of their fellow-citizens and their own untimely deaths, to condemn the laxity that permitted as well as the treachery that stimulated the growth of a traitorous organisation in the heart of Ireland, and to deal our justice with a firmness that will, we trust—in common with Mr. Birrell and Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson—be tempered with a generous clemency. The investigation must be immediate, for there can be no true settlement and no re-establishment of confidence in Irish administration till every man on whom the suspicion of incapacity or criminality can rest has been definitely exculpated or condemned. And it must be so comprehensive as to be practically unlimited in scope. The contributory causes underlying the rebellion are not confined to the past month or to the past year, or to the sworn members of the Sinn Fein movement.

"It follows, therefore, that regard must be had, as Sir Edward Carson himself insisted, to the past as well as the future of Ireland. The inquiry must take cognisance of the armed forces, openly organised and either prudently or weakly countenanced by authority, that cannot but have formed an attractive model to the Sinn Fein fanatics. And there is no department of Irish life or administration, from Dublin Castle downward, that can be excluded from the purview of the investigation if such immunity could be suspected of involving the concealment of facts or the sheltering of any single individual. There can be little question of these conditions being observed, for the tragedy of last week, however effectively the flames may have been stamped out, has so burnt itself into the minds of English and Irish alike, that there will be short shrift for any advocate of a restricted or inconclusive investigation. Till a Commission of Inquiry has done its work and its findings are known, both the public and the House of Commons must school themselves to suspend their final judgment, and above all things to abstain from recriminations calculated to retard the healing process even now at work. The vital fact is that the rebellion has miserably failed, and that one more cherished German project has met its customary fate. Against the sombre background of the treachery of a handful of fanatics the loyalty of Ireland stands out undimmed. Her title to the realisation of her hopes is greatly strengthened by the constancy with which she has withstood last week's dangers and temptations."

PRIESTS' HEROISM

MINISTERING UNDER
FIRE.

TRIBUTE BY MILITARY
COMMAND.

EXCITING ESCAPES AND
ADVENTURES.

The brightest chapter in the story of the insurrection will be found in the record of the splendid heroism of the clergy of Dublin in their devotion to their sacred duties during the whole of the trying time. In every area of the city where there was fighting the priest was at the call of either party whenever his ministrations were required and the fearlessness in the face of danger which led him through the very worst of the fire-swept zones when the insurrection was at its height drew unmeasured tributes from combatants and civilians alike. High military command speaks in terms of unstinted appreciation of the great personal risks which the clergy underwent in the fulfilment of their mission.

The priests at the Pro-Cathedral had to deal with a district in which the worst ravages of fire and flame and artillery destructiveness were in evidence on all sides. It will be a long time before the whole of the story of their devotion will be known. The events of the terrible week followed so quickly on each other and the whole business was so much of "an awful nightmare," to quote the words of one of the city priests, that one can only gather a few of the outstanding incidents and judge by these what the ordeal in its entirety must have been. What will be said, for instance, of the self-sacrifice which led Rev. Father O'Reilly, C.C., to make his way from the Pro-Cathedral around to Wynn's Hotel in the inferno which attended the bombardment and the burning of O'Connell street. He had been called to attend to a wounded and dying man at Wynn's Hotel, and without a moment's hesitation sallied forth in biretta and soutane. Every street through which he had to pass was raked with fire on both sides, but he reached his objective safely, and accomplished his mission. During the week Father O'Reilly was on duty almost night and day, and administered the last consolation of religion to the dying, in street or tenement, or wherever else the circumstances demanded.

HOSPITAL DUTY.

Jervis Street Hospital, with its ever-lengthening list of wounded soldiers, insurgents, and civilians, demanded the constant attention of the clergy. It provided for most of the very numerous casualties from O'Connell street and the neighbourhood, and there was not a moment during the whole time in which spiritual succour was not available for the unfortunate victims of the outbreak. Provision to this end was made by the Very Rev. Father Bowden, Adm., who himself remained at the hospital all day on Monday, through Monday night, Tuesday, Tuesday night, and until Wednesday morning, when he left and had his place taken by Rev. Father Byrne, C.C., and Rev. Father M'Arde, C.C. Rev. Father Flanagan, C.C., also performed very hazardous duties in connection with his ministrations, and the same may indeed be said of every one of the clergy at the Pro-Cathedral. It was not until Sunday morning that the tension began to relax.

Plunkett and Gifford—May 3rd, 1916, at Dublin, Joseph Plunkett, to Grace Gifford.

The above was the private announcement of the marriage of insurgent leader Joseph Plunkett, a son of Count Plunkett, a few hours before his execution, which we referred to in yesterday's issue.

Miss Gifford, who has been married in such pathetic circumstances, was the sister of the wife of Thomas MacDonagh, the insurgent leader who was executed on Monday.

PATHETIC WEDDING.

JUST BEFORE EXECUTION.

A touching element of pathos and romance has been introduced into the grim proceedings of the execution of the insurgent leaders. Joseph Plunkett, one of the signatories to the notice proclaiming a Republic was, it appears, engaged to be married to Miss Grace Gifford, a well-known city artist, and the ceremony of the marriage was, it appears, fixed for an early date. On Wednesday evening an attractive-looking lady entered the premises of Mr. Stoker, 22 Grafton street, and made a purchase of a wedding ring. The proprietor noticed that she was suffering under very apparent anxiety, and made bold to express the hope that she was not in trouble. With an effort she regained her composure, and stated that she was the fiancee of Mr. Plunkett, who was under sentence of death and was to be shot the following morning. There is reason to be assured that the authorities permitted the marriage, and that the ceremony took place a short time before the execution. Miss Gifford's sister is the wife of another of the insurgent leaders, Thomas M'Donagh, who has also been executed.

The marriage took place at the Richmond Barracks, where the insurgent leaders were then imprisoned, being performed by the chaplain. For a few hours the newly-wedded pair were left together; then they were separated, never to meet again in this world. At dawn a firing party was drawn up in the courtyard, and the bridegroom was brought out to take his farewell of life, a volley putting a period to the most affecting, perhaps, of the many pathetic incidents associated with the outbreak. Joseph Plunkett has written much in prose and verse, and was formerly editor of a monthly called the "Irish Review." He was 28 years of age, contributed many pen-and-ink caricatures to the "Irish Review." She formerly studied art in London.

A SUNDAY SURVEY.

BY J. H. COX.

The Terrible Week—Minus Press and Police—Looting—The Rebel Leaders—First Blood at the G.P.O.—Marie Antoinette Vindicated.

We are getting the vista of things better now. For a whole week we lived through a chaos of events. They were so sudden and local as to bewilder the most clear-headed. There is nothing so monotonous as a prolonged sensation. The week of suspense felt like one continuous day. So much was happening—yet nothing seemed to occur. The uppermost preoccupation was how long would it go on. The public came to realise the value of the Press by its absence. Everybody yearned for news. The longing to hear something about the situation broke down all the conventions. Strangers to each other stopped in the safer streets and exchanged wild rumours. Neighbours who had never addressed one another before were soon closely acquainted.

Greater than the want of a Press was the poignant famine in Police. The shortage of food was only an inconvenience. The disappearance of the Force was an absolute danger. A householder might face a rebel, but he could not cope with a rabble. People in private houses, seeing business places sacked within reach of them, thought it would be their turn next. It is strange that in a national crisis we think first of our own safety. In pillaged districts fear of the neutral mob was the principal anxiety. For it was not a Bill Sikes crowd out to loot and scot. It looted and loitered and began again. At one point alone I watched a gang of 250 daylight pirates raiding three places—a hardware shop, a grocery, and a drapery house—all emptied within two hours. The hardware goods were useless to the looters who simply kicked them about the street. The shop was a small one owned by a widow whose appeals were vain. They say a mob has compassion. But it is not true. A mob has neither heart nor conscience.

To the eye of the populace the leaders of the startling insurrection were no. at all known. Countess Markievicz of whom such florid descriptions have appeared in the English papers was never to outward seeming a personality. When she and James Connolly passed me on Easter Sunday evening on their usual weekly march with the Citizen Army I did not suspect the notoriety they were to achieve at noon next day. James Connolly's appearance would not be termed conspiratorial. Thick-set, middle-aged, and self-contented, he looked the kind of comfortable man one meets in a third-class carriage. The other chiefs in the outbreak were still less known to public gaze. P. H. Pearse celebrated quite a different Easter a few years ago when I saw him in the Abbey Theatre performing to a full house the central role in a Passion play. A man who seemed apart from these, who was evident about town as late as Easter Tuesday and who has since been shot was more generally recognisable than any of them. I mean Mr. Sheehy Skeffington of manifold activities. His career was public to the close. My last glimpse of him was on that Tuesday afternoon when he posted on Smith O'Brien's pedestal a small typed notice calling a meeting on the subject of looting. An unpolitical but very familiar form whom the upheaval swept away in the civilian casualties was old Mr. O'Duffy, the doyen of dentists, whose age in quiet times was a matter of conjecture to those who knew him by sight and saw no change

in him for decades. The papers gave it as 81.

Arriving at Nelson's Pillar about three quarters of an hour after the seizure on the Post Office on the memorable Monday, I admired the dash the remaining trams made to get away from their dangerous terminus. At that spot only one was caught. It was the car which was stopped and disabled as it turned into North Earl street. Looters used it as a dressing-room. Its twisted vestiges were a spectacle when all was over. The scene in the street immediately after the taking of the G.P.O. by the insurgents was exceedingly curious. A few men in Citizen Army uniform were fitting about, revolvers in their hands. Shots were frequent, but the throng of people did not heed them. It was exactly five minutes past one when I saw the military entering the street from the Rotunda end. They were cavalry bearing lances. A few advance riders trotted on towards Nelson's Pillar, and when they drew near it two of their horses went down suddenly, some of their men falling also. Such was the first military brush with the main insurgent body. The cavalry realised they were not dealing with a mere riot that a charge would set right. So they put about and after two short halts—first in Parnell street and afterwards in North Frederick street—returned to barracks.

From an early moment it was clear that the outbreak was rather a revolt than a revolution. A revolution must go from strength to strength, extending its power continuously. But these daring insurgents culminated where they began. They seized strong positions and awaited a siege which would—as they surely knew—inevitably contract and reduce them. Bravery alone is not sufficient for success. The attempt wore out to its foreseen end. It has left the expression Sinn Fein for ever identified with forcible methods. The Sinn Fein programme as launched more than a dozen years ago, had a different standpoint. It did not preach arms. It stood for passive resistance. Its aim was a national tongue, a national development of industries, a national scheme of arbitration to supersede the law courts, a national non-payment of taxes, a national ignoring of Great Britain, a national reliance on Ourselves Alone. These peaceful aspirations gradually took the shape of a gun. It is an instance of how ideas completely transform themselves.

As a minor result of the tragic affair we know how weak is the commissariat of the household. Apparently the average family provisions itself daily. The routine for procuring fresh supplies was brusquely disturbed when the revolters hoisted their flag. And in twenty-four hours Dublin was threatened with hunger. Long security left us unprepared for an emergency. How keen was the hunt for meat and milk! But the direct necessity was bread. The bakers were splendid fellows, working incessantly and limiting each purchaser's supply in a spirit of true and useful socialism. I imagine they could have charged jewellery rates. But they did not put on a farthing. Yet despite the wise measure there was a big shortage which had to be made up with confectionery and biscuits. And thus was realised the suggestion of Marie Antoinette who when told the people had no bread asked—"Why don't they eat cake?"

A Roman Catholic priest in the Donnybrook district said his heart was bleeding for the noble city of Dublin. The catastrophe which had fallen upon it was due entirely to the hot-headed recklessness of a dangerous minority, more noted for their hot-headedness than for their administrative capacity.

"The Church of Rome must care," he said, "for all her children, irrespective of what side they might be on, and was basing her work of relief upon this principle."

THE O'RAHILLY DEAD.

The body of The O'Rahilly, one of the rebel leaders, has been found in Moore lane, adjacent to the General Post Office. It is believed that he was brought down by a shot from the military when he was trying to escape from the Post Office.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN SHOT.

On Monday afternoon the Very Rev. F. J. Watters, of the Catholic University School, Leeson street, was shot with a rifle bullet in the lower part of the body while standing at the door of his residence in Leeson street. The rev. gentleman was promptly conveyed to the Royal City of Dublin Hospital, Baggot street, where he received every attention, and an X-ray photograph was taken, with a view to locating the bullet. Father Watters was removed yesterday to St. Vincent's Hospital. His general condition is stated to be favourable, but no definite opinion as to the nature of the wound could be given, pending further examination of the radiographs.

AN OLD DUBLIN REBELLION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—The following extract from the Dublin Assembly Rolls in the year 1580 may be of interest just now. It offers something of a parallel and a contrast to the recent attempted revolution in its reference "to traitorous attempts and combinations with foreign enemies." The old Dublin Corporation, however, took precautions to protect their city when danger threatened. It is also worthy of note that the authorities exacted compulsory service, when necessary:—

"Forasmuch as divers and sundry traitors are combined together, and doth daily endeavour themselves to annoy, burn, kill, and spoil the Queen Majesty's true and loyal subjects, near unto this her Highness city and chief chamber, and by their traitorous attempts and combinations with foreign enemies it is evident that, power so serving, which God defend, they meaneth the subversion and overthrow both of the State and also of this her Highness city: for the preventing whereof, and that necessity so requireth, it standeth upon every good subject to put forth his strength, ability, and helping hand to withstand and prevent their malice and traitorous imaginations before they be able to pass further in their wickedness, whereby peril might arise unto this city."

It was decided to strengthen the walls and ramparts, and clear the outside ditches, "and for better furtherance and despatch it is also agreed that there shall be a man given out of every house in the said city and suburbs to be employed in the said works at such days and times as Mr. Mayor and others shall appoint and lay down."

(City Calendars, Vol. 2, pp. 152-153.)

Yours, etc., "W. A. B."

Dublin, May 6th, 1916.

SIR EDWARD CARSON AND THE RADICAL PRESS.

Sir Edward Carson has sent the following reply to a correspondent:—

I am much obliged for the extracts you have sent me from the *Star* and other discredited papers. It would take me all my time if I were to notice the political attacks which are daily made upon me by such papers for purely political purposes, and you will find that the attacks always come from those who have at all times a "Little England" policy, and who before the war did their best to prevent this country being properly prepared for the terrible conflict in which we are engaged at present.

My record is before my fellow-countrymen, and I am sure they will thoroughly appreciate the attempts to discredit one who has spent most of his political life in trying to uphold the unity of the Empire and in preventing a gross wrong being attempted by driving out from the United Kingdom the most loyal subjects of His Majesty in Ireland.

In the midst of a great war which involves the very existence of the country I have tried to avoid all political discussion, and to bury, till the war is over, all kinds of animosities between His Majesty's subjects on the political questions which divided us before the war, and I do not intend by such attacks as you refer to to be driven into surveys of the past history of Ireland, where there have always been certain anti-English elements which have been accountable at one time for Fenian outbreaks, at another time for the horrible outrages of the Invincibles, and the murders and miseries which followed in the wake of the doctrines that they have preached.

The leaders of the Nationalist party in Ireland have been doing their best to help in the present crisis, and I am sure they would agree with me that no useful purpose can be served by reviving the controversies which the papers you send me seem anxious to resuscitate, while they are hypocritically preaching the doctrine of unity and political truce, in the present grave crisis.

LAST OF LIBERTY HALL

SETTING THE GAS RIGHT.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

For many years past Liberty Hall has been a thorn in the side of the Dublin Police and the Irish Government. It was the centre of social anarchy in Ireland, the brain of every riot and disturbance. When it was determined to use artillery to defeat the rebels Liberty Hall was singled out for the first target, both because of its great notoriety and because it and two neighbouring houses were strongly held by the insurgents.

On Tuesday night artillery arrived in Trinity College, and it was decided to start the shelling next morning. But the recoil of modern artillery is so violent that, in spite of the buffer, it is necessary to fix the trail of the gun in the ground. Under ordinary circumstances the recoil drives a spade-shaped plate of iron on the trail into the ground; but the streets of Dublin, being paved, prevented this arrangement from working. Accordingly it was necessary to dig up the cobble stones before the guns could come into action, and the closeness of the range from which it had been determined to fire (some 250 yards) made it fairly certain that any working party of soldiers would be shot down before their task was completed. However, it was thought possible to employ men in civilian clothes, and so in the early hours of Wednesday morning six volunteers from Trinity College—partly civilians and partly members of the O.T.C.—started out to dig holes for the trails near Butt Bridge, at the end of Tara street.

Armed with two picks, two crowbars, and two spades they began to work. But the task proved unexpectedly difficult. Dublin streets are paved with cobble stones some six inches long by four wide, and at least six or seven inches deep. These are set in a cement of tar, and are placed so close to each other that there is no room for a pick to enter between them. After half an hour only one stone had been removed in each position, and one crowbar had been broken. Accordingly a message was sent back for reinforcements and new tools.

THE INHABITANTS PERPLEXED.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses were much perplexed as to what was going on, and incredulous of the explanation that the gas supply of Trinity had failed and some attempt was being made to put it right. The arrival of soldiers, who formed up in the cover of the side streets and took possession of the corner house to cover the digging party caused them further alarm and curiosity.

Unfortunately, in Trinity College further tools were not procurable, and as delay seemed undesirable it was determined to attack at once, utilising what holes had been made. The guns cantered out by the Brunswick street gate, and came swiftly along Tara street. When they reached the two side streets which intersect it, about thirty yards from the quays, they turned off into these and unlimbered, the ammunition limbers being left there, while the guns were man-handled into the prepared positions. The volunteers from Trinity College left their work, and three of them formed a party to carry ammunition from the side streets to the guns.

THE GUNS IN ACTION.

The two 18-pounders opened fire almost simultaneously. At the first report every pane of glass in the street was shattered, and even in Trinity College the solid buildings seemed to quake under those who were lining the parapets. Machine guns placed on the tower of the Fire Station, the Custom House, and the Tivoli mixed their noise with that of the rifles, to form an indescribable and hideous medley of sound, almost deafening the gunners in the narrow Tara street. Liberty Hall and the adjacent houses were wreathed in dust and smoke, and appeared to be replying vigorously from machine guns and rifles. This was subsequently discovered not to be the case, as the rebels had got wind of the move, and partially evacuated their position on the previous night. Shell after shell was fired, throwing down the whole of one house and making the others mere empty shells. The crash of falling masonry was added to the din. Finally, after some forty shells had been fired, the work was completed, and Liberty Hall was no more. Of the house next to it only the partition wall remains. On it, by one of the freaks of shell fire, two pictures hung undisturbed, and on a mantelpiece which juts out from the bare wall a clock remained going.

When all was over a humorist from one of the neighbouring houses came down to inquire whether, after all the trouble, the gas supply of Trinity College had been put right.

BOMBARDMENT OF LIBERTY HALL.

HURRIED EXIT OF THE REBELS.

On Wednesday the steamer *Helga*, formerly a police patrol boat belonging to the Fisheries Department, and lately employed by the Admiralty in connection with the war, was brought up the Liffey, and anchored nearly opposite the Custom House, with the intention of bombarding Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Citizen Army.

As most people are aware, the loop-line railway bridge intervenes between the Custom House and Liberty Hall, and in addition to this formidable obstruction to the line of fire one of Guinness's steamers was lying close to Butt Bridge. It was impossible under these conditions to bring direct fire to bear upon the objective. The gunners on the *Helga* were accordingly obliged to adopt a plan of dropping fire.

The military in occupation of the Custom House prepared to co-operate, and by removing portions of the wall facing Liberty Hall were able to obtain effective positions for their machine guns.

The bombardment commenced about eight o'clock in the morning, and for over an hour a continuous cannonade was maintained. There was no return fire from the rebels, who were supposed to be in occupation of Liberty Hall, but the bombardment caused intense excitement in the district, where there is a large population of the poorer class of residents. With every shot the houses were shaken, and the people were almost panic-stricken.

After the expenditure of a great amount of ammunition, the *Helga* withdrew further down the river. It was then seen that the outer shell of Liberty Hall had been very little damaged. All the windows had been blown in, but the surrounding brickwork was only slightly injured. The interior, however, was a mass of debris. The adjoining premises, occupied as an office by Messrs. Pickford, carriers, also suffered by the bombardment, the whole building having been blown to pieces. It was stated that during the previous night the "garrison" had been warned of the approach of the *Helga*, and made good their escape.

Irish Independent. May. 9th

AN INFAMOUS CHARGE.

During the present period of acute anxiety and distress, we should gladly avoid anything of the nature of newspaper recriminations, and only extreme provocation would make us depart from this position. In justice to ourselves and our readers we cannot, however, allow to pass unnoticed the scandalously libellous statements made yesterday by the "Freeman's Journal." Never were malicious assertions which the authors knew well to be untrue more deliberately put forward for a sinister purpose. They are worthy of the "Freeman's Journal" in the blackest era of its chequered existence. The object of making such allegations in a time of heat and excitement is plain. It is to incite the authorities to suppress this journal, which has rendered as good service to the cause of the Allies as any Irish newspaper, but, not always seeing eye-to-eye with the Nationalist leaders and their so-called official organ, has dared, on occasion, to criticise the weakness or inactivity of the people's elected representatives. The "Freeman" attack is inspired by malice engendered by its own failure and envy of the success which has been attained by this journal. By methods such as it now employs against opponents, a sometime reputable organ has brought itself down to the wretched and despised position which it occupies to-day.

We have plainly stated our view that the primary causes of the insurrection were the abrogation of the Arms Act, the paltering with the Carsonite revolt in Ulster, and the nerveless weakness of the Liberal Government in dealing with the Syndicalists in Dublin and elsewhere. The suspension of the Arms Act had the approval of the Nationalist leaders and the "Freeman's Journal." That organ treated the Covenanted movement as a sort of circus parade, and could not speak in terms too contemptuous of the Carsonite army and its reviews. Mr. Birrell and the Cabinet were undoubtedly influenced by the attitude of the Irish Party's organ, and the "Freeman's Journal" must bear no small share of the responsibility for the blundering policy which was pursued until the inevitable panic supervened upon the discovery that a dangerous business was entirely out of hand. The cowardly part played by the "Freeman's Journal" in relation to the Dublin Syndicalist strikes is not forgotten. It lent its support to the Syndicalists as long as it was safe to do so, and then, as one of its proteges remarked, "it ratted." Of every exhibition of Mr. Birrell's propensity to save himself trouble our contemporary signified its high approval. The Chief Secretary was its spoiled darling, and even Sir Matthew Nathan could do no wrong. Had Mr. Birrell done his duty in regard to the Ulster revolt there would have been no National or Irish Volunteers. If the Carsonites had been prevented from supplying themselves with arms and openly drilling with the declared purpose of preparing for civil war, the Sinn Feiners would never have had the power or the means to force a rebellion. The Irish and National Volunteers merely followed the Covenanters' example, and the Sinn Feiners availed of the war and of what they regarded as England's difficulties, to push it to its logical conclusion.

To allege, as the "Freeman's Journal" does that the statement published in

October, 1914, about the Militia Ballot Act caused the rebellious outbreak in Easter week, 1916, is so wildly, glaringly malicious that at any other time the charge could be treated with quiet contempt. To say that the recent protests against the withdrawal of Irish grants and the over-taxation of this country encouraged the incendiaries to begin their work is as disgraceful a libel as ever appeared outside the columns of a gutter sheet. The authors of it are evidently desperate enough to resort to any device, however mean and dastardly, if, by adopting it, they could hope to remove a successful rival from the path. We have set out what we regard as the causes of the rebellion. The "Freeman's Journal" ignores the abrogation of the Arms Act, and it has not a word of condemnation for the Syndicalists of Liberty Hall, for the "Citizen Army," which at one time it took under its wing, or for any of the reckless firebrands who have done their worst to keep Dublin in a turmoil since the first day they set foot in the city. Our attitude towards them is well known, and to say that we would give them any support or countenance is absurd. It was reported last December that they were desirous of for-

cing matters to a crisis in connection with the labour troubles in Dublin, but even since then the "Freeman's Journal" has been advocating an easy toleration of themselves and their fellow-conspirators. Mr. T. P. O'Connor himself refers to the rising as to a certain extent the backwash of the Larkin movement, but the Party organ will not acknowledge this. Yesterday it devoted less than 30 lines to the responsibility of Sir Edward Carson for the misery which has come upon Dublin, and more than a column to an attack upon the "Irish Independent," which, forsooth, was the fountain head of all the trouble, because it criticised at times the infallible Party leaders and the unerring official organ. It would be convenient to have a widely-read, independent journal like ours out of the way, and we have no doubt that members of the "Freeman's Journal" staff with as yet unsatisfied aspirations would not enjoy in anticipation the reward of their patient service in positions more secure and profitable.

Let us review the facts. The Howth gun-running took place a week before the outbreak of war, and the Co. Wicklow exploit a week or two afterwards. These imitations of Carsonite law-breaking placed the Sinn Feiners in possession of the arms which shot down the military in Easter week. They both took place when the Volunteers were united and after the movement had come under the auspices of Mr. Redmond and the "Freeman's Journal." Mr. Redmond had placed it in charge of a mixed body composed of a certain number of his own supporters and some Sinn Feiners, and these exercised control at the time, though they never agreed. When the Sinn Feiners seceded later on they managed to retain practically all the arms and ammunition thus secured when Mr. Redmond's influence was supreme. These supplies of arms and munitions were augmented by others received with enemy aid, financial and otherwise, which encouraged the insurgents in the criminally insane determination to rise against the

power of England. The anti-recruiting speeches, and the pro-German publications in Dublin and elsewhere, did much damage almost from the commencement of the war. What was the attitude of the "Freeman's Journal" towards these heralds of revolt? It consistently opposed the policy of suppressing them as mischievous and unnecessary, treated them as contemptible and as an insignificant faction of nonentities, and virtually told the Cabinet and the Irish Executive to leave them alone as they could do no harm. To a large extent the Government acted on that advice, and to-day we see the result. If the "Freeman's Journal," which is scattering allegations broadcast, thinks it can relieve itself of the criminal culpability which it shares with Mr. Birrell and the Irish Executive it must presume that the Irish public have short memories. It is, however, characteristic of our contemporary that it should try to throw the blame on others and to make political capital out of a desperate crisis. We also remember that when the military authorities took proceedings in Belfast to secure the deportation of some of the leaders, Mr. Joseph Devlin protested against this and made a demand for public investigation in order to free the Irish Party of any suspicion of having countenanced active measures to stay the progress of the insurrectionary propaganda.

It was freely rumoured some weeks ago in Dublin that the military viewed the situation with considerable alarm, but that the civil authorities prevented the arrest and internment of the Sinn Fein leaders. If that had been done there might have been some commotion, but all the bloodshed, all the sacrifice of innocent lives, and all the other terrible consequences of the rising could have been prevented, as without the leaders the rank and file would have been powerless. About the time to which we refer the "Freeman's Journal" wrote that there was no disaffection in Ireland that would make stamping it out a necessary or useful process, "and the fact that hotheads trail their coat-tail and ask for trouble is no good reason for gratifying them by responding to their invitation." It augurs an insolent hardihood on the part of a newspaper which took up this attitude so recently as April 11th, to brazen out its cowardly ineptitude by libellous attacks on a journal which has acted straightforwardly in the national interest. We have been obliged to put these facts before the public in our vindication because of the scandalous allegations of our contemporary. Our readers need not expect us to pursue an unpleasant controversy at the time of a great national crisis.

SIR ROGER CASEMENT.

HOW HE WAS CAPTURED.

SLEEPING IN AN OLD FORT.

There are some points about the landing of Sir Roger Casement (says a *Times* correspondent "somewhere in Kerry") as to which there is still a considerable amount of mystery, which will no doubt be cleared up when the Admiralty report is published. But the land side of the operation possesses all the simplicity of failure. Standing as I did to-day on the spot where the forlorn attempt began and ended, it is difficult to understand what was really hoped or intended.

Banna Strand is a magnificent stretch of six miles of firm sand ending in the north, at Ballybeige, under the shelter of Kerry Head, and in the south at Barrow Harbour, which separates it from the island of Fenit. It is an ideal *plage*, but it is the worst of possible landing places, and the communications inland are quite impossible for a considerable distance. The motor in which I reached it from Tralee was hopelessly stuck in the sand even before the so-called road ended, and the rest was a weary walk over dunes and soft sand.

Here, towards dawn of Good Friday, a peasant, thriftily intent on the picking up of such wreckage or flotsam as the tide might have left behind, came on a boat of strange build, empty and half-afloat, rolling to and fro with the waves. The four oars, or paddles, were adrift too, and these he secured after pulling the boat up on the strand. There was a sheathed dagger lying in the bottom of the boat. This was evidently something quite out of the common, and the peasant, scenting mischief, very wisely made his way to the police station at Ardfert, some miles off, and reported the matter to the sergeant in charge.

The sergeant, true to the fine tradition of the Royal Irish, promptly rose to the occasion. Himself and three constables constituted the garrison of what had become for the moment an outpost of Empire. The station must be guarded—that comes first; so one constable must be left behind. The other two, with the sergeant at their head, go out to face the unknown.

TRACKING SIR ROGER.

A villager is met who speaks to having seen three men walking across the sandhills, and there are reports of a mysterious motor, with five occupants, making at top speed for Tralee. The boat is reached, and in the growing light a keen search is made for traces of its occupants. The sand is examined foot by foot, and traces of recent disturbance are found, and further search reveals three revolvers, with a good store of ammunition, three flash-lamps, maps, a cipher code, and the green and gold flag of the Sun Fein Republic—a flag "made in Germany," but destined never to float over Dublin Castle.

The search for the fugitives was at once started—no easy matter among trackless sand dunes. Descriptions had been circulated of Sir Roger Casement, among other persons "wanted," but the sergeant seems to have had no premonition of the nature of his capture when finally he came on a figure half concealed among the brambles and blackthorn in an old Irish "rath," or circular fort, a couple of miles away.

When challenged and secured Casement tried a little bluster about his right to sleep in an old rath if so disposed, but the sergeant countered with the Defence of the Realm Act, and the prisoner made no further resistance. He gave the name of Richard Morton, with an address in England, and went quietly to the barracks. In the *Hue and Cry*, Casement is, of course, depicted with a black board, and the prisoner was close shaven, but when the photograph was closely compared with the face there was little room for doubt. Roger Casement was taken, and the little white-washed orderly room of Ardfert Barracks took its place in history.

Shortly after another constable came in with another prisoner. He chatted quite freely with his captors as to his experiences. At any rate, he was not a Kerry man. And so the curtain drops on the local story. Casement and his recruit were soon on the road to Tralee and Killarney, and Kerry will see them no more.

MYSTERY OF THREE BOATS.

A word about the mysterious boat, or boats, for there are three of them in the story. The Flying Dutchman, the arms boat, lay outside Tralee Bay. It was flying the Dutch flag, but was picked up by a British patrol vessel and ordered to Queenstown for further search. Near Daunt's Rock, so the story was told me, it suddenly hoisted the German flag, the crew put off in two boats, and the vessel sank. As for the submarine, no one seems to have seen it; its very existence depends apparently on the story of Casement's companion, who, it appears, declares that they came from Germany in such a vessel. On that the Admiralty report will no doubt throw all necessary light.

As for the captured boat, the so-called "collapsible," it is not collapsible at all, but is a very stout and rigid little punt, presumably constructed for such service. It is brand new, grey-coloured, and quite without grace of form. In fact, it has no more "lines" than the canvas and wicker "coraghs" in which the Arna fishermen, greatly daring, venture on the waters of Galway Bay. It is 10ft. or 12ft. long by perhaps 4ft. wide, has two thwarts and four short oars, and is provided with neither rudder nor keel.

There are two striking peculiarities—first, a kind of rim of canvas-covered rubber like a tire, designed apparently to act as a "fender," or to facilitate tight packing in a confined space; and it is also provided with a zinc or aluminium chamber running round the inside of the framework as the rubber fender runs outside. It has a screw plug, and might be used to hold water or petrol—or possibly simply as an air-chamber to prevent sinking. A quite clumsy and uncouth-looking craft and quite unfitted to navigate the strong surf which is constantly breaking on the Atlantic-beaten western coast.

Die-hards and the Insurrection.

The appeal of sane and responsible men to the Coercionist Press to restrain its arduous but apparently fallen on deaf ears among the Die-Hards. That party have always exhibited a peculiar denseness and absence of humour; but the ironical indecency of their present frenzy in face of what has come in Ireland largely because of their own encouragement of lawlessness and sedition, is staggering. "The Irish Times," for example, indicts Mr. Birrell because he looked on while

"Steady preparations for an armed

rising in Ireland have been visible to the naked eye. Arms were imported freely; illegal drillings and marchings took place in all parts of the country; there was an orgy of violent language and seditious newspapers. Similar symptoms crowded on one another's heels, and the country became thoroughly alarmed. Mr. Birrell, the Government, and the British public received a thousand warnings. Mr. Birrell and the Government took no notice, and the British public was helpless."

There could not be a more graphic picture of the conditions organised in Ireland by the Die-Hards. That they should now come forth shrieking for the blood and degradation of the victims that their evil precedent and example found in Ireland is perhaps only in the nature of things. "The Morning Post," that made itself the organ of the Military Cabal two years ago, wants "justice." "Justice," it explains, is the ready revenge of the battle-field and the theatre of war. It protests against the irresponsibles of the insurrection being interned in England, while this "justice" is being inflicted because the Civil Law operates in England. It asks why the insurgents should be transported to England. The reason, we should imagine, is simple. It is probably because the Ireland that the Die-Hards threatened with Civil War was so peaceable and law-abiding that it had no use for the jails that might now hold the insurgents whom the evil example of the Die-Hards has led to their ruin. Primate Crozier has naturally joined the chorus. As the consecrator of the machine-guns of the Die-Hards, he achieves the singular distinction of being the only person of note in the Three Kingdoms who has attempted to identify the whole people of Ireland with the mad action of the small gang that have realised the Primate's ideal of Civil War in Ireland. The whole performance is indecent and exasperating. But it is so indecent that we have a confident hope that it will produce a new and unbreakable union of all the men, Nationalist and Unionist, in Ireland who are determined that out of the disasters of to-day there shall spring a united nation that will have no trucklings with the disturbers of its peace. The Die-Hards make a great mistake if they think that they can blind the public, British or Irish, Unionist or Nationalist, to the Die-Hard share of responsibility for the Black Week of Ireland's latest history. For their own interest let them keep silence. Their shrieks for "justice" on their victims merely remind honest men that the place of the shriekers should long ago have been the dock or the court-martial room. Their clamour happily makes no impression upon the British public, or the British Dominions Overseas. General Botha's message to Mr. Redmond, and the generous and friendly messages of support and sympathy from Australasia, show that in the remotest corners of the Empire the truth about the situation in Ireland is thoroughly understood. The Irish Leader is recognised throughout the Empire as the true representative of his nation, and as the most trustworthy Irish pillar of the united strength of the freedom-loving peoples in the trials that they have yet to endure. In this manifestation the Irish people have full compensation for the malevolent incitements of former traders in Civil War, and the most reliable guarantee of the confidence which inspires them that this malevolence will be defeated.

HALT!

Now that every one of the rebel leaders has been accounted for, we but echo the common sentiment when we say "enough of bloodshed." Today the country is once more peaceful, the abnormal state of things existing for the past fortnight is at an end. The last act of the grim tragedy has been played, and we would wish that the whole wretched series of occurrences should as soon as possible be allowed to sink into oblivion. The main object of the criminal law is not so much the punishment of criminals as the affording of a warning to possible criminals of the consequences of their evil-doing.

The whole country condemns the insensate folly of the misguided men who organised this abortive rebellion. It has nothing but a feeling of horror and reprobation for the action of the rebel leaders. These men, many of them persons of no mean education and endowed with literary gifts beyond the average, have paid the penalty. Eight have been executed after secret trial by Field Court Martial, and of the signatories to the "Republican Proclamation" all, except Connolly, who lies wounded in hospital, have answered for their acts with their lives. Numerous others have been sentenced to penal servitude, transportation, or incarceration for more or less lengthy periods—either for life or for a term of years.

In this horrible struggle which has wrecked the Irish capital, which has drenched our streets with blood and lighted the neighbouring country with the flames of burning buildings, surely blood enough has been shed. This, too, is the view taken by the well-balanced organs of public opinion in England. The "Daily Chronicle," "Newspapers like the "Daily News," the "Westminster Gazette," the "Manchester Guardian," and "The Nation" have taken up that note, and it is time that it should be heard and heeded by those in authority.

We condemn the acts of these men blinded by fanaticism, but we cannot lose sight of all the circumstances. More than once we have drawn attention to the menace of physical force movements in Ireland at a time when we felt that the formation of the Carson Volunteers and the countenance given to these armed bodies by the Government of the day was likely to lead to serious trouble later on. We say now that in fixing the responsibility for what has occurred the Government will find it difficult to wash its hands clean of the bloodstains. Their indifference was an encouragement, if not an actual incitement to the fanatics, to realise the dream of generations, and these poor misguided men have paid the penalty.

We have no patience with either newspapers or individuals who continue to clamour for further extreme reprisals on the miserable dupes who allowed themselves to be drawn into the wild, destructive orgy of the past

fortnight. Their work was evil; the consequences of their lunacy have been horrible, but it is always a safe line for those who administer justice to show a disposition to pity persons suffering from a delusion rather than to punish them. We warn the Government that a period of reaction has set in; the time of danger is past; the people of this country and our citizens are anxious once more to set their house in order and to work out the destiny of their unfortunate country and of their ruined and looted capital.

If bloodshed is continued the thoughts of the people will be turned from this good purpose to the morbid contemplation of hideous incidents that should be blotted from memory. In this month last year De Wat, the rebel South African leader, after an open trial, in which he was found guilty of treason, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a heavy fine. When the English strikers stopped work, and thereby were guilty of an actual act of treachery to their fellow-countrymen in the trenches, no such heavy punishment was meted out to the culprits. In the words of the "Manchester Guardian," "enough, and more than enough, has been done for example and warning—death sentences ought to cease."

We would remind these dangerous agitators who cry out for vengeance that "too far east is west," and that as a matter of policy, and not merely on grounds of humanity, the time has come to cry "Halt!" Let the national password be "Friends," not "Foes."

The Freeman's Journal.

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1916.

Mr. Birrell's Chief Secretaryship.

Mr. Birrell's Chief Secretaryship has ended in tragedy and disaster. The circumstances of his resignation present him as an object for all the miserable daws of the party Press to peck at. But his failure has been the common failure of every Englishman who has attempted the rule of Ireland from Dublin Castle; and the peculiar blackness of the failure springs from the conditions under which the last year of his administration was attempted. The concluding disaster will not blind an intelligent and grateful Irish people to the good that he achieved while good was possible. His rescue of the Land Purchase scheme from the bankruptcy into which it had fallen through the failure of Mr. Wyndham's financial scheme secured to Ireland the practical completion of all the outstanding purchase agreements on their original terms. His generous treatment of the agricultural labourers' claims ensured, just in time and before the gigantic war expenditure made it impossible, the almost complete rescue of the rural working population from the horrible

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old-time housing conditions. Long after the bitterness of these days will have ceased to be a corroding memory the great educational institutions that he founded will be labouring for the elevation of Ireland's intellectual, commercial and national life. Where Mr. Birrell's disaster began was in his attempt to carry on the government of Ireland under the conditions imposed by the Coalition. A Government such as has existed in Ireland for the past ten or eleven months could exhibit neither the impudent unscrupulousness and brute strength of a Coercionist regime, nor the effective conciliatoriness of an Administration inspired by Irish opinion and advised by the authorised and trusted representatives of that opinion. The intrusion into it of the mouthers of sedition in Ulster robbed it of the confidence and respect of the people, and converted it into a scandal of which the Sinn Feiners made their evil profit. The Chief Secretary's power to derive some compensating strength from the friendship between the British and Irish peoples was wholly paralysed. He may be grateful and even proud that worse did not befall. He boasts quite truly that the Sinn Fein insurrection was no "Irish Rebellion." Not only is that true, but he may also claim that it is due to the large and statesmanlike policy which he came to Ireland to carry out, arrested and truncated as it was by the outbreak of the war, that the main strength of Ireland and the flower of its manhood has been mustered to the support of the British nations in their defence of liberty in Europe. Had he been less patriotic he might have escaped the censures and jeers with which the Tadpoles and Tapers pursue him in his fall. He might have refused to attempt the impossible and carry on in Ireland under the conditions which the Coalition Hybrid imposed. But he stuck to what he regarded as his duty, and he failed as he was bound to fail under the conditions, in keeping wholly in check the forces of civil strife which the example of the Coronated Syndicalists and seditious Privy Councillor and mutinous Generals of the Covenant had given an example, an organisation, an armoury, and even a gospel. The fruits of his successes will remain and will be garnered for generations after the bitter evils of his last disastrous failure have been repaired. Let it be his consolation that the good men and peace-loving citizens of the Ireland that loves liberty will remember the beginnings of the good that he wrought.

Daily Mail

ONDAY, MAY 1, 1916

THE DUBLIN TRAGEDY. THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE KNOWN.

By LOVAT FRASER.

The insurrection in Ireland may be collapsing, but it is impossible to exaggerate the profound impression created by the revelation of the Government's lax administration.

The disclosure came at a moment when an indignant House of Commons was tearing to shreds the Ministry's mean and nerveless attempt to dispose of the recruiting difficulty. It came when the Government, not in the public interest but in their own, had dealt the worst blow at the free expression of political thought since Milton wrote "Areopagitica." It came, too, when the thoughts of all were turning to the long agony of the besieged garrison at Kut, the victims of a decision of the Government which should never have been made.

For many months it has been reasonably certain that there would be an attempt at revolt in Ireland. In every newspaper office in London the possibility was known. Every Irish member of Parliament could see what was coming. The only people who could not see, or would not listen, were the Government and Mr. Birrell.

The newspapers were for the most part silent out of deference to the plea of "national unity," which has been the cloak for so much mischievous concealment. The *Irish Times*, the ablest newspaper in Ireland, published a grave and not obscure warning which passed unheeded. When private remonstrances were addressed to the Government Ministers produced their official car-stoppers of the sealed Coalition pattern. They plugged their ears, as gunners do at the front.

It is perfectly true and most important to remember that this wicked rebellion, which has gone off at half-cock, does not represent the real spirit of Ireland. The men who most truly typify the part which Ireland seeks to play in this great world-war are the Dublin Fusiliers, leaping from the boats into a hurricane of fire on the sands of Beach V at the Dardanelles; the Munster Fusiliers, calmly emerging from the steamship River Clyde to meet almost certain death; and Lieutenant Michael O'Leary, V.C., facing alone and unafraid a whole party of Germans and their machine-gun in France. Such men as these and the Irish prisoners of war who turned with proud scorn from Casement and his temptations stand for the bulk of Ireland to-day.

But there was always a leaven of irreconcilables, who saw no shame in staying at home, in pocketing German gold, and in playing at soldiers in the streets of Dublin. The position to some extent resembles that prevailing in India. The bulk of the people of India are overwhelmingly loyal and faithful to the British cause, but there is a section which will never be placated.

The reason why the Government and Mr. Birrell are very badly to blame is that there was never the least room for doubt about the ultimate objects of Sinn Fein. In many Radical quarters and newspapers it is now being suggested that Sinn Fein was an organisation of literary coterie, mildly interested in poetry and the Irish language, and the arming of Ulster deflected the minds

of the Sinn Feiners in new and more dangerous directions. We are asked to believe that, when Ulstermen signed the Covenant, Sinn Fein suddenly forsook quiet tea parties and took to drill sheds instead.

These statements are malignant nonsense. Sinn Fein was the direct outcome of the older Fenian organisations. Its members were the avowed inheritors of the Fenian aims and traditions. To do them justice they never made the slightest concealment of their intentions. They were "impatient idealists" who could not brook the constitutional methods of the Irish Parliamentary Party. They had sense enough to realise that Fenianism was drowned in whisky, and so they introduced a more ascetic note into their conclaves. But they were always quite frank, right down to the time when they openly practised street fighting and an attack on Dublin Castle while the authorities blandly looked on. I never met anyone in Ireland outside official circles who was under any illusions about Sinn Fein. Even the "Cambridge Modern History," a sedate and impartial work published in days when there was not a rifle in Ulster, openly traces the origin of Sinn Fein to "those in whom the old leaven of Fenianism was still active."

Another unpardonable and fatal mistake was that the Government professed to regard the Sinn Feiners with contempt because they were supposed to be comparatively few. This Ministry judges everything by votes, and hugged to itself the consoling thought that "Sinn Fein could not win elections." Sinn Fein did not want to do. Almost the only wholesome feature of its gospel was that healthy contempt for Westminster which is gradually spreading throughout the entire British nation. But what are we to think of a Government so regardless of history that it despised an openly revolutionary organisation because its adherents did not include the bulk of the population?

Revolutions have always been started in the first instance by handfuls of men. The horrors of the Reign of Terror in France still shock the world after an interval of more than a century. Does anyone suppose that the Terrorists represented the bulk of France? The Terror was imposed because a gang of savage miscreants seized control of France and kept their place by constant massacre. It was estimated at the time that the Terror never had in Paris more than 3,000 adherents, and the true voice of France spoke again on the day that Robespierre was beheaded. The Government, however, thought the Sinn Feiners did not matter because they did not represent all Ireland.

The same desire to minimise realities has run through the whole business both on the part of the Government and their supporters in the Press. We were told at first that this was "not a revolt but more of a riot." It was said that the insurgents derived their chief strength from the Larkinites, which is not the case. The Larkinites are a comparatively small auxiliary of Sinn Fein. We were told that the Germans were silly fools and that Sir Roger Casement was mad. There is nothing conspicuously foolish about this well-organised German plot which so very nearly succeeded in gravely embarrassing us. For almost incredible foolishness we must turn our eyes towards the Government which blandly permitted the Sinn Feiners to rehearse rebellion in Dublin. There is no trace of madness in Sir Roger Casement's share in the conspiracy. Yet, astonishing though it may sound, an English weekly review actually described him on Saturday as "a noble figure," and as "just of the stuff of which saints and their legends are made." Not in Ireland alone, it seems, are traitors glorified.

The real note of the Irish insurrection is its inexpressible sadness and folly. Ireland is now, as ever, the most unhappy country in the world. Neither Belgium nor Serbia has a history half so mournful. Loecky and Froude are both accused of bias, but one cannot read without a shudder the tragic recital of facts in their great works on Irish history.

When I travelled through Ireland a few months before the war the country seemed to be irradiated with the light of a new dawn. It was not the dawn of Home Rule, though I shall say nothing one way or the other about that bitter controversy. It was rather the dawn of a new prosperity, largely the outcome of the co-operative movement in rural districts. One heard with conviction the prophecy that in twenty years' time Ireland would be the most

prosperous country in the British Empire. The land question had been adjusted on terms which seemed to satisfy all concerned. It is melancholy to think that Irishmen have themselves shattered the fair prospect which appeared to be unfolding before them.

The one black spot was and is Dublin. The capital left an intangible impression of something radically wrong. The sulky, hopeless faces round Liberty Hall were those of men thinking of something else than Home Rule. I have never seen worse slums anywhere in the world, and the fine old mansions turned into rooking warrens were a distressing sight. People blamed the corporation. I do not know. I only know that Dublin under Larkinism struck me as the most depressing city I had ever visited.

Mr. Asquith said on Thursday that the Government would make "a searching investigation into the causes of and responsibility for the situation" in Ireland. If this means that everybody is to remain silent for six months while the Government appoint another ridiculous Committee, then protests should be made without delay. There is nothing to inquire into. Everybody knows the causes and where the responsibility lies. The cause of the Irish revolt is that a treasonable and revolutionary organisation was allowed to form itself into battalions, to bear arms, and openly and impudently to practise street fighting in the very streets of the capital while the Empire was at death grips with Germany. The responsibility rests with the Government which tolerated these extraordinary proceedings and permitted the outbreak of a civil war which need never have been begun. Apart from the Government as a whole, responsibility rests upon Mr. Birrell, upon Lord Wimborne, and upon Sir Matthew Nathan, the Permanent Under-Secretary for Ireland; but most of all upon Mr. Birrell.

On Tuesday Mr. Birrell said with characteristic inaccuracy that Parliament "may take it from me that the situation is now well in hand." There is only one thing this country will now take from Mr. Birrell. It will take leave of him as a Minister now and for ever.

On Easter Monday, 24th April, a carefully-planned revolution broke out in the city of Dublin, and for the past six days the city and the suburbs have been the scene of grave loss of life and destruction of property. The Sinn Fein Society claims that it organised the revolution, and that the Irish National Volunteers carried it out. The object of the movement, as stated in a proclamation issued on Monday afternoon, was to "proclaim an Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State." How far that object has failed is indicated by the fact that two-thirds of the Sinn Fein Army has been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner, and that the whole plot has been blown to pieces. A few of the rebels have yet to be rounded up, but for all practical purposes the revolution is now ended.

Preparations for the insurrection had been active for months past; large quantities of arms and ammunition were known to have arrived in Dublin, and an unusual activity in the way of "bluffing" the police had been going on. "Let sleeping dogs lie," was the policy of the Executive authority, and no visible effort was made to deal with the situation that was developing in the city. Then came Easter Monday, when the minds of most people were directed to holiday-making. No one took more than a passing interest in the Sinn Fein Volunteers as they passed along the streets in twos and threes to their appointed positions. Twelve o'clock in the day was the hour fixed for the beginning of the operations, and at that time or shortly afterwards bodies of armed Sinn Feiners quietly entered the buildings to which they had been assigned, turned out the occupants, and took possession. Anyone who resisted was promptly shot. In this way the principal buildings in the city were captured, and the rebels at once set about erecting barricades, and taking precautions against attack.

THE PRINCIPAL FORTRESS.

The General Post Office in Sackville street seems to have been the principal rebel "fortress." It was here that the "Commander of the Irish Army" made his headquarters and issued his orders. All corner houses commanding the approaches were garrisoned with snipers, who were hidden behind sandbags. Kelly's ammunition shop at the corner of Bachelor's Walk, and Hopkins's jewellery shop at the corner of Eden quay, were held in this way in great strength. Other houses on each side of Lower Sackville street were garrisoned in like manner, and then the work of provisioning the various garrisons having the Post Office as their centre was actively proceeded with, every variety of foodstuffs being commandeered at the point of the bayonet. All the telegraphic wires were cut, thus isolating the city from the rest of the country.

A COOL PROCEDURE.

The proceedings at St. Stephen's Green Park were somewhat similar. At midday small groups of Sinn Fein Volunteers were standing about the entrance gates, and at a given signal they quietly walked inside, closed the gates, posted armed guards at them, and then set about clearing all civilians out of the Park. In half an hour the Park was cleared of non-combatants.

The next move of the rebels was to take possession of a number of houses commanding the approaches, and amongst the places occupied were the Royal College of Surgeons at the corner of York street, and Little's public-house at the corner of Cuffe street. The houses at other points were not so advantageously situated, but numerous snipers were placed in them.

Dublin Castle, the headquarters of the Irish Executive, was never seriously threatened with occupation by the rebels. A half-hearted and badly-organised attempt on the Castle was made at midday. A policeman on duty at the Upper Castle Gate was shot in cold blood, but the military came to the rescue and the invaders

were driven off. Other bodies of rebels succeeded in taking possession of buildings overlooking the approaches to the Upper Castle Yard. In this way the offices of the *Daily Express* and the *Evening Mail* were entered, and the staff were turned out at the point of the bayonet. The City Hall, the rear of which commands the offices of the Chief Secretary's Department, the Prisons Board, and other Government offices, was also filled with snipers.

THE RAILWAY TERMINI.

Simultaneously with these incidents, attempts were made to occupy the railway termini in the city. Westland row Station and Harcourt street Station were early in the possession of the rebels, and the rails on the Kingstown line were torn up. The Harcourt street Station was found unsuitable for defence, and was abandoned at three o'clock in the afternoon. Abortive attempts were made to secure Amiens street Terminus and Kingsbridge Terminus, but Broadstone Terminus was reported to be in the hands of the rebels. Where they did not succeed in occupying the stations the rebels either blew up railway bridges or cut the lines, and nearly all the train communication with the city has been stopped since Monday last.

All the points in the city which were considered of strategical importance having been occupied by the rebels, their plans were further developed by the taking possession of positions controlling the approaches from military barracks. The Four Courts were early in their hands, and men were posted all over the building to attack troops which might approach along the quays from the direction of the Phoenix Park. The Four Courts Hotel, which adjoins the Courts, was garrisoned. On North Circular road, and at other places on the North side, strong barricades were erected. Liberty Hall was strongly held by the rebels, but the Custom House was left unmolested. Across the river, on the south side, Boland's Mill was fortified in every possible manner, and constituted a stronghold of great strategical importance. Round by Northumberland road, Pembroke road, and Lansdowne road, private houses were occupied and garrisoned to resist the approach of reinforcements for the military from the Kingstown direction.

A SHORT FIGHT.

Portobello Bridge, which commands the approach to the city from the military barracks at that place, was the scene of a short, but severe fight, shortly after midday on Monday. The rebels had taken possession of Davy's public-house, which is close to the bridge and faces the barracks. Their presence was disclosed at an early stage by an attempt to assassinate an officer who happened to be passing over the bridge. He fortunately escaped and gave the alarm. A small number of soldiers was turned out at once, but was unable to dislodge the rebels. Strong reinforcements were sent out, and after a short and sharp fight the public-house was carried, and the military have remained in possession ever since. Those of

the rebels who were not killed or wounded were discovered next day, it is stated, concealed in upturned empty porter barrels.

A WORKHOUSE AS FORT.

At more remote places in the Southern suburbs rebels had taken up positions of defence, but strong cavalry patrols hunted them from point to point, and finally dispersed them, though not until many of the soldiers had been wounded. The South Dublin Union in James's street and a distillery in Marrowbane lane were two other strong points in the Sinn Fein plan. Both places were guarded, and machine guns were used in their defence. The workhouse was attacked by the military on Monday, and after a stiff fight, during which many casualties occurred on both sides, the remnant of the rebel garrison was driven into one part of the premises, where they were maintaining their struggle overnight, but were finally defeated on Tuesday morning.

Mention should also be made of Jacob's Biscuit Factory in Bishop street. This large establishment, though it does not occupy a strategical position of any importance, was filled with foodstuffs of various descriptions, and probably in this respect it was deemed necessary to instal in it a large garrison, so as to make certain that supplies would be available for the rebels in other places. If this was the idea it never had the slightest chance of succeeding, as the factory was early in the week surrounded by a military cordon and not an ounce of stuff ever passed out of it in relief of the commissariat at other fighting centres.

COLD-BLOODED MURDER.

The foregoing will give a rough outline of the military position on the evening of the first day of the rebellion. Many instances of cold-blooded murder by Sinn Feiners took place during the day in various parts of the city. The most disgraceful was

the shooting down of several members of the Veterans Corps on Haddington road. A large muster of this corps had gone out on a route march to Ticknock, and when they were returning in the afternoon to their headquarters at Beggar's Bush Barracks they were ambushed in Haddington road by a body of Sinn Feiners, who poured volleys of rifle shots into the ranks of the defenceless Veterans. Five were fatally, and many others seriously, wounded. The rest of the Veterans got to their barracks, where they had to remain until yesterday.

LOOTING.

Looting was extensively practised on Monday. The "underworld" of the city quickly realised their opportunity, and first tackled the shops in Lower Sackville street. The windows were smashed, and hordes of hoodlums crowded into the shops, returning with bundles of wearing apparel of all descriptions. Noblett's, at the corner of Earl street, and Lemon's, in Lower Sackville street, were tit-bits for the younger section of the roughs, who made merry with boxes of chocolates, sweets, etc., all the afternoon. The toy shops were also centres of great activity, and then having exhausted Lower Sackville street the crowd swept round into Earl street and Henry street, where they found an abundance of variety that suited every taste. Boys and girls were swaggering about, dressed in the most fantastic apparel, and all had their arms full of mechanical and other toys, bookeys and golf sticks, and all kinds of articles used in popular pastimes.

MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS.

All through Monday night the military were hastily summoning reinforcements from the Curragh, Belfast, and England, and on Tuesday afternoon these forces began to arrive in the city. Almost in every instance the soldiers could only be conveyed to within five or six miles of Dublin owing to the interruption of the railway communication, and the men had a long and exhausting march, carrying their full equipment, before they arrived at the barracks to which they had been posted. On the way they were crippled by Sinn Feiners, and had to be continually on the alert to repel attack.

Meanwhile the available forces of the Crown had been engaged all Tuesday morning in conflict with the entrenched rebels, and many fiercely-contested engagements took place. At daybreak troops were posted in houses overlooking St. Stephen's Green Park, and a raking fire was sprayed from machine guns all over the Park, while soldiers picked off every rebel who showed himself. They still, however, managed to hold the Park in much reduced numbers.

Another body of troops surrounded Cork Hill, and a fierce struggle took place for the possession of the *Daily Express* building. Artillery was brought into play, and prepared the way for a charge. This was carried out by the soldiers in gallant style, a terrible fight taking place on the only staircase leading to the upper rooms. Many casualties took place at this stage. The military ultimately carried the position, and either killed or captured the garrison.

IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

Later on Tuesday the positions occupied near Phibsborough were attacked. The barricades erected near the railway bridges were destroyed by gun fire, about forty casualties being reported and one hundred prisoners secured. These operations resulted in the whole of the North Circular road being in the hands of the military; the Sinn Feiners who escaped it ran for shelter in the direction of Glasnevin Cemetery. The military net was then drawn closer on the city from the North side, but no attempt was made on Tuesday to attack the rebels in their central "fortresses."

All day on Tuesday the ambulances were busily employed conveying the wounded to the nearest hospitals, the staffs of which nobly responded to the calls that were made upon them at all hours of the day and night.

More looting took place in the streets in the vicinity of Nelson's Pillar. Messrs. Lawrence's large photographic and toy emporium in Upper Sackville street was one of the principal places cleared. The crowd of looters had matters all their own way for hours, and revelled in the destruction of the property. Some exciting scenes were witnessed when the fireworks were brought out and exploded. Rockets rushed up in the air and burst with a sound like a cannon, and all the smaller sorts of fireworks were thrown whizzing about amongst the crowd. Finally the premises were set on fire and burned to the ground.

In the suburbs many fights with the rebels also took place, the only result being additions to the list of casualties.

POSITION WORSE.

Martial Law was proclaimed in Dublin City and County on Tuesday night.

On Wednesday morning the position of affairs was worse than before. The Sinn Feiners had been driven to the wall, and were fighting with desperation. More troops, with artillery, were continually arriving in the city,

and after a short rest they were brought into action, but they had to fight for every foot of ground they gained. For the most part it was an unseen foe with whom they had to contend.

At eight o'clock on Wednesday morning the Admiralty steamer *Helga* came up the Liffey, and bombarded Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Citizen Army. Owing to the Loop Line Bridge intervening between the ship and Liberty Hall, direct firing could not be brought to bear upon the building. The ship's gunners, however, dropped shells on the hall, the roof and interior of which were destroyed by bursting shells, but the outer shell of the house has not been much injured by fire. The garrison escaped before the bombardment commenced.

SNIPING.

By the afternoon of Wednesday the military were in possession of Brunswick street, and all the district between that thoroughfare and the river and right up to D'Olier street. Sentries were placed at the entrance of a lane leading from D'Olier street to the Theatre

Royal. The soldiers had not been long there before one of the snipers in Kelly's shop at the corner of Bachelor's Walk shot one of them dead. The military then brought a nine-pounder gun into position at Trinity College, facing D'Olier street, and bombarded Kelly's corner. This was the first appearance of artillery in the centre of the city, and the bombardment greatly alarmed the people who reside in the immediate vicinity. Kelly's shop was riddled with shot, and the garrison had to evacuate the position. One peculiar effect of the gunfire was noticed yesterday. A shell struck an electric light standard at the corner, and bored a hole clean through the metal without bringing down the standard.

Looting continued in the back streets all Wednesday, and in the evening several houses were set on fire.

THE CLIMAX.

Bad as the previous day had been, the crisis reached its climax on Thursday and Friday. Artillery was brought into play at every point, and the air reverberated with nerve-wracking explosives. All day long the bombardment continued unceasingly, and every night the centre of the city was illuminated with great conflagrations. The Hotel Metropole and all that block of buildings for a long distance into Middle Abbey street were burned down, including the *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Telegraph* offices, Messrs. Easons, Messrs. Manfields, and Messrs. Thom's printing establishment. Then the General Post Office was given to the flames, and was destroyed—only the bare walls of this fine building remain. This particular fire extended down Henry street as far as the large warehouse of Messrs. Arnott and Co., which is still intact, but is flooded with water. The Coliseum Theatre is also destroyed.

On the opposite side of Sackville street all the shops have been burned down from Hopkins's corner at O'Connell Bridge right up to the Tramway Company's offices at Tyrone place. The fire extended backwards, and enveloped and destroyed almost all the houses down to Marlborough street. These include the premises of the Royal Hibernian Academy, with its valuable collection of pictures, and the offices of the *Irish Cyclist*, while on the opposite side of Lower Abbey street the branch of the Hibernian Bank, Mooney's publichouse, "the Ship" publichouse, and Union Chapel have gone in the flames. Round in Sackville street the scarred skeletons of the D.B.C. restaurant and Clery's Warehouse stand like sentinels in the midst of a scene of desolation that beggars description. The only bit of Lower Sackville street left is the block of shops from the corner of Lower Abbey street to O'Connell Bridge on the right-hand side looking from the Pillar. The two corner houses on this block, however, have been seriously damaged, the one by artillery and the other (occupied by the Y.M.C.A. as a soldiers' supper room) by fire.

FIRES.

The whole of Sackville street, from the Pillar to O'Connell Bridge, is thickly strewn with debris, and many of the walls of the burned buildings are in danger of collapsing at any moment.

The Sackville street end of Henry street, Lower Abbey street, Middle Abbey street, and Earl street are impassable, the debris being piled in heaps right across the thoroughfares.

The world famous O'Connell Statue is but little injured. Several of the figures have been pitted with bullets, and the figure of the Liberator served as a billet for many bullets, one of them drilling a hole just over the right side.

THE COLLAPSE.

On Saturday afternoon P. H. Pearse, of St. Enda's College, Rathfarnham, one of the leaders of the rebels, surrendered on their behalf to General Lowe at the Headquarters of the Military Command at Parkgate street.

Several sections of insurgents, however, refused to obey the orders of their leaders, and continued to resist the military until Sunday, when all, except in a few isolated cases, had surrendered. These few are stated to be concealed in premises at Marrowbone lane on the one side of the city and at Northumberland road district on the other side. They are

surrounded by military, and it is only a matter of time until they are annihilated or surrender.

THE NEW GOVERNOR.

General Sir John Maxwell has now full control in Ireland. He has issued a proclamation extending Martial Law to the whole of Ireland, and has forbidden civilians to be out of their homes between the hours of 6 p.m. and 9 a.m., unless they are in possession of a military permit.

Up till Sunday it was a matter of serious personal risk to move about in the centre of the city, as all the streets were being swept by ball fire. One instance may be given out of many. A man fell dead on O'Connell Bridge three days ago, and it was only on Sunday that his body could be removed. In many other cases dead bodies have lain in houses for three days owing to the inability of the relatives to obtain coffins.

FREE FOOD DEPOTS.

Foodstuffs have run short in all parts of the city owing to the fact that several of the large bakery establishments were in the hands of the rebels.

The Irish Executive, acting in conjunction with the Local Government Board, opened 31 free food depots in various parts of the city, and during Saturday night and Sunday distributed parcels of food to thousands of hungry women and children.

Considerably over 1,000 prisoners, including the Countess Markievicz, have been taken, and their trial was proceeding all day yesterday in the various military centres.

The news received from other parts of Ireland is reassuring. The country on the whole is in a quiet state.

DUBLIN: TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1916.

Drastic Severity.

Four more insurgents were executed yesterday morning in Kilmainham Jail by sentence of the Military Tribunal. Only one of the four was a signatory to the revolutionary proclamation, and none of the other names will be recognised by anybody in Ireland as the name of a man who could be in any sense regarded as a leader of influence. There will be the gravest disappointment and uneasiness occasioned throughout Ireland by this drastic severity. It dashes to the ground the hope to which we gave expression on Friday that a prudent and merciful spirit would guide the military authorities, when the revolt had been crushed and extinguished. The universal opinion of the loyal Nationalists of Ireland, who have been opposed root and branch to all the mischievous activities and plottings of Sinn Fein, is that the executions have been already far too numerous and that more than enough blood had been shed. Irishmen were encouraged to hope by the announcements in British newspapers in close touch with the Government that an end was being reached in the reign of severity. These fresh executions,

however, are wholly inconsistent with the semi-official statements; unless, indeed, the War Office has once again asserted its independence of Ministerial control in its dealings with Ireland and has taken a free rein.

The result on popular sentiment is wholly disastrous. Sympathy is being aroused with the victims where nothing but indignant condemnation of their criminal enterprise previously existed. The wildest rumours are already in circulation and are exciting popular apprehensions. The most serious of these, and that which is producing the most mischievous results, is that secret executions have taken place of unarmed prisoners without trial, and are still taking place. The reports are being used to inflame public feeling. We do not for a moment believe such rumours, and we appeal to those that have authority among the people to allay the fears and apprehensions that are being aroused. But we feel it necessary also to appeal to the Military Authorities themselves to take such steps as may be necessary to dispel such hideous suspicions among the people. Such circumstances as surrounded the execution of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, of which official acknowledgment was for the first time made yesterday when his body was dug up in Portobello Barracks and conveyed to Glasnevin, are the food upon which exasperating rumour feeds. Mystery still surrounds his death. As far as the

public knew him he was the very reverse of the doctrinaire that sheds blood for the advance of his cause. He is known to have made a Quixotic attempt to organise a citizen police in the midst of the rising on Monday week, in order to put down looting. An official investigation has, it is stated, already taken place into the circumstances of his execution; but nothing short of a public inquiry into the facts and also into the circumstances of the deaths of the other men who were executed with him in Portobello Barracks will allay the suspicions and anxieties that have been aroused.

Everywhere one turns, among all classes of the population, and especially among the Nationalists of Ireland who for the past two years have been fighting and circumscribing the evil influences that have produced such tragic results, there is one universal argument being used. Men are pointing the contrast with South Africa, where the victorious General who put down the Rebellion, to the great good fortune of South Africa and its enduring union, loyalty and peace, happened also to be a wise and prudent statesman. There when the King's Arms were triumphant only one rebel was shot. People are asking why the difference? There would be some explanation of the severity practised here if the mass of the Irish people were in sympathy with the revolt, if the young Irish reserve battalions had been false to their trust, if anywhere in Ireland there was anything but an impotent minority that approved the insanity of the insurrection. Then the executions might be explained as intimidatory and preventive. But the conditions in Ireland are the very reverse of all that. Everywhere in England and in Ireland there is acknowledgment of the excellent spirit displayed by the masses of the people in the tragic crisis. Men of all parties and the Press of all parties have been practically unanimous in urging a prudent and merciful course. Lord Bryce, knowing well the effect that is certain to be produced in America by the course now being followed, was moved to a protest by the news of Thursday last. What will he think to-morrow? The cry of the miserable minority of Die-Hards for blood has been hearkened to, and a deaf ear turned to the wise and prudent and loyal counsels of statesmen who have regard for the future of Ireland, and of British relations with America. We should be false to our trust as Irish journalists concerned only for the peace of Ireland, our friendship with America, and the triumph of the cause for which the best blood of Nationalist Ireland is being shed in Flanders, if we did not protest against a policy that seems to be merely vindictive, which no statesmanship can justify and which threatens to wreck the healing effects of a generation of statesman-like efforts to establish friendship between the British and Irish peoples.

The Manchester Guardian says:—The executions in Dublin continue. To-day four more are announced, making seven in all, in addition to a score or so of sentences of penal servitude for long periods. Of these last, though particulars ought to be demanded by Parliament, we do not complain. They are subject to revision when circumstances appear to justify clemency. But the death sentences ought now to cease. Enough—more than enough—has been done for example and warning, and we have no need of another Bloody Assize. No doubt these men have rendered themselves liable to the death penalty, but then so have many hundreds, even thousands, of other men. Dublin is full of them. The matter is not one for the discretion of the military officers to whom was entrusted the work of putting down the rising. They have done their work courageously and well. But the question of retribution is one involving high considerations of policy which it is for the statesmen to determine. A strong plea and a very wise one was put forward in Parliament by the leaders of the two great Irish Parties, by Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson alike, for clemency to the rank and file. But who are the rank and file, and where is the line to be drawn? It is monstrous that a military tribunal, sitting in secret, should be allowed to determine this great and critical matter in hot blood. The responsibility is for the Cabinet, and it ought not to hesitate or to delay in its exercise. Sir Edward Carson put in a special plea for coolness and deliberation. In that he showed his wisdom and true manliness. There is no room for delay. If from weakness or carelessness the Cabinet seeks to shuffle off its responsibility on to the shoulder of the soldiers, it may be laying up for the future in the hearts of Irishmen the seeds of misfortune as great as those which are now wour sorrow and our shame.

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian says:—Court-martialing and shooting in Ireland have already created a reaction of feeling here. I hear a report that the Prime Minister has taken action to stop the shooting. I cannot verify the report, but the mere fact that it is current among serious and usually well-informed people is symptomatic. The feeling is that there is no political need for these hurried executions. They might be justified if rebellion were still raging and the Executive had to assert its power by a policy of terrorism. The rebellion, such as it was, is suppressed, and all danger to the State is gone by, if ever there was any. Further executions can only create martyrs and the shrines of martyrs to refresh and renew the old bitterness between England and Ireland. It is not forgotten that, after all, the Prime Minister of England is a Liberal and a Home-Ruler, trained in the Gladstonian tradition of sympathy for Ireland and clemency and conciliation towards Irish revolt. Now is the priceless opportunity for clemency and conciliation, and Ireland would reward it richly. For though the rebels are but a handful, and are much more at odds with their own countrymen than with us, we must not forget that Irishmen see the whole episode with different eyes from ours.

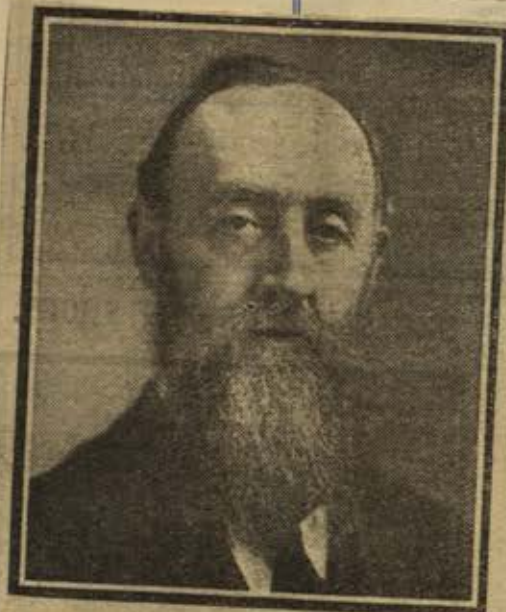
"THE WORKING MODEL OF THE EMEUTE."

The Nation in its current issue says:— But we cannot put even this argument of prudence in the forefront of our protest against this set of inconsiderate statesmanship. These men were guilty, deeply guilty—guilty to Ireland, guilty to England, most guilty of all in their association with a power like Germany. But they were not hard, cynical, self-seeking. Nor was Sinn Fein in its origin a violent or an irreconcilable movement. It had, indeed, distinct conservative tendencies in its revival of the old Irish idea of Grattan's Parliament, and in its leanings to Sir Horace Plunkett and his ideas of the internal cultivation of Ireland as opposed to Parliamentarism. There, indeed, lay a seed of danger. But

the earlier Sinn Fein was essentially idealist, full of the impatience and intolerance of youth, but touching Irish poetry and literature at one side of its faith and practice and economics at the other. That it was in itself a peril to the peace of Ireland we do not believe, even after it was infected by the Larkinites. Who, then, was the true author of the Irish reaction to force? Who but Sir Edward Carson? Of his acts and words the shattered streets in Dublin and the dead boys and men, English and Irish, that strayed them are the sad monuments. When the Ulster rebels captured post offices, cut telegraph and telephone wires, held up coastguards and Custom-house officers, and dared the British Army to come on against the rifles they had run into the country from German or other providers—the army which their leaders endeavoured to suborn—they furnished the working model of the Dublin *emeute*. Sherwood Foresters and Sinn Fein rebels are their evictims in the sense that offences come not merely through their doers but through their spiritual and actual progenitors. It was they who began it.



Count Plunkett, art critic and scholar, who was sentenced to death, and his wife, who is in custody. His sentence has been commuted.



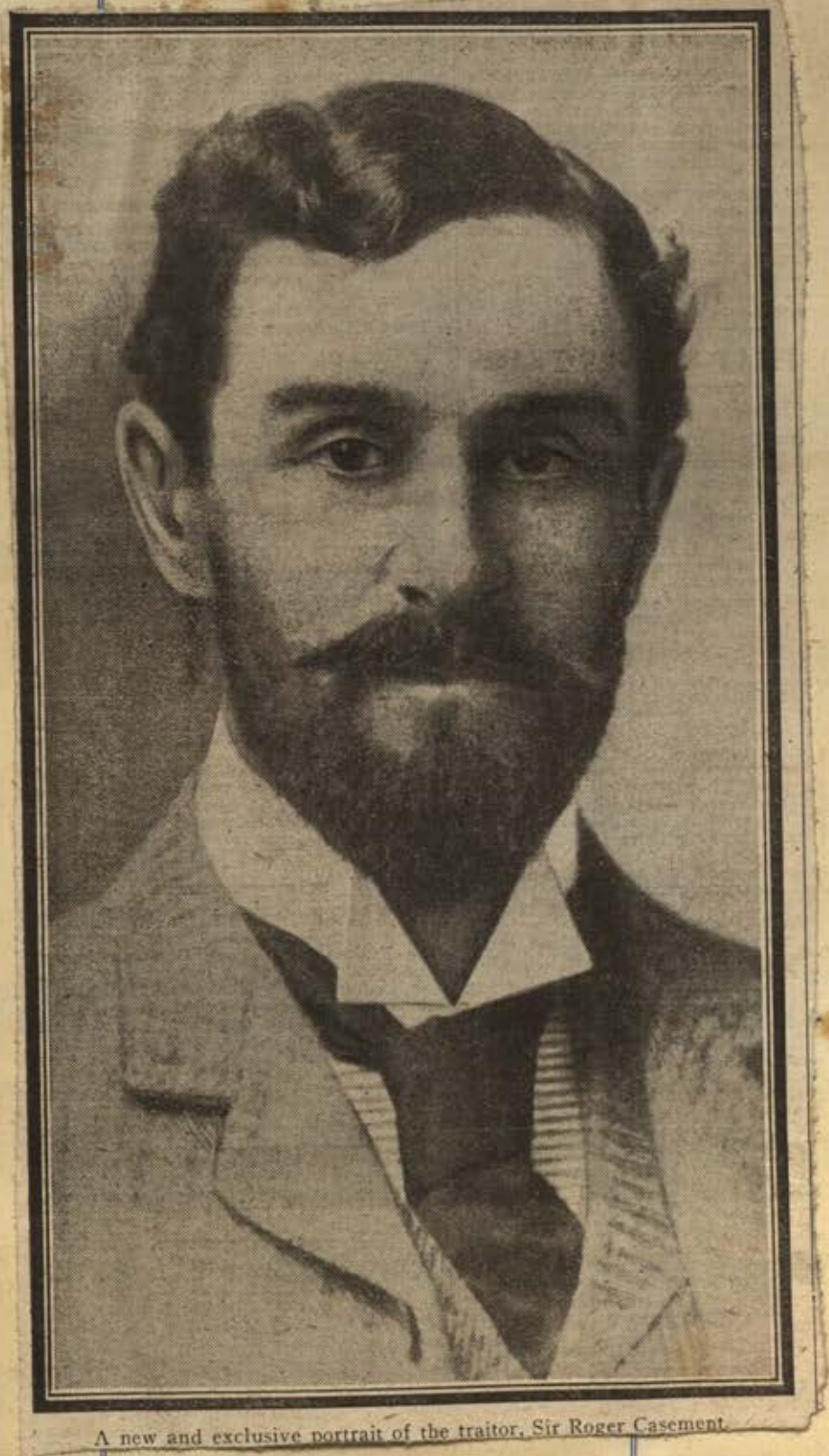
Count George Noble Plunkett, who, along with the countess, has been arrested in Dublin. His son, Joseph Plunkett, was shot, and another son, John, has now been sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. The count, whose title is a Papal distinction, conferred by Leo the Thirteenth in 1884, is sixty-five years of age, a barrister by profession, and was director of the National Museum of Science and Art in Dublin at the time of his arrest.— (Elliott and Fry.)



MR. JOHN MacNEILL.



This photograph, the last of Mr. Birrell before he resigned the Irish Chief Secretaryship, was taken on the occasion of a recruiting visit to Galway, when the ex-Minister (right) accompanied Lord Wimborne (left) and Mr. John Redmond.



A new and exclusive portrait of the traitor, Sir Roger Casement.

"IRISH TIMES" AND SINN FEINERS

HOW IT SUPPORTED THE EXTREMISTS

AGAINST MR. REDMOND

ATTACK ON MR. DILLON AND THE POLITICIANS

Who Desired Control of the Volunteers

The following are extracts from the "Irish Times" leader of June 6th, 1914, after Mr. Redmond had claimed representation on the governing body of the Volunteers:—

"A crisis is at hand in the brief and notable history of the Irish National Volunteers. The organisation, which, though only six months old, includes to-day at least 50,000 Irishmen, is a direct outcome of the Unionist movement in Ulster. That movement elevated Irish affairs out of the squalid atmosphere of wrangling and intrigue. The best elements of the young Nationalism of Ireland were fired at the example of Ulster's self-sacrifice and discipline. To-day the National Volunteers are drilling and marching in every county in Ireland, and money is being subscribed for the purpose of arms and equipment. The young Nationalists of the South are doing nothing that the young Unionists of Ulster have not done. Discipline and order are good things in themselves. If there is to be civil disturbance in Ireland it is better that we should be a nation of drilled and trained men than that the whole country should be at the mercy of mob law. . . . Moreover, the spirit of the National Volunteers is a new portent in Nationalist Ireland. They are not a political organisation—or rather they are only political in the same spacious sense in which the Ulster Volunteers are political. . . . We don't say that the movement has yet wholly justified itself or proved its ability to live up to its ideals. . . . The time has now come when the National Volunteers must either justify themselves or disappear into the crowded and tragic limbo of lost national causes. They have incurred the jealousy and suspicion of the Nationalist Parliamentary Party. At the beginning of the movement the Party did its best to discourage the Volunteers. Nationalist members of Parliament pointed out that British power could crush the resistance of Ulster, and that the young manhood of Nationalist Ireland had only to stand by and watch the dirty work. We think that this ignoble argument did much to stimulate the Volunteers. At any rate they have now attained to numbers and an importance which Mr. Redmond cannot afford to ignore. He has decided that they must be captured for the Party. The attack began with a resolution, which was submitted to all the Co. Councils, demanding that the Volunteers should be led by men in whom Mr. Redmond could have confidence. Then

by Mr. Redmond's orders—as one of them admitted—members of Parliament were sent in swarms to invade the platforms of the Volunteers. They made violent political speeches, in which the young men of the South were incited to hate and despise their Northern brethren. The Volunteers' leaders showed admirable restraint under this provocation. They merely reminded their battalions that the movement is and must remain strictly non-political. It would appear the politicians have accepted this restraint as a sign of weakness. On Thursday Mr. Dillon brought matters to a head with a definite challenge. He claimed the Volunteers as a sort of Praetorian guard for the Nationalist Party—a body which must be wholly subject to Mr. Redmond's orders. He added that if from any responsible quarter that statement were challenged, it would of course become necessary for us to put the question immediately to the test and ask for a decision on it. The threat is unmistakable, and the challenge cannot be declined. The existence of the National Volunteers is now at stake. Their leaders can be under no illusion about Mr. Dillon's purpose. The National Party is out, not to control the movement, but to kill it. Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon propose to split the Volunteers to detach the majority and leave Colonel Moore and Mr. McNeill in the possession of a faithful remnant. If the plot succeeds patriotic Nationalists will have real cause to despair of their country's future. One little good thing has sprung from the political distractions and distresses of the past two years. . . . The National Volunteers have never said a hard word about the manhood of Ulster. In their hearts they yield high honour and esteem to Sir Edward Carson. But now come in the party politicians to kill these far hopes, to turn respect into hatred, to smash the organisation of the National Volunteers. Thoughtful Irish Unionists will await the issue with anxiety. If the Volunteers can defeat the attempts to capture and destroy them a new force will have established itself in Ireland which may help to mould the national destiny to great ends. If the politicians win, the passions and prejudices which now divide Unionists and Nationalists will take a new lease of life. Nationalist Ireland is at the parting of the ways."

On the 10th June, commenting on Mr. Redmond's letter, the "Irish Times" said:—

"The Provisional Committee consists of 25 members, 15 of whom, as The O'Rahilly has told us, are already Mr. Redmond's followers. But this is not enough for the official Party. Mr. Redmond suggests the nomination of 25 new members at the instance of the Irish Party. In other words, the Volunteers are to be swamped; the men who created them and made them a success are to be crowded out; the governing body is to become a committee of the Nationalist Party, and under its orders is to complete the organisation of the movement. In a recent article we considered the unfortunate effect to the young Nationalist movement of its absorption by the official Party. We have seen in the Volunteers symptoms of a new spirit of patriotism and tolerance. It will be a

national misfortune if this spirit is now to be captured and crushed. . . .

"We are assuming that Mr. Redmond's coup will be successful, and that he will capture the Volunteers. As a matter of fact, we do not believe it will be completely successful. It may perhaps be sufficiently successful to secure Mr. Redmond's chief object—a freer hand in political affairs. If he has not captured the Volunteer organisation, he will at any rate split it. It will be torn by dissension, and its influence will be greatly impaired."

The organisation was split as the "Irish Times" forecasted. The action of the two sections—the larger section which followed Mr. Redmond, and of the smaller section, which secured the approval of the "Irish Times"—in the crisis of the past fortnight, is a matter of history. But we do not hear now from the "Irish Times" any eulogies of the martial young men whom the "Irish Times" then encouraged against the leaders of the constitutional movement.

SPEECH OF LORD MORLEY.

Speaking in the House of Lords in the debate initiated by Lord Midleton,

Viscount Morley said he had a good deal of experience in Irish government, having been unwise enough to hold the position of Chief Secretary twice. It was not his business to defend the Government, but he could imagine the operative argument in the mind of the Irish Administration. He did not think there could be any doubt that the Irish Government were well aware that these sinister proceedings were on foot, and probably had known of them for some time. A Government faced with a difficulty of this kind had to ask itself—"Shall I do more harm by a severe, drastic, repressive measure, or will it be wiser, and in the end more salutary, to allow the thing to come to a still graver head?" When he was Chief Secretary there were riotous proceedings, which went on day after day in the city of Belfast in 1886. There was great loss of life. The people—not the Nationalists—but the other party, took it into their heads that he had sent down Catholic constables to murder the Protestant Unionists. It was almost incredible that such an idea should have lodged in their minds. But he wondered then, and he wondered now, looking back upon it, whether it would not have been wiser to tolerate a great deal of violence and lawlessness than to take the stern measures which he adopted. Applying that to the present situation, he submitted that their lordships would do well to give full weight to the possible balancing of judgment on the part of the Irish Government as to whether they would do more harm by taking severe measures, than they would do by leaving it alone.

A GERMAN PLOT.

STATEMENT BY MR. REDMOND.

AMERICAN INFLUENCES

LAST BLOW AT HOME RULE.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., has made the following statement with regard to the events in Dublin:—

My first feeling, of course, on hearing of this insane movement was one of horror, discouragement, almost despair. I asked myself whether Ireland, as so often before in her tragic history, was to dash the cup of liberty from her lips; was the insanity of a small section of her people once again to turn all her marvellous victories of the last few years into irreparable defeat, and to send her back on the very eve of her final recognition as a free nation into another long night of slavery, incalculable suffering, weary and uncertain struggle?

When the war came Ireland made a choice which was inevitable if she was to be true to all the principles which she had held through all her history, and which she had just so completely vindicated on her own soil—namely, the rights of small nations, the sacred principle of nationality, liberty, and democracy. Moreover, the nations for which through all her history she had felt the sympathy that came from common principles and common aspirations were trampled as she in her time had been trampled under the iron heel of arrogant force.

IRELAND AND BELGIUM.

What has Ireland suffered in the past which Poland, Alsace, Belgium, and Serbia have not suffered at the hands of Germany, and I may add also that portion of the soil of France, her old friend and ally, which is in the hands of Germany? What has been the record of Germany but the suppression of nationality, of freedom, and of language; in short, the suppression of all the things for which for centuries Ireland has struggled, the victory of which Ireland has achieved?

What did the situation demand? Neutrality? That was impossible: hostility to the just cause of the Allies? Is there a sane man in Ireland who does not see this meant the drowning of the newly-won liberties of Ireland in Irish blood? Be these views right or wrong, this was the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people; it was the opinion which thousands of Irish soldiers have sealed with their blood by dying in the cause of the liberty of Ireland and of the world.

LAST BLOW AT HOME RULE.

Surely I need not argue the principle, especially with anybody who professes himself to be a Home Ruler, that the policy of Ireland must be decided by Ireland herself. That doctrine has been contested only by the very same men who to-day have tried to make Ireland the cat's-paw of Germany.

In all our long and successful struggle to obtain Home Rule we have been thwarted and opposed by that same section. We have won Home Rule not through them, but in spite of them. This wicked move of theirs was their last blow at Home Rule. It was not half as much treason to the cause of the Allies as treason to the cause of Home Rule.

This attempted deadly blow at Home Rule carried on through this section is made the more wicked and the more insolent by this fact—that Germany plotted it, Germany organised it, Germany paid for it. So far as Germany's share in it is concerned, it is a German invasion of Ireland, as brutal, as selfish, as cynical as Germany's invasion of Belgium.

Blood has been shed, and if Ireland has not been reduced to the same horrors as Belgium, with her starving people, her massacred priests, her violated convents, it is not the fault of Germany.

A GERMAN PLOT.

And a final aggravation of the movement is this. The misguided and insane young in Ireland have risked, and some of them lost, their lives. But what am I to say of those men who have sent them into this insane, anti-patriotic movement while they have remained in the safe remoteness of American cities?

I might add that this movement has been set in motion by this same class of men at the very moment when America is demanding reparation for the blood of innocent American men and women and children shed by Germans, and thus are guilty of double treason—treason to the generous land that received them as well as to the land which gave them birth.

Is it not an additional horror that on the very day when we hear that men of the Dublin Fusiliers have been killed by Irishmen in the streets of Dublin we received the news of how the men of the 16th Division—our own Irish Brigade and of the same Dublin Fusiliers—had dashed forward, and by their unconquerable bravery retaken the trenches that the Germans had won at Hulluch?

As to the final result, I do not believe that this wicked and insane movement will achieve its ends. The German plot has failed. The majority of the people of Ireland retain their calmness, fortitude, and unity. They abhor this attack on their interests, their rights, their hopes, their principles. Home Rule has not been destroyed; it remains indestructible.

ENGLISH PRESS OPINIONS.

"THE MAINSTAY OF ORDER AND AUTHORITY."

The Manchester "Guardian" says:—
Faction has ever been the bane of Ireland, and never has it seized a more unhappy moment to raise its head. The country is in the throes of a great war; Ireland is as much interested in it, has its whole future as much at stake, as the rest of the country; the vast majority of Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic, north and south and east and west, have fully recognised this and have stood loyally by the Crown and the Empire. But the very fact that the great body of Nationalists, with admirable courage and self-suppression, have ranged themselves side by side with the armies of England, of Scotland, and of Wales in the great conflict for the liberties of all and the future of a pacific civilisation has given a handle to the extreme and irreconcilable faction in Ireland which they have not been slow to seize. Home Rule is, unhappily, not yet in being, but only in prospect; near, indeed, and assured, but not yet realised. It has been comparatively easy, therefore, to appeal to the old feuds and the old hatreds. The Nationalist leaders who control the entire Parliamentary representation of Nationalist Ireland have been decried as time-servers and misleaders, and every obstacle has been raised against their successful efforts to raise recruits for the war. Finally, as a last resort in this feud with their fellow-countrymen, they have not scrupled to take up arms and to make a show—for it cannot be regarded as more than this—of rebellion.

It is to be hoped, however, that the moral of this lamentable affair will be rightly read and acted upon. The only people who can effectively maintain order, without violence or bloodshed, in Ireland are the Irish themselves. The mainstay of order and authority in Nationalist Ireland are the moderate and loyal Nationalists themselves and their leaders in the Irish Parliamentary party. It is these men who ought to be in every way consulted and supported by those in authority, alike in Ireland and in Great Britain, till the day comes when they will hold executive authority themselves, when any outbreaks of lawlessness in Ireland such as we see to-day will become for ever impossible. Has this been done? We fear not. The whole recruiting campaign in Ireland, difficult in itself, has been rendered doubly difficult by the action in many perverse ways of our own War Office; the executive action of the Irish Government also has on many recent occasions been taken without consultation with and against the judgment of the Nationalist party, which has thus had its hands weakened in dealing with its own extremists. Finally, the recent appointment of an extreme anti-Nationalist to one of the most important executive posts in Ireland, in clear violation of the understanding by which the existing political order was to have been maintained in Ireland unimpaired by the fact of the Coalition, has been a further blow to the authority and credit of the party which it is our manifest interest and duty to support and strengthen. These things ought not to be, and if the conviction of their error should be brought home to the Government by the events of the last few days, these will at least have carried with them a certain compensation.

THE TASK OF STATESMANSHIP.

The "Daily Chronicle" says:—
 "The next stage is one for civil statesmanship. We were, and should always be, wholeheartedly in favour of the most vigorous military measures to suppress a revolt against the Crown; but we hope that the difficult problem of how to treat the captured rebels will be considered coolly and without any futile vindictiveness. The case of Sir Roger Casement stands apart. His conduct has long shown symptoms of insanity; and it is possible that the Court may find him to be actually out of his mind. In dealing with the rebels taken in arms, the Government might do worse than study the policy pursued by General Botha, after he had suppressed what was in some respects a very similar rising in South Africa—a policy whose success has now had some time to test it. General Botha, as we understand it, distinguished three types of rebels—a few leaders like Maritz, who were actually bought by German gold; other leaders, like De Wet, whose motives were not so reprehensible, but who were able and likely, if allowed, to create further mischief; and the rank and file. On the first type he was prepared to inflict capital punishment, though as a matter of fact they were killed or escaped from the country; on the second were inflicted periods of detentive imprisonment; the third was treated with wise and conspicuous leniency. Much the same three types will be found among the Sinn Feiners. They have undoubtedly derived money and supplies from the Germans; it has come to them through certain Irish-American channels; and there are a comparatively few people in Ireland who have been the conscious agents in the plot. Such people, if their guilt is established, should be severely dealt with. But they should be distinguished from mere Sinn Fein or anti-British hot-heads, dangerous perhaps for the time in their way, and needing to be kept harmless, but not needing to be converted into martyrs. Still more should the misguided rank and file be recognised for what they are, and treated in a broad spirit. Examples of leniency are rare in Irish history; such an example now might bear rich fruit.

The question of official responsibility must also be probed. It applies first, of course, to Mr. Birrell, and then to the civil and military officials under him. It had better be tackled with courage and without too much respect for persons; and we hope that the inquiry promised by the Prime Minister will get to work without delay. The further question of an Irish settlement is primarily for Irishmen. We have seen during the past week Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Redmond brought together from their opposite sides in resistance to a criminal folly which is repugnant to both of them. Each is a loyal supporter of the cause in which the whole Empire fights, and each in his way is a son of Ireland, desirous, we feel sure, of seeing some stable solution to the Irish question in our time. The present situation, with the Home Rule Act passed, but not in force, becomes intolerable with prolongation. Cannot some way out of it be found? Could not Nationalists and Ulstermen perhaps find one if (with as little English interference as possible) they met as fellow-Irishmen round a table to consider it?

STATEMENT BY MR. BIRRELL.

Mr. Birrell said the House had already been promised a debate at the earliest opportunity consistent with public interests, in order to discuss the whole of the recent affair in Ireland.

Mr. Ginnell: And your jobbery there.
 Mr. Birrell said they had also been promised a full, true, searching, and particular inquiry into the causes of the insurrection and as to the degrees of responsibility of the Irish Government for what has taken place. In that debate he would, as a private member, be able to take part. The inquiry was concerned with the whole administration during the last few months. "It would, therefore, be unfair, unwise, and improper of the House to say anything relative to what might transpire during the conduct of the inquiry. I do not wish to say anything on those topics or about anything to be investigated in the course of that inquiry. It would in some respects be relevant for me to say fully here with perfect freedom something as to these topics, but I cannot do anything of the kind for several reasons. I could not do it, if I wished, after all I have seen and heard during the last few days in Dublin fresh in my memory—a memory which will never fade—and I should be unable to say anything about such events. I have to remember that there are other people besides myself, perhaps with a much less degree of responsibility than mine, who might, therefore, perchance, be greatly affected as to their reputation by my speaking out of the fulness and depths of my feelings. This might injuriously affect them and their case far more than my own." When he was assured that the insurrection was quelled he placed his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, who had accepted it. There was no other course open. Mr. Birrell admitted that he had made an incorrect estimate of the Sinn Fein movement. But if on his part there had been an error, it had not proceeded from any lack of thought, or consideration, or anxiety on his part. He could assure his critics they must change their tactics.

UNITY OF IRELAND PRESERVED.

His supreme aim and duty was to maintain, if possible, an unbroken and unimpaired front. He was well aware of the difficulties of the situation, but he conceived it as his duty to run great risks in order to maintain in the face of Europe the picture of unbroken union within the boundaries of Ireland. He may have committed errors, but he asked the House to consider what some of the consequences might have been had an attempt been made to suppress the movement and take its arms. Despite what had happened, the unity of Ireland had been preserved. This was no Irish rebellion. (Cheers.) He hoped that, although it were put down, as it must be, with courage, at the same time humanity would be displayed towards the dupes led astray by their leaders. When he left Dublin on Tuesday, and for the last time drove through the smoking ruins of Seckville Street, and when he was surrounded by the ruins of his own hopes and aspirations, one ray of comfort was graciously permitted to reach his heart. That was that this was no Irish rebellion. The Irish soldiers were still earning glory in all the fields of war, and evidence was already forthcoming that some measure of good would come out of this great evil.

Mr. Asquith said that as the matter was one for inquiry, he would only say he was sure the House in every quarter had listened to his right hon. friend with sympathy and emotion. He possessed in an exceptional degree the regard and affection of his colleagues, and during his (Mr. Asquith's) public life no personal loss had been more acutely felt or deplored.

The Freeman's Journal

DUBLIN, FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1916.

Sinn Fein Insurrection

The stunning horror of the past ten days in Dublin makes it all but impossible for any patriotic Irishman who has been a witness of the tragedy enacted in our midst to think collectedly or write calmly of the event. Such a reckless and barren waste of life, courage, property, and the historic beauty of a capital city has rarely been achieved. It was brought about by men without authority, representative character, or practical sanity. Hundreds of lives have been sacrificed, many of them the lives of youths of high principle, bravery, and character, gulled and bewitched by the vain promises and delusive lies of those who led them to destruction. Millions worth of property has been destroyed. The great thoroughfare which the citizen of Dublin was accustomed to describe proudly as "the finest street in Europe" has been reduced to a smoking reproduction of the ruin wrought in Ypres by the mercilessness of the Hun. Elsewhere throughout the city streets have been devastated, centres of thriving industry have been placed in peril or ruined, a paralysis of work and commerce has been imposed, and the public confidence, that is the life of trade and employment, has received a staggering blow from which it will take almost a generation to recover. And when we search for the motive of it all, or the end which the engineers of disaster had in view, we are baffled. Here and there may be gathered the excuses, laughable if one could laugh, which the misguided lads of the rank and file offered to the inhabitants of the houses that they invaded and seized, for the violation of those peaceable homes. In one place the people were told that the Secret Session of Parliament on Tuesday week was being held to impose conscription upon Ireland, and that they had risen to prevent it. Mr. William Murphy's bogey-makers, who first invented that terror, may now be proud of the manner in which they eased the task of the destroyers. Other people were solemnly assured that if the insurgents could hold out for eleven days Ireland would be ranked as a "belligerent" in the war, and be entitled to a place in the Peace Conference! By fictions of this kind the lads had been trapped. But nowhere was there the slightest evidence of a hope that the insurrection could succeed, or of any belief that the magiloquent rhodomontade of the "proclamation of the Republic" was anything but gas. The waste of life was known and realised to be a barren thing even by those who were flinging it criminally away. Despair sat by the mad enterprise in its cradle, and followed it to its grave.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

ARCHBISHOP MANNIX AND MR. HUGHES. TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—You have been very busy of late in lecturing the Irish Hierarchy on the duties of their sacred office. In yesterday's issue you seem to have extended your disinterested tuition to the great Archbishop of Melbourne, the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix—this time, indeed, not in the guise of a "Bridgetown Farmer," but behind the coat-tails of that hard-pressed politician, Mr. Hughes.

Your readers may not be aware that the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix is one of the most distinguished of living Irishmen. He is also one of the greatest and most glorious of our Churchmen. He occupies in the spacious mind of Australia a position not unlike that which the renowned Cardinal Moran held there at the time of his death.

What is it in the conduct of the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix that has aroused the wrath of Mr. Hughes and the *Irish Times*? His attitude on the question of conscription? We have here, not an isolated, but an additional, instance of the revolting inconsistency—not to say hypocrisy—preached by the avowed champions of "liberty and democracy." Conscription is, I understand, an open question in Australia. It is being made a subject of referendum to the people. Every man in Australia is entitled to say "yes" or "no" on that important subject according to his lights, without the imputation of corruption, sedition, "German gold," and "dirty work." Yes; every one but a Catholic Archbishop. He and his countrymen are to be treated with insult and injury when tyranny has a free hand; but they are expected, it would seem, to act as the bulwarks of unjust government when tyranny "is set with its back to the wall." Dr. Mannix is too big and brave a man to be intimidated by injustice or falsehood. He claims the right as a member of the human family to say what he thinks of this awful war and of the policy of those who will make a shambles of the world, but will not risk a hair of their own head in the horrid carnage.

That is the Archbishop's first offence. His second is "that he seems to have become a Sinn Feiner." If so, this is the greatest boom that *Sinn Fein* has got since the illustrious Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, was laid in his grave. Dr. Mannix is the last man in the world to patronise either "madness" or "wickedness." All true Irishmen will rejoice to know, on your authority, that the national instincts of our race are as potent in this great Archbishop in far away Australia as they are in the humblest peasant at home in Ireland. *Sinn Fein* has neither English nor German gold to finance it, nor does it want it either. It is a natural growth in the national heart, and no power on earth can kill it. It is no longer a small section. In the main it embraces our race all over the world. They, the *Sinn Feiners*, want neither disorder nor bloodshed; but they are done with the "happy entente" which existed for the fooling of Ireland between English Ministers and our Parliamentary Party, and they think that the time has come for Ireland to get back the national independence of which she was shamefully robbed by England 117 years ago.—Yours, etc.,

✱ MICHAEL FOGARTY,

Bishop of Killaloe.

Epnis, November 29th, 1917.

[In denouncing the wickedness and folly of *Sinn Fein*, the *Irish Catholic*, the weekly organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, wrote:—"On the prelates, priests, and parents of Catholic Ireland rests to-day a great responsibility, which we know full well will be worthily discharged. To talk about 'patriotism' in connection with the conspiracy is akin to blasphemy." Dr. Fogarty's letter illustrates one prelate's attitude to his "great responsibility."—Ed. I.T.]

If we were among the merchants of doubt and despair for the past four years in Ireland we should never raise our heads, or let our voices be heard in public, or put pen to a public paper in all our lives again. For beyond all doubt the leaders of this insane revolt would have been utterly powerless to marshal even a corporal's guard for their dread work, but for the factionists, critics, and cranks, of all stripes and vestures, who have been labouring those years past to undermine the power and authority of the popular constitutional leaders and the popular constitutional movement. This was the real purpose

of all the bogus protests and meetings against the conscription that never threatened, and the land tax that was never contemplated, and the taxation incident to the war, which were organised to destroy confidence in our leaders. The vain tribe of faction-mongers apparently thought that if hope from the constitutional movement were killed in the heart of young Ireland, young Ireland would turn to them to be led out of the desert. The critics have now had their experiment. We are afraid to hope that they have learned their lesson, or that they will realise their responsibility. As far as it lay in their fortunately small power they and the other gangs of other parties who brought back into Ireland that demon which Parnell and his successors had exorcised, and who preached the gospel of conditional rebellion, made this horrible thing in Dublin possible. Will they now take charge of the widows and the orphans; will they now shoulder their debt to the fair city that they have helped to ruin?

To our comrades in the National Movement we make an appeal which their conduct throughout these trying days proves to be almost unnecessary. The one gleam of light through the darkness has been the steadiness of the masses of our people. From one point of view the most pitiable feature of the sacrifice of young life that we have impotently witnessed has been the complete isolation of the insurgents. They were met on the first onset by Irish regiments—not regiments of professional soldiery of the old stamp, but the reserves of the Irish Brigade who had rallied to the last call of the Irish Leader, true Irish Volunteers. The 4th and 10th Dublins kept the glorious anniversary of their regiment's heroic landing at Sedd-el-Barr by defending their own city against the blind, self-devoted victims of the Hun. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the old 18th, and the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles—these, to the cheers of the Dublin crowds, began the work of defence. It was right that the work should have fallen to them, for the insurrection was not more an insurrection against the connection with the Empire, than it was an armed assault against the will and decision of the Irish nation itself constitutionally ascertained through its

proper representatives. For that reason, too, the National Volunteers in Louth, Limerick, Clare, Cork, and elsewhere, who rose to defend the good name and solemn pledges of Ireland, and maintained the peace of their districts with native arms, deserve the nation's thanks. The steadiness of the country is a thing to be remembered with pride, and should re-inspire the hearts of its leaders. Even in Dublin itself, outside the few streets in the centre where looting started in sweet-shops and toy-shops and grew as the hunger grew, the good order maintained was something marvellous to behold. For over a week four-fifths of the city was without police of any kind. The suburbs lay without protection. Not an outrage of any sort, not even the robbery of a hen-roost, is there to report. Let our people maintain this attitude; let them be steady and calm, and maintain this noble peace and resolute confidence, and all will be well.

But our people must not be provoked out of this attitude. The Irish Unionist leader has made an appeal to his Press not to attempt the manufacture of party capital out of what has occurred. It is wise and sound advice even from his own party point of view. But it is not being taken. The manufacture of party capital is a trivial affair compared with an attempt to destroy and reverse the policy of conciliation and reform to which we owe it that the great mass of the Irish people has maintained the peace and kept its courage during those dark and evil hours. Yet that is the effort upon which the "Irish Times" has already cheerfully embarked. It indicts openly the whole policy of wise conciliation, and attempts to identify the constitutional action of the past with this frenzied revolt, and bases upon the indictment a demand for savage coercion. "Only by a stern policy of suppression and punishment can the Government protect the highest interests of the Irish capital and of Ireland as a whole," we are told.

"The State has struck, but its work is not yet finished. The surgeon's knife has been put to the corruption in the body of Ireland, and its course must not be stayed until the whole malignant growth has been removed."

We feel bound to denounce as utterly destructive of all the hopes of settled peace and order in this country such blood-thirsty incitement to the Government. If such recommendations were accepted and followed, the sole effect could be to set flowing new rivers of hate and bloodshed between England and Ireland. We are confident that we speak the mind of sober-minded men of all parties in Ireland when we protest against such sinister and fatal advice. We trust that the Government will look for its inspiration rather to the British Press, which on the whole has displayed a most creditable spirit of calm and discernment. The contrast between the

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organ of the Covenant in Dublin and such organs of English opinion as "The Daily Chronicle" is painful for an Irishman to contemplate. Though the time has not yet come when the roots of "the malignant growth" that has flowered into evil and death may be searched for and laid bare, the language of "The Irish Times" makes it necessary to remind the British public and Government that when Mr. Redmond,

seeing the danger of leaving an armed force under the control of the unauthorised, unrepresentative, and untrustworthy men who have plunged Dublin into this disaster, attempted to destroy that control, "The Irish Times" appealed to the Volunteers to act like men and show their independence by rallying to the flag of Mr. John M'Neill and Sir Roger Casement. One would have thought that the recollection of that evil advice, and of that dose of fertilising patronage to "the malignant growth" would now have restrained "The Irish Times" from clamouring for a bloody assize. But there are people who think that rebellion is among the privileges of the "classes," and that it can be covertly preached without encouraging it among the ignorant and the reckless. The clamour comes when the insurrection has been crushed so effectively that it can scarcely muster a sniper. While it raged the clamourer was discoursing of the consolations of Shakespeare to people in distress.

We are confident that the Government will not act in the crisis like a mad sheep. The nation has shown more than steadiness. It has practically shown a readiness by its own strength and will to face and crush the insurrection as a rising against its own rights. Had it the authority, it would have dealt with the rising as Botha did with De Wet's, as boldly, loyally, effectively, and wisely. Surrounded by the German enemy on his frontiers, General Botha, without assistance from the Empire, crushed the wanton rebellion against the representative native Government of the South African people. But though the South African rebels could not cover their action by the excuse that was unfortunately left in the power of the Sinn Feiners to plead, though the treaty of Boer and Briton had not merely been ratified, but put in force, when victory was achieved General Botha sheathed his sword. Only one rebel was shot, and the General gave as magnificent an example of magnanimity as of efficient government and military effectiveness. Had Ireland a native Government this disaster could not have occurred; had Mr. Redmond been Prime Minister of Ireland, it would almost certainly have been averted. But even if it had been attempted, Ireland of its own power and will would have established its peace and loyalty upon as firm and enduring foundation as the

peace and loyalty of South Africa. Even more than by its action in the war against the Huns has Ireland shown its good faith and its capacity for self-control by the manner in which it has faced the Civil War with which it was so long menaced by the people who now clamour for coercion. The nation must not be outraged by being held responsible for the action of a few thousand misguided men, who would never have possessed the means of inflicting this crime upon it but for the licence which the Coercionists arrogated to themselves and thus extended to every fomenter of civil strife. That being so, if good and not evil is to issue from the sufferings and sacrifices of the past ten days, the Government and those endowed with its authority must have careful regard for Irish feeling and opinion in the measures that are to be taken. May God guide the counsels of those in authority to act with the wisdom and the strength that are not afraid to be God-like in their mercy; and may God save Ireland!

"I've Come to Search This House"

SOLDIER ARRESTED

No official announcement has yet been made regarding the trial or its result touching the case of the trooper who looted the property of Mr. Ryan, the proprietor of the licensed premises known as "The Clock," Thomas street.

Another case of attempted looting by a soldier of the property of peaceable citizens is reported to-day. This occurred yesterday at Albert terrace, off Manor street.

The soldier in question, who wore the uniform of a private in the Staffordshire Regiment, visited several of the houses in the terrace, and finally came to the house of Mrs. Segrave. His loud peremptory knock was answered by a young girl. The moment the door was opened the soldier informed the girl that he was going to search the house. "My instructions," he said, "must be carried out."

A boy who witnessed the occurrence, and noting the distress of the girl, immediately ran down to the police station, where he reported what he saw. Sergt. Kenny came back with the lad, and on entering the house was met by the soldier, who continued the "bluff" about "carrying out a search of the house, acting on instructions." The sergeant intimated his doubt of the story, and proceeded to arrest the military man, who struggled fiercely. After a time the police grip prevailed, and the Army representative stated his willingness "to go quietly."

While he was being conveyed to the local headquarters on the North Circular road, the private broke away from his captor and sped down Fingal place, which proved to be a cul-de-sac. Here he was up against a stone wall, and Sergt. Kenny kept him up against it until assistance arrived. The private was subsequently handed over to the military authorities and taken to Marlborough Barracks.

ARCHBISHOP'S MESSAGE.

The following message was sent out by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin on Tuesday, and was read in the various Catholic churches of the city:—

"To the Catholic People of Dublin.
"In this time of unprecedented excitement and danger through which our city is at present passing, I deem it a duty to exhort, with all earnestness, our Catholic people to take to heart the warning that has been issued by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of the danger of frequenting the streets or public places or of assembling in crowds.

WILLIAM,
"Archbishop of Dublin."



MISS GRACE GIFFORD,
Daughter of Mr. F. Gifford, solicitor, of Palmerston Park, Dublin, was married a few hours before his execution to Joseph Plunkett, son of Count Plunkett.

The "Independent," with a view to making the Irish National Volunteers and Mr. Redmond in part responsible for the Dublin Insurrection, has been busy during the past few days in spreading the fiction that the men who brought the guns to Howth belonged to the section who organised the insurrection. There could not be a worse libel. It is notorious that some of the men who landed the guns at Howth and brought them safely to Dublin have been fighting the Huns since the war broke out. Some of them have been mine-sweeping in the North Sea, others have been scouting within the dangerous Bight of Heligoland, others have fought at Gallipoli and are holding the heights of Salonika. They were the Volunteers who preferred to follow Mr. Redmond rather than the "Irish Times," and it is a cruel libel upon such men to attempt to identify them with the revolutionaries. The effort is part of the old faction campaign which goes on as fresh as ever.

Official criminal and civil, of Neglect. persons holding public office for neglect of

duty in regard to the Easter Monday rising, a correspondent cites the legal proposition that "every public officer commits a misdemeanour who wilfully neglects to perform any duty which he is bound either by common law or by statute to perform, provided the discharge of such duty is not attended with greater danger than a man of ordinary firmness or activity may be expected to encounter." He submits that Ministers of the Crown are not exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals for wrongful acts and omissions. The officials guilty of criminal neglect of duty may be, he thinks, proceeded against either on information by the Attorney-General or by civil action at the suit of the sufferers. In practice, however, we see that persons holding high public office guilty of a grave and criminal neglect of duty escape merely by loss of place and power. In cases where disasters, such as those which have taken place in Dublin, follow from their neglect the loss of place and power is no punishment. Such men deserve to be indicted.

THE CAPTURE OF MR. CLARKE

Thomas Clarke, the insurgent leader, who was executed, was in the G.P.O. throughout the hostilities. On the Saturday following the outbreak he visited Dublin Castle to try and make terms for his followers, but he was informed that they should surrender unconditionally. Clarke and a number of his followers surrendered on that afternoon. He was seen hatless, with W Partridge, T.C., and a number of insurgents, surrounded by a strong military force, in the grass plot in front of the Rotunda Hospital.

About this time, while a police officer was bringing a wounded insurgent from Moore lane, where the dead bodies of the O'Rahilly, two insurgents, a young girl, and two horses were lying, he had the greatest difficulty in restraining the women from attacking the wounded man.

one of the brave soldiers who defended our homes, lives and property. Arrested, no more.

All the priests of the Haddington road parish were in constant attendance at the hospital, and were untiring in their sacred ministrations. On Easter Monday, shortly after noon, three wounded were brought to the hospital from Richmond street, where the attack had been made on Portobello Bridge. In the afternoon firing took place from a house in Northumberland road, and sixteen of the "G. R.'s" were shot as they were going to Beggar's Bush Barracks. For ten days the sound of firing was incessant in this district. On Wednesday of Easter week the Sherwood Foresters, who were marching in from Kingstown, demanded entrance to the tower of St. Mary's Church, Haddington road, which they occupied. They remained there from noon until 5 o'clock, when two of them were wounded. Two resident pupils from Baggot street Hospital went up and dressed their wounds, but the firing was so hot that they had to remain there until evening. Whilst the fighting was in progress, a party of the Sherwood Foresters made an attack upon the house in Northumberland road, when Lieutenant Hawkins was wounded. He was conveyed to 72 Haddington road, and, being a Catholic, a priest was requisitioned. The Rev. Jas. Doyle, C.C., in order to attend the wounded officer, crossed the road to the house under very heavy fire. After receiving the consolations of Holy Church Lieut. Hawkins died. The shooting on both sides was so intense that Father Doyle had to leave the premises by the rear, and ran great risk, as the military were on the watch for escaping insurgents. Were it not for holding up his hands, he would have lost his life. Father Doyle displayed great gallantry in his successful mission to minister to the dying officer.

On Sunday some of the military, attired in civilian garb, again occupied the tower of the church to make observations, when a heavy fusillade was directed against them by both the insurgents and the military. The latter's fire continued until they were informed of the identity of those in the tower.

The Freeman's Journal.

DUBLIN: WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1916.

Getting to Work,

While statesmen are settling with soldiers the problem of what measure of drastic punishment can be applied in a white man's country without doing irreparable injury to the common cause of free civilisation, Dublin City has to face the more particular question of its own recovery and reparation. On the first point it is enough to say that if mere bloodshed could maintain a nation's peace the squeak of a mouse would not be heard in Ireland. With regard to the rebuilding and restoration of Dublin a beginning has been made. The demand of the citizens who have suffered material injury that the Government should recognise its responsibilities is reasonable and just. Both of the British political parties have their dreadful responsibility for the disaster that has befallen our city. The one by its encouragement of the organisation of violence as a political weapon and by its participation in the organisation brought back into Irish politics, from which they had been banished by the patriotic leaders of the Irish people, the ideas and the methods of physical force. The doctrines that they preached if they were now to be applied in judgment of the insurgents would open the prison doors to every man of them. There are men now in the Councils of the King who laid it down as sound constitutional doctrine that if a law affecting the fundamental liberties of any community is passed against the will of that community, the people have the right to use force if and when they have the means to upset the offending law. The ipsissima verba of men of the rank of Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson can be quoted to that effect. We pointed out at the time the poisonous tendency of such a doctrine preached in a country amongst a people living under a Constitution set up, according to the Unionist Trinity College historian Lecky, against the judgment of "the unbridled intellect of Ireland," by means of corruption, and without even the formality of a General Election. "Thou canst not say I did it; Never shake thy grey locks at me." The repudiation of responsibility for the bloodshed will be as weak in the mouths of these preachers of the doctrines of insurrection as in the mouth of Macbeth.

The other British political party allowed this doctrine to be preached and force to be organised with it, without applying the law and enforcing loyalty. By this weakness they connived at lawlessness and allowed the corruption and seduction of the youth of Ireland a free course. To stand aside now and refuse to bear the burden of the consequences would be to add the sin of callousness to the fatal sin of weakness and omis-

sion. Dublin cannot be allowed to bear the burden alone. We have a feeling that out of the agony of the time at least sufficient sense of justice may be born to prevent that infliction. In any case the task of Dublin itself will be a heavy one. An immediate duty of us all is to reduce as far as possible the amount of suffering that is falling upon the innocent. Every effort should be made to reduce the number of the unemployed. Whatever effort is made the number must be large for months to come. One class that should receive special consideration is that of the skilled and trained workers that have seen their employment vanish. They are of the class that will be reluctant to make their hardships known or to accept charitable relief. Their reluctance is to their credit and should make every benevolent and industrial agency all the more active in their behalf. The mere clearing of our ruins may reduce the unemployment among the unskilled, but there will be still a large and most distressful remnant. We see that efforts are being made to identify this class of workers especially with the outbreak. Larkinism is offered as the explanation by those whose methods of dealing with Larkinism make it vengeful and irreclaimable. But the English soldiers now in our midst can bear witness to the peaceful disposition and friendly feeling of the masses of the working population. But for that sentiment the insurrection would have been far more formidable than it was. The soldiers as they quickly realised, in some cases to their own great bewilderment, were fighting in a friendly town. "Who are the Sinn Feiners?" inquired a good-humoured Territorial. "Are they Irishmen or are they ghosts?" This healthy spirit among the people must be saved from the destructive effects of undeserved impoverishment. The more quickly our ordinary business and industrial machinery is set going at full blast the better. We should all put our shoulder to the wheel to speed forward the hour when Dublin can again say "Business as usual."

Beyond that hour there will still remain the old problems. It is melancholy to contemplate that the material loss of Dublin in this upheaval would have cured the worst of our social evils and taken the sting out of what is called "Larkinism" if we had had the power to apply it. During the days of the fatal strike, which contributed its own stream of suffering to the general misery of the city, it was a temporary office in Sackville Street, Dublin, pending the opening of a new office in the same street.

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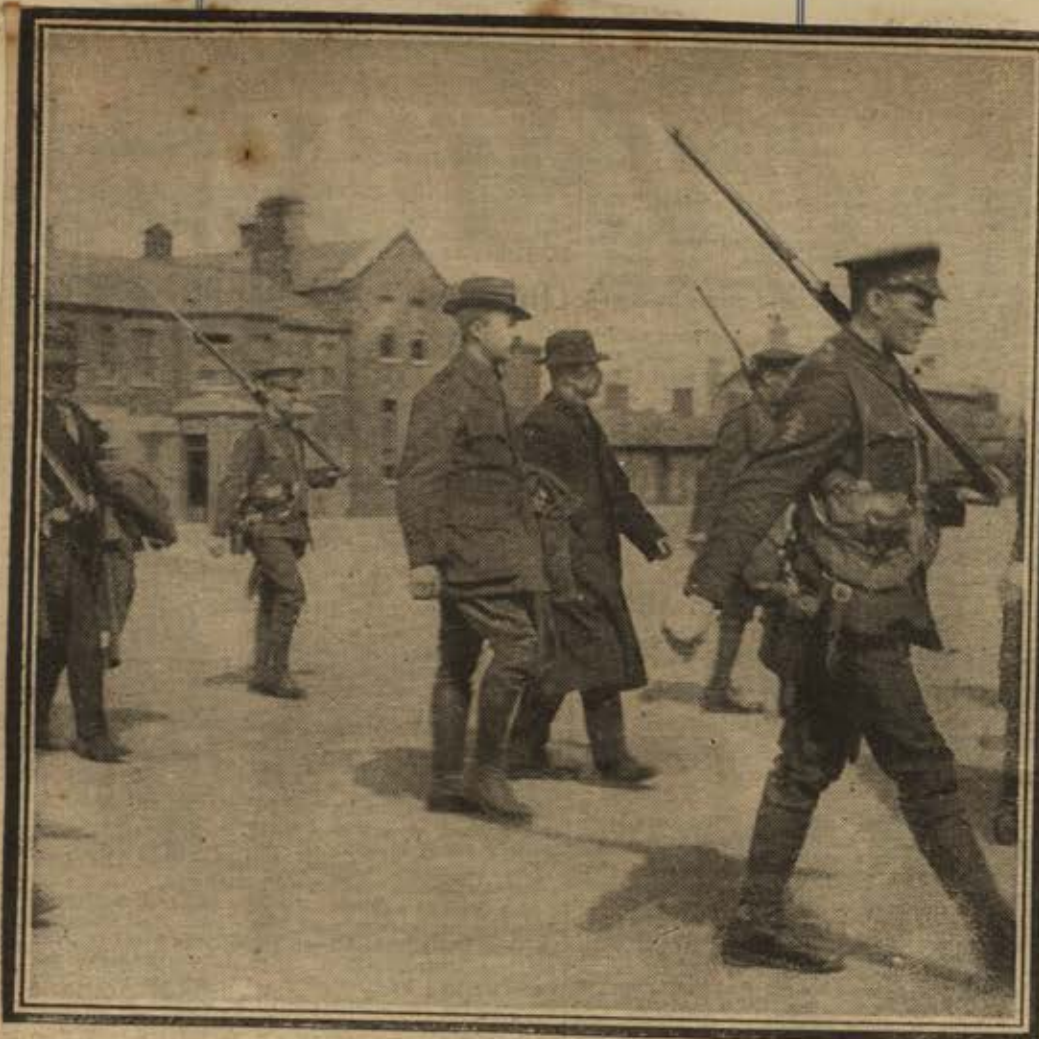
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Major McBride, centre figure in uniform (who was shot), being marched away after sentence.



Two of the brothers Plunkett (in soured hats) under escort.



Patrick H. Pearse (shot), the "President of the Irish Republic," surrendering to the military.



The Countess Markievicz leaving in charge of a wardress after her court-martial.

Major Mc Calmont.

THE SHOOTING OF MR. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON

Officer to be Court-martialled.

Yesterday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith said the shooting of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was done without order. The officer who directed the shooting would be brought before a Court-martial.

The death of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington and its circumstances continue to be the theme of the most anxious discussion in all quarters. Everything that can be gathered with certainty increases the mystery of the tragedy. "The New Statesman" has published an article sent to it six weeks ago by Mr. Skeffington in which a grave note of warning was sounded of dangers ahead in Ireland. It was the last kind of commu-

nication a conspirator would have sent to the Press. Persons who met him on Easter Monday state that he denounced the rising as mad and futile. These facts make the grounds upon which the death sentence was imposed and inflicted all the more difficult to surmise. Though it is said an investigation has been held, the public is left in the dark as to the result, and have not even been informed whether the proper military procedure was followed, a point upon which conflicting rumours are current. The anxiety of the public is such that nothing but a public inquiry into all the circumstances will satisfy the people as to the justice of the execution of a man who, if he offended the law at all, was more likely to give offence as a fanatical pacifist and non-resister than as a physical force revolutionary.

In this connection it is stated by his friends that his last appearance on the platform was in controversy with the Countess Marekiewicz. The Countess was advocating the continuance of the war because it might lead to the break-up of the British Empire. Mr. Skeffington assailed her arguments and appeared as the advocate of a speedy peace as the only way of averting the permanent burdens of an oppressive militarism all over Europe. This position is also hard to reconcile with a guilty participation in an insurrection assisted by Germany. A public inquiry is certainly demanded.

Extraordinary Review of Irish Affairs

The following is Mr. Skeffington's letter to the "New Statesman." It is dated "April 7, Grosvenor place, Rathmines, Dublin."

The situation in Ireland is extremely grave. Thanks to the silence of the daily Press, the military authorities are pursuing their Prussian plans in Ireland unobserved by the British public; and, when the explosion which they have provoked occurs, they will endeavour to delude the British public as to where the responsibility lies.

I write in the hope that, despite war fever, there may be enough sanity and

Late Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington.
The remains of the late Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, who was shot in Portobello Barracks on the 26th April, were removed from the barracks on Monday morning by permission of the military authorities for interment in Glasnevin Cemetery. The funeral took place at one o'clock.



RESTRAIN THE MILITARISTS

while there is yet time.
I will not take up your space by recounting the events that have led up to the present situation—the two years' immunity accorded to Sir Edward Carson's Volunteers in their defiant illegalities, the systematic persecution of the Irish Volunteers from the moment of their formation (nine months before the war), the militarist provocations, raids on printing offices, arbitrary deportations, and

SAVAGE SENTENCES

which have punctuated Mr. Redmond's recruiting appeals for the past eighteen months.

As a result of this recent series of events Irish Nationalist and Labour opinion is now in a state of extreme exasperation. Recruiting for the British Army is dead; recruiting for the Irish Volunteers has, at the moment, almost reached the mark of 1,000 per week—which is Lord Wimborne's demand for the British Army.

A special stimulus has been given to the Irish Volunteer movement by the arrest and threatened

FORCIBLE DEPORTATION

(at the moment of writing it is still uncertain whether the threat will be carried out) of two of its most active organisers.

There are two distinct danger points in the position. In the first place, the Irish Volunteers are prepared, if any attempt is made forcibly to disarm them, to resist, and to defend their rifles with their lives.

In the second place, the Irish Citizen Army (the Labour Volunteers) are prepared to offer similar resistance, not only to disarmament, but to any attack upon the Press which turns out the "Workers' Republic"—successor to the suppressed "Irish Worker"—which is printed at Liberty Hall.

Twice already General Friend has been on the point of setting Ireland in a blaze—once last November, when he had a warrant made out for the arrest of Bishop O'Dwyer, of Limerick; once on March 25, when he had a detachment of soldiers with machine guns in readiness to

RAID LIBERTY HALL.

In both cases Mr. Birrell intervened in the nick of time and decisively vetoed the militarist plans.

But some day Mr. Birrell may be overborne or may intervene too late. Then, once bloodshed is started in Ireland, who can say where or how it will end?

In the midst of world-wide carnage, bloodshed in our little island may seem a trivial thing. The wiping out of all the Irish Nationalist and Labour Volunteers would hardly involve as much laughter as the single Battle of Looe.

DUBLIN, THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1916.

Leaders, People and Government.

The manifesto of the Irish Party and the declaration that accompanies it put clearly before both the people and the Government the issues upon the determination of which the future well-being and peace of the country depend. The manifesto is an eloquent vindication of the claims of the Irish Constitutional Movement to the continued confidence and support of the people. It has already achieved all and more than all it promised to achieve when, after the former complete failure of the insurrectionary organisation, it was launched by Isaac Butt with what was then regarded as a visionary programme. Relying on constitutional weapons, from which they refused to be diverted even by the unconstitutional methods of the Coercionists, Butt, Parnell, and their successors have led the people out of the desert and to the confines of the Promised Land. Yet great as have been their successes, they have been pursued by the envenomed criticism and hostility of persons professing to have the well-being of the people at heart. Shameful is the truth which the manifesto declares, that, especially during the past fifteen years, the faithful representatives of the people have been subjected to the fiercest and most unjust attacks. "Every weapon of faction, of personal hate, of journalistic insinuation, has been employed against them; and often they have not had the vigorous support which they were entitled to demand from the people, even when the people were in favour of their policy with practical unanimity." It is in this campaign of slander and insinuation that the engineers of our present disasters have had their fatal opportunity. The nation has now had its lesson. The leaders of the nation invite it to draw the moral. The alternatives are now clearly before the people. Either the country is to be launched upon a career of futile revolution and anarchy, or the Constitutional Movement must get vigorous support from the people and from all classes who profess to speak for the people. "If the people do not want the Constitutional Movement," declares the manifesto, "they do not want us. Without their active support we should be engaged in an impossible task. With their support we can complete the fabric of Irish reform and Irish freedom which we have been building up for the last half century." There is no doubt what the decision of the people will be. But it must be a determined and resolute decision followed by vigorous action. No lackadaisical acquiescence in a national policy of which the agents are to be the targets of every self-seeker, factionist, and egoist in the country will meet the

situation. If the leaders are to continue in their work they must not merely be voted for, but supported and defended as the chosen representatives of a self-respecting democratic nation have the right to demand that they should be. The Sinn Fein skunks who prefer the pained dart to the clean, open fight and its dangers must no longer be tolerated.

The declarations of the Irish Party on the action of the Government are no less clear, courageous, and outspoken. They declare that the continuance of military executions, carried out against persistent protests on behalf of the representatives of the peaceful and law-abiding majority of the Irish people, have caused a rapidly increasing bitterness and exasperation among the people who have had no sympathy with the insurrection. They declare that in the interests of the Empire, as well as of Ireland, no further executions of the kind should be allowed to take place under any circumstances. And they demand that the regime of Martial Law should be immediately brought to an end. This demand comes not a moment too soon. We have had the most alarming reports from the country of the manner in which this regime is operating and the effect that it is producing. In some of the most peaceful counties in Ireland, counties that have been crimeless for almost a century, a perfect orgy of denunciation has set in. Police officers are deluged with private communications against peaceful and law-abiding citizens and are being terrorised into compliance with suggestions inspired either by cowardly panic or party venom. Members of the National Volunteer Corps, Nationalists whose only offence has been a zeal for the revival of the Irish language, active supporters of the National Movement of all kinds are being denounced as suspects. The country is threatened with the same sort of disaster as Mr. Forster's lettres de cachet produced, when the reputable and responsible leaders of the people were locked up as "village ruffians" and all the forces of disorder were fostered into activity. The provocative elements of the Royal Irish Constabulary force, which had been kept in check for the past fourteen years, since Mr. Wyndham took office, are again taking head. Civil law must be restored. If the law needs more victims let them be tried in open court. The Insurrection is crushed. The procedure of the Field Court Martial, with its secret trials, its undefended prisoners, and its instant executions is no longer tolerable. An English journal has already had the courage to denounce it as "an atrocity." Even in the sad story of Irish insurrections this complete usurpation by the Military Tribunal of the functions and sanctions of justice is unprecedented. After all we are living in Europe and not in Africa. We are entitled, now that not a single insurgent is left in the field, to the rule of the Constitution rather than that of a *Vox Bissig*.

The Dublin organ of the Covenanters is quite naturally and characteristically clamouring for the continued application of "the surgeon's knife." Military officers, a Cromwellian regime, make, according to the "Irish Times," the ideal government for the Ireland of the twentieth century. "The best elements of the young Nationalists of Ireland," as the "Irish Times" described the Sinn Feiners two years ago, deserve nothing now but the secret trial and swift punishment. "The dirty work," as the "Irish Times" described the idea of applying military force to Ulster, is now the proper method of dealing with the men that it encouraged on their disastrous course. For "this faithful remnant" that attached itself to Mr. MacNeill in accordance with the recommendations of the "Irish Times" it now advocates the shortest of shrifts. The patriotic Nationalist "hearts" that "yielded high honour and esteem to Sir Edward Carson" are to be broken without hesitation. "The new force," which the organ of the Covenanters declared was endeavouring to establish itself in Ireland and "which may help to mould the national destiny to great ends" is to be crushed mercilessly. The "Irish Times" in its advocacy of the maintenance of martial law is as disastrously foolish as it was in its patronage of "the new force" that has now wrought the ruins around us. Its gospel, if it were to be accepted and followed, would produce even more evil results. For it would destroy the confidence of the people who maintained their peace and their hopes amidst all the clouds and gloom of the past fatal weeks; and gave their unstinted support to the forces of the Crown while those forces were engaged in conflict with revolution. But if the reward of the people now is to be the imposition of a regime under which the spite and bigotries of political opponents are to be wreaked, and their immunities and rights as peaceable and law-abiding citizens invaded, and even in some cases their property destroyed, then the result can be easily foreshadowed. The representatives of the people have spoken neither prematurely nor hastily; and their protest must be obeyed by the Government that, to Ireland's great misfortune, has continued its reign in Ireland far too long for the well-being of its people and the Empire for which their sons are spilling their life-blood.

IRISH PARTY MANIFESTO.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Freeman's Journal May 11th 1916

PROTEST AGAINST EXECUTIONS.

MARTIAL LAW DENOUNCED.

London, Tuesday.

A meeting of the Irish Party was held at the House of Commons to-day. Mr. John Redmond presided, and there were also present:—

Mesars. J. P. Boland, D. Boyle, P. J. Brady, A. Burns, J. J. Clancy, T. J. Condon, J. Cosgrove, P. Crumley, J. Cullinan, J. Devlin, J. T. Donovan, W. Doris, Sir T. Eamonde, J. P. Farrell, W. Field, J. Fitzgibbon, J. Lalor Fitzpatrick, M. J. Flavin, J. P. Hayden, R. Hazleton, M. Joyce, M. Keating, E. Kelly, V. P. Kennedy, J. Lardner, H. A. Law, T. Landon, A. Lynch, J. G. S. MacNeill, J. MacVeagh, R. McGehe, M. Meagher, F. E. Meehan, P. J. Meehan, M. Molloy, J. J. Mooney, J. Muldoon, J. Nolan, Sir W. Nugent, J. D. Nugent, P. O'Brien, John O'Connor, T. P. O'Connor, P. O'Doherty, T. O'Donnell, J. O'Dowd, J. J. O'Shea, T. O'Sullivan, T. Scallan, D. Sheehy, T. F. Smyth, P. White, P. J. Whitty.

Apologies were received from Captain Donelan, Messrs. John Hackett, W. O'Malley, M. J. Murphy, S. Young, J. J. O'Kelly.

The following statement was adopted:

"Another tragedy has been added to the long tale of tragedies in Irish history. The capital of Ireland has been the scene of a mad and unsuccessful attempt at revolution. Blood has been shed freely. It is true that Ireland had been bitterly provoked by the growth of a similar revolutionary and illegal movement in another portion of Ireland, backed by an army in revolt. It is true that a grave responsibility for these events in Dublin rests on the leaders of that movement. These things will have to be discussed at the proper time. It is true that Ireland has been shocked and horrified by the series of military executions by military tribunals in Dublin. These things have been done in the face of the incessant and vehement protests of the Irish leaders, and these protests will be pressed continually and strongly until the unchecked control of the Military Authorities in Ireland is abolished. But it is also true that, in spite of these bitter provocations, the people of Ireland have had no hesitation in condemning the rising in Dublin as a dangerous blow at the heart and the hopes of Ireland.

Convictions and Resolves.

"On the morrow of this tragedy we feel called upon to make a solemn appeal to the people of Ireland to draw the conclusions which these events force upon them. We must leave no misunderstanding in their minds as to our convictions and our resolves. Either Ireland is to be given over to unsuccessful revolution and anarchy, or the Constitutional movement is to have the full support of the Irish people and go on till it has completed its work.

"We lay before the people of Ireland these alternatives, not for the first time. Indeed, except in certain small sections of the people, that alternative of a Constitutional movement was chosen and adhered to for nearly half a century.

"After the revolutionary movement of the sixties, Isaac Butt proclaimed to the Irish people that a constitutional movement was the only sure and certain method of obtaining their rights. Parnell renewed that policy and that hope. The people of Ireland accepted that policy, and that policy has never been seriously questioned by the Irish people.

"What was the condition of Ireland when she was asked by Butt and Parnell to choose a constitutional movement? The land system remained in practically the same position of entrenched omnipotence as at any period of Irish history. The tenants were the victims of extortionate rack rents. When the rack rents became impossible of payment—often even when they were paid—the eviction notice was served. The country was bleeding from every pore with the emigration of her youngest and best children. The spectre of periodical famine, threatening the horrors of the great famine of 1846, was always near. In the years between 1877 and 1879 it was brought close by a new failure of the potato crop, which still stood as the thin and only partition between the majority of the Irish people and hunger; and, as in 1846, the evictions fell like snow-flakes, to quote the language of Mr. Gladstone, all over the country.

The Landlord Garrison.

"The landlord garrison, which did these things, remained still in possession of every place of power. They had the two houses of the British Parliament at their back. They had even the representatives of Ireland either with them or impotent against them. The whole control of the local life of Ireland was in their hands; for no Irish county had any other form of Government but the Grand Jury, and the Grand Jury was a committee of landlords. The landlords held the magisterial bench; their members or their creatures filled the judicial offices; at their back was all the great naval and military as well as political forces of the British Empire. Rural Ireland presented to the world a tragic and almost universal spectacle of a nation in ruins; wretched cabins, insufficient food, rags instead of decent clothing, and the terror and abjectness of the slavery to the landlord. The labourers touched an even lower depth of despair: in houses unfit for animals, with poor wages, without land, they were hopeless in the present and the future. Beyond all this the vision, which has haunted the Irish Nation throughout all its existence, of the recognition of its nationality by an Irish Parliament, seemed to be as remote as at almost any time in her history.

"Butt, Parnell, and the organisations they created, held out the promise to Ireland that in a constitutional movement there could be found a weapon sufficiently powerful to remove all these grievances. These grievances and the reforms they demanded were set forth briefly in the programme of these different organisations founded by Butt and Parnell years before any of the grievances had even been touched.

"The programme of the Land League, as declared in the resolutions of the 21st October, 1879, was (1) to bring about a reduction of rack-rents, and (2) to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupants of the soil.

"On the suppression of the Land

League, the National League was founded to succeed it, and the programme of the National League, as adopted by the National Conference held in Dublin on October 17th, 1882, was as follows:—

- "(1) National Self-government.
- "(2) Land Law Reform.
- "(3) Local Self-government.
- "(4) Extension of the Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises.
- "(5) The development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland.

Question for Irishmen.

"The question we ask every Irishman to put to his mind and conscience at this solemn hour is, whether, in the history of his country, the promises made by Butt and Parnell—renewed by their successors—and the objects of the national organisations have been realised or falsified. What answer can any sane or truthful Irishman give to such a question but this: that the constitutional movement has not only won everything the programme of Butt, Parnell, and the Irish organisations demanded, but a great deal more. For what is the record of the years which have passed since Butt founded the Home Rule and constitutional movement?

"Rack-rents, evictions, the rent office, the rent-warner, the bailiff, to a large extent the landlord, have disappeared from the life of Ireland. Two-thirds of the entire land of the country has passed into the hands of the people. The remaining third is in process of gradual transfer, and the soil of Ireland is now more securely vested in the people of Ireland than at any period in our country's history.

"Tens of thousands of cottages have been built all over Ireland, in which, at a moderate rent and with a portion of land, the Irish labourers have been transformed from the worst housed, worst clothed, and worst fed class in Europe into the best housed, the most comfortable and the most independent body of labourers in the world.

"In the congested districts, grass ranches have been acquired and divided up into economic holdings for the people. Slated, roomy and healthy houses have taken the place of the miserable cabins, and there has grown up in some of the most poverty-stricken districts in the North-West, West, and South of Ireland a new Ireland of happy and prosperous homes.

"The evicted tenants, who formerly were without redress and had no alternative but the workhouse or emigration, have been practically all restored to their original holdings, or to other holdings as good or better.

"In so far as the local government of Ireland is concerned, it has been wrenched from the landlords and is now in entire possession of the people, with chairmen and members freely chosen by the people themselves.

"The Parliamentary and Municipal franchises, which, in the days before Butt and Parnell, were successfully used to misrepresent the convictions and interests of the people, have been so reformed that the representation of three-fourths of Ireland is in accord with the national aspirations of the people.

Conditions of Workers.

"Hard as are the conditions of many of the workmen of Ireland in the cities, unhealthy as still are many of their dwellings, Grants and Acts have begun the great work of providing healthy and cheap homes for the toilers.

"In every effort to put down sweating, the abuse of the truck system, the efficient administration of the Factory Acts, the safeguarding of the right of combination, and the protection of the interests of Trades Unions, the Irish National Party have been able to extend to Ireland every benefit that the popular representatives of Great Britain have been able to obtain for their constituents.

"In the region of higher education, the Irish Party have been enabled to bestow upon Ireland a National University, through which the sons of Catholics can find access to the highest conquests of learning for the first time in their history.

"Primary and secondary education, the teachers and the schools, have all received an enormous improvement in revenue and position.

"The tenants in the towns have achieved a charter far in excess of anything ever extended to any city or town in England.

"With England, Ireland has been enabled to share to the full in all the programme of social reform. Old-age pensions have brought comfort and hope to tens of thousands of old men and women who otherwise would have had an old age of poverty and despair. The National Insurance Act has given to the workers of Ireland the same guarantees as to those of England against illness, unemployment, sickness, and disease.

"Finally, the Irish Party has achieved the last and the greatest of the objects of every Irish movement since the Union, by placing on the Statute Book the greatest and largest measure of Irish Self-Government ever proposed and ever achieved.

"If, then, the constitutional movement has triumphantly vindicated itself; if, on the other hand, a revolutionary movement has shown itself to be at once futile and disastrous, have we not a right to ask the people of Ireland to stand by the constitutional movement and to uphold it till its entire mission is accomplished? Have not a right to call upon men in all stations of life in Ireland who have the duty and the power to guide the decisions of the people, to make a strong and united appeal to the people to choose the wise and to oppose the insane course of Irish policy?

Weapons of Faction.

"During all those years which have marked this splendid march of our Irish people to the removal of their grievances and the realisation of their hopes, their representatives, who were the faithful instruments in carrying out this policy, and especially during the last ten or fifteen years, have been subjected to the fiercest and the most unjust attacks. Their work, instead of being recognised, has been belittled and derided. While they have been accomplishing the possible, amid difficulties in the conditions of British politics and of the British Parliament which they alone know, they have been denounced for not doing the impossible. Every weapon of faction, of personal hate, of journalistic insinuation, has been employed against them; and often they have not had the vigorous support which they were well entitled to demand from the people whom, as was certain, the people were in favour of their policy with practical unanimity.

"The time for such hesitations is now past. We repeat that the country stands face to face with the alternative of futile revolution and anarchy or of the maintenance of the constitutional movement by the full and vigorous support of the Irish people. Each Irish Nationalist has to put before himself these alternatives. We have no doubt what the choice of the

Irish people will be. But it is on that answer that the constitutional movement and our future conduct must depend. If the people do not want the constitutional movement, they do not want us. Without their active support, we should be engaged in an impossible task. With their support, we can complete the fabric of Irish reform and Irish liberty which we have been building up for the last half century; we shall realise all the reforms and all the hopes we and our predecessors in the constitutional movement have held out to them; we shall lead the Irish people into the Parliament House for which they have been praying and working for more than a century."

The Resolutions.

The following resolutions were also passed:—

"That we are convinced that the continuance of military executions in Ireland, carried out against persistent protest made on our behalf from the very first, has caused a rapidly increasing bitterness and exasperation amongst the large majority of the Irish people who have had no sympathy with the insurrection, and that, in the interests of the Empire itself, as well as of Ireland in particular, no further executions of the kind should be allowed to take place under any circumstances, and martial law should be immediately withdrawn."

"That we desire to express to his relatives our sincere regret at the death, since our last meeting, of our colleague in the Leix division of Queen's County, Mr. William Delany, who was at all times an earnest and faithful upholder of the cause of Ireland, inside and outside Parliament."

THE SINN FEIN PARTY

TWO SECTIONS IN IT.

The Liverpool correspondent of the "Sunday Chronicle" says:—

Dramatic rumours reach me from Dublin with regard to an endeavour by the wild spirits organising the uprising to remove the wise counsellors of the movement from the sphere of activity.

To destroy the influence of the prudent counsel of Professor M'Neill it is stated that the organisers of the revolt took every measure on Good Friday to procure his isolation. Having succeeded, a further dramatic step was initiated on Easter Monday when the other chief obstacle of the reactionaries' proposals, Mr. Arthur Griffith (the originator of the economic policy of Sinn Feinism), was denounced as a reactionary.

Rumour has it that he was arrested on suspicion after the denunciation, in connection with which the name of a prominent woman leader is mentioned. It is impossible to confirm the story, but many believe that these two men were removed from a sphere of influence by the subtlety of the revolutionists of the movement.

The next development was to inspire as many peaceful Sinn Feiners as possible with the faith that the opportune time had arrived to secure what they for generations had been taught to regard as an inevitable eventuality—"the freeing of Ireland from the yoke of England."

Lying reports were therefore circulated, and the rumours set afloat included one to the effect that an American-Irish and German force had seized the western seaboard of Ireland.

Peculiarly enough, this rumour was accepted as fact by many, and, working on the feelings of the members of the movement, the leaders insidiously spread rumours that Holland had declared war on England, that Verdun had fallen, and that France had flung up her hands. What a chance for the malcontents to strike a blow for the realisation of their

hopes

REPUBLICAN PROCLAMATION.

At the door of the Post Office a Volunteer handed to passers-by printed copies of the following proclamation:—

POBLAUGHT NA H EIBEANN.
(The People of Ireland.)

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT of the IRISH REPUBLIC.

To the People of Ireland:

Irishmen and Irishwomen.—In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland through us summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having partially perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible.

The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty. Six times during the past 300 years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent state, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government hereby constituted will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke on our arms, and we pray that no one who serves the cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN MAC DIARMADA,
P. H. PEARSE,
JAMES CONNOLLY,
THOS. MCDONAGH,
EAMONN CUNNITT,
JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

The Freeman's Journal.

DUBLIN: FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1916.

The Interregnum

The resignation of Lord Wimborne completes the retirement of all the chiefs of the Irish Executive who had the misfortune to be engaged in the attempt to maintain "an unbroken front" in Ireland under the impossible conditions imposed by the Coalition Government. As Lord Wimborne held on even after Mr. Birrell, it is clear that the proceedings that have since been going on in Ireland made it hopeless for any statesman with Liberal instincts to continue to be identified with the so-called Government of Ireland in its present phase. Mr. Asquith said the day before yesterday that the military regime was being administered in Ireland in constant communication with the Civil Authorities. The only Civil Authorities now left are Mr. James Campbell, the Law Adviser of the Provisional Government, and the Inspector-General of the Constabulary. Constant touch with these authorities may well explain the blunders of the Military Dictatorship, which in one brief week has produced such a lamentable revulsion of feeling throughout the country. When we said yesterday that what Ireland needs now is a speedy reversion to the usages of the Constitution and not the administration of a Von Bissing, some people thought we were unfair to the intentions harboured in the breasts of the Unionist Conspirators whose pernicious activities two years ago prepared the way for the disasters that have befallen Ireland. Such people will have had their doubts removed by yesterday's "Irish Times." That organ of the Covenanters and former patron of the insurgents openly demands the establishment of Cromwellian rule in Ireland. The reward of the masses of our people for the good order that they maintained and their assistance to the forces of the law in the recent disturbances should, the Covenanters now demand, be the permanent abrogation of their civil rights and liberties.

"We hope that martial law will be maintained in Ireland for many months. When the time comes for its removal the change to civil government ought to be smooth and gradual. This end can best be secured—in fact can only be secured—by the presence at the Viceregal Lodge of a soldier who, having taken his part in government under martial law, will be able to transmit the spirit of military administration to the civil instruments of the State."

This diabolical invitation to precipitate a conflict in the midst of the war between the English and the Irish peoples in also the moral that underlay the speeches of Lord Midleton and Lord Desart in the House of Lords. The latter used language which was intended to convey to the British public the idea that the whole Irish nation was in sympathy with the recent outbreak, and that it is in a volcanic condition moving towards a worse and more formidable explosion. Such counsels and such slanders show how desperate, inveterate, and irradicable are the evil instincts of the faction that has so long stood between the Irish people and their re-

conciliation to the British nation and Empire. A policy of that kind would, if it were attempted, be a desecration and a befoulment of the dead that Ireland has given that the Empire might live.

We are not sure how far the Coalition Government may be able to withstand or may desire to withstand such evil instigation. The entire break-down of postal and telegraphic arrangements leaves us in ignorance of the course of the debate which Mr. Dillon was to raise in the House of Commons yesterday. But there is one incident of sinister import. The Irish Party has had to protest against the character and scope of the inquiry which has been ordered into the origin of the insurrection and the responsibility of the officials involved. A reference has been drafted that excludes from the inquiry all the incidents and events that led to the paralysis of the Irish Executive. There is no mystery about the reason for this dishonest limitation. The Coalition Government itself could not afford an honest investigation. If the inquiry were thorough and the report fearless and impartial it would break up the Coalition itself, for it would drive out of the Councils of the King the Ministers who preached in Ireland the doctrines of rebellion and provided the insurgents with the catechism that seduced their dupes. We are not to have an honest inquiry, for it would bring home their guilt to Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Galloper Smith, the Chief Law Officer of the Coalition, Mr. James Campbell, the Chief Law Officer, the legal adviser of the Executive that is to keep Ireland out of the paths of rebellion, and the other ornaments of the Coalition who figured on the Ulster platforms. Fortunately their performances are so notorious and so fresh in the public memory, the disaster in Ireland has made their guilty responsibility so patent and so awful, that it needs no blue book to enforce. That these gentlemen should continue in office while their victims, Lord Wimborne, Mr. Birrell, and Sir Mathew Nathan, should be made the scapegoats of the consequences of their evil doctrines is one of the scandals of the present hour which must move the indignation of the historians of Ireland. For the present, what is most patent is Mr. Asquith's impotence to deal justly by Ireland under the conditions of the Coalition. It is a signal to

the Constitutional Nationalists of Ireland that they must draw their lines closer and prepare for any encounter that their enemies may force upon them under cover of the passions and misrepresentations that the evil genius of the insurrection has made possible. They may be certain that in any such conflict they will have the sympathy and support not merely of all good and honest citizens in Great Britain itself, but of all the freedom-loving communities of the civilised world.

We appeal to them to be calm under the present provocations. No doubt that is a hard counsel for many a loyal and law-abiding man who has been victimised during the present regime. Some of the hardships to which such men have been subjected are outrageous. Men have been arrested on suspicion during the past week, pointed out probably by some personal enemy or political opponent, confined in over-crowded sheds where they have had to sleep upon the floor, fed upon bread and water, and then released without a charge being formulated against them or an apology tendered. The Parliamentary excuses for such action will leave Ireland cold. It ought not to be possible. Whatever crimes the insurgents have been guilty of, their treatment of their prisoners wherever they were in the hands of the leaders of the revolt, was, according to all reports, civilised and humane. That cannot be said of the treatment which some innocent men have received in the military prisons. We make all allowance possible for the difficulties of the Military Authorities, but it is clear that Sir John Maxwell has some extremely inefficient and unsatisfactory subordinates. In the protest that we make and the feeling to which we are giving expression we are voicing the opinion and sentiments of citizens as loyal to King and country in this crisis as Sir John Maxwell himself. He has already given welcome proof, by his action in Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington's case, that he is capable of prompt investigation of the action of such subordinates. We invite him to look for himself into the treatment of prisoners awaiting trial in the military prisons. Upon one other matter Mr. Asquith was unable to make a definite statement. In reply to Mr. Dillon's question "whether any prisoners in Dublin have been shot without notice or after trial, without any public announcement of their names; and, if so, how many?" Mr. Asquith said: "So far as I know, the answer is in the negative." A much more definite answer, based upon inquiry into all the proceedings at Portobello Barracks and the Castle, is required to put an end to the very definite statements that are in circulation among the people, to the great detriment of the cause of the public appeasement. The army in Ireland, which, on the whole, has behaved creditably and honourably, owes it to itself and to the Irish Regiments within it to have the truth out at all costs in these matters. The existence of such appalling doubts and fears enable one to picture the Ireland that we should have to live in if the

WANTED Young Lady Assistant (H.C.)
for Grocery, Bar, and Provisions

DUBLIN CLERGY AND RECENT RISING GENERAL MAXWELL'S TRIBUTE

LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP

His Grace the Archbishop has received the following:—

Head Quarters, Irish Command,
8th May, 1916.

Your Grace—I shall be glad if you will convey to the clergy of your Church my high appreciation of, and thanks for, the services rendered by them during the recent disturbances in Dublin.

I am aware that such services were practically universal, but it is possible that your Grace may desire to bring to notice individual cases of special gallantry or devotion.

If such is the case, I shall be obliged if you will inform me of the names of the gentlemen in question.—I am, your Grace's obedient servant,

J. G. MAXWELL, General,
Commanding-in-Chief the
Forces in Ireland.

The Archbishop's Reply,
Archbishop's House, Dublin,
11th May, 1916.

Dear Sir John Maxwell—In reply to your letter of Monday, I beg to thank you for your gratifying testimony to the fidelity of our clergy in the discharge of their duties during the recent troubles in Dublin.

I have been much struck by your request to be furnished with the names of the clergy in cases of special gallantry or devotion that I might desire to bring under your notice. But I quite concur in your view that services deserving of high praise were practically universal. Many such cases have, of course, come to my knowledge, especially amongst the clergy of my own Pro-Cathedral Parish in Marlborough street, and those of the Capuchin Community in Church street. But I feel that it would be invidious to treat those cases as if they were exceptional.

Again thanking you for your kindly letter, I remain, your faithful servant,
WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

CITY PRIEST AND THE LEADERS

The story of a remarkable conference between a well-known Dublin priest and a group of insurgent leaders in the Post Office is told by the special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian." The priest strongly urged the insurgents to abandon a hopeless struggle, but was told they would soon be relieved by German troops. They cherished, he says, an un-

ROLL OF HONOUR
CONNELL April 10, 1916. Killed in action
Francis Connell, fourth son of Richard Con-
nell, ex-R.I.C. and Mrs. Connell, Kildare
Hullington, aged 21 years, and grandson of
the late John Hallington, Co. Meath.
R.I.C. Westmeath papers, please copy.
REQUIEM MASS
GILLIGAN—Requiem Mass will be offered at Ter-
race H.C. Church on to-morrow (Saturday)
12th inst. at 10.30 a.m. for the late Patrick
Gilligan, who fell in action in France. The re-
latives of deceased return their most sincere
thanks to all those who kindly sympathized
with them in their great sorrow.

MR. DILLON'S SPEECH.

Last night Mr. Dillon moved a resolution declaring that in the interests of peace and good government it is vitally important to have a full statement of the Government's intentions as to the continuance of executions, carried out as a result of secret military trials, and as to the continuance of martial law, and the searches and wholesale arrests.

As to the execution at Queenstown he held it was a breach of the Prime Minister's pledge, and asked did it mean that a roving commission was to carry out these horrible executions all over the country. Mr. Tennant had announced, he said, that 14 persons had been executed. He would prove that two persons had been shot at Portobello Barracks without a trial, and he said the Prime Minister had been kept in the dark. All Dublin was ringing with the news of the shooting of these people, but the Government knew nothing about it.

AROUSING DISAFFECTION.

These two cases would never have been known in Dublin if Mr. Skeffington had not been so well known throughout the country.

The methods which were being pursued by Sir John Maxwell were maddening the Irish people, and were arousing a spirit of disaffection. A river of blood was being made to flow between the two races.

Lord Midleton, one of the most vigorous Ministers in the House of Lords, said this was the first time in the history of Ireland where a rebellion had taken place where the majority of the people were on the side of the English Government. Those who were responsible for the government of Ireland were wasting out the life work of the Nationalist Party in a sea of blood. The "Irish Times," the leading organ of the Unionist Party in Ireland, welcomed the proclamation of martial law, said for the first time Dublin was enjoying security of life and property, and hailed with satisfaction the substitution of military government for the government of Dublin Castle and the House of Commons. If that was the sort of thing they were up against in Ireland the Government had better get 100,000 men to garrison the country.

MILITARY DESPOTISM.

What kind of appearance, he asked, would Nationalist cheers, would they make in the peace conference as

the champions of small nationalities with Ireland under a military despotism? The British Government treated Ireland as if it were

a sort of backyard of Great Britain in which the people could be trampled in the dust.

He was informed that hundreds of people who were arrested were given half an hour in which to decide whether they would give information about their leaders. If they refused they were put up against a wall, and shot without any form of trial.

He knew of the case of a boy who was asked by the military to give evidence against his commanding officer. He refused, and was told that unless he did as he was told he would be shot. The boy said, "Shoot away." They blindfolded him, and made him hear the click of rifles, and he was finally asked before

he died whether he would answer the question. He said "No."

Was that British justice? He called it devilish.

At this there were Nationalist cheers, and Mr. Dillon went on to say that another man said, "Shoot me, for I have killed three of your soldiers." "That," said Mr. Dillon, "may horrify you, but I am not ashamed to say that I am proud of these men." Here there were some cheers, and loud cries of "Shame" and "You have shown your hand." "Have I ever failed to show my hand?" asked Mr. Dillon. "I am proud of their courage, and," he went on, arousing further Nationalist cheers, "if you were not so dense you could have had them fighting for you."

"AN INFAMOUS FALSEHOOD."

Unionists shouted "Who stopped them?" and "You did." "That," said Mr. Dillon, "is an infamous falsehood. I and my friends around me have been doing our best to get them into your ranks. They require no Compulsory Service Bill, and if you had passed it for them it would have taken 150,000 men and three months' hard fighting to have dealt with the rebellion.

"It is not a Military Service Bill you want in Ireland, but it is to find the way to the hearts of the Irish people, and when you do that," he added, amidst cheers, "you will find you have got a supply of the best troops in the world."

No rebellion, he continued, in modern history, had been put down with so much blood and savagery.

Why, he asked, and again there were cheers, could they not treat Ireland as Gen. Botha treated South Africa. Numbers of these insurgents had brothers in the trenches. They were victims of misguided enthusiasm and bad leadership. For two days he was in their power, and, according to his information, there were very few acts of savagery and murder on either side.

In regard to the main body of insurgents, admitting they were wrong, their conduct as fighting men was beyond reproach.

They fought a good, clean fight, and he believed there were at no time under arms in Dublin more than 3,000 insurgents.

The population was on the side of the soldiers, and the insurgents were disappointed, having confidently calculated on a rising of the people in their support.

SKEFFINGTON CASE.

Thousands of people in Dublin who, 10 days ago were bitterly opposed to the Sinn Fein movement, were now becoming infuriated against the Government on account of these bloody executions. He proceeded to read a statement by Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington in regard to the death of her husband, according to which Mr. Skeffington actively endeavoured to prevent looting. When arrested he was unarmed. He was shot the same night or early next morning, and buried shortly afterwards. No priest was sent for, the chaplain being summoned only to read the funeral service. Mrs. Skeffington asked him (Mr. Dillon) to appeal to the Government for a public investigation, and nothing but a public inquiry would be elementary justice.

He earnestly appealed to the Prime Minister to stop these executions now, absolutely and finally. If there were any case of cold-blooded murder let it be tried openly. They could then do what they liked with the murderer. The insurgents fought a clean and a brave fight. There were Unionist cries of "Oh," and Mr. Dillon retorted and caused Unionist interruptions. "It would be a damned good thing for you if some of your soldiers put up as good a fight as these men put up in Dublin. It was 3,000 against 20,000 with machine guns and artillery."

"You are evidently sorry they didn't succeed," exclaimed a Unionist, amidst cheers. "That is an abominable lie," said Mr. Dillon.

Mr. Hazleton formally seconded the resolution.

ARMY OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.
(Dublin Command)

Headquarters

Date.. 25th April, 1916

To

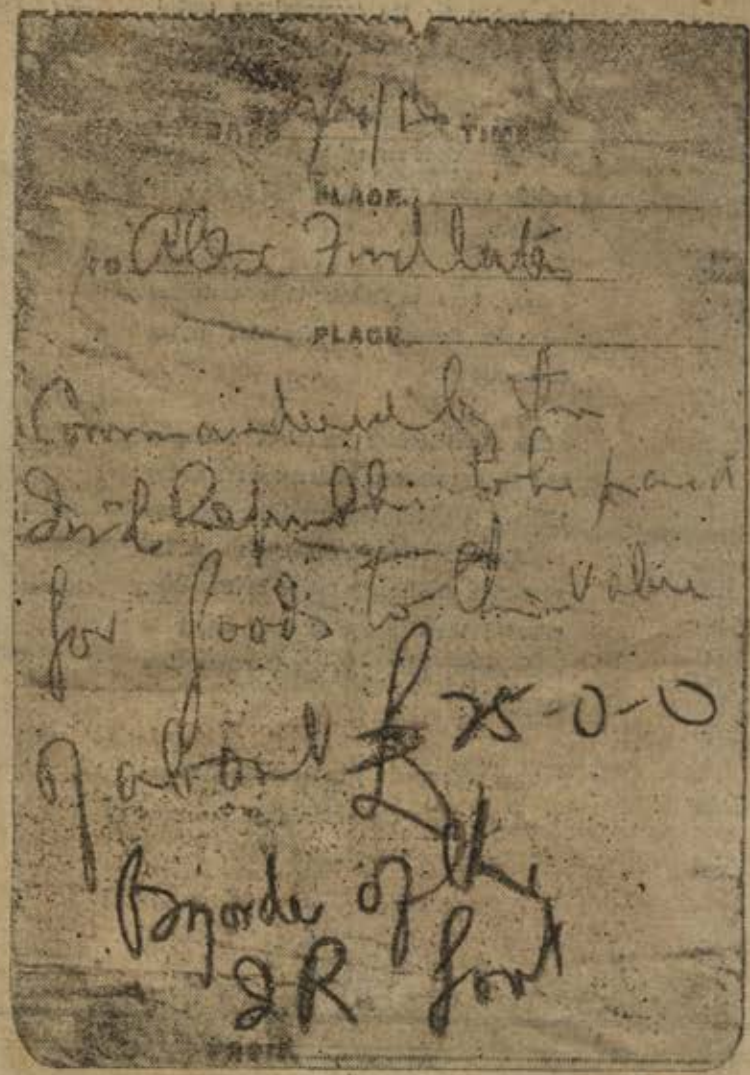
Officer in Charge, Reia & D.B.C.

The main purpose of your post is to protect our wireless station. Its secondary purpose is to observe Lower Abbey Street and Lower O'Connell Street. Commanders in the D.B.C. whatever food and utensils you require. Make sure of a plentiful supply of water wherever your men are. Break all glass in the windows of the rooms occupied by you for fighting purpose. Establish a connection between your forces in the D.B.C. and in Reia's building. Be sure that the stairways leading immediately to your rooms are well barricaded. We have a post in the house of the corner Bachelor's Walk in the Hotel Metropole, in the Imperial Hotel, in General Post Office. The directions from which you are likely to be attacked are from the Custom House, from the far side of the river, Ballin Street or Southmoreland Street. We believe there is a sniper in Reia's on the far side of the river.

James Connolly
Commandant General

"Photograph of Orders sent to an officer in charge"

An "Irish Republic" Receipt



We reproduce above a receipt given "By order of the I.R. (Irish Republican) Government" to Messrs. Finlata for commandeered goods.

PARTITION

Letter from Archbishop of Dublin

The following letter appeared in yesterday's "Evening Telegraph."—
Archbishop's House,
Dublin, 8th May, 1917.

Dear Sir—The question may perhaps be asked, why a number of us, Irish Bishops, Catholic and Protestant, have thought it worth our while to sign a protest against the partitioning of Ireland. Has not that miserable policy, condemned as it has been by the all but unanimous voice of Nationalist Ireland, been removed, months ago, from the sphere of practical politics?

Nothing of the kind. Anyone who thinks that partition, whether in its naked deformity, or under the transparent mask of "county option," does not hold a leading place in the practical politics of to-day, is simply living in a fool's paradise.

Faithfully yours,
* WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

P.S.—I think it a duty to write this, although from information that has just reached me, I am fairly satisfied that the mischief has already been done, and that the country is practically sold.
* W. J. W.

LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP.

To the Editor of the Freeman's Journal.

Archbishop's House, Dublin.
July 25th, 1916.

Dear Sir—For years past I have never had a moment's doubt that the Irish Home Rule cause in Parliament was being led along a line that could only bring it to disaster. But it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the lamentable fact that Nationalist Ireland, or to speak with accuracy, the preponderating majority of those of our people who still retained faith in the efficacy of Constitutional agitation, had become hopelessly possessed of the disastrous idea that "the Party," or, to use the new-fangled term, its "leaders," could do no wrong. Fair criticism was at an end, and anyone, thorough-going Nationalist though he might be, who ventured to express an opinion at variance with their became at once a fair mark for every political adventurer in the country to assail with the easily handled epithets of "factionist," "wrecker," or "traitor."

Having then, a duty to discharge to the ecclesiastical position that I have the honour to hold, I felt that I could best indicate my strong view of the lamentable position of the Home Rule cause by what seemed to me a sufficiently striking indication of it, absolute abstention from everything that could be regarded as expressing concurrence in the course that was being pursued.

The country seemed to be satisfied with that course:—The Home Rule Act was on the Statute Book; it could not be displaced or modified without "our" consent; the end of the war would automatically bring with it the re-opening of our old Irish Parliament in College Green, and so on.

As the necessary result of the abandonment of the policy of Independent Opposition—the only policy that can be followed with safety by Irish representatives in the British House of Commons—our country is now face to face with a truly awful prospect.

The Home Rule Act is still on the Statute Book. Will Irish Nationalists be any longer befooled by a repetition of the Party cries, that this fact makes them masters of the situation; that the Act cannot be modified without Nationalist consent; and that Ireland awaits only the end of the war to find the portals of the Old House in College Green automatically opened for the entry of the members of a Parliament greater than Grattan's?—I remain, Dear Sir, faithfully yours,
* WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

P.S.—I cannot close this letter without expressing my amazement that the country has so long allowed its attention to be distracted with all sorts of side-issues regarding the Irish Parliament that is to be, whilst an effective bar is kept up—for this is what it comes to—against all real consideration of the question whether the Parliament that is to come to us, is to be a Parliament in any sense worthy of the name.

* W. J. W.

Widow's Story of Sheehy Skeffington's Last Hours

PORTOBELLO BARRACKS TRAGEDY

The case of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, who is stated to have been shot in Portobello before martial law was proclaimed and without the knowledge of the military authorities, is provoking the greatest discussion and comment in the Press, Parliament, and in public circles.

His widow has written a letter to the Press Association, in which she tells of her husband's last hours. She calls for an inquiry into the charges in her letter, which are of the gravest character.

Mr. Nevinson, in a letter to the "Manchester Guardian," emphasises Mr. Skeffington's pacifist activities.

In connection with these facts, a letter from Mr. Skeffington himself, in which he alleges a "Pogrom plot of British Militarist Junkerdom" in Ireland, is reproduced below. It was written a month ago, but appeared in the "New Statesman" only last week.

The Press Association has received the following statement written by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington in connection with her husband's death:—

May 7.

I last saw my husband on Tuesday evening, April 25, between 5.15 and 5.30, at Westmoreland Chambers. He had called a meeting there to stop looting (see enclosed poster), and was waiting to see if any people would attend same. On that and the previous day he had been active personally, with help from the bystanders, at the same work, and had succeeded in stopping some looting by personal efforts and appeals. All this there is independent evidence to testify.

On Monday afternoon, outside Dublin Castle, an officer was reported bleeding to death in the street, and the crowd being afraid owing to the firing to go to his assistance, my husband himself went at immense danger to his life to drag away the wounded man to a place of safety, to find, however, that by that time the body had been rescued by some soldiers, there being left merely a pool of blood.

This incident can also be corroborated. He stated to me that if none turned up to help on Tuesday at the meeting to prevent looting that he would come home as usual to his house at 11 Grosvenor place.

He was afterwards seen by several friends (whose testimony I possess) going home about 6.30 in the neighbourhood of Portobello Bridge.

He was

ARRESTED UNARMED

and unresisting.

He never carried or possessed any arm of any description, being, as is well known, a pacifist, and opposed to the use of physical force. He was conducted in military custody to Portobello Barracks, where he was shot, without trial, on that night or early on the following morning. No priest was summoned to attend him; no notification was or has since been given to me (his wife) or to his family of his death, and no message written before his death has been allowed to reach me.

Repeated inquiries at the barracks and elsewhere have been met with refusal to answer, and when my sisters (Mrs. Kettle and Mrs. Cullane) called at Portobello Barracks on Thursday, 27th April, to inquire they were put under temporary arrest. On Friday night, April 28, a large military force surrounded my husband's house, 11 Grosvenor place, fired without warning on the windows in front, which

THEY BURST THROUGH

without waiting for the door to be opened. They put myself, my son, aged seven—to whom they shouted "Hands up!"—and my maid (the sole occupants) under arrest, and remained in the house over three hours. They found no ammunition of any kind, but burst locks, etc., and took away with them a large amount of documents, newspapers, letters, and books, as well as

VARIOUS PERSONAL PROPERTY,

such as linen tablecloths, trinkets, photographs of Keir Hardie, M. Davitt, a picture (the Kilmainham prisoners of 1849), a green flag, etc. Most of the books taken were German and Irish books (grammars, school texts, etc), relating to my work as a teacher of modern languages and to my husband's journalistic work.

On Monday, May 1, during my absence the soldiers again entered the house and searched it and took prisoner Margaret O'Farrelly (the only then occupant), a temporary maid whom I had engaged, my former maid having been too terrified to stay.

She was detained in custody until the following Saturday (May 6), in the Rothmea Police Station, and

KEPT THERE IN CUSTODY

without the knowledge of her friends, and without any charge being made against her. Finally, the authorities in Dublin Castle allowed her to be released, but without apology or compensation.

I demand the full inquiry into all the above circumstances, and desire, as my husband's next-of-kin, to be legally represented at any inquiry that may take place.

(Signed) HANNAH SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON.

P.S.—Since the above was written my husband's body was dug up from Portobello Barracks and transferred to Glasnevin Cemetery again without my knowledge.

The following are details of his last hours that have reached me through various private sources—He refused to be blindfolded, and met death with a smile on his lips, saying before he died that the authorities would find out after his death what a mistake they made. He put his hand to his eyes and the bullet

PASSED THROUGH HIS HAND

to his brain.

The poster referred to in the statement reads as follows:—

When there are no regular police in the streets it becomes the duty of the citizens to police the streets themselves to prevent such spasmodic looting as has taken place. Civilians (both men and women) who are willing to co-operate to this end are asked to attend at Westmoreland Chambers at 5 o'clock on this (Tuesday) afternoon.

FRANCIS SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON.

ARCHBISHOP MANNIX AND THE RISING.

The "Melbourne Advocate" reports that the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Coadjutor-Archbishop of Melbourne, spoke as follows in Melbourne on May 29:—

I wish to trespass on your time to say a few words on two subjects that are in the minds of you all. It is needless for me to say how deeply pained I am by what has just happened in Ireland, and how grieved I am for the lives that are lost. The Archbishop has already spoken on this matter, and I am sure that he has truly voiced the feelings of the Catholic body here (applause). This outbreak is truly deplorable. But we must not lose sight of the facts of the situation. People must expect to reap what they sow. And knowing, as I do, what has been going on in Ireland before and since the outbreak of the war, I am not altogether surprised at the lamentable things that have occurred. They are the natural regrettable sequel and response, as it were, to the campaign of armed resistance and civil war which the Carsonites have been allowed to preach and prepare for within the few years. The Carsonites, of course, had no opportunity of coming into collision with the forces of the Crown. They got a free hand, though some of them boasted that they were intriguing with the German enemy. They were assured on the authority of Mr. Asquith, that the British army would never point a gun at them; their leader, instead of being taken into prison, was taken into the British Cabinet. The hot-blooded young men who have now taken up arms began, I suppose, to ask themselves how Ireland was to stand when this war in the midst of small nations was over. To ally with treason is never safe for any Government (applause). I am quite sure in my own mind that the British Government, by its failure to deal with the treason of the Carsonites, and its shifty policy in regard to Home Rule, has, unwittingly I suppose, led up to the result which we must all deplore. I hope the immediate trouble is all over, or that it will soon be all over, and I hope, too, that those who are already calling out for execution will first pause and try to fix the responsibility for this outbreak (applause) before condemning the misguided leaders of this movement to be shot. They should remember that leaders of another movement were taken into the Cabinet (applause).

Sir,

Welcome! You have done the right thing in coming to Dublin. The Irish tangle requires action, not talk. You have acted. Your coming to us at such a crisis—the most critical in the history of this country and most crucial, perhaps, for the Empire at large—has aroused in us feelings of hope and glad relief.

On Thursday night, in the House of Parliament, you told the world that your Government regarded the situation in Ireland as "unsatisfactory." You have come to decide for yourself how and why the present situation in this country is unsatisfactory. Look around.

Sir, we would ask you to go back with us a few years. Recall the summer night of July, 1912, when you made your triumphal entry into Dublin. Such a welcome has only been eclipsed by that accorded a Sovereign Lord of England on the occasion of a Royal Visit. The carriage you rode in that night was drawn by the willing hands of welcoming crowds. All the way from Kingstown to O'Connell street you passed through waves of sound—the cheers of massed humanity—and you saw nothing but seas of faces and waving flags and hats and kerchiefs. We saw you that night. You shook with emotion. The cordiality of the gre-tin, extended to you, the greatness of the big Irish heart bursting with welcome for you, was something that for the time melted the man of ice and iron and revealed him the human being.

To-day, Sir, you once again ride through the streets of Dublin. Oh! what a pitifully-altered Dublin. As you wend your way in lonely state, what thoughts are yours? Dublin has not only changed in aspect; its people are changed. You see the gaunt, ghastly walls of tottering buildings in O'Connell street, the great cumbered highway littered with smoking debris and heaped-up mortar—that noble avenue that was once the pride of us and the joy and admiration of strangers within our gates. You behold this pathetic spectacle of wreckage and wastage, this cemetery of a people's hopes and of a city's wealth. Fortunes have flown in the flames of incendiarism, buildings have rocked and fallen shattered by the shells and burst by the bullets of opposing forces. The pavements of our streets, the walls of our houses have soaked in the blood of our dead. Our capital has been convulsed with a revolution. . . . What thoughts are yours?

Recall the night you came to us three years ago, the night we welcomed you, the Premier, the chosen leader of a mighty people—welcomed you with open arms and with throbbing hearts. You were then, as you are now, the Premier of a great democratic race—the Rock of England. Recall the message you brought to us from England, a message of cheer, of freedom, of final settlement of all causes of difference between your race and ours, separated far too long by a gulf of misunderstanding. Your visit, then, and the message you tendered us, gave bright hope for the future of our oppressed nation. Your public utterances on that occasion were memorable as the event was historic. The eyes of Dark Rosaleen, dimmed with doubts and disappointments of years and years, lighted up with the bright light of anticipation. The sorrows of centuries were to cease. That was your word.

Then the day of our salvation was at hand. The situation in Ireland was satisfactory. To-day the scene is changed. The situation in Ireland is unsatisfactory. How and why has it changed? You cannot reach the explanation in a passing study of things as you now find them. No doubt you are already in possession of the main facts of the calamitous revolt, and these are not disputed. Bodies of men, by no means representative of the loyal subjects of Ireland, and embracing as a fact a small minority of the people of Ireland, styling themselves Sinn Feiners, linked up with other bodies of men—and, as we submit, dominated and urged on by them—commonly known as "Citizen Army" men, deliberately planned and fomented a rebellion which had no chance of success. It has resulted in ghastly failure, as all such plots and treasonable movements must and will fail. They trafficked with the enemies of the Empire, and described as their gallant allies the Germans, the unspeakable frightfulness of whose deeds has secured the condemnation of the whole civilised world. They called for aid on the race whose cannon have blasted away the churches and convents and monasteries of priests and nuns in Europe; whose war machines have deluged the land of France and died red the seas of the world with blood of our kith and kin. They have slain the upholders of law and order in this country in their mad outburst of fanaticism. No doubt the responsible leaders were inspired by some motives; they cherished some ideal. What their motives and ideals were we know not. The nation is concerned with their acts and the consequences. They have been tried for these acts and found guilty. Fifteen of them were executed.

On Thursday night before your hurried departure to our shores you made a remarkable statement in the House of Commons.

"So far as the great body of insurgents are concerned," you said, "I have no hesitation in saying in public they conducted themselves with a humanity which contrasted very much to their advantage with some of the so-called civilised enemies with which we are fighting in Europe. That admission I am quite prepared to make with regard to many of them. They were young men, often lads. They were misled almost unconsciously, I believe, into this terrible business."

You will have learned by this time how these fifteen men (and many others who bore arms against his Majesty's soldiers) met their death. Not one flinched during the dread ordeal that marked the passage of their souls to the great unknown. They were rebels. But they were Irishmen. They took the fate of rebels with the courage of Irishmen. We deprecate any attempt at such a time to glorify them into heroes or martyrs. But, Sir, the great mass of these rebels fought a clean fight. They turned their rifles on the rabble looters. Their courage at the end—the hopeless end of it all—was the spirit of the race, and that spirit passeth understanding. The tragic circumstance is that such a spirit was wasted in such unworthy effort.

Again we ask you to look back. What horrid power lured or urged those reckless, fearless men to such unworthy effort—those men who "conducted themselves with a humanity which contrasted very much to their advantage with some of the so-called civilised enemies with which we are fighting in Europe"? You ought to know. This Sinn Fein movement, that swept on from the period of peaceful propaganda to the disastrous week of open armed rebellion, got its strength and proclaimed its objective during the long term of your Ministry. Make no mistake about it. The bearing of arms in Ireland by drilled, organised masses of men dated from the moment that Mr. Edward Carson, K.C.—later Sir Edward Carson and a highly-favoured member of your Cabinet and Law Officer to the Crown—invoked the aid of the Ulster Anti-Home Rulers, organised them into battalions of volunteers, saw to it that they were trained and equipped for resistance by armed force, marshalled them and reviewed them, and witnessed their signing of the infamous Ulster Covenant. Sir Edward Carson and his followers preached sedition from the house-tops. Larkin's Citizen Army and the unfortunate dupes who linked their fate with them practised it. The crime of the Dublin rebels of Easter Monday was that they carried into practice the teachings that had been publicly promulgated by the Ulster rebels for years.

It is sordid history, but it must be carefully studied in conjunction with other matters in the administration of Irish affairs during your Premiership if we are to understand the meaning of the tragedy we have passed through.

We have long known you, we Irish, to be a man imbued with the finest ideals of Liberalism and endowed with the noblest conceptions of humanity. In your great heart you said there must be an end to executions of rebels found guilty by court martial. Thank God, the end has come. We pass no comment on the courts martial trials beyond this: the courts martial are carrying out the law of the land, and carrying it out with diligence and thoroughness in face of difficulties that seem as appalling as they are unprecedented in the history of the country. Sir John Maxwell is a stranger to us, but we accept your estimate of that esteemed officer, in whose discretion, breadth of mind, and humanity you have expressed the greatest confidence.

Now, Sir, you have already granted an Inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, an unarmed citizen of Dublin, and the deaths of two other citizens whose trials or sentences have not yet been promulgated. There are other incidents associated with this dread period in the life of Dublin which, for the peace and well-being of the community, should be carefully inquired into. On the day you arrived in Dublin, and when you were actually passing through it, a Coroner's Court was holding an inquest on the bodies of two men found in a cellar in a house in North King street. We ask you to study the evidence already adduced at these proceedings. On Saturday, April 29, four men were done to death in a terrible manner in the house, 27 North King street. Their names are James M'Cartney, a respected citizen who was manager for the Lord Mayor of Dublin; Peter Lawless, a youth of 31; James Finnegan, and Patrick Hoey. The relatives of these men have sworn in affidavits, signed and witnessed before a Commissioner for Oaths, that these four men, and five women, and a four-weeks' old baby, were all refugees for safety at 27 North King street; that the men were non-combatants; that they did nothing in violation of peace or order. The manner of their deaths is public knowledge, and has caused widespread horror in the city. We deem it our duty as public journalists to call your attention to these matters, that you on the spot may sift them for yourself, and order such inquiry as will render a true verdict according to the evidence. That is the least that common justice demands.

We would further call your attention, Sir, to the indiscriminate manner in which the people of Ireland are being "rounded up" in the scheme of operations pursued by the authorities. Numbers of loyal subjects who do not now, and never did, countenance the plans or motives of the parties responsible for the disturbance are being arrested and detained as suspects. It is this cause more than any other that is giving rise to the "savage exasperation" about which you heard so much in Parliament. The great masses of Ireland have shown themselves loyal to the Crown. Nothing must be allowed to be done to undermine that loyalty.

As for the rest, we hail your assurance that provision should be made as soon as possible for the future of Ireland. The matter of moment is that the capital of the country must be rebuilt; its business restored; its industries revived. There are qualities in our men of business just as there are in the fighting men that cannot be ignored.

Sir, we recognise that your visit to Ireland at such a time will add further burdens to the many you have already borne and are now bearing. In our address to you we have spoken no word which might impair or obstruct the happy consummation which you so zealously strive for. You have come to us at a period of national stress and mourning. We pray the God of our fathers to lead you to just and wise conclusions.

COLONEL MOORE.

Colonel Maurice Moore, who had up to a few months ago been Inspector-General of the Irish National Volunteers, was then called.

Addressing him, Lord Hardinge said:—We have read with interest your statement already submitted to us. It is considered unnecessary that it should be read in public, but we understand that you would like to make a personal explanation in connection with the circumstances in which your name was mentioned in the course of the proceedings. I shall now be pleased to hear what you may have to say.

Colonel Moore—It is for that reason—that I have already been referred to—that I should not only like to make a statement, but if my statement sent to the Commission is not going to be read, it seems absurd for me to give any statement.

The Chairman—The Commission is the best judge of that.

Col. Moore—Very well, I shall probably take steps to publish what I have sent you, because I think it is a necessary answer to the statements made about me, and should be published.

The Chairman then announced that the Commission would be adjourned until the 31st inst., at 11 o'clock in London.

COLONEL MOORE'S STATEMENT.

I did not intend to appear before this Commission, but I saw that my name had been prominently and not very tactfully brought before it by another witness; it seems to me I am now bound to state my position, and I think I can best do so, and at the same time serve the objects of the Commission, by giving a history of the Irish Volunteers. I will endeavour to place matters before the Commission which will enable it to understand the views of others than officials. I am not advocating these views or minimising the wrong-doing of rebels, but unless the Commission bears in mind the ideas which led to rebellion were developed, nothing will be understood. The Sinn Fein movement was rather popular when it was started some years ago, but it was discredited by several unsuccessful enterprises, and lapsed into a coterie of young literary men and women for some years. Its tenets were not clearly known, but it had a certain number of general sympathisers among Irishmen, who were more interested in nationality than the land agitation, which seemed to have engulfed it. Most of those who formerly supported it gave up politics and devoted themselves to the language and literary movements. This state of affairs continued till Irish Nationalists of all sorts were roused by the violence of the Ulster agitation against the Home Rule Bill, and the drilling and arming of a body of trained men to defy the constituted government of the country. It had happened, that except at the times of Charles I. and James II. and the Regency of George III., Irish Nationalists and generally born in the position of pro-

testing against forms of the Constitution which were oppressive to their liberties, while their opponents supported the existing institutions. They had always been warned that rebels could not be tolerated, and if they wanted a re-

form of the laws they must convert the majority of the members of Parliament to their views, but as there was a permanent English majority against them they had no real voice in the government of their own country. Again and again they were suppressed by armed force, and prison and the scaffold seemed the only result of their struggles. But for fifty years after the Fenian rising there had been no attempt at an armed rising; the possibility of it had disappeared out of the minds of nearly all Irishmen, even the most extreme. They had trusted to the exertions of their representatives in Parliament, and in this way had gradually gained much of the liberty for which they had formerly shed their blood. They seemed to be on the point of gaining the last and greatest boon, the right to govern their own country. The Union had been forced on them by bribery and intimidation, and they were shot, hanged, or imprisoned for resisting it; now by constitutional means they were about to reverse it, when a new theory was developed by their opponents. Sir Edward Carson and the Orangemen stated that votes were of no account; majorities not worth talking about. They appealed to force, appointed a Provisional Government, and proceeded to arm and organise an army to intimidate the Government of the country. Parliament was openly flouted, and the Orange watchword was "Ulster will fight." The leaders of one of the great English parties upheld them, and Ministers condoned their acts. Judges, peers, bishops, clergymen, society women lauded them as heroes and patriots, and even in England, Volunteers were enrolled to fight against Parliament under the Orange flag. Race hatred and religious bigotry was excited to the utmost to bring about civil war. Bonar Law, Dublin, 28th November, 1913:—"I have said on behalf of the Party that if the Government attempt to coerce Ulster before they have received the sanction of the electors, Ulster will do well to resist them, and we will support resistance to the end." Now I wonder whether you have tried to picture in your own minds what civil war means . . . it is a prospect from which I shirk in horror, and for which I wish to avoid if I can any responsibility. But really we try to think what the effect of bloodshed and civil war would be on our Parliamentary institutions, on the Army, on the Empire as a whole. It would not mean anarchy; it would mean literally red ruin and the breaking up of law. It would produce results from which our country would not recover in the lifetime of any of those whom I am addressing. Under such circumstances Irish Nationalists would have been unworthy of freedom if they had not accepted the challenge, flung so insultingly in their faces.

THE STARTING OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

In October, 1913, a meeting was held in Dublin for the purpose of forming a Volunteer force, the object of which was stated to be "to defend the rights and liberties of all Irishmen irrespective of creed, or class, or politics." But the special idea in the minds of all was to support Parliament against the illegal threats of the Orange Party. I joined the movement at its birth, and was scoffed at by my London Unionist friends who prophesied that I could not raise a hundred men in Ireland to defend Home Rule; "no one wanted it," they said, now that the peasants have got the land. I went to Mayo, which is my own county, and began raising Volunteer corps in various towns; in this way I was brought in touch with men of all classes, creeds,

and opinions; and when I put forward the object of the movement, the one that produced the most intense enthusiasm was the chance of reconciling hostile sections. When I was satisfied about the soundness of my views, and the practical possibility of our plans, I went to Dublin and joined the Provisional Committee. On my first entrance I found about twenty-five members present; nearly all of them were young men, some merely boys of twenty; some seemingly less. None of them knew anything of military affairs or the "division of battle more than a spinster," but they had hired halls for drilling and obtained the free services of excellent sergeants to instruct them. Except Mr. John MacNeill, and Mr. Pearse, and Mr. MacDonagh, I had never seen or heard of any of them before, and it took me two or three days to size them up and separate the groups. There were about two extremists and four or five young boys under their domination; these latter were mild and quiet and by no means unreasonable. Five or six Sinn Feiners were in a distinct group; they might be described as extreme Home Rulers at this time; they did not approve of the methods of the Parliamentary Party, but they were not revolutionists; they had a very cloudy idea how they were going to attain their ends, but in the main they disliked Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party which they distrusted; they followed the opinions of Mr. Griffith, the editor of the Sinn Fein newspaper. There were a few like MacNeill, Pearse, MacDonagh, Plunkett, and O'Rahilly, who belonged to no special political party; they were idealists. The remainder of the committee were moderate men, inclined to follow the Parliamentary Party. All these opinions were kept strictly in the background; no politics of any sort were discussed, and the shades of opinion would have been difficult to find out except by private conversation. It will be interesting to note how some of the Sinn Fein Party and some of the Idealists gradually became extremists and merged with the Fenians. The Volunteers themselves were on strictly non-party lines; it was their boast that they were a national, not a political body, and this was not a great exaggeration.

The "Irish Volunteer" newspaper was founded in February 1914, six months before war was declared against Germany, and I was asked to write a leading article in the first number, setting forth the objects of the Volunteers. I may mention here that these men were of the highest character public and private; they were men whose whole lives from childhood had been permeated with thoughts not of their own selfish interests, but of the interests of their country. They were intimately acquainted with its history, its literature, its language and its antiquities, and had the most romantic views regarding its future. Some of them, like MacNeill, were scholars and professors whose opinions are as much studied and respected by students abroad as at home; others, like MacDonagh, were poets with considerable literary gifts. Only yesterday I was charmed by a beautiful poem he had translated from the Gaelic. Pearse was a man of such tender sympathies that he would not shoot or fish because he could not bear to give pain; his school garden full of fruit was not shut off from the boys; he trusted their honour not to steal, and when the temptation of cosy apples proved too great he could not bring himself to slap the little culprits. All were men who would have been the finest and choicest blossom of any nation in the world, and whose one absorbing passion was to lay down their lives in order that their country might be advanced even one step in prosperity and enlightenment. If

they had been born in Canada or Australia they would have been great citizens; it is certain they would have been foremen in some wild Anzac charge, and might have died by some Turkish bullet instead of against a barrack wall in Dublin.

From the first I saw that a large body of twenty-five members of different views very indiscriminately chosen, and with no technical knowledge could not govern the Volunteers. I pressed this point on Mr. MacNeill and those who were most intelligent, and it was agreed amongst a few that the idea of a small committee should be developed. I considered that a committee of three would be best, but it was argued that there was not in the committee three men sufficiently known and trusted in Ireland to undertake the job, and that five would be necessary. I also advised that we had come to a time when the help of the Parliamentary Party was necessary, and I was deputed to see Mr. Redmond on the subject. The Party had not hitherto approved an organisation that might develop on wrong lines, but they now agreed to join with a committee of nine as a governing body.

THE GROWTH OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Unfortunately there was a slight disagreement as to its composition, and the dispute ended by Mr. Redmond appointing twenty-five new members as an addition to the old Committee—a thoroughly bad arrangement, which made a split inevitable. Meanwhile the Volunteers continued to grow rapidly in numbers and organisation; Mayo reckoned ten thousand, Galway not much less, Derry City over two thousand trained men, so that we could count in the spring about 170,000 men in Ireland. I had been appointed Inspector-General from the beginning, and now Colonel Cotter, late R.E., joined my office as Chief of the Staff. We organised the scattered corps into companies, battalions and brigades, and the nucleus of an army began to make its appearance. Public opinion in England was impressed, and the Orangemen began to hesitate as to their conduct. In the beginning they thought they had squared the Army, and as no other enemy seemed possible, they calculated on a walk-over. Now it seemed different; the Government was reinforced, and stiffened its attitude to the Orangemen. Meanwhile events of the utmost importance were developing in England. War threatened with Germany, and it was evident some sort of settlement, permanent or temporary, regarding Ireland, must be arranged between parties. About this time the Irish Volunteers rose to the height of their popularity, not only among those who usually supported the National cause, but among the Southern Unionists. The most prominent Unionists in Ireland offered their services, and I was glad to seize the opportunity to bring them into our movement, as a sign that we were not narrow or bigoted in our views. Men like Lord Powerscourt, Lord Fingal, Marquis of Conyngham, Captain Bryan Cooper, Lord Arran, and numberless others, patriotically putting aside old antagonisms, came to our help and became officers of the Irish Volunteers. We had already far surpassed the Ulster Volunteers in numbers, and now also we were ahead of them in the rank and position of our officers. We had succeeded in welding together all parties in at least three out of four Southern provinces, and we had achieved this result without money or patronage, but merely by patriotism of our people, the moderation of our words, and the wisdom of our actions. It is a result of which I at least am proud.

MR. REDMOND'S OFFER.

War was declared early in August, and it seemed impossible to carry on a foreign war with rebellion threatening at home. On the National side Mr. Redmond relieved the situation by making a public and unconditional offer of the services of the Volunteers for the defence of the country. As usual, the Government hesitated what course to pursue, and tried to do nothing. Day after day speculation was keener and controversy grew louder as to the signing of the Home Rule Bill. I was travelling all over the country reviewing Volunteers, and everywhere I found the anxiety growing more intense. It was freely stated that Carson had made his bargain, and that Redmond had shown his cards and was being cheated by the Government. The Sinn Feiners took full advantage of these fears and preached the doctrine of "perfidie Albion." Lord Kitchener sent over an officer to raise an Irish Division, and the inclination of many people was to wait till the Government declared itself; the Sinn Feiners said, "The English are humbugging us; they want our recruits, and when they have them safely bagged they will snip their fingers at us and tear up the Bill. That is how the English have always treated us." It could not be denied that their history was true, and their forebodings had every appearance of being true also. Week after week passed by with no sign, only the call for more recruits. The time was agonising, and nerves began to give way; I am confident that the weeks elapsing between the passing of the Bill and its signature by the King, coupled with the demand for recruits, estranged the people of Ireland as much as the Bill itself had conciliated them. When at last the Bill was signed the enthusiasm was gone, and the fact that it was not to be put in force till after the war, with the threat of an undefined Amending Bill, left the uncertainty as great as ever. Nobody believed for it.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ERROR.

Nothing but the enormous influence of Mr. Redmond and the leaders of the Irish Party prevented a universal and determined agitation against recruiting; whereas if the Home Rule Bill, which had passed three times through the House of Commons, had been loyally adopted by England, there would have been such an enthusiasm for the Empire that any number of recruits would have come in; and Sinn Fein would have become less influential than ever. Before the war began, like most other people, I foresaw the difficulties that were bound to arise owing to the existence of two hostile armed parties in Ireland. I knew that the Government were afraid to suppress one, and therefore could not suppress the other; the only solution I could find for the entanglement was for the Government to extend the Territorial Act to Ireland, into which men of both parties might enlist. Orangemen would have found it difficult to refuse on account of their loyal professions, and many Irish Volunteers would do the same. I believe now that was the proper solution, and that it was quite feasible; serving together in the same regiments party antagonisms would have softened. About three months before the war I went to see the Secretary of State for War (Colonel Seely) and discussed with him the possibility of this proposal. He agreed that it was an excellent idea, but made no proposal—the usual thing. Soon after I went to see the officer in charge of the Territorial Force. I then discussed the matter with the leaders of the Volunteer Committee privately, and found no insurmountable difficulty. An officer of

the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland proposed a scheme by which all the Volunteers in Ireland, Unionist and National, should receive military training. He calculated that when the troops were removed there would be room for 20,000 men at one time in barracks, and these should, after a two months' training, be passed on to the standing camps, their places in barracks being taken by a new levy of 20,000 Volunteers. After the camp training they would be ready to take their places on the coast defences, passing after their tour of duty to their own homes. In this way by circulating new levies through the barracks and camps the whole force would be trained. Working together side by side in this way, I hoped the troubles and hatreds between the different parties in Ireland would have been gradually abated, and while the last obstacles to National self-government would be overcome, our former quarrels would have ended in advantage to the Empire.

LORD KITCHENER'S REFUSAL.

The most prominent members of the Provisional Committee men, even outside the moderate sections, agreed to these proposals, and Mr. Eoin MacNeill accompanied me to the Royal Hospital to hear them discussed. Later on Mr. Redmond and the leaders of the Irish Party also accepted them, but Lord Kitchener refused even to discuss the incorporation of the Volunteers, and the proposal was abandoned. I went to lay stress on the fact that the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, and among them members closely connected with this late rebellion, were at that time willing to join in the defence of the Empire, but were refused by the Government. Nothing could be more disastrous than the treatment meted out to the Volunteers; every advance we made was rejected with contempt. Meanwhile the anger of the Volunteers against the Government and the English nation for putting off Home Rule became more intense, till a split occurred in the Committee between the extremists and the Redmondites; I wrote advising the Volunteers to follow the latter, and it was calculated that about 160,000 followed us, and about 10,000 followed the Sinn Feiners; many left the ranks disgusted, and never returned again. Then came a series of the most stupid mistakes, every one of which increased the strength of the Sinn Fein crowd. Under the Defence of the Realm Act men were deported and imprisoned without even a crime being alleged against them, but merely on the information of a policeman and the warrant of the authorities; the advice was often prejudiced or ignorant. Newspapers were suppressed and allowed to re-appear again under a different name with worse articles.

Col. Moore then proceeds to say that the first event that aroused real bitterness among the Dublin Volunteers and resounded all over Ireland, was the action of certain police officials in regard to the landing of rifles at Howth. These unequal proceedings caused a very hostile feeling in Ireland; so far from weakening the Irish Volunteers their numbers were nearly doubled in the next week, but is it surprising that an anti-English feeling, and a feeling against the army, was provoked just before the war? The extremists became more extreme, and many moderates were attracted to that party.

The Irish are a jealous people, and resent uneven treatment more almost than harsh usage. The question was asked then as it is to-day in every house in Ireland—What would have happened if the Home Rule Act had been enforced instead of postponed, and the Covenanters had revolted as they had sworn? Would Sir E. Carson, Mr. Bonar Law and these rich and respectable Ulster magnates who formed the Ulster Provisional Committee have been shot by order of a

Field General Court-martial? And if not, why not? Let us carry back our minds to the state of feeling that existed in Ulster and England two years ago, and answer that question without fear or favour. I am sure every Nationalist in Ireland would have petitioned for grace.

Colonel Moore goes on to say that he believes the numbers of the Sinn Feiners have been greatly exaggerated. From inquiries I have made I do not believe there were 2,000 men fighting in Dublin on the rebel side, but they made a stout defence. Still I cannot disbelieve the evidence that there has been a considerable increase during the last year. I attribute it to several causes, the principal of which was the great discouragement of the people when Sir Edward Carson and the leaders of the Orange rebellion were introduced into the Government; they had again and again up to the last moment, assured their followers that the Home Rule Act had been torpedoed; if the end of the war was to see a new Orange revolt under the patronage of a Coalition Government, might it not be better to have it out at once?

There were other reasons which may seem minor reasons, but nevertheless acted strongly on minds already exasperated. There seemed to be a revival of the old attempt to persecute the Irish language. A gentleman was fined and sent to prison for answering a policeman in Gaelic in a Gaelic-speaking district, though he was well known to be inoffensive; this seems an astonishing piece of folly and bigotry, well calculated to raise the anger and indignation of the people

who have very strong sentiments on this subject. I went to headquarters and warned the intelligence officer that this act alone would treble the number of Sinn Feiners in the country. He did not agree with me; many of these people have no conception of the force of the intellectual movement in Ireland or indeed anywhere; they have narrow views of life, and are a great impediment to the government of the country. I said, "Very well, if you want to turn the whole country into Sinn Feiners you are going the right way about it."

IRISH BISHOP

AND SIR J. MAXWELL

Extraordinary Letter

CASE OF TWO PRIESTS

The following correspondence has taken place between General Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, and the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer:—

Headquarters, Irish Command,
Park Gate, Dublin,
6th May, 1916.

My Lord—I have the honour to request your lordship's co-operation in a matter connected with the present deplorable situation in Ireland, the settlement of which I am confident you desire no less keenly than I do. There are two priests in your diocese, the Rev. Father —, of —, Co. Limerick, and the Rev. Father —, of —, Co. Limerick, whose presence in that neighbourhood I consider to be a dangerous menace to the peace and safety of the Realm, and had these priests been laymen they would have already been placed under arrest. In this case I would be glad if your lordship could obviate the necessity for such action by moving these priests to such employment as will deny their having intercourse with the people, and inform me of your decision. —I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

J. G. MAXWELL, General, Commander-in-Chief, the Forces in Ireland.

The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer,
Bishop of Limerick,
Limerick.

Abbey View, Kilmallock,
May 9th, 1916.

Sir—I am directed by the Bishop of Limerick to acknowledge the receipt on this morning of your letter of the 6th inst., which has been forwarded to him at the above address. The Bishop desires to point out that the action which you suggest to him to take towards Rev. Father — and the Rev. Father — would be a very severe punishment, which the Bishop has no right to inflict on these priests except on a definite charge supported by evidence. If, then, you are good enough to specify the grounds on which you consider that their presence in the neighbourhood of — and — is "a dangerous menace to the peace and safety of the Realm," the Bishop will investigate the matter, and inform you of his decision. But whatever may be the rights of the military under martial law, a bishop in the exercise of his authority has to follow the rules of ecclesiastical procedure.—I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

JAMES CANON O'SHEA, Pro-Secretary.

To General Sir J. G. Maxwell,
Commander-in-Chief, the
Forces in Ireland.

Headquarters, Irish Command,
Park Gate, Dublin,
12th May, 1916.

My Dear Lord Bishop—I beg to acknowledge the letter of May 9th from your lordship's secretary. Father — has been reported as on 14th November, 1915, speaking in his church at — against conscription. He is said to have attended a lecture by P. D. Pearse on the "Irish Volunteers of '82," and of blessing the colours of the Irish Volunteers at — on 2nd January, 1916, also speaking at a meeting that took place at — on 17th March, 1916. Father — is said to have been active with a certain E. Blytho, organising Irish Volunteers. In November, 1915 he got printed a large number of leaflets appealing to young men of the Gaelic Athletic Association to join the Irish Volunteers. He is said to be president of the Irish Volunteers at — and —. He is said to have been present at the Irish Volunteer meeting at — when a certain John MacDermott delivered inflammatory and seditious speeches on the 17th March, 1916. When I wrote to your lordship on the 6th I hoped that you would have been able to take steps to prevent priests from mixing up in organisations that are a danger to the Realm. If these reports be true it should not be necessary for me to make definite charges, supported by evidence, against these priests who, I imagine, will not deny their participation in the Irish Volunteer movement which has led to such deplorable events all over Ireland. Therefore, it should not be difficult for your lordship, under such disciplinary power as you possess, to prevent, at any rate, priests from mixing up with and inciting their flock to join an organisation such as the Irish Volunteers have proved themselves to be.—I beg to remain, my dear Lord Bishop, yours very truly,
J. G. MAXWELL.

Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer,
Bishop of Limerick,
Limerick.

Ashford, Charleville,
17th May, 1916.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12th inst, which has been forwarded to me here. I have read carefully your allegations against Rev. —, Rev. —, but do not see in them any justification for disciplinary action on my part. They are both excellent priests who hold strong National views, but I do not know that they have violated any law, civil or ecclesiastical. In your letter of 6th inst. you appeal to me to help you in the furtherance of your work as military dictator of Ireland. Even if action of that kind was not outside my province the events of the past few weeks would make it impossible for me to have any part in proceedings which I regard as wantonly cruel and oppressive. You remember the Jameson Raid, when a number of Buccaneers invaded a friendly State and fought the forces of the lawful government. If

ever men deserved the supreme punishment it was they. But officially and unofficially the influence of the British Government was used to save them, and it succeeded. You took care that no plea for mercy should interpose on behalf of the poor young fellows who surrendered to you in Dublin. The first information which we got of their fate was the announcement that they had been shot in cold blood. Personally I regard your action with horror, and I believe that it has outraged the conscience of the country. Then the deporting by hundreds and even thousands of poor fellows without a trial of any kind seems to me an abuse

of power, as fatuous as it is arbitrary, and altogether your regime has been one of the worst and blackest chapters in the history of the misgovernment of this country.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD THOMAS,
Bishop of Limerick.

To General Sir J. G. Maxwell,
Commander-in-Chief,
The Forces in Ireland.

Dr. Hackett, Bp. of Waterford was also written to by Maxwell about 2 priests. The bishop wrote back to ask Maxwell "Was he or Maxwell the Bishop of Waterford" that ended the correspondence.

Dr. Mc Rony, Bishop of Down Connor was also asked to suspend 2 priests. His answer was to make one of them P.P. of his host parish & the other C.C. in the place of the first. Then he made both priests write to Maxwell to thank him for their unexpected promotion.

The Royal Commission of Enquiry into the causes of the rebellion in Ireland and the conduct of the Executive opened its proceedings at Westminster yesterday, Lord Hardinge presiding, and Mr. Justice Shearman and Sir Mackenzie Chalmers being also present. In his opening statement, the Chairman indicated that the inquiry would deal with the question of responsibility of persons and associations.

Sir Matthew Nathan, ex-Under-Secretary for Ireland, was the only witness of the day. He submitted in lengthy detail an official story of the rise of the Irish Volunteers and of the Sinn Fein organisation, together with references to police and military organisations, arms importations, military and other conferences, and consultations with M.P.'s of both the Nationalist and Ulster Unionist Parties.

When Sir M. Nathan was called he was informed by the Chairman that anything he wished to say in private could be said in that way.

The witness dealt with the preliminary movement which led to the insurrection and its outbreak—the work, he asserted, of the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The Irish Volunteers came into existence at the end of 1913, and on Mr. Redmond's pronouncement on the war in 1914 a manifesto was issued by the Provisional Committee attacking him and objecting to Ireland taking part in foreign affairs. In Oct., 1914, a Convention of Irish Volunteers, held in Dublin, under the Presidency of Mr. John MacNeill, had as its objects the maintenance of "the rights of the Irish nation, and to provide for its defence by means of a permanently armed and trained Volunteer force," and "to unite the people of Ireland to maintain the integrity of the nation and resist any measures to bring about disunion or partition of the country and resist any attempt to force men of Ireland into military service." These objects were stated in a declaration issued on Oct. 14, when the Volunteers following Mr. Redmond numbered 169,000, and those following Mr. MacNeill 11,000. From that time the shrinkage in the National Volunteers steadily increased; and on Apr. 24, 1916, at the date of the outbreak, their number was 165,000, and the Sinn Fein Volunteers increased to 13,500. An increase of 2,000 in the latter's strength in Oct. coincided with a special recruiting effort by the authorities. The number of Sinn Fein Volunteers at the time of the outbreak was estimated at 15,200.

AMERICAN FUNDS.

Witness stated that the Irish Volunteers had outside funds at their disposal. Considerable sums came from America, and passed into various banks in Dublin in the name of John MacNeill and another.

On Sept. 14, 1915, the sum of £16,000 had been paid in, and in the following April the balances were withdrawn.

Sums of money were being paid for arms and in the maintaining of seditious newspapers, the circulation of which was undoubtedly increasing. In Feb., 1916, leaflets of an anti-British character were lavishly handed around in all parts of the country. Organising inspectors held meetings to enrol men, and women were recruited to learn first aid.

Proceeding, witness gave details of the importation of rifles, and other firearms, into Dublin. Some 100 of these rifles were now known to have been stored in L. and N. W. Railway depot as far back as Aug., 1915. Rifles were, no doubt, also purchased in some instances from soldiers on leave; but there was no evidence of heavy importations from England before Dec., 1915. It was discovered that purchases of ammunition were made at a good price by the Irish Volunteers, and that guns were also bought. There was manufacture of explosives, and, in connection therewith, explosions actually took place in, among other centres, Sligo, Cork, Kildare, and Lanarkshire. The manufacture of explosives was taken as indicating an intention to commit outrages on persons and on public buildings.

CIVIL SERVANTS' ATTITUDE.

Sketching the movement leading up to the insurrection, Sir M. Nathan alluded to the Irish Volunteers as "a disloyal and revolutionary organisation." Steps were taken, he said, to prevent Civil Servants from joining it, and warnings were issued to the seditious Press, while efforts were taken to restrict the activities of organising instructors and the importation and sale of arms was brought under strict regulation.

The policy of not allowing members of the Government service to belong to an organisation whose avowed object was to injure that Government was consistently followed.

In particular cases the evidence fell short of proof of actual membership, but wherever such membership was proved, and continued after warning, dismissal followed. In the case of priests assisting the Irish Volunteers in a public way representations were made to higher ecclesiastical authorities.

The action against seditious papers was less consistently followed than that against Civil Servants, but certain papers were suppressed, and one of these was a sheet published in Glasgow by a Socialist leader, which, however, was succeeded by another printed at Liberty Hall, Dublin, which combined a Labour and anti-British propaganda. Prominent members of the Parliamentary Party were against newspaper suppression.

He read extracts from a report of the Adjutant-General, one statement being that in the view of that officer the bulk of the people were not disaffected. "Unfortunately," said witness, "the absence of Customs examinations made possible the importation of arms from England." Provided the regulations were complied with, anyone, witness informed the Chairman, could send in arms and ammunition.

GERMAN AGENTS.

Dealing with events immediately before the insurrection, witness mentioned matters to which publicity was given by two New York papers in Oct., 1915, with reference to a pro-German organisation in America.

It was stated that thousands of cards were being circulated by German agents calling for subscriptions for the purchase of arms to aid the Irish insurrection. Sir Roger Casement was said to have given a pledge that the German Govern-

ment and the German army would act in Ireland.

Notification had been received from Germany that it was the German intention to strike the final blow on land and sea and in the air, so as to secure victory, and the appeal was made to the Irish Volunteers for assistance. They had not given up the idea of landing troops in Ireland, and it was there that the final victory would be won.

It seemed, continued witness, that the Irish Volunteers were anxious to start business at once, but certain heads of the Volunteers were against an immediate rising.

MacDonagh, one of their officers, declared it would be madness to attempt a rising immediately if the help promised by Monteith was not available.

It was also reported there would be a general mobilisation on April 2 last.

THE KERRY ARRESTS.

Surveying occurrences during March, witness gave particulars of troubles which arose from certain deportations. On Sat., April 23, it was ascertained that a vessel disguised as a Norwegian was being brought into Queenstown, and that, after hoisting the German flag, she was blown up, 19 German sailors and 3 officers being taken from a submarine and detained in custody. Two men, named, respectively, Slack and Collins, Civil Servants, were also arrested on a charge of conspiracy to land

arms. Sir Roger Casement, arrested at Ardara, was sent to London. From Tralee came the intimation of the arrest of Daniel J. Bailey, who had joined the Irish Brigade in Limburg Camp while a prisoner of war, and who stated that a Wilson liner was being piloted into Tralee, one of the objects being a rising and an

A list of places in the Dublin area seized and held by the insurgents was put in by witness, who, as a proof of the importation of arms from England, said that in August, 1915,

500 bayonets were sent from Sheffield to the Sinn Fein organisers.

QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT.

In general observations on the insurrection, witness said the presence of an uncontrolled armed force in the country necessarily involved great risk to the State. He pointed out that 25,000 Catholics recruited solely in Ireland, had volunteered to fight for the Empire. The R.I.C. were constantly in close touch with the work of the Volunteers and other hostile agents. The force concentrated from the Castle, strengthened by bodies from the Curragh, when the outbreak took place, was insufficient to deal with the crisis, and reinforcements were sent from England. In witness's opinion

disarming of the Volunteers would have been a very dangerous business, and it had been carried out there would have been bloodshed.

Further, to attempt to disarm the Volunteers in their houses would have been forcibly resisted in many cases. Any measure which might have been taken to prevent assemblies of Volunteers would have had much the same result—rebellion.

It was proposed that a number of the leaders should be interned in England under the Defence of the Realm Act, but the Home Office required certain evidence of proof that such a course was necessary. Such evidence was not available at the time. On Easter Eve a warning was received that the Germans would attempt to land arms in Ireland. News was received that the attempt was frustrated, that the German ship was sunk, and that Sir Roger Casement, who was to lead the rising in Ireland, had been captured.

REBELS' DECISION.

Continuing, witness said that

Meetings of the leaders of the rebellion movement were held on the Saturday and Sunday, and it was decided by a majority of one to start the insurrection on Easter Monday.

Had the information being known to the authorities protection would have been concentrated. The Sinn Feiners avoided any attack which would have involved any concentration or movement under fire. The only possible purpose the insurrection could achieve was to get troops well established in the city while hostile forces were operating elsewhere in the country.

Sir M. Nathan, cross-examined, in reply to the Chairman said that the organisation in Ireland for obtaining information as to what was going on in the country and outside as much as possible, included a special inquiry department of the R.I.C., consisting of a few officers in Dublin. There was also the D.M.P. Detective Dept.

On March 31 the strength of the R.I.C. was 9,302, but it was considerably decreased since the commencement of the war, owing to men enlisting. The vacancies had not been filled, because the general state of Ireland was peaceful, and also because it was not desired to compete with the recruiting authorities for men. The Force had not decreased by 2,000. There was 1,231 men wanted to complete the establishment, and the number increased about 500, which had been wanted to complete for some time. Ten years ago the Force comprised something like 10,000 men.

OFFICIAL CONFERENCES.

Questioned by Mr. Justice Shearman, witness said he went to Dublin in Oct., 1914. Everything of interest was sent to the Chief Secretary, and the reports sent to him would be available to the authorities in England. Witness was frequently in communication with General Friend, the military commander in Ireland. There

were many special conferences between the military and civil authorities during this year. The minutes of them he handed to the Commissioners.

Arms and explosives were prohibited in Ireland in 1913 under the Customs regulations of 1874.

A licence was necessary for carrying arms, but it was never enforced, because it was looked upon as a trifling matter. He could not say if there was any Statute in Ireland to prevent armed drilling. If it was in force it was certainly not enforced.

SNAM ATTACK ON CASTLE

The Irish Volunteers and the Sinn Feiners were, witness said, one and the same people. When he got information about branches of the Irish Volunteers being formed and women being trained in first aid, he took it they were preparing for the war. It was not assumed they were drilling for a rebellion.

Mr. Justice Shearman—When you got information they were drilling people and making sham attacks on the Castle, did it not occur to you that that was done to be carried into effect later if they had the chance—

Witness—The Chief Secretary was fully aware of it.

Mr. Justice Shearman—When was the sham attack on Dublin Castle?

Witness—On Oct. 6. Witness added that he was not present at the sham attack.

The Chairman—Did not you think it was strange that these people should have been allowed to make mimic attacks on Dublin Castle—

Witness—We were accustomed to all sorts of operations in Ireland (laughter).

I did not look upon it as an undesirable development.

In reply to Mr. Justice Shearman, witness said that if they had disarmed the people there must have been bloodshed. They had hoped that nothing would result from the Sinn Feiners' movement.

The great majority of the Irish people were unfavourable to the Sinn Feiners. **"AN ABSOLUTE FABRICATION."**

Statements were issued that the Irish Volunteers, standing alone, were unable to successfully encounter the forces of the Crown, as they were not sufficiently equipped.

On Mar. 23 one of the Dublin papers

published what purported to be a declaration from headquarters that it was the intention to disarm the men, and that such a step could only be attended by resistance and bloodshed. A special meeting of the Dublin Corporation was held for the purpose of striking a police rate. Reference was made at that meeting to a recent charge of Mr. Justice Kenny as to proceedings of an openly seditious character, and to the receipt of a letter which charged the Government with the intention of disarming the Volunteers. That was an absolute fabrication, and did not contain a word of truth.

THE CASTLE STAFF.

To Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, witness said that when he arrived in Ireland he was given information as to what was going on in the country. He mentioned the composition of his staff at Dublin Castle, and said they were recruited from the ordinary Civil Service Examinations, in which men could choose Ireland, as they could India. At present the staff was mainly Irish. Generally speaking, he had had loyal support from the staff.

THE IRISH FORCES.

The D.M.P. consisted of 1,121 men, the full establishment being 1,160. They were 40 below strength at the time of the outbreak. Both police forces were under Government. He believed there would be greater advantages to be obtained by having one. He did not know how the two

different forces were started. The powers of arrest had been increased. Under the Defence of the Realm Act trial for unlawful assembly could be conducted before two R.M.'s. Under the old Crimes Act there were cases where, in trials by a Judge and jury, the prisoner had been acquitted, although the Crown had thought the evidence was clear.

Sir M. Chalmers—Did the jury acquit from fear of favour? Were they afraid of the consequences to themselves if they convicted, or was it sympathy with the movement?

Witness—I should say the latter. There were 4,000 soldiers in Dublin on April 22, but only 1,000 were available for fighting. In addition there were 1,000 armed police, and 50 R.I.C., making a total force of 2,050. A force of 2,500 were sent from the Curragh. There was perfect loyalty amongst the police, as far as he knew.

Nationalist Volunteers were not called upon to help the military.

Replying to questions as to the functions of the Privy Council and the duties of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, Witness said the exact position of the Viceroy had always been to some extent doubtful. When he was a member of the Cabinet, the Viceroy had more actual responsibility. Generally speaking, the responsibility between the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary was divided.

SINN FEIN ORGANISATION.

The Sinn Feiners' organisation was started in 1905, and the members were known generally. So far as he knew there were no members amongst the staff at the Castle. It would be difficult to say how many Civil Servants in Ireland were Sinn Feiners. Many of them simply had a pious dislike of England, while others were ready to take active measures on behalf of their cause. The Gaelic Athletic Association had always been anti-British, and refused to allow soldiers to attend their games. Gaelic League members had been captured by the Irish Volunteers. He believed the League had a branch in Scotland. A good many thousands of pounds had been brought from America by hand, and the police were always trying to get on the track of this money. Occasionally they had some luck. He knew nothing of the previous career of Monteith, who was with Casement and Bailey.

Sir M. Chalmers—"Three men in a boat" (laughter).

M.P.'S CONSULTED.

Asked some questions as to references he had made to the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sir M. Nathan said he had conferred with Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Devlin. He saw Mr. Redmond less frequently than the other members. His attention being called to a statement made by Viscount Middleton in the House of Lords, witness handed in a memorandum.

Sir M. Chalmers—When you say members of the Irish Parliamentary Party were averse from proceeding against organisations do you include Sir Edward Carson?

Witness—No. He added that he also conferred with Ulster members. After some questions had been put in private, the Commission adjourned until to-day.

(Special Telegram.)

London, Thursday.

To-day Lord Hardinge, Mr. Justice Shearman, and Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the cause of the recent rebellion in Ireland, and the conduct of the Military Executive, opened their investigation at the Royal Commission House, Westminster. The room in which the proceedings are being conducted is limited in space, and although the inquiry is technically open to the public, the attendance was almost exclusively confined to representatives of the Press.

The Clerk to the Commission first read the terms of reference.

Lord Hardinge, as Chairman, then stated the conditions upon which the Commission proposed to conduct the inquiry.

They proposed to inquire into what system there was in force to enable the officials to obtain information as to the movement which led to the outbreak. Secondly, what information each responsible official obtained, and to whom he communicated it; and thirdly, what steps were taken on the information received.

He also mentioned that this inquiry would deal with the question of responsibility of persons and associations for this particular outbreak.

The whole of the day was taken up by the evidence of Sir Matthew Nathan, who lately resigned the post of Under-Secretary. He read a prepared statement recounting in great detail the history of the insurgent forces, placing the number of Sinn Feiners involved in the outbreak at 15,200. He mentioned that money came freely from America to aid the seditious propaganda, and explained that the policy of the authorities had been to refrain from interference with the Irish Volunteers, with a view of depriving them of their arms in the hope of averting bloodshed. At the close, members of the Commission examined Sir Matthew Nathan in private.

Sir Matthew said that the movement which led up to the insurrection was the work of the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The Irish Volunteers came into existence at the end of 1913 as an answer to the Ulster Volunteers, raised to resist the introduction of Home Rule into Ireland, and were first under the control of the Provisional Committee, the majority of whose members were hostile to the Irish Parliamentary Party. Mr. Redmond, in June, 1914, demanded a reconstitution of the Committee on representative lines, and suggested that 25 nominees of the Parliamentary Party should be added to the Provisional Committee. The Committee reluctantly agreed to this, but the original members who belonged to the anti-British Associations, not only dissented from Mr. Redmond's pronouncement on the war, but determined to thwart him in every way. These anti-British Associations, like the Sinn Fein Society, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Gaelic League, and the Gaelic Athletic Association, on the eve of the Prime Minister's meeting in Dublin, on September 5th, 1914, issued a manifesto attacking Mr. Redmond, and declaring that "Ireland could not with honour or safety take part in foreign politics." The manifesto concluded by relating that the absence of Sir Roger Casement prevented his being a signatory. In a letter on the 6th September, Mr. Redmond announced that owing to the publication of the manifesto by a minority, he had taken steps to request the majority of the Provisional Committee to meet and reorganise the governing body of the National Volun-

teers, the name by which the loyal section was subsequently distinguished from the disloyal section of "Irish Volunteers." "Of the members enrolled previous to this, about 180,000," witness continued, "not more than 11,000 adhered to the disloyal section of the original Provisional Committee. The vast bulk of the enrolled members declared themselves loyal to Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

IRISH VOLUNTEERS' CONVENTION.

On 25th October, witness added, the Convention of the Irish Volunteers adopted the following declaration of policy:—

- (1) To maintain the right and duty of the Irish nation to provide for its own defence by means of a permanent armed and trained Volunteer force.
- (2) To unite the people of Ireland on the basis of Irish Nationality and of common national interests; to maintain the integrity of the nation, and to resist any measures tending to bring about or perpetuate disunion or the partition of the country.
- (3) To resist any attempts to force the men of Ireland into military service until a National Government was empowered by the Irish people themselves to deal with it.
- (4) To secure the abolition of the system of governing Ireland from Dublin Castle and the establishment of a National Government in its place.

At the date of this declaration, the end of October, 1914, the Volunteers following Mr. Redmond had fallen in numbers to 165,000, whilst those following Mr. M'Neill had gone up to 13,500, including over 2,000 in Dublin, of whom a few belonged to the Citizen Army. From that

time the shrinkage in the National Volunteers had steadily continued. At a review in April, 1915, some 18,000 Volunteers were collected, and it was noticeable at the time the Irish Volunteers did not put in an appearance, although in the country men were evidently trained and organised. From the middle of October to the middle of December, the Irish Volunteers were estimated to be about 14,000 strong, and they were increased by about 2,000 men in the provinces. This increase synchronised with several efforts being made by the Department for Recruiting in Ireland to get men for the colours. An impetus was given to the Irish Volunteer movement by the fear of the Military Service Bill being applied in Ireland, and when the Bill became law and it was found not to apply to Ireland, malcontents were found who by other means stimulated feelings which brought in new men to the Sinn Fein Volunteers. The number of these at the time of the outbreak was estimated by the police authorities to be about 15,200, including some 12,850 in the provinces, of whom the majority actually enrolled as Irish Volunteers, and remained so, although still calling themselves National Volunteers, and looking upon John MacNeill as their head. There was no difficulty in the country for the Royal Irish Constabulary to know what leader the men acknowledged.

THE STRIKE OF 1913.

The total number of the Dublin Corps of the Citizen Army was about 3,000 on April 24, 1916, whilst the hostile Volunteers in the whole of Ireland were about 16,000. The Citizen Army were the militant members of the Irish Transport Workers' Union which, under James Larkin, had conducted the strike of 1913, and when Larkin, at the end of 1914, left Ireland for America, obeyed the orders of James Thomas Connolly. The Citizen

Army leaders urged violent action. In this they were supported by the Irish Republican leaders—a small knot of men of whom some members had, in connection with the dynamite outrages in 1883, been sentenced to penal servitude. Some of the members of the Committee of the Volunteers and the leaders of the Citizen Army had constituted the inner circle, by which the plans for the insurrection were no doubt drawn. They were certainly in close communication with the organisation in America, and received funds. From these sums roughly amounting to £16,000 were paid into the account after September, 1914. It was believed that a large part of the funds available for the anti-British organisation were expended in the maintenance of seditious newspapers and the circulation of seditious leaflets. A summary attached to the statement showed that shortly before the outbreak of the insurrection there were supposed to be 1,886 rifles and a number of shotguns, pistols, and revolvers in the provinces, and 825 rifles and a number of other firearms in Dublin. The number of rifles, said Sir Matthew Nathan, was probably under estimated. It was known 100 rifles were stolen from the warehouses of the London and North-Western Railway Co. There were thefts of rifles from the military. No doubt further rifles were purchased from soldiers on leave. There was evidence of heavy importations from England before it was stopped on December 8, 1915. It was known that there had been at least one considerable theft of military ammunition, and also rifles carried by soldiers were being purchased. It was also believed that man-killing ammunition was being made for miniature rifles and shotguns.

SEARCH FOR ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

Searches made from time to time in Dublin and the provinces had revealed no considerable store either of arms or ammunition. Evidence was available of considerable thefts of explosives and the manufacture of bombs. Offences connected with explosives occurred at Enniscorthy in February, 1913, at Sligo in November, 1915, at Cork in December, 1915, and at a place in Co. Kildare in February. Those cases were considered to indicate the intention to commit outrages on persons or buildings. At the end of 1914 it was recognised that in the personnel of the committee, its declarations and policy, the utterances of its leading representatives in the Press and at public meetings, its opposition to the efforts of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party to bring Ireland into line during the National crisis, and its crusade against enlistment into the army, the Irish Volunteer organisation had shown itself to be disloyal and seditious. Henceforth the proceedings of the organisation were carefully watched and steps were taken to prevent Civil Servants belonging to the Irish Volunteers. Warnings were given to the seditious Press and steps were taken to restrict the activities of the organisation. The importation and sale of arms were brought under strict regulation. The policy of not allowing Government servants to belong to the organisation was consistently followed. Persons were dismissed from the Ordnance Stores Department, the Post Office, the Inland Revenue, the Ordnance Survey, and some other Government or quasi-Government departments. Some of the people who were dismissed proved to be amongst the most violent of those who were against the Government. In the cases of priests assisting the Volunteers in any public

war, representations were made to the higher ecclesiastical authorities.

SEDITIONARY PAPERS.

The action against seditious papers was most consistently followed. The suppression of papers, said Sir Matthew, was at various times considered, but not decided upon. Prominent members of the Irish Party were strongly against newspaper suppression. The necessity of placing some check on the activities of the organising instructors was considered by the military and civil authorities. In July, 1916, four men were sentenced, one to four and the others to three months' imprisonment, and ordered to leave Ireland, but they were told that at the expiration of their sentences the order would not be enforced unless their conduct was unsatisfactory. Two of the men were deported, and the deportation was followed by somewhat violent demonstrations in Dublin. One of the men, Mellows, returned, and led the insurrection in Galway. Of the 486 cases under the regulations, 153 had been for making use of anti-recruiting expressions and illegal and seditious language, and 34 were for offences in regard to arms and ammunition. In two bad cases of having explosives in possession brought before juries in Dublin, verdicts of "not guilty" were returned against the weight of evidence. Similar miscarriages of justice occurred in Cork. Sir Matthew Nathan read a letter written by the Adjutant-General, suggesting that in the event of emergency His Majesty could by proclamation restore to the military authorities the right to try British subjects by Court Martial for infringement of the Defence of the Realm regulations. In reply the Under Secretary wrote stating that the Irish Volunteer movement had been active of late, but that he did not believe the leaders meant insurrection, or that the Volunteers had sufficient arms to make it formidable. The bulk of the people were not disaffected. The necessary powers, said Sir Matthew, were applied for by telegram on April 25th, and a Royal Proclamation was issued on the following day. Under this the recent trials had taken place.

A MILITARY DANGER.

Proceeding, Sir Matthew said the Irish Government had considered it of primary importance to prevent the Irish Volunteers becoming a military danger, and that every obstacle should be placed in the way of arms and ammunition getting into their hands. It was difficult to make this policy effective. English manufacturers had been importing freely into Ireland for some time after the commencement of the war, and even after the importation was forbidden, as late as April 16th a case of 500 bayonets was detected by the police on the way from a Sheffield cutler to a Sinn Fein manager of what was believed to be reputable firm. Speaking of the "warnings and events immediately before the insurrection," witness said that until three days before the insurrection there was no definite information of any alliance between the anti-British party and Germany. In October, 1915, the "New York Herald" and the "New York Times" gave considerable prominence to the campaign in the United States to foster resistance to any conscription measures and to anti-British intrigues in Ireland. It was reported that thousands of cards had been distributed calling for subscriptions to support the rebellion.

SIR ROGER CASEMENT.

Sir Roger Casement was said to have given a pledge that a German Army would land in Ireland, and early in March it was stated that a notification had been received from Germany of their intention

to strike a blow on land, sea, and air so as to secure victory before May. It requested the Irish Volunteers to be ready and render their promised assistance, they having been given a promise by Germany to land troops in Ireland, as it was in Ireland the battle would be won. It was stated then that there was no knowledge of any immediate importation of arms into Ireland. "A report was received in March," said witness, "to the effect that the young men, the Irish Volunteers, were very anxious to start business at once, and were being backed up strongly by Connolly and the Citizen Army, but the heads of the Volunteers were against the rising at present." One of their leaders said it would be sheer madness unless the help promised by Monteith was forthcoming. It was stated Monteith had been an Irish Volunteer instructor and was in Germany. It was reported there was to be a general mobilisation on April 2nd. Witness stated another report on March 22nd stated that there was no fear of any rising by Volunteers. They were not sufficiently equipped for any such engagement, and unless a favourable opportunity presented itself they would not be of much account in any general campaign against the law. On March 28th a Dublin daily paper published a statement purporting to be issued from the headquarters of the Irish Volunteers, stating that the possession of arms was essential to the Volunteer movement and that any attempt to disarm by the Government could only be followed by resistance and bloodshed. On the 17th April there was information contained in a letter which told of the contemplated landing from a German ship made up as a neutral accompanied by two submarines of arms and ammunition on the south-west coast. The letter was shown to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the Inspectors of the south and south-west counties were put on their guard. On the 19th a report was received by the police from a woman having two brothers in the Irish Volunteers that the Castle would be attacked that night, but nothing unusual occurred. Witness then went on to speak of the events connected with attempted landing from German vessels and the arrest of Sir Roger Casement.

THE ARREST OF CASEMENT.

Sir Matthew, proceeding, recounted the incidents at Tralee on Good Friday, and said that on the evening of the 22nd it was reported that the man arrested by the Ardferd police had been identified as Sir Roger Casement. There was no movement of the Irish Volunteers on

said the existence in any country of organised bodies of trained and armed men not under the control of the Government which in August, 1914, was the recognised state of affairs in Ireland necessarily involved grave risks to the State. In the circumstances, especially if the Volunteers to resist Home Rule, had been allowed to continue the Nationalist feeling would have been completely alienated, and with it that large body of Irish feeling which had been favourable to Great Britain in the war and had sent some 35,000 Irish Catholics to fight for Empire. Indirectly information of the German landing of arms on Easter eve had been received by the Government, but it was not believed that a rising would take place. There seemed to have been a meeting of the leaders in Dublin on Saturday or Sunday when it was decided by a majority of one, it was stated, to start an insurrection on the following Easter Monday. Had information been obtained of this movement troops would have been concentrated earlier in the Castle. Generally the tactics which their numbers and armament forced them to adopt, while they made ultimate success hopeless, gave them the mastery of the situation for some time, and would have done so had more troops been available. It might be useful to call to mind that in June, 1911, it was necessary to detail eight officers and 116 men to deal with two alien criminals who offered armed resistance. On that occasion 500 rounds of ammunition were fired.

VOLUNTEERS' MILITARY SKILL.

The conduct of the insurrection showed greater organising power and more military skill than had been attributed to the Volunteers, and they also appeared, from reports, to have acted with great courage. These things and the high character of some of the idealists who took part in the insurrection no doubt accounted for the sympathy which they excited in a large number of people in Dublin, and in many cases in the country. There were also the deeper grounds of passionate national feelings for Ireland and long hatred for England.

This concluded the statement, and Sir Matthew Nathan then answered questions put to him.

ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

Answering the President, Sir Matthew said there had been a considerable decrease in the strength of the Constabulary since the beginning of the war due to enlistment.

But from all the activity on the part of Volunteers and other associations did

Mr. Justice Shearman—Is there any statute to prevent armed drilling for illegal purposes?—There is a statute against illegal assembly. That was not enforced.

So there was nothing to enable you to arrest people drilling with armed weapons unless you could prove they were there for a seditious purpose? There was nothing to prevent loyal or disloyal citizens assembling in any number.—We were deterred for political reasons.

You have not yet told us that the Irish Volunteers were the same as the Sinn Feiners. How did the Sinn Feiners get control of the Volunteers? The Sinn Fein movement was the literary movement, was it not? Witness replied that it was. He understood that the Irish Volunteers were started by the Sinn Fein organisers. Then Mr. Redmond got control of the Volunteers, but the National Volunteer movement began to die away owing to recruiting for the army, and for other seasons.

Mr. Justice Shearman asked if the drilling of young men and the training of young women to give first-aid, which witness had described in his report, did not obviously point to a war in Ireland. Sir Matthew did not reply.

Mr. Justice Shearman—From the fact that sham attacks on Dublin Castle were being conducted, was it not obvious they would seize the Castle if they could?

Witness—I think it was agreed that if there was a rebellion they would try to do so.

Did not the information bring it home that they were prepared to fight on Irish soil against the supporters of England if they got the opportunity? Originally the movement was undoubtedly an answer to Ulster. He added that the Chief Secretary was fully aware of what was going on.

Mr. Justice Shearman asked when the attack on Dublin Castle took place.

Witness—On the 8th October, 1915.

The Chairman—If it was a question of dispersing it or preventing it, who business would it be, the Dublin Police or the Royal Irish Constabulary, or if military? Witness—It would be the Dublin Police in the first instance, they were strong enough.

The Chairman—Didn't it seem rather extraordinary that these people should be permitted to make an attack on Dublin Castle, and that nothing was done to prevent it? Of course, we were accus-

tomed to all sorts of operations in Ireland.

Didn't it strike you as coming rather

without any bloodshed at all. I hope I am not wronging you in saying that was the policy pursued."

Witness agreed.

Mr. Justice Shearman—The policy chosen was to leave it alone in the hope that it would result in nothing? Witness—Also in the belief that the action against these Volunteers on the ground that they had been manoeuvring would have resulted in the alienation of the great bulk of the Irish people, which was not in favour of these people.

DUBLIN CASTLE, THE R.I.C. AND D.M.P.

After luncheon, the witness, replying to Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, gave details as to the administrative constitution of the Dublin Castle Staff and the police—the R.I.C. and the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—Is the R.I.C. a punitive force? They have arms; they are trained men.

Are the Dublin Police on the same footing? They have no arms.

Are they trained to the use of arms? They are given revolvers.

Just as they are given to English police on special occasions? Yes.

Is there a C.I.D. connected with the Dublin Force? Yes, independently of the ordinary force.

Answering further questions by Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, Sir Matthew Nathan said the juries in giving verdicts against the evidence were probably in sympathy with the movement. From 22nd April onwards, he said, there were in Dublin about 4,000 troops, including sick men, men on leave, and recruits. About 1,000 were available, mainly Irish, so that with 50 men of the R.I.C. in the depot, there was an armed force of about 1,050.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—Among the Dublin Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary you imagine you had perfect loyalty? Yes.

Necessarily, you are left a good deal in charge at Dublin Castle, I suppose? If Parliament is sitting and Mr. Birrell is there. The last occasion Mr. Birrell was in Ireland was in February, when he was there about ten days or a fortnight. He was coming over at the Easter vacation on various matters which had been arranged.

THE SINN FEIN MOVEMENT.

The witness then read a statement to the effect that the Sinn Fein movement was started in 1905, giving as its aims and objects national self-development on the lines successfully adopted by the Hungarians in their struggle with Austria by a policy of Sinn Fein ("Ourselves alone"). The organisation developed for some time, and various branches were formed and affiliated, but they gradually disappeared. The members of the movement were generally known.

Replying to Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, Sir Matthew said it would be difficult to find the number of Sinn Feiners in Government service. He thought they would say, "We don't like England," but a good many would not go beyond that. It was a matter of pious opinion with them that England had treated Ireland badly. They got rid of eight or nine. They knew that Larkin after he left Dublin appeared on Clau-na-Gael platforms in America.

Mr. Justice Shearman—Is it quite certain he is in America? We believe so.

THE CAELIC LEAGUE.

Explaining the nature of the Gaelic League, Sir Matthew said it was founded for the study of Irish literature and language, and originally included people of

all political opinions. Gradually those who were not anti-British dropped out, and the executive was practically captured by the Irish Volunteer leaders. The Gaelic Athletic Association was anti-British, and soldiers in uniform were not allowed to attend its gatherings. No action was taken in regard to that. He did not think that the Irish Volunteers, the Citizen Army, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, all of whom opposed recruiting, were active in Belfast.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers asked whether the notice signed by John MacNeill, saying there would be no movement of the Irish Volunteers on Easter Sunday was a blind?

"I should very much like to know," replied Sir Matthew; "I don't think so. He probably wanted to stop it at the last moment." He added, Mr. MacNeill was now under arrest. As to the importation of arms, witness said he did not know whether there was evidence of German guns or ammunition having been imported since the commencement of the war. Until news came of Casement's arrival they had no evidence of any German interference.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—I cannot understand why you suggest that if these men were disarmed, the loyal National Volunteers and the Ulster Volunteers should also disarm. There is no connection between them.

Sir Matthew Nathan said he did not know at the time who were loyal and who were disloyal. A good many of them went over from the loyalists to the disloyal side afterwards. If we had left the National Volunteers we should have left a large number of disloyal people, and I believe that their strength would have been very largely increased. Sir Matthew said he had interviews on the state of Ireland with Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon and Mr. Devlin, and added, "I was un-

able to communicate with Mr. Healy, because shortly after I went there he said things about me which made it impossible." Sir Matthew also handed to the President the memorandum of interviews he had with Lord Midleton, which he desired to be kept private. The interviews took place in December, February, and April.

The Chairman asked if witness accepted Lord Midleton's statement that he had admitted that these men had explosives in large quantities, and that they resorted to recruiting. Lord Midleton had then asked, "Do you think they have done all these things for nothing and have no intention of using them?" and, added the Chairman, witness replied in substance that "he feared there might be some bomb outrages, but that he had no fear of a rising, and if there were the powers of the Government were not sufficient."

Sir Matthew—Yes, I remember saying that about the bomb outrages, because that was always in my mind; but I think there is some confusion about the powers of the Government not being sufficient in the event of a rising, because what we were talking about at the moment was what might be done at the present time. Of course it was quite clear we had power to abrogate by proclamation of Parliament, but that would not help us.

Mr. Justice Shearman—You meant we have not sufficient powers to deal with it unless there is an outbreak?

Sir Matthew—That was more in mind.

The Chairman intimated that the Commission desired to question Sir Matthew in private, and this concluded the public sitting.

The Commission adjourned till to-morrow morning.

Speech of Mr. Guinness House of Commons
taken from Hansard. May 11th 1916

The present military rule in Ireland is not so exceptional as some members of this house seem to think. It is quite characteristic of English Rule in Ireland even in times of peace. Irish recruits are now getting what they have been looking for so long.

A revolution or rebellion or whatever you choose to call it has been spoken of with horror. All revolutions and rebellions are so spoken of. Had this one been successful those heroes whom you shot down in cold blood would have been real heroes, living in and ruling the country at the present time, instead of being in their graves. Besides the Irish people have been told that within the last two years that illegalities such as those just indulged in in Dublin are not crimes. They have been told that by the Rt. Hon. Member for Trinity College. But the Irish Volunteers that put that opinion to the test have been shot in cold blood, an order to show the world that Ireland is the sole bright spot in the Empire. The Prime Minister did not deny last Saturday that the military shot a number of men estimated at about 50 at the Royal Barracks in Dublin, but standing with their backs to the wall and shot dead in cold blood.

The Prime Minister has not questioned it & he has practically admitted it. They were shot in cold blood. An English Officer went prancing about Dublin that afternoon boasting "We have killed 50 of them and nothing more will be heard of them. The remains of those 50 men or whatever this number may have been were carted to Glasnevin and buried in a huge pit unidentified. The Hon. Member for East Mayo did not call for their identification. His purpose was to whitewash himself & his colleagues and their chem the member for Bristol & to gloss over the atrocities that have been committed in our Capital city.

You wanted our young men to remember the German atrocities, they prefer to remember yours, in our own country - You wanted our young men to remember Belgium - they prefer to remember Ireland. They remember how time & again in the past you decimated them by fire & sword, pitch cap, gibbet & coffin ships. They remember those things and it is because they remember those things they took the action they did. Prematurely I regret & deeply regret to say. But it was because they remembered their own country not Belgium that they are dead. Hon. members laugh - they laugh the coward laugh at men who had the courage to lay down their lives in a brave & desperate effort for the freedom of their country. That is what English Gentlemen have come to. And with that state of things the Prime Minister of England professes himself satisfied. If there were not a mark of military age in Ireland he would be still more satisfied and so would you Mr. Speaker and so would the majority of members in this house. I have no hesitation in declaring myself the friend, the dear friend of those dead men, the enemy, the implacable enemy of every empire that swallows up those small nation alities, for whose independence & interest you profess to go to war, a war which you are unable to carry through. You want to wipe out the Celtic race as the Times boasted Corps ago. "The Celt has gone, gone with a vengeance".

No, by God we are here still and before you are done with the Celt you will have something more creditable to do, than laughing & making a mockery of brave men who sacrificed their lives in the noblest cause for which men can fight & die.

The immediate cause of the outbreak in Dublin was not that which the house has been told, but was a deliberate plot of Dublin Castle supported by those four members and the member for Bristol to provoke an outbreak by asspersating the people, in issuing a secret document to the military & Police in Dublin & its narrow dungs.

The murder of my friends is not a becoming subject for the Speaker of the House of Commons to smile at (order withdrawn) in the New York World of last October appears an interview given to a representative of a journal of this city. The Hon. member for Waterford expressly in this paper which I hold in my hand suggests that the leaders of the Volunteers should be shot. The expression Sinn Fein is no more correct Mr. Speaker than it would be for me to call you & all the members of the House English Hans, & if you allow that expression to be used I shall proclaim my right to use & apply in this house, the corresponding epithet.

I beg to give notice that on the adjournment of this house this evening I will call attention to the shooting of innocent men by Harnish Government (Oh, Oh, We have got rid of Mr. Bonnell)

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS

Cork, Free Press, Saturday June 24. 1916.

BY THE O'RAHILLY.

[The following is a copy of a pamphlet written some months ago by the The O'Rahilly, late Treasurer of the Irish Volunteers, who lost his life in the Dublin Rising. It will give our readers an insight into the origin of the "National" Volunteers, who are now, under Colonel Maurice Moore, threatening to force on the country at the point of their bayonets the acceptance of the Partition proposals, and are also planning the capture of the Irish National Aid Association for the further glorification of Mr. Redmond.—Ed. C.F.P.]

[In the following article there is of necessity frequent mention of Mr. John Redmond and of various actions taken by him with which I most profoundly disagree. From this, however, it is not to be understood that this pamphlet is an indictment of the Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, or that it is published in order to weaken his position, to undermine his influence, or to supplant his leadership.

If his name figures prominently in this record it is solely because a knowledge of the incidents with which he was associated is essential to an intelligent understanding of either the past or the present of the Volunteer movement.

Far from attributing to Mr. Redmond the responsibility for these actions or for their result (the disruption of the Volunteers), I am perfectly convinced that every single step that is recounted here was taken by him, not of his own free will but against his better judgment, and at the imperious dictation of the English masters of this country, who, whether Liberals or Conservatives, Democrats or Aristocrats, are but one in their dealings with Ireland.

Nor need this hypothesis be regarded as unconvincing or far-fetched. It covers all the facts: it explains things that are otherwise incredible, and instead of being improbable it is really rather self-evident. That the British majority in Westminster dominates and will continue to dominate the Irish minority is a mathematical certainty as obvious as the fact that 567 exceeds 103.

Ireland has no longer a Press. The majority of the newspapers which are now printed in Ireland, and which unfortunately still retain their Irish names, have been sold bodily to the British Government in exchange for quarter-page advertisements. I refrain from saying that they were sold "body and soul," because there is not sufficient evidence to show that they ever possessed any souls to sell.

On the other hand, the Government has, with refreshing frankness, suppressed practically every Irish journal that refused to be either bribed or bullied into allowing its editorial policy to be dictated by the War Office. It is true that Eoin Mac Neill's organ, "The Irish Volunteer," after two attempts to suppress it, is still appearing. The fact is well known, and may indicate that even the British Government realises the unwisdom of exasperating men who mean what they say and who have arms in their hands.

But one swallow doesn't make a summer, and since the Irish Press as a whole is either defunct or devoted to the publication of Romances, it is desirable that the public should have an opportunity of hearing some of the real facts with regard to the Irish Volunteer Movement. Hence this pamphlet.

The Irish Volunteers (as distinct, of course, from the Ulster Volunteer Force) were started in Dublin in November, 1913, by a dozen men who came together at Wynn's Hotel to discuss with Eoin Mac Neill the formation of an Irish Volunteer Army. Previous to this, indeed, a journalist in West Meath, who is said to have conceived the possibility of a "Midland Volunteer Force," had published a report of the inception of such a body in Athlone. Whether the Midland Volunteers had any real existence except in the news columns is much debated, and seems open to doubt, but there is no doubt at all that the organisers of the Irish Volunteers absolutely failed to discover any Volunteers either in Athlone or the Midlands until long after the Wynn's Hotel meeting.

As the invitations to that meeting were written and issued by myself, I am in a position to know something of the personnel of the original Committee; and I say now that the men invited were deliberately selected not on Party, Political, or Sectarian lines, but solely because they were amongst the sincerest Nationalists of my acquaintance in Dublin.

Besides Eoin Mac Neill, they included Bulmer Hobson, P. H. Pearse, Sean Mac Dermot, W. J. Ryan, Eamonn Ceannt, Sean Fitzgibbon, J. A. Deakin, Pierce Beasley, Joseph Campbell, and the writer, and in view of the repeated assertions of certain eminently truthful orators and journalists associated with Parliamentarianism, it is worthy of note that of the twelve invited only three were then members of the Sinn Fein Party. Lest it might savour too much of Sinn Fein, Arthur

Griffiths' name was deliberately not included, while Mr. D. P. Moran, the Editor of the "Leader," and a consistent supporter of the Parliamentary Party, was asked to attend.

As a tribute to the efficiency with which the autocrats of Dublin Castle scrutinise our movements and correspondence even in peace time, it should be recorded that within an hour of our first meeting, two police detectives called at the hotel for our names and the details of our business. Ingeniously asserting that we were sporting men who had met to pull off an illegal sweep, they interviewed the hotel people, obtained all the information that they could give them, and retired, after cautioning the management against allowing us to use the rooms again.

As we were all in agreement that the movement must be broadly National, and not confined to, or controlled by, any particular party, our first effort was to secure the co-operation of men prominent in existing organisations such as the Parliamentary Party, the United Irish League, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Foresters, &c., and each of us was told off for special duty in this connection. But we found that the task was one of considerable difficulty, and refusals were the order of the day. I, for instance, was deputed to secure Lord Mayor Sherlock, whom I found was unwilling, and Professor Kettle, whom I was informed was unwell. It will be remembered that Mr. Sherlock, who refused our invitation to join the Committee when it was a week old, became later one of Mr. Redmond's nominees on that body, and that Professor Kettle has since recovered sufficiently from his indisposition to take quite an active part in the Movement.

Such refusals, however, did not alter our determination to maintain the non-party character of the Volunteers. In every case that arose of the appointment of Committees, of officials, of organisers, or of public speakers, we insisted that all political views should be fairly represented, and we repeatedly refused to sanction arrangements when this condition was not observed.

While we secured by this policy the assistance of some of our best and hardest workers, we also got hold of a few others who have since caused us rather to regret our success.

The new Committee at once decided to place their policy before a public meeting at the Rotunda; and they modestly