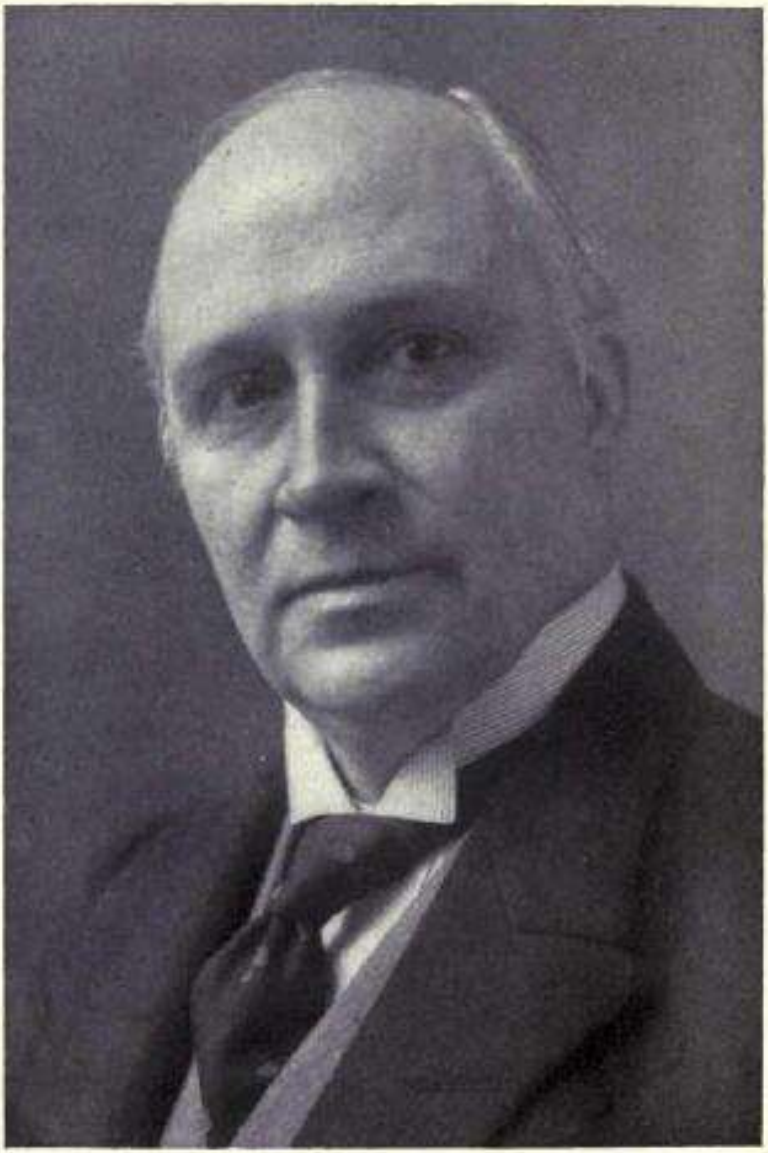
3 1761 04924245 6

THE ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND, 1920.



The Rt. Hon. Sir HAMAR GREENWOOD, Bt., K.C.

৪৩১৫৯

THE ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND, 1920.

BY

"I.O."

[C. J. C. Street]

166396.
21.10.2

LONDON:
PHILIP ALLAN & CO.,
QUALITY COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

DA
962
S7

First published in April, 1921.

Printed by WHITEHEAD BROS., WOLVERHAMPTON.

PREFACE.

Those who set out to find in these pages a sensational account of the happenings in Ireland during the past year, a vigorous if picturesque description of the rights and wrongs of people or administration, will be disappointed. Sensational, unfortunately, many of the incidents described herein undoubtedly are ; but of eulogy, condemnation, support, I have endeavoured to steer clear. Such comment as I have allowed myself to make is solely for the purpose of emphasizing an important point, of making clear a moral of consequence. I do not pretend to have written a history ; my endeavour throughout has been to place before both general reader and historian such material, authentic and ungarbled, as will enable them to form trustworthy opinions.

I am glad to be able to take this opportunity of tendering my sincere gratitude to all those who have helped me in my task, and to those of whose labour and research I have so copiously availed myself.

"I.O."

CONTENTS.

	Page
CHAPTER I. From the Outbreak of the War, to the Easter Rebellion, 1916 -	1
CHAPTER II. From the Rebellion to the end of 1919	43
CHAPTER III. The First Six Months of 1920 -	69
CHAPTER IV. The Latter Half of 1920 - -	96
CHAPTER V. The Same (continued) - -	129
CHAPTER VI. The Forces of the Republic -	162
CHAPTER VII. The Arming of the Republic -	186
CHAPTER VIII. The Campaign of Outrage - -	210
CHAPTER IX. The Troops and the Railway Situation	238
CHAPTER X. The Royal Irish Constabulary -	269

CHAPTER XI. PAGE
The Question of Reprisals - - 299

CHAPTER XII.
The Question of Ulster - - 326

CHAPTER XIII.
Ireland and America - - 354

CHAPTER XIV.
The Policy of the Government - 385

APPENDIX A.
The Government of Ireland Act, 1920 432

APPENDIX B.
Mulcahy's Memoranda - - 442

APPENDIX C.
The Treatment of Prisoners - 448

APPENDIX D.
The Organization of Sinn Fein - 453

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Although the object of this book is, as its title indicates, to give some account of the state of Ireland during the year 1920, and of the problems that confronted the Administration of the country during that period, it is necessary to examine briefly the course of events which led up to the situation then existing. For this purpose there is no need to go back earlier than the outbreak of war in 1914, for this event occurred at a very critical period in Irish affairs, and may be said to mark the end of one phase of the Irish question and the beginning of the next. The declaration of war came at a time when the Ulster Volunteers and the National Volunteers were confronting one another, prepared to fight upon the question of Home Rule. Both sides had prepared for the conflict by importing arms and distributing them to their followers. Gun-running on behalf of the Ulster Volunteers took place on a large scale on April 24th and 25th, 1914, at Larne and other ports in Ulster. Similar operations

were carried out by the National Volunteers at Howth, on July 26th, and at Kilkool, County Wexford, on August 1st. It seemed as though nothing could restrain the opposing forces from flying at one anothers' throats, as soon as their leaders had secured the necessary munitions for the purpose.

About the time of the outbreak of war the Ulster Volunteer Force was about 85,000 strong, and was believed to have in its possession some 53,000 rifles. Towards the end of September, 1914, the strength of the National Volunteers was about 181,000, but on 10th December of the same year it was estimated that the rifles in their possession only numbered some 9,000, with very little ammunition.

The war affected these two forces very differently. On the outbreak of the European War at the beginning of August there was a notable relaxation of the political tension in Ulster, and a considerable suspension of active military preparations on the part of the Ulster Volunteers; though before the month was past about 1,400 rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were landed at Belfast for their use.

All classes displayed a strong patriotic and anti-German feeling, and joined, irrespective of creed and politics, in giving a hearty send-off to reservists and recruits when leaving to join the Army. Nevertheless considerable unrest prevailed alike in the Unionist and Nationalist ranks as to the action which the Government would take with regard to the Home Rule Bill.

The anniversary of the Relief of Derry, on the 12th of August, passed off without disturbance, picquets of both Volunteer Forces being posted to assist in preserving order.

During September the Ulster Volunteers continued to drill, but less enthusiasm was shown, a large number of the officers and instructors who were reservists having joined their regiments and gone to the war.

The signing of the Home Rule Bill on the 8th September also passed off without any disturbance, but there was a very bitter feeling on the part of the Unionists against the Government and against His Majesty for signing it. This was shown by the disrespect with which His Majesty's picture was greeted at cinema houses, and by the action of members of the congregation at several Protestant churches in walking out during Divine Service when the National Anthem was being sung.

The Ulster Unionist Council met on three occasions during this month.

On Sunday, the 27th September, there was a large turn-out of Ulster Volunteers at the various churches and halls in Belfast and elsewhere, it being the anniversary of " Covenant Day," and on the following day a large public meeting was held in the Ulster Hall at which speeches were delivered by Sir Edward Carson, M.P., Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., and others. On the return of the speakers from the meeting 5,000 armed Ulster Volunteers lined the streets.

During the remaining months of the year the

movement in opposition to Home Rule became gradually less acute, but this should be attributed to the War and not to any abatement of their opposition to Home Rule on the part of the northern Unionists. At the same time whilst open displays in the way of parades became less frequent, the organisation was well maintained.

Before the outbreak of the War the Ulster Volunteer Force was, as we have said, nearly 85,000 strong. Up to the end of September about 12,000 had joined the Army either as reservists or on enlistment. To fill up the vacancies thus created recruiting for the Force was re-opened.

On the outbreak of the War Mr. Redmond undertook in Parliament, on behalf of the Irish Volunteers, that they, in union with the Ulster Volunteers, would defend the shores of Ireland from the enemy. His announcement was accepted with approval not only by the vast bulk of the Irish Nationalists but also by many prominent Unionists, who had nothing in common with his political views. On 16th of September, Mr. Redmond issued a Manifesto calling upon the people of Ireland to take their part in the great national crisis, and asking that Irish recruits for the Expeditionary Force should be kept together in an Irish Brigade under the command of Irish Officers. Later on at the meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 25th September, which was addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Redmond spoke strongly in favour of recruiting.

Although there was no outward manifestation of dis-union in the new Committee of the Volunteers, there can be little doubt that the members of the original Provisional Committee who belonged to anti-British Associations not only dissented from Mr. Redmond's pronouncement on the War and in support of recruiting, but were determined to thwart his efforts in every way. On the eve of the meeting at the Mansion House in furtherance of recruiting, a manifesto was issued, signed by the members of the original Provisional Committee, as follows :—

" Ten months ago a Provisional Committee commenced the Irish Volunteer movement with the sole purpose of securing and defending the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The movement on these lines, though thwarted and opposed for a time, obtained the support of the Irish nation. When the Volunteer movement had become the main factor in the national position, Mr. Redmond decided to acknowledge it, and to endeavour to bring it under his control.

" Three months ago he put forward the claim to send twenty-five nominees to the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers. He threatened, if the claim was not conceded, to proceed to the dismemberment of the Irish Volunteer organisation.

" It is clear that this proposal to throw the country into turmoil and to destroy the chances of a Home Rule measure in the near future must have been forced upon Mr. Redmond. Already

ignoring the Irish Volunteers as a factor in the national position, Mr. Redmond had consented to a dismemberment of Ireland which could be made permanent by the same agencies that forced him to accept it as temporary. He was now prepared to risk another disruption, and the wreck of the cause entrusted to him.

" The Provisional Committee, while recognising that the responsibility in that case would be entirely Mr. Redmond's, decided to risk the lesser evil, and to admit his nominees to sit and act on the Committee. The Committee made no representations as to the persons to be nominated, and when the nominations were received, the Committee raised no question as to how far Mr. Redmond had fulfilled his public undertaking to nominate ' representative men from different parts of the country.' Mr. Redmond's nominees were admitted purely and simply as his nominees, and without co-option.

" Mr. Redmond, addressing a body of Irish Volunteers on last Sunday, has now announced for the Irish Volunteers a policy and programme fundamentally at variance with their own published and accepted aims and pledges, but with which his nominees are, of course, identified. He has declared it to be the duty of the Irish Volunteers to take foreign service under a Government which is not Irish. He has made this announcement without consulting the Provisional Committee, the Volunteers themselves, or the people of Ireland to whose service alone they are devoted.

"Having thus disregarded the Irish Volunteers and their solemn engagement, Mr. Redmond is no longer entitled, through his nominees, to any place in the administration and guidance of the Irish Volunteer organisation. Those who, by virtue of Mr. Redmond's nomination, have heretofore been admitted to act on the Provisional Committee, accordingly cease henceforth to belong to that body, and from this date until the holding of an Irish Volunteer Convention the Provisional Committee consists of those only whom it comprised before the admission of Mr. Redmond's nominees.

"At the next meeting of the Provisional Committee we shall propose :—

1. To call a convention of Irish Volunteers for Wednesday, 25th November, 1914, the anniversary of the inaugural meeting of the Irish Volunteers in Dublin.

2. To re-affirm without qualification the Manifesto proposed and adopted at the inaugural meeting.

3. To oppose any diminution of the measure of Irish self-government which now exists as a Statute on paper, and which would not now have reached that stage but for the Irish Volunteers.

4. To repudiate any undertaking, by whomsoever given, to consent to the legislative dismemberment of Ireland; and to protest against the attitude of the present Government, who, under the pretence that 'Ulster cannot be coerced,' avow themselves

prepared to coerce the Nationalists of Ulster.

5. To declare that Ireland cannot, with honour or safety, take part in foreign quarrels otherwise than through the free action of a National Government of her own; and to repudiate the claim of any man to offer up the blood and lives of the sons of Irishmen and Irishwomen to the service of the British Empire, while no National Government which could speak and act for the people of Ireland is allowed to exist.

6. To demand that the present system of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle and the British military power, a system responsible for the recent outrages in Dublin, be abolished without delay, and that a National Government be forthwith established in its place."

This Manifesto was published in the issue of *The Irish Volunteer** of 3rd October, 1914, the organ of the disloyal section, under the following heading:—

A STRAIGHT ISSUE.

FOR IRELAND OR THE BRITISH EMPIRE?

WORK ENOUGH IN IRELAND.

And it was openly acknowledged that the Manifesto was issued because an attempt was

* A monthly journal, the official organ of the Irish Volunteers. It subsequently became *An T'Óglac*.

being made to identify the Volunteers with the recruiting meeting held in the Mansion House on September 25th.

In a strongly worded leading article of this issue, the people of Ireland are reminded of "the traditions of centuries of fighting against England," and are called upon to refrain from joining the Army or from being "led to the foreigner that English trade may flourish and England's arms dominate the world."

A Convention of the Irish Volunteers was held in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on Sunday, 25th October, which was attended by a number of delegates of dubious character from various parts of the country. Mr. John McNeill presided, and, in the course of a lengthened address, referred to Mr. Redmond's attitude on the question of Irishmen joining the Army for service with the Allies. He then proposed the following Declaration of Policy for the Irish Volunteers, which was in due course adopted :—

"DECLARATION OF POLICY.

1. To maintain the right and duty of the Irish Nation henceforward 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 a common national interest; to maintain the integrity of the nation, and to resist with all our strength any measures

tending to bring about or perpetuate disunion or the partition of our country.

3. To resist any attempt to force the men of Ireland into military service under any Government until a free National Government of Ireland is empowered by the Irish people themselves to deal with it.

4. To secure the abolition of the system of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle and the British Military power, and the establishment of a National Government in its place."

Apart from the question of recruiting for the Imperial Army, the columns of *The Irish Volunteer* contained from week to week, articles and letters of an extremely disloyal and seditious character in which national independence and complete separation from the Empire were put forward as the ultimate aim not only of the Irish Volunteers but of their supporters and sympathisers on whose behalf the writers claimed to have a right to speak. The following is an extract from an article in the issue of the 10th October, headed,

"WHO ARE THE COWARDS?"

"Ireland's national individuality, Ireland's national Soul, demands that Ireland should take no part, either through its leaders or through its masses, in promoting this iniquitous war. England, the Bully of the Nations, is in a difficulty. It is our duty to our ancestors, who risked and lost their lives to free Ireland from

England, it is our duty to ourselves, who live under the heel of the mass of the same hypocritical power, it is our duty, above all, to those who will come after us in the inheritance of this land, to declare Ireland's neutrality; to refuse, in the words of the Volunteers' Manifesto, any foreign service under a Government which is not Irish, and to decline all part in foreign quarrels for which the Irish people have no responsibility."

The result of the dissensions in the National Volunteers was to split the force into three distinct sections, namely, National Volunteers following Mr. John Redmond, National Volunteers following Mr. John McNeill, and the Irish Volunteers under the influence of Sinn Fein. From the latter developed the present Irish Republican Army.

Figures of the relative strengths of these forces at various times, from the cleavage up to the Easter Week Rebellion (1916) are as follows:

	National Volunteers (Redmond)	National Volunteers (McNeill)	Irish Volunteers
1914, Oct. 7th ...	178,649	7,443	2,150
1914, Dec. 16th ...	152,090	11,247	2,100
1915, Mar. 31st ...	135,760	9,062	2,180
1915, June 30th ...	122,472	5,612	5,685
1915, Sept. 27th ...	117,360	5,492	6,022
1915, Dec. 27th ...	112,446	5,112	8,362
1916, April 17th ...	104,984	4,457	10,606

The figures of recruiting in Ireland for the British Army during 1915 are interesting. They

are here classified by Provinces, showing the sources whence the recruits came:

	National Volunteers.	Ulster Volunteers.	Not known to be Volunteers.	Total.
Ulster ...	3,471	8,139	12,304	23,914
Leinster ...	3,814	27	12,333	16,174
Munster ...	2,602	4	6,274	8,880
Connaught ...	907	33	1,233	2,173
Totals	10,794	8,203	32,144	51,141

In a handbook of the Constitution and Rules published by order of the Council of Sinn Fein in October, 1908, the object of Sinn Fein is stated to be "The establishment of the Independence of Ireland." The rules exclude members of the Army and Navy from membership. One of its aims is "The withdrawal of all voluntary support to the British Armed Forces," and branches are urged "to do their utmost by every legitimate means to keep young men from joining the British Army and Navy or Police forces." The class of persons who became Sinn Feiners were such as held extreme views and disbelieved in the efficacy of Parliamentary agitation.

A campaign against recruiting for the British Forces had been commenced; but the society made no progress and had fallen into insignificance when the Irish Volunteers were formed in November, 1913. Some of the former exponents of Sinn Fein became prominent in the Irish Volunteers, and members of the Irish Republican

Brotherhood and extremists in the Gælic Athletic Association were attracted to it by the opportunities it afforded for drilling and being openly trained in arms. About the middle of 1914 the movement was captured by the Irish Parliamentary Party, to counteract the hostile attitude of the Ulster Volunteers towards Home Rule. The outbreak of the War, however, caused a split in the force. The majority who sided with Mr. Redmond's policy of supporting the Empire became henceforward the National Volunteers, while the minority still designated the Irish Volunteers pursued the Sinn Fein policy under the leadership of Mr. John McNeill. The minority included the more militant and extreme members, many of whom were already connected with other disloyal and revolutionary societies. The old cry "England's difficulty—Ireland's opportunity" was then revived. Organisers were soon at work forming new branches all over the country, promising an abundant supply of arms from America; and simultaneously a determined campaign was started to prevent men joining the Army. As soon as certain newspapers began to advocate compulsory service, the Sinn Fein press published seditious articles in opposition to it, and the Irish Volunteers pledged themselves to resist any form of conscription by force. By this means members of the farming class and others not hitherto in sympathy with the objects of the Irish Volunteers were induced to join that body with a view to avoiding military service.

The stronghold of the Irish Volunteers was in Dublin, where, at the beginning of 1915, they had a membership of 2,100. Furthermore, in Dublin the Irish Volunteers associated themselves with Larkin's labour organisation. In the provinces Mr. McNeill's followers numbered about 9,000, but the greater part of these were still nominally attached to the National Volunteers.

About this time (Spring 1915) all the activities of the extreme societies in Ireland were merged in the Irish Volunteers, which was an openly seditious and revolutionary organisation. Although small in numbers compared with the more constitutional body which acknowledged the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, and having among its leaders practically no one of any influence, yet by its activity and revolutionary propaganda it soon gained an importance which its numbers did not warrant.

As showing the trend of the Irish Volunteers it may be mentioned that at a meeting of the Council of that body held on 30th May, 1915, Mr. McNeill in the chair, a resolution of the Irish Volunteers declaring themselves in favour of an immediate insurrection was proposed by Bulmer Hobson and only defeated by the casting vote of Mr. McNeill.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Irish Volunteers held in Dublin on the 4th July, 1915, instructions were issued to County Boards directing them to assist organisers in forming new branches, and to resist the Registration Act

should any attempt be made to enforce it in Ireland. At this meeting a sum of 3,000 dollars recently received from America was distributed, of which £40 was sent to Limerick.

During the winter months the Irish Volunteers were daily improving their organisation. Some drill was practised here and there, but their activities were mainly directed to promoting sedition and hindering recruiting for the Army. As already stated forcible resistance to conscription was also part of their programme. The prospect of compulsory service was generally resented, and the action taken by the Irish Volunteers in the matter naturally appealed to the farming classes and others, who determined to turn a deaf ear to every call upon them to enlist.

In October it was reported that the Irish Volunteers had planned a " rising " in the event of conscription being introduced into Ireland, and this was perhaps the one project in which they would find many Redmondites in agreement with them.

In February, 1916, there were 165 branches of the Irish Volunteers in the provinces with a membership of 7,615, which, with its members in Dublin, brought up the total membership to close on 10,000. The increase in membership during the month was small, due, no doubt, to the fact that conscription was no longer imminent, since Ireland had been excluded from the scope of the Military Service Bill. In addition to the farming classes, a great many

The stronghold of the Irish Volunteers was in Dublin, where, at the beginning of 1915, they had a membership of 2,100. Furthermore, in Dublin the Irish Volunteers associated themselves with Larkin's labour organisation. In the provinces Mr. McNeill's followers numbered about 9,000, but the greater part of these were still nominally attached to the National Volunteers.

About this time (Spring 1915) all the activities of the extreme societies in Ireland were merged in the Irish Volunteers, which was an openly seditious and revolutionary organisation. Although small in numbers compared with the more constitutional body which acknowledged the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, and having among its leaders practically no one of any influence, yet by its activity and revolutionary propaganda it soon gained an importance which its numbers did not warrant.

As showing the trend of the Irish Volunteers it may be mentioned that at a meeting of the Council of that body held on 30th May, 1915, Mr. McNeill in the chair, a resolution of the Irish Volunteers declaring themselves in favour of an immediate insurrection was proposed by Bulmer Hobson and only defeated by the casting vote of Mr. McNeill.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Irish Volunteers held in Dublin on the 4th July, 1915, instructions were issued to County Boards directing them to assist organisers in forming new branches, and to resist the Registration Act

should any attempt be made to enforce it in Ireland. At this meeting a sum of 3,000 dollars recently received from America was distributed, of which £40 was sent to Limerick.

During the winter months the Irish Volunteers were daily improving their organisation. Some drill was practised here and there, but their activities were mainly directed to promoting sedition and hindering recruiting for the Army. As already stated forcible resistance to conscription was also part of their programme. The prospect of compulsory service was generally resented, and the action taken by the Irish Volunteers in the matter naturally appealed to the farming classes and others, who determined to turn a deaf ear to every call upon them to enlist.

In October it was reported that the Irish Volunteers had planned a " rising " in the event of conscription being introduced into Ireland, and this was perhaps the one project in which they would find many Redmondites in agreement with them.

In February, 1916, there were 165 branches of the Irish Volunteers in the provinces with a membership of 7,615, which, with its members in Dublin, brought up the total membership to close on 10,000. The increase in membership during the month was small, due, no doubt, to the fact that conscription was no longer imminent, since Ireland had been excluded from the scope of the Military Service Bill. In addition to the farming classes, a great many

National Volunteers had joined the Sinn Fein corps in order to fortify themselves with an excuse for not joining the Army. The bait was a good one, but on the omission of Ireland from the scope of the Bill it was no longer effective.

Up to the fourth week of April, 1916, nothing unusual occurred to cause anxiety as to the general peace of Ireland except the continued disloyal and dangerous activity of the Sinn Fein movement. The Irish Volunteers showed no slackening in carrying on military exercises and evolutions. On Sunday the 9th of April, however, the Irish Volunteers in Dublin assembled in Rutland Square to the number of about 13,000, and marched through the City with the recruits who had joined during the previous week. On the same day the police seized a motor-car in College Green and found that it contained a quantity of shot-guns, revolvers, ammunition, etc., which were being conveyed to Wexford. Two men in the car, who were identified as Sinn Fein Volunteers from Ferns, were afterwards sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Easter parades were ordered throughout the country, and this mobilisation was arranged to coincide with the expected arrival of Sir Roger Casement and a ship laden with arms from Germany.

Early in the morning of Good Friday, April 21st, a Kerry peasant walking along the seashore at Banna, not far from Fenit, came upon an empty collapsible boat, and noticed the footprints of three men leading to the sandhills. Later on he reported the matter to the police, who

discovered buried in the sand some revolvers and a quantity of ammunition. Subsequently a tall man was observed near a ruin, who, when covered by a rifle, told the constable not to shoot, and surrendered. He gave an English name and address, but on being taken to the Tralee Police Barracks it was noticed that he resembled Sir R. Casement's portrait. Meanwhile his two companions in the boat had walked to Tralee and interviewed the local leaders of the Irish Volunteers. One of these men, who called himself Mulcahy, returned in a motor-car with two Volunteers in search of Sir R. Casement and was arrested by the police; the other made his escape. On April the 22nd Casement, who refused to give his true name, was sent to Dublin Detention Barracks, and thence direct to London,† and on that (Saturday) evening Mr. John McNeill, President of the Irish Volunteer Council, issued orders countermanding the Easter Parades.

On Easter-Sunday night, April the 23rd, the prisoner Mulcahy made a voluntary statement to the District Inspector at Tralee. He told him that the prisoner who had gone to Dublin was really Sir R. Casement, that the name of the third man who landed with them at Banna was Robert Monteith, and that his own name was Daniel Julian Bailey, a private in the Royal Irish Rifles. He stated that he was taken

† He was tried on June 26th on a charge of high treason, was sentenced to death on June 29th, and hanged at Pentonville Prison, London, on August 3rd.

prisoner by the Germans early in the war and that he subsequently joined the so-called Irish Brigade at the instigation of Sir R. Casement. He further deposed that he, Casement and Monteith left Wilhelmshaven in a submarine together with a German ship full of arms and ammunition bound for the Kerry coast to arm the Irish Volunteers, that there was to be a rebellion, and that the plans included an attack upon Dublin Castle.

In view of the facts that the ship with arms on board had been discovered and sunk,* that Sir R. Casement was a prisoner, and that Mr. McNeill had cancelled the Volunteer mobilisation, a " rising " seemed unlikely. Owing, however, it is said to some information which reached them on Sunday night, the leaders of the movement, fearing that their Headquarters in which they had large stores of explosives and arms would be raided by the Military and they themselves arrested, decided to overrule Mr. McNeill and launch the rebellion. It was heralded on the morning of the outbreak by the publication of the following proclamation :—

* She was named *Aude*, and was sunk off the south coast of Ireland.

POBLACHT NA H'EIREANN.

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 nation-hood, 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 patiently 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 three hundred 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 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 a 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 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 upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that 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 MACDIARMADA. THOMAS MACDONAGH.

P. H. PEARSE. EAMONN CEANNT.

JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT."

On Easter Monday, 24th April 1916, at noon, the storm burst in Dublin, and for the following six days the City and the suburbs were the scene of grave loss of life and destruction of property. The revolution was organised by the Irish (Sinn Fein) Volunteers, and it was carried out by them with the assistance of the Citizen Army, Hibernian Rifles, and other similar bodies.

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 General Post Office in Sackville Street proved to be the central fortress of the rebels. It was here that P. H. Pearse, " the Commandant-in-Chief of the Army of the Republic and President of the Provisional Government," established his Headquarters and issued his orders. All corner houses commanding the approaches were garrisoned with snipers, who were hidden behind sandbags. Kelly's, the gunsmith's, at the corner of Batchelor's Walk, and Hopkin'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, and in particular those at the four corners of Abbey Street, were garrisoned in like manner. 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 telegraph wires were cut, thus isolating the City from the rest of the country. The failure of the Volunteers to seize the Telephone Exchange in Crown Alley proved a great advantage to the military in dealing with the insurgents.

The proceedings at St. Stephen's Green Park were somewhat similar. At mid-day 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 all 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 the other approaches were not so advantageously situated, but numerous snipers were placed in them.

Dublin Castle, the Headquarters of the Irish Executive, was attacked by a handful of Volunteers, and had any force of Sinn Feiners joined in the attack the Castle would almost certainly have been captured, as there were only a few soldiers on duty. A policeman on duty at the Upper Castle Yard was shot in cold blood, but the small garrison 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 " Evening Mail " were entered, and the staff 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.

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 at Lansdown Road. 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, Kingsbridge Terminus, and Broadstone Terminus. Where they did not succeed in occupying the stations the rebels either attempted to blow up railway bridges or cut the lines, and nearly all the train communication with the City was stopped for a week.

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 Phœnix Park. The Four Courts Hotel, which adjoins the Courts, was garrisoned. On the bridges over the railway on the North Circular Road and Cabra Road 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 Lansdown Road, private houses were occupied and garrisoned to resist the approach of reinforcements for the military from the

Kingstown direction. 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 mid-day 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 capture 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 they were unable to dislodge the rebels. Strong reinforcements were sent out, and after a short and sharp fight the public-house was captured by the military, who remained in possession afterwards.

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 Marrowbone Lane were two other strong points in the Sinn Fein plan. 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 maintained their struggle until Sunday.

Jacob's Biscuit Factory in Bishop Street, 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 surrounded early in the week by a military cordon.

The foregoing are the outlines of the position on the evening of the first day of the rebellion. Several instances of non-combatants being shot by Sinn Feiners took place during the day in various parts of the City. The most shocking was the shooting down of several members of the Veteran 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 the following week.

On learning that several of his men had been shot by the rebels the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police ordered the withdrawal from the streets of the entire uniformed force within an hour or two of the outbreak. The "underworld" of the City quickly realised its opportunity, and first tackled the shops in Lower Sackville Street. The windows

were smashed and hordes of people 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 toyshops 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 and variety that suited every taste.

On Easter Monday a Proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant enjoining all loyal citizens to abstain from acts of violence, and on the following day, 25th April, Martial Law was proclaimed in the City and County of Dublin. On the 26th the whole of Ireland was placed under the same regime.

The country generally remained quiet, and in only four counties—Dublin, Louth, Galway East and West Ridings, and Wexford—did the Volunteers rise up in arms. In a few others destructive acts were committed, obviously intended to further the rising. For example, on the night of Easter Sunday in Queen's County a portion of the railway line between Maryborough and Abbeyleix was pulled up by a band of men, some of whom were armed, whilst in Longford the telegraph wires were cut in several places. In Kildare telegraph wires were also cut, and a party of 14 armed Irish Volunteers marched to Dublin, the leader threatening to

shoot a police patrol if it followed them.

In Louth a party of Irish Volunteers marched from Dundalk to Slane and on the way took possession of 20 rifles the property of the National Volunteers at Ardee. On their return (April 24th), at Lurgan Green, near Dundalk, they were informed by a messenger that the Irish Republic had been proclaimed in Dublin. They at once arrested two of the Royal Irish Constabulary who had been keeping them under observation, and began commandeering motor-cars, then, after firing at and wounding a farmer who refused to stop, they proceeded to the village of Castlebellingham. Here they obliged Lieut. Dunville, Grenadier Guards, to give up his motor, placed him and Constable Magee against some railings, and shot at them both, the latter being mortally wounded. They then made off in the direction of Drogheda and thence to Slane.

On April 25th, in the West Riding of Galway, a strong party of Irish Volunteers assembled under arms and tore up the railway line between Galway and Oranmore, cutting telegraph wires and posts, and injuring the bridge at Oranmore. Barricades were erected on the road at Clarenbridge and motor-cars were commandeered. Five police were captured singly in the neighbourhood, and the rebels opened fire on the police barracks at Clarenbridge and Oranmore. Having summoned the police at Clarenbridge to surrender and give up their arms, and being met with a refusal, the rebels withdrew from Clarenbridge and joined forces with the party attacking

Oranmore. About 200 were attacking the barracks when a relief party of police arrived on the scene from Galway in motor-cars and put them to flight. These two barracks are in the vicinity of the sea, and the rebels expected a German landing.

On the following day, April 26th, a party of 23 R.I.C. under the District Inspector, with 10 military, left Galway at 4-15 a.m. to reconnoitre, and encountered a force of about 80 rebels at Carnmore Cross Roads. In the brief engagement that ensued the R.I.C. had one man killed. The rebels then retreated, whilst the combined party of police and soldiers took up a strong position outside Galway to oppose Sinn Feiners advancing to attack the City. The rebels took possession of a rocky hill, but from this they were speedily routed by gun-fire from a warship in the Bay.

Next day the East and West Galway rebels joined forces at Moyode Castle. Desertions, however, began to thin their ranks, and hearing next day that a large force of military and R.I.C. had arrived at Loughrea, a few miles distant, they moved to Lime Park, dispersing as they went along. When a party of police reached Moyode on the 29th they found that the rebels had vacated it, abandoning five police prisoners and a quantity of provisions which they had looted.

The same day, April 27th, in County Dublin a party of rebel Volunteers from Swords and Donabate (who had previously overpowered and captured the small R.I.C. garrisons at those

places) raided Garristown Police Barracks, but the police had been already withdrawn, taking their arms with them. The rebels then marched on Howth, intending to cut the English cable, but finding themselves opposed by twenty military and eight police, and seeing two gun-boats on their way from Kingstown to Skerries with troops, they turned west and, next day (28th April), attacked the police barracks at Ashbourne, County Meath. County Inspector Gray and District Inspector Smith with fifty-four R.I.C. men drove out from Navan in motor-cars to engage them. It was estimated at the time that the rebels numbered 400. The police fought for five hours, when, having lost one officer and six men killed, and their County Inspector and 14 men wounded, being surrounded and having expended practically all their ammunition, they surrendered. The survivors were disarmed and then released. The rebel force remained in the locality for a couple of days, gradually melting away, and on the 30th the thirty-two who still held together surrendered to the military.

In Wexford the Irish Volunteers at Enniscorthy took possession of the town at 4 a.m. on April 27th. They cut the telegraph wires, commandeered provisions and motor-cars, and besieged the Police Barracks and the Post Office. As, however, the police were well supplied with ammunition, they were able to defend their barracks, the Post Office, and the Bank of Ireland, and to hold the rebels at bay

for five days until relieved by troops. On May 1st these rebels surrendered to the military.

In West Cork, at Ballinadee, on April 30th, a party of Irish Volunteers held up Sergeant Crean, R.I.C., on the road, searched him, and threatened to shoot him if seen near them again. On the same night the telegraph wires were cut between Clonakilty and the War Signal Station at Galley Head, but this appears to have been the only exploit of the rebels in this district.

These were the principal events in the provinces between April 23rd and May 1st, 1916. There were a number of minor incidents, such as the cutting of wires, obstructing and pulling up rails, commandeering vehicles and food; but with the surrender of the Enniscorthy rebels on May 1st the rebellion in the provinces may be said to have come to an end.

To return, however, to the situation at Dublin. On Easter Monday, 24th April, at 12-15 p.m., a telephone message was received by the Military Authorities from the Dublin Metropolitan Police announcing that Dublin Castle was being attacked by armed Sinn Feiners. The Military Authorities at once ordered all available troops from Portobello, Richmond and Royal Barracks to proceed to the Castle, and the 6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment towards Sackville Street.

The fighting strength of the troops available in Dublin at the moment was:—6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment: 35 officers, 851 other ranks; 3rd Royal Irish Regiment: 18 officers, 385 other ranks; 10th Royal Dublin Fusiliers: 37 officers,

430 other ranks; 3rd Royal Irish Rifles: 21 officers, 650 other ranks.

Of these troops an inlying picquet of 400 men, which for some days had been held in readiness, proceeded at once, and the remainder followed shortly afterwards.

At 12-30 p.m. a telephone message was sent to the General Officer commanding at Curragh to mobilise the mobile column, which had been devised to meet any emergency, and to despatch it dismounted to Dublin by trains which were being sent from Kingsbridge. This column, under the command of Colonel Portal, consisted of 1,600 officers and other ranks from the 3rd Reserve Cavalry Brigade.

Almost immediately after the despatch of this message telephone communication in Dublin became very interrupted.

As the occupation of the General Post Office by the Sinn Feiners prevented the use of the telegraph, a message reporting the situation in Dublin was sent at 1-10 p.m. to the naval centre at Kingstown, asking that information of the rising might be transmitted by wireless through the Admiralty to the War Office. This was done.

The first objectives undertaken by the troops were to recover possession of the Magazine in Phœnix Park, where the rebels had set fire to a quantity of ammunition; to relieve the Castle; and to strengthen the guards at the Viceregal Lodge and other points of importance. The Magazine was quickly re-occupied, but the troops moving on the Castle were held up by the rebels,

who had occupied the surrounding houses and had barricaded the streets with carts and other material.

Between 1-40 p.m. and 2 p.m. 50 men of the 3rd Royal Irish Rifles, and 130 men of the 10th Royal Dublin Fusiliers, reached the Castle by the Ship Street entrance. At 4-45 p.m. the first train from the Curragh arrived at Kingsbridge Station, and by 5-20 the whole Cavalry column, 1,600 strong, had arrived, one train being sent on from Kingsbridge to North Wall by the loop line to guard the docks.

During the day the following troops were ordered to Dublin :—

A battery of four 18-pounders, R.F.A., from the Reserve Artillery Brigade at Athlone.

The 4th Dublin Fusiliers from Templemore.

A composite battalion from Belfast.

An additional 1,000 men from the Curragh.

During the afternoon and evening small parties of troops were engaged with the rebels. The 3rd Royal Irish Regiment on its way to the Castle was held up by the rebels in the South Dublin Union, which they had attacked and partially occupied. A detachment of two officers and 50 men from the 6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment, which was conveying some ammunition from the North Wall, was surrounded in Charles Street, but succeeded in parking its convoy and defended

this with great gallantry for 3½ days, when it was relieved; during this defence the officer in command was killed and the remaining officer wounded.

The rebels in Saint Stephen's Green were attacked, and picquets with machine-guns were established in the United Service Club and the Shelbourne Hotel with a view to dominating the Square and its exits.

At 9-35 p.m. Colonel Kennard, Officer Commanding Troops, Dublin, reached the Castle with another party of 86 men of the 3rd Royal Irish Regiment.

The defence of the docks at North Wall was undertaken by Major H. F. Somerville, commanding a detachment from the School of Musketry, Dollymount, reinforced by 330 officers and men of the 9th Reserve Cavalry Regiment. The occupation of the Custom House, which dominated Liberty Hall, was carried out at night, and was of great assistance in later operations against Liberty Hall.

The situation at midnight on Monday, the 24th, was that the Military held the Magazine, Phœnix Park, the Castle, and the Ship Street entrance to it, the Royal Hospital, all barracks, the Kingsbridge, Amiens Street and North Wall Railway Stations, the Dublin Telephone Exchange in Crown Alley, the Electric Power Station at Pigeon House Fort, Trinity College, Mountjoy Prison, and Kingstown Harbour. The Sinn Feiners held Sackville Street and blocks of buildings on each side of this, including

Liberty Hall, with their Headquarters at the General Post Office, the Four Courts, Jacob's Biscuit Factory, South Dublin Union, St. Stephen's Green, all the approaches to the Castle except Ship Street entrance, and many houses all over the City, especially about Ballsbridge and Beggar's Bush.

On April 25th Brigadier-General W. H. M. Lowe, Commanding the Reserve Cavalry Brigade at the Curragh, arrived at Kingsbridge Station at 3-45 a.m. with the leading troops from the 25th (Irish) Reserve Infantry Brigade, and assumed command of the forces in the Dublin area. These forces were, roughly, 2,300 men of the Dublin garrison, the Curragh mobile column of 1,500 dismounted cavalrymen, and 840 men of the 25th Irish Reserve Infantry Brigade.

In order to relieve and get into communication with the Castle, Colonel Portal, commanding the Curragh Mobile Column, was ordered to establish a line of posts from Kingsbridge Station to Trinity College via the Castle. This was completed by 12 noon on the 25th April, and with very little loss. It divided the rebel forces in two, gave a safe line of advance for troops extending operations to the north or south, and permitted communication by despatch-rider with some of the commands. The only means of communication previous to this had been by telephone, which was unquestionably being tapped. The Dublin University Officers' Training Corps held the College Building until the troops arrived, thus separating the rebel centre

round the General Post Office from that round Stephen's Green, and also preventing the rebels from entering the Bank of Ireland, which is directly opposite to and commanded by the College buildings.

During the day the 4th Royal Dublin Fusiliers from Templemore, a composite Ulster Battalion from Belfast, and a battery of four 18-pounders from the Reserve Artillery Brigade at Athlone arrived, and this enabled a cordon to be established round the northern part of the City from Parkgate, along the North Circular Road, to North Wall. Broadstone Railway Station was cleared of rebels, and a barricade near Phibsborough was destroyed by artillery fire.

As a heavy fire on the Castle was being kept up by the rebels located in the Corporation Buildings, "Daily Express" office, and several houses opposite the City Hall, it was decided to attack these buildings. The assault on the "Daily Express" office was successfully carried out under very heavy fire by a detachment of the 5th Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

The main forces of the rebels having now been located in and around Sackville Street, the Four Courts, and adjoining buildings, it was decided to try to enclose that area north of the Liffey by a cordon of troops, so as to localise as far as possible the efforts of the rebels. Towards evening the 178th Infantry Brigade began to arrive at Kingstown, and in accordance with orders received the brigade left Kingstown by road in two columns: the left column, consisting

of the 5th and 6th Battalions Sherwood Foresters, by the Stillorgan-Donnybrook Road and South Circular Road to the Royal Hospital, where it arrived without opposition; the right column, consisting of the 7th and 8th Battalions Sherwood Foresters, by the main tram route through Ballsbridge and directed on Merrion Square and Trinity College. This column, with the 7th Battalion leading, was held up at the northern corner of Haddington Road and Northumberland Road, which was strongly held by rebels, but with the assistance of bombing parties the rebels were driven back. At 3-25 p.m. the 7th Battalion Sherwood Foresters met great opposition from the rebels holding the schools and other houses on the north side of the road close to the bridge at Lower Mount Street, and two officers were killed and seven wounded. At about 5-30 p.m. orders were received that the advance to Trinity College was to be pushed forward at all costs. At about 8 p.m., therefore, after careful arrangements, the whole column, accompanied by bombing parties, attacked the schools and houses where the chief opposition lay. The battalions, charging in successive waves, carried all before them, but suffered severe casualties in doing so. Four officers were killed, 14 wounded, and of other ranks 216 were killed and wounded. In view of the opposition met with it was not considered advisable to push on to Trinity College that night; so at 11 p.m. the 5th South Staffordshire regiment reinforced this column,

and by occupying the positions gained allowed the two battalions of the Sherwood Foresters to be concentrated at Ballsbridge.

Meanwhile severe fighting had taken place in the Sackville Street quarter. At 8 a.m. Liberty Hall, the former headquarters of the Citizen Army, was attacked by field guns from the South bank of the River Liffey and by a gun from the patrol ship Helga, with the result that considerable progress was made. During the night of the 26-27th April several fires broke out in this quarter and threatened to become dangerous as the fire brigade could not get to work owing to its being fired upon by the rebels.

Throughout the day further troops of the 176th Brigade arrived in the Dublin area.

On April 27th the

5th Leinsters,
2/6th Sherwood Foresters,
3rd Royal Irish Regiment,
The Ulster composite battalion.

under the command of Colonel Portal, began and completed by 5 p.m. the forming of a cordon round the rebels in the Sackville Street area, which operation was carried out with small loss.

About 12-45 p.m. Linen Hall Barracks, which were occupied by the Army Pay Office, were reported to have been set on fire by the rebels and were destroyed.

By nightfall the 177th Infantry Brigade had arrived at Kingstown, where it remained for the night.

About 2 a.m. on the 28th April Sir John

Maxwell arrived at North Wall, and after a conference with Major-General Friend and Brigadier-General Lowe the latter was instructed to close in on Sackville Street from East and West, and to carry out a house-to-house search in areas gained. The 2/4th Lincolns then formed a cordon along the Grand Canal, so enclosing the southern part of the City and forming a complete cordon round Dublin.

During the afternoon the 2/5th and 2/6th Reserve Cavalry Regiments, which had been escorting ammunition and rifles from North Wall and had been held up in Charles Street, were relieved by armoured motor lorries. These had been roughly armoured with boiler plates by the Inchicore Railway Works and placed at the disposal of the Military by Messrs. Guinness.

Throughout the night the process of driving out the rebels in and around Sackville Street continued, though these operations were greatly hampered by the fires in this area and by the fact that some of the burning houses contained rebel stores of explosives which every now and again blew up. In other parts of the City the troops had a trying time dealing with the numerous snipers, who became very troublesome during the hours of darkness.

Owing to the considerable opposition at barricades, especially in North King Street, it was not until 9 a.m. on 29th April that the Four Courts area was completely surrounded.

Throughout the morning the squeezing out of the surrounded areas was vigorously proceeded

In addition, *ex gratia* grants, amounting to a total of more than one million pounds sterling, were paid, on the recommendation of the Committee, in respect of the stock, fittings, etc., of these premises, other chattel losses, and minor damage to various buildings.

It is only fair to add that these sums came out of the pocket of the British tax-payer.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REBELLION TO THE END OF 1919.

We may confine our record of conditions in Ireland from the rebellion in 1916 to the end of the year 1919 to an examination of the growth of Republican spirit and its influence upon British interests, especially during the continuance of the War. For this purpose it will be better to quote from the yearly reports of the various districts than to attempt an historical development of the period, if only upon the grounds of limitation of space. Furthermore, it is perhaps too early to deal historically and in correct perspective with the many events that led up, during this period, to the state of Ireland during 1920. Some idea of the tendencies at work in the country may be gleaned from the extracts from the official reports upon the state of various districts which are quoted below.

We may begin with reports for that part of the year 1916 which followed the rebellion. Here is one from Dublin :

" Of political societies in County Dublin the United Irish League has lost a good deal of its influence, and its meetings are few and far between. The National Volunteers, who have a nominal membership of 1,289, are a waning force and many of them would break away and join the Sinn Feiners if they saw it was to their advantage to do so; the Irish Volunteers, though their membership is small, have much influence with the labouring classes and shop-boys, and through their relations with the rebels attract the sympathies of the disloyal. . . . After the rebellion the Sinn Fein movement attracted many new adherents, including some of the younger Roman Catholic clergy. Recruiting is bad."

Here are some reports from other counties, which also deal with the state of recruitment :

" The main result of the rebellion, so far as County Kildare was concerned, was a stoppage of recruiting. The Roman Catholic clergy were not in sympathy with the rebellion, and thought it politically stupid. In some cases they openly condemned it. . . . Before the rebellion recruiting was very fair, and in some districts decidedly creditable; after the rebellion it was distinctly bad."

" Prior to the rebellion recruiting in County Kilkenny was satisfactory, but since then the number of recruits has diminished to about eight or ten a month."

" During the early part of the year the Sinn Fein party in King's County became active. The

Sinn Feiners at Tullamore were very truculent, and, on 19th March, held a ' Flag Day ' to raise money for the purpose of buying arms to resist conscription. On the following day a number of Sinn Feiners began jibing and jeering at soldiers returning from the Front."

The prosperous state of the country from the agricultural point of view at this time, owing to war conditions, is shown by the following :

" In the East Riding of County Cork, as showing the prosperity among the farming classes, it may be mentioned that the deposits in a certain bank, which has its head office in Cork and is largely a farmers' bank, increased by the sum of one and a half millions during the year."

" Recruiting for the army in County Kerry was very bad during the year, only 158 recruits having been obtained out of a population of 317,000."

" The feeling of the people generally in the East Riding of County Galway was one of intense indignation at the action of the rebels, particularly as it was felt that the rebellion was organised in Germany. The consequence of the rebellion was, however, to turn most of the people into Sinn Feiners, or at least into Sinn Fein sympathisers. This state of affairs was brought about by two causes : the speeches delivered by Mr. John Dillon in the House of Commons, and the action of the Government in trying to effect a Home Rule settlement immediately after the rebellion, thereby convincing the majority of the people that constitutional agitation was no use

and that the Sinn Fein policy of physical force is the only means of remedying alleged grievances."

These extracts from the official reports for the year 1916 are typical of those received from every county in Ireland, and show how the evidence of life in the Republican movement, demonstrated by the fact that the rebellion had been possible, impressed the people of Ireland and strengthened their disinclination to serve in the British Army in support of a cause of which they never understood the rights and wrongs.

The reports for 1917 demonstrate the logical sequence of this, and show how fear of conscription was seized upon by the Republican organisers to secure supporters for their cause.

"On the 19th of July the Countess Markievicz was presented with the freedom of the City of Kilkenny. She was accompanied by a number of Sinn Fein leaders, and advantage was taken of the occasion to deliver a number of violent and disloyal speeches. The death of the sitting member for the city gave rise to another test of strength between the Sinn Fein and Nationalist parties. W. T. Cosgrave, a released rebel prisoner, was selected to represent the former, and John Magennis, an ex-Mayor of the city, the latter. The compaign was carried on with great vigour during the latter half of July and early part of August. De Valera and other Sinn Fein leaders delivered a number of violent speeches in support of Cosgrave, who was successful, polling almost two-thirds of the entire votes recorded. Throughout the remainder of the year Sinn

Feinism continued to make progress, and at the end of December there were 21 Sinn Fein clubs in the county, with a membership of 1,869, an increase of 15 clubs and 1,290 in membership since June."

"The spread of the Sinn Fein movement did much to interfere with recruiting in Queen's County. Sinn Fein flags were put up on the anniversary of the rebellion, and to celebrate the return of Sinn Fein candidates. In connection with the first-mentioned celebration, there was some disturbance at Rathdowney, where a Union Jack was pulled down and torn up by the crowd."

"The number of persons in County Westmeath who sympathised with the Sinn Fein movement was large, the chief reason being the belief that the insurrection of the previous year saved the country from conscription."

"The only special protection afforded in County Wicklow was that given to Mr. John Redmond, M.P., who received protection by patrols when he was at Aughavanagh."

"County Clare was quiet up to the beginning of June, but at the same time disaffection lurked under the surface ready to break out on very small provocation. In June there was great unrest due to the flooding of the country with Sinn Feiners, released rebel prisoners, and canvassers for De Valera, the Sinn Fein candidate for the parliamentary vacancy in East Clare caused by the death in action of Major Redmond, the sitting member. The Nationalist

candidate was Mr. P. Lynch, K.C. Violent, disloyal, and inflammatory speeches were delivered on behalf of the Sinn Fein candidate. The turmoil increased with the approach of the election day, intimidation was freely practised, and there was a growing disregard for all law and order. De Valera's statement to the effect that if the people combined they could make the English law impossible, and that English law had no moral or legal sanction in Ireland, went a long way in bringing about this state of affairs. De Valera was successful at the polls, receiving 5,010 votes to 2,035 recorded for Lynch.

"De Valera's sweeping success gave a great impetus to Sinn Fein not only in Clare but throughout the entire county, and numerous Sinn Fein clubs were formed and drilling was taken up again. . . . A tendency to boycott persons who voted for Mr. Lynch at the election showed itself. During October the condition of the county was bad owing to the growth of Sinn Feinism and revolutionary ideas. Drilling was extensively carried on, numerous Sinn Fein clubs were formed, and a strong spirit of disloyalty prevailed. . . . The position at this time may be summed up in the statement that Sinn Fein held the field and was practically the master of the situation."

"In June the release of the rebel prisoners had a very disturbing effect on the people of Cork, and led to many demonstrations and to serious disturbances in the city. Sedition and disaffection increased as the result of the growth

of Sinn Feinism. On the 8th July a number of female munition workers returning in brakes from an excursion singing patriotic songs were mobbed in the city by Sinn Feiners."

In Galway the movement was fostered to a considerable extent by the clergy. "About the middle of the year the Sinn Fein movement began to make headway in County Galway, owing mainly to the action of the Roman Catholic clergy, who are nearly all ardent Sinn Feiners. The action of the clergy led to some friction in the town of Loughrea, where the majority of the people are followers of Mr. John Redmond. Elsewhere the movement caught on, especially among the young men, who were glad of any excuse to avoid joining the Army. . . . University College, Galway, became a hotbed of Sinn Feinism, which the students took no trouble to conceal."

The reports for 1918 show a remarkable increase in the activities of Sinn Fein, and a growing boldness in the methods employed by the organisation. In County Clare saw-mills working for Government contracts were forcibly stopped, and trees that had been sold or were about to be sold for Government use were cut down by large parties of men, who openly stated they would allow no timber to leave Ireland for British use. Boycotting was not generally resorted to. It was not necessary. The people were too much afraid of the lawless element to risk coming under its displeasure.

"Intimidation was and is rampant in the

County (Clare)," states another report. "It is done secretly and takes the form of threatening letters, attacks on houses, and firing shots, sometimes with effect. It has reached such a pitch that the people are afraid of incurring the displeasure of their neighbours or the Sinn Fein leaders in their locality. Consequently no evidence can be obtained in cases of outrage."

"The tone of the local press is now Sinn Fein, and it has become so through sheer necessity, as there would be no sale for the papers in the county otherwise. The owner of three of the papers is a loyal man with sons serving as officers in the Army, but he said that he has to go with the times or he might shut up his business."

It fact, Sinn Fein was now paramount: it had gathered to itself the remaining elements of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

"It is safe to assume that all political parties are now merged in Sinn Fein. Those that existed in this county—the United Irish League, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish National Volunteers, the Gaelic Athletic Association, and the Gaelic League—have all been inactive for a long time. All their members are now Sinn Feiners outwardly if not inwardly."

A report from another county (Kerry) corroborates this:

"The Volunteers are included in the term Sinn Fein Movement, as they are entirely Sinn Fein and are the backbone of the movement. The threatened application of conscription to Ireland brought in a great volume of support to Sinn

Fein. It was the only political party directly opposed to recruiting for the Army, and the only political organisation showing any signs of existence at the time the Conscription Bill was passed. The people, therefore, flocked to its standard, and in the campaign that followed Sinn Fein took the lead in the anti-conscription movement. This movement embraced all sections of the community. . . . It is apparent from its literature that Sinn Fein was the driving force at the back of the movement, and all the anti-conscription platforms were in reality Sinn Fein."

The Gaelic Athletic Association, primarily an association for the promotion of sports, soon developed into an adjunct to Sinn Fein.

" Its members are practically all Sinn Feiners. It exercises considerable influence over young men, brings them together for football matches, and considerably helps to foster the Sinn Fein spirit among its followers. Similarly the Gaelic League, ostensibly an organisation for promotion of the Irish language, is now a purely political organisation, more concerned in fostering an anti-British atmosphere in Ireland by educational means than the promotion of the language movement. It exercises considerable influence amongst the younger generation, and it is now practically impossible for a young man to learn the Irish language without at the same time having to become a rebel. The Cumann na m'Ban is a female offshoot of Sinn Fein. It may correctly be stated that Sinn Fein has captured

all the political organisations in the county; in other words the members have deserted to Sinn Fein."

In the West Riding of County Cork, on the announcement that conscription would be applied to Ireland, an outbreak of raiding private houses for arms took place. In the months of April and May there were 29 such cases in this Riding alone. From their similarity and the methods employed the raids appeared to be the work of a central organisation. The victims selected were the loyalist population, usually living in remote places and therefore the more likely to be intimidated.

At the end of September, County Cork West Riding was declared by the Army Council to be a Special Military Area. Special restrictions were forthwith placed on certain localities where serious and organised crime had occurred, and other steps were taken to suppress disloyalty. Two battalions of cyclists were brought into the Riding and detachments were quartered in each of the principal towns, and from there the military patrolled in every direction. The effect on the Riding of these restrictions was remarkable. In the first nine months of 1918 there were 112 outrages, of which 59 were attributable, in the opinion of the police, to Sinn Fein. In the last three months of 1918 only 21 outrages were committed, and only two of these were due to Sinn Fein. In December these crimes numbered six, and not one was the work of Sinn Fein. It is a striking example of the

effect which a mild system of military control can have on a community.

With their increase in strength, Sinn Fein soon resorted to bolder tactics. An attempt to murder two policemen in the streets of Tralee was described as " a most daring outrage committed in daylight in the presence of over a hundred inhabitants, who were too terrified to interfere or subsequently identify the culprits."

In the early part of 1918 Sinn Fein was strong. De Valera had been elected for East Clare in July, 1917, and swept the country with Sinn Fein ideas. In all his addresses he referred to the danger of conscription; this, no doubt, caused many people to join—young men who did not want to fight, young women, mothers—all of whom exercised their influence in the one direction. During the spring of 1918 and on into the summer the anti-conscription movement was strongly taken up by Sinn Fein, and all the leaders and the clergy spoke against it and recommended the young men to arm and die at home rather than die in France. Large sums of money were collected and a house-to-house collection was made. In short, the people believed that Sinn Fein alone prevented conscription in Ireland. And it must be added that in this anti-conscription movement the reports show that the Irish Nationalists joined with Sinn Fein, " and have remained with them."

It is noteworthy that the Sinn Fein movement, which became so active and strong during this

year appeared to be remarkably well supplied with funds. "Hundreds of young men are practically living on it," states another report. "There are 60 clubs in the county, and the nominal membership is 6,500, but it exercises a greater influence than this membership would indicate, and its adherents, including men and women of all ages and classes, probably exceed five times that number."

The proposals of the Government to put in force conscription brought matters to a climax. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy took up the question as a challenge, and at once proceeded to make its position clear. In Thurles the Archbishop of Cashel headed a procession from the Cathedral to the Confraternity Hall, where, after signing the anti-conscription pledge, he addressed a large meeting, calling upon the audience to oppose the plans of the Government to the utmost, and denouncing conscription as a "blood-tax." Some of the clergy preached openly that it would be a sinful act for a policeman to assist in enforcing conscription, and one of them "told his congregation that each conscript should be 'able to kill at least three or four before he was taken.'" Those who are acquainted with the Irish in Ireland can judge for themselves the effect which such a pronouncement would have upon the congregation.

The arrest of Sinn Fein leaders in Dublin in May had the effect of nipping in the bud a dangerous movement by the revolutionaries at a time when it was believed in Ireland that the

British Forces would be driven out of France. Unfortunately it had also the converse effect of strengthening Sinn Fein by creating a sympathy for the men who were arrested.

" Sinn Fein was never more highly organised than at present," says another report. " Its members are very enthusiastic and loyal to each other, and if any scheme were planned—no matter how ill-considered or fantastic it might be—men would be readily found to give it effect. For the present the young men are carried away by what we should consider ' high-falutin ' notions, but they do not believe them to be such and rely strongly on the belief that they are within reach of entire independence of England."

In King's County " there were two elections during the year. At each election the Sinn Fein candidate was returned unopposed. The Irish Parliamentary Party could not have succeeded in returning a member at either of these elections. At the same time it cannot be denied that there are a large number of moderate men who have no sympathy with Sinn Fein, especially now that the dread of conscription is removed.

" It must not, however, be forgotten that in this county the police have acted with great firmness in the matter of prosecutions for illegal drilling, unlawful assembly, and using seditious language; but it is one of the anomalies of Irish life that the greater the firmness displayed the greater their popularity with the mass of the country people."

In County Meath the Sinn Fein movement "made great progress during the year." In addition to the farmers who supported it in the belief that it would be the means of staving off conscription, labourers and small-holders rallied to it under the impression that it would "become powerful enough to compel the division of large grazing farms and their distribution among the landless men." Many more were carried away by the cry: 'Freedom for Ireland.' It must be remembered that hostility to England has always been more or less ingrained in the Irish character.

The conversion of Mayo to Sinn Fein during 1918 was rapid. "Sinn Fein, which at the beginning of the year found scant acceptance generally in County Mayo, has now become first in the field and has absorbed or crushed all its rivals. It derived its first great impetus from the proposal to extend the Military Service Act to Ireland. The young men flocked to its standards in thousands. These it rapidly organised and banded together, and with the passing of the conscription dread, which it claimed and got credit for staving off, it strengthened its hold upon its members and availed itself of their services to form an almost unrivalled Electoral Organisation, resulting at the recent General Elections in the complete discomfiture of its political rival. It now holds the four seats in this county; three by virtue of contests and one a walk-over. It has probably from four to five adherents to one of the Parliamentary Party. The young men had not time to disintegrate from its branches before the

fever of the election was upon them, and they worked tooth and nail for the organisation that saved them from the dreaded conscription."

In Galway the action of the clergy is again emphasised. "In the East Riding the moment the anti-conscription movement amalgamated the clergy and Sinn Fein, the former appear to have thrown off all restraint and indulged in the most extreme Sinn Fein propaganda, utilizing their position as priests to push their political opinions. The Sinn Feiners here, as in other parts of Ireland, took a prominent part in opposing the application of conscription to Ireland, and the failure of the Government to enforce it has greatly improved the position of Sinn Fein, as that body gets the chief credit for defeating conscription. At the beginning of the year about 20 to 25 per cent. of the population were Sinn Feiners, now they are about 80 per cent."

In some places in the same county during the General Election campaign, when followers of the Irish Parliamentary Party attempted to hold meetings "they were hissed, booed, and groaned at by the Sinn Feiners; in some instances they were refused a hearing altogether."

The following figures are interesting, as showing the growth of the Sinn Fein movement during the year.

	On 31st December 1917.		On 31st December 1918.	
	Number of Clubs.	Number of Members	Number of Clubs.	Number of Members.
Ulster	230	12,534	308	24,103
Leinster	243	15,125	320	23,234
Connaught	239	14,917	310	26,317
Munster	327	23,694	416	38,426
Totals	1,039	66,270	1,354	112,080

That the Irish Volunteers meant to stop at nothing in order to resist conscription, is proved by a pamphlet issued by their Headquarters, of which the following is a copy.

MEASURES FOR COMBATING CONSCRIPTION.

I. *Preventive Measures.*

" The only preventive measure is the working up of all public opinion against Conscription, unifying that public opinion and giving it the greatest possible amount of publicity both national and international. The greater the uproar and publicity created and the more the international character of the matter is emphasised, the less likely is the Government to try to enforce it.

" The following means of arousing public opinion and securing publicity should be resorted to. (1) Pronouncements against Conscription by the Clergy, (2) resolutions by public bodies, Trades Unions, and public meetings against

Conscription, (3) securing the support of the daily Press and of the local Press through the country, (4) insisting on Members of Parliament opposing it, (5) letters in the Press and pronouncements by public men, (6) circulation of anti-conscription leaflets in various ways.

II. *Evasive Measures.*

"Only in towns would enforcement of Conscription be at all feasible; consequently all men of military age should as far as possible leave the towns. Shop assistants and others should make provision to return to their homes in the country. It should be made quite clear to employers that the enforcement of Conscription would entail the dislocation of their business, and they should be compelled to agitate against it as a body. Similarly, dues might be withheld from Clergymen who did not protest against it.

III. *Militant Measures.*

"The Irish Volunteers afford the only unified basis of resistance to conscription. The rest of the population should set about co-operation with them in the most effective way, (1) all men of military age should at once join the Volunteers, (2) all householders and others in a similar position should render the Volunteers all material assistance in their power. Those who do not do so voluntarily should be compelled, (3) women

and children could be used for carrying information, cooking, etc. In general the method of opposition to conscription in any district would be determined by the local circumstances, and in particular by the extent to which the district was organised for such purposes.

IV. *Tactical Measures.*

"To attack troops or police would be a mistaken policy. The method adopted should be to act in small numbers in suitable localities, thus compelling the authorities to disperse in search of them. The English Conscripts who would be employed to enforce the measure are all town-bred, and would be at great disadvantage in such cases.

"Destruction of communications should be carried out as systematically as possible.

"*Telegraphs and Telephones* can be destroyed by (*a*) removing the instruments in County Post Offices, (*b*) throwing a stone at the end of a rope across the wires near pole, and hawling them down, (*c*) quietly cutting wires in obscure places.

"*Railways* can be rendered useless for a time by (*a*) rolling down boulders or felling trees in a cutting or tunnel, (*b*) lifting a section of line—which should be done at a curve (*c*) jamming points at quiet spots and wrecking Signal Boxes, (*d*) removing vital parts of locomotives, (*e*) inducing Railway employees to go on strike.

"*Roads* can be made useless by (*a*) barricades

of different kinds, (*b*) systematically destroying motor-cars, bicycles and stores of petrol. All these demolitions should be done as often and in as many places as possible. Any considerable gain in time from these causes would be of extreme value.

" Always when possible fighting by day should be avoided. Fighting by night in familiar localities would offer advantages.

" No kind of weapon should be despised; certain farming implements can be turned into formidable weapons. Thus (*a*) a hay fork is quite as good as a rifle and bayonet in hand-to-hand fighting, (*b*) a billhook, axe, graip, spade or sledge-hammer, though inferior to a hay fork may be formidable in close fighting at night, (*c*) a scythe-blade securely lashed with wire to a pole is equal to a hay fork.

" Sometimes it will be possible to destroy a body of troops by a stone shoot, from which a concentrated shower of great stones would be discharged from a height.

" Every firearm should be utilized; a volley of bird-shot in the face of a motor-driver will wreck his car and stop any cars following it; so, too, with rook rifles and revolvers. Good rifles should be given to the best shots.

Supplies of Material, etc.

" Additional strong boots, warm overcoats and the like should be laid in. Bicycles and bicycle accessories should be procured in the

largest possible quantities. Preserved foods should be procured in as large quantities as possible. Any not able to be secured should be destroyed—the same rule applies to arms of all kinds.

" Of other materials supplies of barbed and plain wire, nails and staples, hammers, saws, and axes would be useful for many purposes, and stores of these should be laid in."

In the Reports for the year 1919 we find evidence of the consolidation of the Sinn Fein organisation and of the evolution of the Irish Volunteers, or Irish Republican Army as this body now begins to be termed, as a force definitely at war with the Forces of the Crown.

The statistics of Indictable Offences (other than those due to agrarian causes) for the whole of Ireland demonstrate the growth of the Republican Campaign. The following is an extract of these statistics.

NATURE OF CRIME.	1917.	1918.	1919.
Murder	11	10	26
Firing at the Person	23	37	50
Assault with intent to murder ...	3	2	11
Threatening letters or notices ...	98	130	245
Intimidation otherwise	11	15	51
Injury to property	215	285	671
Firing into dwellings	28	29	58
Unlawful assembly	0	1	19
Injury to, or attempt to injure or obstruct Railway Trains or Highways	4	7	13

Some interesting reasons of a set-back in the popularity of Sinn Fein during 1919 are given in a report from County Kildare.

" Sinn Fein, to a certain extent, got a set back in not being able to obtain a hearing at the Peace Conference, and locally it lost power for two reasons. First, its opposition to hunting in the Spring, to which the Hunt Club retaliated by stopping Punchestown Races which are greatly appreciated and are a sort of County holiday. Secondly, the labour strike in many cases found Sinn Fein labourers opposed to Sinn Fein employers and Sinn Fein tradesmen, and the bad feeling that occurred has not in some cases been forgotten. During the strike Sinn Fein employers were of necessity on the same side as Nationalist and Unionist employers and are still more or less bound up with them over the labour question.

" It is believed that if a General Election were held to-morrow, Sinn Fein would not sweep the polls as it did in 1918. The more level-headed Sinn Feiners are not in sympathy with the outrages in the South of Ireland, though many of the young hot-heads are."

County Meath also reports a lull in the outward and visible growth of Sinn Fein during 1919. " Sinn Fein cannot be said to have made any marked progress during the year. . . . It is, however, probable that there are a larger number of people imbued with Sinn Fein tendencies than in 1918. The hope of active assistance from America in obtaining

independence, which in many people's minds means release from the present increased burden of taxation, is probably responsible for this. Patriotism and national aspirations have little influence, except amongst a very small class."

It is in the Provinces of Munster and Connaught that we find the greatest development of Republican tendencies during this year.

In the East Riding of County Galway "The Sinn Fein movement has advanced considerably during the year, the large majority of the people are Sinn Feiners, and the few who are not are afraid to lift hand or voice against the movement."

In the West Riding of the same county "During the year the Riding was in a disturbed and unsatisfactory condition. In many cases where persons were brought to justice for breaches of the Defence of the Realm Regulations during the year they declined to recognise the jurisdiction of the Court, stating that they were soldiers of the Irish Republic and could not recognise the law of any foreign Government. In one case where a man was convicted and bound to the peace for an offence against the Defence of the Realm Regulations, because he gave the required bail for his future good behaviour he was expelled from the local Sinn Fein club for three months.

"The police are looked upon with grave suspicion, and marked unfriendliness is shown to them in many places. The people are not inclined to give them any assistance, and even

persons upon whom outrages have been committed are not disposed to give the police any information which might lead to the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrages, fearing that by so doing further outrages would be committed upon themselves or their property, and on the whole the police are receiving no support from the people in the Riding."

"In County Clare Sinn Fein was practically supreme at the opening of the year (1919). . . . Its policy held full sway, and no person dare act openly in opposition, except in the towns of Ennis and Kilrush. A regular system of terrorism was instituted against all persons opposing it, with the result that the Sinn Fein sway was tacitly acquiesced in by roughly 80 per cent. of the population of the County. Sinn Fein has established Courts to settle disputes, and the people abide by their decisions in nearly all cases."

Towards the end of the year, signs were not wanting that the turbulent situation was getting beyond the official control of Sinn Fein. "Their followers began committing outrages for their own private ends, using the name of Sinn Fein as a lever," states another report. "It is not improbable that Sinn Fein may find that it has let loose a spirit of unrest which may be a factor in breaking its own power."

"The West Riding of County Cork has been in a disturbed condition during the whole of 1919, and in the latter part of the year matters have got worse. The condition of things is

directly attributable to Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers. A system of universal terrorism exists, and this prevents the law-abiding section of the community from asserting itself or even assisting the authorities in maintaining the supremacy of the law and bringing offenders to justice. The principal efforts of Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers are directed against the R.I.C., whom they regard as the chief obstacle in their path, and who are now working under a strain which is almost unbearable. Their numbers are too small to deal with the existing state of things, and everything possible is being done by the Sinn Feiners and Irish Volunteers to break their spirit. The ordinary processes of the law are useless now. The people in general will not give evidence in criminal cases, fearing attack. The result is that the lawless section commit crime and outrage with comparative impunity, and police inquiries as to their movements are met with a refusal to answer any questions or make any statements. Under these circumstances the police are fighting with their hands tied and can achieve very little success in spite of much hard work. No hope of any improvement under present conditions is anticipated.

"The members of the Sinn Fein organisation are usually young people filled with revolutionary ideas," the same report continues. "Farmers and shopkeepers are opposed to these ideas, but, fearing the consequences, lack the moral courage to express their true opinions

publicly. The activities of Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers are now carried on secretly owing to the proclamations suppressing them*. The police in the Riding have done their best to make the proclamations effective, and have prosecuted and convicted a large number of persons who were trying to carry on the work of these two societies. The Irish Volunteers are well organised in the Riding, and represent the striking force of Sinn Fein for purposes of violence and outrage. On 13th August 1919 a training camp of the Irish Volunteer leaders in the Riding, assembled at Glandore. It was raided and dispersed by a large force of military and police, and five of the ringleaders received terms of imprisonment. I am afraid this organisation has a strong hold on young men in this Riding. . . . It is responsible for the attacks on police and soldiers and arms raids which take place from time to time."

Much the same is reported from the South Riding of Tipperary. "Crime has increased of late to an almost alarming extent. The beginning of the year was marked by the wanton murders of two constables escorting explosives by men masked and armed.† . . . This was the beginning of the state of things that has led to the terrorism of the whole country-side. . . . The terrorists are young men, many of them tools in the hands of more designing rascals."

* These Proclamations were made by the Lord Lieutenant from time to time under the Act of 1881. (See page 188.)

† This was the Solo Head Beg outrage. (See page 142.)

The figures of membership of Sinn Fein Clubs on the 31st December 1919 are as follows.

	Number of Clubs.	Number of Members.
Ulster	354	26,185
Leinster	342	24,315
Connaught	325	29,022
Munster	433	39,127
Totals	1,454	118,649

It must be remembered that in these statistics 'Ulster' includes the whole geographical province, not only the 'Six Counties' which form the Ulster of the Home Rule Bill.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1920.

In the two previous chapters something has been shown of the forces which were at work at the beginning of the year 1920. On the one hand stood Irish Republicanism, represented by Sinn Fein and its subsidiary organisations, working through sedition, outrage, and alliance with the enemies of the Empire towards an impossible ideal—an Irish Republic. On the other hand stood the Government, anxious to find a settlement of the age-long Irish Question which should be acceptable to the majority of Irishmen, and determined at the same time to fulfil its duty of restoring law and order to a distracted country.

There is no doubt that, even apart from the obvious impossibility of allowing the establishment of an admittedly hostile Republic at the gateway of Europe, the majority of the Irish people would not welcome a solution of the Irish Question which involved the detachment of Ireland from the British Empire. The status of an Independent nation would undoubtedly appeal to Irish sentiment, but nations cannot exist upon sentiment alone, and the material advantages of partnership in the Empire make a

stronger appeal to the mind of an agricultural community than even sentiment. The problem before the Government was therefore the restoration of law and order, and particularly the suppression of the campaign of murder and terrorism, while at the same time proceeding with a measure of Home Rule which would satisfy the inarticulate majority, whose existence was screened by the conspicuous activities of the extremists. The history of Ireland in 1920 will show the details of the problem and the measures taken for its solution.

The year opened with the Municipal Elections, in which Sinn Fein once more asserted its hold upon the South and West. There can be no doubt, however, that these elections did not give a true indication of the real political aspirations of the people. By its methods of intimidation and propaganda Sinn Fein secured many votes which it would otherwise have lost, and certainly succeeded in preventing the recording of votes adverse to it. But the result of the elections was undoubtedly one of the causes that led to the intensifying of the campaign of murder and outrage. The Irish Volunteers, from their Headquarters to individual officers, felt not so much that they had the sympathy of the people behind them, but that their influence was such that their numbers were secure from capture, because the majority of the people would not dare to report their actions to the police. A man who had committed a crime would be safe so long as he continued "on the run." He

could move about from place to place, secure in the knowledge that the local inhabitants would not only refrain from revealing his whereabouts to the police, but would afford him food and shelter for so long a time as he cared to billet himself upon them. And it was this sense of security which alone made the continuance of the outrage campaign possible.

Events showed that even in the capital city of the country the escape of murderers was connived at by the population. On the 21st of January Assistant Commissioner Redmond, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was murdered while walking through the streets of Dublin from his office at the Castle to the Standard Hotel, where he was staying. Two shots were fired at him in Harcourt Street, and he fell mortally wounded. After the shots had been fired, two men were seen running away from the scene, but no attempt was made to stop them. Mr. Redmond was a native of Newry, County Down, and had been fifteen years with the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast, as an officer in the Detective Department. He had recently been transferred to Dublin, and his murder was undoubtedly part of a campaign to assassinate anyone who might be suspected of endeavouring to unearth the threads of the murder-gangs. He left a widow and two daughters. At the inquest, the jury found a verdict as follows: "That deceased died from the effects of a bullet, and we find a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown. We wish to

express our abhorrence of the dastardly outrage, and tender our deepest sympathy to the relatives of the deceased."

On the 22nd January, 1920, the following statistics of outrages were officially issued :

OUTRAGES ATTRIBUTED TO SINN FEIN.

Official Returns from 1st May, 1916, to 31st December, 1919.

Murder.		Firing at the Person.			Assaults on		Raids for Highway Robbery of, Burglary for, and Larceny of Arms, Ammunition, and Explosives.			Incendiary Fires.		Injury to Property.		Firing into Dw'llings		Threatening Letters.	Miscellaneous Offences.	Total.
Military Police and Officials.	Civilians.	Police.	Military.	Civilians.	Police.	Civilians.	Police.	Military.	Civilians.					Police.	Civilians.			
							ULSTER											
—	—	1	—	2	3	5	1	5	40	15	40			—	—	9	13	134
							LEINSTER (including D.M.P. District)											
6	1	15	4	2	33	4	6	20	127	14	48			—	4	30	115	429
							CONNAUGHT											
1	—	5	2	3	4	1	—	5	60	11	39			1	9	36	28	205
							MUNSTER											
11	1	29	7	7	6	7	13	37	275	30	152			2	25	105	54	761
							TOTALS											
18	2	50	13	14	46	17	20	67	502	70	279			3	38	180	210	1529

On 25th January a Proclamation was issued from Dublin Castle offering a reward of £10,000 (double the amount previously offered) for evidence to convict any of the offenders in five cases of murder of Dublin Metropolitan Police and nine cases of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

One thousand pounds was offered for secret information.

The Proclamation gave the following names of the victims :—

D.M.P.

Detective Sergeant Patrick Smith.
Detective Constable Daniel Hoey.
Constable Michael Downing.
Sergeant John Barton.
Assistant Commissioner W. C. Redmond.

R.I.C.

Constable J. McDonnell, Co. Tipperary.
Constable Patrick O'Connell, Co. Tipperary.
Constable Martin O'Brien, Co. Limerick.
District Inspector Michael Hunt, Thurles.
Sergeant John Riordan, Co. Clare.
Constable Michael James Murphy, Co. Clare.
Constable William Agar, Ballivor.
Constable E. Bolger, Co. Cork.
Constable Luke Finnegin, Thurles.

During the early morning of 31st January, a raid was made by the police, supported by troops,

with the object of arresting certain prominent Sinn Feiners, who were suspected of seditious acts. The raid took place simultaneously in the City of Dublin and the counties Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Clare. Some fifty men in all were arrested and imprisoned.

In February the Curfew Order was made in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District by the Competent Military Authority under the Defence of the Realm Regulations. This Order, which was dated 20th February, came into force on the 23rd. It required every person within the Dublin Metropolitan Police District to remain indoors within the hours of 12 o'clock midnight and 5 o'clock a.m. unless provided with a permit in writing from the Competent Military Authority or some person duly authorised by him. Permits were granted to clergymen, registered medical practitioners, and nurses engaged on urgent duties. A warning was attached to the Order to the effect that "every person abroad between the hours mentioned in the Order, when challenged by any policeman, or by any officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier on duty, must immediately halt and obey orders given to him, and, if he fails to do so, it will be at his own peril."

This Order had the required effect of keeping undesirable people off the streets at night. The hours included under the Order were varied from time to time according to the hours of darkness.

On 5th March the Viceroy inspected detachments of the Royal Irish Constabulary and

Dublin Metropolitan Police, and awarded decorations for bravery and distinguished service. His Excellency's speech on this occasion throws a very clear light upon the conditions existing at that time. Here are some extracts from it :—

" I am glad that it has been possible to hold a joint parade of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Both forces have been fighting with the utmost gallantry against a common foe who are sworn enemies of law, order, and government, and whose cowardly and diabolical methods have put the courage, tenacity and endurance of the police forces to the highest test.

" I trust that the trying time through which the two forces have passed during the last few years, the splendid work they have done together and the credit for Irish loyalty which they have thus maintained, will ever bind them in bonds of mutual regard and comradeship.

" On more than one occasion during the last two years I took the opportunity to warn you that you would certainly be subjected to still greater tests of your loyalty, devotion and courage. The autumn and winter which have just passed by have proved clearly that these warnings were not unnecessary.

" The most determined efforts have been made to undermine your loyalty. Many of your comrades have been foully murdered in the dark, and outrages of every description have been

directed against the Dublin Metropolitan Police. As regards the Royal Irish Constabulary your barracks have been subjected to violent attacks in all parts of the country, by men who sometimes could be counted in hundreds, and who were well armed with revolvers, rifles, bombs, and explosives.

"During the last six months some thirty or forty of these attacks have been made, but in nearly every case they have been gallantly repulsed by a handful of disciplined, determined, brave men.

"You have had the most terrible disabilities to contend against. Police barracks in Ireland were never built with a view to defence against such numbers and such weapons. Many of them were erected a long time ago, so that buildings, and even whole villages, have grown up round them, which renders their effective defence a matter of the utmost difficulty.

"Another terrible drag on you has been the impossibility of inducing people who are otherwise loyal to come forward and give information to establish the guilt of these men.

"And here I cannot do better than quote the words which were used by a great Irish judge and lawyer, Lord Justice O'Connor, in his able charge to the Grand Jury in Clare. The Lord Justice said :—

> 'What gives more reason for grave reflection is the fact that the Government have not the active co-operation of the people in putting down crime of this sort. The

vast majority of the people, as I think, disapprove of crime, but they do not help to stop it. It is an extraordinary and anomalous state of affairs, without a parallel amongst any other of the white races inhabiting the British Empire.'

"Before I conclude let me once more repeat what I have so often told you—the Irish Government are just as determined as ever they were to crush these forces which are fighting against law and order, and I can assure you that no effort will be spared, and no sacrifice will be considered too great to give you every possible help and support in carrying on this great work. I feel sure that you will not allow the threats and intimidation which are flung broadcast all over the country to influence you, or to turn you away from the performance of your duties."

During the month of March the Assizes were held throughout the country, and the importance of justice in the face of almost universal terrorism became manifest. So great was the intimidation practised that juries could not be secured, witnesses dared not come forward to give their testimony, and in many cases the police could not secure evidence against the perpetrators of crime.

Lord Justice Ronan, in his address to the Grand Jury on the opening of North Tipperary Assizes, said there were only three trivial cases, arising out of a trade dispute, for their consideration. If these trivial cases were not to

go before them they should have the mockery of his being presented with white gloves, supposed to show that the county was free from crime and in an almost satisfactory condition. He regretted to say that the figures and facts supplied to him by the authorities told a far different story. In the corresponding period last year there were 8 specially reported cases, and the number and class, taken on the whole, were such as one would naturally expect in a large community, but in the corresponding period this year, for the number 8 they should substitute the number 49, an increase of 41. Moreover, these cases included 2 murders, 2 attempts to murder, 3 cases of wounding, 4 cases of robbery, and attempts to rob, 3 cases of arson, 3 reports of killing and maiming cattle, 13 cases of malicious injury, 12 of threatening letters, 4 raids for arms, 2 attacks on police barracks, and 1 incident of firing into a dwelling-house. This Lord Justice Ronan characterised as a terrible record of crime, and added that their County Inspector had told him it extended practically over the whole Riding, but that perhaps the worst area was that around Thurles. Dealing with the fact that no one had been made amenable for these crimes, he said it was obvious that there could be but two causes : one was that the people sympathised with crime and the other that the community was so terrorised that no one dared give evidence.

The state of affairs in North Tipperary was typical of that existing over a great part of the

country, and many judges placed on record opinions similar to those of Lord Justice Ronan. It became evident that steps must be taken to secure the operation of justice by some other procedure than that of a Court of Law.

During the night of March 19th there occurred an incident which produced a deep sensation throughout Ireland, the facts of which have never yet been satisfactorily determined. The Lord Mayor of Cork at this time was Alderman MacCurtain, a man of advanced Republican views. He had taken a leading part in organising the Irish Republican Army in Cork, was implicated in the rising of Easter Week, 1916, and had been arrested and deported to England in connection with that affair. Upon his release he returned to his Republican activities, and was eventually elected Lord Mayor of Cork by a Sinn Fein majority of the Corporation. After he had retired to bed on the 19th March, 1920, a loud knocking was heard at the door of his house. His wife opened the door, and was immediately brushed aside by three or four armed men with blackened faces, who made their way upstairs, knocked at Mr. MacCurtain's bedroom door, and called upon him to come out. He did so, and was immediately fatally wounded by revolver shots. His assailants then made their escape, and it was asserted that the sound of a motor-car was heard as they did so.

An inquest was held, and after protracted sittings a verdict was returned attributing the

murder to members of the police. It has since been conclusively proved that no members of the police were concerned in the attack, and the matter remains at present a mystery. Many theories have been put forward, of which two would seem to contain the elements of a possible solution. One of these is that certain members of the Irish Republican Army had conceived the idea that the Lord Mayor was about to reveal certain details of their operations of which he disapproved. The second is contained in an article of the London *Times* of March 29th, 1920, an extract from which is as follows :—

" A well-informed correspondent writes : ' It has now been ascertained that on the night of 17th-18th March there was a meeting of the Circle of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, attended by the Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, and other prominent persons. At this meeting seven members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood were expelled. It is significant that one of the persons present was shot after leaving the meeting, and that two nights later the Lord Mayor was shot. It is stated that at this meeting accusations were made of infidelity to the cause of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.' "

It may be noted that Mr. MacCurtain was succeeded as Lord Mayor of Cork by Alderman Terence McSwiney, the Commandant of the 1st Cork Brigade, I.R.A.

On March 26th the world was horrified by the murder of Mr. Alan Bell, a resident magistrate,

who was dragged from a tram in broad daylight in the streets of Dublin, and brutally murdered. The incident is dealt with elsewhere.* It is mentioned here only to record the progress of the Sinn Fein campaign of murder. Mr. Bell was regarded as specially dangerous to that organisation, as he was engaged at the time in examining the relations between Sinn Fein and certain Irish Banks.

The beginning of April witnessed a change in the administration of Ireland. On 1st April it was announced that Mr. Ian Macpherson had resigned the office of Chief Secretary to the Viceroy of Ireland, and two days later came the further announcement that Mr. Macpherson had been appointed Minister of Pensions in succession to Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, while Lieut.-Col. The Rt. Hon. Sir Hamar Greenwood, Bart, K.C., had been appointed Chief Secretary.

Sir Hamar Greenwood was born in Canada in 1870 of Welsh parentage. In 1895 he came to England, studied law at Gray's Inn, and was called to the Bar in 1906. In 1903 he had adopted a parliamentary career, and three years later was elected Member of Parliament for York, sitting on the Liberal side of the House. Defeated at the poll at the General Election in January, 1910, in December of the same year he stood for Sunderland, and was duly elected. He has since represented this constituency without a break. During the War, he commanded the 10th

* Page 224

(Service Battalion) the South Wales Borderers, and served in that capacity in France. Having been created a Baronet in 1915 for his conspicuous success in the organisation of recruiting, he was called to the War Office by Lord Derby in 1916 and appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant General. In 1919 Sir Hamar received his first Ministerial appointment as Under-Secretary to the Home Office.

No happier choice could have been made for the difficult and arduous post of Chief Secretary. Ireland was rapidly drifting into anarchy, the Government was fast losing its hold upon the situation. Here was a man of world wide experience in peace and war, not bound by insular prejudice, capable of treating the Irish situation and the Irish people without fear or favour. Fear indeed was unknown to him, perhaps his chief characteristic is an absolutely fearless outlook upon difficulty and danger. Above all, here was a strong man, a man who had faced the world and knew his power; a man with the gift of work and of making others work gladly for him; a man with a personality which had the supreme power of inspiring confidence when things seemed at their darkest. Even his bitterest critics, in the height of their opposition to his policy, have never denied his courage or his ability; there is no one of them but has, at one time or another, been forced—often, perhaps, against that critic's own will—to acknowledge the honesty of his purpose and the earnestness of his determination to do that which was right.

This was the man who was called upon in April, 1920, to assume what seemed to many a hopeless task. The months which have since passed bear witness to his success.

Sir Hamar's appointment necessitated a bye-election in his constituency, but of the result there was never a doubt. On May 7th the result was announced, and Sir Hamar was found to have topped the poll with a majority of over 8,000. His message on this occasion was typical of the directness of his outlook. "The result of the election is most gratifying. To have secured such a majority (3,369) over the combined polls of my opponents in a three-cornered fight is a victory which gives Lady Greenwood and myself the greatest encouragement in our task in Ireland. The election was fought by me on the Irish question, because I consider it the most important question before the English-speaking world to-day. The result is an emphatic vote of confidence in the Coalition Government, and in myself as Chief Secretary for Ireland."

Sir Hamar was right. It was a personal triumph, a vote of confidence which has never been misplaced.

At the time of the appointment of the new Chief Secretary the question of political prisoners was embittering feeling throughout Ireland. In an endeavour to quell the rising storm the Administration had arrested a number of prominent Sinn Feiners. Of these a small proportion had been convicted, others were awaiting trial for various offences, and a large

number had been arrested on suspicion under the Defence of the Realm Regulations.* These men were lodged in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, and in Wormwood Scrubbs, London, and had gone on hunger-strike. On April 12th Mr. Denis Henry, the Attorney-General for Ireland, announced that of the 151 so-called political prisoners in Mountjoy 88 were on hunger-strike, and that of these some were approaching the danger zone. The hunger-strikers in Wormwood Scrubbs had abandoned their tactics by this date.

The condition of the prisoners caused grave concern throughout Ireland. Scenes were witnessed outside Mountjoy Prison and Wormwood Scrubbs: the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress called a general strike: Irish opinion of all shades found itself for once in unison in protesting against the retention of men against whom no definite charges had been formulated. Sir Hamar saw an opportunity for initiating a policy of conciliation, such as would show the majority of the Irish people that his attitude was one entirely devoid of prejudice. By his advice the Viceroy received the Lord Mayor of Dublin on 14th April and informed him that

* Regulation 14b, which provides that the Chief Secretary shall have power, on the recommendation of the Competent Military Authority, to intern "any person who is suspected of acting or of having acted or of being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the Realm." An order under this Regulation may require the person to whom the order relates to reside or to be interned in any place in the British Islands.

certain of the hunger-strikers in Mountjoy Prison could be released on parole for the purposes of receiving medical treatment outside the prison for periods to be specified in each case by the Medical Officer of the prison. On the 15th Mr. Bonar Law read in the House of Commons a message from the Viceroy as follows :—

" Following the O'Brien precedent, authority was given to the Governor of Mountjoy Prison to liberate any persons awaiting trial or deportation, who were certified by doctors to be in imminent danger of death and requiring treatment which could not be given in the prison. Under this order, 66 prisoners have been released on parole for periods differing in each case according to their particular needs. I should perhaps tell you that owing to a mistake made by the Prison Authorities, some of these 66 men were persons who had been convicted and sentenced, and were in no way entitled to be released on parole. I think this should be expressly made known, so that such action will not form a precedent. The whole action taken in regard to the hunger-strikers was strictly based on the decision in regard to ameliorative treatment. The release on parole was never intended to apply to cases of men who were convicted after trial."

On the 20th the Irish Government issued a statement to the press defining the status of these prisoners and making clear the treatment which would be accorded to them. This statement is included at the end of this volume (Appendix C).

On May 17th General Sir Nevil Macready, who had assumed command of the Forces in Ireland on the 14th April, inspected men of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police at the depôt in Phœnix Park, for the purpose of awarding the King's Police Medal to ten members of the Forces.*

On May 15th General Tudor was appointed Police Advisor to the Viceroy of Ireland, with general supervisory powers over both Irish police forces, and on the 24th the following announcement was made :—

" In order to relieve the pressure of work in the Chief Secretary's Office the following appointments have been made :

> Sir John Anderson, K.C.B., Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, to be Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, jointly with the Right Hon. James MacMahon.

* The following extract from his speech on this occasion will be of interest : " In many cases the Police Medal represents practically the V.C. of the Army, because many of the deeds that a man wins the medal for are deeds where he risks his life, and very often is incapacitated, in doing his duty. Also the medal has another feature, which I think no other medal has, and that is on occasions it is given for long and distinguished service as distinct from any actual deed such as I mentioned just now. As an old Commissioner of the Police I know how it is sought after. I know how when one sees a policeman or constabulary man with the blue and white ribbon on him one at once says, ' There is a man who stands out and has had the luck, possibly, to make a reputation which makes him stand out from his fellows,' and he wears a decoration which every policeman is only too proud to have."

Mr. A. W. Cope, second Secretary of the Ministry of Pensions, to be Assistant Under-Secretary, on the retirement of Sir John Taylor, K.C.B., who has completed forty years' service.

"Sir John Anderson and Mr. Cope are appointed to hold office during the continuance of the present pressure of business, with the intention that they should in due course resume the exercise of their previous functions."

These appointments completed the reinforcement of the Irish Executive, as far as the higher posts were concerned. Certain minor appointments followed until the Executive was sufficiently staffed to deal with the enormous amount of work thrown upon it by the disturbed state of the country.

About this time began the very serious situation caused by the refusal of Irish dock and railway employees to handle 'munitions,' under which heading they included all stores destined for the police or military forces. On May 20th the Dublin dockers refused to handle the cargoes of vessels coming into the port laden with military stores. On the 22nd the steamer Polberg arrived at Kingstown with a consignment of cars and stores for the troops at Cork. The vessel was unloaded by a party of soldiers, and the stores loaded into railway wagons, but, acting under instructions from their leaders, the drivers of the engine which should have taken the train to Cork refused to act. The men's leaders stated that they were acting on the same

principle as the English workers who had refused to handle munitions consigned to Poland. It was not until the 26th that the train was allowed to proceed to its destination, and even then there was no abandonment of principle. It appeared that the railwaymen were under the impression that the stores consisted of ammunition, but upon inspection they discovered that they were in fact nothing more than a consignment of 'bully-beef.' Instructions were given to the engine-drivers by their leaders that they might proceed with their duties, and the incident came to an end.

But this did not alter the general situation. The dockers on strike at the Port of Dublin refused to return to work unless they were given an undertaking that they would not be required to handle munitions, while the employers demanded an unconditional return. The result was a complete deadlock. Attempts at negotiation proved abortive. By the middle of June the position was virtually the same. On June 14th the President of the National Union of Railwaymen made an attempt to find a way out of the difficulty, but was unsuccessful. Shortly after seven o'clock he issued the following 'official' statement:—

"I communicated with the officials of the L. and N.W.R. Co. yesterday and was informed that Mr. Cotton was proceeding to London, upon which I made the following suggestion: 'The Company will agree that work will be resumed on the basis existing prior to the commencement

of the dispute, and that in the event of any question arising in connection with the carrying out of the work, the Company's representatives to meet representatives of the men with a view to obviating any difficulty.'

" Mr. Cotton conveyed the suggestion and we received to-day a reply from London as follows:

" 'General Manager to Cotton, North Wall. Railway Companies are under statutory obligations to deal with all traffic handed to them, and cannot, therefore, discriminate against any particular traffic. These obligations must be carried out. The Company are quite willing for the men to resume work on the basis existing prior to the commencement of the dispute, and the men can do so at once if they agree to handle all traffic. (Signed) Williams, Euston.'

" This was reported to the Strike Committee this afternoon, who regretted that they could not accept this position, and, unless anything new transpires, the dispute will therefore go on."

A similar statement was also issued from the Company's office.

Commenting upon the situation generally, the President* of the N.U.R. said:—

" I am not disposed to place all the blame for the breakdown of the negotiations upon the Company, as, in my opinion, they are acting under instructions from the Government. I have nothing to confirm this except my own point of view, but it does appear to me that the Govern-

* His name was Cramp.

ment are refusing all offers of conciliation such as I have made, and are thus forcing the issue."

The strike hit every section of the community in Ireland except the Government, who were able to use their own vessels, their own labour, and their own motor transport to convey such material as they chose to any part of Ireland. As a measure against the enforcement of law and order, which was undoubtedly its intention, it failed utterly. That the men realised this is proved by the extension of their embargo to the conveyance of troops a few days later. However, this matter is dealt with at some length elsewhere,* and its effects need not be referred to here. It is merely another example of the perverse effects of Sinn Fein teaching, the result of which has always been to bring ruin upon the very country for which it professes to be fighting.

During the early part of the year the Sinn Fein organisation endeavoured to ingratiate itself with the mass of the people by establishing 'Courts,' which were widely advertised as dealing out justice to Republican litigants who refused, under pressure of intimidation, to recognise the legal courts. These Sinn Fein courts sat irregularly and in many cases in secret. In most cases they were in fact merely arbitration courts, and, as such, within the law. In a few cases they dealt with offenders brought before them on various charges, and sentenced these offenders to fines and 'banishment' from their homes for various periods. They seem to

* Chapter IX.

have existed mainly for propaganda purposes, in order to afford evidence that Sinn Fein was capable of government. That the leaders of the movement put no faith in them as genuine instruments of justice is shown by their actions on several occasions. Of these, one of the most interesting is the case of a cinema proprietor in County Meath, which is worthy of a brief account.

On August 8th this gentleman wrote to Alderman Murphy asking for his advice in the following circumstances. In October, 1919, he returned a box of films to an agent in Belfast, but the Railway Company lost the box and were unable to trace it. The agent served him with a writ for £60, the value of the films. The further recital of his difficulties is in his own words :— "I of course will have to pay this, or some amount for the loss of the films. I must defend the case to show I delivered the films to the Railway Company, and also to ascertain the actual value of the films. Then I must go for the Railway Company. This is what I want you to assist me in. Can I take the Railway Company into a Republican Court? I am quite sure they would refuse to recognise our Courts, but suppose they do, and that I can establish my claim against them in our Courts, are we in a position to recover the agreed amount from the Railway Company? I am sure that you can find out all particulars, and will you kindly let me know as early as possible? "

Alderman Murphy wrote across the top of this

letter " Please give this matter your immediate attention and oblige " and sent it to the ' Local Government Department ' of Dail Eireann, the ' Government ' of Sinn Fein. The ' Minister for Local Government ' copying, perhaps unconsciously, the practice of less idealistic Government Offices, minuted it to the ' Secretary for Home Affairs ' as follows :—

" A Chara,

Enclosed letter has been sent me by Alderman Murphy. I expect as it is a law question your Department ought to deal with same. May I take it that you will inform Alderman Murphy ?"

Some days later the ' General Secretariat ' returned the correspondence to Alderman Murphy, with the following minute :—

" A Chara,

The Secretary for Home Affairs has asked me to write to you in connection with the attached letter, and to say that in this case the applicant may sue the Railway Company in the British Courts."

A very pretty little comedy, and one that shows better than pages of reasoned argument the opinion of the " Secretary for Home Affairs" concerning his own Courts.

The progress of the campaign of outrage was very rapid during the first six months of 1920. The whole question of outrage is dealt with in Chapter VIII., and it will therefore be unnecessary to do more than mention the subject here. The following figures give an idea of the rapid increase in murder and destruction. Only such

outrages as were directly attributed to the Republicans are included.

From the 1st January, 1919, to the end of June, 1920, the totals of various forms of crime are as follows :—

Court-houses destroyed	33
Vacated R.I.C. barracks destroyed ...	351
Vacated R.I.C. barracks damaged ...	105
Occupied R.I.C. barracks destroyed ...	15
Occupied R.I.C. barracks damaged ...	25
Raids on Mails	98
Coastguard Stations and Lighthouses raided	19
Police killed	66
,, wounded	79
Soldiers killed	5
,, wounded	2
Civilians killed	15
,, wounded	41

It has been shown (page 62) that during the years 1917 and 1918 the cases of murder and assault with intent to murder, for the whole of Ireland, numbered 14 and 12 respectively. The above table shows that from the 1st January, 1919, to the end of June, 1920, these crimes numbered 208.

The most ominous feature of this increase in outrage was the fact that outside Ulster the voice of the people remained silent. Such were the measures of intimidation employed by the Republicans that no man dare speak his mind about the tragedy which was overtaking the

country. Dail Eireann, the self-constituted 'Government of the Irish Republic,' although it never acknowledged openly its opinion of brutal murder, must yet be held responsible for it, since never did it utter a word of protest or take any steps to repress it. It pointed to the Irish Republican Army as a body of gallant soldiers at war with the Forces of the Crown, obliged in self-defence to carry out definite military operations. The notorious Michael Collins, 'Adjutant General of the Irish Republican Army' was indeed a member of An Dail, in his capacity of 'Minister of Finance.' Terence McSwiney, Commandant of the First Cork Brigade, I.R.A., and Lord Mayor of Cork, was another of its members. It is impossible for Sinn Fein, as a political aspiration, to dissociate itself from the operations of the murder-gangs, while the men who by their own showing were responsible for the operations of these gangs were the elected representatives of the Sinn Fein party.

This fact it was that made impossible direct negotiations between the British Government and the representatives of Sinn Fein. The most essential preliminary to the opening of negotiation must be the cessation of outrage. Had Sinn Fein guaranteed this cessation, it would have confessed itself responsible for the direction of outrage and murder, and the Government would have been invited to grasp a hand red with the blood of Government servants. Nor did Sinn Fein dare to repudiate its

own familiars, and denounce their policy of assassination. Terrorism is a double edged weapon, apt to recoil upon the persons of those who wield it. The leaders of the murder-gangs were desperate men, and desperate men are no respecters of persons where their own safety is concerned. The opposition of Dail Eireann could and would have terminated the murder campaign, but not before the murderers, driven to bay and feeling the halter already about their necks, had wreaked a fearful vengeance upon those who had first encouraged and then betrayed them. The grim tragedy of MacCurtain, and of many more found done to death with the ominous notice "*Spies and informers beware!*" pinned to their clothing, conveyed a warning which none dare disregard.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATTER HALF OF 1920.

The events of the latter half of the year 1920 are of too recent occurrence for it to be necessary to set them down in chronological order. Every reader of the newspapers is aware that by the autumn of 1920 the Irish question had resolved itself into a struggle between the Government and the forces of disorder, a struggle in which the Government was steadily asserting its supremacy. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this book to deal with certain of the leading events of the period, selecting those events which have had a definite effect upon Irish affairs, or which illustrate the condition of the country at this time. Certain aspects of the situation are dealt with in the succeeding chapters at greater length than would be possible in a brief review.

The following table will give some idea of the extent to which outrage is being committed by the Republicans. The figures include only those crimes known to have been carried out by members of the Republican organisations, and omit certain minor forms of outrage, such as intimidation, cattle-driving and the like. They do not include casualities in Ulster rioting during the period. An account of these latter will be found in Chapter XII.

OUTRAGES FOR THE WEEK ENDING

Nature of Outrage	July					August				September				October					November				December				Jan.	Total for 27 weeks
	3rd	10th	17th	24th	31st	7th	14th	21st	28th	4th	11th	18th	25th	2nd	9th	16th	23rd	30th	6th	13th	20th	27th	4th	11th	18th	25th	1st	
Courthouses destroyed	3	2	4	6	2	7	1	1	1	3	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	39
R.I.C. vacated Barracks destroyed	8	16	26	19	12	15	12	5	5	8	7	3	4	1	3	6	4	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	—	1	—	167
" " damaged	1	1	2	—	—	—	2	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	15
R.I.C. occupied Barracks destroyed	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
" " damaged	1	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	6	—	2	—	2	2	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	30
Raids on mails	7	15	27	34	31	25	29	37	38	37	53	49	47	43	49	36	27	32	30	28	21	31	19	55	32	19	43	894
Raids on Coast-guard Stations and Lighthouses	—	—	—	—	5	2	2	—	2	4	2	—	2	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	26
Raids for arms	Not recorded					17	41	60	180	982	531	160	76	51	35	13	18	9	8	9	4	6	4	3	3	4	15	2229
Policemen killed	1	—	8	4	2	1	—	7	7	2	3	1	10	8	2	6	4	6	11	6	1	6	17	1	7	1	5	127
" wounded	5	5	10	6	8	8	3	15	14	3	4	6	7	8	4	6	5	4	23	4	—	10	3	12	7	6	6	192
" fired at, disarmed, etc.	6	6	4	2	2	1	2	4	3	7	—	2	3	8	7	3	5	3	11	6	2	5	5	2	5	3	6	113
Soldiers killed	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	4	1	3	4	3	3	3	—	2	13	—	1	2	—	—	47
" wounded	2	—	2	12	17	4	1	8	4	1	1	—	4	1	8	6	9	5	3	3	1	7	1	4	10	3	1	118
" fired at, disarmed, etc. ...	—	3	1	4	5	5	4	1	2	4	1	1	4	2	10	—	3	2	12	1	1	4	3	3	7	3	—	86
Civilians killed	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	2	—	1	5	1	3	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	2	3	30
" wounded	2	—	2	2	—	1	2	1	3	5	13	4	1	1	1	6	—	1	—	3	2	13	1	—	1	1	3	69
Total number of outrages each week	39	50	90	91	88	86	100	143	265	1066	620	231	165	127	129	94	81	72	111	63	37	101	57	85	77	43	82	4193

H

These figures deserve some comment. Dealing first with the total number of outrages in each week, it will be observed that these increase towards the beginning of September, and then decrease fairly regularly. The total number of outrages committed is a rough measure of the numbers of people engaged in committing them. The reason of the fluctuation is probably that during the increase the perpetrators of outrage were encouraged by the comparative safety with which their depredations were being committed. As the police and troops became more expert in stamping out crime, the more faint-hearted of the desperadoes found their courage forsaking them, and abandoned a pursuit which involved risk of capture. It will be observed that it is what we may term minor outrage that accounts for the greater part of the fluctuation, while major outrage remains comparatively constant. The smaller men became frightened by the danger of arrest, while the really desperate characters, those for instance who specialised in murder, knowing that they must ultimately be 'rounded up' and could not escape the penalty of their crimes, continued their career of assassination, careless whether they were hanged for a sheep or for a lamb.

The statistics of arrests and court-martials bear out this theory. They are as follows:—

Week ending	Arrests Number.	Courts-Martial. Numbers Held.	No. of Convictions.
Aug. 7th ...	48	—	—
,, 14th ...	59	8	8
,, 21st ...	37	2	2
,, 28th ...	32	13	12
Sept. 4th ...	49	16	15
,, 11th ...	89	25	20
,, 18th ...	47	39	33
,, 25th ...	133	31	21
Oct. 2nd ...	64	72	50
,, 9th ...	42	78	71
,, 16th ...	71	44	36
,, 23rd ...	74	24	15
,, 30th ...	84	77	70
Nov. 6th ...	49	29	25
,, 13th ...	110	52	41
,, 20th ...	137	40	29
,, 27th ...	189	39	25
Dec. 4th ...	58	43	35
,, 11th ...	130	70	60
,, 18th ...	66	54	39
,, 25th ...	66	53	48
Jan. 1st ...	216	48	36

It will be observed that the arrests and convictions show a progressive increase. This is more clearly shown by comparing the arrests for the months with the total number of outrages during that month. In August, the percentage of arrests to total outrage was 30. In September

it was 15, a figure affected by the extraordinary outbreak of raiding for arms during that month. If we exclude raids for arms and arrests for that offence, the percentage becomes 49. In October it rose to 67 per cent. It must not be thought that these figures give a measure of the percentage of offenders arrested, as many offenders may participate in a single crime. But they do show how the chances of arrest of offenders have increased, and it is just this chance which deters the more faint-hearted among the perpetrators of outrage.

There is another most important factor which has acted as a deterrent against crime. In the past it has been the Government's policy to release hunger-strikers when their condition became sufficiently serious. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of that policy. It was decided upon in the hope that clemency towards criminals would result in the birth of a more generous outlook in Ireland upon the aims of British government in that country. This hope proved illusory. Instead of the Republicans welcoming these releases as a sign that the Government were disposed to deal with the Irish Question in a sympathetic manner, and for that purpose to waive their rights upon a point which produced acrimony, they hailed them as a great victory for their cause, as a sign of the weakness of the Government, and as an encouragement to the continuance of the campaign of outrage.

There was therefore no alternative before the Government but to break once and for all the

policy of the hunger-strikers. It had become an open boast of any Irish criminal that he had but to endure a certain amount of discomfort in order to secure his release, and that therefore this discomfort was the only penalty he need pay for any crime which he cared to commit. Further than this, the forces of law and order were discouraged from the performance of their duty. What, they argued, was the use of enduring great hardship and undergoing grave risk of death in order to capture a criminal who forthwith secured his release by hunger-striking and returned to the scene of his crime, to mark down for murder the men who had effected his arrest? From any point of view it was obvious that release by hunger-striking must be ended, and that without delay.

The full consequences of this decision must be realised. The weakness of previous administrations both in England and Ireland, bowing before the menace, had created a mischievous precedent. It had become almost an accepted principle that a convicted person had only to threaten suicide in order to evade his or her sentence. Sentimentalists of every shade of opinion were ready upon the slightest provocation to proclaim such persons as martyrs for their cause, however ridiculous such a cause might be. Sentiment is nowhere more rampant than in Ireland, and the Government were faced by a dilemma: either to render justice a farce and release criminals who indulged in a more or less genuine hunger-strike, or to retain

such men in custody and incur the wrath of sentimentalists.

To a man of the strength of mind of Sir Hamar Greenwood there could be no hesitation between these two courses. The upholding of justice was the first need of Ireland, and any policy which tended to weaken it was unthinkable. Further, putting sentiment aside, the attitude of the hunger-striker was indefensible. A man who takes measures to end his life is a suicide, whether he takes poison or abstains from taking anything. The manner in which he takes his life has no bearing on the justification of the act. It is the duty of a Government holding a person in custody to take every precaution against that person committing suicide, but the argument that it should release him lest he should evade those precautions is untenable. The spectacle of the long drawn out agony of a brave man determined to die in this manner may be pitiable, but it is no argument for his release. It must never be forgotten that the remedy is in his own hands.

It was not long before the Government were called upon to face a case of this nature which, from the standing of the criminal, attracted the attention of the whole civilised world. On the 12th August, 1920, Terence McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, member of Dail Eireann and Commandant of the First Cork Brigade of the Irish Republican Army, was arrested at the City Hall, Cork. McSwiney was then 37 and was a teacher by profession and a native of Cork. He

was a highly educated man with a fanatical hatred of all things British. Formally a teacher under the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, he afterwards became a paid organiser of the Irish Volunteers in Cork City. He attended the meeting of the executive of Irish Volunteers in Dublin prior to the Rebellion, was interned after the rebellion, but was released in December, 1916. He was again arrested on February 22nd 1917 and deported to England, but was released in June 1917, whereupon he resumed his Volunteer activities in Cork, wearing the uniform of the Irish Republican Army. He attended the Sinn Fein Convention in Dublin in October, 1917, was tried by District Court Martial at Cork on November 16th 1917 for illegal drilling and wearing uniform, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, but was released on hunger-strike five days later. On December 12th 1917 he was again wearing uniform and drilling in Cork; accordingly he was re-arrested on March 10th 1918 and committed to Belfast Gaol. On completing his sentence he was deported to England and interned at Lincoln.

During his internment he was elected unopposed for Mid-Cork and was released from Lincoln on March 17th 1919. He attended meetings of Dail Eireann and accompanied the Irish-American Delegates to Limerick on the 8th May. On October 5th 1919 he was found holding a meeting in Macroom Sinn Fein Hall, to organise a collection for the Republican Loan,

and a receipt for a volunteer application fee was also found on him. On the 26th October he held a similar meeting at Ballingeary. On the 30th March 1920 he was elected Lord Mayor of Cork —after the murder of Thomas McCurtain the previous mayor. Prior to this he was reported to have been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Dail Eireann. On the 16th August 1920 he was tried by District Court Martial at Cork on charges under Regulations 22a and 27 of the Defence of the Realm. He was found guilty under Regulation 22a of having a cipher under his control, and under Regulation 27 of having in his possession two documents the publication of which would be likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment without hard labour.

According to the evidence, the City Hall at Cork was searched by the Military Authorities on the 12th August. In a desk used by the accused was found a secret cipher issued to the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary for use as from the 28th July 1920. In a shed at the back of the City Hall, where the accused and ten other persons were assembled, was found a decoded cipher message sent on the previous day by a police officer in Cork to an official in Dublin.

There was no question of McSwiney's right to possession of the cipher in his capacity of Lord Mayor. The cipher was for police use only, and was issued only to officers of the R.I.C.

In McSwiney's desk were also found :—

(1) A sealed typewritten copy of a resolution

passed by the Corporation of Cork acknowledging the authority of Dail Eireann as the duly elected Government of the Irish people.

(2) Typewritten notes for a speech, containing the following passages: "Our first duty is to answer that threat in the only befitting manner by showing ourselves unterrified, cool and inflexible for the fulfilment of our chief purpose —the establishment of the independence and integrity of our country, the peace and happiness of the Irish Republic. To that end I am here.

"If the present aggravated persecution by our enemies could stop us voluntarily in the normal discharge of our duties, it would help them very materially in their compaign to overthrow the Irish Republic now established and functioning according to law notwithstanding the English Army of Occupation.

"Our spirit is but to be a more lively manifestation of the spirit in which we began the year—to work for our City in a new zeal, and because of our initial act we had dedicated it to the Republic, and formally attested our allegiance, to bring by our administration of the city glory to our allegiance, and by working for our city's advancement with constancy in all honourable ways in her new dignity as one of the first cities of the Irish Republic, to show ourselves eager to work for, and if need be, to die for, the Irish Republic.

"Facing our enemy we must declare an attitude simply. We see in their regime a thing of evil incarnate. With it there can be no parley—

any more than there can be a truce with the powers of Hell. This is our simple resolution—We ask for no mercy and we will make no compromise."

In the City Hall was found at the same time a letter addressed to McSwiney in his capacity of Commandant 1st Cork Brigade I.R A. from the Republican 'Director of Munitions'. This letter is quoted in full on page .

At the Court Martial McSwiney objected "To the whole Court as being an illegal Court not assembled by the Irish Republic." He refused to plead, and his refusal was treated as a plea of Not Guilty. After the finding of the Court, upon being asked if he wished to address the Court, he replied: "I have decided that I shall be free alive or dead in a month, as I will take no food for the period of my sentence."

He was transferred to Brixton Gaol on the 16th August, to undergo his sentence. He had been on hunger-strike since the date of his arrest, and it became evident that his hunger-strike was to be a trial of strength between all arrested Republicans and the Government. Appeals were made for his release from many quarters; many of these appeals being made by persons who hardly understood the principles involved. The Government's reply to one of these appeals, made by the Labour Party, contains passages which put forward very clearly the reasons that made his release impossible.

"The Lord Mayor was one of the leaders of the Irish Republican Army, which has declared

itself to be at war with the Forces of the Crown, and according to his own written word in one of the seditious documents for possession of which he was convicted, he and his followers were determined to pursue their ends, asking for no mercy and making no compromise. He was arrested while actively conducting the affairs of a rebel organisation under cover of a Mayoral Court. Had he been taken at his word and dealt with as an avowed rebel, according to the universal practice of civilised nations he would, having regard to the circumstances of his capture, have been liable immediately to be shot. Instead he was tried by a legally constituted tribunal, sentenced to a moderate term of imprisonment, and given at once all the privileges of a political prisoner.

" From the moment of his arrest he thought to defeat the ends of justice, and to reduce the Forces of the Crown to impotence by refusing food, no doubt in the belief that that course would lead to his speedy release. It is the clear duty of the Government not only to take every step possible to suppress disorder in Ireland, but also to protect those brave men who are carrying out their duties as servants of the Crown, in daily peril of their lives. To release prisoners who, like the Lord Mayor, have been guilty of complicity in a movement which uses as one of its main instruments assassination and outrage would be nothing short of a betrayal of those loyal officers on whose devotion to duty the fabric of social order in Ireland rests. Since the

arrest of the Lord Mayor fifteen officers have been brutally and treacherously done to death without even a chance of defending themselves. Surely the sympathy which has been given in such full measure to the Lord Mayor, whose condition has been brought about by his own deliberate act, is due rather to the bereaved widows and families of the murdered Irish Policemen. The Government fully realise how large a part sentiment plays in all human affairs, and if it were possible they would gladly have taken the attitude of the English King who said of an opponent 'He is determined to make himself a martyr and I am equally determined to prevent it.'

"Greatly as the Government sympathise with those who desire to see peace and order restored in Ireland they cannot take a course which, as the Prime Minister has said, would inevitably lead to a complete breakdown of the whole machinery of law and Government. The policy of the Government has been made clear from the outset, and if the Lord Mayor dies in prison the responsibility will rest in some degree upon those who by their repeated appeals have encouraged the belief that the Government would prove insincere in their determination, and the hope that notwithstanding all declarations to the contrary his misguided action would eventually lead to his release."

The Press were quick to realise that the retention of McSwiney was no act of mere petty spite, but was due to a decision based upon the

highest policy. The result was the issue of a Manifesto to the English Press by the relatives of McSwiney through the Irish Self-Determination League in London, an organisation which had issued bulletins as to McSwiney's condition.

This document, which is as follows, exhibits, better than any other evidence could do, the political capital which was being made out of the slow death of a brave man, even by his nearest relatives.

For Publication. *With the Compliments of Art O'Brien.*

THE LORD MAYOR OF CORK.

No more information to be given to the English Press.

" The following is a statement by the relatives of the Lord Mayor in reference to the campaign of mis-representation in the English Press :—

" The progress of the agony of the Lord Mayor of Cork, symbolising as it does the age-long struggle of his country for her freedom, has day by day increased the interest and, what is more important, the knowledge of the Press and People of Europe, America, Australia, Africa, and

Asia, not alone in the Lord Mayor, but also in the cause which he advances by his suffering.

"At the commencement of the struggle in Brixton Prison, most of the organs of the English Press (then apparently not subject to any particular Government control or instruction on this subject), treated the matter fairly, or as fairly as could be expected, in their columns. As the interest of the public in England was stirred by the reports in the Press, and demonstrations were taking place nightly in front of Brixton Prison, the English Government got apprehensive, and, at a certain stage, the Chief Commissioner of Police issued a note to the members of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association asking them, should certain information come to their knowledge, to withhold it from publication. Therefore statements given to the Press by the relatives and friends of the Lord Mayor were, in the case of many of the English papers, distorted from their proper meaning, and, in many instances, absolutely false reports were given, words and statements being attributed to the relatives and friends which they had never used or made. The Lady Mayoress, Miss Mary McSwiney, Miss Annie McSwiney, and Father Dominic (the Lord Mayor's Chaplain) have all been victims of this campaign of falsehood, and have all been obliged, on more than one occasion, to write letters of contradiction to the papers concerned. These letters have, at times, not been published, or have been bowdlerised beyond recognition.

" As the interest of the struggle of the Lord Mayor extended itself to the four quarters of the earth, and as the eyes of the world thereby got more and more riveted on the struggle between Ireland and England, the English Government got still more apprehensive and greater efforts have been put forth in an endeavour to counteract the telling effects made by the statements of the relatives and friends of the Lord Mayor. Higher authorities than Scotland Yard have taken a hand in the attempt to discredit the relatives and to confuse the issue.

" The Home Office, in other words the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, has issued statements, which where not false, are purposely misleading. The same authority has further inspired statements in the English Press, as, for instance, in the case of the *Evening News* for 20th September, which gave figures from an ' Authoritative Source ' which are only available for publication to the Home Office. This same report also suggested that the health bulletins published by the friends and relatives of the Lord Mayor were not true. The report further contained statements in reference to the Lord Mayor which were false and misleading. A letter sent to the editor of the *Evening News*, controverting these statements and challenging him to produce his ' authoritative source ' and asking for the same prominence to be given to this letter as to the original report, was not published.

" The circumstances related above have

gradually made it quite evident to the relatives and friends of the Lord Mayor that a deliberate campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood has been engineered by the English Government, and that the English Press is allowing itself to be used as an instrument of this campaign. In these circumstances, the relatives and friends of the Lord Mayor have decided that, after the issue of this present statement no further information either by personal interview, written bulletin or otherwise will be given to any organ of the English Press, or to any English News Agency. They will, however, continue to issue bulletins to the Foreign Press and Foreign Agencies.

"In arriving at this decision, the relatives have taken into account that some organs of the English Press have resisted the attempts of their Government to make them the instruments for this despicable campaign. In order, however, to make it still more clear that this struggle is one, not between individuals, but between the two nations of Ireland and England, they deem it advisable to break relations with the English Press organisations as a whole. The torture, agony, and slow murder of the Lord Mayor affects the honour of the nation to which the English Press belongs and, just as the Chief Commissioner of Police issued an instruction to the Members of the English Newspaper Proprietors' Association to suppress certain news, so now the relatives of the Lord Mayor leave it with the members of that Association to protect the honour of their nation and to deal

with the case of the Lord Mayor on those grounds.

Signed:

MURIEL MCSWINEY, LADY MAYORESS OF CORK
MARY MCSWINEY, SISTER OF LORD MAYOR
ANNIE MCSWINEY, ,, ,, ,, ,,
JOHN MCSWINEY, BROTHER OF LORD MAYOR."

It is hardly necessary to remark that the allegations concerning the influencing by the Government of the opinions of the English Press are ridiculous, and show a strange ignorance of the freedom of expression enjoyed by the English newspapers.

McSwiney died at 5.30 a.m. on the 25th October, despite every effort on the part of the prison authorities to keep him alive and induce him to take food. He had from the first been given every possible attention and comfort. He was constantly attended by a nurse, and his room was specially kept at the most favourable temperature for prolonging life. The spectacle of a strong man deliberately committing slow suicide with the direct encouragement of his friends despite every effort of those whom he styled his 'enemies,' the British Government, is one of the saddest examples of the utter confusion of thought of the Republicans.

The lack of animus on the part of the Government was shown by the fact that McSwiney's funeral cortège, decked with every conceivable

Republican emblem, and escorting a coffin upon which was an inscription in Republican terms, was allowed to pass publicly through the main streets of London in the middle of the day. Naturally, however, such an incitement to rebellion could not be permitted in Ireland without grave risk of disorder endangering innocent lives. The funeral party were therefore informed during their journey to Holyhead that a special steamer had been placed at their disposal to convey the body direct to Cork, together with twenty of the mourners and the guard of honour. The purely political outlook of the Republicans on the whole pitiful incident was then once more shown. The guard of honour and McSwiney's relatives preferred to proceed direct to Dublin in order to take part in the celebrations which had been prepared there in expectation that the coffin would be landed at Kingstown; whilst the body of Terence McSwiney was allowed to proceed to Cork unattended by mourners, and under the care of a party of the R.I.C.

The day prior to McSwiney's arrest, eleven prisoners in Cork Gaol had begun hunger-striking in order to secure release. These men were awaiting Court Martial for various offences, and adopted the method of abstension from food in order to render themselves unfit for trial. The official statement upon the matter is as follows:

"In the statement on the subject of the hunger-strike at Cork Prison, issued to the Press

on 16th August, it was made clear that prisoners on hunger-strike awaiting trial who were arrested either in the act of making murderous attacks upon police or soldiers, or upon direct and clear evidence of complicity in such attacks, or for other very serious offences, will not be released unless, after trial, they are acquitted of the offence with which they have been charged; and that if, in consequence of their voluntary abstension from food, they render themselves unfit to take their trial, the Government must disclaim responsibility in the matter; but that, on the other hand, it has been decided temporarily to release from custody a certain number of prisoners awaiting trial for less serious offences.

" In view of the fact that many of those who began hunger-strike on 11th August are now in such a state of health that it has been necessary to postpone the trials fixed for them, the Government think it right, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to their action, to make public the offences with which they are charged, and the circumstances in which they were arrested.

" Michael Fitzgerald. This man is charged with having murdered Private Jones at Fermoy on September 7th last. He was duly committed for trial, and at Cork Assizes on 21st July last a true Bill was found against him, but it was impossible, owing to the absence of jurors, to proceed with the trial. He will be tried at the earliest possible moment.

" John Power. On the night 6th August a military patrol near Fethard alleges that it found three men, of whom John Power was one, lying behind a hedge with two guns and cartridges from which the shot had been extracted and replaced by heavy lead slugs. He is awaiting trial by Court Martial.

" Thomas Donovan, Matthew Reilly, John Crowley, Peter Crowley, Christopher Upton. On the night 16th July a party of police entering Ballylanders were heavily fired upon from several houses. They returned the fire, whereupon a patrol of military and police near by came to their assistance, entered the houses from which it is alleged the police were being fired upon, and arrested several men one of whom was seriously wounded. These men are awaiting trial by general Court Martial in connection with the occurrence.

" Michael Burke. This man was arrested on 9th August, and it is alleged that he was found in possession of an automatic revolver, which had been taken from Constable Maloney, who was in company with Sergeant Tobin when Tobin was murdered. Burke lives about three miles from the scene of the murder. He is awaiting trial by Court Martial.

" John Hennessy. This man is charged in connection with an attack by a party of armed men on a military lorry at Inchimore on 28th July last. The lorry was captured and burnt. He is awaiting trial by Court Martial.

" Joseph Murphy and Joseph Kenny. These

men were arrested on various dates and it is alleged that they were in possession of arms or ammunition. They are both awaiting trial by Court Martial."

Michael Fitzgerald died on the 17th October and Joseph Murphy on the 25th. But the firmness of the Government showed the futility of prolonging the struggle. On the 12th November Mr. Arthur Griffith, the 'Acting President of the Irish Republic,' wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor of Cork, McSwiney's successor, in which he said " I am of the opinion that our countrymen in Cork prison have sufficiently proved their devotion and fidelity, and that they should now, as they were prepared to die for Ireland, prepare again to live for her." This letter was transmitted to the nine surviving prisoners, who immediately consented to receive nourishment.

The prompt obedience to the terms of this letter show that the official heads of the Sinn Fein Movement are solely to blame for the deaths of McSwiney, Fitzgerald, and Murphy. If they could terminate the hunger-strike when they did, they could have done so as soon as it became clear that the Government would not give way upon the question, and so could have saved the lives of their followers. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Sinn Fein were determined to encourage the deaths of these men, in order to proclaim them martyrs for propaganda purposes. It is a poor cause which would treat its most devoted adherents so callously.

The case of Archbishop Mannix caused some sensation during the early part of August. The Archbishop had long been a fomenter of discord in Australia, where he had made several speeches directed against the British Empire and the Government. In July he reached America, where he repeated his oratorical tirades, and finally announced his intention of landing in Ireland. He embarked on the *Baltic* at the end of the month, amid a display of enthusiasm by Irish sympathisers in New York, with the intention of landing at Queenstown. Owing, however, to the danger of the smuggling of arms and ammunition into Ireland, the Government had issued an order that eastward-bound liners from America were not to call at Queenstown, and this order did not come into operation until after the *Baltic* had sailed from New York. Preparations were made by Republican sympathisers in Liverpool to welcome Dr. Mannix on his arrival there, and it seemed likely that considerable disorder would take place, as anti-Republicans had expressed their intention of interfering with the demonstration.

It was impossible to allow Dr. Mannix to land in Ireland, for by so doing fuel would only have been added to the fires of unrest. A destroyer was therefore sent to intercept the *Baltic*, and Dr. Mannix was transferred to her and brought to Penzance, from which port he proceeded to London.

The incident caused a considerable amount of excitement in Dublin. Bonfires were lighted in

many places throughout the City on the 9th August in honour of the Archbishop, and as a demonstration against his exclusion from Ireland. A patrol of soldiers and police found a party of men round one of these fires after Curfew hour, and attempted to effect their arrest. The men refused to halt when challenged, with the result that one of them was shot and died almost immediately afterwards. This incident had the unfortunate effect of causing an outburst of feeling against the troops, who had not hitherto been interfered with. On the night of August 13th several attacks were made on detached parties of soldiers, one man being thrown into the Liffey and only rescued with difficulty; and in consequence of this a number of soldiers quartered in the Castle broke out and attacked a hostile crowd with the handles of their entrenching tools. A few stray shots were fired at them as the crowd ran away, but no casualties occurred.

Both the McSwiney and Mannix incidents were not without their sinister influence upon an event which might have been the most important in recent Irish history, the meeting of the " Peace Conference " in Dublin on August 24th. The importance of this Conference is such that the circumstances attending it may well be described at some length.

It is one of the most conspicuous tendencies of the Irish character to mistrust any offer coming from the British Government, and to attribute any catastrophe, from Sinn Fein outrage to the

failure of the potato crop, to the machinations of that Government. There is consequently no doubt that a solution of the Irish problem emanating from the Irish themselves would stand a far better chance of acceptance in Ireland than an alternative solution (although possibly more favourable to the Irish) emanating from the British Government. This has always been universally recognised, and by no one more clearly than the Prime Minister. On many occasions he has endeavoured to secure from the responsible body of Irish opinion some proposals for Irish self-government upon which a settlement could be based. On July 22nd he stated to a Labour deputation that he would be prepared to negotiate with any representative body of Irish opinion. Early in August he suggested to a deputation of Unionists from County Cork that they should endeavour to crystallise Irish moderate opinion for the purpose of formulating definite proposals for Irish Home Rule. Symptoms were not wanting throughout the South that such a course would be acceptable to many individuals and schools of thought. The net result was the appearance in the Irish Press of the following advertisement :—

THE IRISH PEACE CONFERENCE.

INVITATION.

"To all who desire PEACE rather than WAR in Ireland, and who are in sympathy with : THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE DUBLIN CHAM-

BER OF COMMERCE, THE ACTION OF THE CORK DEPUTATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS AND MAGISTRATES OF QUEEN'S COUNTY, THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE UNIONIST ANTI-PARTITION LEAGUE,

and who are willing to take part in a Conference, free from all entanglement with any political party, association, league, or group, with a view to securing a firm offer of National Self-Government to the People of Ireland.

THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD ON
TUESDAY, 24TH AUGUST.

Please apply for tickets without delay.

PLEASE NOTE—

1. Place and hour of meeting will be notified later.
2. Applications for tickets cannot be answered until the tickets are actually posted towards the end of this week.

Write to—

The Hon. Secretary,
Irish Peace Conference Offices,
13, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

The Conference met on Tuesday, 24th August, and it seemed as though the destiny of misfortune that is claimed for the Irish presided over its

birth. The preceding week-end had witnessed one of the worst periods in the campaign of murder, no less than seven members of the police having been assassinated in widely different parts of the country. The McSwiney hunger-strike and the Mannix incident had aroused many sections of the community to a state of mind which was hardly conducive to a discussion of peace. The Restoration of Order Act had just come into force in an atmosphere tainted with wilful misunderstanding. And, beyond these disturbing influences, there was a brooding feeling that the opportunity was lost, that the moderates, in allowing the country to be captured by Sinn Fein, had forfeited their right to speak as the mouthpiece of the Nation.

But, notwithstanding the misfortunes which surrounded it, the Conference was not entirely hopeless from its inception. It was quite as representative in its composition as could have been expected, and the most significant feature of it was that it was called together not by invitation sent to individuals, but by general advertisement in the Press. This was striking evidence of the earnestness of the desire for peace by those who attended it. Another feature was the fact that the assembly contained leading converts from both extremes; for instance, Lord Shaftesbury from extreme Unionism, and Mr. Sweetman, one of the original founders of Sinn Fein.

The Sinn Fein organisation, while taking no part in the Conference, showed tacit consent to

its convening. It is believed that Irish Volunteers were present in order to prevent interruption or disorder by individual Sinn Feiners. The *Limerick Leader*, the Sinn Fein organ of the Irish town most in sympathy with Sinn Fein, declared that ' A Peace Conference in Ireland without representatives of the majority of the people may be looked upon as staging Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted, but no one can deny that the lead given in this Conference to Irish Moderates is sound, and no Irishman can deny the influence of the men who formed the meeting.' On the other hand, the Unionist *Belfast News Letter* stated that ' Irish peace is something for which any person in Ireland with any feeling of responsibility is hungering.'

The Conference must be regarded as an earnest effort on the part of moderate men to find some basis upon which an equitable and lasting settlement of the Irish constitutional question could be founded. Among those present were Sir Horace Plunkett, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Stanley Harrington, Lord MacDonnell, Captain Stephen Gwynn, the O'Connor Don, Col. Sir T. Hutcheson Poe, Sir Nugent Everard, Lord Monteagle, Lord Athlumney, Sir Algernon Coote, Mr. Thomas Lough, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, The High Sheriff of Dublin (Alderman Dr. McWalter), Sergeant Hanna, K.C., and Mr. John Sweetman. The last-named gentleman was one of the original founders of Sinn Fein, but he is not now connected with that party.

The following resolutions which were proposed by Lord MacDonnell were carried with few dissentients:

"1. That in the judgment of this Conference, the grant of full Nationalist self-government within the Empire can alone bring peace to Ireland, and that complete administrative, fiscal and financial independence is the decisive test and characteristic of National self-government.

"2. That this Conference welcomes the acceptance by North East Ulster of the principle of self-government, and repudiates the coercion by armed force of any part of Ireland, and that while expressing its unalterable repugnance to any form of partition of Ireland, it recognises that in any negotiation concerning the relations of North East Ulster to the rest of Ireland, the former must be accorded the status of a free contracting party.

"3. That the grant of such National self-government, which is wholly different from the provisions of the Bill for the Better Government of Ireland at present before Parliament, is quite compatible with the Prime Minister's recent declaration of the Government's Irish policy."

In submitting the above resolutions Lord MacDonnell stated that he accepted the two

limitations laid down by the Prime Minister on the Government's willingness to re-open the discussion of the Irish Question, viz.: that the demand for an Independent Republic could not be considered and that there should be no coercion of Ulster. On the latter point, however, he claimed that it was not inconsistent with the special treatment of Ulster that Ireland should have complete administrative, fiscal and financial authority over her own revenue.

The proposals embodied in these resolutions were regarded by many of the speakers as committing the Conference to the adoption of the policy of Dominion Home Rule; but this view was resisted by Sir Horace Plunkett, who advised that they should be discussed and accepted without reference to any particular scheme for giving them practical effect. The most important criticism came from Lord Shaftesbury who, while expressing himself as otherwise in general agreement with the proposals, held that the declaration in the second resolution regarding Ulster's acceptance of the principle of self-government was an over-statement of fact, and from Mr. Sweetman, who urged that instead of putting forward a statement of agreement on general principles the Conference would be better advised to endorse a practical suggestion which had been made by Lord Hugh Cecil for ascertaining the wishes of the Irish people and for giving effect thereto if they should prove to be compatible with the security of the Empire. The suggestion referred

to was that the Government should withdraw their present Bill and substitute therefor a Bill to set up a Constituent Assembly in Ireland, empowered to formulate and present to Parliament a Bill which would represent whatever measure of agreement could be attained by the Irish people themselves. Lord Hugh Cecil proposed that this Constituent Assembly should be elected on a basis of proportional representation, and Mr. Sweetman urged that in addition it should be free to present any plan it pleased, including a plan for making Ireland an independent Republic, and that no oath of allegiance should be required from any member of the Assembly. It was apparently Mr. Sweetman's idea that proposals of a moderate and conciliatory character were more likely to come from an assembly which was absolutely unfettered than from a body working under prescribed restrictions.

A resolution urging the immediate release of the Lord Mayor of Cork in the interests of conciliation was carried unanimously at the commencement of the proceedings of the Conference, and later the following resolution proposed by Mr. Thomas Lough was also carried:

"That this Conference calls upon the Government in the interests of peace, and in order to create a suitable atmosphere for a policy of general appeasement upon the lines indicated in the preceding resolutions, to abate forthwith the stringency of the policy of repression and to

adopt a policy of amnesty, and pledges itself, if a truce be thus begun, to assist in the formation of local Committees of Conciliation for the purpose of furthering the cause of local and general pacification."

The Conference concluded its proceedings by electing a Standing Committee to communicate the resolutions passed to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, with full power to take such other steps as they might deem necessary to give effect to the resolutions, and to reconvene the Conference if necessary.

A deputation from the Standing Committee then waited upon the Lords Justices in Dublin Castle to lay before them the resolutions passed by the Conference appealing for the release of the Lord Mayor of Cork and other political prisoners. The deputation was received by the Lord Chancellor, General Macready, and the Under Secretary (Sir John Anderson) who undertook to forward the terms of the resolution to the Government.

It will be observed that nothing tangible resulted from the sitting of the Conference, but it was hoped that the Standing Committee would produce more definite proposals. On the larger issue, it became daily more obvious that any such Conference must be regarded as of a purely academic interest so long as no abatement could be discovered in the campaign of outrage. And unfortunately during the weeks following the Conference this campaign increased rather than diminished in intensity. Though the Moderates

might desire a settlement of the Irish Question which would be acceptable to the British Government, they were powerless to restrain the lawless minority determined to make any form of settlement impossible. And so the Conference passed into history, having failed to prove that it represented any body of Irish opinion which would justify the Government in altering the terms of the Government or Ireland Bill.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATTER HALF OF 1920—(*Continued.*)

We may now revert to the question of the punishment of offenders against the peace. As will be seen by reference to the figures given on page 99, the numbers of arrests and courts martial have steadily increased. Until the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act came into force (see page 412) courts martial were held under the Defence of the Realm Regulations and varying sentences were imposed. Courts martial in Ireland are precisely regulated by the provisions of military law, and these are such as to give every possible security to the accused, as will readily be admitted by all who have any knowledge of court martial procedure. In many cases the records of the courts reveal new phases of the activities of the Republicans. A few recent examples of such courts martial may be of interest.

Cornelius McNamara of Blackboy, County Limerick, was sentenced by a district court

martial held at Cork on September 15th to six months' imprisonment without hard labour, for an offence under Regulation 27 D.R.R. The evidence showed that the accused, at Garryowen on July 17th, when engaged with four or five men in making a house-to-house collection, was searched by the police and a manuscript found in his pocket as follows:

Boycott of the R.I.C. No. 6.

"Volunteers shall have no intercourse with the R.I.C., and shall stimulate and support in every way the boycott of this force as ordered by the Dail. Those persons who associate with the R.I.C. shall be subjected to the same boycott, and the fact of their association with and toleration of this infamous force shall be kept public in every possible way. Definite lists of such persons in the area of his command shall be prepared and retained by each Company, Battalion and Brigade Commander."

William Tynan of Ballybrittas, Queen's County, was tried before a district court martial held at Dublin on the 18th September, 1920, for offences under Reg. 27, Reg. 79, and Reg. 18 R.O.I.R. and Reg. 9AA D.R.R. The evidence showed that on searching the premises of Thomas Tynan, the father of the accused, a number of documents and eleven sporting cartridges were found, alleged to belong to the accused. The documents included the following:

"IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY."

To Commandant. *Brigade Headquarters.*

.....Battalion.

A Chara,

You will furnish answers to the accompanying queries.

.....Brigade Adjutant.

Subject "Police Boycott"

Query.	*Reply.*
1. How has boycott been declared in your area?	
2. What are the visible results of Boycott Order?	
3. Do general population speak to members of the R.I.C.?	
4. Has a list been compiled of persons who are "friendly" with the police?	
5. Are police forced to commandeer supplies?	
6. Have merchants been ordered to refuse supplies?	
7. What steps have been taken to deal with persons who disobey the Order?	
8. Have you any suggestions to offer as a means of intensifying the boycott in your Area?	

A copy of *An T'Oglac*, the official organ of the Irish Volunteers, containing the following passage was also found :

" Some of the failures to take police barracks were excusable; some were inexcusable. There is not a barrack in the country that cannot be taken if proper methods are employed, but no fortified building was ever taken by firing rifle shots at it from a distance. Volunteers who go out on such an attack must go out with their minds made up that they are going to win. In the lexicon of the Volunteers there must be no such word as 'fail.' "

The accused, who refused to recognise the Court, was found guilty of the charges under Reg. 27 R.O.I.R. and Reg. 9AA D.R.R., and sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour for eighteen months.

John Cottrell, of Graigue-na-managh, County Kilkenny, was tried by a District Court Martial which assembled at Cork on the 17th September, 1920, for an offence against Reg. 27 of the R.O.I.R. The evidence showed that on a search being made of the licensed premises of Mr. Joyce, Maine Street, Graigue-na-managh, on 24th August, 1920, there were found in a room upstairs some photographs of the accused and a waistcoat in the pocket of which was a paper signed " Kit " to the following effect :

" I am going to Ballymurphy and will be back as soon as possible, if you think we could take the barrack send for all the Innistiege men. I am going to Gowran to-morrow so arrange for nine

more men with cycles or a waggonette, make the usual collection at Parade to-night and use your own judgment in all things."

The accused, who refused to recognise the Court, stated that he had never seen the paper before. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for one year.

Patrick Landers of Listowel was tried by a District Court Martial held at Limerick on the 21st September, 1920, for offences against Regs. 27 and 79 R.O.I.R. The evidence showed that on searching the bedroom of the accused on the night August 12th/13th in Mrs. Nolan's public-house at Listowel, a number of documents were found including confidential R.I.C. reports. The accused was arrested on 3rd September, and when searched found to be in possession of the following documents :—

" Gentlemen, Monday, August 9th, 1920.

At a meeting of the Batt. Council of the North Kerry Battalion, I.R.A., held on yesterday, it was decided that ' should any solicitor refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Dail Eireann before entering a Parish or District Court, he is not to be allowed to plead at any of these Courts.'

Should any solicitor be allowed to act who refuses to take the oath, the services of the Volunteers will be immediately withdrawn.

(Signed) P. Landers, Listowel.
J. Sugrue, Listowel.
S. Grady, Lixnaw."

The accused refused to recognise the Court,

but stated that the above letter was a copy and not written by him. He was found guilty of an offence against Reg. 27 R.O.I.R., and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment without hard labour.

James Cullen was sentenced to three months' imprisonment without hard labour by a District Court Martial held at Cork on 28th September, 1920, for having in his possession, contrary to Regulation 27 R.O.I.R., a copy of the official organ of the Irish Volunteers containing the following :—

"*Arrival of English Cavalry.*

In view of the arrival of English Cavalry Regiments in Ireland the Company Captains of the Irish Republican Army in areas where these Cavalry units are quartered will immediately take steps to give their companies a thorough training in fighting against mounted troops. The following suggestions for their guidance will be found instructive :—

1. The engagements in '98 at Old Kilcullen, Saintfield, Tubberneoring, and Ballyellis should be carefully studied and explained to the men. They were all victories of badly trained and badly armed men, but determined and well handled infantry over cavalry.

2. The men will be taught to select ground unsuitable for cavalry, to improve that ground by spikes and other handy obstacles, and to act in formation so offering no suitable mark for cavalry attack.

3. Attention will be directed to the possibility of ambushing mounted columns on the march—

especially at night—and the helplessness of horsemen in such circumstances.

4. Care must be taken to impart instruction for dealing with single horsemen or small mounted bodies. In this respect the men must be trained individually.

5. The individual infantry man must be instructed in the use of all weapons against cavalry. Especially is it necessary to understand how to disable or disorganise the horses.

6. Action against the led horses when all or some of the cavalry dismount is also to be studied.

7. English cavalry are not instructed in how to use their fire-arms with effect when mounted; they are thus vulnerable unless able to deliver a charge.

8. If the mounts of a unit include a number of mares in season, the neighbourhood of a stallion will occasion disorder. In 1870 a French Cavalry regiment horsed with Arab stallions caused considerable trouble in Lorraine. Company Captains are recommended to map out their scheme of instruction beforehand which will make for clearness and brevity."

Shamus O'Neil, John O'Keefe and Edward McGrath were charged before a district court martial held at Cork on 1st October, 1920, with unlawful assembly, and under Reg. 79, R.O.I.R. with doing an act calculated to promote the objects of an unlawful association. The accused refused to recognise the Court.

The evidence showed that at Blackcastle, Co.

Tipperary, on the 15th September, 1920, at about 3-30 p.m., a mounted military patrol saw men running out of a farm outhouse. In giving chase military were shot at. Fourteen bicycles were found in an adjacent wood, also a haversack containing intelligence reports and some 50 rounds of ammunition. The documents included the following :—

Intell. Dept.,
1st Batt.
Tipp. No. 3 Bde.

" To Bde Chief of Intell. 4—9—20.

1. Orderly LIMERICK JUNCTION reports that a patrol of 6 peelers from JUNCTION BKS. patrol the main road on three nights each week. Patrols are termed " RISING PATROLS." They leave Brks. between 12 midnight and 3 a.m. The Sgt. in charge of Brks. always accompanies patrol. Patrol generally goes out on SATURDAY and SUNDAY nights and one night during week. Orderly can have moved at 7 p.m. any night this patrol is going out.

Lt. of Intell.

2. Despatch rider for yesterday didn't arrive back yet. It is rumoured that two were captured yesterday and are in military Brks. here. If our despatch rider was captured, the names of Coy., Capts. and all officers in Stn. 8 were got on him as well as all BDE. Adjts. papers.

(Sgn.) L.O.I."

John O'Keefe stated that he ran in a spirit

of self preservation. Shamus O'Neil stated that he did not consider case proved. Edward McGrath stated he had never seen the haversack.

The accused were found guilty of the second charge and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for a period of two years.

Bernard Mallon and Michael Mallon, of Derrychrin, Eglish, Patrick Crawford, of Coalisland, and Thomas Morris, of Moneymore, Co. Tyrone, were charged before a District Court Martial held at Londonderry on the 15th October, 1920, with offences under the D.R.R. and R.O.I.R.

The evidence showed that when the house of Bernard Mallon, senior, at Eglish was searched on the morning of 15th September, a loaded revolver was found under the bed which had been occupied by Bernard Mallon, junior, and Michael Mallon. Immediately outside the window of another room occupied by Patrick Crawford and Thomas Morris a second revolver was found also loaded. In a coat which Thomas Morris afterwards put on, a letter was discovered addressed to a car owner in the district, in the following terms :—

" H.Q., SINN
Co. Derry, FEIN
I.R.A. CREST.

To. . . .

You are hereby ordered not to drive any more *Police* or *Military*. Failing to comply with same you will be doomed and not your car as compensation would have to be paid by that

district. So you have now been put under observation by the I.R.A.

Any further report of your misconduct will lead to your death.

H.Q.,
Co. Derry,
I.R.A."

All the accused refused to recognise the Court. They were found guilty of having fire-arms and ammunition without a permit. Morris was also found guilty of an offence under Reg. 27 R.O.I.R. The two Mallons and Crawford were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for eighteen months. Morris was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two years.

We may refer here to the court martial on Kevin Berry which created some attention at the time owing to the fact that it was the first court martial in Ireland on a capital charge which resulted in the hanging of the accused. The circumstances were as follows:—

On the morning of the 20th September an unarmed ration party from Collinstown Camp called at Monk's Bakery in Upper Church Street, Dublin, with a motor lorry, in order to draw bread for the troops. The party consisted of a non-commissioned officer, a driver, and two fatigue men, and was accompanied by an armed escort of six men. They reached the bakery at 11 o'clock, and the n.c.o. and two fatigue men went into the passage leading into the bakery, leaving the lorry

in charge of the armed escort. While they were absent four men dressed in ordinary civilian clothes were seen walking down Church Street. When these men came up to the lorry they produced revolvers and shouted to the escort to put their hands up and to hand over their arms. As they did so they opened fire, with the result that one man of the escort, Private Washington, was shot dead, and two, Privates Whitehead and Humphries, mortally wounded in the abdomen. These two men were subsequently removed to hospital and operations performed, in the course of which a bullet fell from Private Whitehead's body. The operations were unavailing, and the men died the same day. Having fired upon the escort, some of the attackers rushed up the street, being joined by other men.

Meanwhile in the bakery itself the ration party had been attacked. One of the privates was wounded in the ankle, the other in the elbow. The latter stated that as he was going up the passage he heard shouts of " Hands up! " and on turning round saw fifteen or twenty men firing at the lorry. The n.c.o. managed to get back to the lorry and arm himself with a rifle. He then found a man lying underneath the lorry with an automatic pistol in his hand. This man was arrested and proved to be Kevin Berry, or Barry, a ' corporal ' in the Irish Republican Army and a medical student. He was taken to the North Dublin Union, and there he stated that he had been ordered by an

'officer,' presumably of the Irish Republican Army, to attack the lorry that morning and to seize the arms and ammunition of the escort.

Kevin Berry was tried by general court martial at Dublin on the 20th October, charged with the wilful murder of Privates Whitehead, Washington, and Humphries, of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment. The case concerning Private Whitehead was taken first. Berry refused to be professionally represented, and declined to recognise the Court or to make any statement. In the course of the evidence two members of the escort identified the accused as one of the men who fired into the lorry, and as having actually fired the shot which killed Private Washington. The bullet found in Private Whitehead's body corresponded exactly with those found in Berry's pistol, which showed evidence of having been recently discharged. Berry was found guilty of the wilful murder of Private Whitehead, and accordingly the charges concerning the other two murdered men were not proceeded with. The Court sentenced the accused to be hanged, and the sentence was duly confirmed.

Many appeals were made for reprieve, chiefly based on the fact that Berry was only eighteen years of age. The plea was invalidated by the fact that the murdered men were only a year or two older. The Army in Ireland is a young army, and the murderers have never allowed this consideration to hinder assassination. For instance, Private Squibb, of the Hampshire Regiment, murdered at Cork on August 8th,

1920, was only seventeen at the time. The sentence on Berry was duly carried out at Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, on the 1st of November at 8 a.m.

The records of some of the leaders of the murder organisations will serve to illustrate the type of man with which the authorities are called upon to deal. Michael Collins, the 'Adjutant General' and chief of the Irish Republican Army, is a member of Dail Eireann, having been elected for South Cork, and is responsible for the administration of its finances under the title of Aire Aergid, or Minister of Finance. He is thus a definite link between An Dail and the murder gangs. He is the son of Michael Collins, a small farmer of Woodfield, near Rosscarbery, County Cork, and was born in 1890, being educated at the National School. He left home at the age of twenty, lived for a while at Cork, and then went to London, where he was employed in the Sorting Branch of the General Post Office. Fear of conscription drove him from England. He returned to Ireland in March, 1916, and became a clerk to a firm of Chartered Accountants in Dublin. He took part in the Easter Week rebellion, was subsequently interned at Frongoch, but was released in December, 1916. Returning to Dublin, he became secretary to the Sinn Fein organisation, also acting secretary to the Irish National Aid Association, a body formed to assist rebel prisoners and their relatives. He also became Adjutant General of the Irish Volunteers, and personally commanded the Volunteer Guard on the occasion of the

funeral of O'Donovan Rossa in Dublin.

Collins spent the greater part of 1917 touring the country and making turbulent and seditious speeches. At Skibbereen he stated publicly that the policy of the Volunteers was to punish British military or police officers if any harm was done to Volunteer officers. He addressed meetings in uniform at Longford, and made a speech urging that police barracks should be attacked and arms seized. For this speech he was summoned and returned for trial. He gave bail but did not appear, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. He has been 'on the run' ever since.

Daniel Breen, for whom a reward of £1,000 was offered, is a criminal of a somewhat different type. He is an active member of the Irish Republican Army, in which he holds the rank of Commandant of the Third Tipperary Brigade. He was formally a labourer, and is now 27 years of age. He first attained notoriety in criminal circles in 1919, in connection with the Solo Head Beg outrage. This was the first murder of members of the Royal Irish Constabulary since the Easter Week rebellion of 1916. On 21st January, 1919, two constables, James McDonnell and Patrick O'Connell, were escorting a car carrying gelignite for use in Solo Head Beg Quarry near Tipperary. They were ambushed by six or seven armed men, of whom Breen was one, and shot dead, the gelignite being stolen. Breen is suspected of complicity in many other murders, the latest of which is the murder of

Major Smyth and Captain White at Drumcondra on the 11th October, 1920.

Breen's immediate associate, John Tracy, the Vice-Commandant of the Third Tipperary Brigade I.R.A., was shot dead during a raid by the troops on notorious Republican premises in Talbot Street, Dublin, on the 14th October, 1920. He first appeared publicly in 1917, when De Valera visited Tipperary. Tracy on this occasion commanded a Volunteer 'Guard of Honour' in uniform. He was prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment, but secured his release by hunger-striking. He was concerned with Breen and another man named Hogan in the Solo Head Beg affair, and had been 'on the run' ever since. Hogan was arrested and taken to Thurles police barracks. Tracy and his accomplices attacked the escort which was conveying Hogan to prison at Knockalong Railway Station, murdered two of the escort, and rescued Hogan. Tracy was next concerned in the attack at Oola on the mail lorry in which General Lucas was escaping from the hands of the Sinn Feiners. A soldier died of wounds sustained in this affair. In endeavouring to escape from Talbot Street he committed his last murder, that of one of the soldiers engaged in his arrest. He was shot dead, and a clip of pistol cartridges with dum-dum bullets was found in his pocket.

Towards the end of the year there was strong evidence that the failure of the murder campaign to achieve the desired result had caused a great

weakening of the influence of Sinn Fein. This evidence may well be summarised here, but before this is done it must be pointed out that this weakening of influence is not in itself sufficient to end the murder campaign. At the head of the terrorists are many men who could not hope to escape the capital penalty should they be captured, and these men will strain every nerve to wreck the course of justice before they meet their inevitable fate. Desperate deeds continue to occur, but Ireland as a whole has no sympathy with them, and there are signs that widely differing opinions in the country are combining to put an end to them. And it is only when public opinion refuses to tolerate outrage that true peace can be restored.

The main heads of evidence concerning the crumbling of Sinn Fein authority are, very briefly, as follows :—

The Sinn Fein Courts (referred to on page 90), although instituted with a great flourish of trumpets, were soon proved to be inefficient and incapable of enforcing their findings. The people lost confidence in them and preferred to bring their cases before the legally constituted British Courts. A short experience of Republican judicial practice had taught them that in this respect at least Sinn Fein was incapable of carrying out its undertakings.

The failure of the campaign against the police was so marked that even the most fervent supporters of Sinn Fein could not fail to notice it. Far from the numbers and morale of the

Police Forces diminishing, they increased at an unexpected rate. The figures of strength of the Forces alone are sufficient to show this. The total strength of the R.I.C., including the Auxiliary Division of Temporary Cadets, was, on the 19th September, 9856. By November 21st it had risen to 11,766. On the same date the strength of the Auxiliary Division alone was 969, as a result of some five months' recruiting. The Force was enabled to extend from its concentration, and to re-occupy stations from which it had previously been withdrawn.

During the year it had become the policy of Sinn Fein to induce the local authorities to withdraw their allegiance from the Local Government Board and to recognise only the authority of Dail Eireann. This policy soon proved futile, and many leading local authorities realised that their only chance of effective working was alliance with the British authorities. During November, for instance, County Galway Council*, which had proved recalcitrant for some months, issued instructions to their rate collectors to place all moneys to the credit of the legally constituted treasurer.

The attempt of Sinn Fein to induce the railwaymen to persist in their policy of refusing to convey troops and munitions met with no support in the Irish Press. As soon as the issue reached the point where no alternative was possible to the closing of the railway system as a whole, the men yielded. This was a distinct blow

* See also page 417.

to the authority of Sinn Fein, which had instigated the refusals from the first*.

The firmness of the Government on the question of hunger-striking brought about a complete surrender of this policy by the 'Acting President' himself†.

The economic pressure brought to bear upon Sinn Fein by frequent seizures of funds held by the various organisations is as complete as the preventive pressure. Two captured letters well illustrate these points. The first of these is addressed to Terence McSwiney, then Lord Mayor of Cork and 'Commandant of the First Cork Brigade, I.R.A.,' and was found on the premises of John O'Connell, the 'Captain of the Queenstown Co. I.R.A.' It is dated 25th May, 1920, and reads as follows:—

"The drain on our prisoners' dependants fund is £20 per week. . . . The bearer of this letter is Sean (John) O'Connell, just released from Wormwood. He organised and carried out successfully the capture of six rifles at Rushbrooke last February, and his arrest was accomplished soon after. This resulted in his dismissal from Haulbowline Dockyard. Although we allow himself and his people £3 weekly we cannot do so for long more. His brother was out in Easter Week with himself and our small section and surely his case deserves our attention. Above is one of many similar cases,

* See page 250. † See page 117.

and where we suffer in common for the cause we might also unite in helping each other."

The Rushbrooke affair referred to in this letter was the capture and disarming of four soldiers by twenty armed and masked men. One of the former, Corporal Gooder, of the Sherwood Foresters, was murdered in the affray.

The second letter is addressed to Daniel Breen. It is dated 26th September, 1920, and contains one of the earliest indications of the intentions of the terrorists to extend their activities to England.

"Tipperary No 3 Brigade.
26—9—20.

"Re yours to the Chief of Staff.* For God's sake, Dan, have a bit of sense. What the hell do you or I need to care about the Dublin Corporation? Besides, Dan, the evidence that Beatie really was there to burn the Town Hall wouldn't hang a cat in any court of justice.† Of course he may really have been one of the burners and the Corporation may be wrong, but is that any reason why everyone in the army§ should get out and leave it all to the Dublin Corporation? I should think not. Try to reconsider the whole matter and let me know. I'll hold over your resignation until I hear from

* Richard Mulcahy, one of the ablest members of the murder gang. See Appendix B.

† This appears to refer to the burning of Tipperary Town Hall some time previously.

§ The I.R.A.

you. E. Dwyer is resigning because there is too much fight. He thinks the enemy's way of burning is a knockout blow to active service. I felt like chucking it myself because like yourself I think things are too slow and that we should burn England, but there is such a lot of terror creeping into the Republican Ranks that my monkey is up and I will see matters through this crisis if I can. Re yours to myself. I quite agree with you, Dan, and I don't at all think your idea a bit too wild. As to your suggestion of a South Tipp. Contingent going to England, I'll speak to G.H.Q. on the matter. However, I believe G.H.Q. is quite alive to facts. They don't want to start till the world sees England's acts clearly. That takes a little time, I assure you. Write soon, cheerio."

The allusion to Dwyer in the above letter is interesting. Edward Dwyer was ' Adjutant G Company 1st Battalion 3rd Tipperary Brigade, I.R.A.' Francis Dwyer, his brother, was ' Captain F Company ' of the same battalion and brigade. They were shot dead by masked men outside their houses at Ballydavid, near Tipperary, about 11 p.m. on the 18th October, 1920. It is not too much to infer that they were suspected of dangerous weakness by their accomplices, and paid the invariable penalty in such cases.

Having now glanced at the evidence of the weakening of Sinn Fein influence, we may well consider what is the natural corollary of such

weakening. The position of the authorities grows stronger every day, the troops and police are learning the best methods of dealing with assassins in a country admirably suited to the operations of the latter, and are undoubtedly securing evidence against those who are guilty of outrage. The members of the murder-gangs are well aware of this, and the knowledge is causing a sharp cleavage in their ranks. The rank and file, poor dupes of the designing criminals who pose as their officers, know the risk they run by continuing their campaign, and, having nothing to gain but false promises, are disposed to remain peaceful citizens rather than incur the risk of imprisonment. The leaders, however, reason differently. They know that their necks are in nooses already, that only by a continuance of the campaign of murder and intimidation can they escape for a time the just reward of their crimes. They are desperate men, fighting like cornered rats against the fate which they may delay but cannot avert.

The natural result is that minor outrage, such as may be perpetrated by the rank and file, continues to decrease, while desperate murder, the acts of the principal assassins, continues to flame out upon the least opportunity. Towards the end of November two massacres occurred, which displayed the brutality of the Republican assassins on a scale that horrified the whole world.

The first massacre took place about 9 a.m. on Sunday, 21st November. A party of murderers

arrived in Dublin on the Saturday, taking advantage of the influx of crowds to the City to attend a hurling match at Croke Park on Sunday afternoon. The headquarters of the Republican Army evidently required these men for the purpose of a combined assassination of officers whom they suspected of dealing with the mass of accumulating evidence against members of the murder-gangs. Many of these officers were living unprotected in Dublin. They were attacked almost simultaneously at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning, with the result that fourteen servants of the Crown were murdered in cold blood. The following are the full details of this appalling outrage, set down in the dispassionate language of the official report.

CASE A. 28, Erlsfort Terrace. *1 Murder.*

"The murderers' leader rang the bell and asked the maid for 'Colonel Fitzpatrick.' She disclosed the whereabouts of the bedroom of Captain Fitzgerald. The leader then called in about 20 men, placed them in position in the hall and then entered Fitzgerald's room. The maid heard his shouts and the assassin's voice say 'Come on.' Four shots were fired into Captain Fitzgerald's body in rapid succession. The police found him in bed in a pool of blood, his forehead shattered with bullets, another through his heart, and one through his wrist, which he had held up to ward off the shot. All the shots had been fired point blank. Captain Fitzgerald, the son of a Tipperary doctor, had recently been

employed as a defence officer of police barracks in County Clare. While thus engaged he was kidnapped by the I.R.A. His captors tried to shoot him with his own revolver, which miraculously missed fire. They then twisted his arm till it was dislocated, dragged him to a field, propped him against a wall and fired at him. He contrived to leap over the wall, and so escaped. He had come to Dublin for surgical treatment of his arm, and had only been a few days out of hospital before he was assassinated."

CASE B. 22 Lower Mount Street.

1 murder in the house. 2 further murders resulting near by.

"The maid opened the door, whereupon twenty men rushed in and demanded to be shown the bedrooms of Mr. Mahon and Mr. Peel. Mr. Mahon's room was pointed out to them, whereupon they rushed in and fired five shots into his body at a few inches range, killing him on the spot. Meanwhile some others of the murderers attempted to enter Mr. Peel's room, of which the door was locked. Seventeen shots were fired through the panels, but Mr. Peel escaped uninjured. Another servant, hearing the shots, shouted from an upper window to a party of cadets of the Auxiliary Division who had left Beggars Bush Barracks to catch an early train southwards for duty. These cadets at once attacked the house, after despatching two of their number, cadets C. A. Morris and Frank Garniss, to their depôt for reinforcements. They

chased the assassins through the house and captured one whom their fire had wounded and three others, all of whom were armed. The reinforcements on their arrival were asked what had become of Morris and Garniss. They replied that they had never seen them, that they had never arrived at the depôt, and that they themselves had only come out on hearing the firing. A search was made, and the bodies of the missing men were found by a Red Cross nurse lying in a neighbouring garden. They had apparently been intercepted by the murderers' pickets, led to the back of the house, placed against a wall, and murdered. Morris lived at Mitcham, had served in France as a Lieutenant in the M.G.C.,* and was aged 22. He had joined the Auxiliary Division on the 12th October. Garniss had joined the very next day, after fifteen years' service in the Army. He lived at Hull. These were the first Auxiliary Cadets to be murdered, and the tragedy caused great resentment among their comrades. It is interesting to note that Mr. Mahon had the previous night told Mr. Peel to be especially watchful, as he had an idea that they were being followed."

CASE C. 'Briama,' 117 Morehampton Road.
Murder of one officer and two civilians.

"Just before nine o'clock a party of between ten and twenty armed men knocked at the door, which was opened by a boy of ten, the son of Mr. Smith, the householder. They rushed into the

* Machine Gun Corps.

house, and dragged Mr. Smith and Captain McLean, who were in bed with their wives, into a front spare bedroom. Mr. Caldow, the brother of Mrs. McLean, was thrust in beside them and all three were shot in cold blood. Captain McLean and Mr. Smith were dead before an ambulance could arrive. Mr. Caldow was seriously wounded. Mr. Thomas Henry Smith, who was about 45 years of age, left a wife and three children. Captain McLean, who had served in the Rifle Brigade during the War, had come with Mr. Caldow to Ireland with a view to securing employment in the police. Captain McLean left a wife and child. Both Mrs. Smith and Mrs. McLean were with their husbands when the assassins entered. The latter dragged their victims to an empty room to murder them, as Captain McLean when overpowered implored them not to murder him under the eyes of his wife. On completing their dastardly work the murderers ran out of the house and disappeared."

CASE D. 92, Lower Bagot Street. *1 murder.*

"A party of murderers numbering about a dozen were let in by Mrs. Slack, the landlady. They asked for Captain Newbury, Court Martial Officer, who lived there with his wife. Seeing the crowd, the landlady rushed upstairs in terror, and saw nothing of the subsequent happenings. Some of the men knocked at Captain Newbury's door. Mrs. Newbury opened it and seeing a crowd of men with revolvers,

slammed it in their faces and locked it. The men burst the door open, but Captain and Mrs. Newbury escaped to an inner room and tried to hold the door against them. They had almost succeeded in shutting it when the men fired through the door, wounding Captain Newbury, who nevertheless got to the window, flung it open, and was half way out when the murderers burst into the room. Mrs. Newbury flung herself in the way, but they pushed her aside and fired seven shots into Captain Newbury's body. The police found the body half in and half out of the window, covered with a blanket which Mrs. Newbury, although prostrate, had flung over it. It is significant that in this case, as in many others, the assassins had made a diligent search for papers, hoping perhaps to find and abstract documents or evidence upon which the officers had been working."

CASE E. 28, Upper Pembroke Street.
2 officers murdered and four wounded.

"The residence of Mrs. Gray was raided at nine o'clock by about twenty men, some of whom came on bicycles. The house consisted of several flats. The raiders, who were armed and undisguised, held up Mrs. Gray and her maid on the stairs. The house appeared to be familiar to them as they broke up into parties, each of which went straight to its objective. Ten to twelve shots were heard, and following these the assassins decamped. Mrs. Gray and her maid visited the rooms immediately and found that Major

Dowling of the Grenadier Guards had been shot dead at his bedroom door. Captain Price of the Royal Engineers was found dead in the room next door. Captain Keenlyside of the Lancashire Fusiliers, whose wife most gallantly struggled with the murderers and thereby frustrated their purpose, was wounded in the arm. Colonel Woodcock was fired at as he came down stairs. He appears to have taken the raiders who were in the hall by surprise. He called out to Colonel Montgomery who, on coming out of his room was wounded in the body, from which wound he died some days later. While running towards his room to secure a weapon Colonel Woodcock was also wounded. A sixth officer, Mr. Murray, of the Royal Scots, was also wounded as he came down the stairs. A lady resident in the house went from room to room seeking help, and in every room found only dead, dying, or wounded men."

CASE F. 38, Upper Mount Street. *2 murders.*

"This house was entered at 9.10 a.m. by twenty armed, unmasked men, who were let in by a servant. She unwillingly pointed out the rooms occupied by Lieutenant Aimes of the Grenadier Guards and Lieutenant Bennett of the Motor Transport. The maid rushed upstairs and told an officer sleeping on an upper floor and another male lodger that murder was being done downstairs. A fusilade of shots was heard by these three, and when they came downstairs they found two bodies in a pool of blood in Mr. Aimes'

bedroom. Mr. Bennett had evidently been dragged from his room in his bedclothes into his brother officer's room where both were shot together, their bodies lying side by side."

CASE G. Gresham Hotel, Sackville Street. *2 murders.*

"A party of fifteen to twenty men entered the open door of the hotel, held up the Boots and head porter, at the point of their revolvers, and forced the latter to lead them to the rooms occupied by Captain McCormack, of the Army Veterinary Corps, and Lieutenant Wilde. The party, one of whom carried a huge hammer, knocked first at the door of room 14, occupied by Mr. Wilde. He opened it and asked them what they wanted. For answer three shots were fired into his chest simultaneously. The party then moved to room 24, occupied by Captain McCormack, who was sitting up in bed reading his paper. Without a word five shots were fired into his body and head as he sat there. The bed was saturated with blood, and the body, and especially the head, was horribly disfigured. Possibly the assassins had used the hammer as well as their revolvers to finish off their victim."

CASE H. 119, Lower Bagot Street. *1 murder.*

"This raid was presumably similar to the others. Captain Baggally, Court Martial Officer, was shot dead. When the police arrived every occupant of the house had left and no witness was available to describe the circumstances. Captain

Baggally had lost a leg in the war and was a barrister by profession. He had been employed as a prosecutor under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Regulations."

Immediate steps were taken by the authorities to discover the assassins. In view of the fact that it was known that many persons had come to Dublin from Tipperary, a notorious centre of the murder-gangs, it was thought advisable to search the crowds assembled at Croke Park for the hurling match. It had been arranged that a cordon was to be drawn round the ground, and that an officer with a megaphone should announce to the crowd the object of the cordon and of the search, in order to avoid a stampede. But a stampede was exactly what the murderers among the crowd desired, in order that they might slip away in the ensuing confusion. Accordingly, as soon as the forces of the Crown appeared, picquets posted by the murderers fired upon them, and at the same time men in the crowd itself discharged their revolvers, with a view to creating a panic.

The police were compelled to return the fire, with the result that ten persons were killed and eleven wounded. Two others were killed and several others injured in the stampede. It was found impossible to search those escaping from the ground, but over thirty revolvers were subsequently found in the field, having been thrown away by their owners.

The second massacre took place on the follow-

ing Sunday, 28th November, at Kilmichael, between Macroom and Dunmanway, in County Cork. The full and exact details of this tragedy will probably never be accurately known, owing to the fact that only one of the party attacked escaped, and he was very severely wounded.

It appears, however, that during the afternoon of the 28th, the District Inspector at Macroom took out, in the ordinary course of duty, a patrol of seventeen members of the Auxiliary Division of the R.I.C., accompanied by a temporary constable. The patrol, which travelled in two Crossley tenders, was going in search of a wanted man, and had been operating with a detachment of the Essex Regiment from Dunmanway. Shortly after dusk, about 5 p.m., the patrol was proceeding along the Macroom-Dunmanway Road, and had reached a point where the road takes a slight curve. At this point the road is flanked by low stone walls, beyond which are narrow strips of bogland, sloping up to boulder-strewn hills on either side.

Here an ambush had been prepared by members of the murder-gangs who were 'on the run' in this wild country. The assassins, who wore khaki trench-coats and steel helmets, had drawn a motor-lorry across the road, and were thus mistaken by the patrol in the dark for a military escort. The first car halted, and its occupants dismounted to get in touch with the supposed troops. A fierce fire was at once opened upon them. Three cadets were killed outright, and the survivors, seeing their mistake, began to run

back to their cars for cover. The second car, which had been following some hundred yards behind the first, now came up, and its occupants dismounted to assist their comrades. As they did so, from a depression in the adjoining hillside came a close-range, devastating fire. The patrol was caught between three fires, from the lorry and from the walls on either side of the road. After many of the patrol had been disabled, overwhelming forces of the assassins came out of hiding and disarmed the survivors. A brutal massacre followed, it being the policy of the murder-gangs to allow no survivor to escape and reveal their identity. The dead and wounded were indiscriminately hacked with axes and bayoneted, shot guns were fired into their bodies, and many were savagely mutilated after death. Of the whole patrol of eighteen, sixteen were found lying dead on the spot, one had disappeared, and one was found terribly wounded and taken to Cork Military Hospital. He had two bullet wounds in his body, and had been struck on the head with an axe and left for dead. The bodies of all had been rifled, even their clothes being taken.

The intimidation of the local inhabitants is shown by the fact that many people going to Mass in the morning had been diverted from the locality of the ambush, yet no one of them had informed the police. No news reached Macroom until 9-30 the following morning, when a party went out and found the site of the massacre. An examination showed that the stone walls border-

ing the road had been heightened and loop-holed, and that the depression in the hillside, from which the flanking fire had been opened, had been shielded by camouflage representing rocks and boulders.

This was the last sensational outrage of the year, if we except the bombing of a party of Auxiliary Cadets at Dillon's Cross on the 11th December, which resulted in the death of one of the party and the wounding of several others, and was one of the contributory causes of the burnings in Cork on that night.

There can be no doubt that at the close of the year the outlook in Ireland was considerably brighter than could have been anticipated some months earlier. The Government of Ireland Act was on the Statute Book, the Irish had obtained a far more generous measure of Home Rule than they had any right to expect. The future of the country lay in the hands of its own inhabitants, they had but to prove their capacity for government to secure such political liberty as their fathers had never contemplated. The power of the assassins was broken; although they might achieve further sporadic outrages, the forces of law and order were steadily hemming them in. And, finally, and most hopeful of all, was the rapidly accumulating weight of evidence that the great mass of the people had recognised the folly of a policy of lawlessness, and were increasingly anxious for peace which should bring in its train a new era of prosperity to their distracted

country. And indeed what further need was there of fighting? The granting of Home Rule had swept the nightmare of Republic out of the brains of all sane men, leaving in its stead the vision of an Ireland remaining an integral part of the Empire, yet waiting to be governed by those of her sons who should prove capable of holding the reins.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FORCES OF THE "REPUBLIC."

Throughout the preceding chapters reference has frequently been made to the various organizations responsible for the disturbances in Ireland. In the present chapter some attempt will be made to give an account of these organizations, of their constitution and aims, and of their methods of operation.

It may be stated in general terms that the Irish Republican Brotherhood is the nucleus round which are grouped the various military organizations. The principal of these is the Irish Volunteers, or (as they have now become) the Irish Republican Army. It is alleged that The Brotherhood is responsible for the direction of what may be termed "major outrage," such as the murder of individuals who have rendered themselves obnoxious to it, whilst the Volunteers are employed upon more strictly military operations, such as raids for arms and attacks upon barracks. It must be realized from the outset that during the period dealt with in this

book the various republican organizations considered themselves as the directing force of a de facto Irish Republic, of which the Government was Dail Eireann, and the policy the conduct of war upon the British Empire in general and the Forces of the Crown in particular.

The Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is a lengthy document*, and space does not permit of its quotation in full. But it is of such great importance in enabling the general reader to grasp the problem underlying the solution of the Irish Question, that fairly extensive extracts from it must be given.

" The object of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (hereinafter sometimes called the " Organization ") is to establish and maintain a free and independent Republican Government in Ireland.

" The Irish Republican Brotherhood shall do its utmost to train and equip its members as a military body for the purpose of securing the independence of Ireland by force of arms; it shall secure the co-operation of all Irish military bodies in the accomplishment of its object, and shall support every movement calculated to advance the cause of Irish National Independence—consistent with the preservation of its own integrity.

" Every Irishman, irrespective of class or creed, whose character for patriotism, truth,

*It is in the form of a printed octavo pamphlet, and bears no indication of the printer's name or place of printing.

valour, sobriety and obedience to superior officers can bear scrutiny, and who accepts the Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, is eligible for membership of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

"Names of prospective candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded at a Circle meeting. If accepted by a Circle, the Centre shall direct a member to ascertain in an approved manner whether said prospect is willing to join the organization. When a prospect is approached for this purpose, only the investigator shall be present with him.

"Each candidate who qualifies for admission into the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall affirm on oath that he does not belong to any other oath-bound society, and shall, as a requisite for acceptance, take the following oath:—

"IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD I ..... DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR THAT I WILL DO MY UTMOST TO ESTABLISH THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND, THAT I WILL BEAR TRUE ALLEGIANCE TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD AND GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC: THAT I WILL IMPLICITLY OBEY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD AND ALL MY SUPERIOR OFFICERS, AND PRESERVE INVIOLATE THE SECRETS OF THE ORGANIZATION. SO HELP ME GOD."

"Should any man, while a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, be asked to join any other oath-bound society, he shall immediately inform his Superior Officer in the

Irish Republican Brotherhood, who shall at once transmit the information to the Supreme Council in the appointed manner. Each Officer of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be empowered to at any time demand that any member under his jurisdiction shall on oath affirm that he does not belong to any other oath-bound society.

" No man who is a member of any other such Society shall be admitted to, or allowed to retain membership of, the Irish Republican Brotherhood without the express permission of the Supreme Council.

" The unit of organization shall be known as a ' Circle '; the members of which shall elect an officer, entitled a ' Centre,' to direct and govern same. Each Circle shall also elect a ' Sub-Centre,' a Secretary and a Treasurer.

" Each Circle shall meet at least monthly.

" (*a*) The Governing Body of the Organization shall be entitled ' The Supreme Council.' It shall consist of one member for each of the eleven divisions enumerated in this clause. The eleven members so elected shall co-opt four additional members, whose names are to be known only to the members of the Supreme Council. The total membership of the Council shall thus be fifteen.

" (*b*) The Irish Republican Brotherhood shall be divided into ELEVEN Electoral ' Divisions.'

" The District Centres and County Centre in each Division shall, in Convention assembled, elect by ballot a committee of FIVE of their

number, who shall, under oath of secrecy, elect by ballot a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood as 'Divisional Centre,' who shall represent the Division on the Supreme Council of the Organization.

"Each member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall pay a monthly fee of sixpence, one-third of which will be retained by the Circle, one-third by the County Treasurer, and one-third remitted to the Supreme Council through the Divisional Centre. Each member shall also contribute according to his means for the purchase of war materials, and shall pay any special levies which the Supreme Council may impose as the necessity arises.

"Any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood may be suspended by his Centre, or by a majority vote of the 'Circle,' on any of the following grounds:—(*a*) abstention from Circle meetings without valid excuse, (*b*) failure to pay membership fees; (*c*) failure to pay levies for purchase of arms; (*d*) loss of arms entrusted to his care; (*e*) speaking of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.) on any occasion other than at Circle meetings, unless with the express permission of his Centre or Circle; (*f*) intemperance; (*g*) being guilty of any act derogatory to the interests of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

"Should any grave misdemeanour or serious breach of discipline warrant it, Trial by Court Martial may be ordered by a majority vote of the Circle, by the Centre or any other Supreme Authority. If found guilty said member shall

be expelled from the Organization and the expulsion reported to the Supreme Council through the proper channels. All charges against members shall be made in writing.

"No member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall receive any information respecting the work of the Organization except what is necessary for the performance of his duty. Should any member inadvertently acquire such information he shall not be at liberty to divulge or make use of same, but shall report to his superior officer.

"At all meetings of the Organization where any officer is elected the following oath shall be taken :—

"IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD, I....., DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR THAT I SHALL NOT DISCLOSE TO ANY PERSON THE BUSINESS OF THIS MEETING OR THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENT THEREAT.

"There shall be no State religion in the Irish Republic. Each citizen shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

"There shall be no privileged persons, or classes, in the Irish Republic. All citizens shall enjoy equal rights therein.

"THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD IS HEREBY DECLARED IN FACT AS WELL AS BY RIGHT, THE SOLE GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC. Its enactments shall be the laws of the Irish Republic until Ireland secures absolute National Independence, and a permanent Republican Government be established.

"The authority of the Supreme Council shall be unquestioned by any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

"The Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood shall have power to levy taxes, raise loans, make war and peace, negotiate and ratify treaties with Foreign Powers, and do all other acts necessary for the protection and government of the Irish Republic.

"A Declaration of War shall be supported by at least TEN members of the Supreme Council, and a decision so arrived at shall be binding on all Members of the Council.

"There shall be an 'Executive' of the Supreme Council, composed of the President, Secretary and Treasurer of that Body, whose election shall, if possible, take place at the first meeting of a new Supreme Council to which all members shall have been summoned.

"This Executive shall be vested with all powers and prerogatives of the Supreme Council when the Supreme Council is not in Session; except those of declaring War, and altering the Constitution.

"A majority vote of the Executive shall be binding on all three of its members.

"The President of the Irish Republican Brotherhood is in fact as well as by right, President of the Irish Republic. He shall direct the working of the Irish Republican Brotherhood subject to the control of the Supreme Council or the Executive thereof.

"The Supreme Council shall have power to

appoint a Secret Court for the trial of any member or members charged with the commission of treason or grave misdemeanours.

"Any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who unlawfully appropriates money entrusted to him for National purposes shall be expelled from the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The Supreme Council shall circulate the name or names of such offenders throughout the Organization, and to representative Irishmen living in foreign countries as may be deemed advisable.

" The Supreme Council alone shall have power to inflict a sentence of Capital Punishment and to give it effect; and this only in cases of treason. The crime of treason is hereby defined as any wilful act or word on the part of any member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood calculated to betray the cause of Irish Independence, or subserve the interests of the British or any other foreign government to the detriment of Irish Independence.

" There shall be a ' Military Council ' of the Irish Republican Brotherhood which shall be attached to, and at all times be subject to, the Supreme Council, and shall have no power to direct, or interfere with, the policy of the Government of the Irish Republic nor in any way to alter the Constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

GENERAL ORDER OF BUSINESS AT CIRCLE MEETINGS.

1. Post Guard at door.
2. Centre opens meeting in the name of the

IRISH REPUBLIC, members standing to attention.

3. Roll call by Secretary, and reports on absentees.
4. Introduction of new members.
5. Reports on candidates for membership proposed at previous meeting of Circle.
6. Nominations of prospective candidates.
7. Orders from District Board.
8. Collection of subscriptions.
9. Announcement of next meeting date.
10. Other business.
11. Military training through lectures, discussions, etc., as arranged by District Board.
12. Centre declares meeting closed—members standing to attention."

It will be seen from the above extracts of the "Constitution" that the Irish Republican Brotherhood is a secret society, whose members are bound by oath, penalty, and threat to carry out its orders, whatever they may be. There is no attempt at limiting the scope of these orders; the expression "by force of arms" is sufficient in itself to include any act of violence which might be considered expedient. Murder could but be regarded as an incident to such an organization, as a judicial execution of an enemy to its avowed aspiration—the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. Regarded in the light of this policy, the motives underlying even such cold-blooded outrages as the murders of Captain Lendrum and Mr. Alan Bell become

clear. It may be stated here that not one of the publications issued by the Republican organizations bears any indication of place of origin. Even the printer's name is withheld.

Of the purely military organizations, the Irish Republican Army is the most important, indeed it may be said to have absorbed all the lesser bodies that have existed from time to time. It is the offspring of the Irish Volunteers, a force which was originally formed as a counterblast to the Ulster Volunteers. A large proportion of the Irish Volunteers displayed their loyalty to the Crown in 1914, but the residue took up a definitely Republican standpoint, and from this residue developed the Irish Republican Army.

The general scheme of organization of the Irish Volunteers shows them to be a purely military force, modelled upon accepted military lines.

" All Irishmen who subscribe to the following objects :

1. To secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland.
2. To train, discipline, and equip for this purpose an Irish Volunteer Force.
3. To unite, in the service of Ireland, Irishmen of every creed and of every party and class,

are eligible for membership of the Irish Volunteers, and all Irishmen having signed this declaration :—

' I, the undersigned, desire to be enrolled for service in Ireland as a member of the

> Irish Volunteer Force. I subscribe to the Constitution of the Irish Volunteers, and pledge my willing obedience to my superior officers. I declare that in joining the Irish Volunteer Force I set before myself the stated objects of the Irish Volunteers and no others '

shall be members of the Irish Volunteer Force."

Another document* lays down that the tactical unit of the force shall be the Company, consisting of not less than 76 and not more than 100 men including eight Squad Leaders and four Section Commanders. Each Company is to have three officers, the Captain, the Right Half Company Commander, who ranks as a First Lieutenant, and the Left Half Company Commander, who ranks as a Second Lieutenant. In addition to these, two additional Non-Commissioned Officers, ranking as Section Commanders, are provided for, whose duties are to be those of Adjutant and Quartermaster respectively. In each Company twelve men are to be specially trained in signalling, eight in each of the special services of engineering, scouting and despatch-riding, transport and supply, and first aid, and four in musketry. It is, however, suggested that all the men in the Company should receive at all events elementary training in these subjects.

"The Company and Half-Company Commanders shall be elected by the Company at a general meeting summoned for that purpose. The election must be by ballot and shall not take

* "Constitution of the Irish Volunteers" (a small pamphlet without any indication of place of origin).

effect unless and until ratified by Headquarters. Every Company Officer, upon ratification of his election, shall be given a Commission by Headquarters, such a Commission to be his authority to act as a Company Officer of the Irish Volunteers."

A rather curious feature of the Force is the express provision which is made for the discussion of matters submitted to any unit " for its recommendation " by that unit's Commander or by higher authority. It is expressly laid down that officers of the unit shall form an Advisory Council, presided over by the unit Commander, which council, however, shall have no authority over matters of discipline, command, or efficiency, for which the Commander is wholly responsible. This institution of Councils commences with the Company, whose Council is to consist of the Captain, First and Second Lieutenants, Adjutant, and Quartermaster, and extends to the Battalion and the Brigade.

The Battalion is to consist of not less than four or more than seven Companies, and its officers are to be as follows: Commandant, Vice-Commandant, Adjutant, Quartermaster, Lieutenant of Engineers, and Chiefs of Signallers, Medical Services, and Scouting and Cycling, the last three ranking as Lieutenants. The Commandant, Vice-Commandant, Adjutant, and Quartermaster are to be elected by ballot at a meeting of all the officers of the Companies comprising the Battalion. The election of the remainder is to be in the hands of the Battalion

Council. The Brigade is to consist normally of from three to six Battalions. Its officers are to be a Commandant, Vice-Commandant, Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Captains of Engineers, Signallers, Medical Services, and Scouting and Cycling. The Battalion Commandants, Vice-Commandants, Adjutants, and Quartermasters of each Battalion comprising the Brigade shall elect the Brigade officers.

The supreme authority is to be Headquarters, a directing body operating from Dublin, to which only indirect reference is made in the "Constitution."

The Irish Volunteers publish an official organ under the title *An T'Oglac*, from which may be gleaned many interesting facts bearing upon the outlook of the force and the methods adopted by it in the course of its campaign of outrage. An extract from the number dated April 1st, 1920, throws an interesting light upon the Republican attitude towards British aims in the late War. It has been the cry of these very sections of the people of Ireland that since the war was fought for the rights of small nations, they were entitled to benefit from the results of the British victory in that war. How far the Irish Volunteers were prepared to lift a finger in the defence of a certain "small nation," Catholic in faith as is Ireland, is shown by the following:—

> "The duty of the soldiers of the Irish Army at the present juncture is to keep as calmly efficient, as 'ready and steady,' as they were before that other murderous

menace of the enemy in 1918 called 'Conscription.'

"Then, as now, the people of Ireland were threatened with slaughter (*sic*), and then as now the Irish Volunteers stood prepared to risk their lives to defend the rights and liberties of the citizens of the Irish Republic. Our organisation was improved, arming and equipping were carried on vigorously, with the result that the close of the war in France found our Republican Army able to carry on a vigorous campaign of guerilla warfare in this country against the foreign Army of Occupation, and particularly that most essential and dangerous part of it, those traitorous Irishmen who in the garb of 'policemen' act as spies for the enemy and use their local knowledge for his advantage."

Another sentence from the same article reads as follows:—

"Meanwhile our guerilla warfare against the enemy forces must be pushed on even more vigorously than ever. The situation must be made more impossible for the enemy daily. . . . If our organisation and discipline are good we shall strike blows that will make the enemy tremble."

It must be observed that in every publication issued by the Volunteers there is insistence upon the hypothesis that the Irish Republican Army is *actually at war* with the British Government, which is repeatedly described as 'the enemy.'

This is a matter of great importance, for it has a direct bearing upon the whole question of outrage. The point is again emphasised in another passage in the number of *An T'Oglac* from which quotation has already been made.

"Reports show that the state of organisation in some of the Brigade areas is far from satisfactory. In cases where a loose and imperfect state of organisation exists the Brigade staff are generally to blame. Brigade officers who have been negligent in their duties are warned to 'get a hustle on' in regard to Brigade organisation if they wish to retain their positions. Headquarters cannot tolerate any slackness at the present time. *There is a war on,** and those officers who are unable or unprepared to work hard and efficiently must make way for those who can and will."

The same article goes on to discuss a subject of considerable interest, namely, the question of emigration. The attitude of the Republican Army is very frankly expressed:—

"A certain number of cases have occurred from time to time where Volunteers whose freedom of movement and means of earning a livelihood have been interfered with as the result of enemy activity have sought the assistance of Headquarters in being sent out of the country to America or elsewhere. It is necessary to make clear the position of the responsible authorities of the Irish Volunteers with regard to this

* The italics are mine.

important subject of emigration from Ireland. In common with all bodies who have the national welfare at heart, the Executive of the Irish Volunteers is strongly opposed to the departure from Ireland of a single citizen of the Irish Republic. The emigration of any able-bodied man or woman under the circumstances is a national loss, an addition to the depopulation from which our country suffers as the result of the enemy's policy; but the departure of any Irish Volunteer during the most critical time of the War of Independence can only be regarded as cowardly desertion. Only those men who are sent abroad to do special work or for very exceptional reasons will be facilitated in any way by Headquarters in leaving this country."

That this question was regarded very seriously by the Administration of the Republic is proved by the fact that the Minister of Defence of Dail Eireann issued a manifesto in the form of a hand-bill, dated June 5th, 1920. This document reads as follows :—

"The enemy has declared that there are too many young men in Ireland, and he is anxious to clear them out. It suited his purpose to refuse them passports during the war, but he will now give them every facility to emigrate. These facilities must not be availed of. Ireland wants all her young men. Their presence in the country is more necessary now than ever. It is because of their growing numbers and their efficient military organisation that the British Army of Occupation is in its present state of

disorganisation. The long-drawn-out struggle has reached its final stages, and Ireland is winning. No one realises this more clearly than the enemy. His recent admissions prove it. His cunning and his brute force have availed him nothing in the end. There is just one chance left for him, that is, to stimulate emigration. It saved him once before and it might do so again. The young men of Ireland must stand fast. To leave their country at this supreme crisis would be nothing less than base desertion in the face of the enemy. We look upon those Irishmen who have joined the enemy forces as degenerates, and rightly so. But the Irishman who at this stage leaves his country, or withdraws his aid in the vital struggle, is little better. In fact, he is worse in a sense: because the others may never have seen the light, but he has; and he now deliberately turns his back upon it. There can be no possible excuse for desertion at the present time. The plea of want of work will not do. Employment is no scarcer now than it was during the years that the enemy kept the ports closed and compelled Irishmen to stay at home. There will be plenty of employment for everyone in Ireland in future. The Government of the Republic is at present engaged upon work which will ensure this. All that is needed is a little more patience, and then a bracing up for the final tussle. After that no Irishman need leave his native land in order to live under decent conditions. Before that we must have no deserters."

Finally, an extract from the 'General Notes'

appearing in *An T'Oglac* for July 15th, 1920, shows the policy of hindering emigration in active operation :—

" Kerry Volunteers have taken direct action to prevent emigration. Young men of military age have been arrested and forbidden to leave the country."

In spite, however, of the warlike tone of *An T'Oglac*, it is evident that one of the tasks of Headquarters is to keep up a perpetual campaign against indiscipline and slackness of recruiting. An article entitled ' KEEP UP THE OFFENSIVE ! ' which is the chief feature of the issue of July 15th, 1920, displays this very clearly. A short extract will suffice :—

" The sense of discipline of the Volunteers is not like the machine-made discipline of mercenaries; it has its basis in a lofty ideal of service to and self-sacrifice for the nation. It is strange that men who by their membership of the Army of Ireland show their willingness to risk death for the Republic should in some cases show a reluctance to subject themselves to the slight discomforts and restraints of a strict discipline.

" The Volunteer Force, being a voluntary army, has attracted to its service young Irishmen of spirit, courage and a sense of national duty; but there do undoubtedly remain a large number of young men who would make good Volunteers at present outside the force. This is particularly so in some parts of the country, where it is chiefly due to imperfect organisation; but everywhere

suitable men are available who for some reason have not been got. Recruiting for such a body as the Volunteers must, of course, be done cautiously. Only suitable men, who are known and vouched for, should be admitted; but there are many such still untapped (*sic*), and a serious effort should be made to increase our strength everywhere. Many young Irishmen who are not in the ranks would readily and gladly join, and once they have come under the influence of the Volunteer atmosphere would make good soldiers of Ireland.

"It is necessary that all the strength, all the energy, all the enthusiasm and all the efficiency of the armed manhood of Ireland should be thrown into this fight against the enemy at the present time. . . . His strongholds must be attacked, his forces surprised and disarmed, his communications interrupted, his despatches seized, his activities watched, his machinery interfered with, his supplies cut off in every part of the country with such persistence, speed, and ubiquity that he will not be able to get his 'system' solidly established anywhere. . . . All should vie with one another to make themselves fit and worthy soldiers of Ireland and to play a man's part in this glorious war which we are waging for our country's freedom."

Two interesting examples of the methods by which funds were raised for the purposes of the Irish Volunteers may be adduced. The first is contained in a leaflet issued by the Brigade Commandant of the Kilkenny branch of the Irish

Volunteers and dated July, 1920. This leaflet, which was distributed by being placed in the letter-boxes of houses in the district, reads as follows :—

" Dear Sir (or Madam),

The Irish Volunteers, in addition to their usual duties, have had, recently, the responsibility of preventing crime, arresting criminals, affording protection where required, etc. This work has exhausted the funds at our disposal and has gone beyond the financial resources of individual Volunteers and it has been found absolutely necessary to issue this appeal for funds to enable them to carry on the necessary public work. The Volunteers have fully expended their energies in these activities and the efficiency of their work has been admitted on all sides. It is expected that those who are not called upon to give their time will help financially."

It should be observed that although the ' usual duties ' of the Volunteers are referred to, they are not specified. Presumably the recipients of the leaflet might hesitate to finance a campaign of murder and outrage. But the veiled threat contained in the last sentence is obvious, and the police reports contain many examples of its enforcement. For instance, at 3 a.m. on October 15th, 1920, a resident of Mountpleasant, near Wexford, was aroused by the sound of his front door lock being blown in by a rifle shot. Nine masked and armed men entered and demanded at the point of the revolver a " Munitions Levy "

of £5, which was perforce given them.

The zeal of the Volunteers for activity such as would evidence that ' efficiency ' so desired by Headquarters has sometimes led to ludicrous incidents. On the fourth of October, 1920, twenty barrels of treacle were stolen from the railway goods yard at Ballina, Co. Mayo, by a number of armed men, who broke the barrels and rolled them into a pond. The stationmaster, subsequently received a note to the effect that the treacle had been " confiscated by order of the Adjutant, A Company, No. 1 Battalion, North Mayo Brigade, I.R.A." Credit where credit is due!

The Irish Republican movement has not been content to rely solely upon the manhood of Ireland. Both the women and the boys have been enlisted, the former in an organisation known as Cumann na m'Ban, and the latter in the Fianna Eireann, which their own pamphlet describes as ' The Irish National Boy Scouts Organisation.'

In a pamphlet dated 1914, issued by the former body, entitled ' The Volunteers, the Women and the Nation,' the following passages occur, and are sufficiently illustrative of the aims of the movement :—

" It is now on all sides acknowledged that Cumann na m'Ban—the Irishwomen's Council—is the most vigorous and enterprising of all the movements that have grown out of the idea of arming and drilling the nation.

" The destiny of small nations always finally

depends on their women. This is a truth that every leader of any movement in this country must take into account; it was fully realised by the great leader of the last victorious movement in Ireland—Michael Devitt—when he founded the Ladies' Land League as the last line of defence. It is a truth perfectly accepted by the young captains and secretaries of the Volunteers, who help us of the Cumann na m'Ban to found our branches throughout the country."

"From the ranks of these young, daring, and self-sacrificing men will come perhaps the great leader we are all looking for."

"We stated the aims of our new-born political organisation thus:—

1. To advance the cause of Irish liberty.
2. To organise Irishwomen in furtherance of this object.
3. To assist in arming and equipping a body of Irishmen for the defence of Ireland.
4. To form a fund for these purposes to be called 'The Defence of Ireland Fund.'"

"Every day some body of women struggling by themselves in a country town to find an outlet for their patriotism, and their desire to work for Ireland, realise that their place is in Cumann na m'Ban. And so steadily the movement grows and the spirit grows. Where the members of Cumann na m'Ban are most numerous the spirit of the Volunteers is best. What are recognised as the best drilled and most efficient regiments in the country are backed by the strongest force of women."

"From the start we of Cumann na m'Ban decided to do any national work that came within the scope of our aims. We would collect money for arms, we would learn ambulance work, learn how to make haversacks and bandoliers, we would study the question of food supplies, we would practise the use of the rifle, we would make speeches, we would do everything that came our way—nothing is too low or too high for us to attempt, for we are not the auxiliaries or the handmaidens or the camp-followers of the Volunteers—we are their allies. We are an independent body, with our own executive and our own constitution. If some unhappy fate were now to destroy the Volunteers, Cumann na m'Ban is not only capable of still growing and flourishing, it is capable of bringing the whole Volunteer movement to life again."

"Men who fight the battles of other people are either fools or mercenaries."

Perhaps this last sentence may help to explain the refusal of Irish Republicans to assist in the fight for the liberties of Belgium.

In 1916 Cumann na m'Ban took a prominent part in the insurrection of Easter Week. One of its widely distributed handbills says "Cumann na m'Ban is proud that its members rallied under the Republican flag in Easter Week, 1916. . . . by taking their places in the firing line and in every way helping in the establishment of the Irish Republic."

The Constitution of the Fianna Eireann sets

out the policy of the organisation as follows :—

" Object.—To re-establish the Independence of Ireland.

Means.—The training of the youth of Ireland, mentally and physically, to achieve this object by teaching scouting and military exercises, Irish history and the Irish language.

Declaration.—' I promise to work for the Independence of Ireland, never to join England's armed forces and to obey my superior officers.' "

The Fianna, whose chief in 1920 was Countess Markievicz, has an organisation *modelled upon that of the Irish Volunteers*, distinctly military in its principles. The unit is the Slaugh (Troop), and the governing body the Ard-Choisde (Central Council). The nature of its appeal is shown by a widely distributed hand-bill, of which the following is the wording :—

" Boys! Ireland is calling you, Ireland wants your help in the ranks of Fianna Eireann, the only organisation which trains boys on Irish-Ireland lines, without distinction of creed, class, or politics.

" Boys! Join the young army of Ireland which has already given so many martyrs to the cause of Irish Independence, and help to win the crown of freedom for your Motherland! "

The Headquarters of all organisations are in Dublin, while the rest of the country is divided into Brigade Areas, in the case of the Volunteers, and similar districts in the case of the affiliated bodies.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARMING OF THE REPUBLIC.

The preceding chapter contained some account of the forces of the "Irish Republic," a Republic that was never recognised outside Ireland, and existed only in theory in that country. The Irish Republic is, however, a convenient phrase in which may be included the various Sinn Fein organizations having for their object the establishment of an independent nation. The Irish Volunteers constantly describe themselves as the Irish Republican Army in their orders and proclamations, and have been constantly referred to as such throughout the last few years. It will be convenient at this stage to examine the means by which the Republican forces have been supplied with arms, and the measures taken by the Government to disarm those whose possession of arms was a source of danger to the community and a menace of murder to those engaged in the maintenance of law and order.

To deal first with legislation. By an Act of Parliament of 1847 power was given to the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim certain regulations to be

enforced in any specified district of Ireland. Among these regulations was one to the effect that "it shall not be lawful for any person whomsoever (except Justices of the Peace, Persons in Her Majesty's Naval or Military Service, or in the Coast-Guard Service, or in the Service of the Revenue, or in the Police or Constabulary Force, or Special Constables, or Persons duly licensed to kill Game, or Persons to whom any Licence shall have been granted under this Act as hereinafter secondly mentioned) to carry or have within the District specified in any such Proclamation, elsewhere than in his or her own dwelling-house, any Gun, Pistol, or other Fire-arm, or any part or parts of any Gun, Pistol, or other Fire-arm, or any Sword, Cutlass, Pike, or Bayonet, or any Bullets, Gunpowder, or other Ammunition; and every Person carrying or having any Gun, Pistol, or other Fire-arm, or any Sword, Cutless, Pike, or Bayonet, or any Bullet, Gunpowder, or Ammunition, contrary to the Provisions of this Act, shall be guilty of a Misdemeanour, and shall be liable on conviction thereof to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding two years."

This Act appears to have been continued until 1856, when it was superseded by "The Peace Preservation, Ireland, Act, 1856." This latter Act continued the provisions of the Act of 1847 as regards possession and carrying of arms, but reduced the penalty to "imprisonment for any Period not exceeding one Year."

In 1870 "The Peace Preservation, Ireland,

Act, 1870" became law, and by it the penalty for carrying and possessing arms was raised once more to imprisonment for any period up to two years. Certain other modifications of the original Act were also introduced. Of these the principal were as follows:—

No person, although holding a licence to carry arms, was allowed to carry or possess "any fire-arm of the description known as a revolver," unless the licence specially sanctioned such a weapon. Persons holding game licences must also have a licence to carry arms. Arms must only be sold to persons licensed to have them.

This Act was continued under the provisions of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act until 1875, when a new Act became law, slightly modifying the Act of 1870, once more reducing the penalty from two years' imprisonment to one, and simplifying the machinery for granting licences. This Act in its turn was continued under the Expiring Laws Continuance Act until 1881, when "An Act to amend the Law relating to the carrying and possession of Arms and for the Preservation of the Public Peace of Ireland" was passed, and became known as The Arms Act.

The purport of this Act was to place the whole question of arms in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant. He was empowered to "proclaim" any particular district, and by his proclamation to make such regulations for the possession and carrying of arms as seemed good to him. Certain paragraphs of the Act are worth quoting in full.

"In a proclaimed district a person shall not

carry or have any arms or ammunition save as authorised by the conditions set forth in the proclamation hereinafter mentioned.

"Any person carrying or having, or reasonably suspected of carrying or having any arms or munitions in contravention of this Act may be arrested without warrant by any constable or peace officer, and, as soon as reasonably can be, conveyed before some justice of the peace in order to his being dealt with according to law.

"The Lord Lieutenant may by warrant direct any person named in such warrant to search in houses, buildings, and places situate in a proclaimed district and specified in the warrant, for any arms or ammunition suspected to be therein in contravention of this Act.

"The Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, may from time to time by proclamation declare this Act to be in force within any specified part of Ireland, and this Act shall thereupon after the date specified in the proclamation be in force within such specified part, and any such specified part of Ireland is in this Act referred to as a 'proclaimed district'; and any such proclamation may set forth the conditions and regulations under which the carrying of arms and ammunition is authorised, and make provision for the appointment of persons to give effect to the same and the manner of the promulgation thereof."

The Arms Act originally covered a period from the date of it becoming law until June 1st, 1886. It was extended under the provision of the Expir-

ing Laws Continuance Act until 1906, and was then allowed to lapse, during the time that Mr. Bryce was Chief Secretary.

It will be seen that under these various Acts the traffic in and possession of arms in Ireland was suitably controlled, and there is no doubt that in 1906 the possession of arms was practically limited to such well-affected citizens in whose hands they could safely be trusted. But from 1906 onwards all control was removed, and from that date importation began afresh, and arms of all kinds, from service rifles to the more dangerous automatic pistol, began to be distributed all over the country. It was not to be expected that the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the organizations it controlled, especially the Irish Volunteers, and at the same time the corresponding but antagonistic societies of Ulster, would allow such an opportunity to slip. The rate of distribution increased with the threatening horizon of events in 1914, and during the early months of that year the import of arms into Ireland reached very grave proportions. It was not until the outbreak of the War that the Defence of the Realm Act gave powers to check this importation, and then only indirectly.

Regulation 31, framed under this Act, is as follows:

"No person shall bring into the United Kingdom or remove from or to Great Britain to or from Ireland any fire-arms, parts of fire-arms, military arms, parts of military arms, or

ammunition or any explosive substance or bring into Ireland any military equipment or component parts of ammunition without a permit from the competent naval or military authority, and if any person does so he shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations, and any person who has in his possession or custody or under his control any article so brought or removed in contravention of this regulation shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations, unless he proves that he did not know, and could not with reasonable diligence have ascertained, that the article was so brought or removed in contravention of this regulation."

This regulation, as will be seen, dealt only with the further importation of arms into the country. It was still no offence to carry or possess arms, and even after the lesson conveyed by the Easter Rebellion of 1916 no steps were taken to render the having of arms illegal. Regulation 9AA under the Act provides as follows:

" In any area in respect of which the operation of Section 1 of the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) Act, 1915, is for the time being suspended (in other words, in areas such as Ireland where offenders against the Regulations are necessarily tried by Court Martial), the competent naval or military authority may make orders prohibiting or restricting . . . the carrying, having or keeping of fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances."

Nothwithstanding the powers conferred on the Competent Military Authority under this

Regulation, it was not until 28th September, 1918, that any order was made. On that date, however, the following was issued:

"Whereas in many parts of Ireland private dwelling houses and other places have been illegally raided by lawless men, and firearms, military arms, ammunition and explosive substances have been seized therefrom, and whereas such seizures have been made and are likely to be made for purposes prejudicial to the public safety and the Defence of the Realm, and it is necessary for the purposes of securing the public safety and the Defence of the Realm, to have under effective military control all firearms, military arms, ammunition and explosive substances at present not under such control,

"Now I, Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Sir F. Shaw, K.C.B., General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Ireland, Competent Military Authority for Ireland, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by Regulations 9AA of the Defence of the Realm Regulations, Hereby Order that throughout Ireland (being an area in respect of which the operation of Section One of the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) Act, 1915, is for the time being suspended), the carrying, having or keeping of fire-arms, military arms, ammunition of explosive substances, is prohibited, unless such articles are under effective military control.

"This prohibition shall not apply in the case of any member of His Majesty's Forces or of any member of the Forces of His Majesty's Allies, or

of any member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, or of any member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, or in the case of any person to whom a Competent Naval or Military Authority, or any person authorised by him, has given permission in writing to carry, have or keep fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances.

" This Order, so far as it relates to the having or keeping of fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances shall take effect as from the 9th day of October, 1918, inclusive."

Details are added to the Order, setting out the method of obtaining Permits, and also the method of disposal of arms by such persons who have not obtained a Permit. This latter instruction is interesting.

" Persons who have not obtained a permit as required by this Order, and are, therefore, prohibited from carrying, having or keeping fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances should, as soon as possible, and in any case, on or before the 9th day of October, hand in all articles of the kind in their possession to any Military Centre, or, if the owners prefer, to any Police Barrack or Police Station. Arms so handed in should be previously cleaned and well oiled, and all articles, packages, etc., should be distinctly and securely labelled with the name and address of the owner and with a description of the arms, etc.

" The owner should ask for, and is entitled to receive therefor, a receipt from the official to whom they are handed.

"Cartridges should be securely packed in boxes or strong paper with the total number of them stated on the label.

"All articles handed in will be carefully and safely kept under effective Military control by the Military authorities, and will be returned to the owner or his legal representative if, and when, in the opinion of the Competent Military Authority, this can be done with due regard to the public safety, or, if in the opinion of the Competent Military Authority they are required for the defence of the Realm."

The issue of this Order makes the having of fire-arms without a permit an offence under the Regulations throughout the whole of Ireland, and thus renders the possessors of any such weapon liable to be tried by Court Martial.

As was to be expected, the total number of arms surrendered was wholly disproportionate to the number of arms in possession of the civil population at the date of the issue of the Order.

The position in October, 1918, was therefore that a large number of arms of all descriptions, sporting and military rifles of all kinds, new and obsolete, shot guns of various types, and pistols of every conceivable variety, were held by the populace contrary to law. Although the Regulations gave power to the authorities to search for these.

"The competent naval or military authority or any person authorised by him, or any police constable :—

(*a*) If he suspects that any fire-arms, military

arms, ammunition or explosive substances are, or are kept, in or upon any house, building, land, vehicle, vessel, or other premises in contravention of an order under this regulation, may enter, if need be by force, the house, building, land, vehicle, or premises at any time of the day or night and examine, search, and inspect the same or any part thereof, and may seize any fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances found therein or thereon which he suspects to be, or to be kept therein or thereon in contravention of this order; and

(*b*) If he suspects that any person is carrying any fire-arms, military arms, ammunition or explosive substances in contravention of any such order, may stop that person and search him;"

it can well be imagined that in a country like Ireland, affording every facility for concealment, any such search must frequently prove unavailing, and that a systematic combing of the country-side for concealed arms was out of the question.

The possessors of arms in the country might be roughly classified under three heads: civilians possessing arms with a permit under the order, civilians possessing arms unlawfully, and the various Forces of the Crown—military, police, and coast-guards. Of these three classes, the first were mainly well-disposed citizens, owning merely sporting weapons as a rule, the second mainly Republican sympathisers, owning weapons of all kinds either in their capacity

of Volunteers or for some private and sinister purpose, while the third carried the weapons peculiar to their calling, rifles, automatic pistols, and revolvers. The policy of the authorities was to diminish the numbers of arms-holders of the second class as much as possible, by searches based upon information received and confiscation of any weapons found. The policy of the Volunteers was to capture the arms held by the first and third class, in order to augment their own supplies. It was this latter policy that led to two well-marked varieties of their activity, namely raids for arms upon private owners and organised attacks upon barracks, coast-guard stations, lighthouses, and parties of men carrying arms.

We may deal first with the question of raids for arms, it being understood that for this purpose " arms " may be taken to include what the Regulations style " ammunition or explosive substances."

It must be realized that the capture of arms already in Ireland was the main source of supply to the Republican sympathisers. The importation of arms was difficult, although smuggling undoubtedly took place to a certain extent, mainly through the medium of passengers' baggage. It was indeed the difficulty of carrying out a sufficiently thorough examination of baggage that was one of the contributory causes of the closing of Queenstown to eastward-bound Atlantic liners. Occasionally, too, it happened that vessels lying in Irish harbours were raided

by the Volunteers for the purpose of seizing such arms as they possessed; for instance, about midnight on 30th August, 1920, a party of armed men boarded the Swedish steamer *Thyra*, which was lying in Fenit Harbour, Co. Kerry, and carried away three rifles and eight hundred rounds of ammunition. But opportunities such as these were of course comparatively rare, and reliance had necessarily to be placed upon arms previously imported.

The Volunteers were most careful to organize raids for arms in order to secure the maximum result from them and the most suitable distribution of such arms after their capture. Frequent references occur in *An T'Oglac* to an order that individual Volunteers were not to carry out raids on their own initiative, but were only to act under instructions from the proper authority. A " general order " issued on 14th June, 1920, by the " Adjutant General " of Oglaigh na h'Eireann (the Irish Volunteers, Oglaigh = a soldier) refers to the matter and indicates the anxiety felt by the Headquarters of the Volunteers lest the authorities should be beforehand in securing arms in any district. It runs as follows :—

" Seizure of Arms by the Enemy. All seizures of arms and military stores in Brigade Area will be immediately reported to Headquarters. Full details of the circumstances under which they were taken will be indicated."

Another " general order " dated 26th May, 1920, lays down that " No action of anything

like a military nature (a definition which includes raids for arms) shall be taken or ordered to be taken by any Volunteers, except in so far as this is covered by definite orders or permission actually received from his superior officer."

The number of raids for arms soon reached extraordinary proportions, as can be gathered from the following figures. From 1st January 1920 to 1st January 1921 the number of raids for arms reported to or discovered by the police was 2,801, of which 982 were carried out in a single week, from 29th August 1920 to 4th September 1920. This week appears to have been the beginning of a centrally organized policy on the part of the Volunteers. Until then these raids appear to have been due to the activities of the local companies and battalions, but from that week they were evidently conducted upon some general plan embracing the whole country, and probably therefore directed by Headquarters. The Provinces of Leinster and Ulster were chiefly affected in this particular week. In the former alone between three and four hundred raids were made, well over a hundred of which took place in County Meath. In Ulster raids took place in every county except Londonderry and Antrim, and numbered in all about three hundred. The total number of arms secured in these raids throughout the whole country during the week was over six hundred, including weapons of all kinds, but mainly sporting guns. In a number of cases the owners of the weapons resisted the raiders, of whom five were known to have been

killed and eight wounded. On the other hand, one peaceful citizen was killed and five, including a woman, were wounded while defending their property.

The methods of carrying out these raids varied very little, and a few examples will serve to show what those methods were.

On the night of August 31st, 1920, nine houses in the Clones district, Co. Monaghan, were raided by armed men in search for arms. A woman aged 65 was shot and dangerously wounded in one of these houses.

On the same date a retired County Inspector of the R.I.C. was dangerously wounded in the course of a raid for arms upon his house in Co. Tipperary.

On the 20th September, 1920, six houses in the Howth district, Co. Dublin, were raided for arms by a party of armed and masked men, who secured six shot guns and twenty-nine cartridges. The cases were not reported to the police until they called at the houses for the purpose of collecting the arms for safe custody.

This last case illustrates the difficulties in the way of securing accurate information as to raids for arms in particular and outrages in general. There were always two reasons which deterred the ordinary civil population from reporting the activities of the Volunteers to the police. The first was the rule of intimidation under which the country had fallen, and the second was a possibly uneasy conscience. The question of intimidation is dealt with elsewhere, it is

sufficient here to state that persecution of some kind almost invariably overtook the conveyor of information to the police. As for the possession of an uneasy conscience, there were many owners of arms who, although they kept them normally for innocent purposes, had failed to take steps to apply for a permit, very often from a suspicion that their records were not such as to facilitate the granting of a permit.

From the Volunteers' point of view the operations were simple. In the first place, the objects of their attention were usually owners of arms with permits, who had therefore no reason for concealment of their weapons. In the second the raiders were local men, who found no difficulty in learning who owned arms and where these were kept. All that was necessary was for a party of men, who might or might not take the trouble to disguise themselves, to force their way into a house by night, hold up the occupants at the points of their revolvers, take the arms, and disappear, long before the alarm could be conveyed to the nearest police. Even if they were recognized, the chances were enormously against information being laid against them. From the point of view of the despoiled owner, it was far better in the long run to bear the loss of his property in silence than to incur the enmity of the local Volunteers. Boycott and even personal violence are two evils against which any possible form of police protection is practically powerless.

Organized attacks upon Government establishments containing arms or explosives, or upon

parties of armed men for the purpose of disarming them, may be divided into attacks upon police barracks, military barracks, coast-guard stations and lighthouses, policemen, and soldiers. These attacks were necessarily somewhat different, both in scope and execution, from simple raids upon the houses of civilians. They required a greater force to carry them out and more careful preparation in order to ensure their success. Further, the percentage of success was very much smaller. Although attempted with the advantages of surprise and overwhelming numbers on the side of the attackers, it frequently happened that the latter were driven off with considerable loss. The whole question of these attacks is dealt with in another chapter, here we need be concerned with them only as they affect the question of the securing of arms by the raiders.

It must again be stated that " arms " must be understood as including not only weapons but explosives and military stores of all kinds. Explosives were required for many purposes, such as the destruction of property and the manufacture of bombs. It may be remarked in passing that light was thrown upon the latter activity of the Volunteers by a letter found in the City Hall at Cork on the occasion of the arrest of Terence McSwiney. This letter is headed " G.H.Q. Dublin," under date 30th of June, 1920, and is addressed to O.C. Cork, No. 1 Brigade, the post held by Mr. McSwiney. It runs as follows :

"Will you kindly report as soon as possible if there are any facilities in your area for the manufacture of grenades. By this I do not necessarily mean heavy foundry work. If you can get a man who understands moulding to cast iron cases from a pattern which we can supply, it will meet the situation. We can then supply necks in required numbers, these containing spring, striker, percussion cap, fuse and detonator, and if it be possible to cast even two cases a day, something at least will be done to speed up output. The need for this is very pressing just now."

The letter is signed "T. Mc., Director of Munitions."

The manufacture of bombs by the Republicans was not always profitable to themselves. On 13th October, 1920, an unoccupied house at Saltmills, near Tintern, Co. Wexford, was shattered by an explosion. An armed party rushed to the spot from the nearest police barracks, and found the building totally wrecked. Seven corpses were found, and five badly wounded people were taken to hospital in custody. Two others known to have been there were missing, and were believed to have been blown to pieces. Some less seriously wounded had been taken away by the survivors. A local body of Republicans had been engaged in manufacturing bombs for the purposes of attack on police and soldiers. The usual type of bomb made on these occasions is a rough iron casting containing explosives and fragments of metal. This is provided with a

short fuse which has to be ignited by the thrower. Similar accidents to amateur Republican munition makers had occurred before, but they were kept quiet by the Republicans and the relatives of the victims were simply informed that the latter had "gone to America." The type of bomb manufactured is easily made out of explosives raided from quarries and lighthouses.

Military and police equipment was required not only for the normal fitting out of the Volunteers, but also for purposes of disguise. On many occasions Volunteers disguised as policemen or soldiers effected entry into barracks, and even caused local disturbances in order to inflame opinion against the Forces of the Crown. Parties of them so disguised are known to have driven through villages at night, firing revolvers, in order to make capital out of the subsequent report of the "shooting up" of the villages by uniformed men.

The best method of illustrating the various outrages into which raids upon Government establishments and personnel have been classified will be to give statistics and examples. Attacks on military and police barracks are dealt with statistically elsewhere, but examples of the capture of arms in these attacks can properly be dealt with here.

Dealing first with police barracks, the attack upon Schull R.I.C. barracks is a good example of the methods of the Volunteers. At eight o'clock in the evening of 4th October, 1920, a large party of armed and disguised men made

their way towards the barracks, which are situated in the Skibbereen district. Two or three of them knocked on the back door, and upon being challenged, gave the correct countersign. The door was opened, and about twenty men of the party rushed in and held up the police inside, while others held up the six police who were on duty outside the barracks. The raiders then proceeded to seize all the arms they could lay their hands upon, consisting of four service rifles, nine carbines, four shot guns, eight revolvers, three automatic pistols, four Verey pistols, 1,300 rounds of rifle ammunition, 256 rounds of revolver ammunition, 40 shot gun cartridges, 63 rounds of automatic pistol ammunition, 36 Mills bombs, 24 hand grenades, 48 rounds of Verey pistol ammunition, and 10 parachute cartridges. In addition to this haul the raiders took 13 sets of accoutrements, and a number of arms which had recently been surrendered to or captured by the police, consisting of 13 shot guns, 44 shot gun cartridges, 3 revolvers and 5 rounds of revolver ammunition. The raiders placed all the police records and most of the barrack bedding in a pile and burnt them together with the buildings. The police were searched, stripped of their accoutrements, and then conducted at the point of the revolver to certain houses in the village.

This was an exceptional case, and is quoted merely to illustrate the method. The success of raids upon occupied barracks has been very slight, in many cases small bodies of police have put up

heroic defences against parties of raiders many times out-numbering them. Further particulars of such defences will be dealt with in the chapter dealing with the R.I.C.

The same remarks may be applied to attacks upon military barracks. On a few occasions the raiders succeeded in surprising the garrison and capturing arms, but far more frequently they were driven off with heavy losses, which could not be determined owing to the secrecy displayed by the Volunteers in the disposal of their casualties. It became a common expression in Ireland that a man had "gone to America," a phrase implying that he had been killed in the course of fighting with the police or military and had been secretly buried.

Perhaps the best example of a successful attack upon a military barracks occurred at Mallow, Co. Cork, on 28th September, 1920. In this case the surprise was most carefully planned. A party of fifty armed men waited until half past nine in the morning, when the majority of the occupants of the barracks, the 17th Lancers, were out exercising horses. They then rushed the sentry, disarmed him, swept into the guard-room, and engaged the guard. In the fight which ensued the sergeant of the guard was fatally wounded, and his men were eventually overpowered. One, however, escaped and leaping on a horse galloped out to recall the rest of the garrison. The raiders meanwhile loaded up all the arms they could find into two motor-cars, and made an effort to burn down the barracks by

placing trusses of hay in the barrack-rooms, saturating them with petrol, and setting them on fire. In this they were not successful, owing probably to their eagerness to decamp before they were interrupted. The arms captured on this occasion consisted of 25 service rifles, 2 Hotchkiss machine guns, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and 20 swords and lances, together with some boots and equipment.

Raids on barracks, both military and police, are dealt with elsewhere, as has already been explained. But raids on lighthouse and coast-guard stations, since they have for their exclusive object the capture of arms and explosives, may be fully dealt with here. These establishments are equipped with explosives and signalling apparatus for the sole purpose of assisting navigation. Lighthouses in many cases give warning during foggy weather by means of explosive sound signals, similar to "maroons." Coast-guard stations are supplied with devices for saving life from wrecks, including rockets, and signalling devices which involve the use of explosive substances. Through long custom shipping has learnt to depend upon these conditions, and any interference with them could not but tend to induce mariners to avoid coasts where such interference was apt to take place. But the incidental causing of danger to shipping did not weigh with the Republican leaders in their desperate search for explosives. Between 1st January, 1920, and 1st January, 1921, forty-six raids were made upon lighthouses and coast-

guard stations, and in nearly every case the essential equipment of the establishment was removed.

On 31st July, 1920, six men, masked and disguised and some carrying rifles, made their way into Mizen Head lighthouse, demanded the key of the magazine from the lighthouse keeper on watch, and took away all the explosives they found there. Mizen Head lighthouse is situated in the extreme south-west of Ireland, and is of the first importance as the landfall for eastbound vessels proceeding to Queenstown and Liverpool *via* St. George's Channel.

On 24th September, 1920, at five minutes past eleven in the morning, thirteen armed men forced their way into Hook Head lighthouse, on the south coast of Co. Wexford, and took away 820 charges of gun-cotton, 2,165 detonators, and 2 telescopes. In both the above cases the lighthouses in question were thus rendered utterly useless as aids to navigation in foggy weather.

Raids upon coast-guard stations were carried out upon very similar lines. The most striking example is the practically simultaneous attack on two stations five miles distant from one another : at Castletownbeer and Ballycrovane on the northern shores of Bantry Bay, on July 25th, 1920. The former station was attacked by a number of armed men shortly after mid-day. Two of the raiders dressed in khaki rode up to the station on military bicycles, and were allowed to approach by the coastguardsman on duty, who naturally took them for British soldiers.

They suddenly held him up at the points of their revolvers, whereupon their companions broke cover and rushed in. Some attacked the Divisional Officer with an axe, while others set to work to find arms. After a sharp tussle the raiders were driven off before any injuries had been sustained by the garrison. One of the raiders was subsequently found in the vicinity with a broken leg, and was arrested.

Twenty minutes later the storm burst upon Ballycrovane. Here there was no attempt at surprise. A party of about 150 men rushed the station and killed Chief Officer Snowden and Petty Officer Brown while they were endeavouring to defend the place against such overwhelming odds. The remainder of the garrison, eight men in all, were compelled to surrender when they had expended their ammunition. The raiders, who are known to have suffered heavily, carried off with them twelve rifles, four pistols, a typewriter and some rockets.

The subject of attacks upon isolated individuals or bodies of soldiers or police is dealt with elsewhere, as in most cases the principal object of these attacks was murder, and the capture of arms or equipment was only incidental. But in many cases ambushes were laid for lonely men or for small parties, apparently with the sole purpose of disarming them or taking their equipment. For instance, at 3 p.m. on 19th September, 1920, a soldier on a bicycle conveying a despatch from Mullinahone to Knockvilla, in County Tipperary, was held up by a party of

armed and masked men who deprived him of his bicycle and uniform. He was astute enough to conceal his despatch from his assailants and succeeded in delivering it intact.

During the morning of 15th September, 1920, a train was held up at Morley's Bridge, Co. Kerry, by a party of armed men. Two constables of the R.I.C. who were travelling in the train were disarmed.

It would be possible to cite many more instances of the capture of arms by the Volunteers, but sufficient has already been said to enable some idea to be gained of the methods by which the Republicans endeavoured to augment the stores of arms at their disposal in despite of the efforts of the Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF OUTRAGE.

Having now traced the organization and armament of the Republican forces, we are in a position to deal with the campaign of outrage carried out by them, a campaign which has spread horror throughout the civilized world. The point of view of the organizers of the outrage campaign is difficult to understand. It is easy to imagine that the rank and file, and even the junior officers, of the Volunteers, having been carefully trained in military duties, might welcome the exhortations of *An T'Oglac* to carry out a guerilla warfare against the British armed forces. Throughout their history Irishmen have shown a fighting spirit which could, by the arts of skilful leaders of men, be turned into any channel. The valour of the Irish regiments of the British Army is proof enough of this. The murder of policemen and soldiers is perhaps only the perversion of this fighting spirit under the influence of malignant leadership. The Volun-

teers have been laboriously trained to regard the English as their natural enemies, and after a time they have developed the instinct to slay these enemies upon any favourable opportunity, by fair means or foul.

But the same reasoning cannot apply to the responsible leaders of the Republican movement. They cannot have believed at any time that the British Empire could be defeated by any methods which they could adopt, or even be terrorised into granting the status of an independent Republic to Ireland at any cost of destruction and bloodshed. In turning the country into a shambles they have proclaimed their own incompetence to rule, have made it the more impossible for British troops and police to withdraw and leave an intimidated population at the mercy of a gang of murderers. They have preached a war upon England, a war in which, as England has refused to recognize it, they must take the offensive in their own country, which must therefore suffer destruction at their own hands. If England has not in the past been wholly innocent of offence to Ireland, her guilt is as nothing compared with the guilt of those who have in recent years let loose every weapon of outrage upon their unfortunate compatriots. It is indeed, in the words of the Prime Minister, "a hellish policy," and a policy that can have no shadow of justification nor hope of condonation.

Although the outrage campaign has been in operation for some years, it will be convenient to deal with its manifestations in 1920 alone, in

order that its relation to Irish administration in that year may be more clearly understood. It was in this year that the number and brutality of the outrages committed by the Republicans reached their climax, as the statistics and examples that follow will indicate.

For the purposes of examination, the outrages committed under the auspices of the Republican organisations may be classified as follows.

Attacks on members of the police forces.
Attacks on members of the military forces.
Attacks on civilians.
Destruction of court-houses.
Destruction of police barracks.
Raids on mails.
Raids on coast-guard stations and lighthouses.
Raids for arms.

The last two forms of outrage have been dealt with in the preceding chapter, and there is no need to refer to them again here.

We may begin with an account of attacks on members of the police forces. This heading covers the ambushing of parties of police (a very favourite form of Volunteer activity), police casualties sustained during raids upon barracks or in the course of riots, attacks upon solitary policemen, and the deliberate murder of particular members of the police forces.

During the period from the 1st January, 1920, to 1st January, 1921, 165 members of the police forces have been killed, 225 wounded, and a very large number fired at in attempts at murder. The nature of these outrages can best be demon-

strated by taking the records for a given week, and also by describing certain particular cases. For this purpose, the week from noon on September 25 to noon on October 2nd may be selected, not because more attacks were made on police during that week than during any other, but because it was a fair average week as regards outrage on the whole.

During this week 6 police were killed, 6 wounded, and 22 fired at without their sustaining injury. Two other police died during the week from the result of wounds previously received, bringing the total police mortality up to eight. Short details of the killings and woundings are as follows.

At 9 p.m. on 25th September a party of five police were fired upon in the village of Broadford, in the Six-Mile-Bridge district of County Clare, by a party of armed men. Constable Brogan was shot dead, and Constable Brennan was seriously wounded. The others escaped injury.

During the afternoon of 29th September, Constables Downey and O'Keefe were shot dead beside the police barrack in a public-house at O'Brien's Bridge, County Clare. The assailants escaped.

At 1.30 p.m. on 29th September a police patrol consisting of four men, while returning from Borrisoleigh to Goldings Cross in the Templemore district of County Tipperary, was ambushed midway between the two places. Two of the patrol, Constables Flood and Noonan, were

shot dead. Of the others, one was wounded and one escaped injury. The police returned the fire but it could not be ascertained whether the assailants suffered any casualties. The body of Constable Flood was found completely riddled beside a hedge.

At 2.20 p.m. on 29th September a sergeant and six constables were attacked and fired upon by fifty armed and masked men near Waterville, in the Cahirciveen district of County Kerry. The police fought valiantly, and all escaped with the exception of one man who was not very severely wounded. The raiders took seven bicycles, two rifles, and six police capes.

At 10 p.m. on 28th September Sergeant Dee was fired at in the village of Drimoleague in the Bantry district of County Cork. He was seriously wounded, receiving five bullet wounds in the body.

At 5.30 p.m. on 30th September a motor lorry patrol was fired on at Leitrim, between Bunadden and Tubbercurry, County Sligo. District Inspector Brady was shot dead and Head Constable O'Hara seriously wounded in the leg. Constable Brown was slightly wounded in the head. The police returned the fire, with what result is not known.

Such, in the bald language of the police reports, is the record of an average week of murder and attempted murder by the Republicans. In no single case is there any indication of open warfare, the methods of the assailants are those of common assassins, careful never to

act until they are in overwhelming numbers and have covered their line of retreat. Fuller accounts of the murders of policemen merely emphasise the cowardly and brutal methods of the ruffians who style themselves soldiers of the Irish Republic. Of these, three instances will be sufficient, the murders of District Inspector Brady, mentioned above, of County Inspector Smyth, and of Sergeant Mulherne.

The following is an extract from a report (made on the spot) of the ambushing during which District Inspector Brady was killed.

"I beg to state that on 30th September District Inspector Brady, Head Constable O'Hara and seven men from Tubbercurry went to Sligo on duty per motor lorry by direct road. They left Sligo for their station about 4 p.m. taking a different route *via* Ballymote.

"When they arrived at Leitrim, which is about 2 miles from Tubbercurry on the road between Bunadden and Tubbercurry, they were fired on with rifles from an elaborately prepared ambush behind loopholed walls situated on elevated ground on each side of the road. The spot was a regular death-trap and afforded no chance of success to the police even if they had been in a position to dismount and attack. District Inspector Brady received three dreadful wounds in the region of the kidneys, apparently caused by expanding bullets. The calf of Head Constable O'Hara's right leg was practically blown away and the big toe of his left foot shattered. Constable Brown received a slight

superficial wound on the cheek. The lorry drove on, under a heavy fire, to which the police replied as well as they could. They could not see their cowardly assailants, who were safely entrenched in strong numbers behind their loopholed walls. On their arrival at Tubbercurry they found the telegraph wires to Sligo had been cut, and so a party of police from Tubbercurry had to come into Sligo by the motor lorry to inform the County Inspector, arriving there at 9.15 p.m. D. I. Russell of Sligo took a party of sixteen police from Sligo, together with D. I. Dease (who was returning to Tubbercurry off sick-leave) and a party of ten soldiers under an officer, and they all arrived at Tubbercurry shortly after 11 p.m. D. I. Russell and Dease went into the R.I.C. Barracks and found that D. I. Brady had died at about 8.30 p.m., and his naked body was lying on the kitchen floor having just been washed after death." (It is a peculiarly sad feature of the case that D. I. Brady was to have returned to his permanent station, Ballymoney, County Antrim, on the next day). "Head Constable O'Hara was lying in a room off the kitchen, suffering intense pain.

"An attempt to hold an inquest on the body of D. I. Brady yesterday was abortive. Only seven persons attended. The state of terrorism which now prevails in the county generally renders any attempt to hold an inquest on a murdered member of the R.I.C. a pure farce and waste of time. The remains of poor young D. I. Brady were carried through the town of Tubber-

curry yesterday evening on the shoulders of the local police. No outsider had the moral courage to show any sympathy by joining in the little cortège composed of the forces of the Crown. This ostracism affects the men of the R.I.C. very much. Living or dead they are social outcasts. I went to the scene of the ambush with police and a few soldiers and made a thorough search and as much inquiry as time permitted of. There was every evidence that a large gang took part in the ambush and there is reason to believe the other road by which this lorry might have returned was also ambushed. Stone walls on each side of the road had been loopholed and the raiders had brought supplies of food and drink judging by the bottles and paper littered about. They had also made themselves temporary couches of straw on which to lie. The military officer who was with me says that a person with a good deal of military knowledge must have selected the spot and had something to do with the loopholing. After the shooting a number of men carrying rifles were seen retiring in a southerly direction, so that there is a strong probability that Irish Volunteers from South Sligo and the localities of Gurteen, Mullaghmore, and the country west of Lough Gara took a part.

"The ambushing of small parties of R.I.C. now appears to be a definite plan of campaign of the Irish Volunteers, who select suitable spots and place fairly large forces in them to deal with any forces of police passing that way. A party of police passing through a wood near Tubber-

curry on October 1st were fired at by a party in ambush. So far, as a result of the activities of the South Sligo Irish Volunteers, we have had one District Inspector and two constables murdered, and one Head Constable and four constables wounded."

The murder of Colonel Smyth was an instance of deliberate and cold-blooded assassination carried out by emissaries of the Republicans. The circumstances that led up to it are worthy of a short description, for they form a remarkable indictment of the methods of the Volunteers.

On the 10th July, 1920, a certain section of the Irish Press published an extract from the "Irish Bulletin" (a multigraphed sheet issued periodically by the propaganda department of the Sinn Fein organisation). The gist of the extract was that Colonel Smyth, Divisional Commissioner R.I.C., had, on the 19th June, 1920, made an inflammatory speech to the men at Listowel barracks, in County Kerry. It was alleged that the speech was an incitement to murder, and it was widely advertised as such by the Republicans as an example of encouragement given by the authorities to the police to murder innocent Irish people.

Colonel Smyth gave a correct report of the speech which he had made at Listowel on 19th June, which report was subsequently published in "The Times" of 30th July, 1920. It was evident that the original report of the speech, as given by the "Irish Bulletin," had been a complete misrepresentation of Colonel Smyth's

actual words, and was probably based upon the verbal account of a disaffected constable who had been present on the occasion.

A month later, on July 17th, Colonel Smyth, who had just returned to Ireland from a three days' visit to England, was sitting in the smoking-room of the County Club at Cork with County Inspector Craig. At 10.30 p.m. a number of armed men forced their way into the Club, overpowering the hall porter, and fourteen of the party made their way into the smoking-room. One of them pointed out Colonel Smyth, who was promptly riddled with revolver bullets and died within a few seconds. County Inspector Craig was also wounded.

Colonel Smyth was one of two gallant brothers, both of whom had magnificent war records, and both of whom had been wounded in the service of their country. The second brother, Major Smyth, was shot dead on the 11th October by assassins whom he was endeavouring to arrest in a house in Drumcondra, Dublin. This murder is described below.

There is one feature in the case of the shooting of Sergeant Mulherne which distinguishes it from many other brutal murders which took place during the year. The unfortunate man was in the act of leaving the Roman Catholic Church of Bandon, County Cork, at a few minutes past eight in the morning of 25th July, when he was shot dead actually in the porch of the church by four or five armed men who had been waiting for him. It is noteworthy that in

this case the Bishop of Cork pronounced an interdict against the murderers.*

It must be clearly realised that the cases cited above are not mere isolated incidents, but are chosen as representative of a series of murders which have been carried out by Republicans throughout the year. These cases illustrate two forms of assassination : ambush by overwhelming forces, and deliberate and carefully planned murder of selected victims. It may be of interest to note that at the time of the murder of Colonel Smyth, at Cork, Terence McSwiney, then Lord Mayor of Cork, was also Commandant of the First Cork Brigade of the Irish Republican Army.

Attacks upon members of the military forces were carried out by much the same methods. During the period from 1st January, 1920, to 1st January, 1921, 53 military were killed, 118 wounded, and a very large number fired at ineffectually. The majority of these men were attacked while making arrests in the execution of their duty, or in the course of ambushes, or while acting as sentries in exposed positions. An example of each of these forms of attack will sufficiently illustrate the methods employed.

During the night of October 11th-12th, a party of troops, commanded by Major G. O. S. Smyth, and including Captain A. P. White, demanded admittance to a house known as Fernside, in Drumcondra, on the outskirts of Dublin, the

* See the statement printed at the end of this chapter (page 236).

residence of Mr. John Carolan, with the object of arresting a suspected person said to be lodging there. Entry to the house was not opposed, and the ordinary room-to-room search proceeded normally until the top floor was reached. As Major Smyth entered a room on this floor, he was shot at point-blank range while opening the door, and fell dead. A hail of fire was then opened from the room down the narrow passage outside, and Captain White, who had dashed to Major Smyth's assistance, was so severely wounded that he died shortly after. Corporal Worth, who was on the stairs, was also seriously wounded. The remaining members of the party, assisted by Mr. Carolan, the owner of the house, made a gallant attempt to enter the room, in the course of which Mr. Carolan was seriously wounded. Two of the party who had been guarding the rear of the house rushed into the building when they heard the firing. During their absence the assassins are believed to have jumped from the window of their room on to the roof of a glass-house in the garden, and so to have made their escape.

At 6-15 p.m. on 20th July, 1920, a military lorry going from Macroom to Ballyvourney, in County Cork, was ambushed by a party of armed men who fired two volleys into the lorry while it was passing between high banks which overhung both sides of the road. All the members of the military party, together with a naval wireless operator, were wounded, more or less severely. Captain Airey subsequently died from the effects of his wounds.

The Volunteers, however, did not always find the ambushing of troops a profitable occupation, as the following account shows:—

At about a quarter to four in the afternoon of 8th September, 1920, a military lorry carrying an officer and a party of eight men of the Essex Regiment was travelling along the road from Ballineen to Dunmanway, County Cork, when the officer in charge noticed a band of about twenty men collected on the road some three quarters of a mile ahead. When these men saw the lorry they jumped into the ditches that border the road. The lorry prepared for action, and drove slowly on. When it reached the point where the band had first been observed, the members of the latter were seen with arms in their hands running for the cover of a wood near by. Half of the military party gave chase, and were promptly fired on, but without effect. They returned the fire and wounded two of their assailants. The other half of the party remained to guard the lorry. They, too, were fired upon by about thirty men and returned the fire.

Although in such overwhelming numbers, the attackers thought better of the matter, and decamped. On the scene of the ambush, and about five yards from the road, a man, John Murray, was found lying in the gorse. He stated that he was told to lie there till he saw the lorry and then to give a signal. He was searched, but no arms were found on him, and in order to keep him out of mischief he was subsequently removed to the local workhouse. On

22nd of September he was tried by Court Martial at Cork and acquitted.

Just previous to the firing, another man, riding a skewbald horse, was seen about the spot. He saluted the officer in charge, but subsequently, when the latter was climbing the hedge to begin his pursuit of the raiders, he fired two revolver shots at him and rode away.

A fair was going on in the village of Ballineen at the time, and this gave the attackers the opportunity of concentrating unobserved. The site of the attack is particularly adapted to the purpose of an ambush, there being a hedge and a deep ditch on either side of the road, which is flanked by heavy undergrowth and a wood.

As an example of the murder of a soldier on patrol that of Lance-Corporal Maddox, who was shot dead at Bandon, County Cork, at 12-30 a.m. on 27th July, 1920, may be mentioned.

Attacks upon civilians by the Republicans are usually in the nature of murders of marked men whom the various organizations consider dangerous, or of persons whom they suspect of informing or of betraying their secrets. During the period from 1st January, 1920, to 1st January, 1921, 43 civilians were murdered, and 103 wounded. The most sensational murders of marked men were those of Messrs. Alan Bell and Frank Brooke and of Captain Lendrum.

Mr. Alan Bell was a Resident Magistrate, and during March, 1920, he was engaged in Dublin upon investigations into the relations between certain Irish Banks and the Sinn Fein

organizations. At about ten o'clock in the morning of March 26th, 1920, he boarded a tram at Monkstown on the outskirts of Dublin in order to proceed from his home to his office in Dublin Castle. When the tram reached a stopping place at the end of Sandymount Avenue, a party of about half a dozen men, who had evidently been awaiting the arrival of the car on which Mr. Bell was travelling, boarded the car. Two of them stepped up to their victim and tapped him on the shoulder, saying "Come on, Mr. Bell, your time has come." They then dragged him from the car on to the footpath beside the road, and shot him dead with their revolvers.

It is important to note that this affair took place actually in Dublin itself during one of the busiest periods of the day, when the inhabitants of the suburbs were coming into the City to their work; and the fact that no attempt was made by any of the onlookers to prevent the crime or to impede the escape of the murderers is a striking illustration of the reign of terror established by the Republicans even in the capital of the country.

The case of Mr. Brooke was very curious. The Right Honourable Frank Brooke, D.L., was chairman of the Dublin and South Eastern Railway Company. He was an Irish Privy Councillor, and a member of Lord French's Advisory Committee. For some time previous to his murder he had received a series of threatening letters, and he was under constant police protection. At 12-30 p.m. on July 30th,

1920, he was seated in his office at Westland Row Station, Dublin, when a small band of armed men burst in and shot him dead. The motives for the deed are obscure, but it is probable that the part he had played in the railway dispute was responsible for the murder. The verdict of the Coroner's jury on the affair is interesting. It is as follows: "Francis H. Brooke died on the 30th of July, 1920, from shock and hæmorrhage caused by bullets fired from a revolver by persons unknown. We consider this a premeditated wilful murder and we express our abhorrence of the crime and tender our sincere sympathy with the family and friends of the deceased."

Captain Lendrum, a Resident Magistrate for County Clare, was ambushed on 22nd September while motoring from Ennistymon to Ennis, in County Clare. Nothing more was heard of him, and the local police threatened reprisals unless news of him was forthcoming. Some days later two men interviewed the District Inspector and informed him that Captain Lendrum had been shot dead at the time of his ambush on the 22nd, but that the Republicans would give up his body if the police were withheld from the threatened reprisals for a period sufficient to enable them to obtain the body, as "at present there were difficulties in the way." The informants stated to the District Inspector that they were compelled to deliver the information under a threat from the Irish Volunteers. Information was received at 10 a.m. on 1st October, 1920, that a coffin had been seen on the railway line at Kilmurray, and

the police on proceeding to that place found the body, which bore traces of immersion in sea-water, and was wrapped in a sheet enclosed in a rudely-constructed coffin of white wood. On the lid of the coffin was pencilled in capital letters "To Kilkee." The fact of the body showing signs of having been in the sea for some days would account for the "difficulty in the way" referred to by the informers.

The following is one out of the many instances of the murders of men suspected by the Republicans of having betrayed them :—

On the evening of 21st September, 1920, the body of an unknown man with a bullet wound in the head was found in a field of corn at Knockroe, in the Bagenalstown district of County Carlow. A label was attached to the man's clothing, bearing the words "*Spies and Informers Beware!*"

We may now turn from the consideration of outrages upon the person to outrages upon property. It has long been part of the policy of the Republicans to destroy Government property whenever possible, regardless of the fact that the results of such destruction must inevitably be borne by their own country, and would be most severely felt by themselves if they succeeded in forming the Republic they desire.

The first heading under this description of outrage is the destruction of court houses. These establishments besides being the centres of justice usually contain the records of the district

and such public property as standard weights and measures. It is easy to believe that criminals such as those forming the ranks of the Irish Republican Army would regard the destruction of court houses with special delight, and it is quite possible that certain sections of the general populace would hesitate to interfere with them.

During the period from January 1st, 1920, to January 1st, 1921, 68 court houses were destroyed, mostly by the simple expedient of burning them down. Three of these destructions took place during the week from 28th August to 4th September, 1920, and the extracts from the police reports for this week will illustrate them.

In the morning of August 31st, 1920, the court house and vacated R.I.C. barracks at Celbridge, County Kildare, were maliciously destroyed by fire.

At 1 a.m. on September 3rd, 1920, the court house at Ballinamore, County Leitrim, was set on fire and completely destroyed.

At 3 a.m. on 4th September, 1920, the court house and vacated R.I.C. barracks at Mountmellick, Queen's County, were maliciously burned down.

Another example, showing the destruction of records, is as follows:—

During the morning of 23rd August, 1920, a party of men attacked Collooney court house, in the Ballymote district of County Sligo. They broke up the furniture and burned it, together with the statutes and books.

Of perhaps more importance is the organised

campaign of destruction of police barracks. It was found, soon after the inauguration of the outrage campaign, that it was impossible for the police to defend themselves when they were scattered in small parties all over the country. A policy was therefore put into operation by which the police were withdrawn from outlying stations and concentrated at the larger and more important centres, the vacated barracks being thus left unoccupied. The Republican reply to this policy was to begin a campaign of systematic burning of vacated barracks, while at the same time organizing attacks upon such occupied barracks as they felt strong enough to capture without much risk.

During the period between 1st January, 1920, and 1st January, 1921, 507 vacated barracks were destroyed and 114 damaged, mostly by parties of armed and masked men who were able to burn them down without much fear of interruption. But it frequently happened that the Volunteers did not have things all their own way. On more than one occasion the vacated barracks were kept under observation, and the destruction parties were routed with considerable loss as soon as they started their operations.

The figures of the destruction of occupied barracks tell a very different tale. During the period from 1st of January, 1920 to 1st January, 1921, 23 occupied barracks were destroyed and 49 damaged. The story is always much the same: an overwhelming force of raiders arrives

upon the scene armed and equipped with combustibles, and proceeds to lay regular siege to the threatened barracks. A few results of successful resistances are as follows :—

At 1-45 a.m. on 13th August, 1920, Castlebaldwin R.I.C. barracks were attacked by a large party of armed men. The police garrison returned their fire, and after three quarters of an hour of ineffectual firing the attackers withdrew. None of the police was injured.

Perhaps the best example is contained in the reports on a series of attacks delivered within a five mile radius in County Donegal early in the morning of the 30th August, 1920. The brief reports speak for themselves.

At 1 a.m. on August 30th Ballyshannon R.I.C. barracks were attacked by a large party of armed men. The attackers were driven off without loss to the garrison.

At 1-50 a.m. on 30th August Bundoran R.I.C. barracks were attacked by armed raiders for an hour. The attackers were driven off without loss to the garrison.

In the early hours of the morning of 30th August Donegal R.I.C. barracks were attacked by a large party of armed men. The attackers were repelled. None of the police was injured.

Surely this night's work bears out the acid comment in *An T'Oglac* of June, 1920, that " no fortified place was ever taken by firing rifle shots at it from a distance ! "

An instance of the success of the Volunteers

against an occupied barracks is contained in a report as follows:—

At 10 a.m. on 5th September, 1920, a party of armed men disguised as soldiers entered the police barracks in Bellah, County Fermanagh. Having gained entry through their disguise, they overpowered the occupants and seized all the arms and ammunition they could find. The barracks were then set on fire and destroyed.

There is no doubt that in the case of attacks upon occupied barracks, the balance of advantage rests upon the side of the police, whose heroic defence of their stations against overwhelming numbers would in itself make a chapter of history.

We now come to a form of outrage which became extremely prevalent throughout the year, namely, raids upon mails. These raids appeared to be undertaken by the Volunteers on behalf of their intelligence service. By examination of the mails and the removal of official correspondence they hoped to discover the counter-measures taken by the authorities to deal with the campaign of outrage. Further than this, they hoped to obtain evidence of local feeling, to discover possible informers and the sentiments of the population. Their methods varied from the holding up of trains to the stopping of solitary postmen. It is obviously impossible to provide armed escorts for every man or vehicle carrying the mails, and in a country like Ireland, abounding in spots favourable to ambush, there is no possibility of guarding against a wholesale campaign of mail-

raiding. During the period from 1st January, 1920, to 1st January, 1921, there were 998 raids on mails of various kinds, of which typical examples are as follows :—

At 7-10 a.m. on July 15th, 1920, about twenty-two armed men entered the sorting and mails department of the Dublin General Post Office* at the Rotunda Rink. They held up all the officials and took away the following bags of correspondence : a bag for the Secretary, G.P.O., several bundles of letters for the Accountant, G.P.O., a pouch for the Registrar-General, a sorting box for the Engineer, G.P.O., a bag for the Local Government Board, a bag for the Surveyor of Taxes, a bag for the Under Secretary's office, two bundles containing about fifty letters for the R.I.C., about a hundred miscellaneous letters for Dublin Castle, eighty letters for the Vice-Regal Lodge, a bag for the General Prisons Board, and a bag for the Cashier Irish Command.

Three men carried the letters and bags to a motor-car which was in waiting at the western side of the Square outside the office. A large bag containing the correspondence for the R.I.C. was lying on the floor partly under a table in the State Letter Department and was apparently unnoticed by the raiders, who remained twelve minutes in the building, leaving at 7-22 a.m. on a signal given by their leader, who blew a whistle.

* The G.P.O. building in Dublin was burnt out during the Easter Week Rebellion, 1916. Since then the various postal services of the City have been carried out in various temporary offices.

He was the last to leave the premises, and counted off his men as they left. The premises are entered by gates at the eastern and western sides of the Rotunda, and the raid was carried out simultaneously at each side, the raiders driving the officials before them into the centre of the building at the point of their revolvers. When the raiders entered they immediately took possession of the telephones and emergency switches in the building and so prevented any information being conveyed until the raid was completed. The superintendent was at his post and immediately the raiders had left he telephoned to the police. At the time of the raid there were in all about a hundred and fifty officials, including postmen and overseers, on the premises.

Examples of other forms of raids on mails are as follows :—

At 7 a.m. on 10th September a rural postman from Monaghan to a neighbouring village was held up about three miles from Monaghan by a masked and armed man, and £47 in old-age pension money was taken from him.

This form of robbery is extremely common. It shows that the Republicans make war, not like the highwaymen of old, upon the richer classes, but upon rich and poor alike.

At 10-30 a.m. on 13th October, 1920, the mail-car from Tipperary to Limerick Junction, conveying the general night mail, was held up at Bohercrowe in the Tipperary district by armed and masked men, and the contents of the mail-

car, sixteen bags, were taken. On the morning of the 14th the mailbags were found by a postman with their seals broken about half a mile from the scene of the raid. The letters were all open and mixed up, and five registered letters were missing.

On 30th August the 4-45 p.m. train from Mountmellick, Queen's County, was held up by four armed and masked men one mile outside the town. Four mail-bags were rifled and two taken. The passengers' luggage was also searched and some of it taken.

Instances of mail robberies might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough has been said to enable the position to be realised. So serious did it become that on 12th October, 1920, the Irish Government issued the following statement :—

"The Government has had under consideration the constantly repeated attacks upon post offices and mails under conveyance in Ireland, and the threatening letters which have been addressed to individual post office servants in connection with the performance of their duty. As these attacks render it impossible for the Post Office to fulfil its obligations to safeguard the secrecy of the correspondence committed to its care, the Government feels bound to issue a clear warning to the public whose letters are liable to loss or violation to an even greater extent than those of the Government (seeing that the more important Government mails do not go through the post), that, if the practices above referred to are not discontinued, postal services will be curtailed, or

even altogether withdrawn, in the districts affected."

Other forms of outrage which are not included under the classification on page 212 have occurred in great numbers, but these can only be very briefly referred to on account of lack of space. For instance, during the months of April and May, 1920, 119 raids were made on Revenue Offices, resulting in the destruction of many official documents and much other public property. A word must also be said upon the subject of Republican war upon women. In pursuance of their policy of boycott against the Forces of the Crown, the Volunteers make a practice of attacking those who are seen speaking to members of these forces. In the case of women, the favourite punishment is the cropping of their hair. Instances where this has occurred are as follows :—

At 8-45 p.m. on 31st July, 1920, when two soldiers and two girls were out walking near Navan, Co. Meath, four men presented revolvers at them, knocked down the girls, and cut off their hair.

At 11 p.m. on 29th September, when Bridget Wynne and Lily Colburn, resident in the Birr district, were returning to their homes at Banagher, King's County, accompanied by two soldiers of the Somerset Light Infantry they were set upon by a party of armed and disguised men, some fifteen or twenty in number, and their hair cut off.

At 12-30 a.m. on 5th October, 1920, the house

of John Kean, at Shaurahan, in the Cahir district of County Tipperary, was entered by three masked and armed men who cropped his daughter's hair.

Other brutal outrages upon women are common. The following is a good example :—

At 10-30 p.m. on 14th September, 1920, a barrack servant, sixty years of age, was taken from her lodgings in a village in County Donegal by armed and masked men. They gagged her and took her to a field nearby, where she was kicked in the body and her hair cut off.

Finally we may give an example of a type of outrage which sufficiently exhibits the mentality of the perpetrators.

On the morning of the 28th September, 1920, a donkey, the property of Anne McEvoy, of Portarlington, Queen's County, was stabbed in the forehead by a masked man. The animal had been employed in carting turf for the police.

A statement showing cases of police shot or attacked on their way to or from their churches, and cases where the absence of police at Mass has been taken advantage of to attack barracks.

County, Cork. *District*, Ballincollig.

When Constables Michael Sweeney and Michael Walsh were leaving Berrings Chapel on 28th September, 1919, they were attacked by a party of 12 men, knocked down, and kicked. Two shots were fired at Constable Sweeney, passing through his

body at the upper portion of his lung. The other lodged in his body.

County, Tipperary. *District*, Nenagh.

Constables Jas. Rock and C. Healy, Toomevara, were murdered on 16th March, 1920, when returning from evening devotions.

County, Clare. *District*, Kilrush.

Sergeant P. J. Carroll murdered and Constable Collins seriously wounded on 18th April, 1920, when returning from Mass at Kilmihill.

County, Cork. *District*, Fermoy.

On 24th April, 1920, Arraglen Barrack was raided by a party of 12 armed men while the party (with the exception of the B.O.) was at Divine Service. They overpowered the B.O. after he had twice fired, wounding one. They blindfolded and bound him, placed him in the lock-up, and took away all arms and ammunition, also the official books.

County, Cork. *District*, Bandon.

On 25th July, 1920, Sergeant Mulherne, R.I.C., entering the R.C. Chapel in Bandon was murdered in the porch of the chapel.

County, Cork. *District*, Bandon.

When Constable Walsh, Mountpleasant, was going to Mass on 2nd May, 1920, he was fired at, the bullet grazing his back. He was also struck by some shots on the face.

County, Cork. *District*, Youghal.

Head Constable Ruddock was fired at

and wounded when returning from Divine Service on 1st August, 1920, at Youghal.

County, Fermanagh. *District*, Kesh.

A party of armed men dressed in soldiers' uniform, in motor cars, entered the R.I.C. Barracks, Belleek, at 10-15 a.m. on 5th September, 1920. They overpowered the occupants and seized the arms and ammunition. Some of the police were at Divine Service, and the raiders locked the church door to prevent them coming to the assistance of their comrades. The raiders also burned the barracks.

County, Meath. *District*, Trim.

At about 9 a.m. on 26th September, 1920, Trim R.I.C. Barracks was rushed by a party of masked and armed men, during the absence of five of the garrison at Divine Service. They wounded the Head Constable, took all the arms and ammunition, and burned the barracks.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TROOPS IN IRELAND AND THE RAILWAY SITUATION.

Republican sympathisers in Ireland habitually refer to the troops stationed in Ireland as an Army of Occupation, as though the duties of these troops were to keep in subjection a hostile populace. A single fact is sufficient to prove that the British Military forces in Ireland are in no sense an Army of Occupation—the fact that that country is not administered by martial law. That martial law has been proclaimed at different times in eight counties to deal with temporary situations in no way alters the main fact. British troops are maintained in Ireland for the sole purpose of assisting the police to maintain law and order, and they can act in political matters only at the request of the police authorities.

In a statement issued to the press by the Irish Government in July, 1920, the facts were set out as follows :—

" British troops are now stationed in Ireland in greater strength than is usual in time of peace for the sole purpose of assisting the Civil Power in maintaining law and order, and in defence of

Ireland and the Irish. The policy of the Irish extremists has been shown to be one of destruction of life and property, and it is obvious that whatever may be the future of the country the burden of this destruction must fall upon the shoulders of the Irish nation. It is in order to check the ravages of the extremists that troops are required in augmentation of the police forces. The military in Ireland are in no sense an Army of Occupation; military law has not been proclaimed, and the mere presence of the troops has been found to act as a check upon the campaign of outrage.

"That the intervention of armed forces is welcomed by the responsible body of Irish opinion has been proved abundantly. Their assistance was recently invoked by the authorities of Londonderry, and their presence on that occasion undoubtedly helped in preventing the development of a still more serious situation. The military precautions taken last week were approved by both Nationalists and Unionists in Ulster, and it is probable that these precautions influenced the marked lack of disorder that accompanied the celebrations of July 12th.

"Finally, it would be impossible, by withdrawing British troops from Ireland, to leave the law-abiding majority of that country and the peaceful agents of civil government at the mercy of the forces of disorder, or to remove the sole agency capable of keeping the peace between rival sections of the community."

This statement sets out the position of the

British Army in Ireland, and the reasons for its presence. It must be remembered, also, that Ireland has always been a training ground for British troops, and that consequently the mere fact of troops being in Ireland has nothing to do with the political situation. The number of troops in the country has necessarily been increased, in order to cope with the activities of the Republicans. These troops, composed mainly of young soldiers, have behaved, under conditions of extreme difficulty, in a manner that must compel the admiration of the civilized world.

Their position is very similar to that of the Royal Irish Constabulary, which was described in the previous chapter. They are, to all intents and purposes, living in a hostile country, without the advantage of being confronted by a visible enemy from whom they can seek vengeance for injuries sustained. Their duties are perhaps more arduous than those occasioned by active warfare. They are called upon to furnish a constant succession of guards, patrols, and search parties, and when their tour of duty is over they are compelled to spend the greater part of their leisure in barracks. There is no single minute of the day or night in which they can relax their vigilance. They may at any moment be attacked by overwhelming numbers, their barracks may be stormed, each individual may be waylaid and shot without warning.

Nor do the actions of the Republicans cease at murder and bodily injury. Soldiers are insulted every day in a thousand different ways. Every

effort is made by the Republicans to prevent them from associating with the Irish population. They are treated as pariahs and outcasts in the country which it is their duty to defend. As a consequence they dislike their surroundings, are forced to regard the Irish as their enemies, and long for an opportunity of retaliation upon them by legitimate means.

Yet in spite of this provocation, they have maintained the traditions of the British Army, have proved their steadiness and their discipline, and with it all have kept up that wonderful cheerfulness and spirit which were the admiration of the world throughout the War. There is abundant evidence that the troops are popular with the Irish population where the latter are not under the influence of Republican terrorism, that in the more law-abiding parts of the country they are welcomed and treated as honoured visitors. But it is of course in the disturbed areas that their qualities of discipline have had the greatest chance of being displayed. In Cork City, for instance, the troops have suffered every possible form of outrage and insult. It might well be imagined that their self-restraint would have succumbed to the provocation they have received, that they would have seized the first opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their cowardly assailants. Yet the incident of the attack on General Strickland on 24th September, 1920, revealed a state of discipline almost unparalleled. The Chief Secretary referred to the incident in the House of

Commons on 20th October, 1920, in the following words :—

" The other day in Cork, General Strickland, one of the most distinguished Commanders of the late War, was motoring through the streets. He was ambushed, many shots were fired at him, and some pierced his car, but he came through the fusilade owing to the courage of his driver. He commands, let us say, ten thousand troops in the Cork area. He drove at once to his headquarters in his car, and he issued the most drastic commands that every man in his command should fall in, including officers. Why? Because he did not want any reprisals in that force of his, and there was not a sign or a suspicion of reprisal. . . . I want to point out to this House what a strong discipline there must be in an army that will allow its popular and distinguished general to be ambushed, to be shot at by assassins, and yet not strike back. No other army under any other flag in the world can boast, and rightly boast, of such stern discipline. This is only one out of many instances of the exercise of a restraint that is indeed marvellous."

The position of the soldier in Ireland is very well set out in a pamphlet entitled " Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers " published by authority and issued to the troops in October, 1920. After giving an account of the origin and history of Sinn Fein, and of the organization and methods of the Republican forces, the pamphlet proceeds to deal with the attitude of the Army

towards these forces in the following words :—

"As soldiers, we of the garrison of Ireland have nothing to do with the political opinion or differences of opinion of the Irish, but we are here to ensure that law and order are maintained, to support the police in maintaining order and in suppressing violence, sedition, and disloyalty to our King and Empire.

"It will be seen . . . that the chief disturbers of the peace in this country are the extreme sections of Sinn Fein. These men are mostly enrolled in, and many are leaders of, the Irish Volunteers. There are considerable numbers of these all over Ireland, and their organization is good and complete. Their intelligence service is good, and they are always anxious to obtain information about military dispositions. They want more arms, they want explosives, and they want to commit outrages against the members of the police or military and do all the damage they can to Government property in Ireland without running any risk to themselves.

"These are the reasons why so many guards have to be mounted on Government property in Ireland, why sentries have to be doubled, why armed men are not allowed to go about in parties of less than six. A soldier in Ireland must be particularly careful that no military matters are discussed in the presence of civilians and to ensure that every precaution is taken that arms and ammunition, or explosives, do not fall into the hands of unauthorised persons. He must be ready at all times to go to the assistance of the

police if called upon. He must always be vigilant and never allow himself to be lulled into a sense of security by the apparently peaceful appearance of his surroundings, and he must be well trained in the use of his weapons so as to defend himself should the necessity arise.

"Every soldier in Ireland must realise that the most harmless looking civilian may be armed and hostile, that he has cunning and desperate men to deal with who will stop at nothing, and are capable of committing any outrage—provided the risk to themselves is not great, but who, if stood up to, generally consider that discretion is the better part of valour.

"It may be taken for granted that every move of military or police detachments on patrol, escorts, etc., and every guard are carefully watched at all times by the members of the Irish Republican Army, and that the slightest slackness is detected and leads to attack. The fact that an attack is not made on a patrol, escort, guard, etc., means not that the opportunity for attack has not been sought, but that the military precautions in such particular cases have been such that an attack would be likely to entail risk of life and limb to the attackers."

One of the methods employed by the Republicans to harass the military authorities, and also the police, in the execution of their duties was to bring pressure to bear upon railwaymen throughout Ireland in order to induce them to refuse to work trains carrying soldiers, members of the police force, or stores

intended for the use of the military or police. As was to be expected, the effects of this policy were felt most strongly in the South and West of Ireland, where the influence of the Republicans was strongest. The usual tactics employed by the intimidated railwaymen were to refuse to act as soon as parties of soldiers or police entered the trains. This policy began to take a serious turn in June, 1920. The following examples of its action during that month show the methods employed.

On June 21st a party of police who were proceeding to their headquarters for a course of instruction boarded the 7-30 a.m. train from Cloughjordan, County Tipperary. The engine-driver refused to proceed until the police left the train. The police received instructions to remain in their carriages, and the train remained in the station. This was the first symptom of direct action in the matter, and it challenged the maintenance of ordinary civil government. The engine-driver was summoned to Dublin by the officials of the G.S. and W. Railway Company, and was dismissed. A suggestion was promptly made by certain Republican sympathisers that the deadlock was deliberately created by the Irish Government with the view to producing a test case, and forcing an issue upon a dispute that was raging at the time over the carriage of ammunition upon Irish railways. This dispute had begun with the refusal of the L. and N.W. Railway employees in Dublin to unload cargoes of military stores from that Company's steamers at North Wall, Dublin.

The suggestion that the authorities had provoked the situation was entirely unfounded, as future events proved. On the 23rd the situation was unchanged. No trains were running through Cloughjordan Station, and the station was guarded by troops. Traffic was held up on the whole section of line between Ballybrophy, the junction for Nenagh on the main G.S. and W. line, and Nenagh. Would-be passengers were obliged to travel by Limerick Junction or to make use of such local facilities for road transport as they could find. Later on the same day the trouble spread to Limerick. A party of police going from that city to Nenagh were held up at Limerick Station by the railwaymen refusing to work the train. On the same evening the night mail train from Cork to Dublin was held up at Blarney at 9 p.m. The two guards of the train were kidnapped and removed to an unknown destination. The telegraph wires in the vicinity were also cut. The police remained in their train and were protected there by other police who were not travelling. On the 24th the railway deadlock spread still further. No trains left Limerick in any direction. An engine-driver at Athenry, in County Galway, on the M.G.W. Railway refused to drive a train containing a party of police from that station to Tuam. The police refused to leave the train, and the line was blocked.

The blocks at Cloughjordan, Blarney, and Athenry isolated large parts of the south-west of

Ireland, and caused great hardship to the innocent population. It has, however, always been typical of the operations of the Republicans that they have caused far more distress to the civil population of the country than they have to the Forces of the Crown. The latter, so far as transport is concerned, can always fall back on other means than those provided by the railways, but the civil inhabitants are dependent upon an uninterrupted railway service for their very existence.

The full particulars of the Limerick incident form a very good example of the procedure in such cases. At 2-45 p.m. on June 23rd, 1920, eight R.I.C. recruits boarded a train at Limerick Railway Station en route for Nenagh. The driver and guard refused to handle the train, and both were dismissed. A second driver and guard were procured, and at 4-30 p.m. another attempt was made to get the train away, but the police refused to leave, and the driver and guard, upon refusing to handle the train, were also dismissed. A similar occurrence at 6-15 p.m. resulted in a third driver and guard being dismissed. No further attempt was made on that day to run a train on the line from Limerick to Nenagh. Limerick Station was closed and locked, and the police returned to barracks.

On the 24th, eight constables from Dundrum, who had been to Tipperary Quarter Sessions, entered the 6-15 p.m. train at Tipperary Station. The engine-driver refused to work the train any further while the police remained in it. The

police refused to leave the train, and traffic was therefore stopped.

The next day, six police with some prisoners for trial boarded the 8-54 a.m. train from Carrick-on-Suir to Waterford. The train was a " mixed " one, consisting of both passenger and goods stock. The engine-driver shunted the passenger carriages into a siding and took the goods portion on to its destination, leaving the police with their prisoners in occupation of the carriages, where they were forced to remain for the greater portion of the day.

On the same day (June 25th) the 2-45 p.m. train from Cork to Dublin did not run, as the guards refused to work it, giving as their reason that as the two guards who had refused to work the corresponding train from Tipperary to Dundrum on the previous day had been dismissed, they would be looked upon as blacklegs if they worked the train. There was no question in this instance of police or military being on the train. The guards were dismissed.

Another incident occurred on the 25th. The guard and the driver of the down day mail train from Castlebar, County Mayo, refused to work the train any further owing to the fact that a small detachment of soldiers was travelling in it.

It may be well to give at this stage some very brief particulars of the Irish Railway System.

Four companies' lines radiate from Dublin: the Great Northern of Ireland, running to

Belfast and Derry, with a terminus at Amiens Street and a mileage of about 600; the Midland Great Western, running to Sligo, Galway and the West, with a terminus at Broadstone and a mileage of about 500; the Great Southern and Western, running to Cork and the South-west, with a terminus at Kingsbridge and a mileage of about 1,100; and the Dublin and South Eastern, running to Wexford and the South East, with termini at Westland Row and Harcourt Street, and a mileage of about 156. Two companies' lines radiate from Belfast, the Belfast and County Down, with a terminus at Queen's Quay and a mileage of about 80, and the Northern Counties, now owned by the Midland Company of England, with a terminus at York Road and a mileage of about 250. In addition to these, there are several small local railways operating throughout the country.

Only those railways operating exclusively in the six counties of Ulster have been unaffected by the policy adopted by the Republicans. There is very little doubt that the railwaymen themselves are bitterly opposed to a scheme which can lead to nothing but dismissal for themselves and acute distress for the inhabitants of the districts served by the lines upon which the disturbances occur. But such are the methods of intimidation employed by the Republicans that they have no option. A few instances of this intimidation will make the matter clear.

A notice, printed on the back of a post-card, has been widely circulated, apparently by hand,

to railway servants throughout the country. The notice is as follows :—

GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

Acting under instructions, you are hereby notified that after this date you are forbidden to drive any train, or to assist in any way, the transport of armed forces of the English Government.

By Order,

MINISTRY OF WAR.

Date.....

A copy of this notice, addressed to " Mr. P. Carty of Bundoran " bears the date 20/8/20.

In a very large number of cases loyal railway servants who ignored this " order " were waylaid by members of the Irish Volunteers and illtreated. Examples of these cases are as follows :—

At 9 a.m. on 17th July, 1920, on the arrival of a train at Enniskeen Station, in the Carrickmacross district of County Monaghan, the driver and fireman were forcibly removed from the engine by about twelve armed and masked men and taken away in a motor-car in the direction of Dundalk.

At 8-15 a.m. on 19th July, 1920, when an engine-driver in the service of the Great Northern Railway (of Ireland), in the Dundalk district, was on his way to work, he was attacked by a crowd of armed men, dragged into a side street and tarred and feathered. He was left bound

with a rope which he eventually succeeded in undoing.

At 12-45 on 2nd of July, 1920, a party of armed and masked men raided five signal cabins on the Great Northern Railway in County Louth. They forced the signalmen on duty to sign a declaration that they would not in future signal any train which was carrying military or police, and they also disconnected the telephone wires. A shunter was also held up and forced to sign a similar declaration.

At 10-35 a.m. on 30th July, 1920, on the arrival of a train from Clones at Newbliss, County Monaghan, six men, four of whom were armed, rushed the engine. The driver and fireman were dragged off it and driven away in a motor-car to an unknown destination.

At 9-30 p.m. on 1st August, 1920, two men entered the house of an engine-driver in the service of the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway, in Londonderry City, and carried him off in a motor-car to another district. He was subsequently released after being compelled to promise that he would not in future drive trains containing military or police.

At 1 a.m. on 15th of August, 1920, an engine-driver in the Dundalk district was fired at and wounded in the leg.

At about 10 p.m. on 15th September, 1920, a fireman in the employ of the Great Northern Railway in County Armagh was held up by masked and armed men who took him to a field and made him sign a declaration that he would

not drive " objectionable " trains in future. On the same night and in the same district two engine-drivers in the service of the same company were held up by a party of about twelve or fourteen armed and masked men, who took them to a field and tarred one of them.

It will be noticed that all these incidents occurred in localities where the population was comparatively free from Republican intimidation. In other parts of Ireland the mere threat of danger to themselves was sufficient to induce the men to carry out the policy of the Volunteers.

The Republican campaign against the use of the railways for the conveyance of the Forces of the Crown and of military stores did not end with the refusal of the railwaymen to work trains and with the intimidation and illtreatment of loyal men. Stations and trains have been raided and military stores destroyed during transit, and in some cases deliberate attempts have been made to derail trains, regardless of the loss of innocent life which might be entailed. Examples of the destruction of public property are as follows :—

At 1-5 p.m. on 19th July, 1920, separate parties of armed men converged upon Kingsbridge railway terminus in Dublin. Some of the men arrived in two motor-cars, some came up on foot, and others gained access to the station by hanging on to a wagon which was being shunted. Three wagons loaded with military stores were standing in the goods yard. The

raiders, who numbered in all about fifty, held up, at the point of their revolvers, the two sentries who were on guard, and disarmed them. They then saturated the wagons with petrol and set them on fire. On their departure they took with them 9 rifles, 450 rounds of ammunition, and the equipment of the guard, which consisted of nine men. The fire brigade upon its arrival on the scene refused to act.

At about 3 a.m. on 19th August, 1920, the goods shed at Swinford Railway Station, County Mayo, was broken into, and two wagons containing ten tons of coal and foodstuffs belonging to the military were removed and burned.

At 11-30 p.m. on 24th August, 1920, a party of armed men entered the railway station at Mullingar, County Westmeath, and destroyed a consignment of asbestos sheeting consigned to the Royal Air Force at Oranmore, County Galway.

Examples of sabotage are as follows:—

On the night of 12th July, 1920, about ten yards of the rails on the Letterkenny and Burtonport Railway in County Donegal were torn up, and the telegraph wires on the Donegal Joint Committee Railway and on the Lough Swilly Railway were cut.

On 15th July, 1920, the watchman at Meigh railway crossing, in the Bessbrook district of County Monaghan, was held up by armed men, who prevented him from opening the gates until a goods train ran through and broke them.

Fortunately no damage was done to the train and no one was injured.

At 4 a.m. on 22nd July, 1920, an attempt was made to derail a goods train travelling from Cavan to Redhills, in County Cavan, by a party of men estimated to number about eighty. Railway sleepers and the trunks of eleven trees were placed across the line, but the driver dashed through and reached Ballyhaise junction in safety. The engine of the train was damaged.

On 4th of August, 1920, the railway line between Letterkenny and Dungloe was torn up for a distance of thirty yards.

The attitude of the Irish Administration towards the railway situation can best be shown by a series of extracts from official reports upon these matters. Before quoting them, however, a short account of the difficulties to be met must be given.

The policy of the Railway Companies was to dismiss every railway servant who refused to work trains on the ground that military, police, or munitions were being carried. This policy was perfectly logical, as the men had obviously disobeyed orders. But if the Government were to insist that members of the Forces of the Crown should claim the right to travel upon the railways, the consequent dismissals of staff would so deplete the numbers available that the operation of the railways would become impossible, as indeed actually happened in certain cases. This would punish the whole of the land, and not merely the minority who sympa-

thised with outrage. On the other hand, it is obvious that all means of public transport must be equally available to all members of the community, whether they be servants of the Crown or private citizens. Mobility of military and police forces is essential if order is to be kept throughout the country and if assistance is to be rendered to local authorities petitioning for forces to avert threatened disturbances. It must be borne in mind that very frequently it is authorities of declared Sinn Fein sympathies who call for protection, as in the case of Derry during the month of July, 1920. If the attitude of the railwaymen were to be tolerated, the effect would be that the movement by rail of extremists, such, for instance, as members of the outrage gangs, would remain unrestricted, whilst the forces of law and order would be compelled to rely upon such road transport as could be improvised.

In a report dated 12th July, 1920, the situation is expressed as follows:

"The Railway situation is developing steadily in the direction of a general deadlock, but it has not yet been necessary to have recourse to emergency measures to deal with essential traffic. . . . The police and military have been instructed to exercise their ordinary rights to the use of the railway service, both on the main and branch lines, without taking any steps with a view to precipitating a crisis. On the M.G.W. Railway no trains have run during the week westward from Castlerae, Athenry, and Castle-

bar. On the G.S. & W. Railway the Limerick-Ballybrophy branch is blocked by a train held up at Cloughjordan since the 5th instant* and the use of the Limerick to Charleville line for passenger traffic has been discontinued. The passenger service on the Drimoleague and Bantry Extension has been suspended, but a goods train operates each way daily. The G.N. Railway maintained a normal service until the 9th instant, when it was found impossible to find a substitute for a driver who refused to convey a party of military from Drogheda, and the Drogheda-Kells branch of the line has been closed in consequence. No hold-up has been reported on the D. & S.E. Railway, which is running a normal service.

" The dismissals resulting from the local deadlocks have considerably depleted the staff of drivers and firemen on the M.G.W. and G.S. & W. Railways, and has caused a general curtailment of the passenger service throughout the whole extent of these lines, and some irregularity in the goods traffic. Reports from the various holiday resorts of the South and West show that the tourist season is being very adversely affected and is likely to be one of the worst on record."

The report for 26th July, 1920, contains the following.

" The railway situation stands very much where it did a week ago. . . . A number of further dismissals occurred on the G.S. & W. Railway, in consequence of the drivers refusing

* See page 245.

to convey a party of R.I.C. from Kingsbridge to Kildare on the 21st and the 22nd instant, for the purpose of attending rifle practice at the Curragh. The Constabulary were instructed to travel on any train that might be available, and accordingly boarded the race specials for the Curragh races when drivers of the ordinary trains refused to proceed. This action had the effect of causing a stoppage of all race trains for the Curragh Meeting and the unavoidable infliction of a considerable amount of annoyance to the racing public. Owing to the lack of train facilities the Powerstown Park Meeting fixed for the 24th instant was abandoned."

On 4th August, 1920, the following remarks appear.

"Owing to intimidation and attempts to derail trains the staff of the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway have refused to operate the branch line between Letterkenny and Strabane which has accordingly been closed since the 30th ultimo. In consequence of the numerous seizures of petrol on the M.G.W. Railway during the early part of last month it has been necessary to issue a general prohibition on the carriage of petrol on that line, but steps are being taken to arrange for transport under Military escort of the amount necessary to meet immediate civil needs."

This last sentence once again emphasises the fact that it is for the care of the civil population that the troops are in Ireland. The hardships resulting from these thefts of petrol will be seen below.

On 8th August, 1920, the Report states that "An extension of the area of stoppage on the M.G.W. system took place on the 2nd instant, when the passenger service on the Athlone, Castlerea, and Claremorris branch was taken off owing to shortness of staff."

On 15th August, 1920, it is reported that "The only incident of note . . . was the temporary hold-up at Fermoy on the 13th instant of a party of unarmed soldiers belonging to the Buffs, who were proceeding on leave prior to embarkation for India. This is the first instance of a refusal to drive unarmed members of military and police forces, and the action of the railway men was inconsistent with their declared policy, which prohibits the carriage of armed forces only." On 10th September, 1920, the Report says "The hardships caused by the dislocation of cross country traffic (on the M.G.W. system) is being severely felt in the western districts. The frequent raids on petrol consigned for purely commercial purposes have necessitated the imposition of restrictions on the carriage of this article on the M.G.W. line.

"The resulting shortage of petrol has inflicted serious loss and inconvenience on farmers and on traders engaged in the salmon fishing industry. Large quantities of salmon intended for the English markets have perished owing to the want of petrol for its conveyance by road from outlying places where rail transport is not available."

During September still more pressure was

brought to bear upon those railwaymen who remained loyal. On the 10th a G.N. railway driver was attacked by a crowd of railwaymen in Dublin, and having been gagged and handcuffed was chained to a lamp standard in Amiens Street and exposed to public ridicule for half an hour until released by the police. By the 23rd the shortage of staff necessitated the closing of three more branch lines on the G.N.R.: the Dundalk to Enniskillen line, the Carrickmacross branch, and the Cootehill branch.

On the 6th October, however, the following significant passage occurs in one of the official reports:

"There is reason for believing that the long protracted struggle is being maintained with increasing difficulty by the recalcitrant section of railwaymen. It is reported that subscriptions have practically ceased and that the strike funds are now very low." On the 10th October Sir Eric Geddes, the Minister of Transport, crossed over to Dublin, and conferences were held at Dublin Castle as to the measures to be adopted to deal with the refusal of the railwaymen to handle military and police traffic. During the previous days several further cases of refusal to convey troops and military stores had occurred, these resulting in the suspension of a number of employees and the closing of yet another branch line (the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway between Buncrana and Carndonagh, which ceased working on the 7th).

The Railway situation at this time may

be summarised as follows: The Government have agreed, as in the case of English Railways, to subsidise the Irish Companies to an extent sufficient to enable them to pay their pre-war dividends. Owing to the action of the railwaymen in refusing to convey troops, police and munitions, the Government is unable to make use of the railways for its own traffic. There is no question of the Government acquiescing in this state of affairs. Whenever the necessity arises, soldiers and police present themselves as passengers by train. If they are carried, well and good, if not, the defaulting railwaymen are suspended, and a shortage of staff ensues, resulting eventually in a curtailment of services. It is obvious that sooner or later complete paralysis must overtake the Irish Railway system. When this occurs, it will be impossible to institute an alternative road transport service such has been improvised in England during railway strike periods. In the first place, the necessary lorries and drivers are not available; and in the second, it is unlikely that the Republicans would allow such a service to operate without interruption. The final result would be that large parts of Ireland would be deprived of the supply of the necessities of life, and the action of the Volunteers would culminate in acute distress, if not actual famine, throughout large areas of the country.

This is merely another example illustrative of the fact that the whole tendency of the Sinn Fein movement is not to produce prosperity, but, in the

course of its striving after an end undesired by all but a turbulent minority, to ruin the very country which it professes to wish to render free, independent, and thriving.

During the later months of the year the railway situation became still worse. Early in November the M.G.W. railway warned its employees that owing to the drain upon its staff it would be compelled to discharge its men and to close its entire system on the 14th November. On the 12th November a new Regulation was published under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, giving the competent naval and military authority power to make orders " regulating, requiring, restricting, or prohibiting the carriage of passengers and articles on railways in Ireland." An order under this regulation may be made to apply either generally in relation to all railway undertakings in Ireland, or to any particular railway or part of it, and it may be made to apply to the carriage of all passengers and articles or to certain specified passengers and articles. For the purpose of securing compliance with the provisions of any order made under this regulation, the competent naval or military authority may take possession of any railway undertaking, or any part of it.

On 15th November the Chief Secretary summed up the situation in the following words in the House of Commons :

" The Railway situation in Ireland is clear. For many months past certain drivers, guards and signalmen on the railway-lines running West

and South from Dublin have refused to carry Irish Policemen, British Soldiers and their munitions. All Railways in Ireland are subsidised by the British Government, and the increased wages of Irish railwaymen and the dividends of shareholders are made certain because of these subsidies. As a result of their refusal to carry Government traffic many of these railwaymen have been dismissed from time to time. So many of the key men have been dismissed because of their refusal, that certain Irish railways must now cease operating, as they cannot carry-on. The railway running North from Dublin and the lines in North-East Ireland are running normally, and with few exceptions their railwaymen have not refused to do their duty.

"The refusal to carry police and soldiers is due to two causes. First, because some extreme Sinn Fein railwaymen hoped by their refusal to embarrass the Government. Second, the Sinn Fein murder gang terrorised other railwaymen into a refusal to do their duties. Loyal railwaymen have been shot, tarred and feathered, assaulted and terrorised by Sinn Feiners.

"The Government have insisted and will insist on the carriage of Government traffic on Irish Railways. The stoppage of these railways, as I pointed out months ago, will mean economic disaster to part of Ireland, but the responsibility for that, among many other disasters, is on the shoulders of the leaders of the Sinn Fein movement. They, in their murderous endeavour to

smash the British Empire and weaken the Anglo-American friendship, are bringing the South and West of Ireland to political anarchy and economic ruin. As a result of the stoppage of the railways there will follow the stoppage of the mails and the stoppage of the payment of Old Age and other Pensions that now depend upon mail deliveries. The Irish Government and the British Government are naturally most anxious to restore Ireland and Irish railways to normal conditions, but no Government can allow railwaymen subsidised out of the pockets of the taxpayers to refuse to carry police and soldiers."

The reply of the Republicans to the new Regulation was the commencement of a campaign of sabotage. On the night of 14th November railway lines were torn up in the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan, causing in the latter case damage to a passing train. Fortunately this tendency did not spread.

On the 1st December the position on the railways was thus described in detail in answer to a question in the House of Commons:

"Passenger and goods trains have ceased to run on the under-mentioned sections:

"*Great Southern and Western Railway*: Limerick to Waterford; Limerick to Tralee; Ballingrane Junction to Foynes; Patrickswell to Charleville; Killonan to Nenagh; Birdhill to Killaloe; Clara to Banagher.

"*Cork, Bandon and South Coast Railway*: Kinsale Junction to Kinsale; Clonakilty Junction to Clonakilty.

"*Ballinascarthy and Timoleague Railway and Timoleague and Courtmacsherry Extension Railway*: Ballinascarthy to Courtmacsherry.

"*Great Northern (Ireland) Railway*: Dundalk to Enniskillen; Inniskeen to Carrickmacross; Ballybay to Cootehill; Ballyhaise to Belturbet; Bundoran Junction to Bundoran.

"*Londonderry, Lough Swilly and Letterkenny Railway and Burtonport and Carndonagh Extensions*: Tooban Junction to Burtonport; Buncrana to Carndonagh.

"Passenger services have ceased to run on the under-mentioned systems or sections, but a goods service is maintained, in almost every case a reduction from the normal and in some cases a reduction of considerable magnitude:

"*Great Southern and Western Railway*: Roscrea to Nenagh; Kildare to Kilkenny, *via* Carlow; Limerick to Sligo; Mallow to Tralee.

"*Midland Great Western Railway*: Athlone to Achill; Manulla Junction to Killala.

"*Cork, Bandon and South Coast Railway*: Drimoleague Junction to Bantry; Cork to Skibbereen.

"*Cork and Macroom Direct Railway.*

"*Cork and Muskerry Light Railway and Donoughmore Extension.*

"*Tralee and Dingle Railway.*

"*West and South Clare Railways.*

"The following systems or sections have been affected, but a passenger and goods service has been maintained with varying degrees of reduction from the normal:

"*Great Southern and Western Railway*: Tralee to Valentia Harbour; Roscrea to Birr; Maryboro' to Waterford; Sallins to Tullow; Mallow to Waterford; Waterford to Wexford and Rosslare Harbour; Wexford to Rosslare Harbour; Clonmel to Thurles; Kingsbridge to Cork.

"*Midland Great Western Railway*: Broadstone to Clifden; Mullingar to Sligo; Inny Junction to Cavan; Clonsilla to Kingscourt; Edenderry Branch; Killeshandra Branch; Athboy Branch; Ballinrobe Branch.

"*Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway*: Londonderry to Buncrana.

"*Listowel and Ballybunion Railway.*"

This represents the utmost extent which the railway strike attained.

It soon became evident, however, that a strong desire for the return to work of the railway-men was growing in every part of the country. On December 15th the following advertisement appeared in the Irish Press:—

IRISH LABOUR PARTY & TRADES UNION CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

TO THE RAILWAY AND DOCK WORKERS.

Over six months ago, responding to a patriotic impulse, you decided that you would not handle

Munitions of War or drive trains containing armed men. In this protest you were supported by all right-thinking Irish men and women; and when, after the struggle began, you asked this National Executive for advice and guidance, we readily gave you all the support within our power.

In response to our appeal for funds to support the dismissed men, the country has subscribed most generously.

In the early stages of the struggle it became evident that the British Government's design was to force a quick close-down of the railway services, while at the same time seeking to make it appear that the Railway workers were responsible. We advised you to frustrate this plan by refusing to strike, but rather to accept individual suspension. We assured you then that every new development would be watched and would be met by new tactics, when such were called for.

As a result of your loyal acceptance of the advice given, the country has been spared much hardship and loss, and your protest for six months has been unique in the annals of the Labour Movement.

Notwithstanding the defeatist campaign in the Press, inspired by that section of the trading community which reckons National well-being in terms of £ s. d., we have, during the past few weeks, received ample evidence of the willingness of the Railwaymen, and workers generally, to suffer whatever loss and sacrifice the National interest may require.

We have been well aware that the cessation of Railway transport would necessitate a drastic re-organisation of the country's economic life, calling for considerable sacrifice and entailing a great organising effort which would require the unimpeded activities of the Nation's best brains.

The British Authority, which assumes governmental power in Ireland, has, with deliberate intent, sought to interfere with and destroy the preparations being made to cope with the problem of providing food, milk and fuel for the people; they have seized the papers and records of our Food Committee, have arrested and imprisoned without charge the members of these Committees, and have placed a barrier against the

organisation of the Motor Transport service for the distribution of food supplies.

These acts have been followed by the proclamation of Martial Law, accompanied by Mr. Lloyd George's insulting offer to allow the elected representatives of the Irish people to meet together under police protection for the purpose of denouncing their colleagues and discussing subjects strictly defined beforehand by himself. Not to be niggardly in his insolence, he couples this so-called "peace offer" by a threat to intensify the campaign of frightfulness. His cue is immediately taken up in the City of Cork; the published threats to utterly destroy the city being carried a long way towards fulfilment.

In the light of the foregoing, the National Executive has given careful thought to the position as it lies before us to-day; changed conditions require a change of tactics, and we have decided to advise the Railway and Dock Workers to alter the position, and to offer to carry everything that the British Military Authorities are willing to risk on the trains. Whatever the risks that may be involved in carrying out this advice, we feel confident that the Railwaymen are not less willing to face them than the travelling public.

We ask the Railwaymen to continue to hold themselves ready to respond on the instant to any call that may be made by this Executive in pursuance of our policy, assuring them that no call will be made without the fullest consideration, and only when vital National interests justify it.

SIGNED FOR THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

THOMAS FORAN, *Chairman.*
THOMAS MacPARTLIN, *Vice-Chairman.*
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Treasurer.*
THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*

32, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin, 14th December, 1920.

Finally, on 21st December, a Conference of Irish railwaymen was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, at which a resolution in favour

of unconditional resumption of work was carried unanimously. By the end of the year considerable progress had been made towards a resumption of normal conditions upon all the lines affected.

CHAPTER X.

THE POLICE FORCES.

In the year 1787 the Irish Parliament, more usually known as Grattan's Parliament, passed an Act for the policing of Ireland, which set up a primitive body of constables for the purpose of enforcing order in the country. This Force never achieved any measure of success, although a further Act was passed in 1792, designed to render it more efficient. With the Union the Force became practically obsolete, and nothing further was done until 1814, when an Act was passed by the Parliament at Westminster which empowered the Lord Lieutenant to appoint a Chief Magistrate, a Chief Constable, and fifty constables for each county. These appointments were known as the "Peace Preservation Force," and as such remained in existence until the Act of 1836. Meanwhile, in 1822, Sir Robert Peel had founded the Irish Constabulary, consisting of an Inspector-General for each Province, controlling between them a force of between five and six thousand officers and men. These men were dressed in a dark green uniform, and were armed with flint-lock carbines.

Although the Irish Constabulary of Sir Robert Peel were undoubtedly the forerunners of the present R.I.C., it was not until "Drummond's Act" of 1836 that the Force took on anything like its present shape. This Act is worth quoting somewhat fully, for it still forms the basis of the constitution of the Force. It consolidated and placed under a central control the whole of the police of the country, except in the City of Dublin, both the Peace Preservation Force and the Irish Constabulary, and was entituled "An Act to consolidate the Laws relating to the Constabulary Force in Ireland." The Act repeals certain previous Acts of the reigns of George III. and George IV., which gave powers to appoint constables "in certain cases." Constables previously appointed are to be merged in the new force now created. Power is given to the Lord Lieutenant to appoint an "Inspector-General of Police throughout Ireland, who shall reside in Dublin and shall be charged and invested with the general Direction and Superintendence of the Force to be established under this Act," also "One or Two fit and proper persons to be Deputies to the said Inspector-General."

"And in order to provide for one uniform System of Rules and Regulations throughout the whole Establishment of Police in Ireland, be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for such Inspector-General . . . from time to time to frame . . . Rules, Orders, and Regulations for the general Government of the several Persons to be appointed under this Act."

Power is also given for the appointment of County Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. Finally, power is given for the appointment of the actual rank and file of the Force.

"And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland to appoint from time to time at his Will and Pleasure, in and for each County of a City and County of a Town, except the said County of the City of Dublin, One Chief Constable, Two Head Constables, and any such Number of Constables and Sub-Constables, not exceeding One hundred, as may be deemed by him or them to be necessary and sufficient for the Preservation of the Peace therein, and in and for each Barony*, Half Barony, or other division of Barony in each County at large, One Chief Constable, Two Head Constables, and any Number of Constables and Sub-Constables, not exceeding Sixteen.

"And be it enacted, That no Person shall be appointed to be a Chief or other Constable or Sub-Constable under this Act unless he shall be of a sound Constitution, able-bodied, and under the Age of Forty Years, able to read and write, of a good Character for Honesty, Fidelity, and Activity; and that no Person shall be appointed to be such Chief or other Constable or Sub-Constable who shall be a Game-keeper, Wood-ranger, Tithe Proctor, Viewer of Tithes, Bailiff,

* The Baronies are the most ancient territorial divisions of Ireland, and they existed under other names prior to the introduction of Christianity. The Census of 1901 enumerates 327 Baronies, varying in extent from 310,386 to 1,693 acres.

Sheriff's Bailiff, or Parish Clerk, or who shall be a hired Servant in the Employment of any Person whomsoever, or who shall keep any House for the Sale of Beer, Wines, or Spirituous Liquors by Retail.

"And be it enacted, That no Person appointed under this Act . . . shall be capable of holding the said Office or of acting in any way therein, until he shall take and subscribe the Oath here following; (that is to say)

"I, *A.B.*, do swear, That I will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lord the King in the Office of (Inspector, Constable, etc.), without Favour of Affection, Malice or Ill-Will; that I will see and cause His Majesty's Peace to be kept and preserved, and that I will prevent to the best of my Power all Offences against the same; And that while I shall continue to hold the said Office I will, to the best of my Skill and Knowledge, discharge all the Duties thereof, in the execution of Warrants and otherwise, faithfully according to Law; and that I do not now belong, and that I will not, while I shall hold the said Office, join, subscribe, or belong to any political Society whatsoever, or to any secret Society whatsoever, unless to the Society of Freemasons. So help me GOD.

"And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant . . . to fix and appoint such annual Salaries as to him . . . may from Time to Time seem proper, not exceeding the several Sums herein-after specified . . . (that is to say) to the Inspector-General of Police

an annual Salary not exceeding One thousand five hundred Pounds, to each Deputy Inspector an annual Salary not exceeding Eight hundred Pounds . . . to each County Inspector an annual Salary not exceeding Five hundred Pounds, to each Sub-Inspector an annual Salary not exceeding Two hundred and fifty Pounds . . . to each Chief Constable an annual Salary not exceeding One hundred and fifty Pounds, to each Head Constable an annual Salary not exceeding Seventy Pounds, to each Constable an annual Salary not exceeding Thirty-five Pounds, to each Sub-Constable an annual Salary not exceeding Twenty-five Pounds."

It is interesting to note that the saving clause in the Oath, permitting membership of the Society of Freemasons, has now been withdrawn. The original rates of pay have, of course, been considerably improved.

Such are the main provisions of the Act setting up the Irish Constabulary, and the Force may be said to date its foundation from this Act. Since its establishment the Force has been the backbone of law and order in Ireland, through all the troubled years that have elapsed since that date. A Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post* of 17th November, 1920, in the course of an article dealing with the Force, states the matter in a nutshell.

"From the first the Irish Constabulary have had semi-military duties to perform. Crisis after crisis has brought them into collision with

a brave and excitable populace. The clash of creeds, the war of races, the conflict of rival policies and interests, the intrigues of exiles and aliens, have kept the island in a chronic state of unrest; and all the time the police have been expected to keep order. The crushing of two other rebellions stands to their credit, and in the wild days of the Emancipation movement, of the Tithe War, of the Young Ireland rising, of the Fenian outburst, and of the Land League War, it was the police who had to bear the brunt of the struggle. It is no wonder, then, that the R.I.C. is a semi-military force, armed and drilled and concentrated in those little barrack forts that are the blockhouses of Imperial rule in Ireland."

The Force acquired its designation "Royal" from Queen Victoria in 1867, in recognition of the conspicuous bravery and loyalty displayed by the Force in the suppression of the Fenian Rising.

The condition of the country during 1920 was no new experience for the Force, it was merely an extreme aggravation of a condition which was almost chronic. The Republicans had the wit to see that if they were to succeed in their mad scheme of driving the British out of Ireland the R.I.C. was the first obstacle to be removed from their path. During the latter months of 1919, therefore, they began a campaign of murder directed against the members of the Force, which was pursued with the utmost rigour.

It is obvious that the campaign of outrage and

intimidation carried out by the Volunteers was bound to have a prejudicial effect upon the recruitment of the Force. It was not so much that prospective recruits feared for their own safety, notwithstanding the number that suffered outrage at the hands of their cowardly assailants. The campaign of intimidation stretched out far beyond the recruit himself. A man might be able to protect his own person, but he could not always protect his family. The Volunteers made a practice of concentrating their forces against the relations of a recruit, proclaiming a boycott of them and even assaulting those whom they suspected of being able to bring influence to bear upon him to resign. Threatening letters have been received by relatives of constables, the surrounding population has shunned them, fearing to incur the wrath of local sympathisers with the Republicans; in fact their position has become virtually that of lepers. And not only the relatives of men in the Force, but anyone suspected by the Volunteers of intercourse with the police has been made to suffer. For instance, on the 4th July, 1920, a party of armed men raided a house in County Sligo and fired at the occupant with a shot-gun, giving as their reason the suspicion that he was "not sufficiently unfriendly with the police."

The measures adopted by the Volunteers against the police are sufficient indication of the efficiency of the Force and of the consequent fear and hatred it inspires among the ranks of the Republicans. In the edition of *An T'Oglac*

dated the 15th July, 1920, appears an article which, in speaking of ' the enemy,' that is to say the British Government, mentions " his first instrument of executive power, his eyes, ears, and right arm, the R.I.C."

A ' General Order ' of *Oglaich na h'Eireann* (the Irish Volunteers), numbered 1920 (New Series) No. 6, and issued from ' General Headquarters ' on the 4th June, 1920, is headed BOYCOTT OF R.I.C., and is as follows.

" Volunteers shall have no intercourse with the R.I.C., and shall stimulate and support in every way the boycott of this force ordered by the Dail.

" Those persons who associate with the R.I.C. shall be subjected to the same boycott, and the fact of their association with and toleration of this infamous force shall be kept public in every possible way. Definite lists of such persons in the area of his command, shall be prepared and retained by each Company, Battalion and Brigade Commander.

By Order
ADJUTANT GENERAL."

But the campaign of the Volunteers against the police is not limited to measures of boycott. In a previous chapter some account has been given of the constant succession of murders of police which have disgraced Ireland. The men of the R.I.C. have been harassed in every conceivable way. They have been murdered, boycotted and illtreated; their families have been made to suffer

for their loyalty in every possible way. The very barrack servants have been beaten and insulted, the policy of violence has been extended even to those whose only offence is that of having been seen speaking to a policeman. Threatening letters have been sent to members of the Force by the score, letters which usually only serve to show the futility of their opponents' methods. It is scarcely to be wondered at that under these circumstances Irishmen, however loyal they might be, hesitated to enlist in the Force, knowing the dangers and inconveniences which they would bring upon themselves and their acquaintances by so doing.

The result was that the supply of recruits failed to keep pace with the demand, and the Government decided to draw upon a fresh source of supply. Recruiting for the Force was therefore opened in England on 1st January, 1920, and it soon became obvious that service in the Constabulary had great attractions for a large number of young Englishmen. Ex-service men in particular found the life congenial and attractive, and so great was the flow of recruits that the authorities found themselves enabled to exercise considerable choice in the selection of candidates. In fact, far from Republican intimidation being able to deplete the ranks of the Force, so many recruits were obtained that by October, 1920, the total strength of the R.I.C., not including the Auxiliary Division, to which reference will be made later, was greater than at any time since 1912. During this time

the rate of increase was such that approximately sixteen recruits were added to the Force for every three losses caused by resignation or otherwise.

The actual figures for a typical week in this month are as follows:—

Regular Force (not including Auxiliary Division).		
Total strength on 3rd October, 1920		10,208
Deaths during week ...	2	
Retirements	4	
Resignations	66	
Dismissals	8	
Total Wastage ...	80	
Recruits during week		
Ireland	6	
Great Britain	329	
Total Recruitment	335	
Net Increase ...		255
Total strength on 10th October, 1920		10,463

The total strength on 31st December, 1920, was 12,755.

With recruits coming in at this rate, it was impossible for a time to secure sufficient quantities of the dark green uniform of the Force with which to clothe them. The R.I.C. was therefore compelled to look for some other source of uniform with which to equip its recruits until the temporary deficiency of its own clothing could be made good. The most natural source of supply was the store of service dress in the possession of the military authorities.

The recruits were fitted out with Constabulary uniform as far as possible, and any shortcomings were made good with service dress. The result was that they appeared in a strange medley of khaki and dark green, with perhaps a khaki tunic and trousers, a dark green cap, and black accoutrements. This hybrid dress acquired for the recruits their now familiar nickname. At Limerick there was once a famous pack of hounds known locally as the ' Black and Tans,' and upon the appearance of the first members of the R.I.C. dressed in their unfamiliar costumes, the inhabitants promptly applied to them the familiar title.

But the mixture of military and police uniform had another result, and perhaps a more serious one. It gave the impression that the men were not members of the R.I.C., in the sense of being regular constables as heretofore. It was thought by some that their uniforms indicated that they were a quasi-military force, half soldiers, half policemen, and that they were under the control of the Military Authorities. This impression died hard, and there is no doubt that it still exists in many of the country districts of Ireland, although by the end of the year all deficiencies of uniform had been made good, and the men had been equipped with the standard kit. It is quite possible that this belief was the cause of a certain amount of distrust displayed towards the men by well-disposed but ignorant people, who had always been on excellent terms with the members of the Force until this time.

On Tuesday, 12th October, 1920, the Chief Secretary inspected a draft of some three hundred R.I.C. recruits at Gormanstown Depôt, some twenty-five miles north of Dublin, and on this occasion they certainly presented an extraordinary appearance, wearing a mixture of dark green and khaki, with, in some cases, civilian head-gear. But beneath this curious dress they were a very fine body of men, showing intense enthusiasm for their new profession, and a degree of intelligence that was a distinct menace to the criminal designs of the Republicans. Here is an extract from the Chief Secretary's speech on this occasion :—

" Your first duty will be to prevent crime, and your second to detect the criminal. You know as well as I do the difficult times through which Ireland is now passing, and I would urge each one of you to do his best to live up to the traditions of the different units in which you have so honourably served during the late great war.

" I also urge you to remember that it is your duty and mine, and the soldiers who are assisting us, to serve to the best of our ability the well-disposed and loyal people. The great majority of Irish people throughout this island want peace, need peace, and pray for peace. But there is a small minority who are prepared to murder you, and murder me, and murder everyone who wants to restore peace and maintain order in this splendid old country. It is our duty to prevent them from committing crime, to detect them, to arrest them according to the law of this land."

Side by side with the regular R.I.C. a body of Temporary Cadets has been formed into an organisation known as the Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary. It was found that the Volunteers, in pursuance of their policy of making war upon the Force, had embarked upon an organised campaign of attacks upon their barracks. These barracks had not originally been built with a view to their withstanding such attacks in force, and it became necessary to put them into a suitable state of defence, by the employment of barbed wire, steel shutters, and other strictly military devices. The materials for this purpose were procured, but it was found that the regular members of the R.I.C. (which, it must always be borne in mind, is primarily a police, as opposed to a military, Force) had no experience in the proper utilisation of this material. In July, 1920, therefore, the authorities decided to enrol five hundred ex-officers, of the highest military and personal records, to act as the advisers of the regular members of the Force on matters of defence. These men were enlisted as Temporary Cadets, on a short service system, and were given pay at the rate of £1 per day, with certain allowances in addition. They were also awarded the standing of Sergeant in the R.I.C. The experiment proved extremely successful, and the original establishment of five hundred was enlarged. At the same time the value of a mobile force of specially trained police was recognised, and the Temporary Cadets were

organised into companies, commanded by their own officers, and equipped with the form of transport which had been found so useful by the Royal Air Force, namely, Crossley tenders. These consist of a Crossley motor chassis fitted with a wagonette body, and they are capable of carrying eight to ten men with their equipment.

The Auxiliary Division may be regarded as a striking force, kept in reserve for use in disturbed areas in aid of the regular police, and operating in Companies under the orders of the District and County Inspectors. The new body became exceedingly popular among ex-officers, to such an extent that the recruiting authorities were enabled to select their men very carefully. The Auxiliaries became, in fact, a *corps d'élite*, composed only of such officers as could show the highest credentials. For this reason they became the terror of evil-doers, whose sympathisers did their best to discredit them by every sort of malicious misrepresentation. But in spite of its calumniators, the Auxiliary Division grew and prospered to an extraordinary extent. The figures of its enlistment for the last week of 1920 are instructive. They are as follows :—

Strength on 26th December, 1920 ...		1,154
Resignations	8	
Discharged on medical grounds	2	
Dismissed	1	
Total Wastage ...	11	
Recruits during the week	84	
Net Increase ...		73
Strength on 2nd January, 1921 ...		1,227

A typical illustration of the Auxiliary Division is afforded by the following account of an inspection, by the Lord Lieutenant, of a Company of the Division at the Vice-regal Lodge, Phœnix Park, Dublin, on the morning of the 14th October, 1920.

"The unit marched through Dublin headed by the R.I.C. band, and made a very favourable impression. Their uniform and equipment is novel, but is admirably adapted to the needs of the Division. The men wear large tam-o-shanter scotch bonnets, on which is the crowned harp, the badge of the R.I.C. Their tunics, breeches and puttees are khaki, and their accoutrements, of black leather, consist of a bandolier worn across the chest, a belt, with bayonet and scabbard, and a revolver, carried not on the belt but in the American manner, in an open holster lying on the right thigh. The men in the ranks are armed with rifles, and a machine-gun section is attached to each Company. The men made an excellent and soldier-like appearance on parade.

Many of them had decorations in addition to war medals, and special distinctions of all kinds were in evidence. His Excellency inspected the men, who then formed a hollow square while he addressed them. The proceedings terminated with a march past, at which His Excellency took the salute."

Lord French's speech on this occasion was as follows:—

"I wish to say a few words to express the pleasure it has given me to see you here to-day, and to congratulate you upon the very fine appearance which you present. You have all served as officers in that magnificent Army which saved the Empire from destruction in the most critical and dangerous years of its history, and I am personally proud to know that I can claim many of you as comrades in the field during the earlier period of the war. Arduous and perilous as that splendid service was, you have once more offered yourselves for service which is not free from either hardship or peril. You have taken up the duty of assisting and supporting the Royal Irish Constabulary in putting down rebellion and re-establishing law and order throughout Ireland. To strengthen and support such a magnificent Force as the Royal Irish Constabulary is a task worthy of soldiers who have proved their prowess and mettle on many a bloodstained field of battle. I have myself many times in the last two or three years acknowledged publicly the bravery, skill and discipline of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and

their work was eloquently and worthily eulogised by the Chief Secretary only a week or two ago,* and I wish to say how heartily I concur with every word which fell from him then.

"The work which lies before you is arduous and difficult, because it demands the exercise of so many different qualities. You have all shown yourselves to be possessed of courage, energy, skill and discipline, in a very high degree, but in the performance of the duties which lie before you tact, judgment and self-restraint are also required, and I feel sure that you will in this respect as in all others act up to the glorious record you have established in the field. You may rest assured that in carrying out that work you will have the good-will, sympathy, and active support of every loyal subject of the King, in Ireland or elsewhere."

Some idea of the conditions under which the police lived in Ireland during the year may be gathered from the account which has already been given of the outrages committed upon them. It would be hard to imagine any type of existence which could be more trying to morale, or more wearing to the nerves of individuals. A few indeed have found themselves unable to endure the strain, and have resigned in consequence. But, as has already been mentioned, the flow of recruits has been far more than sufficient to make good this wastage. It is the finest possible tribute to the traditions of the Force and to the

* On the occasion of the presentation of medals to members of the R.I.C. in Phœnix Park on 30th September, 1920.

character of its members that the morale of the R.I.C. is as good if not better now, after an unexampled period of murderous persecution, than it has been during any other period of its existence.

The following circular letter shows how carefully the republican conspiracy against the Force was thought out :—

OGLAIG NA H'EIREANN.

General Headquarters,
Dublin.
1st November, 1919.

" To Brigade Commandant,

" In order better to organise and supervise the getting of all information, Brigade Commandants will have appointed at once a Brigade Captain of Intelligence, and Battalion Lieutenants of Intelligence, for each of his Battalions, and Company Captains will appoint a Volunteer to co-ordinate the Company information for him.

" Forms Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (.....copies of each) are sent you herewith. Their use will standardise the form of record of information which at present in different Brigade Areas is kept in different forms. Together with a copy of this instruction, they should be placed without delay in the hands of all your Company Captains, and of your Outpost men in such Parishes or Church Areas in which a Company has not yet been formed.

" Company Captains and Outpost men should

be made responsible for the complete compilation, without delay, of the information of their own Areas, and Brigade Commandants will be responsible that the compilation is complete for their whole Brigade Areas.

" Forms 1, 2, 3 and 4 should be prepared by Captains and Outpost men in triplicate, and the copies should be filed by the Brigade and Battalion Commandant, who should make proper arrangements for having their records kept up to date and summarised.

" Form 1 is intended to indicate a comparison between the available material of military age, and Volunteers, and Enemy Forces.

" Form 2 is intended to indicate in a simple way full particulars of the Military Forces.

" Form 3, ditto for Police Force. N.B.—Where such is not done already, one good man should be allocated to each Barracks or Station, and his duty should be to get plans of the Barracks, etc., and details of its whole internal life.

" Form 4 is intended to indicate those persons other than the Military and Police who go to form the actual machinery of oppression in the country, *i.e.*, R.M's, J.P's, Crown Solicitors, and all Agents and spies of the English Government, Official or Unofficial, active or inactive.

" Form 5 indicates the form of a record which should be kept in respect of (1) every policeman, and (2) every person classed as hostile or aggressive in Form 4. The record should be kept

in Book Form, loose leaf if possible, ruled as indicated in the form. This record should be made retrospective.

" Company Captains and Outpost men should make a review of the population in their Area, and note and record all persons capable of helping them in any way. In this connection it is remarked that all young men are potential Volunteers, and any of them who have influence, or ability, or qualification likely to make them useful to us, should be specially kept under notice. Reference should be made to the ' Voters' Lists ' in this connection.

" The standardising of information records has been unduly delayed and this instruction should be given effect to at once.

By Order,

DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF."

The only one of these forms which need concern us here is number 3. The headings of this form are interesting. They are as follows :—

" Date.
Name of Company or Outpost Area.
Name of Barracks or Station.
Number of Constables.
Number of other officers.
Beats or Patrols.
Time.
From.
To.
Number in Patrol.
Area covered.

Plans filed (yes or no).
Espionage arranged (yes or no).
Remarks."

It is obvious from this that the murder of police was part of a deliberate and well thought out scheme.

Let us try to form a mental picture of the life of the average constable at the height of the outrage campaign. He lived in a fortified barrack, probably overcrowded owing to the concentration of the Force, and certainly never designed to resist determined assault with modern weapons. He was surrounded by a populace which, if not definitely hostile, was at all events so intimidated that the members of the civil population hardly dare be seen speaking to him. Lurking throughout the countryside were the members of the Republican Army, who, instigated by their leaders, regarded him as an enemy not to be faced in the open but to be persecuted by every means from petty annoyance to treacherous murder. His life was spent in constant apprehension of danger. His barracks might be attacked at any hour of the day or night, but usually the latter, by overwhelming numbers of callous ruffians, who would use every weapon of brutality against him. If he would go out of barracks, he was compelled to do so as one of a party operating in practically an enemy's country. He could never predict the moment when a hail of bullets would burst upon him from a carefully prepared ambush, his assailants being the apparently harmless citizens who surrounded

him every day. Every means was employed to tempt him from his allegiance. Letters reached him warning him to resign if he wished to escape the death penalty, and in some cases guaranteeing him employment under Republican auspices if he did so.

In this connection the following circular, which was widely distributed through the post during the latter days of September, 1920, is interesting :—

" A Chara,

" At the present moment a large number of R.I.C. have left the Force owing to their repugnance to the outrages that are taking place and in which they are required to take part. Some of these men have narrowly escaped with their lives. In one case, of which I have the details, a man was dismissed for refusing to participate in sacking a town, and was fired at on leaving the barracks.

" These men, whether they were dismissed for refusing to carry out instructions or whether they resigned as a protest, are now without any means of support.

" I am addressing this to you as I believe you to be one who would object on principle to the outrages on the people that are taking place, and that you would view with horror the burning of creameries and homesteads, and burning and looting towns, and the daily terrors the people have to suffer from the callous shootings from which so many have lost their lives.

" In expectation of your being willing to come

to the aid of men victimised because they would not allow themselves to be used for such work, I write to ask you to co-operate with me in finding work for these men, and I would ask you, if there are any vacant jobs under your patronage for which they would be suitable, to communicate with me.

" The majority of these men seek employment as clerks, agricultural workers, stewards, watchmen, agents, motor drivers, caretakers, etc.

Miso do Chara,

CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ.

" Please reply to the Secretary, General Employment Agency, 61, Highfield Road, Rathgar, Dublin."

This document is headed " Dublin, September, 1920," and was presumably signed by Countess Markievicz in her capacity as ' Minister of Labour ' of Dail Eireann.

In commenting upon this circular the *Morning Post* remarked : " A circular . . . which is in reality designed as an appeal for funds in aid of Sinn Fein, though it appears on the surface to be a benevolent effort on behalf of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The signature is apparently impressed by a rubber stamp. Nobody but a member of Sinn Fein will believe that the constables are ordered by their officers to commit outrages on pain of dismissal; and the suggestion that men ostensibly resign because they cannot face the strain of organised ambush and murder, but really as a protest against these ' orders,' is just the kind of false statement which is so

sedulously spread in America and in the Dominions. Its authors apparently rely on the short memory of the average man. Yet scarcely anybody who reads the newspapers can be ignorant of the fact that the declared policy of the Irish 'Republic' is to deprive every constable of his life or of his livelihood. Moreover, Countess Markievicz is a woman who was condemned to death for her share in the Dublin Rebellion of 1916, when wounded soldiers back from France were butchered in the streets of the Irish capital; is a prominent member of Sinn Fein, which is responsible for so many murders of policemen; and has never by a single word indicated that she disapproves of these crimes. If she is so desirous to recompense men of the R.I.C. who have been driven to resign by Sinn Fein terrorism she has a ready means of showing it. Sinn Fein is itself abundantly provided with funds and could easily spare money to aid the victims of its murderous methods."

The suggestion that men were dismissed or called upon to resign for refusing to take part in reprisals is of course absurd. Such dismissals as took place were for misconduct alone, and resignations have been due to a variety of causes, mainly personal.

One result of the state of disturbance existing in Ireland was that the police, practically confined to their barracks in many districts, were unable to obtain news except through the medium of local newspapers, whose descriptions of events were almost always tinged with the colour of

hostility towards the Forces of the Crown. In order to provide them with an unbiased summary of news, the police authorities produced a news-sheet of four pages, know as the *Weekly Summary*, consisting almost entirely of extracts from the leading British and Irish newspapers. This publication was purely for free and private circulation in police barracks, and was not for sale. The first number is dated 13th August, 1920.

This paper was eagerly welcomed by the members of the Force, and has been of considerable value in providing them with a wider range of information than that contained in the local Irish Press. A single extract from it must suffice as an illustration, and for that purpose we may select its 'leader' of 1st October, condemning reprisals:—

"POLICE AND PUBLIC.

The Police Force is the guardian of the law.

The 'Irish Republican Army' is a criminal organisation.

It has declared war on the law.

Its first aim is avowedly the destruction of the Police Forces in Ireland.

The Police, who see their friends and comrades foully murdered, suffer intense provocation, but they must continue to maintain, in spite of this provocation, that self-control which has characterised them in the past.

The Police will thus earn the respect and admiration of Ireland and the world at large.

The Police exists for the welfare of Ireland and to lift her from the terror of the pistol.

The destruction of factories, houses, and other buildings only impoverishes Ireland.

Do not hurt Ireland.

Put out the ' murder gang ' and free her from the thraldom of terror.

To hunt down the murderers is the paramount duty of the Police.

The Police Force is the guardian of the law."

This staccato admonition is typical of the general tone of the little paper. For the rest, each number consists of interesting extracts from other papers, such as might be expected to interest the members of the Force.

In addition to the Royal Irish Constabulary, there are two other Police Forces in Ireland.

It will have been observed that the Act of William IV. (Drummond's Act) already quoted (page 270) specifically excludes Dublin from the territory in which the Constabulary of Ireland was to operate. A separate Act (6 and 7 William IV. Cap 29) of 4th July, 1836, provides for the setting up of a Police Force for the City of Dublin. This Act is very similar in its terms to the Act setting up the Constabulary of Ireland.

" Whereas it is expedient to substitute a new and more efficient System of Police within the limits of the District of Dublin Metropolis, and to constitute an Office of Police, which, acting under the immediate Authority of the Chief

Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant shall direct and control the whole of such new System of Police within those limits . . . Be it enacted, That a sufficient Number of fit and able Men shall from Time to Time, By the Directions of the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant . . . be appointed as a Police Force for the whole of such District, who shall be sworn in . . . to act as Constables for preserving the Peace, and preventing Robberies and other Felonies, and apprehending offenders against the Peace.

"And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for any Man belonging to the said Police Force, during the Time of his being on Duty, to apprehend all loose, idle, and disorderly Persons whom he shall find disturbing the public Peace, or whom he shall have just Cause to suspect of any evil Designs."

The form of oath to be taken and subscribed by every person under this Act is similar to that to be taken by members of the Constabulary of Ireland.

The Force so set up is known as the Dublin Metropolitan Police. The Dublin Police District, which comprises the City of Dublin and part of the County of Dublin, is divided into six Divisions, each under the charge of a superintendent of Police. The population of 'Greater Dublin,' approximating to the Police District, was 371,936 at the time of the last census (1911).

The Dublin Metropolitan Police is maintained at a more or less constant strength, with very small fluctuations. Typical weekly figures of recruitment are as follows:—

Strength on 19th October, 1920 ...			1,133
Retirements		3	
Recruits:			
Great Britain ...	5		
Ireland	8		
	—	13	
Net increase			10
Strength on 26th October, 1920 ...			1,143

During September, 1920, it was decided to form a Special Constabulary in Ireland in order to assist in dealing with the abnormal situation then existing. An announcement was made during that month that the Government would enroll well-disposed citizens for this purpose. On 22nd October a statement was issued outlining the scheme and the conditions of service. The terms of this statement were as follows:—

The scheme, which applies to the whole of Ireland, will be brought into operation area by area as circumstances may require. The first Class of constable is Class A—that is to say a whole-time man enlisted to serve for a minimum period of six months, during which he will serve in the regular Royal Irish Constabulary, but only within the divisional area wherein he is recruited. These men get uniform, quarters (or an equivalent rent allowance), pay at 10s. a day, and sundry other allowances, making the total weekly pay £3 17s. 6d. Married men, if required to live in barracks, get a separation allowance of 14s. a week, and sundry rent

allowances according to the conditions under which they serve. After approved service, a bounty at the rate of £25 for each year's service in lieu of pension rights is also given, and in case of death or injuries due to the execution of his duties a special constable or his legal representatives will be entitled to claim compensation under the Criminal Injuries (Ireland) Act, 1919, payment of the award being guaranteed by the Government. Arms and equipment will be similar to those borne by the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Membership of Class B entails occasional duty, usually one evening per week, exclusive of training drills, in an area convenient to the member. Day duties will not be required except in emergency. These services will be unpaid, but a £5 allowance will be paid for each six months of service, to cover wear and tear of clothes and boot-leather. Caps and armlets will be provided, but arms and equipment will be determined by the authority of the county. They will usually be the same as those borne by the regular police of the district at the time. For each drill attended in excess of one per week 2s. 6d. will be paid. This class will be under its own officers, but these will be under the police authority of the area in which they serve. Class C is a reserve. Members will serve in a district convenient to themselves, and will be called on only in case of an emergency. They draw no pay or allowances, and do only occasional drills.

During the year 1920 this new Force of Special

Constabulary was established only in Ulster, but there it performed most useful service, and the experience in police duties gained by its members will no doubt be of great service to the authorities of the Ulster Government when the latter is set up under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

CHAPTER XI.

THE QUESTION OF REPRISALS.

The question of "reprisals," as they have been universally termed, is one that caused a good deal of discussion during the latter months of 1920. Reprisals in this case may be defined as unauthorised measures taken by members of the Forces of the Crown in revenge for injuries inflicted upon them by disorderly elements of the Irish population.

The Press has devoted considerable space to the question, and the occurrence of these reprisals has been widely condemned throughout the world. In many cases a wholly false inference has been drawn from such instances of reprisals as can be substantiated. Ireland has been described as suffering under a terror brought about by the police and the troops; the Government of Ireland has been accused of actual complicity in this terror, even of creating and encouraging it. It has been represented that the discipline of the Royal Irish Constabulary and British Army in Ireland has completely disappeared, that savage acts by members of these forces are the order of the day. The Republican murder-gangs are eulogised as patriots, struggling to defend their

country against the tyranny of brutal English oppressors. In short, Republican sources of information have so distorted the facts of such reprisals as have occurred that they are beyond recognition and even credence.

Now let us examine the facts. Enough has been placed on record in preceding chapters to show the conditions obtaining in Ireland during the year 1920 and the outrages there committed. We have considered the objects and the achievements of the Republican organisations, and we have touched upon the constitution and the duties of the forces of law and order. We are therefore in a position to form an idea of the state of Ireland during 1920, and to estimate the value of reports emanating from Republican sources.

Reprisals have occurred, and cannot be sufficiently deplored. There can be no legitimate grounds for the condonation of the undisciplined acts of a disciplined force. No member of the Irish Administration has at any time approved or condoned these acts, and every possible measure has been taken to prevent their recurrence. But the matter of reprisals goes deeper than condemnation, than orders and punishment. It goes to the root of human nature. However perfect discipline may be, however rigorous the punishment meted out to those who err against it, there must always be a certain number of men in every Force whose self-control is insufficient to restrain them from taking vengeance under certain circumstances.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to deal with the whole question of reprisals, and of the circumstances which have led up to them.

One of the most widely published stories of "reprisals" dealt with the occurrences in the three villages of Milltown Malbay, Ennistymon and Lahinch, all in the extreme west of County Clare, on September 22nd, 1920. Reports were published of the "sacking" of these towns by the police, and of the general misery that had been caused in consequence. The actual facts are as follows:—

By the morning post on 22nd of September the police at Ennistymon received an anonymous letter which ran as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—I am giving you a warning to make your men look out for themselves for the S.F. is going to make a raid on them some day. Let your men look out and the two officers that is going by themselves in the black motor. They will give them a downfall as sure as you are reading this. They would want to look out for themselves: we cannot stop our young innocent sons. Sure the leading man of them all is John O'Loughlin the man that is going to all the races, why he has plenty of powder and fire-arms. We would have an easy mind if you would frighten those murderers. They want more blood. . . ."

The letter is in itself one of the most valuable lights that could have been thrown upon the situation in Ireland. It shows how the older generation regards the operations of the

Republican Army, and the impossibility of controlling the younger men. But we must leave it in order to continue the account of the events that followed.

At eleven o'clock in the morning a military non-commissioned officer in Ennistymon was given a hint that a police car was to be ambushed. He went straight back to barracks and reported what he had heard, whereupon a party of troops was dispatched along the Milltown Malbay road with instructions to examine likely positions for ambushes. Shortly after passing a place called Lahinch, where the roads to Milltown and Liscannor separate, shots were heard ahead. The party pushed on and came into touch with the rebels as the latter were scattering inland. The troops came under fire from both flanks and the driver of a motor lorry was wounded. But a Lewis gun was brought into action and a few minutes later a second small party of troops came up in support, whereupon the rebels scattered and fled. The rebels took skilful advantage of cover behind banks, whins and hedges.

The troops now came back to the road, and at a point where the road is about twenty-five yards from the railway line found the bodies of the victims and the wrecked car. It was easy to re-construct the tragedy. Between the railway line and the road the ambush had been prepared with boughs and other cover to conceal the assailants. Behind the cover hay was strewn, and there were signs of a regular bivouac which had clearly been occupied from before dawn.

Hay was strewn about and there were a few haversacks and coats as well as some bread and some meat tins. Empty rifle and shot-gun cartridges lay about and *also sharp-nosed bullets whereof the points had been carefully filed, converting them into dumdums.* The car, which was travelling slowly uphill at the time of the assault, had been hit by a bullet which put out of action the two front cylinders and must have stopped it at once. At the same time fire was opened on the police from some fifty rifle and shot-guns. Twelve-bore cartridge cases and wads showed the ammunition used. The original wounds caused by the dumdum bullets were bad enough, but the bodies showed that *after* the men had fallen the criminals had further fired at their victims at short range with shot-guns. The evidence of this bestiality was indisputable. Search was made for the body of a missing constable, but it was not found until next morning. The wounded man had managed to crawl nearly four hundred yards, but as the tracks showed had been hunted down and butchered in cold blood. The arrival of the troops had been too late to save him.

It has been said that the murderers took cover and kept up a fusillade for some time, under the impression of course that the first military party to arrive on the scene consisted only of a few men in a car. During the fight the rebels fired from two houses, and it is certain that the occupants of these houses not only were fully aware of the ambush (they could not have avoided

noticing it) but also deliberately refrained from giving any notice thereof as they certainly could have done. However, they did not get off scot-free, for the houses were set on fire and burned to the ground.

There were other people who could have given warning and did not do so and who are therefore accessories to the murders. Two trains passed within from six to ten feet of the ambush, every detail of which must have been visible from the line. The guard and driver of each train must have known of the ambush, and it is impossible that some of the station officials at Milltown should not have been informed. It is worth noting that a priest wearing what appeared to be military medals was reported to have formed one of the ambush party.

The murder of District Inspector Brady near Tubbercurry on 30th September, 1920, has already been dealt with (page 215). Some quotations from a report made at the time are there given. The report continues as follows :—

" The police who had come from Sligo entered the barracks and saw the dead officer on the floor. D.I. Russell was getting details of what happened when the police were ambushed, when he suddenly heard shots being fired outside the barracks and battering of doors. D.I. Russell took a carbine and ran out, together with D.I. Dease and Lieutenant Morrison. He found that a shop next the barracks belonging to a Mr. Howley had been broken into and that some of the police and soldiers were wrecking it and

preparing to set it on fire. D.I. Russell challenged them and ordered them to desist and leave the premises, and the military officer called on his men to do the same. The men obeyed the order very reluctantly and sullenly. D.I. Russell then collected his men and told them there was no damage to be committed to property. This quietened the men for a few minutes but there was a good deal of murmuring and grumbling, and after a short interval some of the men broke away and were followed by the rest. The D.I. tried to get them back but his efforts were of no avail. A large general store owned by a Mr Cooke was set fire to. At this time the men had scattered in all directions and there was a great amount of rifle firing and throwing of bombs and shouting by the men to the Irish Volunteers to come out and fight them. The town and surrounding country is a hot-bed of Irish Volunteers of the worst type. Other houses were set on fire. The D.I. appealed to the men over and over again to desist, but the men were simply mad with passion and all restraints of discipline were thrown to the winds. The turmoil continued for about three hours. Finally D.I. Russell managed by appealing to some of the police who had been fired at to get their comrades to desist, to regain control, and got his men into the motor lorries. He then went to give some directions to D.I. Dease who was remaining in Tubbercurry, and while he was doing so the lorries started off and went to Tubbercurry Creamery, which is about half a mile from the town, and it

was burned down. The military lorries came back shortly after the lorries left Tubbercurry and went on to Sligo, but the police lorries did not return for about an hour. D.I. Russell then managed to get started to Sligo at about 5 a.m. He was in the rear car. When the first car reached Achonry Creamery about four miles from Tubbercurry the two cars pulled up, and in spite of the D.I's efforts the creamery was burnt down. After a great deal of persuasion the D.I. managed to get his men to resume the journey to Sligo. I visited Tubbercurry on morning of 2nd instant with C.I. Neylon who returned off leave on 1st instant.

"The following shops were completely destroyed: E. J. Cooke's, publican, draper and grocer; Patrick J. Gallagher's, publican and grocer; John Coleman's, grocer. The licensed premises of Kate Armstrong, Philip Durkan and M. J. Howley were partly burned.

"Windows were broken in the shops and houses of the following: J. Mullorkey, H. Crydn, Gallagher Brothers, Elizabeth Morran, Bernard Madden, and M. J. Howley, and Miss Sheridan. The reason these particular houses were attacked appears to have been because either the owner or the shop boys employed by him were active in the Sinn Fein or Irish Volunteer Organisations. So far as I could learn no person in the town suffered any personal injury."

The Chief Secretary for Ireland referred to both these cases in a speech in the House of

Commons on 20th October, 1920. His words are worth quoting as being the sanest and most reasonable comment upon the question of reprisals that has yet appeared.

The quotations are from Hansard. Dealing with the Ennistymon case, he said :

" Five policemen, in the course of their duty, were operating in the western part of Clare near two villages called Ennistymon and Lahinch. They were ambushed by a large number of men, probably fifty. Shots were fired that at once stopped the car. Expanding bullets rained on them. Four of the men were killed instantly as a result of the bullets, and the car was bespattered with blood and the mutilated remains of the four. The fifth, though badly wounded, managed to crawl away from the car for 400 yards. He was pursued. Shot-guns were used within a foot of him to blow his body to pieces. The car was on the road, with these men mutilated beyond recognition, when, within ten minutes, another car containing soldiers and police came along. They lost their heads. They went to the villages of Ennistymon and Lahinch. I am sure the House, whatever their opinion may be as to this Resolution,* will, at any rate, give

* The Resolution, moved by Mr. Arthur Henderson, was defeated by 346 votes to 79. It was as follows : " That this House regrets the present state of lawlessness in Ireland and the lack of discipline in the armed forces of the Crown, resulting in the death or injury of innocent citizens and the destruction of property; and is of the opinion that an independent investigation should at once be instituted into the cause, nature and extent of reprisals on the part of those whose duty is the maintenance of law and order."

me their sympathy in trying to bring peace out of chaos in Ireland. It is true that reprisals followed the murder of these five gallant men. Sixteen houses and shops were destroyed—houses that were considered to be occupied or owned by notorious Sinn Feiners.

"Here, again, I am convinced that the people of these two villages knew of this ambush. (An Hon. Member: 'How do you know?' The Chief Secretary: 'On the evidence.' The Hon. Member: 'Let us have the evidence.') I will. The place of ambush covered a long stretch on both sides of the road, and from the evidence of the bandoliers, haybeds, haversacks, coats, blankets, meat tins, and so on, it was clear that the bivouac had been there at least twelve hours, and possibly twenty-four hours. The place was within sight of many houses. I am admitting what is called a reprisal. I am putting to you the provocation that comes to brave men . . . I hope I have shown that the ambush must have been present to many people in the vicinity. The Irish Republican Army is particularly strong in that area. We have lists of the members. We have the muster roll in that area. We know exactly, as far as it is humanly possible to know, the persons who connived at and helped in that ambush, which resulted in the mutilation and death of five members of the Royal Irish Constabulary."

Dealing with the case of District Inspector Brady, the Chief Secretary in the same speech, said: "District Inspector Brady served through-

out the war as an officer in the Irish Guards, and won the approval of his superiors for his courage in the field. He became a District Inspector in the Royal Irish Constabulary in Monaghan, which was looked upon, as things go in Ireland, as rather a peaceful county. He volunteered to go into a disturbed area to exchange with a married man with a family. He was a real Irishman of the best sort. He was travelling in the front seat, the seat of danger, in a patrol lorry in the ordinary course of his duties towards a village called Tubbercurry, in Sligo. He and his men were ambushed just before they arrived at the village. The ambush was carefully planned. Over fifty men waited hour after hour for this lorry to come along. Shots—expanding bullets—were fired into the lorry. Poor Brady was seriously wounded in three places. . . . The motor driver brought the car into the yard. Brady, dying, was taken out by his men. I want to show two things in this ghastly chapter of Irish History, not reflecting the real Irishman, but the grossest form of brutal assassination. Brady's clothes were cut off him. He was wounded horribly in three places by expanding bullets, and anyone who knows anything about the effect of expanding bullets can visualise that gallant District Inspector a ghastly mass of mutilation on the floor of the barracks. Another policeman had the calf of his leg blown off by an expanding bullet, and, unconscious, was groaning in pain. A third had his face full of gun-shot pellets. That was

the scene that met some soldiers and policemen who came on afterwards. They saw Brady on the floor. They knew him. They loved him. Soldiers and policemen trained under the British flag love their officers. They so love them that they go to their death for them. I admit that when they saw Brady's form on the ground they saw red. I admit there was a reprisal. They went out and they burnt three shops of three notorious Sinn Feiners. They smashed several other shops all owned or occupied by notorious Sinn Feiners, and I am convinced, on the evidence, that every one of those persons who suffered through the reprisal connived at, possibly helped, and certainly all condoned that murder of District Inspector Brady."

Perhaps of all the cases of reprisals which occurred during 1920, that of Balbriggan is most widely known. The circumstances that led up to this incident were as follows.

Balbriggan is a village of over two thousand inhabitants, lying on the east coast of Ireland some twenty miles north of Dublin. On the 20th September, 1920, Head Constable Burke, of the Phœnix Park R.I.C. Depot, Dublin, accompanied by his brother Sergeant Burke, went out to Balbriggan for a day's leave. Head Constable Burke had taken a prominent part in the defence of a barracks in County Clare, for which he had received special promotion, and was undoubtedly regarded by the Republicans as a marked man. While he was in the bar of an Hotel, he was recognised by members of the Irish Volunteers,

and shot in cold blood, his brother being wounded at the same time.

The news of this outrage spread to Gormanstown Camp, some four miles distant, which had recently been converted into a R.I.C. depôt, and was therefore occupied by men who had all passed through Burke's hands during their training. Burke was exceedingly popular with these men, and upon the news of his murder reaching them they got completely out of hand. Burning with a thirst for revenge against the murderers and the village which sheltered them, they broke out of barracks and proceeded to Balbriggan. There they seized two prominent Republicans, officers in the local Irish Volunteers, and shot them dead. Subsequently damage was inflicted upon the village to the extent of 1 factory, 4 public-houses, and 19 private houses being burned and 30 private houses wrecked. The damage was estimated at between £130,000 and £150,000.

It cannot be denied that these outbreaks by the Forces of the Crown were indefensible. The authorities have never attempted to defend or condone them. In a statement to the Press on 28th September the Chief Secretary said: "There is no truth in the allegation that the Government connives at or supports reprisals. The Government condemns reprisals and has issued orders condemning them and has taken steps to prevent them." Nothing could be clearer than this. In the speech that has already been quoted the Chief Secretary referred to the Balbriggan episode in the following terms:

"I will face Balbriggan as all these cases, because in the present abnormal state of Ireland those persons, generally of an anæmic and it may be hysterical disposition, who expect things to work on the lines of the ordered routine you will find in this favoured country, expect too much, and are dealing not with facts but with visions. Take Balbriggan. This case has been stated, I think, by the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Paisley (Mr. Asquith), to be comparable with a Belgian town in the war. I believe the right hon. Gentleman said he had seen some of these places. So have I. Has he seen Balbriggan? (Mr. Asquith: 'No.') I have. I claim to be an authority on Balbriggan. I will give the case as it is, and I will admit at the start it is a case which I, more than anyone else, have every right to regret, because it did mean a certain break in the splendid discipline of the Irish police. But when the right hon. Gentleman or anybody else compares Balbriggan with a village at the front, at the Belgian front or any other place in the War, the statement has no relation to facts, either in the cause which led to destruction or in the amount of destruction which resulted. Head Constable Burke, who had recently been decorated for his gallant defence of a barracks, became a marked man for the assassins in Ireland. Everyone in Ireland who gets the Royal Irish Constabulary Medal for courage, or who does anything out of the ordinary in his loyal devotion to duty, is a marked man by the terrorists in Ireland. Head Constable Burke

was in Balbriggan with his Brother Sergeant Burke of the Royal Irish Constabulary. It is true they had gone into a public-house. But the suggestion that the murder of Head Constable Burke and the dangerous wounding of his brother the sergeant was due to the effort of the Irish Volunteers to bring about peace, as my right hon. friend the Member for Widnes suggested, is really so remote from the fact that it is in the dark. This head constable, unarmed, and his brother, unarmed, were surrounded by what I call assassins—I know no other name for them—and the head constable was shot dead. The brother was shot and dangerously wounded. Then the assassins fled. Head Constable Burke was not only a man of great courage but a very popular man with the police. In two depôts, miles away from Balbriggan, when they heard of this murder they came in lorries to Balbriggan. When they saw the bodies of Burke and his brother they—I admit it—they saw red. I admit it with regret. I always view these actions with the profoundest regret. In Balbriggan that night 19 houses of Sinn Feiners were destroyed or damaged, 4 public-houses were destroyed, and 1 hosiery factory, which employed 200 hands, was also destroyed. I admit at once that it is difficult to defend the destruction of that factory. (Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: 'Two men were also killed.') And two men were killed. (Mr. Asquith: 'Murdered.') If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Paisley gets any satisfaction out of it I

will say 'murdered.' I myself have had the fullest inquiry made into the case. I will tell the House what I found. I found that from 100 to 150 men went to Balbriggan determined to avenge the death of a popular comrade shot at and murdered in cold blood. I find it is impossible out of that 150 to find the men who did the deed, who did the burning. I have had the most searching inquiry made. I have laid down a code of still more severe discipline for the Royal Irish Constabulary, and I shall be glad to know that it will meet with approval. I myself had a parade of a large number of the Royal Irish Constabulary. I addressed them. I saw that what I said was published in nearly every paper in Ireland. I do not want to weary the House with a repetition of my speech, but I put the matter in as strong words as I could command that their business, and mine, was to prevent crime and to detect criminals, and when there was great provocation they must not give way. But I cannot in my heart of hearts—and, Mr. Speaker, I say this—it may be right or it may be wrong—I cannot condemn in the same way those policemen who lost their heads as I condemn the assassins who provoked this outrage. My quarrel with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Paisley and his friends is that they put all the emphasis on reprisals in Ireland. I put it on the provocation. (Mr. Mills: 'Look at Ulster!') The best and the surest way to stop reprisals is to stop the murder of policemen, soldiers and loyal citizens. I

regret these reprisals beyond words. It is a reflection on the discipline of a famous force. It is a reflection on my administration as political head of that force. But if I could bring to the minds and hearts of every member of this House, I do not care on what Benches they sit, the two years of agony, of the intolerable provocation that these policemen, and in some cases soldiers, have gone through, the situation would be better understood, and reprisals, whilst condemned, and properly condemned, would also be understood."

The address to the Royal Irish Constabulary referred to by the Chief Secretary in this speech was delivered at the Depôt in Phœnix Park on 30th September, 1920. It contains the following passages.

"You are a disciplined force, and I confidently count upon you to maintain that discipline, no matter what the provocation. Accounts of reprisals in certain newspapers are always misleading, and frequently misrepresent acts of justifiable self-defence as reprisals, but there are cases in which unjustifiable action has undoubtedly been taken. These cases are being carefully investigated. Meanwhile it is necessary to repeat and to emphasise that reprisals will ruin the discipline of the force, and cannot be countenanced by those in authority. The great provocation under which men suffer who see their comrades and friends brutally murdered is fully recognised, and by no one more than myself; but the police are urged to main-

tain, in spite of this, that self-control that has characterised the force in the past."

Both police and military authorities have repeatedly made it clear to the forces under their command that reprisals would not be tolerated, and there is every evidence that the measures taken by them have been successful in putting a stop, so far as is humanly possible, to the evil. The measure of their success is to be gauged not so much by the reprisals which have taken place, which in all cases have been due to hasty local action taken under intense provocation, but by the number of woundings and murders of members of the Forces of the Crown which have not been followed by the slightest suggestion of a reprisal. After all, the whole spirit of any organised force lies in its *esprit de corps*, and it is only natural for a man who realises the whole meaning of that phrase to seek revenge on a cowardly enemy who has inflicted injury upon his comrades. There is only one way of ensuring that reprisals shall cease for good in Ireland, and that is to stop the campaign of outrage carried on by the Republicans. If those who protested against the occurrence of reprisals were sincere, they would refrain from encouragement of the Republicans and lend their influence to the suppression of outrage.

The following Order, issued from the Royal Irish Constabulary Office, Dublin Castle, on 28th September, 1920, and headed " Alleged acts of reprisals by police and soldiers " is only one of the many examples of the orders that have been

issued on the subject, by both military and police authorities. It begins with the words of the Chief Secretary already quoted, and goes on:

"The police exist to restore and maintain order in the country. Destruction of buildings and institutions cannot but impoverish the country and increase want and disorder. It must however be made clear to all ranks that the effective use of weapons when threatened or attacked is only legitimate self-defence, and that it is their duty to hunt down murderers by every means in their power. The power of the Government to bring to justice those who commit crimes is increasing every day. The police will be fully supported and protected in the discharge of their duties by every means available."

The Order is signed "C. A. Walsh, Deputy Inspector-General," and was circulated to all Divisional Commissioners, County Inspectors, District Inspectors, and to all stations.

As has already been stated, both the number of reprisals which have occurred and the damage done has been greatly exaggerated in certain quarters. On 29th September, 1920, a list, supplied from Republican quarters, appeared in certain sections of the British and Irish Press, giving what purported to be the dates and localities of reprisals carried out by the Forces of the Crown. Ninety-eight out of the total of 101 incidents were alleged to have taken place during 1920. It would be impossible to give the facts underlying each one of these allegations, but we

can examine the figures, and take a few typical examples.

Of the 98 cases alleged, 18 were genuine reprisals, and a brief note of the circumstances attending them follows. The remaining 80 may be divided up as follows.

In 17 cases, mostly accusations of towns being "shot up" by police, there is no foundation whatever for the allegation.

In 11 cases, no record or information can be obtained of the alleged occurrence.

In the remaining 52 cases, activity of some kind took place at the place and date alleged, such activity being due to legitimate action on the part of the Forces of the Crown, or to unknown individuals. In no one of these cases did any form of "reprisal" take place, nor was there any action by police or military beyond the lawful execution of their duty. Instances of the allegations and the corresponding facts will be given below.

Dealing first with the cases in which "reprisals" actually took place:

On 22nd January it is alleged that the town of Thurles, in the County Tipperary, was sacked by troops. The facts are that following the murder of Constable Finnegan on the 20th, the local police attacked the houses of twelve prominent Sinn Feiners.

On 27th April, it is alleged that many houses in Limerick City were wrecked by troops. The facts are that some slight damage was committed

by troops as a reprisal for the murder of a soldier. There was no shooting.

On 27th June, it is alleged that Fermoy, County Cork, was sacked by troops. The facts are that £18,000 worth of damage was committed by troops as a reprisal for the kidnapping of General Lucas.

On 20th July, it is alleged that Tuam, County Galway, was sacked by police. The facts are as follows. On the night of 19th July a R.I.C. motor-van returning from Galway Assizes was ambushed three miles from Tuam, and two constables were shot dead. At 4.30 a.m. the following day a party of military and police arrived at Tuam to assist the local police in their search for the murderers. When these police saw the bodies of their fallen comrades lying dead on the floor of the mess-room their pent-up feelings overcame them and they broke loose in a fierce attack upon the town of Tuam, and committed much destruction of property. The Town Hall was burnt to the ground. No person was attacked or injured in this outbreak.

On 31st July, it is alleged that Tipperary Town was partially sacked by troops. The facts are that about twelve windows were broken. A soldier had been murdered on the previous day.

On 8th August, it is alleged that Kildorrery, County Cork, was wrecked and looted by police. The facts are that on the 7th a police constable was shot dead. During the night some shops in the village were wrecked.

On 26th August, it is alleged that Shana-

golden, County Limerick, was partially sacked by police. The facts are as follows. On 26th August, two sick constables, one in plain clothes and the other in uniform, were partially stripped and were marched through the streets surrounded by jeering and insulting crowds. Later in the day shots were fired on a police patrol. The creamery and several shops were burned down during the night, probably by either the police or soldiers or both, but it has not yet been possible to say with certainty that either of these Forces carried out the reprisal.

On 26th August, it is alleged that Naas, County Kildare, was "shot-up" by police. The facts are that a boot shop was burned and shots fired by persons whom the police believe were "'Black and Tans' or persons dressed as such." No provocation is assigned.

On 27th August it is alleged that Queenstown, County Cork, was sacked by troops. The facts are that sixty shops were damaged by troops and five looted as a reprisal for an attack upon them two days previously, when an officer of the Cameron Highlanders was killed and one soldier of the same regiment was killed and another wounded.

On 2nd September it is alleged that Inniscarra, County Cork, was partially sacked by police. The facts are that on the 1st a military patrol was fired upon and one soldier wounded. One house was burned as a reprisal. The police report states that this was done by the military.

On 10th September it is alleged that Tullow,

County Carlow, was sacked by police. The facts are that two shops were burned. It is stated that the perpetrators were military, probably assisted by local police. If this is so, it was in the nature of a reprisal for the murder of two constables shot dead on patrol. The dead bodies of the constables were found by their comrades at the scene of the attack about an hour later.

On 20th September, it is alleged that Balbriggan, County Dublin, was sacked by police. This is the " Balbriggan incident " previously described.

On 21st September, it is alleged that Balbriggan was " shot-up " by police. The facts are that a few shots were fired, but no person was injured and no damage was done.

On 22nd September, it is alleged that Ennistymon, County Clare, was sacked by police.

On 22nd September, it is alleged that Lahinch, County Clare, was sacked by police.

On 22nd September, it is alleged that Milltown Malbay, County Clare, was sacked by police.

(These refer to the " Ennistymon incident," see page 301. The damage done amounted to the burning of 8 houses in Ennistymon, 9 in Lahinch, and 9 in Milltown Malbay. Four civilians suspected of complicity in the ambush were killed.)

On 9th September it is alleged that the Galway police ran amok, resulting in three deaths. The facts are that a constable was attacked and murdered at the railway station about midnight. In self-defence he killed a civilian who was one of the attackers. Two hours later the police

attacked several houses and killed a leading Sinn Feiner, whom they suspected of complicity in the murder of their comrade.

On 20th September, it is alleged that two civilians were shot dead and their houses burnt at Abbeyfeale, County Limerick. The facts are that two civilians were shot dead by a police constable who stated that they ran when called upon to halt. A military Court of Inquiry was held upon the matter, and found that there was not sufficient evidence to enable them to decide as to the circumstances in which the shots were fired by the constable.

It will be observed that these cases occurred between 1st January, 1920, and 22nd September, 1920, and that as a result of reprisals by the Forces of the Crown seven civilians are admitted to have been killed, one was shot by a constable in self-defence (at Galway on 9th September), and two were shot under unexplained circumstances (at Abbeyfeale on 20th September). The murder of these seven civilians is unjustifiable, although great provocation can be urged on behalf of the men who did the deeds.

Now let us glance at the other side of the picture. During the period between 1st January, 1920, and 22nd September, 1920, 84 policemen and 12 soldiers were murdered by the Republicans without provocation of any kind. Well might the Chief Secretary point the moral in the House in the course of his speech already quoted!

"I have a right to complain of reprisals,

because I am responsible for the discipline of the Irish Constabulary. The Commander-in-Chief has a right to complain of reprisals, because he is responsible for the discipline of the British Army in Ireland. But these men who acquiesced in, connived at, condoned or supported the murder of District Inspector Brady, or members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, have no right to complain of reprisals. They are members of the Irish Republican Army that is pledged by force of arms to set up an independent Republic in Ireland, to defy the authority of this House, and to claim the right to assassinate the officers of the Crown."

A passage in *An T'Oglac* of 15th August, 1920, explains the last words of the above quotation. It is as follows: " We realise that it is far more profitable to kill for Ireland than to die for her."

To return to the 52 cases of alleged reprisals, in which activity took place at the place and date alleged. Space does not permit of our dealing with each of these, but we may take 6, typical of all the rest.

On 1st March it is alleged that Thurles, County Tipperary, was partially wrecked by troops. The facts are that eleven panes of glass in the Sinn Fein Hall were broken, also two plate-glass windows in shops. One of the injured persons, who is a loyalist, attributed the damage to the work of Sinn Fein.

On 28th June it is alleged that Limerick City was partially sacked by police. The facts are

that malicious damage, which consisted of the breaking of nine windows and injury to the doors and floor of the Railway Hotel and the burning of a business premises, was committed by persons unknown. There was no looting, and it is thought that the motive was personal spite against the owner of the properties.

On 15th July it is alleged that Tralee, County Kerry, was partially sacked by police. The facts are that a shot was fired by a sentry who thought he saw some persons trying to get through the barbed wire entanglement in front of the Court-house, where the Assizes were being held.

On 17th and 18th July it is alleged that Cork City was " shot-up " by police. The facts are as follows. The only firing on the 17th was in self-defence. The police were fired at and returned the fire. No person was injured and no damage was done. On the 18th attacks were made on parties of soldiers. The military were turned out to clear the streets. General firing took place throughout the city and considerable damage was done. The police were not fired upon and did not fire during that night.

On 22nd July, it is alleged that Leap, County Cork, was sacked by police. The facts are that a mixed party of military and police were fired upon from the Sinn Fein Hall. The police returned the fire and broke into the Hall. Some damage was done in the process. The houses of local suspects were searched.

On 21st August, it is alleged that Oranmore, County Galway was sacked by police. The facts

are that a police patrol was fired on. Earlier in the day a constable from Oranmore had been shot dead when proceeding to Galway. The police in searching for the assailants of the patrol bombed and burned the house of a leading Sinn Feiner in which the assailants had taken refuge. The County Inspector, reporting the following day, stated that the discipline of the men was admirable.

From the above examples, chosen at random but all typical of the allegations emanating from Republican sources, the facts underlying the majority of the accounts of " reprisals " which have appeared may be adequately gauged.

CHAPTER XII.

THE QUESTION OF ULSTER.

The Province of Ulster consists of the Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone, with a population, according to the census of 1911, of 1,581,696. But geographical Ulster has ceased to have a separate political existence, and in speaking of Ulster the "Six Counties," and these alone, are usually implied. This new division of Ireland is defined by the Government of Ireland Bill in the following words:

"For the purposes of this Act Northern Ireland shall consist of the Parliamentary counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone, and the Parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry; and Southern Ireland shall consist of so much of Ireland as is not comprised within the said Parliamentary counties and boroughs."

The population of Northern Ireland as thus defined was 1,250,531 at the time of the census of 1911, or rather more than 28% of the population of the whole of Ireland at that time. This

population differs from that of the rest of the country in being, generally speaking, industrial, "Unionist," and Protestant, rather than agricultural, "Nationalist," and Roman Catholic. As illustrating the first two of these distinctions, it may be said that in 1912 Belfast claimed to handle seventy per cent of the whole export trade of Ireland, and that in the present Parliament the Six Counties are represented by 23 Unionist members out of a total of thirty.

It is the existence of these differences that has caused the people of the Six Counties to take up a different attitude from that assumed by the people of the rest of Ireland. Finding themselves to be in a numerical minority, they have been forced to combine to resist absorption into the majority. They have felt that their needs would never be served, or their conditions understood, by a Parliament of All Ireland, in which the majority would legislate for the needs of a community differing from themselves in every respect. Racially and economically they have felt themselves to be more closely allied to the British people than to the Irish, and they have resolutely set their faces against political incorporation with the latter, preferring union with Great Britain or some form of self-government for themselves. The history of this tendency is practically the history of Ulster in recent years.

The agitation to resist Home Rule, by which is meant the institution of a single Parliament for the whole of Ireland, was from its inception until the outbreak of war, controlled and guided by the

Ulster Unionist Council. That body first came into existence on 2nd December, 1904. On that date a conference of delegates from the various Unionist organisations was held in Belfast, at which it was resolved "That an Ulster Council be formed, and that its objects shall be to form an Ulster Union for bringing into line all local Unionist Associations in the Province of Ulster with a view to consistent and continuous political action; to act as a further connecting link between Ulster Unionists and their Parliamentary representatives; to settle in consultation with them the Parliamentary policy, and to be the medium of expressing Ulster Unionist opinion as current events may from time to time require, and generally to advance and defend the interests of Ulster Unionism in the Unionist Party." The first meeting of the Council was held in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, on 3rd March, 1905.

The intention to oppose Home Rule by armed resistance appears to have first taken shape in December, 1910, when the following Manifesto was issued to the Orange Lodges in Ireland.

MANIFESTO FROM THE GRAND LODGE OF IRELAND.

BROTHER ORANGEMEN,

We address you at a grave crisis in the history of Ireland. Mr. Redmond and the party servants of the American Fenians have procured for their schemes the help of the Socialists and

Radicals of England. Under cover of an attack on the House of Lords they are striking a deadly blow at the Union. If they obtain a majority at this election, Home Rule may be carried over the veto of the Second Chamber in two years. In these circumstances you have two duties to perform. You must use every effort to defeat them at the polls, neglecting no opportunity of influencing votes in Great Britain. But you are equally bound to prepare for a struggle in this country if we should fail to carry the Elections. Already steps are being taken to enrol men to meet any emergency. Orangemen must set the example to other Unionists by volunteering their services. Be well assured that if we do our duty now, and show ourselves worthy of our liberties, the God of our fathers will give us strength to hand down those liberties to our children.

Signed on behalf of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland,

ERNE, G.M. (Grand Master)
R. H. WALLACE, G.S. (Grand Secretary).

Dublin, 7th December, 1910.

This was followed by a letter from the Grand Secretary, Colonel R. H. Wallace.

Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland,
Secretary's Office, Grand Orange Hall,
10, Rutland Square East,
Dublin.
December, 1910.

Worshipful Sir and Brother,

In pursuance of a resolution passed by the

Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland at the half-yearly meeting on the 7th December, 1910, I beg to forward to you a Form of Particulars as regards the Members of your Lodge who, in the event of Home Rule becoming law, are willing to take active steps to resist its enforcement. Please take the greatest care in filling in this form, and see that each Brother signs his name in the column headed "Signature," returning the same to me at this address at your very earliest convenience. It would be advisable to mention this subject in the summons for your next regular meeting in order to ensure as large an attendance as possible.

Your fraternally,

ROBERT H. WALLACE,
Grand Secretary.

GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND.

Return from L.O.L. No. .....

District of..... County of.....

Name	Address.	Age.	Whether ever enrolled, and, if so, in what Force and rank attained.	What branch (i.e. whether Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, etc.	Length of Service.	Transport, (i.e. what Carts, Horses, etc. could you supply.	If fit for Service.	Signature.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

About the same time the Standing Committee

of the Ulster Unionist Council took steps to resuscitate the Unionist Clubs in Ulster which had been formed in 1893 to oppose Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

The first muster of the Unionist Forces in Ulster to protest against Home Rule was held at Craigavon, near Belfast, on Saturday, 23rd September, 1911. The police stated that not less than 300,000 travelled on the road to Craigavon from the City to attend the meeting.

A series of demonstrations was held throughout the Province, all leading up to the signing, on " Ulster Day "—Saturday, 28th September, 1912, of a solemn Covenant to resist Home Rule. This Covenant was as follows :—

ULSTER'S SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

"Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, We, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V., humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all

means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland.

And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority.

In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names.

And, further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant.

The above was signed by me at ....., "Ulster Day," Saturday, 28th September, 1912.

GOD SAVE THE KING."

The signing of the Covenant was preceded in most places by religious services in the Protestant places of worship. It was reported that the Covenant was signed by 219,206 men in Ulster, and by 19,162 Ulster men resident elsewhere, making a total of 238,368.

As showing the zeal with which the Unionist Club movement was taken up, the number of these clubs by May, 1913, was 315, with a membership of 61,454. Their distribution was as follows:—

County.	Number of Clubs.	Membership.
Antrim ...	42 ...	11,953
Armagh ...	35 ...	5,188
Belfast ...	25 ...	16,628
Cavan ...	16 ...	1,949
Donegal ...	6 ...	483
Down ...	56 ...	12,190
Fermanagh ...	17 ...	1,405
Londonderry ...	29 ...	3,894
Monaghan ...	15 ...	1,779
Tyrone ...	74 ...	5,985
Totals ...	315 ...	61,454

It will be observed that over 93 per cent. of this membership was derived from the 'Six Counties.'

During the month of December, 1913, 1,742 drill practices were held, in which 29,979 persons took part. These drillings varied in character from the most elementary to practice with wooden rifles. Throughout the years 1911, 1912, and 1913 large numbers of rifles, mainly of a discarded Italian Army pattern, were imported into Ulster.

In pursuance of the policy adopted at a private meeting in December, 1912, by the Unionist Council in Belfast, persons who had signed the Covenant were called upon to enrol themselves for either military or political service in the campaign against Home Rule. For the former it was decided to enrol a body to be known as the Ulster Volunteer Force, and, at the same time,

to raise a Volunteer Force of two thousand men to act as police under the proposed Provisional Government for Ulster in the event of its being called into existence.

During April, 1913, the movement to resist Home Rule was concentrated on the organisation of the Volunteer Force. The invitation to join the Force met with a good response, and at the end of April it was reported that 41,000 people had agreed to join—20,000 in Belfast and 21,000 in the rest of Ulster. At the same time it was stated that rifles had been purchased to some extent by Unionist Clubs and private individuals. The Orange Order took up the Volunteer movement and urged its members to join; and the City of Belfast was divided into sections, over which commanders were appointed in order to mobilise the Force quickly.

In August the organised hostilities of Unionists towards the Home Rule Bill became more marked. The Home Rule question, to a large extent a religious one, aroused a very bitter sectarian feeling, which was further accentuated by rioting which broke out at Londonderry on 12th August, the anniversary of the Relief of Derry in 1689. A large number of Orangemen and "'Prentice Boys" went by special train from Belfast and other places to take part in the celebration. These excursionists on their way through the country kept up an almost continuous fusilade of revolver shots from the train, though happily this *feu-de-joie* was unaccompanied by fatalities. In the riot in Londonderry firearms

were freely used by the crowd, and a constable received a dangerous bullet wound. The disturbance was renewed on the night of 14th August, when a citizen named Armstrong was shot dead. Nearly all the Unionists of every age in Londonderry carried revolvers at this time, and it was believed that the Nationalists were also arming themselves with modern weapons.

The Ulster Volunteer Force was now being organised on a military footing, with a General Officer and Headquarters Staff at Belfast. Efforts were made in the City to enlist the hooligan element, as the leaders of Unionism were anxious to acquire a disciplinary control over that class. The strength of the Ulster Volunteer Force on 30th September, 1913, was 56,651, distributed as follows:

County.	Strength.
Antrim	10,067
Armagh	5,447
Belfast	10,700
Cavan	2,730
Donegal	1,178
Down	11,611
Fermanagh	2,090*
Londonderry	4,510
Monaghan	1,209
Tyrone	7,109
Total	56,651

* Including the Enniskillen Horse of 230 men.

Party feeling could hardly be more intense than it was at this period, but at the same time the Commissioner of Police at Belfast reported that anything in the nature of compromise would be a relief to both sides; for although deeply determined, neither party looked forward with any pleasure to the prospect of riot and bloodshed.

On 23rd September a conference of the Irish Unionist Parliamentary Party was held at Craigavon, near Belfast, when arrangements were completed for the meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council on the following day. This meeting took place as arranged. The gathering numbered between 500 and 600, and every district of the Province was represented. The meeting was conducted in private, but an official report of the proceedings was subsequently supplied to the Press, according to which a Provisional Government Executive and a number of Committees were appointed to carry on the government of Ulster in the event of the Home Rule Bill becoming law. It was also decided to raise an Indemnity Fund of £1,000,000 to indemnify the members of the Ulster Volunteer Force and their dependents in respect of any personal injury or loss of life sustained by them in the execution of any order of the Provisional Government.

Towards the end of January, 1914, steps were taken in Belfast to organise a Corps of 3,000 men specially selected from the Ulster Volunteer Force. The members of this Corps were to

receive £1 per week, free mess and uniform. The decision to organise this Corps was come to, it was understood, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Ulster Volunteer Force on 20th January. The objects for which this Corps was raised were not definitely known at the time, but it was probably intended for use in policing Belfast in the event of a Provisional Government being established.

The members of the Ulster Volunteer Force were observed by the police to be particularly active on the night of 19th March and for a short time subsequently. Generally throughout Ulster there were some steps taken for a quick mobilisation on the night of 20th March, and in several districts considerable numbers of the Volunteers answered to the call for mobilisation. In the County of Tyrone it is stated that the total number of men assembled at the various centres amounted to upwards of 7,500.

During the month of March the organisation of the Ulster Volunteer Force went steadily on. Considerable quantities of military equipment—uniforms, haversacks, bandoliers, etc.—were imported into Ulster and served out generally throughout the Province. Medical stores in considerable quantity were also imported and distributed among the branches of the Ambulance and Nursing Corps, of which sixteen were formed during the first three months of the year. In addition, it was stated that a number of private houses had been placed at the disposal of the organisation for use as hospitals in the

event of their being required as such, many of these houses being the residences of leading Unionists in the Province.

On several occasions about this time members of the Despatch Riders and Signalling Corps of the Volunteer Force were observed to be engaged in carrying despatches on motor-cycles throughout the Province. These despatch-riders had in many cases maps of their routes with the houses on the road marked ' Protestant ' or ' Catholic ' as the case might be, for the guidance of the riders in case of accident. Protestant houses were marked ' friendly ' or ' doubtful ' according to the politics of their occupants.

The following table shows the strength of the Ulster Volunteer Force in the several Counties of Ulster on 31st March, 1914, and the number of rifles believed to be in the possession of Unionists on that date :—

County	Name of Regiment	No. of Battal'ns	Strength	Total County Strength	No. of Rifles
Antrim ...	South Antrim	3	4,009		
	Central ,,	3	5,118		
	North ,,	2	2,461	11,588	5,740
Armagh ...	Armagh ...	7		7,378	3,010
Belfast ...	North Belfast	7	7,596		
	South ,,	7	6,400		
	East ,,	7	9,113		
	West ,,	2	1,400	24,509	4,528
Cavan ...	Cavan ...	3		3,406	2,676
Donegal ...	Donegal ...	4		3,099	1,299
Down ..	North Down	2	2,715		
	East ,,	3	3,783		
	West ,,	2	1,603		
	South ,,	3	2,820	10,921	4,120
Fermanagh ...	Fermanagh ...	3		2,920	183
Londonderry ...	Derry City	4	3,475		
	,, County	4	5,630	9,105	655
Monaghan ...	Monaghan ...	2		2,070	561
Tyrone ...	Tyrone ...	5		9,544	2,107
TOTALS ...	19	73		84,540	24,879

Tension in Ulster increased rapidly until 'The Curragh Incident,' and it is difficult to say what might have been the outcome had not the outbreak of war changed the whole aspect of affairs. The war averted all chance of a Home Rule Bill, unacceptable to Ulster, becoming law; and consequently Unionist activity in the Province diminished. The anniversaries of the Battle of the Boyne (July 12th) and the Relief of Derry (August 12th) have always been the occasions for a certain show of party feeling, and as the Home Rule issue became less urgent, so disturbance in Ulster tended to partake more and more of the nature of a faction fight. The old feud between Nationalists and Unionists became, during the war and after it, obscured by religious differences between Protestants and Catholics. Sinn Fein has done its best to increase its footing in Ulster, with a view to the conversion of that Province to its policy of an Irish Republic. The result has been that the Protestant element has tended to regard all the Catholics of Ulster, whether they proclaim themselves Unionists or Nationalists, as being in reality secret agents of the Sinn Fein propaganda. The outcome of this is seen in the serious outbreaks which took place in 1920. These outbreaks caused widespread destruction and loss of life, especially in the cities of Belfast and Londonderry, and they have led on the one hand to an economic boycott of Ulster by Sinn Fein, and on the other to the expulsion of the Catholic workers from the shipyards of Belfast.

These matters are dealt with at greater length below.

At the General Election of 1918 the Sinn Fein party put forward a candidate in each of the nine divisions of the City of Belfast, as well as at Queen's University, and the party polled nearly nine thousand votes in all. Sinn Fein had joined with the Nationalists in the activities of the anti-conscription crusade, and gained some support in consequence, but the fact that the Nationalist candidate for the Falls Division secured a majority of over five thousand at the General Election showed that Sinn Fein had not made as much progress as might have been expected, even in a quarter most favourable to its development. On two occasions, however, signs were visible of the dangerous nature of the Sinn Fein element, in June and December 1918 respectively, when numbers of Sinn Fein prisoners in Belfast prison gave trouble. During the December outbreak the prisoners gained access to the roof of the gaol, and were promptly stoned by the Unionist population.

In County Londonderry, and especially in the City, Sinn Fein made considerable progress during 1918. The strength of the Sinn Fein party, taking the County and the City together, was not so great as that of the Irish Parliamentary Party; but in the case of the Election in the City the Parliamentary Party voted for the Sinn Fein candidate, who was elected. In North Derry also the Parliamentary Party voted with Sinn Fein, but a Unionist was

elected. In South Derry the three parties voted independently, and a Unionist was elected, with the Sinn Fein candidate at the bottom of the poll.

During 1919 the Unionist political organisations were most active in Belfast in renewing their pre-war machinery to combat any attempt which might be made to coerce Ulster or any part of it into any form of Home Rule. The chief of these organisations were the Unionist Clubs, and as they were quiescent during the war, steps were taken to have them reorganised, new and active officers being appointed to bring them up to their pre-war state of activity. The general effect of these Clubs was to bring together the forces of Unionism into a compact body which, from its weight and power, secured a controlling influence as far as the North of Ireland was concerned.

No attempt was made during 1919 to revive the Ulster Volunteer Force, or any other armed Force, nor could it be said that there was anything like the same number of Unionists so deadly in earnest in their attitude towards self-government for Ireland as there were before the war. On the other hand Sinn Fein, in spite of every effort, failed to improve its holding in Belfast to any appreciable extent.

During June, 1920, there was serious rioting in Derry City. The trouble began on the 19th, and quickly assumed grave proportions. The population of the City is approximately equally divided into Nationalists and Unionists, and the City has always been a danger-spot for the out-

break of sectarian disturbances. By the 21st trade and business were at a standstill, and the citizens were afraid to appear in the streets, owing to the activities of the rival mobs, who used their weapons indiscriminately. The magistrates and representative citizens sent an urgent message to the authorities requesting further military protection, and the proclamation of martial law. The attitude of the authorities, however, was that while they were willing to send as many troops and police as might be necessary to preserve order, the proclamation of martial law could be no remedy for a constantly recurring state of disorder. The proper course was for joint action by responsible leaders on both sides to enforce order upon their followers.

During the early morning of the 22nd two civilians were killed and two wounded in desultory firing which continued until the afternoon of the 23rd. The position in the City at this time was that sniping was being carried on from various points of vantage, together with burning and looting of shops. The magistrates again communicated with the authorities, receiving the reply that further troops had been sent and that every effort was being made to get the situation in hand. On the 24th the state of affairs improved somewhat, although parties of police and troops were fired upon at intervals, and on the 25th the original suggestion of the authorities was acted upon. A meeting was held at which the two joint Under-Secretaries, clergymen of all denominations, members of the

Chamber of Commerce and of the Harbour Board, and representatives of all the commercial interests of the City were present. It was decided that business in the City should be resumed at once, and the members of the meeting pledged themselves to use their influence to bring about a spirit of peace and goodwill between all classes and parties in the City. A Committee was formed to carry out this policy, and by its good offices peace was gradually restored.

On 27th June symptoms of disorder again appeared in Belfast. Shops and houses belonging to Catholics were attacked and looted, and considerable firing and stone-throwing took place in the streets. The situation appeared very threatening for a time, but the excitement subsided before any great damage was done. A significant symptom was the appearance on the walls of houses of threats against Sinn Feiners, ordering them to leave the City before the 1st July.

The celebrations of the July Anniversaries of 1920 in North East Ulster were attended by no disorder, and the leaders of both political parties contributed material assistance to the Police and Military Authorities in the maintenance of order in that district. A striking instance of this occurred at Lurgan on 14th July, when rival crowds assembled in the vicinity of the barracks, where a Sinn Fein prisoner had been lodged. A serious riot appeared to be in prospect but was averted by the prompt action of the District Inspector of Police, who at once obtained Police

and Military reinforcements, and with the assistance of men of both political parties succeeded in dispersing the crowds before a collision occurred.

Unfortunately, however, events proved that disorder was only postponed. Rioting on an extensive scale broke out in Belfast about noon on 21st July, and continued without intermission for three days and nights, resulting in the loss of many lives and much destruction of property. The origin of the trouble was a meeting of Unionist workmen during the dinner hour of the 21st, at which it was decided to expel all Catholics from the shipyards. It was alleged that a few Sinn Feiners on the outskirts of the meeting indulged in provocative and seditious remarks. At 3 p.m. attacks began to be made upon Catholics in the yards, several men being thrown into the water, and others badly beaten. These attacks continued until about 4-30, when police and troops arrived on the scene.

In consequence of this outbreak and of wild rumours that a number of Catholics had been killed, party feeling throughout the whole of the City soon reached a state of intense excitement, and fierce rioting began about 6 p.m. The Police were unable to separate the crowds, who attacked each other with bricks and stones. The troops were called upon to intervene about 8-15 p.m., and later a party of troops and Police, going to assist a body of workers who were unable to leave a workshop in the Falls Road, were heavily stoned by a Nationalist crowd, who also

fired several revolver shots. After a number of the police and military had been injured, the troops found it necessary to fire, and one man was killed. The firing had the effect of quieting matters for a short time, but rioting was again resumed with fierce stone-throwing and revolver shots, and the troops were again called upon to fire, with the result that two men were killed, both members of the attacking Nationalist crowd. Later, after dusk had set in, a band of hooligans extinguished the street lamps and fired revolver shots at the police and troops, who were once more compelled to fire, with the result that a woman was killed.

During the night a large part of the City was given over to looting and considerable damage was done to property, mainly spirit-grocers and public-houses. Matters quieted down the following day, but gangs of Unionists visited a number of industrial establishments on the look-out for Catholic workmen whom they wanted to expel from the works, and sporadic outbreaks of looting and rioting took place. The situation again became serious towards evening, when a large Unionist crowd, many of whom were heavily intoxicated, made an attack on the Roman Catholic Church of St. Matthew. The troops and police endeavouring to protect the church were fired on by the crowd, and a soldier and several policemen were badly wounded. In order to dislodge the crowd the troops were compelled to open fire with Lewis guns, and several people were killed. In the district

between Shankhill Road and Falls Road, hostile crowds assembled and fired at one another and at the troops. After several persons of both parties had been killed and a large number wounded, the troops were eventually compelled to use machine-guns to disperse the crowds.

On the following day (23rd July) the state of the City was much quieter, but about 10 p.m. a huge crowd attacked and set fire to a convent in the vicinity of St. Matthew's Church; the flames, however, were quickly extinguished by the fire-brigade. The crowd then fired at the troops, who returned the fire and soon restored order. No further dangerous riots occurred, and although looting continued, there were no serious incidents. The total number of deaths recorded for the three days was eighteen, and it is believed that several others occurred. Over two hundred arrests for assaults and looting were effected.

The clergy of all denominations assisted in organising peace patrols on the 24th, and these were of great assistance to the police in preventing further disturbances. A proclamation issued by the Lord Mayor on the 26th called upon all citizens to devote their best efforts to the restoration of law and order, and stated that the authorities would take the most drastic measures to deal with disorders of any kind.

On the 22nd, 23rd and 24th attacks were made on the houses and shops of Catholic residents in the neighbouring towns of Dromore, Banbridge and Bangor. Two civilians were killed and several injured, and a considerable amount of

destruction of property and looting took place. Disturbances of a less serious nature also took place in Lisburn and Ballymena.

A special meeting of the City Council of Belfast was held on 31st July, on the requisition of a small number of Nationalist and Labour members, to consider a resolution calling upon the Council to use its influence with employers and others concerned with a view to enabling the displaced Catholic workmen to return to their employment. An amendment to the effect that this object could only be obtained when the criminals responsible for the assassinations committed in the South of Ireland had been brought to justice was carried by 35 votes to 5.

A slight recurrence of disorder took place in Belfast City on the night of 15th August. Bonfires were lighted in Seaforth Street and Short Strand, and an attempt was made to hoist a Sinn Fein flag in the latter area. It became evident that party feeling was unlikely to subside so long as the policy of excluding Catholics from the shipyards was persisted in. The suggested imposition of an anti-Sinn Fein declaration upon Catholic workmen by their Protestant fellows was keenly resented by the former, many of whom were ex-Service men, and in every case they refused to comply with this condition. Unfortunately the efforts made by Ulster employers to secure their return met with very little success.

The murder of District Inspector Swanzy in Lisburn on 22nd August and the

consequent disorders in that town had an immediate effect upon party feeling all over Ulster. Further expulsions from the Belfast shipyards took place, and attacks were made on public-houses and spirit-groceries in Ballymacarett, a Catholic area. Several encounters between opposing crowds of the rougher element of the City resulted in a number of serious injuries on both sides, but the police succeeded in restoring order without calling upon the assistance of the troops. On the 25th, however, rioting and stonethrowing on a dangerous scale broke out in various parts of the City, and it became necessary to call upon the troops to assist in quelling the disturbances. Over thirty houses were set on fire, and a considerable amount of looting and destruction of property took place. The troops were attacked and fired upon, and were compelled to return the fire, with the result that a man was killed and two women wounded.

On the 27th, the Lord Mayor issued an urgent appeal through the Press, calling upon citizens to remain within their own districts and to support the efforts of the Authorities in restoring order in the City. A number of Special Constables were enrolled, and a stringent Curfew order was made to come into force on the 31st.

The uncompromising hostility displayed towards the Catholic workers in the Belfast shipyards provoked serious resentment in the South of Ireland, and especially among the Sinn Fein element. Dail Eireann proclaimed a boycott of Ulster trade as a measure of retaliation, and

immediate steps were taken to make this boycott effective. Travellers representing Ulster firms were expelled from Nationalist and Sinn Fein districts, bread vans belonging to Ulster distributors were destroyed, and a series of attacks were made on property belonging to Ulster business houses. A serious outrage of this character was perpetrated in Dundalk on the morning of the 27th, when a large drapery establishment was set on fire and three shop assistants sleeping in the building were burnt to death.

Strict enforcement of the Curfew order had the effect of gradually restoring order in Belfast. By 5th September peaceful conditions had been practically regained, and although Catholic workmen were still intimidated from returning to work in the shipyards, numbers engaged in other occupations were able to resume employment. Much credit was due to the police and troops for their efforts in restoring order: both Forces displaying admirable restraint and discipline under extremely trying conditions.

The unemployment of the Catholic shipyard workers continued, however. At the beginning of September some eight thousand workers in Belfast were idle owing to political and religious troubles. In some cases the Trades Unions were paying out-of-work donations, and in all cases the National Insurance allotment was paid. A public subscription fund was opened for the whole of Ireland and secured a liberal response. Employers and managers were anxious that

Catholics should be allowed to resume employment, but feeling was very bitter among the Protestant workers, who insisted upon the imposition of a signed declaration against Sinn Fein as a condition of the readmission of Catholics to the works. The Catholics refused to sign this document, and the deadlock continued.

Early in September the appointment of an additional Assistant Under-Secretary was decided upon, in order that a representative of the Irish Government might be permanently in Belfast, and on the 16th Sir Ernest Clarke proceeded to the City to take up this appointment. His first activities were directed towards solving the question of the resumption of work by the Catholic shipyard men. Owing largely to his efforts an arrangement was come to whereby the Protestants agreed to substitute, for the condition that Catholics desiring to return to work should sign a declaration disclaiming adherence to Sinn Fein, an honourable understanding that any man taking advantage of a general permission to return should be regarded as having by so doing signified his loyalty to the Crown and his disapproval of attempts to subvert the Constitution by outrage and violence. It was confidently expected that a general resumption of work on these terms would begin on 27th September.

But a section of the Sinn Fein party desired nothing less than a settlement and the cessation of anarchy which such a settlement would bring. On the morning of the 26th, two separate parties

of police, engaged in the performance of their ordinary duties, were almost simultaneously attacked by armed men, with the result that one constable was murdered in cold blood and two others wounded. Immediately following these outrages three prominent Sinn Feiners were shot in their houses by unknown civilians, and a general outbreak of party rioting took place. Order was eventually restored, but all hope of the possibility of a peaceful return to work by the Catholics was past. None of the expelled workers returned, and an added complication was produced by the action of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, which forbade any of its members to continue working unless the ban upon Catholics were withdrawn. This order threatened to cause very serious distress in the City, but it was not very generally obeyed.

During the period from June to September, 1920, 20 civilian deaths are known to have occurred during rioting in Derry, and 62 during rioting in Belfast.

Disturbances in Ulster have always been attributable to religious rather than to political causes, except during those periods when legislation has been threatened which would bring Ulster under the power of a Southern majority. The most hopeful sign of peace in the North occurred during the debate on the Third Reading of the Government of Ireland Bill in the House of Commons on Armistice Day, 11th November, 1920, when Sir Edward Carson, speaking as the leader of Ulster opinion, said :

"As far as I understand the facts the Ulster people, having accepted the view of the Government that it was essential that they should be put under a Parliament of their own, which they did not ask for, have set themselves to get ready for that Parliament, and they have resolved and determined to work it in the best interests of their own country and of the Empire. . . . I am now even better fitted than before to give the pledge that Ulster will do its best to perform the obligations put upon it under this Bill."

CHAPTER XIII.

IRELAND AND AMERICA.

The interest of America in the Irish Question dates from the time when that great country first opened her shores to colonisation, that is from the very dawn of her history. The Irish have always sought in a new land that prosperity which their own country failed to afford them. In the case of America, geographical considerations have influenced the trend of emigration. Ireland, the western outpost of Europe, almost necessarily stretches out her hands to America, endeavouring to bridge the intervening ocean with a bond of sympathy and understanding. She has sent her sons out to the Promised Land, to become citizens of the New Republic, not perhaps quite realising that the price of citizenship must inexorably be the surrender of the old nationality for the new. There can be no misunderstanding upon this point, loth though Irishmen may be to admit it. It is a natural characteristic of the race to wish to have the cake and to eat it too, but in this case the world's sympathy is against it. The citizens of their adopted State must be Americans first and before all things; their allegiance must be unquestionably to the country of their adoption, else are they but sojourners

and scarce trusted guests. There can be no room in the great Republic for half-hearted citizens, as she proved so uncompromisingly during the Great War.

Of the history of the United States' interest in Irish affairs little need be said. It is very doubtful whether the Republic as a whole has ever had any real interest in Ireland. A noisy and demonstrative section of the least reputable part of her population have always represented themselves as the friends of what they proclaimed to be "Ireland," but what was in reality only the voice of the agitator, mainly from interested motives and from a desire to participate in the benefits that sometimes accrue to those who fish in troubled waters. There are others, principally those whose families have recently emigrated from Ireland, who feel the bonds of association and recollection drawing them towards the Old Country, and are ready to lend themselves to any agitation which may secure what they believe to be the aims of their old-time compatriots. But that the great body of true American opinion has ever actively interested itself in Irish affairs is a fallacy.

History bears out this contention. The disaffected party in Ireland has always appealed for help to any nation which may at the moment be able to exert an influence upon England, or alternatively may be unfriendly to her. During the last years of the Eighteenth Century the appeal was to France, then at war with England. Later, on the conclusion of the Civil War, when

America was inclined to blame England for her supposed partiality towards the Confederates, the Irish thought to have found another champion. To quote Professor Henry's admirable little book, *The Evolution of Sinn Fein:*

"The Irish in America were only too ready to return to Ireland to overthrow the Government in whose authority they saw the source of their country's misfortunes and their own exile. On the conclusion of the American War thousands of Irishmen who had fought under Grant or Jackson were ready to place their services at the disposal of an Irish leader. But they found no one of sufficient ability and prestige to lead them. Smith O'Brien and the other survivors of the Young Ireland Party, had become constitutionalists. John Mitchel, though he went to Paris to act as treasurer for the Society, refused to take any more active part. O'Mahony and the Americans wanted to equip and despatch an expedition. James Stephens, who had undertaken to organise the movement in Ireland, insisted that American assistance should be confined to money. The money came slowly, and though Stephens could enrol a revolutionary army he could not equip it. The Americans too wanted the rising to take place before Stephens thought the time was ripe, and the consequent quarrel between the Irish and American leaders was fatal to the chance of success. In any case little real progress was made until the year 1865, but the work of preparation went steadily on.

. . . The subsequent attempt in '67 under American leaders fared no better; and General Massey, arrested at Limerick Junction, judged it better to avoid bloodshed by giving full information to the Government."

Such was the result of the appeal to the 'Irish in America'—not the American Nation, be it observed. The American Nation was not the enemy of England, and was not therefore likely to give countenance to the rebel tendencies of an insignificant section of the latter's subjects. The disaffected Irish had learnt their lesson, and their next appeal was to the avowed enemy of England, and, incidentally, of civilisation, though this latter fact does not seem to have perturbed those who boast that "The Irish, an ancient race, enjoyed a civilisation and disseminated learning before the invasion by England." In 1914 the rulers of Imperial Germany threw down their challenge to the world, and in the issue of this challenge the disaffected Irish once more saw their opportunity.

We must credit them with a certain measure of foresight. In 1912 the journal *Sinn Fein* contained the following words: "We have, for instance, no illusion whatever on the subject of Germany. If Germany, victorious over England, comes to Ireland, Germany will come to stay and rule the Atlantic from our shores. She will give us better terms than England offers. She will give us that Home Rule which all the States of the German Empire enjoy. . . . We have no doubt whatever that Ireland under German

rule would be more prosperous than she has ever been under the rule of England."

The whole story of the negotiations between Sinn Fein and Germany have been exposed in a White Paper entitled *Documents relative to the Sinn Fein Movement* (Command Number 1108, 1921), and it is therefore unnecessary to pursue the matter further than to quote two extracts from this document. The first is a letter from Roger Casement to Professor Eoin McNeill, and is as follows:—

"*Not to go through post on any account.*

Professor Eoin McNeill
19, Herbert Park,
Ballsbridge, Dublin. Berlin.
28th November, 1914.

"Please have this official declaration of the German Government, stating its intentions and declaring the goodwill of the German people towards Ireland and the desire of both Government and people for Irish national freedom, published throughout Ireland by every possible means.

"You know who writes this. I am in Berlin, and if Ireland will do her duty, rest assured that Germany will do hers towards us, our cause, and our whole future.

"The enemy are doing everything to keep the truth out of Ireland, and are even going to try to get the Vatican on their side, as in the time of Parnell. Once our people, clergy and volunteers know that Germany, if victorious, will do her

best to aid us in our efforts to achieve an independent Ireland, every man at home must stand for Germany and Irish freedom.

"I am entirely assured of the goodwill of this Government towards our country and beg you to proclaim it far and wide. They will do all in their power to help us to win national freedom, and it lies with Ireland and Irishmen themselves to prove that they are worthy to be free.

"Send to me here in Berlin, by way of Christiania, if possible, one or two thoroughly patriotic Irish priests—young men best. Men like Father Murphy of Vinegar Hill—and for the same purpose.

"Rifles and ammunition can be found and good officers, too. First send the priest or priests, as I need them for a special purpose here, you can guess—for—

"If the priest or priests can get to Christiania (Norway), they can get here through the German Legation at Christiania. Our friends in America will pay all expenses. Warn all our people, too, of the present intrigue at Rome to bring pressure of religion to bear on a question wholly political and national. Our enemy will stick at no crime to-day against Ireland, as you will soon know. This official declaration of the German Government has been sent out to all the German representatives abroad for world-wide publication. It may be followed by another still more to the point—but much depends on your staunchness and courage at home.

"Tell all to trust the Germans—and to trust

me. We shall win everything if you are brave and faithful to the old cause. Try and send me word here to Berlin by the same channel as this. Tell me all your needs at home, viz., rifles, officers, men. Send priest or priests at all costs —one not afraid to fight and die for Ireland. The enemy are hiding the truth. The Germans will surely, under God, defeat both Russia and France and compel a peace that will leave Germany stronger than before. They already have 550,000 prisoners of war in Germany, and Austria 150,000, and Russia has been severely defeated in Poland.

"India and Egypt will probably both be in arms. Even if Germany cannot reach England to-day, we can only gain by helping Germany now, as with the understanding come to, Ireland will have a strong and enlightened friend to help to ultimate independence.

"We may win everything by this war if we are true to Germany; and if we do not win to-day we insure international recognition of Irish nationality and hand on an uplifted cause for our sons.

"Reply by this route: A letter for me, addressed to Mr. Hammand, 76, Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, to be enclosed in one addressed to Messrs. Wambersin and Son, Rotterdam."

The second is a notice issued by the Irish Republicans. Early in 1915, after the promulgation in Ireland of military orders under the Defence of the Realm Act for the action of the

inhabitants in the event of invasion, counter notices were placarded calling on the people to disobey the orders issued and to welcome the German troops as friends. The following is a specimen notice :—

"PEOPLE OF WEXFORD.

Take no notice of the police order to destroy your own property, and leave your homes if a German army lands in Ireland. When the Germans come they will come as friends, and to put an end to English rule in Ireland. Therefore, stay in your homes, and assist as far as possible the German troops. Any stores, hay, corn, or forage taken by the Germans will be paid for by them."

These two extracts are typical of the evidence contained in the White Paper, which should be perused by all those who wish to understand the Irish point of view. For all history, both recent and remote, shows that the Irish appeal to America is based upon self-seeking and not at all upon racial affinity. The Irish Republican Movement is and always has been the child of an almost incomprehensible selfishness, as the very title of its latest advocates, Sinn Fein, 'ourselves alone,' sufficiently indicates.

But we must abandon the historical aspect of the foreign relations of Ireland for a review of the conditions of the present day. Finding Germany a broken reed, the Irish malcontents have turned once more to America, as being the country whose population might be expected to

be most in sympathy with Irish ideals. The so-called President of the Irish Republic himself made the United States his headquarters for over a year, contriving in the process to fall foul of an earlier centre of Irish sympathisers, the Friends of Irish Freedom, which was established in 1916. And for the last few years there has been a fog of misunderstanding between the two great cousin nations, America and England, which it should be the earnest endeavour of every true citizen of either to dissipate.

And much of it we may dissipate with one comprehensive sweep. It cannot be too widely realised in England that a very great part of the Irish Question in America is nothing but the conventional cry of the politicians, that the great bulk of the reasoning multitude are no more interested in Ireland than they are in the South Pole. Owing to the fact that in America there are some twenty millions of persons of Irish descent, the Irish vote is something to be angled for. Politicians of every shade of opinion always have and always will dangle the bait of speeches in the Irish Republican interest before the noses of the electors, whenever such tactics seem likely to procure them votes. We on this side of the Atlantic are sufficiently aware of such party cries, and of the sudden oblivion which descends upon their subjects when the fruit of the cries themselves has been harvested. We may therefore put aside from us such matters as the vexed question of the Irish " plank " in the American elections and the collection of funds for the Irish

Republican Loans in the United States. We have one guarantee which can never fail us: that the only type of man who can influence American policy is the man who is a Citizen of the United States first and an Irishman incidentally, almost as a hobby, we might say. The converse, the man who places his abandoned nationality first and his American citizenship second, is a man who gains nothing but mistrust in the State in which he dwells. For America the Irish question is one of politics only, to be indulged in at election times. What we are really interested in, for the purposes of this book, is the true attitude of genuine American opinion towards the Irish Question in Ireland.

That America is interested to a certain extent in Irish events there can be no doubt, even though the Irish tragedy may be merely one of the dramas played before her upon the stage of Europe. The Irish Republicans have always done their best to present their case in the most favourable light to the people of America, and in so doing have gained their interest if not their sympathy. Let us endeavour to reproduce their case as they have shown it.

The chief weapon of the Irish Republicans in America is propaganda, and the most important of the propaganda societies is the Friends of Irish Freedom. For the part that this Society played in the War, reference may be made to the White Paper already mentioned. A single extract from it will suffice for the present purpose.

" Shortly before the rebellion of Easter, 1916, there was founded in the United States the association known as ' The Friends of Irish Freedom.'

" In February, 1916, Judge Cohalan, T. St. John Gaffney, and Jeremiah A. O'Leary issued a call for an Irish Race Convention which was held in New York on the 4th and 5th March, 1916. A permanent organisation was then formed. The president, three of the vice-presidents, the treasurer and secretary were members of the Clan-na-Gael. Judge Cohalan was first of the board of directors; Jeremiah O'Leary and Joseph M'Garrity were on the executive. Of the 52 permanent members of the board of directors 37 were members of the Clan-na-Gael, and of the 17 members of the executive 15 belonged to the Clan-na-Gael. John Devoy was one of the association and T. St. John Gaffney was appointed representative of the Friends of Irish Freedom for Europe. A bureau was established at Stockholm, whither Gaffney repaired, and from there and at Berlin maintained, along with George Chatterton-Hill, close relations between the German Government and the various Irish-American and Sinn Fein Organisations. De Valera, Monteith, Mellowes and others of the Irish Sinn Fein rebels who went to America after the Rebellion became participators in the work of the Friends of Irish Freedom.

" This congress was convoked for the purpose of ' arranging means to enable Ireland

to recover independence after the war.' The convention demanded the recognition of Ireland as an independent nation, and passed a resolution that

"' We hereby appeal to the Great Powers to recognise that Ireland is a European island and not an English island, and to appreciate the fact that the complete independence of Ireland from the Britannic Empire is the essential and indispensable condition of the freedom of the seas.'

"The Friends of Irish Freedom maintained close touch with the German organisations in America both before and after the rebellion."

In 1920 a pamphlet was published by 'Friends of Irish Freedom, Inc., 280, Broadway, New York,' entitled 'English Atrocities in Ireland, A Compilation of Facts from Court and Press Records, by Katherine Hughes, with a Foreword by Hon. James D. Phelan.' We need not concern ourselves with the contents of this pamphlet, except to say in passing that it is so obviously propaganda as to carry very little conviction. But it is of interest for the reason that in the foreword is contained the very essence of Irish Republican propaganda in America.

"The Irish, an ancient race, enjoyed a civilisation and disseminated learning before the invasion by England. They resent in this enlightened age the denial of their liberty and the indignities and cruelties which have been practised upon them. Ireland will only be

peaceful when she is free; and the influence of the Irish throughout the world, unless freedom be granted, will be an implacable and disturbing element. The only permanent peace is a peace of justice. . . .

"The Irish are actuated by the spirit of Liberty, and they have won the applause of the world because they are resolved never to lay down their arms."

One might assume from a perusal of Irish propaganda in America that Ireland throughout the last few years has been the scene of an endless succession of brutalities perpetrated by the Forces of the Crown upon innocent and harmless Irishmen, that the 'liberty' by the spirit of which the Irish are actuated, and for the attainment of which they propose to be the implacable and disturbing element of the world, has been maliciously withheld from them.

But let us consider for a moment the means by which Ireland, or rather the Republican minority in that country, has sought to obtain 'liberty,' which appears in the minds of the disaffected to be synonymous with the establishment of the Irish Republic. We need not concern ourselves with the crimes of the Fenians or of the Invincibles, nor even with the Easter Week rising of 1916. It will be quite sufficient if we confine ourselves to the events of the last two years.

The Irish Republicans would have us believe that during that time their sole object has been to achieve 'liberty' in the form of an Irish

Republic by means completely justified by their end. That these means are such as are universally judged by civilisation to be criminal does not appear to them to affect the matter. It is perfectly justifiable to murder the representatives of British rule in Ireland, with every attendant horror of brutality and treachery. They are the instruments of vile oppression, and as such are fair game for the patriotic bullet. Never for a moment do the Republicans suspect that their blood might soil the white robes of their ideal 'liberty.' These incidents are but the events of a sacred war waged against the powers of darkness by a nation struggling towards the light.

But let a hair of a saintly Republican's head be touched, and observe what a storm arises! The enforcement of justice, the first principle of civilisation, is instantly proclaimed as a manifestation of ruthless oppression. Should a single one of those who are doing their best to turn their unhappy country into a hotbed of crime and a wilderness of desolation be sentenced for his misdeeds, the Republican propagandists proclaim him a stainless patriot suffering for his native land. The extreme penalty of the law is a sure road to martyrdom for the bloodiest murderer. To hunger-strike is the sublimest act of a hero. By such strange fictions is the Republican cause kept brightly burning.

Now let us endeavour to close our ears to all this idealistic clamour, which is at its loudest in America, and examine the question of oppression

in Ireland in the light of hard facts.

In addition to being one of the British Isles, Ireland is an integral part of the British Empire, and the great majority of her people have no desire that she should cease to be such.

Because a few idealists have stirred up a section of the young men of the country, who for the most part have no direct interest in her welfare, to a state of rebellion against the British power, these idealists have proclaimed a War of Secession against England.

The position of the Irish Republicans as aggressors in a War of Secession is not analogous to that of the American Colonists in 1773, who were fighting 'Taxation without Representation,' and who would undoubtedly have leapt at a far less generous measure of 'Home Rule' than is contained in the present Government of Ireland Act, in order to avoid the conflict. The position of that section of the Irish people who wish to secede is far more approximate to that of the Confederate States in 1861. They wish to rebel against long-standing partnership, to the detriment of both partners. And no one now will doubt the wisdom of the policy which held the South by force to the Union.

The methods of the Irish Republicans have been those of a secret society of murderers, a fact which should be sufficiently obvious from the instances cited in the previous chapters of this book. But the Irish propagandists make no mention of the deeds of those whom they are paid to support, and endeavour to confuse the

issue by excusing the long list of outrage and destruction as being justified by the actions of the Forces of the Crown, whom they accuse of wanton brutality and of ' reprisals,' apparently missing the point that without original murders by the Republicans there could have been no ' reprisals ' by the Forces of the Crown.

The accusation of ' reprisals ' first came into prominence in *The Irish Bulletin*, a multigraphed and anonymous sheet issued to the Press by the Irish Republican propagandists, about the middle of the year 1920.

During 1919 the following are the statistics of outrages committed by the Republicans. Outrages against property are not included :—

Members of the Police Forces killed ...	17
Members of the Police Forces wounded ...	39
Members of the Military Forces killed ...	1
Members of the Military Forces wounded ...	4
Civilians killed	2
Civilians wounded	5

From the 1st January, 1920, to the 31st July, 1920, the figures are as follows :—

Members of the Police Forces killed ...	53
Members of the Police Forces wounded ...	69
Members of the Military Forces killed ...	8
Members of the Military Forces wounded ...	29
Civilians killed	16
Civilians wounded	40

During 1919 the Republican propagandists themselves, in a list of ' reprisals ' published in the *Freeman's Journal* of 29th September, 1920, and elsewhere, claim only three ' reprisals.' These were alleged to have taken place at Fermoy, Kinsale, and Cork respectively. A certain amount of damage was certainly caused in these three towns by members of Forces of the Crown infuriated by the murder or ill-treatment of their comrades, but the damage was confined to property, and in no one of the three cases was a single civilian injured.

From the 1st January, 1920, to the 31st July, 1920, forty-six ' reprisals ' were claimed in the list mentioned above. In five of these cases damage was caused to property by members of the Forces of the Crown, following murders of their comrades or attacks upon them, but again no civilian was hurt. In the remaining cases claimed, either no incident of the nature described can be traced, or some damage was caused by the Forces of the Crown while acting in the necessary discharge of their duties.

These facts should be sufficient to refute the principal claims of the Irish Republican propagandists. For the rest, the foregoing chapters of this book will provide a fair indication of the state of Ireland during the year, and will serve to show how the terrible condition of that unhappy country was brought about solely by the machinations of those who represent themselves as its saviours, the Irish Republicans.

Before we leave this subject of reprisals the following document will be of interest. It is an example of the attitude of certain of the Irish citizens of the United States. It was received by the Chief Secretary through the post :—

Sir Hamar Greenwood,
Chief Secretary for Ireland, New York.
London, England. October 24th, 1920.

Dear Sir,

We hereby inform and warn you that if there are any more reprisals in Ireland on and after the fourteenth day of November, 1920, that the men of Irish blood in this country and their sympathisers, will immediately begin reprisals on Englishmen here, who are not citizens of the United States.

For every man, woman or child who is murdered after the above date, by the cowardly English soldiers and police, three Englishmen in this country will pay the penalty.

Amalgamated Irish Societies of America.
(Sd.) J. V. O'Connor,
President.

It may be objected that America draws her ideas of the responsibility for the state of Ireland, and her evidence as to the brutality of British rule, not alone from the statements of propagandists but also from the British Press, of which a section appears to support the claims of the Republicans. The reply to this objection

is one that Americans will be the first to appreciate. The Irish Question is and always has been, in England as in America, a question of politics. It is a political maxim that whatever course the Government of the day may pursue, those in opposition to it must attack that course in every one of its channels. It might be imagined that the question of Ireland, being, as it is, of vital importance to the Empire, would be allowed to remain outside the arena of party strife, but unhappily this is not so. Attacks have been made upon the policy of the Government not so much because the attackers disagree with that particular policy but because they hope to weaken the support of the Government in the country. These attacks are liable to be mistaken for an admission that a section of the British people believe that the Irish Republicans have right upon their side.

It would be impossible to examine even a small proportion of these attacks, but we may select one of the most prominent of them for comment.

On the 30th November, 1920, a Commission appointed by the British Labour Party to enquire into the whole question of 'reprisals' and violence in Ireland left London for Dublin. The Commission returned to London on December 15th, during which period it travelled over Ireland collecting evidence. Shortly after its return it published a voluminous Report, which consisted mainly of a series of stories of incidents gathered from Sinn Fein sources. The true object of the Report is somewhat naively revealed in the

Introduction* prefacing it: "The main burden of our Report is a denunciation of the Government's policy." Which is exactly what one would expect of a report published by a party in opposition to the Government.

It would be sheer waste of time to examine and refute each one of the allegations against the Forces of the Crown contained in this Report; indeed the great majority of them is incapable of refutation, being merely a record of the impression made on members of the Commission by local gossip. But it is somewhat unfortunate for the credibility of the Report as a whole that on one single occasion alone it reports an occurrence of which a wholly disinterested spectator was a witness, and that on this occasion this impartial witness totally disagrees with the story as told in the Report.

The incident was the ambush that took place at Ballymacelligott, County Kerry, on 12th November, 1920, and the witness was the Correspondent of *The Yorkshire Post*, who may be allowed to describe the events in his own words. The following is an extract from *The Yorkshire Post* of 20th January, 1921:—

"The fight at Ballymacelligott, near Tralee, on the afternoon of November 12, which I described in *The Yorkshire Post* at the time, has again come into prominence by reason of the references to it in the 'revised' report of the

* *Report of the Labour Commission to Ireland*, published by The Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, 1921. Page 2, line 15.

Labour Commission to Ireland. The statements in this part of the report are so flagrantly inaccurate that doubt is cast upon all the rest. Impartiality is difficult to believe, in view of the spice of malice which appears in the repeated use of the phrases 'The Dublin Castle circus' and 'The Battle of Tralee.' The latter phrase was certainly not originated by officials of the Government, and any suggestion that the party travelled into the Tralee district for 'the fun of the thing' is to be deplored. County Kerry holds too much tragedy to be made the object of a sporting tour.

"The nature of the report provokes curiosity regarding the methods of the Commission in the pursuit of their investigations. Have they ever, in any of the cases with which they have dealt, made an attempt to interview every one who could throw light on the affair? In the case of the fight at Ballymacelligot, those actually present comprised representatives of the Dublin Castle authorities, residents of the district (including a doctor from Tralee), two London cinema operators in the employ of Pathé Frères, Limited, and myself, as representative of an English newspaper.

"Perhaps the Commission found during their short stay, as, I suppose, most investigators have discovered, that it is sometimes extremely difficult for the inquirer to make up his mind what is the truth of certain affairs which have happened in Ireland. What is usually a fairly simple matter in England is complicated in Ireland by

racial antagonism, religious prejudice, the fear of reprisal, and the nimble imagination and almost reckless eloquence of the typical Irishman. The forensic power and agile wit and fancy which have been such a delight to playgoers and book-lovers, are sometimes a great hindrance when a man is simply searching for the naked truth. They are apt to confuse the issue. Still, they provide no excuse for the abandonment of the search for any avenue which may lead to the truth, and they do not absolve the perpetrators of such an astounding statement as *The story of the ambush is due, apparently, to the hectic imagination of those from whom the Chief Secretary obtained his information. . . . 'The battle of Tralee' is a figment of the imagination, though no doubt the participants on the Government side will still believe that ''twas a famous victory.'*

" As one who was an actual eye-witness of the affair, and was not responsible for any of the information conveyed to Sir Hamar Greenwood, perhaps I may be pardoned for contributing my comments, unsolicited by the Commission, upon certain statements, in the order in which they occur.

" (1) *The members of the Commission were unable to obtain any corroboration of the allegation that, on the morning of November 12, police were fired on from the creamery. On the afternoon of the same day a party of journalists and photographers were stated to have been fired upon from the creamery and the manager's house,*

and dozens of shots rang out. We frankly do not believe a word of this statement.— As I was not present on the morning of the 12th, I am unable to give personal testimony on what happened then. Unless the second part is mere quibbling in the matter of words, it is quite inaccurate. If it is suggested that no journalist or photographer was in the party, I can only repeat my former statement that it included two photographers and myself. In addition, there was present a former well-known writer in Fleet Street. The creamery itself abutted upon the road, with the manager's house perhaps thirty yards away in the rear, and behind this, a few hundred yards distant, lay three or four homesteads. The car in which I travelled was not more than a hundred yards behind the first car, travelling at about twenty-five miles an hour, and as it passed the creamery shots rang out. Before I could climb out of the car, which was stopped immediately, three bullets whizzed past my head, and two more came unpleasantly near before I could reach the side of the road. Thenceforward, for some twenty-five minutes—they were timed—bullets came across the road pretty constantly. They were real bullets. Some of them hit up the mud at the other side of the road, and the party—every one of whom, I believe, had seen service in France—was not likely to mistake the familiar 'ping.' As the range varied from about 250 to 1,500 yards, I can only conclude that bad shooting was the reason for the party sustaining no casualties.

"(2) *After the 'Dublin Castle circus' opened fire, probably half a dozen shots were fired in return, but not from either the creamery or the manager's house.*—The naive manner in which the Commission contradict the previous sentence needs no comment. The estimate of the number of shots returned is reminiscent of the rural residents' idea of distances. They were fired from the far side of a field adjoining the creamery, and from the direction of three or four farms behind the manager's house, in which lay a wounded man. I have not seen it suggested that any shots came from the creamery. The ten or twelve men whom we saw running when we turned the corner were going from the direction of the creamery.

"(3) *The Commission do not agree that there were about 70 armed men near the creamery. Seven men were captured, including a doctor and his servant, and there has been no further statement as to the discovery of arms and ammunition.*—I have it on the authority of one who was among the company at the creamery shortly before our arrival, that six men armed with rifles were standing outside the manager's house, discussing which posts they were to take up. The members of the party which I accompanied reported that in the lanes, hedges, and fields beyond the field to which I have referred, they encountered three parties, each of fifteen or more men, and there were several smaller groups and individual snipers. The officer in charge of the cadets was shot at from a distance of twenty-five

yards by a man equipped with rifle and bandolier.

" (4) *The Commission could not find the trench part of the ambush, which was stated still to be there.*—As we drove along that afternoon our driver drew our attention to a trench, partly filled up, which crossed the road about three hundred yards from the creamery, and he slackened speed as he passed over it. It is quite possible that after the heavy rains which intervened the Labour Commission were quite unable to distinguish the trench from the rest of what is a very indifferent road.

" (5) *No one ever saw any dead or wounded men.*—The party reported that four men had been shot at very short range, and had not moved again. One man was found with blood on his hands, and another with blood on his face, and bloodstains formed a track through one of the farmyards. Our party were hurriedly recalled, and were obliged to leave the casualties. On the following morning there was no trace of the latter—for reasons which would be obvious to most people.

" (6) *There was no evidence of the arrival of 'reinforcements,' and the retirement of the police was not a retirement in the face of superior forces, but merely the undisturbed departure of the 'Dublin Castle circus' with the prisoners who had been taken.*—The party were recalled from their pursuit of the attackers simply on the ground that further up the road, about 250 yards away, where the road turned sharply to the right

and became hidden behind a wood, the movements of several men who kept dodging behind the walls suggested the possibility of an attack from that direction. A motorist coming from that direction said there were 'not more than a dozen' men there, and previously I had seen five men running across some fields at the opposite side of the road. The retirement was disturbed only by a renewed outburst of fire from the hillside, where twenty or thirty men could be seen.

"(7) *There was not a shred of evidence that from the homesteads in the vicinity of the creamery heavy fire was directed upon the police.* —In the later stages of the fight, and when the police party retired, a considerable volume of fire came from that direction.

"The Commission lay stress upon the fact that we sustained no casualty. As I have already said, poor shooting could be the only reason, and that was perhaps partly due to the unexpectedness of the counter attack by the police. Most of the bullets went too high, and the vigorous attack apparently led to hurried aiming. If, as the Commission assert, in their humorous way, the party was not fired upon—or, alternatively, *probably half-a-dozen shots were fired in return* —why did the prisoners who were taken crawl on their hands and knees in the shelter of the roadside bank of turf, in preference to walking comfortably?

"Altogether, the document is astounding, and it arouses great doubt whether the Commission

took the trouble to interview any one but those who suffered loss by the subsequent partial destruction of the creamery, or the burning of those hayricks from which came the sharp reports of exploding cartridges. There were three witnesses of the whole affair who were neither residents of the locality nor members of the Crown forces. Presumably the Commission were aware of our existence. For myself, I received no invitation to appear before the Commission."

The Labour Party's Report, and the criticism to which it is open, are typical of the adverse comment upon the policy of the Government emanating from British Opposition sources. The pity of it all is that such comment, based upon demonstrably false premises though it may be, is a very serious hindrance to the peaceful settlement of the Irish Question. Those who criticise the methods of the Government profess to do so with the object of achieving a settlement in Ireland. Yet by their very criticism they encourage the Irish Republicans to believe that a section of the British people sympathises with them, and so give moral support to the outrage-gangs in their resistance to the forces of law and order.

It may seem as though this is a digression from the subject of the relations between Ireland and America, but in fact it is not. The Irish Republican propagandists have chosen America as the main field of their activities, and they take good care that every statement damaging to

British rule receives every possible form of publicity. In England we know what value to attach to such statements, but in America the general reader has usually no test by which to determine the relative value of conflicting accounts which reach him of events in Ireland. And it is only by means of such a demonstration as has just been given that the value of criticism of Government methods can be gauged.

Having thus endeavoured to clear the air as regards the claims of the Republican propagandists in the past, let us endeavour to examine their claims for the present day. They claim, in effect, that the Republicans are fighting for freedom against the tyranny of British rule. But what are the facts? The Government of Ireland Act* gives Ireland a more complete form of Home Rule than was ever contemplated by those who urged the repeal of the Union. Ireland is offered control of all essentials, with the promise implied that if she seizes the opportunity and shows herself capable of self-government, she may obtain by constitutional methods the essential status of a Dominion. The cry of ' partition ' is a foolish evasion of responsibility. It lies in the hands of the Irish to abolish partition at a single stroke, as soon as the Irish people, and they alone, so desire.

For what then are the Republicans continuing their campaign of murder, why do their apologists endeavour to make America resound

* See Appendix A.

with their cries for 'liberty?' Liberty they are already offered, short of the establishment of their ridiculous republic, which only an insignificant percentage of Irishmen really desires. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Republicans believe that by a policy of terrorism and disturbance they can extort from the British Government better terms than they could obtain by constitutional means. This is a most dangerous attitude, and it contains a menace to the whole of civilization. It is a form of blackmail which it is the duty of every nation, in its own interest, to discourage to the full extent of its powers. It is based upon a true appreciation of the way in which the Irish Question is regarded by a not inconsiderable section of British opinion. The Republican propagandists love to display the British race as a ravening lion, thirsting for the blood of the Irish people. As a matter of fact, if the British are to be symbolised by a lion, it is a lion wearied by a recent fight, and desiring rest beyond all things, but harassed by the persistent buzzing of an insignificant gnat. And there is some danger lest the lion should be tempted to purchase by concession an elusive peace, only to find that the gnat, elated by success, will return and resume its annoyances with redoubled vigour.

It is an axiom that before a nation can achieve any degree of liberty, it must prove its capacity for self-government, and must then evolve the degree of liberty it desires by the will of the majority working through constitutional chan-

nels. A short exposition of the Government of Ireland Act, which offers Ireland the most extensive opportunity possible for setting up her own Government and so attaining whatever may prove to be the desires of the majority of her people, is given in Appendix A of this volume.

Finally we may devote a few lines to conjecture upon the position of America were an Irish Republic ever to become a reality. Many people consider that so far as America would be concerned the establishment of a Republic would be the end of the perpetual Irish disturbances which are a never-ceasing annoyance to that country. The Irish Republicans would have achieved their end, and nothing further would be heard of their aspirations for liberty or of their strange methods of achieving it. But it is safe to say that this would be very far from being the case. The rulers of an Irish Republic in being would use every endeavour to work up sympathy for their country in America, and would leave no stone unturned to evoke her active co-operation in whatever might be their policy at the moment. The danger to America's policy of non-interference in European affairs has only to be indicated to be fully realised.

It cannot be too strongly urged that those in America who desire to see Ireland happy and peaceful should do their utmost to persuade the Irish people to accept the present Act loyally and cheerfully, and to settle their internal difficulties as a preliminary to a declaration of a United Ireland, and then, by demonstrating to the world

their capacity for successful government, gradually to work for such modifications of the present measure of Home Rule as will prove acceptable to Ireland, the British Empire, and the World.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

A brief account of the political forces at work in Ireland is an essential preliminary to any appreciation of the policy of the British Government with regard to Irish affairs during 1920. It would be impossible to trace, within the limits of the present work, the historical development of Irish political thought; the subject is so complex that a rough sketch would not only be inadequate but misleading. We must therefore content ourselves with a cursory review of the leading influences at work during the year under examination.

In the first place, a word of warning must be spoken. The murder campaign of the Irish Republican Army has so shocked the imagination of the civilised world that many people have come to regard Ireland as being populated by a race of assassins, who in their blind fury hesitate at nothing which would inflict damage upon their distracted country; but this is very far from the truth. The great majority of Irishmen, whatever their political faith, however much they may differ among themselves as to the best solution of the problems that beset their native land,

stand appalled at the terrible deeds of the minority. But this minority, desperate, conscienceless, outlawed by its own free will, has seized upon the weapons of anarchy, and, utterly ruthless towards all who oppose it, has imposed its will by force of terror upon the law-abiding majority of its countrymen. Thus Ireland drags along a weary existence under the sway of a terrorism she abhors, the prey of murder and suspicion, and a reproach to civilization.

It will be convenient to deal with the position of Southern Ireland first, and here again it is necessary to remind the reader that the term Southern Ireland includes the whole country outside the Six Counties of Ulster. Here we may consider first the party known as the Nationalists. This party, which was for many years the most powerful Party in Ireland, may be described as having for its chief political aim the repeal of the Union as it had stood since 1801, and its substitution by some form of Home Rule. The Nationalists pursued their aims by constitutional methods, and their schemes did not contemplate the divorce of their country from the Empire. This 'Parliamentary Party,' as it came to be called, lost heavily to Sinn Fein in the General Election of 1918, for a variety of reasons which have already been touched upon.* It seemed indeed as though the Party had become utterly submerged, until during the latter months of 1920 a tendency became noticeable of a desire on

* See Chapter II.

the part of the inarticulate sections of Irish opinion to incline towards Nationalist rather than Sinn Fein ideals. The country was growing weary of anarchy and outrage, it saw with secret approval a Government determined to rule with firmness and refusing to be shaken in its decisions by intimidation. The history of Ireland teaches that firmness on the part of its rulers is the first step towards winning the trust of the population. The attitude of the Government towards the Government of Ireland Bill demonstrated that Home Rule for Ireland was one of the principal items of its policy. Even though Nationalist opinion might consider that it had not achieved its aims in full, yet it saw that by constitutional means alone could it proceed towards its goal. A campaign of lawlessness is the most convincing demonstration of the inability of its authors to govern themselves.

There is no doubt that the force of this argument is being realised with ever-increasing clearness by the majority of the Irish people, and it is inevitable that this should be so. Sinn Fein proclaimed war upon the Government with the object of breaking it down, and so of exhibiting to Ireland and the world at large its own power. The Irish people have witnessed the failure of its efforts, the resolution of the authorities to enforce law, order and good government in the teeth of every weapon of its opponents. The slightest weakening, the very least concession to methods of terrorism, would have utterly discredited the Government in the eyes of the whole country, and

would have thrown the whole population into the arms of Sinn Fein. And once the Sinn Fein ideal had really permeated the majority, once the vision of an Irish Republic had really gripped the hearts of the people, the only alternatives would have been Civil War or the loss of Ireland to the Empire. The brightest prospect for the future lies in the Nationalist spirit.

Opposed to the Nationalists are the Unionists, but their opposition is now rather theoretical than practical. The Unionists are those who believe that the best interests of the country would be served by the maintenance of the Union. In Southern Ireland they are numerically weak, but their influence is greater than their numbers would indicate. It seems unlikely that the Union will ever be restored in the sense of 1801, but only the future history of a self-governing Ireland can determine whether or not the principle of self-determination is correct, whether or not union between Great Britain and Ireland best serves the interests of the latter country.

Sinn Fein, although of later birth than either of the Parties already mentioned, demands rather fuller consideration, owing to the influence it has exerted throughout the troubled years since 1916. Professor Henry, in his book *The Evolution of Sinn Fein*, has given an excellent account of the history and development of the movement. For our present purpose we may confine ourselves to quoting his words which define its policy and aim.

"Sinn Fein is an expression in political theory

and action of the claim of Ireland to be a nation, with all the political consequences which such a claim involves. It differs from previous national movements principally in the policy which it outlines for the attainment of its ultimate end, the independence of Ireland; though it should be understood that nearly every point in the Sinn Fein political programme has been at least suggested by some previous Irish Nationalist thinker."

This is borne out by a resolution passed at the great Sinn Fein Convention which was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 26th and 27th of October, 1917, and also by the Sinn Fein Constitution*—a précis of which was circulated in 1917 in small booklet form, printed in Irish and English, for the purpose of enrolling members. It is as follows:—

"CUMANN SINN FEIN.

"CONSTITUTION.

"Whereas the people of Ireland never relin-

* A pamphlet issued by the organization which sets out its scheme of formation will be found in Appendix D of this volume. It is a four-page octavo, printed in Dublin. This pamphlet bears the printer's name, 'P. Mahon, Printer, Yarnhall Street, Dublin.' Mr. Patrick Mahon was subsequently arrested (6th November, 1920,) and sentenced by a Court Martial on 13th January, 1921, to five years penal servitude for the following offences:

"(1) Having on 6th November, 1920, without lawful authority two books relating to an unlawful association, viz., Cumann na m'Ban;

"(2) Having a document relating to an unlawful association, viz., Dail Eireann;

"(3) Having two metal discs for printing documents relating to the Irish Volunteers;

"(4) Having documents consisting of 18 proof-sheets relating to drill."

quished the claim to separate Nationhood, and

" Whereas the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, Easter, 1916, in the name of the Irish people and continuing the fight made by previous generations, re-asserted the inalienable right of the Irish Nation to Sovereign Independence, and re-affirmed the determination of the Irish people to achieve it : and

" Whereas the Proclamation of an Irish Republic, Easter, 1916, and the supreme courage and glorious sacrifices of the men who gave their lives to maintain it, have united the people of Ireland under the flag of the Irish Republic, be it Resolved, that we, the delegated representatives of the Irish people, in Convention assembled, hereby declare the following to be the Constitution of Sinn Fein :—

" 1. The name of this organisation shall be Sinn Fein.

" 2. Sinn Fein aims at securing the International recognition of Ireland as an Independent Irish Republic.

" Having achieved that status the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of Government.

" 3. This object shall be attained through the Sinn Fein Organisation which shall, in the name of the Sovereign Irish people :—

" (*a.*) Deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament and British Crown or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland :

"(*b*.) Make use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

"4. Whereas no law made without the authority and consent of the Irish people is or ever can be binding on their conscience.

"Therefore in accordance with the Resolution of Sinn Fein adopted in Convention, 1905, a Constituent Assembly shall be convoked, comprising persons chosen by the Irish Constituencies as the supreme National authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people and to devise and formulate measures for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland."

This Convention of October, 1917, was the climax towards which the Sinn Fein activities throughout Southern Ireland had been leading. De Valera was appointed President and Arthur Griffith Vice-President; two treasurers were named, and Arthur Stack and Darrel Figgis became honorary secretaries of an organized executive. Professor Eoin McNeill and twenty-three others were appointed an executive committee. After the election De Valera addressed the Convention and stated: "The constitution of the new movement which you have adopted says this organization of Sinn Fein aims at securing the International recognition of Ireland as an Independent Irish Republic."

A resolution was passed "That all national

activities be sub-divided into clearly defined departments, as follows:—

" 1. Department of Military Organization;
" 2. Department of Political Organization;
" 3. Department of Education and Propaganda;
" 4. Department of Foreign Relations;
" 5. Department of Finance ";

and six other departments were specified dealing with other matters.

It is, in the interests of lucidity, somewhat unfortunate that the term ' Sinn Fein ' has been used to cover all forms of Republican enterprise. Strictly speaking, Sinn Fein (*Ourselves Alone*) is a political party, electing members to represent it in a National Parliament or *Dail Eireann*. The various other Republican organisations are nominally bound to it, in the sense that their members are also members of Sinn Fein. How far mutual control could be exercised, how far, for instance, Dail Eireann could influence the Irish Republican Army, is problematical. Forces of disorder are very apt to become impatient of the control even of their own sympathisers. And behind the whole network of associations and organisations stands the Irish Republican Brotherhood, as it stood behind the Fenians and the Invincibles, working darkly for its own ends. If we require a parallel to the influence exerted by the Brotherhood, we may trace something similar in the influence exerted by the Parte Guelfa upon the government of the Florentine

Republic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The originators of Sinn Fein would, no doubt, have welcomed an appeal to force to secure their aims, had such an action showed any prospect of success. Throughout the War they brought every possible influence to bear to secure England's defeat, hoping that in a crushed and beaten England they would find an enemy capable of being finally overthrown. But it was no part of their policy to engage in such hopeless enterprises as the Easter Week rising, and it is hardly credible that they can have believed that the murderous operations of the I.R.A. could ever achieve Irish independence. They failed to keep their more lawless elements in check, and the latter, emboldened by the immunity which followed their earlier outrages, gradually loosened the bonds of discipline until they became a law unto themselves.

But this circumstance does not absolve Sinn Fein from blame. Even though the murder-gangs were beyond their direct control, they extended a tacit approval to their outrages. Either through intimidation, or through some hopeless feeling that somehow the Government might be terrorised into granting independence as the price of peace, Sinn Fein has never, collectively or individually, expressed its disapproval of crime. On the contrary, it has done everything to encourage it. There is evidence that funds collected on behalf of Sinn Fein have been applied to the purposes of the Irish Republican

Army; indeed the posts of ' Minister of Finance ' of Dail Eireann and ' Adjutant-General ' of the I.R.A. are held by one and the same man, Michael Collins. De Valera, the ' President of the Irish Republic,' proclaimed from the safety of America his approval of the Dublin massacre of 21st November, 1920. Finally, individual members of the Sinn Fein executive have not hesitated to identify themselves with every variety of crime and outrage.

In these circumstances, although strictly speaking Sinn Fein and the murder-gangs are not identical, there is no possibility of exonerating the former from responsibility for the crimes of the latter. The instinct of British soldiers and police, rarely at fault in such matters, has been to dub all those with whom they come in conflict as ' Shinners,' rightly refusing to discriminate between the criminals themselves and their instigators. And, until Sinn Fein disassociates itself from such horrors as the Dublin massacres and the Macroom ambush, the charge of complicity must go against it by default.

The folly of Sinn Fein in this respect needs little demonstration. It is at least conceivable that had Sinn Fein worked for independence by constitutional means, had their elected members chosen to take their seats at Westminster instead of in some obscure back room in Dublin, they might in course of time have achieved their aim. Sinn Fein has been a great power in Ireland, it might have controlled the country far more effectively than any form of British rule has ever

succeeded in doing, and thus it might have exhibited to the world the spectacle of Ireland contented under the direction of her elected representatives. What better argument for complete independence could be imagined? Sinn Fein could have argued that if even within the limits of British rule it had pacified the country, how much more could it not effect if only Ireland were entirely surrendered to it? By a policy of pacification and order Sinn Fein could have secured a solid body of sympathetic opinion, both in England and abroad.

But Sinn Fein decided otherwise, ignoring the lesson of history which teaches that every turbulent State has by its very turbulence demanded the control of some stronger Power. Instead of peace, Sinn Fein has brought the sword, and by the blood-thirstiness of its methods has alienated every civilised opinion. In place of government, Sinn Fein has stirred up Ireland into a land of seething discontent, where men walk in peril of their lives and where prosperity is the prey of lawlessness. And having accomplished this, the world is asked to believe that the very hands which have been most active in creating the turmoil are those most suited to holding the reins of government. Nor is this all. Sinn Fein has believed that the British Empire could be terrorised into granting its demands. With almost inconceivable ignorance of British psychology it has countenanced a campaign of murder, hoping that by this means it can destroy the morale of the Forces of the Crown. Indi-

vidual members of these Forces it has indeed succeeded in destroying, but the manhood of Britain flocks to fill their places, undismayed by the fate which has overtaken its comrades.

Nor is the failure of its policy the sole price which Sinn Fein has had to pay for murder. The conscience of the Empire and of the world, which might have sympathised with the aspirations of Sinn Fein had this organisation known how to address itself to its hearers, is horrified by the appalling details of massacre and outrage. Sinn Fein has done its utmost to shock those who at one time might have upheld it. And, as a crowning act of folly, it has threatened the extension of dastardly deeds to England itself, and has backed these threats by acts such as those which led to widespread destruction in Liverpool on the night of 27th November, 1920, thus finally embittering British opinion and deferring any possibility of the realisation of its aims to a future so remote as to be beyond the range of human vision. By its own acts Sinn Fein has shown the world the folly of its dream.

In Northern Ireland, that is to say the Six Counties of Ulster, the arrangement of the political parties is entirely different. Conditions in Ulster have already been dealt with in another Chapter, and there is no need to refer to them again here, except in so far as they affect the question of partition. This is a matter upon which considerable difference of opinion exists. The claim of Ireland to be a nation, one and indivisible, is insisted upon by Nationalists and

by Sinn Fein. How far this claim is borne out by history is a question which need not concern us here. It is sufficient to suggest that the rival and conflicting claims of an industrial population such as that of the Six Counties and of an agricultural population such as that of the rest of Ireland may be of greater importance in their bearing on the matter of partition than considerations of national unity, based largely upon sentimental grounds. If the two can eventually be reconciled, well and good. Ulster has decided that, if the Union must be sacrificed, it is better for her interests that she should govern herself than be governed by a Parliament of all Ireland. If this be her opinion, and if equal facilities be given to the rest of Ireland for similar self-government, it is difficult to see what objection can reasonably be raised to such partition as is provided for in the present Act, in which all these conditions are complied with.

Further, it must be remembered that it is not England who is imposing partition, but a section of the people of Ireland themselves. It may almost be said that the Act treats partition as a necessary and temporary evil. It is expressly provided that almost the first actions of the newly constituted parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland may be to break down the wall of partition by proclaiming the union of Ireland and setting up a single Parliament for the whole country. The matter lies wholly in the hands of the Irish people. Power is expressly given them to settle the question for themselves, secure from any outside interference whatever.

In pursuance of its policy of securing an Irish Republic, Sinn Fein has used every effort to influence feeling in Ulster against partition. As an instance of this propaganda a periodical known as *The Red Hand Magazine* may be cited. This periodical is intended for circulation in Ulster, as its name implies, and contains matter calculated to appeal to that somewhat nebulous conception, 'the Soul of Ireland,' and to demonstrate to the hard-headed Ulsterman that the anarchy of the South is far preferable to the peacefulness of his own counties. For instance, the first number, which is dated September, 1920, contains a paragraph headed OUR POLICY.

"We are calling upon minds of the present in Ireland, and we are conjuring up the great spirits of the past to present before our readers a clean-cut conception of the first principles of every Irishman's relationship to his fellow-Irishman, and thence to the rest of the world.

"On the bedrock of his own traditions alone may an Irishman stand no slave; there alone can he be armoured and girded by the genius of his Motherland, and from there alone can he set forth powerful to do good and resist evil.

"We need not recall long centuries of blood and tears to impress upon our readers that if we be Irish we cannot be British. To us, in so far as it is Irish, everything is clean and sweet and good, and in so far as it is English every Irish growth is blighted. We therefore accept and endorse in 1920 the policy of Wolfe Tone in 1798:—

> 'To break the connections with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country, these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all dissentions and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter, these were my means.'
>
> "In fine, we hope to retune the dumb string of '98 in the sub-consciousness of the Ulsterman till it vibrates, as it vibrated in our forefathers a century ago, through the whole Irishman."

The meaning to be drawn from this expression of policy, not over lucid though it be, is sufficiently obvious. Recruitment in Ulster, the transformation of a peaceful and prosperous land into a terrorised desert, is one of the most cherished desires of Sinn Fein.

Enough has now been said to convey some idea of the circumstances with which the authorities were called upon to deal. We are now in a position to examine the policy of the Government in the face of these circumstances.

The first and most obvious necessity imposed upon the rulers of Ireland was to terminate the campaign of outrage and to restore law and order to the position they should hold in any civilised country. This is certainly the first duty of government, and everything else must be subordinated to it. But, once this duty has been performed, there is the urgent need of giving

Ireland that form of rule which is desired by the majority of her inhabitants, while at the same time safeguarding the principles of the minority. Thus it may be said that the policy of the Government divides itself under two heads, but that each section is being proceeded with simultaneously. Throughout the distractions of the year the Government held unwaveringly to this policy, and its aims have never for a moment been abandoned.

In examining the means by which the desired ends have been approached, we may deal first with the restoration of law and order and the suppression of murder and outrage. Treating this as a problem by itself, we may consider the various methods by which the solution of the problem might possibly have been achieved, and the disadvantages attaching to each of them.

It has been suggested that the cheapest and easiest course would have been acknowledgment of the claims of Sinn Fein, and the recognition of the Irish Republic. In the first place, it is certain that this step would have betrayed Ireland into the hands of her enemies (not to mention her lawless minority), and would have produced a state of affairs far worse than that already existing. Sinn Fein has shown no such symptoms of its aptitude for rule as would justify the surrender to it of an integral unit of the British Empire. It the second place, it has never been part of the policy of a civilised people to abandon a portion of its territory because a band of criminals give themselves over to an

orgy of assassination and bloodshed. And finally there would be the grave danger of the infant Republic falling into the hands of the enemies of the State—and of civilisation.

Another suggestion, and one which has received wide support, is that the Forces of the Crown should be withdrawn from the country, either to England or to the shores of Ireland, apparently in the hope that the objectives of the murderers having been removed, the operations of the latter would perforce cease. Presumably the advocates of this policy would insist, if they were suffering from the onslaughts of some organism which attacked the brain, that the brain should be removed in order to defeat the organism. For no less vital than is the brain to the human body are the Forces of the Crown to Ireland. Upon their removal there would be no restriction upon crime. The armed minority of the population would seize upon the opportunity to wage open warfare upon the peaceful majority which disagreed with them. Upon the ashes of a devastated country would rise a monstrous domination of murderers, upholding their authority at the point of the revolver. For it is not only the Forces of the Crown upon whom the Republicans have declared war. Every loyal citizen is menaced by them, as their own proclamations are never tired of asserting. Two of these, issued during the month of November, 1920, may be quoted in this connection. The first of them is as follows:—

"Whereas the Irish Republic has declared war on England, we hereby give notice that anyone guilty of treasonable conspiracy will be shot without warning as a traitor to the Republic.

Signed on behalf of the aforesaid Republic :

(name in Irish script)

GOD SAVE IRELAND."

God save Ireland indeed, and from the hands of those who penned so dastardly a threat.

The second proclamation is as follows :—

"HEADQUARTERS DUBLIN.

WHEREAS the Irish Republic has declared war on England, we hereby warn all enemies of Sinn Fein who in any way assist the enemy or obstruct the soldiers of the said Republic that they are traitors to their country and therefore liable to be

SHOT WITHOUT WARNING.

By order of the

IRISH REPUBLIC.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!"

These proclamations were circulated by the Irish Republican Army as a threat to loyalists in Ireland. Surely they alone are a sufficient answer to those who advocate the withdrawal of the Forces of the Crown.

There is yet another objection to this most dangerous suggestion. Throughout Irish history every concession to outrage, every act of

conciliation towards the rebels, has always been hailed by the latter as a victory and an encouragement to further excesses. The withdrawal of the Forces of the Crown would mean the abandonment of Ireland to the Republicans, and most probably the extension of the outrage campaign to Great Britain. Further, it would mean that the murders which have already been perpetrated would remain unpunished, and the criminals who have committed them would openly be acclaimed as heroes. Neither the cause of justice or of peace would be served by this expedient.

A third suggestion has been that Ireland either as a whole or in two parts, Northern and Southern, should be granted what has been termed Dominion Home Rule. This has proved a very loose expression; it has been used to cover widely differing policies, ranging from self-government as enjoyed for instance by Canada, through the federal powers exercised by the component States of the United States of America, to the proposals embodied in the present Government of Ireland Act. But, as a matter of fact, Dominion Home Rule must mean a very complete measure of self-government, and must include the rights of control of harbours, customs, excise and taxation, together with the power to maintain naval and military forces.

It is upon this last point that Dominion Home Rule, as applied to Ireland, fails to meet the situation. Whatever may have been the naval lessons of the late war, it has at all events been

proved that a fleet of submarines, based upon a defended harbour, can do incalculable damage before it can be exterminated. The methods of the Republicans have been sufficiently demonstrated to prove the impossibility of placing such a potential weapon in Irish hands. The coasts of Ireland are far too favourable, both strategically and tactically, for submarine operations against British shipping, to permit of their use by any other Navy than the British.

The argument against permitting Ireland to control her own army is very similar. Although it is not to be imagined that the country could or would support an Army of such a size as to be a standing menace to the British Empire, it is impossible to avoid realisation of the fact that the Irish Republican Army is already in existence, and would almost certainly develop into the regular armed force of the Irish nation. The deeds of this Army have already been sufficiently demonstrated. A legalised armed force with such traditions would hardly be conducive to peace.

A fourth suggestion for the attainment of peace in Ireland is that Martial Law should be proclaimed throughout the country, in order to facilitate the extermination of the murder-gangs. This is a suggestion meriting serious consideration. The chief value of a declaration of Martial Law in a region suffering under conditions such as those obtaining in Ireland lies in the opportunities it offers for rapid measures to be taken by the man on the spot. It only indirectly

assists in the capture of malefactors, however, and in any case is probably more valuable from its moral than from its direct effects. But the danger of a precipitate declaration of Martial Law lies in the grave probability of a resulting guerilla campaign. Had Martial Law been proclaimed too early, the result might well have been that the members of the Irish Republican Army would have mobilised to resist it, and that irregular warfare would have taken place between them and the Forces of the Crown, with all the advantages, strategical and tactical, in favour of the insurgents. They would have been operating in their own country, with the factors of terrain, initiative and concealment on their side, and, although the ultimate issue of the struggle could never have been in doubt, yet it might have been so prolonged that at its close Ireland would have been is such a state of prostration that she could not have recovered for years. And it must be remembered that it is the duty of the Government to stamp out murder and the murder-gangs with the least possible disturbance of the property of the peace-loving majority.

There comes a time, however, when a sufficient mastery has been obtained over the lawless gangs and when the imposition of Martial Law may be the most rapid method of bringing them to their knees. Towards the end of the year it became obvious that Martial Law would afford the most satisfactory means of securing the

disarmament of the rebels in the southern counties of Ireland. The first step was taken on the 10th December, when the following Proclamation was issued :—

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS certain evilly disposed persons and associations with the intent to subvert the supremacy of the Crown in Ireland have committed divers acts of violence whereby many persons, including members of the Forces of the Crown and other servants of His Majesty, have been murdered and many others have suffered grievous injuries and much destruction of property has been caused AND WHEREAS in certain parts of Ireland disaffection and unrest have been especially prevalent and repeated murderous attacks have been made upon members of His Majesty's Forces culminating in the ambush, massacre and mutilation with axes, of sixteen Cadets of the Auxiliary Division, all of whom had served in the late War, by a large body of men who were wearing trench helmets and were disguised in the uniform of British soldiers and who are still at large :

NOW I, JOHN DENTON PINKSTONE VISCOUNT FRENCH Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, do hereby proclaim by virtue of all the powers me thereunto enabling that the following counties namely :—

The County of Cork (East Riding and West Riding),

The County of the City of Cork,
The County of Tipperary (North Riding),
The County of Tipperary (South Riding),
The County of Kerry,
The County of Limerick,
The County of the City of Limerick,
are and until further order shall continue to be under and subject to

MARTIAL LAW,

AND I do hereby call on all loyal and well-affected subjects of the Crown to aid in upholding and maintaining the peace of this Realm and the supremacy and authority of the Crown and to obey and conform to all orders and regulations of the Military Authority issued by virtue of this Proclamation.

Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin this tenth day of December, 1920.

FRENCH.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

This Proclamation was followed by the first Proclamation of the Military Authority on the 14th December. The latter was posted broadcast in the proclaimed area, and was as follows :—

PROCLAMATION No 1.

BY

G.O.C IN C. THE FORCES IN IRELAND.

MARTIAL LAW has been declared in the

counties of Cork, Tipperary, Kerry and Limerick.

IRISHMEN!

Understand this:

Great Britain has no quarrel with Irishmen; her sole quarrel is with crime, outrage and disorder; her sole object in declaring MARTIAL LAW is to restore peace to a distracted and unhappy country; her sole enemies are those who have countenanced, inspired, and participated in rebellion, murder and outrage.

It is to put an end, once and for all, to this campaign of outrage that MARTIAL LAW has been declared.

The authorities named in the schedule hereto annexed are hereby appointed MILITARY GOVERNORS for the administration of MARTIAL LAW in the above counties, and all persons will render obedience to their orders in all matters whatsoever.

NOTE THIS:

(*a*) All arms, ammunition and explosives in possession of any person not a member of His Majesty's Naval, Military, Air or Police Forces, or who is not in possession of a permit, will be surrendered by the 27th of December, 1920, to such persons and at such places as are named in the 2nd schedule hereto annexed.

(*b*) After the 27th of December, 1920, any unauthorised person found in possession of arms, ammunition or explosives, will be liable, on conviction, by a Military Court, to suffer DEATH.

(*c*) Any unauthorised person wearing the uniform or equipment of His Majesty's Naval, Military, Air or Police Forces, or wearing similar clothing likely to deceive, will be liable on conviction to suffer DEATH, and any person in unauthorised possession of such uniform, clothing, or equipment will be liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer penal servitude.

(*d*) NOTE WELL:

That a state of armed insurrection exists, that any person taking part therein or harbouring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding or abetting any person to take part therein, is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King, and is liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer DEATH.

(*e*) All law courts, corporations, councils, and boards are hereby directed to continue to carry out their functions until otherwise ordered.

(*f*) The Forces of the Crown in Ireland are hereby declared to be on active service.

Signed this 12th day of December, 1920.

(Sgd.) C. F. N. MACREADY,
General.
Commanding-in-Chief The Forces in Ireland.

1ST SCHEDULE.

The Generals or other officers commanding 6th Division, 16th, 17th, 18th, and Kerry Infantry Brigades.

2ND SCHEDULE.

To a military or police officer at any military or police barracks or to a priest or other minister

of religion, who will at once arrange for their delivery to the nearest military or police barracks.

The effect of this Proclamation was somewhat curious. Practically no arms were surrendered, but all the same the desired result was to a large extent achieved. Arms and ammunition were thrown away in large numbers, and many were subsequently found by troops and police. Others were hidden in holes dug in the fields, and on several occasions these hiding places were discovered. The lessons of this imposition of Martial Law have been that although it was successful at a comparatively late stage, it would not have been a desirable policy during the early months of the year.

Having considered these various alternatives, we may now deal with the actual methods pursued by the Government during the year. These were, in brief, designed to deal with the abnormal situation in Ireland with the least possible inconvenience to the law-abiding section of the community.

It must be repeated that the first necessity facing the authorities was the restoration of law and order. This could only be accomplished by strengthening the Forces of the Crown and by equipping them with the necessary powers for dealing with the disturbers of the peace. The first of these measures was comparatively simple: the number of troops in Ireland was increased,

the R.I.C. was rearmed and to some extent reorganised, and a force auxiliary to the latter was created. This was the 'Auxiliary Division' of temporary cadets.* But the question of bringing captured criminals to justice was not so simple.

Owing to the terrorism rampant in the country, the ordinary machinery of criminal justice had completely broken down. Witnesses and juries refused to attend the courts, or, even if willing, were forcibly prevented from so doing. In cases where they had the courage to present themselves, they were subjected to every form of ill-treatment by the Republicans, many of them indeed being murdered in cold blood. Under these circumstances it was obvious that if criminals were to be brought to book, some alternative means for the administration of justice must be devised.

As a matter of fact an alternative means already existed, but it was incomplete. Under the Defence of the Realm Regulations, prisoners could be tried by courts martial for offences specified in those Regulations. But there were many offences requiring punishment which did not come within their scope. In order to empower courts martial to deal with these offences, The Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill was introduced, and became law on August 12th.

An official announcement issued on August 21st sufficiently explains the scope of the Act.

* See page 281.

RESTORATION OF ORDER IN IRELAND REGULATIONS.

"Regulations have now been made by an Order in Council under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, and will be brought into operation forthwith.

"The Act authorises the issue of Regulations under the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914, for effecting the restoration and maintenance of order in Ireland where it appears to His Majesty in Council that, owing to the existence of a state of disorder, the ordinary law is inadequate for the prevention and punishment of crime, or the maintenance of order.

"The Regulations have been rendered necessary by the abnormal conditions which at present prevail in certain parts of Ireland, where an organised campaign of violence and intimidation has resulted in the partial breakdown of the machinery of the ordinary law and in the non-performance by public bodies and officials of their statutory obligations. In particular it has been found that criminals are protected from arrest, that trial by jury cannot be obtained because of the intimidation of witnesses and jurors, and that Local Authorities and their officers stand in fear of injury to their persons or property if they carry out their statutory duties.

"The Order in Council provides among other things:—

(1) For the putting into operation of many of the existing Defence of the

Realm Regulations for the purpose of the restoration or maintenance of order.

(2) For the trial of crimes by Courts Martial or by specially constituted Civil Courts, and for the investment of those Courts with the necessary powers.

(3) For the withholding from Local Authorities who refuse to discharge the obligations imposed upon them by Statute of grants which otherwise would be payable to them from public funds and for the application of the grants so withheld to the discharge of the obligations which the Local Authority has failed to fulfil.

(4) For the holding of Sittings of Courts elsewhere than in the ordinary Courthouses, where these Courthouses have been destroyed or otherwise made unavailable.

" Although the Regulations are not, in terms, restricted to any particular part or parts of Ireland, it is the Government's intention that they shall not be applied in substitution for the provisions of the ordinary law in places where the judicial and administrative machinery of the ordinary law are available, and are not obstructed in their operations by the methods of violence and intimidation above mentioned. For instance, under the Regulations an ordinary crime can only be tried by a Court Martial or by a specially constituted Civil Court, if the case is referred to the Competent Naval or Military Authority. Instructions will be issued by the Irish Executive to ensure that such cases will not be referred to

the Competent Naval or Military Authority except where the prevalence of actual or threatened violence or intimidation has produced conditions rendering it impracticable for them to be dealt with by due process of ordinary law."

The Restoration of Order in Ireland Regulations have been of great service in enabling persons to be brought to justice. The simultaneous strengthening of the Forces of the Crown, which put them in a position to secure evidence against the members of the murder-gangs, was the principal factor in producing the remarkable improvement in the situation which occurred towards the end of the year. So great was this improvement that, as we have seen (Chapter IV.), during the latter months of the year the Republican element began to make tentative overtures towards some slackening of the campaign against them. They realised that the net was slowly closing in upon them, and that they were threatened with annihilation as the result of the successful measures taken by the Government. Outrage became less frequent, the rank and file of the I.R.A. began to see ever more clearly that immunity from punishment was no longer to be relied upon. The murder-gangs dissolved owing to the defection of their members, and only the leaders, too deeply involved in terrible crime to cherish any hope of mercy, desperate, fighting like rats in a corner, were left, banded together, to carry on their dreadful orgy of bloodshed. A more complete

justification of the official policy can hardly be imagined.

Here we must digress a little to refer to the attitude of the Government towards proposals for ' peace ' emanating from Sinn Fein sources. In the House of Commons on 10th December, 1920, the Prime Minister propounded the policy of the Government in regard to this matter in the following words :—

" During the last few weeks the Government have been in touch with intermediaries who have been anxious to bring about a better understanding. There have been no negotiations, but certain people who offered their services have seen both sides and have thus enabled the Government to arrive at certain conclusions about the position in Ireland. As the result of their consideration, they have after a very careful survey of the situation decided upon the course which I now propose to unfold to the House.

" They are convinced that the majority of the people of Ireland of all sections are anxious for peace and for a fair settlement. The Government on their side are no less anxious for peace and a fair and lasting settlement, and in this respect I feel confident they represent the views of the whole of the people of Great Britain. On the other hand, the Government are also very regretfully convinced that the party, or rather the section which controls the organisation of murder and outrage in Ireland, is not yet ready for a real peace, that is to say for a peace that will accept the only basis on which peace can

be concluded—an acceptance which would be consistent with the unbroken unity of the United Kingdom. Their communications are all conceived in the spirit of proposals from an independent belligerent power offering peace to another independent belligerent with whom they are at war, and to whom they are in a position to dictate. . . .

"[The Government] feel they have no option but to continue and indeed to intensify their campaign against that small but highly organised and desperate minority who are using murder and outrage in order to obtain the impossible and bring peace neither to Ireland nor to Great Britain, but, on the other hand, to open and encourage every channel whereby the forces in Ireland which are really anxious for an honourable settlement can find expression and so lead to negotiations which may produce a real and lasting peace.

"This is the general policy of the Government, and I want the House to understand that this is a considered policy that aims on the one hand at the repression of crime and on the other at preparing the way towards a better understanding between the two peoples.

"Two very important documents have been received in Ireland in the course of the last few days. The first, and the most important of them, is a document which I have received from the Galway County Council. It is a very remarkable document, and it is remarkable from the fact that the Galway County Council, I believe, is almost

entirely Sinn Fein. It has proclaimed its adhesion to the Republican party and I rather think to the Dail Eireann, which is supposed to be the assembly that speaks on behalf of this body.

"They sent a resolution, which has already appeared in the Press. This, if I may so put it, is the first area of dry land which has shown itself after the deluge of unconstitutionalism in that part of the country. It is a return on the part of a very important body to constitutional methods—an avowed return. After all, the Galway County Council is a body set up under the authority of the Imperial Parliament. It derives its authority from this Parliament, and it is a constitutional exponent of the views of that particular part of the country. It has a full constitutional right to communicate with the Imperial Government upon any question which affects the peace of that area, and a communication from that body to the Imperial Government couched in these terms is in itself, I think, a very welcome sign of the new spirit coming over Ireland. I think it is our duty to encourage it, because in doing so we encourage a return to constitutional methods in an area which has been one of the most disturbed in Ireland, one of the most difficult in Ireland, and which, if I may use the term, has until quite recently been completely in the hands of the rebel forces in Ireland. It is only a very short time ago that I was talking to the General Officer Commanding that area, and his opinion at that time was that

the recognition of authority would be difficult to establish in that county. This is, therefore, a very important and promising episode in the relations between the two countries. The resolution was carried, I believe, against the protests of the Sinn Fein leaders in that area. That makes it still more important. A similar resolution, not in exactly the same terms, but breathing the same spirit was carried by the Galway Urban Council.

"There is also a telegram which was sent to me by a distinguished, a very able and very highly respected Irish priest, Father O'Flanagan. It is true—and one must not forget it—that although he calls himself, in the absence of Mr. De Valera, 'acting President of Sinn Fein,' his action has been repudiated by the heads of the organisation which is responsible, in our judgment, for murder in Ireland. The House must bear in mind, when they come to seek the reason for our adopting a two-fold policy, that, although Father O'Flanagan, speaking on behalf, as he thought, of at least one section of Sinn Fein, has indicated the desire for peace, yet the moment he sent that telegram he was repudiated by the heads of the organisation who are responsible for murder. That is why I say that, in my judgment, that organisation is not of the same opinion as the majority of the people in Ireland at the present moment.

"We base our policy upon a recognition of those two facts. The resolution of the Galway County Council has been very widely advertised

in all the Press, and rightly so. It condemns the murders. It condemns reprisals, but under the circumstances I think it is too much to expect a Sinn Fein body not to express some condemnation of that character—they would lose their authority with Irish opinion if they did not. But it requires great courage on their part to condemn the murders committed by the Irish Republican Army, and let us frankly admit their courage in doing so. I may begin with that, and it is the first resolution of the kind that I have received from any body. They say that they believe that this unfortunate state of affairs is detrimental to the interests of both countries in such a crisis of the world's affairs. That is quite true. Now they come to a practical suggestion:

> 'We, therefore, as adherents of Dail Eireann, request that body to appoint three delegates.'

"They suggest that the initiative lies with the British Government, who should withdraw the ban on the meeting of Dail Eireann for the purpose of appointing delegates. That is the practical suggestion which they put forward. At the present moment that body is not permitted to meet, and of course we cannot recognise it, for to recognise it as a separate body is to recognise that the part of the country which they represent constitutes a separate republic apart from the United Kingdom. That cannot be, and it is right that, although I have said it here once or twice, that should be repeated, because unfortunately in Ireland they are apt to

emphasise the things that suit them and not call attention to the things that do not suit them. I do not think they are any exception in that respect to people in other parts of the world. It is necessary that that should be emphasised, because it is no use encouraging impossible hopes.

"We do not, therefore, recognise the body called the Dail Eireann. But when you come to the members individually, they are the people who have been elected under the constitution of this country to this House. They are the people who have been elected by the constituencies which have been parcelled out by this House, on a franchise which has been agreed upon by this House at the general election at which this House of Commons was elected. They are not permitted to meet at the present moment, and the question is whether it is desirable that they should be permitted to do so in order to consider the new situation which has arisen in Ireland. There are very practical difficulties in the way. Some of these members have, in our judgment, been guilty of crimes which would make them liable to prosecution and punishment, whether in Ireland or Great Britain, or in any other civilised country in the world. We cannot possibly grant to those who have been guilty of crimes of violence, of murder, of very brutal murder, a safe conduct which we would not grant to any British Member of the House of Commons in similar circumstances. It is too much to ask of any Government, however desirous they might be for peace in Ireland, that they should ask the

Forces of the Crown, who have been subjected to all these outrages and whose comrades have been struck down through the action of these men, to permit them to go through under the safe conduct of the British Government. We must therefore make an exception in the case of those men. This is the reply which it is proposed I should send to-day to the Secretary of the Galway County Council :—

'I have received your letter of the 4th inst., forwarding copy of a resolution passed by the Galway County Council, and wish to assure your Council that the Government welcome every indication on the part of representative persons and bodies in Ireland of a desire to co-operate in bringing to an end the present unhappy state of lawlessness and ensuring a return to constitutional methods in that country.

'The first necessary preliminary to the re-establishment of normal conditions is that murder and crimes of violence shall cease. It is to that end that the efforts of the Irish Executive have been constantly directed, and until it has been attained no progress can be made towards a political settlement.

'The Government are prepared to facilitate the meeting together for this purpose of persons duly elected to represent constituencies in Ireland or any part of Ireland. There are, however, certain individuals who are gravely implicated in the commission of crime so serious that the

> Government cannot consent to abandon their elementary duty of bringing such persons to trial. To all members except these individuals a safe conduct would be granted by the Government. It should be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government must insist that effective measures be taken to ensure the cessation of murder and other crimes of violence and the surrender of all arms unlawfully held.'

"Before reading the next paragraph I should say that the Galway County Council did not recognise the authority of the Irish Local Government Board. They have now returned to their allegiance in that respect, and that in itself is a promising incident.

"The letter proceeds:—

> 'I would add that the Government have learnt with satisfaction of the action of your Council in submitting their accounts to audit by the Local Government Board, and that the fullest support can be assured to every local authority which loyally carries out its obligations under the law.'

"It will be clear from this letter that the Government, while anxious to explore every avenue which may lead to peace, and to remove as far as possible any obstacle which may stand in the way of persons in Ireland who desire peace, are determined to use all the forces at their command to stamp out murder and outrage, and to disarm ill-affected persons. With this object the Government have decided to take

further action to which I shall refer later. Perhaps I had better before doing so, read the letter which has been sent in reply to the communications of Father O'Flanagan :—

'I have received your message. His Majesty's Government does not lag behind any section of the Irish people in the desire that Ireland should enjoy to the full the blessing of peace and prosperity. We are prepared to afford facilities for the free discussion of the whole situation by the duly elected representatives of constituencies in Ireland or any part of Ireland. There are, however, certain individuals who are gravely implicated in the commission of crime so serious that the Government cannot consent to abandon their elementary duty of bringing such persons to trial. To all members except these individuals a safe conduct will be granted by the Government. It should be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government must insist that effective measures be taken to ensure the cessation of murder and other crimes of violence and the surrender of all arms unlawfully held. I have in the House of Commons on the 16th August and on several subsequent occasions defined the fundamental conditions to which any political settlement must conform. His Majesty's Government adhere absolutely to those conditions, and would be glad to learn that the party which you represent are prepared to accept them.'

"That is the reply which it is proposed to send to Father O'Flanagan.

"Let me say at once—I think it is very important to say it—that there should be no suspicion of any breach of faith if they do meet. What I mean is that it would be very unfortunate if the Members came to a conference under the impression that they had a safe conduct, and later the feeling was created that there had been an act of treachery on the part of the British Government. Nothing could be worse than that from the point of view of our honour and of the peace of Ireland. We shall certainly let them know beforehand who are the Members to whom we are prepared to give a safe conduct, and who are the Members to whom we could not possibly give a safe conduct. Due protection will be afforded to those who have a safe conduct by the police and by the whole Forces of the Crown, who will be available against any possible attack upon them.

"I come now to the second part of my statement. After a good many consultations which the Chief Secretary, my right honourable friend the Lord Privy Seal (who is not here at present) and I have had with many individuals who stated that they were in communication with representative men in Ireland, which communications might be utilised in the interests of peace, we have come to certain conclusions. It is very difficult, of course, to know to what extent those persons can really speak on behalf of those they assume to represent in this matter.

"That is no imputation upon the good faith of those concerned—not the least. My right honourable friend opposite (Mr. Asquith) and I during the War had to measure the value of communications of that kind in reference to Germany, Austria, Turkey, and other countries, for there were constant communications with men who came with the very best faith and a certain amount of authority. As he knows very well, in the vast majority of cases when we pursued the matter we found it ended in nothing. That was disappointing. Therefore that experience made me a good deal more cautious when I came to deal with men who professed to be in a position to make peace so far as Ireland was concerned.

"However, it is our business to give them every opportunity, because peace is so very important. But one thing has to be made quite clear. I regret it. But as regards the men whom we know to be directing the murders, I think it will be found that they have not given us any indication that they are prepared to surrender upon the only terms which this country could possibly accept, consistently either with its own self-respect or with a prospect of enduring peace for Ireland. I very much regret that. We must consider that side by side with the encouragement which we are prepared to give to all those who are anxious for peace—and they are growing in numbers, in influence, and what is much more significant, in independence. This means that intimidation is breaking down. We

are determined to do all in our power to break up these terrorists who are more or less organised, because I do not think it will be possible for Ireland to recover that independence which is essential to her if she is to make peace, until these men have been brought to justice or at any rate to surrender."

Of those who made earnest endeavours to persuade the Republican leaders to listen to reason, two men, both members of the Catholic Church, may be mentioned. The first is Father O'Flanagan, referred to by the Prime Minister, who had been associated with the Sinn Fein Movement from the first, and was in fact one of the vice-presidents of the Sinn Fein Executive. As his negotiations with the Government were taking a most favourable turn towards the close of 1920 he encountered such opposition from the Republican extremists that he was compelled to abandon them. The second is Monsignor Clune, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Perth, Western Australia, who devoted the greater part of a holiday in Europe to an endeavour to find a basis of agreement between the Government and Sinn Fein. He met with the same difficulties as his predecessor, and once more the obstinacy of the Republican extremists proved a fatal barrier to the completion of an agreement which would have saved Ireland from a terrible toll of murder and destruction.

Meanwhile the Government of Ireland Bill had been proceeding through Parliament, and

had been definitely accepted by Ulster. It became law on 23rd December, and thus at a stroke altered the whole political entity of Ireland.

It is not necessary here* to set out in full the provisions of the Act, but it may be useful to give a general idea of their purport. Briefly, then, the Act sets up two Parliaments for Ireland, one for the North, that is to say for the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, and one for the South, that is to say the rest of Ireland. In each case the Parliament consists of a House of Commons and a Senate. These Parliaments are given legislative powers in their own spheres, with certain exceptions, of which the most important are naval and military services, foreign relations, and taxation. On the administrative side certain services are reserved, either for varying periods or until the date of Irish Union.

Complete powers are given to the Parliaments to settle the vexed question of 'partition' for themselves. At any time they may by identical Acts proclaim the Union of Ireland, and substitute a single Parliament for the two set up by the present Act. This point is evidently not understood by those who deride the Act under the foolish designation of 'The Partition Act.' Until such times as the Irish people shall have decided to unite, a Council of Ireland is set up, as a kind of committee of both Parliaments, to

* It is given in fuller detail in Appendix A of this volume.

deal with matters which involve both North and South.

This Council consists of a President, to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, twenty members elected by the Parliament of Northern Ireland, and twenty elected by the Parliament of Southern Ireland. The appointment of these members is to be the first business of both Parliaments. The constitution of the Council may, from time to time, be varied by identical Acts passed by the two Parliaments. The Council is given control over railway and fishery administration throughout the country and Private Bills affecting both parts of Ireland. In addition to the direct powers given to the Council it has important advisory functions. It is to consider and advise upon any questions affecting the welfare of both Northern and Southern Ireland, ascertaining what services could, in the common interest, be transferred to a body having jurisdiction in the country as a whole. Should the Parliaments choose to adopt such a suggestion of the Council, they may, by identical Acts, transfer certain of their powers to it. Upon the declaration of the Union of Ireland the Council automatically ceases to exist.

The present Act follows the Act of 1914 in assigning to Ireland 42 members in the British Parliament, to be elected by the existing Parliamentary counties, boroughs or divisions, or by groups of them; but, unlike the previous Act, it gives in addition representation in the British

House of Commons to the Irish Universities. Until the next British General Election, however, the existing Irish members will retain their seats at Westminster.

The Act thus provides a generous measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and may be considered to be the only possible compromise between conflicting views in Ireland as they exist at present. It is impossible to solve the long-standing Irish Question in one measure, however comprehensive. The Government have wisely considered that the best course to a permanent solution lies through the grant of a definite measure of Home Rule to Ireland, in the hope that through the exercise of this measure, and as the result of experience gained during its operation, it may ultimately be possible to develop a final and satisfactory solution to the problem of the relation of Ireland to the British Empire.

The problem offered to Sinn Fein by the passing of the Act merits a moment's consideration. The Act provides that in the event of less than half of the members of either House of Commons taking their seats, that part of Ireland represented by the defaulting House shall be administered by the British authorities by what is in effect Crown Colony government, namely by a Legislative Council appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. In the face of this provision Sinn Fein has three alternatives before it: to ignore the Act altogether, to put up candidates at the elections who would be pledged not to take their

seats, or to renounce its ridiculous pretensions to an independent Republic and permit its members to sit in the Parliaments.

We may consider these alternatives in order. Should Sinn Fein ignore the Act altogether, there is no doubt that candidates in non-Sinn Fein interests would come forward in more than sufficient quantities to ensure the establishment of a Parliament even in Southern Ireland. The elections will be held in circumstances which will preclude the possibility of intimidation of electors or candidates, all who wish to record their votes will be enabled to do so without fear of persecution. Sinn Fein would then find itself without a voice in the affairs of the country, and would thus have perpetrated an even worse strategical error than it did in 1918, when its members refused to take their seats at Westminster.

If Sinn Fein nominated candidates for the election who would be pledged not to take their oaths on election, with a view to rendering the formation of a Southern Parliament impossible owing to lack of sufficient members, a curious position would arise. A vote recorded for a Sinn Fein candidate would mean a vote recorded for the continuance of British rule in the country, which rule it is the whole object of Sinn Fein to destroy, and this rule would be continued solely by the Sinn Fein vote. A vote recorded against Sinn Fein would, on the contrary, be a vote in favour of the government of Ireland by the Irish. Indeed a situation which might be

expected to appeal to the Irish People, but one which would exhibit very clearly to their sympathisers that their future destiny lies in their own hands.

The third alternative is for Sinn Fein to renounce the republican ideal, and to consent to its representatives sitting in the Southern Parliament, and for that purpose taking the oath. By what means this change of attitude could be accomplished it is not our business to enquire. It is not, however, beyond the bounds of rational hope that those who are now members of the Sinn Fein party may one day be found in session in an Irish Parliament in Dublin, striving by constitutional methods to secure a new ideal of a free and unfettered Ireland within the Empire. Nor is it difficult to conceive the British people, convinced by the novel experience of an Ireland capable of wise self-government, granting to her the proud status of an autonomous Dominion.

APPENDIX A.

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT, 1920.

---

1. WHAT THE ACT DOES.—The Government of Ireland Act recognises the aspirations of the great bulk of the Irish people, and gives to Ireland, South and North, a larger measure of Home Rule than Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1893, the principles of which had been accepted by Mr. Parnell, or the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, which was accepted by Mr. Redmond. It sets up a Parliament for Northern Ireland (*i.e.*, the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, and the cities of Belfast and Londonderry) and another Parliament for Southern Ireland (*i.e.*, the rest of Ireland)—a Government for Northen Ireland, to be administered under Ministers who must be members of the Parliament of Northern Ireland and responsible to it, and a Government for Southern Ireland, to be administered under Ministers who must be members of the Parliament of Southern Ireland and responsible to it.

Although at the beginning there are to be two Parliaments and two Governments in Ireland, the Act contemplates and affords every facility for union between North and South, and empowers the two Parliaments by mutual agreement and joint action to terminate partition and to set up one Parliament and one Government for the whole of Ireland. With a view to the eventual establishment of a single Parliament, and to bringing about harmonious action between the two Parliaments

and Governments, there is created a bond of union in the meantime by means of a Council of Ireland which is to consist of twenty representatives elected by each Parliament and a President nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. It will fall to the members of this body to initiate proposals for united action on the part of the two Parliaments and to bring forward these proposals in the respective Parliaments.

2. HOW THE PARLIAMENTS ARE TO BE FORMED.—Each Parliament is to include a House of Commons and a Senate. The members of the House of Commons are to be elected by the people of Ireland (men and women) on the proportional representation system.

The Senate of the Southern Parliament is to consist of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Lord Mayors of Dublin and Cork, and sixty-one other members, including four archbishops or bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, two archbishops or bishops of the Protestant Church of Ireland, seventeen representatives of commerce, labour, and the learned and scientific professions, sixteen Irish peers, eight Irish Privy Councillors and fourteen representatives of the county councils of Southern Ireland.

The Senate of the Northern Parliament is to consist of the Lord Mayor of Belfast, the Mayor of Londonderry and twenty-four other members, who are to be elected by the Northern House of Commons on the proportional representation system.

3. POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENTS.—Each Parliament will have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Southern or Northern Ireland in all matters relating exclusively to Southern or Northern Ireland, as the case may be. Certain matters are definitely excluded from the powers of the Parliaments (see below), but, with these exceptions, the whole field of legislation will be open to them.

It would be impossible to give any complete list of

the subjects with which the Parliaments can deal, but the following list includes some of the matters on which they can make new laws or alter the existing law:—

Agriculture, allotments, Bills of Sale, blind and other afflicted persons, census and statistics, charities and non-commercial associations, such as friendly societies, building societies and trade unions, children (employment, cruelty, maintenance, &c.), civil rights, companies and other commercial associations, county courts and magistrates (resident magistrates after an interval not exceeding three years), criminal law, death duties, education in all its branches, factories and workshops, health insurance, hospitals, housing, industrial schools and reformatories, industries, labour, labourers' cottages, land (including land improvement and development, relations of landlord and tenant, increase of rent and mortgage interest, town tenants, &c.), liquor trade, local government and local authorities (including county councils, district councils, boards of guardians and town commissioners), local taxation grants [under the Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Act, 1919], mines and minerals, motor car licensing and registration, old age pensions, piers and harbours, police (after an interval not exceeding three years), poor law, prisons, public health, public works (including arterial drainage, reclamation, and afforestation), regulation of trades, business and professions, taxation (other than the reserved taxes), transfer, transmission and devolution of property, unemployment and wages boards.

4. POWERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS. All matters within the jurisdiction of the Parliaments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland will be administered by the Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland respectively. There will be separate Departments in Southern and Northern Ireland. It will rest finally with each of the new Governments and Parlia-

ments to decide what their Government Departments are to be; but for each part of Ireland there will be a Treasury, and, in all probability, Departments with functions corresponding to those of the present Local Government Board, Insurance Commissioners, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Commissioners of National Education, Intermediate Education Board, Board of Works, and Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests. Each new department, or group of departments, in South or North will have at its head a Minister of the Southern or Northern Government who will be responsible to the Southern Parliament or the Northern Parliament, as the case may be, for the work of his departments. Irish administration will thus be placed, for the first time, under Irish control. Before the Act of Union, even in the time of Grattan's Parliament, there were no Irish Ministers. Irish administration was conducted by Ministers and officials who were appointed and removed by the British Government. They were not responsible to the Irish Parliament.

5. POWERS OF THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND.—In order to secure necessary uniform administration throughout the whole of Ireland three matters are placed within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland, viz., railways, fisheries, and contagious diseases of animals. Regarding these the Council will act as a central legislative and administrative body for the whole of Ireland, and if the two Parliaments agree that there are any other matters affecting the whole country which ought properly to be administered uniformly throughout Ireland by such a body, they can transfer those matters to the Council.

In addition the Council will have power to pass private Bill legislation with respect to matters affecting interests both in Southern and Northern Ireland.

6. FINANCE.—Only three descriptions of taxes are

excluded from the powers of the two Parliaments, viz., customs and excise, income tax (including super tax), and any other taxes on profits. They are also precluded from imposing a general levy on capital. Apart from these exceptions, each Parliament will have power to impose whatever taxes it thinks proper, to be collected by it and paid into its own Exchequer. It will also have power to grant relief in reduction of the rate of income tax or super tax. The descriptions of taxes mentioned above are reserved to the United Kingdom Government and Parliament, and will continue to be imposed and levied by them, and the proceeds will be paid into the United Kingdom Exchequer. But the Act applies Irish taxes to Irish purposes, and so, after deducting the Irish contribution to Imperial liabilities and expenditure, and the cost of any services which may be still administered in Ireland by the United Kingdom Government (see below), the whole balance will be paid over to the Southern and Northern Exchequers.

The annuities payable by tenants who have bought their holdings under the Land Purchase Acts are to be collected by the Southern and Northern Governments. Instead of having to pay over the sums so collected, the Governments will retain them, thus acquiring a free surplus revenue (estimated to amount to something over three and a quarter millions) for their own use. They will, however, be accountable to the United Kingdom Government for any new purchase annuities.

It is not possible to forecast accurately the amount of revenue that will be at the disposal of the two Parliaments to meet the requirements of their respective Governments, but it is estimated that on the existing basis of Revenue and Expenditure they will have between them a surplus of over seven and a half millions in hand, after paying the contribution to Imperial liabilities and expenditure, and meeting the cost of the

reserved services still administered by the United Kingdom Government and the cost of their own services.

In addition, each Government is to receive from the Imperial Exchequer the initial cost of providing the necessary buildings and equipment for the accommodation of the new Parliament and Public departments.

For the purposes of the financial provisions of the Act a Joint Exchequer Board is established, whose duty it will be to determine various questions affecting the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland and of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland. The Board is to consist of two members to be appointed by the Treasury of the United Kingdom, one member to be appointed by the Treasury of Southern Ireland, one member to be appointed by the Treasury of Northern Ireland, and a Chairman to be appointed by His Majesty.

7. IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO IMPERIAL LIABILITIES AND EXPENDITURE.—Ireland is to make an annual contribution to Imperial liabilities and expenditure. For each of the first two years the contribution is fixed *provisionally* at £18,000,000, of which 56 per cent. is to be borne by Southern Ireland and 44 per cent. by Northern Ireland. After the end of the second year the contributions are to be revised by the Joint Exchequer Board and to be fixed according to the relative taxable capacities of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom, and, should the Board be of opinion that the £18,000,000 contributed in each of the first two years was excessive, or that the amount of the contribution in those years ought to have been apportioned between South and North in some other manner, the excess payments are to be credited to Ireland or to South or North, as the case may be, and the accounts adjusted accordingly.

8. JUDICATURE.—The present Supreme Court for the whole of Ireland is to be abolished, and in its place

there is to be a Supreme Court for Southern Ireland, a Supreme Court for Northern Ireland and a High Court of Appeal for all Ireland to which appeals will lie from each of the new Supreme Courts. Decisions of the new High Court of Appeal for Ireland will be subject to an appeal to the House of Lords. The office of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is to cease to be a political or executive office, and the Lord Chancellor is to be President of the High Court of Appeal for Ireland.

9. MATTERS EXCLUDED FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS.—Certain subjects are excluded expressly from the powers of the two Parliaments and Governments. They fall into two broad groups: first, matters of Imperial concern; and, secondly, matters affecting external trade and commerce, as regards which it is important to maintain a uniform system throughout the United Kingdom.

Within the first group come the Crown, the making of peace and war, treaties and foreign relations, and naval, military and air force matters.

Within the second group come trade with places outside the area of the Parliament, marine navigation, merchant shipping, &c., also customs and excise; but, on Irish union, the Joint Exchequer Board is to take into consideration the transfer to the United Parliament and Government of the powers of imposing customs duties and excise duties, and to report thereon to the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Parliament of Ireland.

Certain other subjects are temporarily reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament and Government, viz., the postal service, post office and trustee savings banks, designs for stamps, the registration of deeds and the Public Record Office of Ireland. All these subjects can, however, if the two Parliaments so desire, be transferred at any time to the Council of Ireland, and when a single Parliament and Government is established

for the whole of Ireland these subjects must be transferred to the United Parliament and Government, unless the Southern or Northern Parliament prefer that they should continue under United Kingdom control.

Land purchase is also reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament and Government, the completion of land purchase being a matter which requires the assistance of Imperial credit. This reservation does not, however, include the general functions of the Congested Districts Board.

Matters relating to the Supreme Courts of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland are reserved until a single Parliament has been established for the whole of Ireland.

9 A. REMOVAL OF RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES AND PREVENTION OF RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION.—The Act provides that no subject of His Majesty is to be disqualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on account of his religious belief, thus repealing any statutory disqualification of Roman Catholics for this office. It also repeals any existing enactments imposing penalties, disadvantages or disabilities on account of religious belief, or upon members of religious orders, as such.

The Parliaments are precluded from making laws directly or indirectly prohibiting or restricting the free exercise of any religion, or giving any preference or imposing any disability on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, and, similarly, the executive is precluded from conferring any preference or advantage or imposing any disability or disadvantage upon any person on account of religious belief.

10. REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND IN THE UNITED KINGDOM HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The present representation of Ireland in the United Kingdom House of Commons is to be reduced from 105 members to 46, but this reduction is not to be effected before the next dissolution of

the United Kingdom Parliament. This gives Irishmen the power to take part in legislation affecting the United Kingdom as well as managing their own affairs under the new Act.

11. CIVIL SERVANTS AND MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCES.—The Civil Servants who are employed in the existing public departments will be transferred to the Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland when the work of the existing departments is taken over by those Governments, and the Act contains provisions for securing to these transferred Civil Servants the continuance of their present salaries and terms of employment, and for protecting them against arbitary dismissal or unjust treatment and enabling them to retire voluntarily on pension if they so desire. A Civil Service Committee is to be established to carry out these provisions and to determine any questions that may arise as to the rights and claims of Civil Servants and as to the manner in which they are to be allocated between the Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland.

The Act contains provisions of a similar character with reference to the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police on the transfer of those forces to the new Governments.

12. DATES ON WHICH THE ACT IS TO COME INTO FORCE. —The Act is to come into force normally on the 2nd August, 1921, but His Majesty in Council may fix an earlier date as the date when the Act as a whole or any particular provision is to come into force or may fix a later date, not being later than the 2nd March, 1922, provided that the two Parliaments must be summoned to meet on or before the 2nd December, 1921.

13. REFUSAL TO "WORK THE ACT."—The members of each Parliament before they sit as members will be required to take an oath in the following form, but a solemn affirmation or declaration to the same effect may be substituted in certain cases, viz. :—

"I do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George, his heirs and successors according to law, so help me God."

This is the oath of allegiance which must be taken not only by the members of the Parliament of the United Kingdom but also by the members of the Parliaments of the self-governing dominions, Australia, South Africa, and Newfoundland. A similar oath is taken by the members of the Parliaments of Canada and New Zealand.

If a majority of the total number of members of the House of Commons of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland fail to take this oath within fourteen days after the date fixed for the first meeting of the Parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland as the case may be, then it will be assumed that Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland is not willing to accept the system of Parliamentary Government proposed by the Act, and thereupon the Parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland as the case may be will be dissolved and its place will be taken by a Legislative Assembly appointed by His Majesty, and the Government of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland as the case may be will be administered by the Lord Lieutenant with the assistance of a Committee of members of the Privy Council of Ireland appointed for the purpose by His Majesty.

The failure of one part of Ireland will not affect the operation of the Act in the other part of Ireland except in so far as it will postpone the possibility of the establishment of a united Parliament and Government for the whole of Ireland.

It will therefore be for Irishmen themselves to decide in the near future whether they will themselves take up the reins of Government in their own country or be ruled by the Government of the United Kingdom under a system analogous to Crown Colony Government.

APPENDIX B.

On 16th November, 1920, during a raid by the Forces of the Crown in Dublin, a number of papers belonging to Richard Mulcahy, the 'Chief of Staff' of the 'Irish Republican Army' were captured. The following documents were among them :—

GLANDERS IN HORSES.

"It should be possible to give horses Glanders. I know they can be inoculated, but that method would be impossible. The disease is got from Harness and by putting a horse in a stable from which an infected horse had been removed. Therefore, it should be possible to pass the infection by means of doctoring the oats, and it should be possible to get the oats at Railway Stations and so forth.

"METHOD: Any Doctor or V. Surgeon will be able to tell you how to grow the microbes. If they don't know they can look it up in any text book on Bacteriology. It is necessary to get a fresh culture, that is, microbes grown from the discharge of an infected horse. This should be easily got round the Veterinary College or some place. Microbes kept in a Laboratory lose their virulence with each sub-culture. If you get the microbes they can be grown in a chicken incubator if you can't get them grown in a laboratory. Any Doctor can find out the medium in which they grow. Assume you have half a pint of active microbes, then: take a hollow stick or piece of piping. Get another stick to fit in this like a ramrod of a gun. Put

this stick down in the sack of oats. Withdraw the ramrod. Then pour in the microbes while you, at the same time, withdraw the hollow stick or piping. In this way you can distribute the microbes from the bottom of the sack to the top without disturbing the oats, and it can be done quickly.

"CAUTION: Operator must not allow any of the fluid on his hands or clothes. The stick and bottle should be *burned* after use.

"A couple of thousand horses infected would make a sensation. Saddles, etc. would have to be burned, and stables disinfected.

"TROOPS THEMSELVES: How about spreading Typhoid Fever among them? I know of no other ordinary disease that could be spread among them with safety to the rest of the population. They might retaliate, but that is for consideration.

"To get Typhoid Fever one must *eat* or *drink* the Typhoid Bacillus (or microbe). It is easy getting fresh and virulent cultures. The best medium of conveying it is through the milk. They multiply rapidly in the milk. They can also be conveyed in the water, but through the water is difficult, unless there are special cisterns or tanks near each place into which a pint or so could be poured.

The milk is far the best medium, but is milk used? It can be investigated.

"CAUTION: There is no danger to the operator unless he gets the microbes on hands or clothes. The *Cans* would have to get special attention after the infected milk had been emptied. They could, in turn, convey the disease to the civil population. If these ideas are of any use you will need expert advice, so I need not go into the matter further.

"If these are thought practical let me know and I'll study other things on same line in the hope of discover-

ing possibilities. At the moment I can't think of anything else in that line.

"Give my regards to all and hope the success will continue. I enjoyed my visit, and will now feel in personal touch more than ever. God bless you all."

There were also detailed schemes for the destruction of Stuart Street Power House, Manchester, and the docks and cotton warehouses at Liverpool. An extract from the document dealing with Manchester is as follows :—

MEMORANDUM *RE* STUART STREET POWER HOUSE, MANCHESTER.

"This place is worked by three shifts, namely, 6 to 2; 2 to 10, and 10 to 6. The best day for an operation would be Sunday, say about 9 a.m. as there is a minimum number of men working in the station. This place is undoubtedly of great importance not only in connection with the tramways, but also with the coal mines in the vicinity. I attach herewith a sketch plan (not drawn to scale) showing the lay-out of the place. The principal points to be attacked are 10 Turbines in the Engine Room, 10 Balancers, the Switch Board and the Large Marine Type Engine.

"The plan of operation would be somewhat as follows:—

"At the appointed time 6 men enter the time office, of whom 3 should immediately go to the telephone and hold up the system, while the other 3 should remain in the office and hold up any person who may happen to be there. A second party of 6 should enter the gate marked A; 3 of these 6 should remain at the gate to admit the motor car carrying tools, and the other 3 should go to fitting shop and take up position at gate of

same, this shop to be used as a place to hold any persons who were rounded up inside the works. The third party of 6 should be divided as follows:—2 to take up position at the door of the general office to keep persons from coming out, 2 at the outside of gate marked B for the same purpose, and 2 at the end of the line marked L. The demolition party should then enter the main gate, 30 men to the Engine room, 3 for each Turbine, 2 armed with sledges and 1 with oil and waste. The first 2 should destroy the casing while the third should, by means of the oil, set fire to the casing. Ten others should destroy the casing of the balancers and also destroy by fire. Four men armed with 7-lb. hammers can easily destroy Switchboard, 3 others with hatchets and oil will attack the marine engine. The total number of men required as outlined above is 65 with say, 5 officers. You will find attached a report by G. H. which explains the location of the very important pumping stations at Clayton Vale. I consider the best method of attacking this is to destroy the Crank, for which purpose 30-lbs. of 'g.c.' will be adequate. Six men will be required for this operation."

The Liverpool scheme is interesting because a part of it, the destruction of cotton warehouses, was actually put into operation with partial success on 28th November, 1920.

MEMORANDUM *RE* LIVERPOOL.

"In its main features, the scheme as outlined by your friend T. K. can be carried out. It will of course be impossible to make a clean sweep of the whole line of docks. If men and material are available a large amount of work can be done but the amount to be done must be regulated by these conditions. I submit a

scheme for dealing with 21 points. This scheme involves the use of 800-lbs. of ' g,' 23 engineers, 75 rank and file and about 20 others, 98 revolvers.

" The scheme is carried out as follows:—

1. Dislocation of Telephone communication.
2. Holding up all Dock Board Police.
3. The opening of inner gates by means of the pumps.
4. Demolition of these pumps, 4 in number.
5. Demolition of 8 gates.

" The pumps used for opening the gates are a different set to those used for pumping water into the docks. It is necessary to open the inner gates before blowing up the outer and for this operation it would be necessary to use these pumps in addition to having men operating at the inner gates.

" There are four Power Stations containing pumps for the opening of the gates. These pumps could be destroyed by the use of 200-lbs. of ' g,' 4 engineers, 20 rank and file and 24 revolvers.

" For the whole job as outlined I estimate the total number of men required is 23 officers, 27 engineers and 75 rank and file. It would, I think, be necessary for the officers, or many of them, to reside in the locality for at least one week before the operation and to complete the arrangements as outlined above, I consider it would take three weeks from date.

" If it is not considered feasible to carry out such a large operation as outlined, a portion might be selected from the Schedule attached hereto which gives in detail the name of each gate, method of dealing with it, number of men required, number of enemy forces to be dealt with and the line of approach and retreat. For instance, it might be decided to tackle only the Canada Dock. This would only require 100-lbs. of ' g,' say 10 men, or perhaps two or three docks might be tackled requiring a proportionate number of men and material,

but in any event I would strongly recommend that the four power stations be dealt with.

"I adhere to the view already expressed that the blowing up of a dock gate will not result in a rush of water sufficient to carry any large ship into the river. The most that can be expected from such an operation is that a boat would lie down and be seriously damaged.

"The diversions suggested would consist of numerous fires in cotton and other warehouses, starting half an hour before other operations."

The scheme in detail follows.

APPENDIX C.

A statement issued to the Press by the Irish Government on the 20th April, 1920, defining the status of, and treatment to be accorded to, those prisoners in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, then awaiting trial, charged under the Defence of the Realm Regulations, Reg. 14b. (See page 84).

The Irish Government think it right to at once define and make public the treatment to which persons arrested and imprisoned will in future be entitled when in custody.

The following provisions have accordingly been made, and will be adhered to.

The general principle which has been adopted, and which is now enunciated in detail, is, that persons arrested and imprisoned for political offences shall be treated as political prisoners, and shall be entitled to be differently treated, both as regards place of confinement and treatment therein, to persons arrested and imprisoned for ordinary criminal offences.

It is also thought desirable, in order to avoid possible future misconception, to state that the following offences shall not be deemed to be political offences, even though the motive for such offences may be, or may be alleged to be, a political motive:—

(*a*) Homicide, assaults, or similar offences, against the person.

(*b*) Burglary, housebreaking, larceny, malicious damage, cattle-driving, or similar offences against property.

(*c*) Riot; carrying, keeping, or having firearms, ammunition or explosive substances; unlaw-

ful assembly (as defined by Common Law or by Statute, but not by an assembly rendered unlawful merely because it is a meeting of a political or suppressed association); speaking or writing words inciting or encouraging persons to commit any of the offences set out at (*a*), (*b*), or (*c*).

All persons committed to prison for a political offence, who have not been tried, shall from the time of their commitment be granted the special ameliorative treatment set out in Schedule A annexed hereto.

As soon as arrangements can be made, after a person is committed to prison for a political offence, he shall be detained in a place of confinement in which ordinary criminals are not detained, and shall, on reception into such a place, be entitled, in addition to the ameliorations in Schedule A, to the further ameliorations set out in Schedule B.

Prisoners bound over to keep the peace and be of good behaviour, and who have been committed to prison in default of giving sureties, shall be dealt with as prisoners who have not been tried, and if the offence disclosed in the warrant is a political offence, shall receive the treatment of a political prisoner who has not been tried, and if the offence disclosed in the warrant is not a political offence, shall receive the treatment of an ordinary untried prisoner.

Prisoners who have been tried for a political offence before any Court, and have been convicted, shall, unless sentenced to penal servitude, undergo their imprisonment in a place in which ordinary criminal prisoners are not detained for punishment. They shall be entitled to the ameliorative treatment of untried political prisoners as set out in Schedule A and B, except that they:—

(i) Shall not be permitted freedom of movement within the precincts of the prison, or association or

conversation between prisoners, save at such limited times during each as the Governor shall consider reasonable.

(ii) Shall not be entitled to more than one visit per week from one person.

(iii) Shall only be entitled to write and receive one letter per week, except under such special circumstances as the Governor and the Visiting Committee shall consider reasonable.

The special treatment for political prisoners set out above is conditional upon an orderly submission to the rules and regulations prescribed for such prisoners. Should any such prisoner refuse to carry out such rules and regulations he shall be liable to forfeit any or all of the ameliorations, and may be removed to a different prison.

If a prisoner who when first committed to prison is entitled to the treatment of a political prisoner should be subsequently charged with an offence which is not political, he shall be entitled to treatment as a political prisoner until such time as he shall be returned for trial or tried. If convicted of such non-political offence he shall lose his right to the ameliorative treatment, and shall thereafter be treated as an ordinary prisoner.

If a prisoner is committed to prison pending trial for an offence which in the opinion of the Irish Law Officers is a non-political offence, and the prisoner claims that the offence is a political one, and that he is, therefore, entitled to political treatment, the question shall be at once referred for decision in accordance with the rules hereinbefore set forth to a Committee of three composed as follows:—

One member of the Visiting Committee of the prison where the prisoner is confined to be nominated by the prisoner;

One member of the same Visiting Committee to be nominated by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or in his

absence by the Under-Secretary for Ireland;

The Committee to be presided over by one of His Majesty's Judges.

The names of three Judges who will be willing to act being placed on a rota and taken in turn. If one Judge is unable to act in any particular case, the Judge next on the list to act in such case. Should the prisoner decline to nominate a member of the Visiting Committee to act on such special Committee, the members of the Visiting Committee will themselves nominate one of their number so to act. Should the member of any Visiting Committee so nominated or both of them be unable or decline to act a second nomination shall be made by the person entitled. Should all the members of any Visiting Committee decline or be unable to act, the question shall be referred to the Judge alone for his decision.

In addition to the Visiting Judges appointed to visit prisons under the Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as regards the special prisons and places of confinement mentioned herein in which political prisoners tried and untried will be confined, will request the Roman Catholic and Protestant Bishops of the Dioceses in which such selected prisoners are situated to act as special visitors to such prisons and places of confinement, and to report on any matter which they may think right to report upon to his Excellency.

SCHEDULE A.

(i) Shall be kept apart from other classes of prisoners.

(ii) Shall be exempted from a bath on reception.

(iii) Shall be searched only by an officer specially appointed for that purpose.

(iv) Shall be allowed to occupy a room or cell furnished with suitable bedding and other articles, in addition to, or different from those furnished for ordinary cells.

(v) Shall be allowed at own cost the assistance of some person appointed by the Governor to relieve the prisoner from the performance of any unaccustomed tasks or offices.

(vi) Shall be allowed unconvicted prisoners' diet, or to supply at own cost, own food, subject to the undermentioned restrictions as to supply:—

Due notice to be given beforehand.

Food to be received only at such times as are fixed for that purpose, and to be inspected, if considered necessary by the officers of the prison.

Not to receive or purchase during the 24 hours more than one pint of malt liquor, fermented liquor, cider, or wine.

(vii) Shall be entitled to wear own clothes.

(viii) Shall be exempted, if desired, from hair-cutting and shaving.

(ix) Shall be allowed, at own expense, to have supplied such books, newspapers, or other means of occupation other than those furnished by the prison, as are not, in the opinion of the Governor, of an objectionable kind.

(x) Shall be exempted from obligation to work.

(xi) Shall be allowed to write one letter daily to relations or friends, and to receive one letter daily, and to write and receive such additional letters for special reasons as the Visiting Committee shall approve.

(xii) Shall be permitted to smoke, unless forbidden by the medical officer on medical grounds.

SCHEDULE B.

(i) Freedom and movement within the precincts, and association and conversation between prisoners between the hours of 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. subject to orderly behaviour.

(ii) Two visits a week by one person on each occasion will be allowed.

APPENDIX D.

SINN FEIN.*

SCHEME OF ORGANISATION, RULES, &C.

The Sinn Fein Organisation shall include a President, two Vice-Presidents, two Hon. Secretaries, two Hon. Treasurers, four National Trustees, an annual Ard-Fheis, an Ard-Chomhairle (with its standing Committee), Comhairli Ceanntair and Cumainn.

Membership shall be open to all adults of Irish birth and parentage, irrespective of sex, class, or creed, who accept the Constitution of Sinn Fein—save that no member of the British armed forces, nor pensioner thereof, nor any person who has taken an oath of allegiance to the British Government, shall be eligible so long as he retains the office or position involving that oath.

All elections throughout the Organisation shall be by ballot, and all positions specified in these Regulations shall be honorary.

No person shall be eligible to, or competent to hold, the same honorary office in any Cumann or Comhairle of the Organisation, after the Ard-Fheis of 1917, for more than two consecutive years.

ARD-FHEIS.

1. The supreme Governing and Legislative Body shall be the Ard-Fheis, which shall be convened yearly, and shall consist of:—

* This is an exact reprint of the pamphlet mentioned on page 389.

(a) The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Standing Committee of the Ard-Chomhairle.
(b) ONE delegate from each Comhairle Ceanntair.
(c) Two delegates from each duly affiliated Cumann.

Cumainn having a paid-up membership of 150 shall be entitled to three delegates; 200 to FOUR, and 250 to five, on payment of £1 in addition to the affiliation fee for each delegate ABOVE TWO, but in no case may any Cumainn have more than five delegates.

Members of the Ard-Chomhairle (other than its Standing Committee) and members of the Dáil Eireann (Constituent Assembly or National Parliament) who have not been chosen as delegates from their own clubs or Comhairli Ceanntair shall be entitled to be present at the Ard-Fheis and to speak, but shall not have a vote.

2. The place and date of meeting of the Annual Ard-Fheis, as well as rules governing its procedure, shall be at the discretion of the Ard-Chomhairle, and shall be announced two months in advance. Clubs must be affiliated at least three months prior to Convention; delegates chosen, and their names forwarded to Headquarters at least five weeks prior to the date of the opening of the Ard-Fheis.

Nominations for the Ard-Chomhairle and Resolutions for the Ard-Fheis must also be received five weeks in advance.

Cards of admission and copies of the Ard-Fheis Agenda (including reports of officers, balance sheet, and list of nominees for the Ard-Chomhairle, Presidency, etc.), must be forwarded to delegates at least nine days in advance.

3. An Extraordinary Ard-Fheis may be summoned for a special purpose on a requisition endorsed by either:—

(a) The Standing Committee, unanimously;

(b) Two-thirds of the Ard-Chomhairle;
(c) Ten Comhairli Ceanntair;
(d) 200 Cumainn of at least six months standing.

The Standing Committee in such cases shall have discretionary power either to summon the delegates chosen for the previous Ard Fheis, or to direct all Cumainn of three months standing to choose delegates anew.

At least one clear week's notice must be given to delegates.

4. Delegates to an Ard-Fheis must be bona-fide resident members of at least three months' standing in the Cumainn they are to represent.

The delegate chosen by a Comhairle Ceanntair must be a member of that body.

Substitutes for delegates incapacitated by illness, etc., may be allowed at the discretion of the Standing Committee—but they must in all cases be previously chosen at a duly convened meeting of their Cumainn or Chomhairle Ceanntair.

5. Resolutions for the Ard-Fheis must stand in the names of either:—

(a) The Standing Committee;
(b) The Ard-Chomhairle;
(c) A Cumann;
(d) A member of the Standing Committee.

In cases (a) (b) the resolution must be passed UNANIMOUSLY at a meeting of these bodies duly summoned with adequate notice of the motion given.

Cumainn alone shall have power to nominate candidates for the Board of Officers or for membership of the Ard-Chomhairle.

6. The aims of Sinn Fein as set forth in the "Constitution" may not be altered or amended except by a two-third vote at an Ard-Fheis, on the Agenda of which notice of the proposed alteration or amendment has duly appeared.

All other changes may be made by an Ard-Fheis on the usual majority vote, and shall take immediate effect if the Ard-Fheis so desire.

ARD-CHOMHAIRLE.

1. The Ard-Chomhairle shall consist of: —

(a) Officers' Board, viz.: The President, two Vice-Presidents, two Hon. Secretaries and two Hon. Treasurers;

(b) Twenty-four members, of whom at least twelve must be ready to attend WEEKLY meetings in DUBLIN;

(c) One representative from each of the Parliamentary Divisions in which there are at least five affiliated Clubs, and one from each Parliamentary Division of a Borough in which there is a membership of at least 300; in the case of a double-member constituency two representatives to be chosen, if there be at least 600 members.

(d) Not more than twenty co-opted members, power of cooption being at the discretion of the Ard-Chomhairle, but no member to be co-opted on less than a two-third vote of the entire Ard-Chomhairle.

Nominations for (a) and (b) and for (c) lie with the Cumainn only.

Elections for (a) (b) are to be by ballot at the annual Ard-Fheis, and for (c) by ballot of the Comdala Ceanntair to be held in each constituency within one month after the Annual Ard-Fheis.

Unless elected in classes (a), (b), (c) and (d) the National Trustees shall be ex-officio members of the Ard-Chomhairle without a vote.

No member shall be eligible for nomination on the Ard-Chomhairle unless he has been at least six months a member of a Cumann.

2. When the Ard-Fheis is not in session the supreme direction and government of the organisation shall reside in the Ard-Chomhairle, which shall have plenary powers except as regards changes in the Constitution (which are altogether ultra vires). Modifications or amendments of other decisions affirmed at an Ard-Fheis can be affected by the Ard-Chomhairle only on a two-third vote at an ordinary meeting after due notice of the intended alteration has been given to all its members.

The Ard-Chomhairle shall have power to make rules, bye-laws, etc., in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution.

3. Between five and seven weeks after the Annual Ard-Fheis the first meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle shall be summoned. It shall thereat appoint from amongst its members directors of the several departments into which it decides to sub-divide its activities. These directors (who must all be prepared to attend weekly meetings in Dublin) shall, with the "Officer Board," form a Standing Committee, to which the Ard-Chomhairle will be at liberty to delegate such powers, functions and duties as it may deem expedient.

Until the constituency representatives have been elected and the first meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle held, the Officer Board and the twenty-four members elected by the Ard-Fheis shall exercise the functions of the Standing Committee.

4. Members of the Standing Committee who shall absent themselves without satisfactory reasons from four consecutive meetings shall be deemed to have vacated their seats.

A seat or office on the Ard-Chomhairle rendered casually vacant by any cause shall be filled or not at the discretion of the Ard-Chomhairle, which shall also have power to direct in what manner the selection shall be made.

5. The ordinary meetings of the Ard-Chomhairle will be held quarterly (once in each of the four provinces) and of the Standing Committee weekly (in Dublin) on stated days. A special meeting of these bodies can be summoned on three days' notice by a majority of the Standing Committee or by the President on a requisition signed by at least one-third of the total membership.

One of the quarterly meetings of the Ard-Chomhairle shall be its annual meeting, which must be held at such a time as will allow of its recommendations, balance sheets, reports, etc., being inserted in Ard-Fheis Agenda.

One-fourth of the total membership of these bodies shall constitute a quorum—except for routine business.

6. The Ard-Chomhairle and Standing Committee shall be competent to settle its own rules of procedure, which shall be communicated to each member immediately he or she is adopted.

7. Members of the Ard-Chomhairle may attend and speak, but may not vote, at any ordinary meeting of the Standing Committee. They shall have the same rights as regards any meeting of any Cumainn or Comhairle within the organisation.

8. A member of the Standing Committee shall be entitled to ask for and to examine at any time the roll of members, the minute book and accounts of any Cumainn or Comhairle. Any member of the Ard-Chomhairle shall, if appointed by the Ard-Chomhairle to represent it, have the same rights.

9. A member of the Ard-Chomhairle holding a public representative position shall be expelled the organisation if the Ard-Chomhairle, on holding an inquiry, decides by a two-thirds majority that he has violated the spirit of the Constitution by his vote or other public actions.

10. No member of the Ard-Chomhairle may seek or accept for himself or any other person any place or position at the disposal of the British Government

COMHAIRLI CEANNTAIR.

1. Within one month after the termination of the Ard-Fheis, a Convention (Comhdhail) shall be held in each Parliamentary Constituency to elect

(a) The Constituency Representative on the Ard-Chomhairle (Governing Body);

(b) The Officer Board (viz., President, two Vice-Presidents, two Hon. Secretaries, and two Hon. Treasurers) for the Chomhairle Ceanntair (Constituency Executive); and

(c) Its Standing Committee.

This Convention shall consist of

(a) The Officer Board of the outgoing Comhairle (Executive);

(b) Two delegates from each duly affiliated Cumann (Club) within the Constituency.

2. The new Officer Board and the delegates sent by the Clubs shall constitute the permanent Comhairle Ceanntair for the direction and government of the Organisation within the Constituency. It shall meet at least quarterly, and shall sanction the Reports, the Lists of Cumainn and their membership, Audited Balance Sheets, etc., for transmission to Headquarters in time for the Quarterly Meetings of the Ard-Chomhairle.

3. Each Comhairle Ceanntair may co-opt at its discretion not more than five members, on a two-third vote of entire membership. Its Standing Committee may have delegated to it such powers, duties, and functions as the Comhairle Ceanntair may determine, and shall meet as often as may be necessary.

4. In forming its Standing Committee the advisability of having a representative from each County Council Electoral District should be considered.

N.B.—Clubs are recommended to send its Secretary as one of its representatives to this Comhdhail (Convention). In very exceptional circumstances, on

special application to Headquarters, variations of the above may be made by the Ard-Chomhairle.

CUMAINN.

1. Membership of the Organisation shall be obtainable only through membership of a Cumann.

2. A Cumann shall, as far as possible, be established in each Chapel District in rural areas and in every Ward in cities or towns.

3. A Cumann shall consist of not less than 15 members, and shall be directed by a Committee composed of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, two Treasurers, and not less than three others elected annually by the members of the Cumann.

4. Candidates for membership must be proposed and seconded by two members, and their nominations be sent to the Committee of the Cumainn, which shall accept or reject the nomination at its next meeting.

5. Application or nomination for membership of a Cumann shall be deemed to be adoption of the objects and methods of the Organisation and submission to its rules for the time being in force, including the rule that no member or ex-member shall have any right as against a Club or against any of its members or officers in respect of any act or omission done in pursuance of its rules.

6. The membership fee shall be 1/- per annum.

Each Cumann shall forward monthly one-fourth of the fees thus received to its Comhairle Ceanntair, and the remaining three-fourths to the Ard-Chomhairle.

7. In addition to the membership fee, a Cumann shall have power to levy on its members such further periodical sum or sums as it may think fit or find necessary, provided it obtains the sanction of its Comhairle Ceanntair.

It may also raise funds by concerts, etc., on receiving a similar licence from the Comhairle.

8. Every Cumann shall keep, in strict custody, a

roll of its members, a minute book, and an account of its receipts and expenditure.

9. Every Cumann shall pay an annual affiliation fee of £2 to the Hon. Treasurers of the Ard-Chomhairle.

10. The Ard-Chomhairle shall have power to refuse affiliation of any Cumann or to suspend a Cumann by a majority vote, or to expel a Cumann by a two-third vote of the members present at any regular meeting.

A Cumann shall be competent, by vote of an absolute majority of its members present at a meeting duly convened with notice of the business, to expel any of its members, or supersede any of its officers before expiry of his normal term, for adequate cause, subject to a right of appeal to the Comhairle Ceanntair and an ultimate appeal to the Ard-Chomhairle.

All charges against members must be made in writing; the member or members so charged shall be notified by the Secretary to appear at the next meeting of the Club to answer said charge or charges.

11. Any difference arising within a Cumann, or between Cumainn, which the body or bodies concerned are unable to settle, shall be referred to and settled by the Comhairle Ceanntair.

12. Any member of a Cumann holding that any particular decision of the Cumann is contrary to the principles, objects or policy of the Organisation may require a statement of such decision, signed by the President, Secretary and Objector, to be sent for consideration to the Comhairle Ceanntair. Any matter of difference arising thus or otherwise may, after decision by the Comhairle Ceanntair, be submitted to the Ard-Chomhairle for ultimate decision.

13. No Cumann shall be named after any living person; and if any such name be adopted it shall be ignored.

P. Mahon, Printer, Yarnhall Street, Dublin.

INDEX.

Act, The Arms, 188.
——, Defence of the Realm, 190—194.
——, Drummond's, 270, 294.
——, Government of Ireland, 397, 427—431, App. A.
——, Restoration of Order in Ireland, 411—414.
Acts concerning Arms, 186—195.
——, Police, 269—273.
Agricultural Prosperity in Cork, 45.
Aimes, Lieut., Murder of, 155.
Ambushes, see 'Outrages.'
——, plans for, 136.
America, see 'United States.'
Anderson, Sir John, becomes Under-Secretary, 86.
An T'Oglac, 8, 8n, 10, 132, 174, 176, 179, 229, 275, 323.
Arms Act, The, 188.
Arms, Importation of, by National Volunteers, 2; by Ulster Volunteers, 1, 2.
——, Legislation concerning, 186—195.
——, Raids for, 52, 196, 209; methods of, 199; statistics of, 196.
——, Surrender of, 193.
Arrests, Table of, in 1920, 99.
Ashbourne, fight at, 30.
Aude, sunk, 18n.
Auxiliary Division, The, 281—285; Lord French's Speech to, 284; Strength of in 1920, 145; in January, 1921, 283.

Baggally, Captain, Murder of, 156.
Balbriggan, Outrage and Reprisal at, 310—314.
Ballycrovane Coast Guard Station raided, 206.
Ballymacelligott, Outrage at, 378—380.
Baronies, Irish, 271n.
Barracks, destruction of, 228—230.
——, raids on, 203—206.
Belfast, rioting in, 344—352; Sinn Fein activities in, 341.
Bell, Mr. Alan, his murder, 80, 81, 223.
Bennett, Lieut., Murder of, 155.
Berry, Kevin, The case of, 138—141.
Black and Tans, 279.
Bombs, Sinn Fein manufacture of, 202.
Boycott of Police, 130, 131, 137
Brady, Inspector, Murder of, 215—217, 304, 308—310.
Breen, Daniel, 142; letter to, 147.
Brooke, Mr. F. H., Murder of, 224.
Burke, Sergt., Murder of, 310.

Cadets, see Auxiliary Division.
Casement, Sir Roger, lands at Banna, 16; sent to London, tried, and executed, 17 and 17n; letter to Prof. McNeill, 358.
Cashel, the Archbishop of, denounces conscription, 54.
Castletownbeer Coast Guard Station raided, 207.

Cavalry, Sinn Fein Instructions for fighting, 134.
Clare, Co., Condition in 1918, 49; De Valera elected for, 47; Intimidation in, 50; Sinn Fein in, 47—48; Sinn Fein growth in, 65.
Clarenbridge barracks attacked, 28.
Clarke, Sir Ernest, visits Belfast, 351.
Clergy, The Roman Catholic, their adherence to Sinn Fein, 44, 49, 57; they denounce conscription, 53, 54.
Cloughjordan, Train block at, 245, 256.
Clune, Monsgr., 426.
Coast Guard Stations, raids on, 206—208.
Collins, Michael, 141.
Commission, The Labour Party's, 372—380.
Conference, A Peace, at Dublin, 119—128.
Conscription, denounced by clergy, 53, 54; by R. C. Hierarchy, 54; fear of, in Cork, 52; in Kerry, 50, 51; "Measures for Combating," 58—62; the Nationalists against, 53; Sinn Fein influence against, 53.
Constabulary, see Royal Irish Constabulary.
Constabulary, The Special, see "Special Constabulary."
Cork, Lord Mayor of, (MacCurtain) murdered, 79, 80; is succeeded by McSwiney, 80 (see McSwiney).
Cork, Co., agricultural prosperity of, 45; declared a special military area, 52; raids for arms in, 52; the rebellion in, 31; Sinn Fein in, 48, 49; Sinn Fein growth in, during 1919, 65, 66, 67.
Cosgrave, W. T., elected for Kilkenny, 46.
Court Houses, destruction of, 227.
Courts Martial, examples of, 129—138; table of, in 1920, 99.
Courts, Sinn Fein, 90, 144.
Craigavon, Conference at, 336.
Creamery, at Tubbercurry, burnt, 305; at Achonry, burnt, 306.
Crimes, table for 1917, 1918 and 1919, 62.
Croke Park, affray at, 157.
Cumann na m'Ban, 182—184.
Curfew Order, made in Dublin, 74.

Dail Eireann, Manifesto concerning emigration, 177; Mr. Lloyd George's refusal to recognise, 420.
Defence of the Realm Act, 190—194.
De Valera, speaks at Kilkenny, 46; disloyal speeches by, 48; is elected for East Clare, 48; is appointed President of Sinn Fein Convention, 391; approves Dublin massacre, 394.
Dillon, Mr. John, the effect of his speeches, 45.
Dillon's Cross, Outrage at, 160.
Dockers' Strike in Dublin, 87, 88.
Donkey, Outrage on, 235.
Dowling, Major, Murder of, 154.
Drummond's Act, 270, 294.
Dublin Castle attacked, 23, 31.
Dublin, County, the Rebellion in, 29, 30; situation in, during 1916, 44.
Dublin Metropolitan Police, its formation, 294; its strength in 1920, 296.
Dundalk, Outrage at, 350.
Dunville, Lieut., shot by Rebels, 28.
Dwyer, Edward, 148.

Emigration discouraged by Sinn Fein, 177.
Enniscorthy, The Rebels take, 30.
Ennistymon, Outrage at, 302—307.
Equipment, Raids for, 203.

Fermoy, Train held up at, 258.
Fianna Eireann, 182, 185.
Fitzgerald, Captain, Murder of, 150.
French, Lord, His speech to the police, 75—77; to the Auxiliary Division, 284; his proclamation of Martial Law, 406.

Gaelic Athletic Association: Members join the Irish Volun-

teers, 13, 14; become Sinn Fein, 50—51
Gaelic League, joins Sinn Fein, 50—51.
Galway, Co., The Rebellion in, 28, 29; condition of, in 1916, 45; in 1917, 49; action of the clergy in, 57; Sinn Fein in, 57; Sinn Fein progress in 1919, 64.
Galway County Council disavows Sinn Fein, 145, 416—417; Mr. Lloyd George's reply to, 421—422.
Galway, University College at, becomes Sinn Fein, 49.
Garniss, Cadet, Murder of, 152.
Geddes, Sir E., attends a conference at Dublin, 259.
George, Mr. D. Lloyd, His speech on Sinn Fein Peace Proposals, 415—426.
Germany and Sinn Fein, 357—361; the *Aude* sunk, 18n (see also Casement).
Glandore, Training Camp at, raided, 67.
Greenwood, Sir Hamar, becomes Chief Secretary, 81; his career, 81, 82; his character, 82; his speech at his election, 83; he releases political prisoners, 84, 85; inspects R.I.C. recruits at Gormanstown, 280; his speech on Reprisals in Parliament, 311—315, 323; ditto to R.I.C., 315; threatening letter from America, 371.
Gun-running by National Volunteers, 2; by Ulster Volunteers, 1, 2.

Henderson, Mr. A., His Resolution, 307n.
Henry, Professor, His book on *Sinn Fein*, 336, 388.
Hibernians, The Ancient Order of, joins Sinn Fein, 50.
Hobson, Bulmer, proposes an insurrection, 14.
Hook Head Lighthouse raided, 207.
Hunger-Strikers: Death of Fitzgerald and Murphy at Cork, 117; fallacy of releasing, 100—102; official statement concerning those in Cork gaol, 114—117; the 'President of the Republic' absolves those in Cork, 117.
Hunger-Striking, Treatment of political prisoners who are, 84; see also McSwiney, Terence.

Intimidation, 93, 94, 200, 275; in Co. Clare, 49, 50, 65, 66; of railway-men, 245, 250—252, 411; murder of an informer, 226.
Irish Bulletin, The, 218.
Irish Republican Army, The (see also Sinn Fein), "At War with Britain," 175, 176; discourages emigration, 177; effort to recruit for, 179; its foundation, 171; organization, 172—174; raising funds, 181.
Irish Republican Brotherhood, the, Constitution of, 163; declares itself sole government of the Irish Republic, 167; joins Sinn Fein, 50; members join the Irish Volunteers, 12—14; oath of, 164, 167; procedure at meetings, 169; responsibility for outrage, 162 (see also Sinn Fein).
Irish Volunteer, The, 8, 10 (see also *An T'Oglac*).
Irish Volunteers, The (see also Irish Republican Army); a convention held, 9; how to recruit for, 180; Mr. Redmond's pledge for, 4; orders concerning raids for arms by, 197; they proclaim a Rebellion, 19—21; progress in 1915 and membership, 15; raising funds, 181; their influence in 1916, 44; their strength at the Rebellion, 11; the reply of the Provisional Committee to Mr. Redmond's pledge, 5—8; they develop into the I.R.A., 11, 162, 171; they parade in Rutland Square (April, 1916), 16 (see also *Oglaigh na H'Eireann*).

Jacob's Biscuit Factory garrisoned by Rebels, 25; surrenders, 40.

Kerry, Co., Recruiting in, 45; Sinn Fein in, 50, 51.
Kildare, Co., Rebellion in, 27; Sinn Fein set-back in, 63; situation in during 1916, 44.

Kilkenny, Co., Cosgrave elected for, 46; Countess Markievicz at, 46; De Valera speaks at, 46; recruiting in 1916, 44; Sinn Fein Clubs in, 47.
Kilmichael, Outrage at, 158—160.
King's County, Sinn Fein in, 44, 45, 55.
Knockalong, Outrage at, 143.

Labour Party Commission, Report of, 372—380.
Lahinch, Outrage at, 301—304, 307.
Lendrum, Capt., Murder of, 225.
'Liberty Hall,' Dublin, taken, 38.
Lighthouses, Raids on, 206.
Lloyd George, Mr. (see George, Mr. D. Lloyd).
Londonderry, Rioting in, 342.
Louth, Co., The Rebellion in, 28.
Lucas, General, Reprisal for kidnapping, 319.
Lynch, Mr. P., defeated at East Clare election, 48.

McCormack, Captain, Murder of, 156.
MacCurtain, Alderman, His murder, 79, 80.
MacDonagh, Thomas, signs Proclamation of Rebellion, 21; surrenders, 40.
McLean, Captain, Murder of, 152.
MacMahon, The Hon. James, becomes joint Under-Secretary, 86.
McNeill, John, 9, 11, 13, 14; presides at a Convention of Irish Volunteers in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, 9; leader of the Sinn Fein party of National Volunteers, 11, 13; strength of his party in Dublin, 14; and in the provinces, 14; presides at a meeting and votes against an insurrection, 14; is over-ruled at Easter Rebellion, 18; appointed to committee of Sinn Fein, 391.
Macpherson, Mr. Ian, resigns, 81.
Macready, Sir Nevil, assumes command of forces in Ireland, 86; his speech to police, 86n; a proclamation by, 406—409.
Macroom, Outrage at, 158—160.
McSwiney, Terence, becomes Mayor of Cork, 80; his arrest, 102; his career, 103—104; documents found in his possession, 104—106; is court-martialled, 106; transferred to Brixton Gaol, 106; Government's reply to appeals for his release, 106—108; manifesto by his relatives, 109—113; his death, 113; funeral, 113, 114; letter concerning bombs, 201; possible connection with Col. Smyth's murder, 220.
Mahon, Mr., Murder of, 151.
Mails, Proclamation concerning, 233; raids on, 230—234.
Mallow, Attack on Barracks at, 205.
Mannix, Archbishop, His case, 118—119.
Markievicz, Countess, presented with Freedom of Kilkenny, 46; Chief of Fianna, 185; her letter concerning unemployment, 290.
Martial Law, proclaimed in Dublin, 27; in all Ireland, 27; the use of, 404—406; proclamation of, 406.
Maxwell, Sir John, arrives in Dublin, 38—39.
Mayo, Co., Sinn Fein in, 56.
Meath, Co., Sinn Fein in, 56; Sinn Fein set-back in, 63.
Metropolitan Police, see Dublin Metropolitan Police.
Milltown Malbay, Outrage at, 301—304.
Mizen Head Lighthouse raided, 207.
Montgomery, Col., Murder of, 155.
Morning Post, comment on Countess Markievicz, 291; on R.I.C., 273.
Morris, Cadet, Murder of, 152.
Moyode Castle, The Rebels at, 29.
Mulherne, Sergeant, Murder of, 219.

National Volunteers, The, Gun-running by, 2; membership in Dublin in 1916, 44; numbers recruited for army, 12; strength of, 1; they split into three, 11; their strength at Rebellion, 11; they join Sinn Fein, 53.
Newbury, Capt., Murder of, 153.

O'Connell, John, letter about him to McSwiney, 146.
O'Connor, Lord Justice: His charge to Grand Jury, 76, 77.
O'Flanagan, Father, 418, 424, 426.
Oglaigh na H'Eireann (see also IRISH VOLUNTEERS), 197; circular letter concerning police forces, 286; general order of, 276.
Orange Lodges, Manifesto by the, 328.
Oranmore barracks attacked, 28.
OUTRAGES (for attacks on individuals see under proper names; see also under 'Mails, Raids on'); classification of, 212; statistics of on civilians, 223; ditto on Military Forces, 220; ditto on police, 212; ditto on police returning from Mass, 235—237; outrages on women, 234; ditto on donkey, 235; table of in 1919, 93; table of those attributed to Sinn Fein, 72; totals for second six months of 1920, 97.
At Balbriggan, 310—314; Ballymacelligott, 373 — 380; Ballyvourney, 221; near Borrisoleigh, 213; Broadford, 213; Dillon's Cross, 160; Drimoleague, 214; Dublin, 150; Dundalk, 350; Dunmanway, 222; Ennistymon, 301—304, 307; near Golding's Cross, 213; Kilmichael, 158—160; Knockalong, 143; Lahinch, 301—304, 307; Leitrim, 214; Macroom, 158—160; Monk's Bakery, 138; O'Brien's Bridge, 213; Queenstown, 320; Rushbrooke, 147; Solo Head Beg, 142; Thurles, 318; Tuam, 319; Tubbercurry, 215—217, 304, 308—310; Tullow, 320; near Waterville, 214.

Peace Conference at Dublin, 119—128; its constituents, 123; resolutions, 124.
Peace Preservation Act of 1856, 187; of 1870, 188.
Peace Preservation Force, 268.
Pearse, P. H., signs Proclamation of Rebellion, 21; becomes Commander in Chief of I.R.A., 22; surrenders, 40.
Petrol, Raids for, 258.
Police, Dublin Metropolitan, see "DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE."
Police Forces, Acts concerning, 268—273.
—— Medal, 86n.
——, the Irish, see "ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY."
Political Prisoners, The question of, 83, 84; hunger-striking by, 84; they are liberated, 85; their status defined, 85.
Post Office, Dublin, Raid on, 231.
Price, Captain, Murder of, 155.
Prime Minister, see George, Mr. D. Lloyd.

QUEEN'S COUNTY, The Rebellion in, 27; recruiting in, 47; Sinn Fein in, 47.
Queenstown, Outrage at, 320.

Raids on mails, 230—234; proclamation concerning, 233; on railway stations, 252, 253.
RAILWAY-MEN, IRISH, Dismissal of, 254, 257; intimidation of, 244—252; outrages on, 250—252; proclamation by Union of, 265—267; refusal to convey troops, 245—248; refusal to handle munitions, 87; unpersuaded by Sinn Fein, 145.
Railway Stations, Raids on, 252, 253.
RAILWAY STRIKE, The Irish, 87—90; policy of Railway Companies, 254; report on, 255—257.
RAILWAYS, Description of Irish, 249; situation at end of 1920, 260—265, 268; stoppages on, 245—258.
REBELLION, THE EASTER (1916), heralded by a proclamation, 19; begins, 21; its progress in the country, 27—31; its total casualties, 41; and cost, 41—42.
RECRUITING in Ireland, figures for in 1915, 12; the campaign against, 12—13; in Kerry during 1919, 45; in Kildare during 1916, 44; in Kilkenny, 44; in Queen's County, 47.

Red Hand Magazine, The, 398.
Redmond, Cmsr., murdered, 71.
Redmond, John, gives a pledge for Irish Volunteers, 4; issues a manifesto on outbreak of war, 4; his pledge denounced by Provisional Committee, 5—9; leader of the National Volunteers, 11; strength of his followers up to the Rebellion, 11 (see NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS); is protected by patrols, 47.
Regulations, see "Acts."
REPRISALS, Sir H. Greenwood's speech on, in Parliament, 311—315, 323; ditto to R.I.C., 315; order from Dublin Castle on, 316; refutation of alleged, 318—325; Sinn Fein propaganda on, 317—325; Sinn Fein reports on, 370; statistics for 1919, 389.
At Abbeyfeale, 322; Balbriggan, 310—314; Ennistymon, 301—304; Fermoy, 319; Galway, 321; Inniscarra, 320; Kildorrery, 319; Lahinch, 301—304, 307; Limerick, 318; Milltown Malbay, 301—304; Nass, 320; Queenstown, 320; Shanagolden, 319; Thurles, 318; Tipperary, 319; Tuam, 319; Tubbercurry, 304—306, 308—310; Tullow, 320.
Republican Army, The Irish, see IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.
Republican Brotherhood, see IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD.
Ronan, Lord Justice, His charge to Grand Jury, 77, 78.
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY, acquires the title 'Royal,' 274; Acts constituting, 268—273; auxiliary division of, see AUXILIARY DIVISION; boycott of, 130, 131, 137, 276; daily life of, 259; difficulty in clothing, 278; increase in strength, 145; intimidation of, 276—277; plans for attacking, 136; recruiting for, 277; strength in 1920, 145, 278.
Rushbrooke, Outrage at, 147.

Sabotage, Examples of, 253, 254.
Secretary, The Chief, see GREENWOOD, SIR HAMAR.
Shaw, Gen. Sir F. Proclamation by, 192.
Sherwood Foresters, The, casualties in, 37.
SINN FEIN, Activities in Belfast, 341, 398, 399; clubs, 47, 58, 68; collections made, 53; conscription, movement against, 53; ditto, "Measures for Combating," 58—62; constitution of, 12, 389—392; Convention in Dublin, 389; courts established by, 90—92, 144; elections, success at, 48, 70; discourages emigration, 177; funds of, 54; relations with Germany, 18, 357—361 (see also Casement); Government of Ireland Act, their position under, 429—431; growth of, 11, 13, 48, 55, 56, 341, 398—399; hunger-strikers, responsibility for deaths of, 117; intimidation of railwaymen by, 244—252; leaders, effect of arresting, 54, 55; local authorities unpersuaded by, 145; Londonderry, progress in, 341; meaning of name, 392; membership, in 1915, 14, 47; in 1917 and 1918, 58; in 1919, 68; murder campaign, failure of, 144, 149; responsibility for, 94, 95, 393—394; objects of, 390—392; pamphlet issued by, 389; their peace proposals, 418; Mr. Lloyd George's reply thereto, 418—426; their policy, 395—399; political parties absorbed by, 50—52; press captured by, 50; proclamations by, 402; railway-men intimidated by, 244—252; their order to ditto, 250; outrages on, 250—252; are unpersuaded by, 145; refusal of Government to recognise, 400—403; their rise from National Volunteers, 11, 13, 48, 55, 56, 341, 398—399; their strength, 11, 13, 48, 55, 56, 341, 398—399; Ulster activities of, 341, 398, 399; their weakening, 63, 149.
Smith, Mr. T. H., Murder of, 152.
Smyth, Col., Murder of, 218.
Smyth, Major, Murder of, 220.

Solicitors, Sinn Fein instructions concerning, 133.
Solo Head Beg, outrage, 142.
Special Constabulary, The, 206.
Strickland, Gen., Attack on, 242.

Thurles, anti-conscription meeting at, 54; outrage at, 318.
Thyra, S.S., raided, 197.
TIPPERARY, Co., Increase of Crime in, 67; the Town Hall burnt, 147.
Tracy, John, 143.
Tralee, an attempt to murder at, 53.
Troops in Ireland, Government statement concerning, 238; discipline of, 241, 242; their duties, 240—244; number in Dublin at Rebellion, 31 *et seq.*
Tuam, Outrage at, 319.
Tubbercurry, Outrage at, 215—217, 304, 308—310; reprisal at, 304—306.
Tudor, General, appointed Police Adviser, 86.
Tullow, Outrage at, 320.

ULSTER (see also BELFAST, LONDONDERRY), conference at Craigavon, 336; Covenant by, 331; definition of, 326; population of, 326; Sinn Fein activities in, 388, 399; Solemn League in, 331; Unionist Clubs in, 333, 342; Unionist Council of, 328.
ULSTER VOLUNTEERS, THE, Disloyalty shown by, 3; enlistment in Army by, 4, 12; gun-running by, 1—2; organization of corps, 336—338; statistics of, 333—335; strength of, 2, 4, 335, 339.
United Irish League, joins Sinn Fein, 50.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Convention held at New York, 364; "Friends of Irish Freedom," 364; Irish propaganda in, 363—370; Irish question a political one in, 362, 372; maintains relations with Germany, 364, 365; money received from, 15.

Veteran Corps Ambushed, 26.
Viceroy, The, see French, Lord.
Volunteer, The Irish, 8, 10.
Volunteers, see IRISH VOLUNTEERS, NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS.

Waterville, Outrage near, 214.
Weekly Summary, The, 293.
WESTMEATH, Co., Sinn Fein in, 47.
WEXFORD, Co., Rebellion in, 30.
White, Captain, Murder of, 221.
WICKLOW, Co., Mr. Redmond in, 47.
Wilde, Lieut., Murder of, 156.

A SELECTION FROM PHILIP ALLAN & Co.'s LIST.

With 32 pages of Illustrations and a Map.
Demy 8vo (9 × 5¾). 20s. net.

G. H. Q. (Montreuil)

By "G.S.O."

An authoritative account of the 'inner life' of the British General Staff at Montreuil. The Author, who was exceptionally well placed for seeing all that was going on, writes with a light touch and has many good stories to tell, but no book has made so clear the working of the great military machine.

"The author of **this admirable book** has the secret of the human touch . . . we can be very sure that historians of the nearer and further future will find his book **indispensable,** for it explains matters which posterity would otherwise find inexplicable . . . there are passages which tell us **facts of surpassing interest** hitherto unknown to the general public."—*Morning Post.*

Large Post 8vo (8¼ × 5¼). 10s. 6d. net.

A Concise Chronicle of Events of the Great War.

By Captain R. P. P. ROWE (M.A., Oxon).

A STANDARD WORK, which will find a place on every desk and every shelf of Reference Books. The Compiler, who served latterly in the Directorate of Military Intelligence, enjoyed special facilities for his work. The Naval details are especially noteworthy. There is a complete Index, and Appendices contain the verbatim texts of the most important documents of the War. This book enables the student to discover rapidly exactly what was happening on any Front on any date, as well as when any event took place.

"We can heartily commend Captain Rowe's scholarly record of the War. It is CONCISE, CLEAR, and ACCURATE. There is a GOOD INDEX. . . . Captain Rowe has earned the gratitude of students of War."—*The Spectator.*

QUALITY COURT, LONDON, W.C. 2.

From PHILIP ALLAN & CO.'S List.

Demy 8vo. 18s. net. With 86 diagrams.

The Things Which Are Seen.

A Revaluation of the Visual Arts

By A. TRYSTAN EDWARDS, M.A.

This book, which may almost be described as "revolutionary," insists that the one and only judge of art should be THE AVERAGE MAN. Art is of no account unless it benefits society. The first and most important art is The Cultivation of Human Beauty; the second is The Art of Manners; the third is The Art of Dress; the fourth, Architecture (as applied to the houses we live in and the houses which surround us); fifth and lastly Painting and Sculpture, here described as 'The Minor Arts.'

Demy 8vo (9 × 5¾). 10s. 6d. net.

Moments of Genius.

By ARTHUR LYNCH.

A brilliant and fascinating book. The Author snapshots, as it were, certain of the world's greatest geniuses at vital moments of their careers. Each pen-picture (there are 20 in all) represents many years of study, but the result is expressed with deft, rapid, and beautiful strokes, giving a clearer conception of character than most full-length biographies.

"Interesting and impressive, their idealism is always lofty and encouraging, and they clearly embody in a simple form the results of studies both wide and deep."—*The Scotsman.*

Crown 8vo (7½ × 5). 10s. 6d. net.

The Book-Hunter at Home.

By P. B. M. ALLAN, M.A.

An arm-chair book for all book-lovers. Talks upon libraries old and new, romance ancient and modern, rare books and common books, big books and small books, thick books and thin books, good books—but not bad books. In short it deals with a host of those matters so dear to all book-lovers.

"Mr. Allan's very agreeable and enormously learned book."—Mr. H. J. MASSINGHAM in *The Observer.*

QUALITY COURT, LONDON, W.C. 2.

From PHILIP ALLAN & CO'S List.

Royal 8vo (10¼ × 6¼). 15s. net.

The Street of Faces: Glimpses of Town.

By CHARLES VINCE.

With eight full-page drawings by J. D. M. HARVEY.

Mr. Vince is an essayist of real distinction, writing, as the true essayist must, with the charm of sincerity and a naturally graceful mind. In these sketches he reveals to town-dwellers the beauty of their own environment. Mr. Harvey's exquisite pencil work lends an added charm.

"Mr. Vince has discovered London."—*The Times.*

"This wholly delightful book."—*The Evening Standard.*

A few copies have been printed upon Large Paper, each numbered and signed by the Author, Price 30/- net.

By the same Author.

Demy 8vo (9 × 5¾). 7s. 6d. net.

Wayfarers in Arcady.

In this new book of essays Mr. Vince takes the reader with him over the Sussex Downs, along main roads and by-roads, through woods and along streams. It is a book of companionship, of intimate thought happily expressed, and a volume that will assuredly confirm Mr. Vince in the position which he attained by "The Street of Faces."

Foolscap 8vo (6¾ × 4). 6s. 6d. net.

An Angler's Garland, of Fields, Rivers, and other Country Delights.

By ERIC PARKER.

(Author of "Eton in the 'Eighties," &c.)

In this volume Mr. Parker has brought together, from the whole range of English 'open air' literature, the happiest descriptions of the various moods and scenes, incidents and reflections, that anglers, from old Izaak to the urchin with the bent pin, have known. Not only to all fishermen but to all who take pleasure in 'country delights' this book will be a welcome companion. In June it will intensify the glory of a country holiday, and in November it will make 'a river flow on through the Vale of Cheapside.'

A few copies have been printed on Large Paper, Price 21/- net.

QUALITY COURT, LONDON, W.C. 2.

From PHILIP ALLAN & CO.'S List.

Demy 8vo (9 x 5½). 15s. net each.

The Scholar's Library.

Edited by K. N. COLVILE, M.A.

A Series of English Classical Reprints, in which purity of text is combined with scholarly editing.

No. 1 The Diall of Princes.

By DON ANTHONY OF GUEVARA.

Translated by SIR THOMAS NORTH (1557).

This magnificent piece of Tudor prose has not been reprinted for three hundred years.

"A sumptuous edition."—*The Outlook.*

"Admirably presented to us by Mr. Colvile."—DR. EDMUND GOSSE in the *Sunday Times.*

No. 2 A Miscellany of the Wits.

being Select Pieces by JOHN ARBUTHNOT, M.D., WILLIAM KING, D.C.L., and others.

This includes "John Bull," "The Scriblerus Memoirs," and other pieces mainly written by Arbuthnot, and King's "Journey to London," and a selection from his "Dialogues of the Dead." *These last two have not been reprinted for 150 years.*

(Just Published.)

Foolscap 8vo. 5s. net.

The Art of Attaining High Health; with Aristology, or the Art of Dining.

By THOMAS WALKER.

(No. 5 of THE PILGRIM'S BOOKS).

QUALITY COURT, LONDON, W.C. 2.

DA
962
S7

Street, Cecil John Charles
The administration of
Ireland

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY