

began by hiring the Small Concert Room. As the public interest grew they decided that it was wise to secure an option on the Large Concert Room; and as the day of the meeting approached they found that they would need still more space, and took the Rink in addition. As it turned out, the crowd not only filled the Rink and the Room but overflowed into the grounds, where a meeting of several thousand people was also held.

The Committee appealed to the manhood of Ireland to enrol and arm themselves in order to secure and maintain the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The manhood of Ireland responded to the call, and enrolling in thousands, proceeded to arm themselves.

WITHIN A WEEK the British Government, which held office by virtue of the Irish Party's vote, issued a Proclamation prohibiting the importation of arms into Ireland. The first blow had been struck at the Irish Volunteers; and it could not have been struck without consultation with, and the consent of Mr. Redmond.

But, thanks to the spirit of the men of Dublin, the Volunteers survived the blow. We assured our men that, Proclamation or no Proclamation, we would procure arms for them; and the men accepted our assurance. For months we drilled our recruits in halls shadowed by those broad-shouldered and dignified gentlemen of leisure whom Dublin Castle dresses in plain clothes and apparently expects us not to recognise as policemen. For months we preached the doctrine of Irish self-reliance in the teeth of the open hostility of the professional politicians, their organs, their organisations, and their supporters. Men who were elected by Irish voters to free their country from British domination, and who are paid by the British Government £400 a year to stimulate their enthusiasm, publicly denounced Volunteering as a muddle-headed policy which their supporters should avoid. Orthodox Hibernians and United Irish Leaguers were expected to leave the new movement severely alone. The Press, although then in the hands of its original proprietors, boycotted the Irish Volunteers nearly as completely as it does now under its new management. As the "Irish Times" remarked, the Volunteer Movement had, at any rate, "no Press." The coercion of Ireland under the Arms Proclamation provoked no protest from the stalwarts at Westminster. The machine was working smoothly in the effort to stifle the movement.

And still the Volunteers grew. They grew in numbers, in strength and in self-confidence till it became no longer safe for their enemies to display their hostility openly; and a more subtle course had to be adopted to destroy as promising an organisation as ever strove for Ireland's freedom.

All this time we had been busily working to surmount the greatest of our problems, the problem of securing arms. With the ports closed, money scarce, and the Government, the Party, and the Press alike opposed to us, it wasn't easy. Curiously enough our utmost efforts failed to secure any assistance from the Irish people

on the Continent, the very people who could most easily and effectively have helped us. Unable to telegraph or telephone, and compelled to use the post with the most extreme discretion, it was after prolonged negotiations that we came into touch with a lot of 11 mm Mauser Rifles, samples of which we got despatched to London, where I inspected them and found them satisfactory. Our resources were still insufficient to pay for any quantity, and it was only by an individual guaranteeing the cost of a cargo that we got the work of arranging for a shipment under way.

It was while we were busy with this work that we learnt of a new development. We discovered that the Hibernians had received secret instructions to form themselves Volunteer Companies, to affiliate with Headquarters, to secure control of the movement in their districts, and, in fact, to take the very steps that would enable them to control the coming Convention, and to swamp the original Volunteers. That this was not bona fide recruiting became apparent when the two Johns and Joe, as they are playfully called by an affectionate electorate, publicly announced that they had been converted to the Volunteer idea, and secretly requested

that they should be given control of the movement.

All the insidious influences known to the politician's art were immediately brought into play inside as well as outside of the Committee. The primrose path to place, power and profit was temptingly displayed to Eoin MacNeill and his associates, but it was in vain, and the request to hand over the Volunteers, wrapped in brown paper and tied with a string as it were, to the mercies of the men who had till then been engaged in an effort to strangle them, was gracefully and politely declined.

The attempt to capture the Volunteers by stealth had failed.

Then came the last and most brilliant coup, the master coup, to wit, Mr. Redmond's public announcement that the Provisional Committee was not sufficiently representative, and that he should be allowed to nominate twenty-five additional men to make it so. The reply was an offer by the Committee to have a new representative elected by each of the thirty-two counties in Ireland, and Mr. Redmond's answer was a candid and undisguised threat that if his Party were not permitted to nominate twenty-five REPRESENTATIVE MEN FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY he would proceed forthwith, by establishing a rival authority, to disrupt the movement. Now as the public were at this time keenly interested in the fate of the Home Rule Bill, which had not yet been shelved, it was quite possible that Mr. Redmond could have done this, and since his purpose was palpably, then as now, to emasculate the movement, it was certain that he would have done so.

A matter that could not be understood at the time, but which must be remembered in connection with the crisis that resulted, was that the Provisional Committee had on the high seas at that very period their

secret shipments of arms; and were already arranging those elaborate schemes for landing them which afterwards materialised at Howth and Killeool. They knew that any division in their forces such as would certainly result from the disruption threatened by Mr. Redmond would inevitably lead to the miscarriage of their plans and the probable loss of their arms. Realising the superlative importance of safeguarding the guns, and confronted with the alternatives of either making terms with Mr. Redmond or of splitting the Volunteers, probably losing their arms, and certainly furnishing Mr. Redmond with something that he sorely needed, namely, an excuse for losing Home Rule, they agreed to permit his nominees to sit on the Committee without, however, co-opting them as members thereof.

The nominations were published, and the list was in itself an absolute breach of faith with the Committee and with the public. It was not a list of "representative men from different parts of the country," as had been publicly promised. Eleven of the nominees were from Dublin City, the over-representation of which city on the Original Committee Mr. Redmond alleged as a reason for interfering with it.

Most of them were not "representative men" in any sense, or rather they represented fields of activity which well-wishers of the Volunteers would prefer not to be represented. Not a single military man secured the Party's nomination to the Volunteer Committee, but several eminent Ecclesiastics were appointed, presumably to represent the Church militant. However, the nominees took their seats, and we patiently awaited developments.

Now I should dislike to malign the Nominees, but if the object of the great majority of them was not to keep the Volunteers unarmed then they were the victims of a chain of circumstances and coincidences that was, shall I say, most unfortunate.

We were given to understand, for instance, that Mr. Redmond at this time had also on the seas a cargo of magnificent rifles destined for the Volunteers, and never was there keener interest in a regatta than we had as to whether Mr. Redmond's steamer or our "White Yacht" of Howth fame would first reach the shores of Ireland. Mr. Redmond's boat, I am told, was called "L'Avenir," which means in French "The Future," and it was a singularly appropriate title, because she never came.

Having left Antwerp and come within sight of the Irish coast, she, for some mysterious reason, which we were not allowed to learn, changed her mind about the Volunteers and returned to Belgium.

Apropos of Belgium, of whose friendship and services to Ireland we have recently heard so much, it is worth while recording the only experience that the Irish Volunteers had of her friendship and services. Immediately after Mr. Redmond's steamer had, with elaborate secrecy, left the Belgian coast, the British Government was informed by a LETTER FROM A BELGIAN CUSTOMS OFFICIAL that her manifest and her alleged destination were false, and that her contents were really arms "for the Irish insurgents."

The enlarged Committee, however, was not concerning itself unduly with the contraband arms traffic. It had other activities which kept it fully occupied. It appointed a Standing Committee with a solid reactionary majority; it passed a delicious resolution demanding that all rifles already secured by the Volunteers of Munster, Leinster and Connaught should be "loaned" to safe men in Ulster, and it gravely went through the form of requesting Mr. Redmond to hand over the Volunteer funds that had reached him, a request which Mr. Redmond, with becoming dignity, ignored. Things were comparatively quiet at Headquarters, and there being neither any quantity of arms available nor any apparent prospect of them, it looked as if the work of turning the embryo army into a political machine could be accomplished without a hitch.

But when on July 26th the White Yacht, harbinger of Liberty, suddenly appeared out of nowhere, and, on the stroke of the appointed hour, landed her precious freight at Howth, history was in the making.

Twenty minutes sufficed to discharge her cargo; as many motor cars flew with the ammunition to prearranged caches; and for the first time in a century one thousand Irishmen with guns on their shoulders marched on Dublin town!

The asinine interference of the garrison, the bayonetting at Clontarf and the massacre of women and children at Bechelor's Walk that followed are incidents which

are familiar to all whose memories are not exclusively occupied with the woes of Servia. A week later we landed our second cargo at Killeool*, and it was when we had thus placed arms in the hands of the Dublin Volunteers that the real activity of the Nominees on the Committee began.

The cry was now, "Send all the guns to Ulster," and this when analysed was found to mean, "Divide all the guns among the elite of the Ulster Nominees."

From this period the Nominees no longer maintained even the pretence of co-operation with the Original Committee. Insult, abuse, and innuendo became the order of the day. Those who opposed the shipment of the rifles secured by the Dublin men's efforts were denounced in unmeasured terms. Those who suggested that the guns should go to the men who had paid in advance for them were howled down. Ulster had to be defered from the Carson Army, though, curiously enough, its defence was to be conducted with empty rifles.

Indeed, we might have been convinced of the sincerity of this Ulster frenzy had the Nominees in their anxiety not forgotten to demand from the Committee a single round of ammunition!

However, numbers triumphed, the majority was solid, and without shame they solemnly voted that the guns should not go to the men whose money had paid for them but that all the available weapons should be "sold" at 25s. apiece to certain of the Ulster Nominees.

Will it be believed that for these "sales" the "purchasers" have not paid to the men who imported the rifles one penny of the price to this day?

No unbiased member of the Committee has any doubt that it was also the deliberate intention of at least a section of the Nominees, by a studied and well sustained policy, to force the resignation of Mac Neill and other members of the Original Committee. As it is natural to assume that the policy of Mr. Redmond's Nominees was the policy of Mr. Redmond, it is interesting to note that nothing which might have led to the disruption of the Committee at this period was neglected. Instances in abundance might be cited to prove this. The attacks, the accusations, and the insults by which the Nominees hoped to provoke us to resign are all on record, but no useful purpose would now be served by recounting them. In the interests of Irish decency let us hope that their publication will never become necessary.

The only redeeming feature in the recollections of this unpleasant period is that there were found amongst the Nominees two or three men to whom this campaign of offensiveness did not appear to commend itself.

This state of affairs however meant, of course, the total neglect of all constructive work, including the arming of the Volunteers, which now was no longer difficult, since the public horror at the Bachelors' Walk assassinations had forced the British Government to withdraw the Proclamation and to open the ports.

The circumstances that prevented us from purchasing at this period twenty times as many rifles as we did purchase were either a series of amazing coincidences or were a deliberate and damnable efficient plot to keep the men unarmed.

Without money we couldn't buy arms. The intervention of Mr. Redmond had stopped the supply of money from America, and of the money that we had already got from America a large sum had been secured by one of Mr. Redmond's adherents for which, by the way, we have never received either a single gun or an account of its expenditure. Practically all the money that we had expected to get from the disposal of the Howth and Killeool guns was, owing to the Ulster "sales," withheld from the Committee. Of the money that was available for the arming of the Volunteers, by subscription Mr. Redmond had privately secured £6,000, one of his colleagues £250, and so on.

A subscription of £500 that had been personally promised to me and to Eoin Mac Neill was collected, unknown to the Committee, by one of the Nominees and sent to Mr. Redmond, who persistently withheld Volunteer Funds from the Committee even while his Nominees, including his brother and Mr. Devlin, were sitting upon that Committee.

The personal subscriptions of several of Mr. Redmond's supporters which had been promised publicly in the Press and on the Platform were never paid to us.

Finally, not a single penny piece reached the Provisional Committee either from any of the Nominees or from any of the eighty Members of Parliament, who had

received from the British Treasury during the lifetime of the Provisional Committee the sum of £32,000.

Was this a coincidence?

There remained for us—the men who wanted the Volunteers efficiently armed—only the monthly affiliation fees and a few other sums that it was impossible to prevent from reaching us.

This source of income was the more precarious as the Joint Committee was daily authorising expenditure with an enthusiasm that would make the Rothschilds look cheap.

The organisation that we had successfully run from two rooms had now to occupy three different office buildings. Rent had to be paid twelve months in advance. It had to maintain an expensive Inspection Office, into which there rushed, with unseemly haste, unnumbered Militia Officers whose interest in the cause of Irish Nationality had not until then been even suspected.

Is it any wonder that money to buy arms was scarce?

On the outbreak of the war Mr. Redmond made his famous declaration about our defending the shores of Ireland if the British troops were withdrawn. Taken in connection with the proviso that accompanied it, the offer seemed reasonable enough, none of us quarrelled with it, and the Committee endorsed it.

I have heard, by the way, on the best authority that the following curious incident occurred when, at this time, the mobilisation of the British Army was ordered. Many reservists and militiamen, principally in Belfast and Derry, decided quite spontaneously, to risk a courtmartial and not to join the colours until Home Rule became a fact as well as an Act. Mr. Redmond, hearing of this, immediately sent to Belfast and Derry the Inspector-General and his assistant with orders to implore these reservists to join the colours without delay, as the action they contemplated would be fatal to Home Rule. They obeyed the instructions, and are now mostly in their graves in Flanders. Posterity can decide whether it was they or the Leader of the Irish Race that displayed most political acumen in the crisis of 1914.

Soon afterwards Mr. Redmond announced the arrival of his Italian rifles, of which

*With regard to the Killeool enterprise a very inexplicable incident occurred which some future historian may be able to unravel. The original intention was to run one yacht to Killeool on the night of Saturday, July 25th, and the second to Howth on the following day. At noon on Saturday, however, we in Dublin got a code message that the Killeool yacht had split her mainsail in the Irish sea, and that the repair would take several days, thus necessitating a postponement. Three hours later, by the most extraordinary accident, I learnt that an unknown lady had just sent a message to Dublin Castle stating that a quantity of arms for the Irish Volunteers had been on that forenoon landed on the coast near Dublin. The plot thickened still further when we found that soldiers were on that same Saturday being conveyed through the south of the city in motor furniture vans. Do these facts account for the amazing behaviour of the Castle on the following day?

he had thousands ready for "distribution," and he made the further remarkable statement that the Government would provide the remainder of the Volunteers with arms.

The Italian rifles are, as far as we can ascertain, for NOT ONE OF THEM WAS EVER ALLOWED TO REACH THE COMMITTEE, similar to those which Mr. Bannerman of New York sells retail for 1.48 dolls., and the "distribution" of them was proceeded with, without either the knowledge or responsibility of the Committee, at the modest rate of one pound sterling per gun. Not a single round of ammunition for them is available.

For the arms which Mr. Redmond said the Government would provide for us we are still waiting.

But Mr. Redmond's dual announcement was not without its effect, for it immediately and definitely put an end to all public interest in the Arms Fund.

This may not, of course, have been its intention, but THIS IS WHAT IT DID. However, let us be charitable and assume that this was only another of the unhappy coincidences.

Next the "War Office Proposals" came before the Committee. There were several of them, and they were complicated; but since they are now happily dead it is not necessary to discuss them at length.

Suffice it that they meant practically handing over the organisation, and the men who had trusted us, to the British Government as an auxiliary Imperial force.

Nearly all the original members opposed them in toto, and whatever Mr. Redmond's attitude towards them may have been, very few of his Nominees even spoke in their favour. Their warmest advocate on the Committee, I think, was a gentleman who has since obtained a Government appointment with a salary of about £1,200 a year.

As Treasurer of the Volunteers I was considerably worried about the lavish expenditure of the Joint Committee, coupled as it was with the stoppage of subscriptions, and in view of the curious reluctance of certain nominees to comply with my request for an audit of the books, the possibility of an intention to bankrupt and so discredit the Organisation suggested itself.

Some of us determined, therefore, to secure at once at least as many rifles as would meet the claims of those Companies who had sent money to Headquarters for them.

To get authority to do so required some finesse, but it was accomplished in this way: Having got the Arms Committee together for the purpose of adopting a standard bore, one or two of us recommended .303, which is the bore of the British Service Rifle. (British Service Rifles, in consequence of the war were, then as now, practically unprocureable.) .303 bore was adopted, and I then enquired of the Committee whether we were thereby authorised to purchase any available rifles that would take this cartridge, to which the Chairman, with the consent of the Committee, replied that we were.

Armed with this authority I went privately to Birmingham and purchased the entire output of a firm of gunsmiths who made, specially for our order, a Martini-Enfield .303, a very serviceable weapon, which they continued making and supplying to us until the Friendly Government raided and closed their factory last November. When I reported the Birmingham trip to the Committee, those of the Nominees who were present at both meetings repudiated my action, declared it to be entirely unauthorised, AND SOLEMNLY ENTERED ON THE MINUTES THEIR PROTEST AGAINST MY HAVING BOUGHT ARMS WITH THE MONEY SENT TO THE COMMITTEE TO BUY ARMS WITH. This, at any rate, is not the sort of thing that happens by coincidence.

It was in September, by the way, that we learnt accidentally how one of Mr. Redmond's supporters had, immediately after the withdrawal of the Arms Proclamation, refused, without even consulting the Committee, the best offer of arms that we had ever received. This was a proposal to sell us up to 20,000 modern magazine rifles with 600 rounds of ammunition for each, the price for rifle and ammunition complete being only £4.

From what I have written, the reader will understand that we of the Original Committee had no hallucinations as to the possibility of our continuing to co-operate with Mr. Redmond's Nominees. We understood the importance of an unbroken front. We are proud that it was the Volunteer Organisation that for the first time in centuries had brought together all sections of Nationalist Irishmen. We maintained unity as long as it was humanly possible to do it. Although Mr. Redmond expressly insisted in making the Volunteers a Party organisation, we still maintained unity. But we foresaw that a cleavage might become inevitable. And Mr. Redmond's Woodenbridge declaration about our double duty was a clear challenge on a definite issue.

We know of only one duty, our duty to Ireland.

We are Irish Volunteers, not pawns upon

the chessboard of British politics. We told Mr. Redmond so, and we ceased to admit his nominees to our Councils.

And then came the avalanche. An avalanche of vilification, of scurrilous personal attack, and of patent, obvious, and grotesque falsehood from every source that would be swayed either by Government payment or Castle patronage.

We, who had hitherto been petted, cajoled, canvassed, caressed, wined and dined, we, whose presence on a platform was nearly as desirable as that of an M.P., we, whose postbags had heretofore bulged with invitations to the functions of the elect, suddenly became nobodies, cranks, frauds, factionists, traitors, disruptionists, pro-Germans, cowards, embezzlers, and lunatics.

At one bound, in fact, we had become hounders!

We made no reply to this campaign of personal vilification, nor do we propose to do so. We regret that any group of Irishmen should descend to such methods of controversy; but as one section has adopted them, we propose that they shall have a monopoly of them.

We put the situation before a Convention of the Volunteers, who endorsed our action, and we are now going ahead with the work of organising, arming, and training our men.

Meantime the subsidised Press campaign continues, and is made easier since the Friendly Government is suppressing every journal that it fails to buy. The kept Press is now engaged in felon-setting us by name, in pointing us out to the Friendly Government as the dangerous men who are opposed to benevolent assimilation. Our private correspondence is published by "National" papers to prove that we are not sufficiently devoted to the Imperial idea, and the good work has already, borne fruit in the opening of our letters the pilfering of our correspondence, the shadowing of our movements, the confiscation of our property, and the dismissal, deportation and arrest of our associates. Faithful to the traditions of British Naval heroism, as expressed in the order "Women and children first," the searching houses in Dublin began with a police raid on the residence of a lady. She was threatened with arrest, her house was searched, papers were ransacked, private letters (utterly unconnected with the movement) were abstracted, and a small quantity of revolvers and ammunition, the property of the Irish Volunteers, were seized and confiscated.

Many similar, though mostly fruitless, raids have followed, but the Irish Press is too busy dealing with the murders in the baths to have found space to report them.

However, our losses have been trifling, and we are not disheartened. We are consoled by the fact that the country and the future are with us, and that our men possess REAL arms and ammunition.

A prostitute Press, a Heaven-sent Leader and a Friendly Government are undoubtedly a fairly strong combine; still, it will take more than that to break the spirit of the Irish Volunteers.

UA RACSHILLE.

40 Herbert Park,
Dublin, 8th April, 1915.

P.S.—Since the above was written events have followed one another with a rapidity that is almost bewildering. The Friendly Government is gone, and has been replaced by General Friend and the Coalition Ministry, which we are told will surely give us Home Rule, although its members include men who are pledged to the policy of sending "Home Rule to Hell."

The Cream of the Nominees are now ornaments of the Westminster Parliament at salaries of £400 a year, and several of their colleagues have become British officers, who, however, display no more anxiety to go to the front than the Carson Army does.

Some of our most prominent Volunteers have been arrested and jailed, and one member of the Committee, a permanent invalid, has been given a savage sentence of four months' hard labour. I myself have been deported from the Desmond Counties.

by the "Competent Authority," and Eoin Mac Neill's last meeting was attended by fifty police with loaded carbines, all of which incidents, though they make piquant copy, are suppressed by the Demon's Journal.

The fruitless raids for arms have been less frequent, but singularly enough several houses in which arms or Volunteer documents might be expected to lie have recently attracted the attention of some enterprising burglars. The latest of these burglaries has led to the prosecution and conviction of a member of the Citizen Army on the charge of being in possession of a rifle.

Meanwhile Carson is the Solicitor-General for England, which goes to show that whatever may be the deficiencies of the defenders of the Realm they possess at least a sense of humour.

Ua R.

July 5th, 1915.



Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, accompanied by her sister, Mrs. T. M. Kettle (on right), leaving the Four Courts, Dublin, after Sir John Simon's inquiry.

THE PORTOBELLO SHOOTINGS INQUIRY.



Special sketch taken yesterday at the Court of Inquiry into the circumstances of the Portobello Tragedies. "Irish Independent" sketch.

DRAMATIC REVELATIONS

Military Accounts of the Scene at the Shootings

MR. HEALY'S CROSS-EXAMINATION

Further dramatic revelations were made to-day at the sitting of the Royal Commission inquiring into the circumstances of the shootings at Portobello Barracks on the 25th April last.

Several military witnesses described the scene in the barrack yard before and after the shootings took place. At one stage of the proceedings a painful scene was enacted, a lady in the body of the court—a relative of the late Mr. MacIntyre—uttering piercing cries. She was removed in a fainting condition.

To-day at the Four Courts the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate into the facts and circumstances connected with the treatment of

Messrs. F. Sheehy-Skeffington, Thomas Dickson, and Patrick J. MacIntyre,

upon and after their arrest on the 25th April last, was opened.

The proceedings were conducted in Judge Ross's Court, where the accommodation for the public is of the most limited in the entire building. Large numbers sought admission, and amongst those who occupied prominent places were—Dr. Skeffington (father of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington), Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, Mrs. Kettle, Mr. David Sheehy, M.P.

The legal appearances were:—

For the Crown—The Attorney-General and Mr. Cusack (instructed by the Chief Crown Solicitor).

For families of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington and Thos. Dickson—Mr. Healy, K.C., M.P.; Mr. T. O'K. White, and Mr. R. Sheehy (instructed by Mr. Henry Lemass, solicitor).

For Military Authorities—Mr. J. B. Powell, K.C., and Mr. Swayne (instructed by Messrs. Shannon and Co.).

For Major Reaborough and Lieut. Morgan—Mr. T. W. Brown (instructed by Gerald Byrne and Co.).

For the father of Patk. M'Intyre—Mr. J. P. Brennan, of Huzzard and Brennan, solrs., Wexford.

The Commissioners are:—

Sir John Simon (Chairman), Lord Justice Molony, and Mr. Denis S. Henry, K.C., M.P.

DRAMATIC INCIDENT

"I am Father of the Murdered Man"

At the opening of the Court, the Chairman proceeded to take the appearances of counsel representing the various parties, when Mr. Skeffington, father of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, stood up and said—

"I wish to appear for myself; I am the father of the murdered man, Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington."

The Chairman—There certainly will be no objection to you being here and represented by counsel, and I would ask you for the time being to watch the proceedings, as I am sure you will wish to do, in order to be helpful to the Commissioners. If in the course of the proceedings we find your help is needed you may be sure we will be glad to take advantage of it.

Mr. Skeffington then resumed his seat, and the chairman said it was proposed to open the proceedings each day at 11 o'clock, and to sit until 4.30.

OPENING STATEMENT

The Fighting at Portobello Bridge

The Attorney-General then proceeded to give an outline of the circumstances out of which the inquiry arose. He said that, as Attorney-General, neither he nor his colleague, the Solicitor-General, took any part of any sort or kind in connection with the matters that were the subject of investigation. They received no official communication of any kind, even up to the present, upon the subject, beyond what had been received from the military authorities, whom he had asked to furnish him with information relating to it. Proceeding to describe what had occurred at the Portobello Bridge and Barracks, he said it was a matter of common knowledge that on Easter Monday a great number of persons came out

IN OPEN REBELLION

in the city of Dublin and certain other parts of Ireland, and in pursuance apparently of an organised plan. They occupied certain places which gave them more or less control over the approaches to the city of Dublin. Amongst other places, they occupied a publichouse belonging to a man called Davy, which was situated at the left hand corner on the road opposite Portobello Bridge going out from the suburbs to Rathmines. Portobello Barracks was at the time occupied by the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles.

The total number of serviceable men in the barracks that day appeared to have been 600. Immediately after the outbreak drafts of these men were sent out to different places, and that course was pursued during the remainder of the week while the rebellion was in progress, and he understood that at no time were there more than

300 SERVICEABLE MEN

in the barracks. On the Monday the rebels had taken possession of Davy's publichouse, but were dislodged by the military. On the Tuesday Lieut. Morris of the 11th Batt. East Surrey Regiment, who was at the time attached to the Royal Irish Rifles, entered upon piquet duty at Davy's. Soon afterwards he observed a crowd coming from the direction of Jacob's factory with Mr. Skeffington in front, and Lieut. Morris ordered him to be arrested. When he was brought to the orderly room there was there Lieut. Morgan, Adjutant of the 3rd Royal Irish Rifles, one of the officers for whom Mr. Brown appeared. So far as the materials before him (the Attorney-General) enabled him to give what occurred in the interview with Mr. Skeffington was, the Adjutant asked Mr. Skef-

ington he was in sympathy with that organisation, but that he was

OPPOSED TO MILITARISM.

That was the substance of the conversation. Mr. Skeffington was then ordered by the Adjutant to be brought back to the guardroom and confined there. On the same night, between 10 and 11 o'clock, Second-Lieut. Leslie Wilson, counsel thought not the same officer as he mentioned as being present previously, was ordered by Capt. Bowen-Colthurst, who was attached to the R.I. Rifles, to come along with him and a party of 40 soldiers, taking with him Mr. Skeffington, and for that purpose Capt. Bowen-Colthurst had him removed from the guardroom. Capt. Bowen-Colthurst informed Lieut. Leslie Wilson that he was taking this party of men for the purpose of

RAIDING KELLY'S SHOP,

which was 200 or 300 yards below Portobello Bridge, and looking towards the bridge.

He said he was taking Mr. Skeffington with him as a hostage, and he gave orders to Lieut. Wilson that if his men were fired on that he (Lieut. Leslie Wilson) was at once to shoot Mr. Skeffington.

Before proceeding to Kelly's shop, and after having removed Mr. Skeffington from the guardroom,

Capt. Bowen-Colthurst called on Mr. Skeffington to say his prayers.

As far as the Attorney-General could make out he said, although he was not quite clear, Mr. Skeffington declined. Then Captain Bowen-Colthurst ordered his men

TO REMOVE THEIR HATS,

and he, in the presence of Mr. Skeffington, delivered a short utterance which, according to the evidence, was to the following effect:—

"Oh, Lord God, if it shall please Thee to take away the life of this man, forgive him, for Our Lord Jesus' sake."

Having uttered that prayer, he proceeded with his men, leaving Lieutenant Wilson and 20 men, while he himself and the remainder of the men proceeded on down towards Kelly's. Mr. Skeffington remained in the custody of Lieutenant Wilson for some time, and after an interval Captain Colthurst returned with his 20 men, and picked up the detachment in charge of Lieutenant Wilson and also Mr. Skeffington. At that time Captain Colthurst had several other civilians under arrest, amongst them being the two persons referred to in the terms of reference, Mr. Thos. Dickson and Mr. Patk. M'Intyre, and that was the occasion on which these persons came into military custody—that was between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock on the night of the 25th. Counsel might mention, regarding, as he did it, his duty, to avoid anything that would seem to suggest either blame or to involve censure.

regard to any person, military or civilian, that he did not propose to deal with any matters that formed the subject of controversy, leaving that, as he stated, to be evolved by his various friends who represented the different interests, but he thought

HE OUGHT TO STATE

that, according to the evidence which he understood Adjutant Morgan was prepared to give, he became aware of this action on the part of Captain Colthurst in removing the prisoner from the guardroom that night, and he said he at once reported it to his superior officer. He might mention that this regiment, or portion of it, in Portobello Barracks, was under the supreme command of Major Rosborough, and the colonel was Colonel M'Calmont, who was absent on sick leave from the 22nd to the 29th, and during that period Major Rosborough was the officer in command, and, according to the recollection of Lieut. Morgan, he, on that same night, reported this rather strange and startling transaction—namely, the removal of this gentleman from the guardroom as a hostage—he reported that to Major Rosborough. So far as counsel's information went, he understood that Major Rosborough had no recollection of receiving any such report, but he left that there as it did not concern him or the purpose for which he was appearing before the Commissioners. After the return of Captain Colthurst on that night, Mr. Skeffington was returned to the guardroom in custody in the same place in which the other two persons, Dickson and M'Intyre, were, with this difference, he understood, that after the interrogation by Lieut. Morgan, to which he had already referred, and which occurred about 8 o'clock, he was, by the orders of the Adjutant, kept in separate confinement

IN ONE OF THE CELLS.

On the following morning, between ten and half-past ten o'clock, Capt. Bowen-Colthurst came to the guardroom. According to the evidence of a sergeant in charge, he told the sergeant he wanted to see the three men out in the yard. At that time Lieutenant Dobbin, who had been in the guardroom the previous evening, was in charge of the main gate of Portobello Barracks, and after going into the guardroom Capt. Bowen-Colthurst came out and said to Lieut. Dobbin these words, or words to this effect—

"I am taking these men out to shoot them; it seems to me the best thing to be done."

Lieut. Dobbin at once sent Lieut. Wilson (not Leslie Wilson) to report this matter to Adjutant Morgan, who at that time was in the orderly room, as distinguished from the guardroom. Lieut. Wilson saw Lieut. Morgan, and so far as counsel could assist the Court on that occasion, the facts were that Adjutant Morgan told Lieut. Wilson to inform Lieut. Dobbin that he would

GIVE NO SUCH ORDER,

and that Bowen-Colthurst, if he took these proceedings, would do it entirely on his own responsibility. Lieut. Wilson came back and reported the message he got from Lieut. Morgan to Lieut. Dobbin, and just as he was in the act of doing

so several shots rang out, and Lieut. Dobbin, hearing these shots, passed out to the yard and found three men lying in the yard.

He regretted to say that Lieut. Dobbin was not available, being

AT PRESENT AT THE FRONT,

but his evidence and all the information he had to give had been presented at the court martial. In the interval after Capt. Bowen-Colthurst had gone out, and told Lieut. Dobbin what he was going to do with these men, he came to the guardroom and asked for a file of men. Seven privates with loaded rifles left the guardroom, bringing these three men into the yard. When they were brought out into the yard Capt. Bowen-Colthurst ordered them to be put up against a wall, or near a wall, and gave orders to fire, which orders were obeyed, and the three men fell, apparently dead, Lieut. Dobbin, after hearing the shots, came out into the yard. He was not present at the transaction. He was on guard at the main gate, but hearing the shots he at once came back from the guardroom and went into the yard, where he saw the three bodies lying on the floor of the yard.

He thought he noticed some movement in one of the limbs of Mr. Skeffington, and he at once sent off Lieut. Tooley to the orderly room to ask for directions.

Lieut. Tooley was available as a witness, but he had been

THE VICTIM OF SHOCK

at the front. He was back on sick leave and would be in attendance, but he was rather in a delicate state of health. Lieut. Tooley brought the message to the orderly room, where he found Capt. Bowen-Colthurst, and Capt. Bowen-Colthurst told him

that he must in that case repeat the firing, and he accordingly ordered the man to fire again. Of course, after that second firing there was no doubt that the men were dead, though according to the evidence of persons there it would appear that there was little doubt as to the first shooting being absolutely effectual, and that what had been noticed with regard to the unfortunate Mr. Skeffington was some form of muscular contraction.

This matter was in the hands of the military authority throughout. The city was then in a state of rebellion, and he (Mr. Campbell), as representing the civil authority, hadn't been consulted in any shape or form. The sole and only matter in connection with which he was consulted by the

MILITARY AUTHORITIES

was as to whether a court martial was a competent tribunal to deal with the case of Capt. Bowen-Colthurst.

"UNSATISFACTORY"

Mr. Healy & Attorney-General's Statement

The Attorney-General continued to say, that from his reading of the reference and the terms of it, the Court was confined to the incidents of this period, beginning with the arrest of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, and terminating with the execution of three persons on the Wednesday morning.

The Chairman said he had no doubt but that the burial and the disposition of the bodies came within the scope of the inquiry, and he did not wish anyone there to take the view that there was no other matter.

The Attorney-General said he quite understood that evidence as regards the bodies should be forthcoming. On the night of the day they were executed they were interred in the presence of a Catholic chaplain. Some days afterwards the bodies were exhumed, and subsequently re-interred in

GLASNEVIN CEMETERY.

He thought it right to say that

his views was that this inquiry should proceed on the assumption that these were innocent persons, who were not involved in the rebellion. Even were they to any extent involved, either by sympathy or active participation, they were entitled to a fair and legal trial, which they did not get.

The Attorney-General added that he could give no history of the dealings with or treatment of Captain Bowen-Colthurst from the date when the three deceased were shot under his directions. His view was that was entirely outside the scope of the present inquiry.

Mr. Healy said the Attorney-General had contributed nothing to public knowledge, because every statement he made had been proved before the court martial. At the same time he had left the matter in a wholly unsatisfactory position, and he would claim that a statement should now be made on behalf of the

MURDERED MEN'S RELATIVES

so as to place their position, and that of the victims, in its proper light before the public.

The Chairman, after consultation with his colleagues, remarked that, in addition to other matters, if there were any questions about domiciliary visits to the house of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, it was quite sufficiently connected with the circumstances to make it right for the Commission to ask for information about it, and it was clearly a matter that must be gone into. Therefore he would like Mr. Healy to understand that if they confined themselves for the present to the evidence about to be tendered by the Attorney-

General, they did not intend to shut out any other evidence that it might be desirable to hear; and they could reserve to Mr. Healy or anyone else the fullest power to submit any supplemental evidence they might choose to offer.

The first witness, Lieut. M. Morris, then of the East Surrey Regt., and now of the 3rd Royal Irish Rifles, who deposed to ordering the arrest of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, whom he saw coming up the road in the direction of Davy's publichouse when witness was in charge.

ALARMING RUMOURS

and reports were in circulation at the time about an intention to rush Portobello Barracks, and it was to avoid the possibility of bloodshed that he ordered the arrest of Mr. Skeffington, as he appeared to be attracting a big crowd.

In cross-examination by Mr. Healy, K.C., witness said he had heard of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington previously, and was told what he looked like. He had not received any instructions to arrest Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington. It was very necessary, in order to avoid trouble, that they should prevent the congregation of crowds, and that was why Mr. Skeffington was arrested. He was not singled out for arrest; others were arrested about the same time. He could not say if the Rathmines district (where Mr. Skeffington lived) was loyal, nor did he know at the time where Mr. Skeffington's residence was.

Am I right in saying, Mr. Healy asked, that you had just previously on that day arrested another gentleman named Parker in mistake for Mr. Skeffington?

No, certainly not, the witness answered, I was hardly aware of Mr. Skeffington's existence in Dublin, and I should not have known of it at all but for several people around saying: "Here is Mr. Skeffington," and the crowd behind him called out "Sheehy-Skeffington."

Did you ask where he was going?—No; I did not wish the crowd to congregate, and I wished to

KEEP THE ROAD CLEAR.

You must remember we were in a very touchy state at the time, and were anxious to avoid any discussion. I simply told him he would be required to go into the barracks, and I sent him off under an escort. He went willingly, there was no trouble at all.

Surrounded by how many men?—He was not surrounded; there were two men.

Armed men?—They were; it was not safe for men to be without arms.

Further questioned by Mr. Healy, witness said he was not aware that that day Mr. Skeffington had issued a notice to prevent looting. He had no knowledge of Mr. Skeffington's movements except that he was

FOLLOWED BY A CROWD.

Witness thought that the congregation might possibly crowd in the roadway, which he was endeavouring to keep clear.

He was unarmed?—So far as I know he was. He was not searched by me.

The Chairman—Where did Mr. Skeffington live? Was he going home?

Mr. Healy—Yes, at 11 Grosvenor place, Rathmines, 10 minutes' walk.

The Chairman—This would be his way of going home?

Mr. Healy—Yes.

Witness, answering Mr. Healy, said if he had seen Capt. Bowen-Colthurst previously that day he would not have known him. He knew the commanding officer, Major Rosborough, when he went to Portobello, and perhaps the Adjutant. When he sent Mr. Skeffington to the barracks that was the last time he saw him at all. No complaint was made to his knowledge that day in reference to a boy named Coad.

Dr. Skeffington intimated that he wished to ask witness some questions.

The Chairman—If you suggest to me anything in writing you particularly want I shall be greatly obliged. It will be in the interests of order.

Dr. Skeffington said it would be tedious if the witnesses went away.

The Chairman said it would be more convenient if Dr. Skeffington sent up his questions.

The Chairman—Who was it gave you the order not to get into conflict with the people in the street?—My commanding officer, Major Rosborough. His orders were to protect the crowd as far as possible, and at the same time to

HOLD THE POST SAFELY.

When you speak of going on that date to your post on picket duty, does that mean that you would be of service in the street or in the publichouse?—In the publichouse. My duties were to superintend my sentries in the street as well as regards keeping the road clear.

Witness further stated that he had observed one or two men talking to others on the street, and as they did not disperse quickly enough he had them brought to the barracks, but they were released almost immediately by another gate. His duties were to take precautions and keep the crowd back.

Did you see anything of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington being taken as a hostage?—Yes.

Mr. Healy—He has answered me to the contrary. He said he never saw him again.

The Chairman—Just tell us about that. Witness—He was marched past my post by Captain Colthurst about midnight, and I heard orders given that if this party who were going to raid a shop was fired on Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington

WAS TO BE SHOT.

You say that was about midnight—was it on Tuesday?—As far as I can remember after his arrest on Tuesday night or Wednesday morning.

Had you been on duty from the time you had arrested Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington until then?—Yes.

Did anyone call your attention to Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, or did you notice him yourself?—At my post outside the door I challenged the party as it went past, and I found they were in charge of an officer going out on a raid.

Did you know who the officer was?—I did not at the time, but an officer (Mr. Brown) said that was Capt. Colthurst.

Was that the first time you had Capt. Colthurst identified to you?—Yes.

Was there anything else?—I heard Capt. Colthurst speak to another officer whom I did not know, and also to Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, and say that if there were

FIRED ON FROM THE HOUSE

they were going to examine, Mr. Skeffington was to be shot.

Did you know the officer to whom Capt. Colthurst said that?—I did not. It was dark.

The Attorney-General—He will be the next witness.

Witness added that the party returned within half an hour afterwards, and there were three persons with them. He did not recognise Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington as one. He did not hear anything said as they passed the post on their return.

Sergeant John Maxwell, 3rd Royal Irish Rifles, examined by the Attorney-General, said that he was on duty in the Portobello Barracks at about 8 o'clock on the evening of the 25th. There were two or three officers, including Lieut. Dobbin, present in the guardroom, and there was a man standing in front of the table, and witness got an order to bring the man across to be interrogated. He did not then know who that man was, but subsequently learned that it was Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington. Mr. Skeffington was questioned by Lieut. Dobbin. Lieut. Morgan asked who was this man, and witness said he was told it was Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington. The lieutenant then asked was he a Sinn Féiner, and he replied not, but was in sympathy with them, and something about

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

At the close of the conversation or interrogation did you get an order?—Yes, from Lieutenant Morgan. He said to wait until he rang up the Garrison office, and on the telephone he said that he had Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, but there was no charge against him. Witness did not know what the reply was, but the adjutant said the man was to be detained until further inquiries, and hand him over to the officer of the guard.

Cross-examined by Mr. Philip White—You were examined at the court martial?—Yes.

Did you state that Mr. Skeffington said in reply to the questions that he "believed in passive resistance"?—

The Attorney-General—Did "not" believe.

Witness—He mentioned the words "pas-

sive resistance." I was not certain if the word was passive or active.

Replying to the chairman, witness said that the name of the three officers who were in the guardroom were Lieutenant Dobbin and Lieut. Tooley, 3rd R.I.R.; and Lieut. Wilson, Dublin Fusiliers.

The Attorney-General—That was not Lieut. Leslie Wilson.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, K.C. (on behalf of Mr. Dickson)—When first did you see a man named Edelstein in the barracks?—I can't remember.

Did you see such a person there?—I did; I know him very well.

Was he what was called a "SPOTTER" FOR THE MILITARY?

—I could not answer that.

Give me the date on which you first saw him?—I could not answer that question. I saw him some time during the middle of the week.

Did you know him as a writer for Dickson's paper?—No, sir; I didn't. I only saw him in the barracks.

Did you see a person called Isaacs in the barracks?—No; I didn't; not that I remember.

Did you hear of any dispute that Dickson had with a person called Isaacs?—No, sir; it was nothing to me; I never heard of the man.

Did you speak to Edelstein?—I did several times.

What did you speak to him about?—I cannot remember.

Do you remember any of his conversation with you?—I can't say I do.

Did he speak of his knowledge of Dickson?—Not in my hearing.

Do you suggest that though you had many conversations with him you can't recall a single thing that he spoke to you about?—I don't call it a conversation. It was only as you would pass a man the time of day.

Why was Mr. Edelstein admitted to barracks?—I don't know anything about him.

You were Provost-Sergeant of the Guard?—No; Provost-Sergeant of the Regiment. I was this man.

IN PLAIN CLOTHES?

—Yes.

Why was this man in plain clothes admitted indiscriminately to the barracks?—There was an officer at the main gate for that purpose; I was only a subordinate.

Who was the officer at the main gate?—One of the three officers stated.

How often did you see Edelstein in the barracks?—From the time he was arrested until the time he was taken away.

The Chairman—Edelstein was arrested?—I believe he was.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Did you see him after his discharge?—No, sir.

Do you know the circumstances of his arrest?—I know nothing about it.

Second-Lieut. Wilson, 5th Royal Irish Fusiliers, stated that on the night of the 25th April he left Portobello Barracks with a party of men. They were in charge of Captain Colthurst, and they brought with them Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington. Capt. Colthurst ordered Skeffington to say his prayers, but he refused to do so. Colthurst then told the men to take their hats off, and said: "Oh, Lord God, if it shall please Thee to take away the life of this man, forgive them for Christ's sake." When they got to Portobello Bridge the party halted, and Skeffington was left in charge of witness, Captain Colthurst and half the party went on, and he gave instructions to witness

TO SHOOT SKEFFINGTON

if they were fired on. About a quarter of an hour afterwards Colthurst returned, bringing two civilians with him. They then formed up, and marched back to the barracks.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy—

Was Mr. Skeffington handcuffed?

—No, he was tied (sensation).

How was he tied?—He was tied with what is generally known as a "pull-through." It is used for cleaning a rifle. It is about three feet long.

Who held the other end?—I cannot say.

A "pull-through" implies that someone was pulling—who was pulling?—There was nobody pulling anybody (laughter).

Did you hear any shots fired by Colthurst?—The shots were

FIRED IN THE AIR.

From a revolver?—No, from a rifle.

Did he take one of the men's rifles?—I cannot swear that, but I suppose he did.

When did he fire the shots?—When we were marching down the road.

How close was he to Mr. Skeffington at the time?—He was in front of the party, and Mr. Skeffington was in the centre.

How often did he fire?—Several times. Had young Coad been shot at this time by Colthurst?—I don't know to whom you refer.

Did you hear of the shooting by Colthurst of a boy?—I cannot say who he was—a boy or a man.

Where was Skeffington when Coad was shot?—I don't know who Coad was.

Where was Skeffington at the period when Colthurst committed the previous murder?—I cannot describe it as murder.

Well execution, if you like?—It was dark at the time—I don't know.

Mr. Healy—You were present?—I was. Where was Mr. Skeffington?—Skeffington was in the middle of the party.

I want to suggest the motive you had for this man's death. Where was the boy killed?—The boy or the person was mortally wounded at the end of the lane leading to the barracks.

Was that the tramway end or the barrack end?—The tramway end.

Lord Justice Molony—Is it the main road leading to the main entrance?—I think so.

The Attorney-General—Is it a long lane-way or roadway?

Chairman (to witness)—You mean you saw somebody hit with a shot?—I did.

Mr. Healy—Just tell me the circumstances of the mortally wounding of this person?—So far as I remember, two men were slinking about the barracks, and Captain Colthurst asked them what their business was, and one of them gave him

SOME IMPUDENCE.

What was the impudence?—I cannot remember. I think he used some rough language. So far as I remember, he said something about him being a b—y fool.

And for that he was killed?—He was not. He then ran away like a coward. Captain Colthurst raised his rifle, evidently with the intention of shooting him through the legs. The bullet evidently was misplaced and went into his abdomen, so far as I remember.

And was it at the time when Skeffington was surrounded by the soldiers?—It was.

Did you tell the court martial one word of that story?—No.

Why did you suppress it, knowing that the issue was whether Colthurst was mad or not?—Because I was not asked any questions about it.

Had you made a report on the subject that Skeffington was a witness to the

MURDER OF COAD?

—I had not.

And is this the first time you have let it out?—Well, I cannot truthfully say so.

When previously did you tell the story?—I told it to a certain person—Sir Francis Vane, who was then a major in the army.

At what date?—I cannot exactly tell.

Do you think that it was when the rebellion was over?—Yes.

Did you never report it to Major Rosborough or the Irish Command?—Never.

How many of you were witness to the slaughter of this man?—Well, I cannot definitely declare there had been a slaughter.

The Chairman suggested it might be called shooting.

Mr. Healy—As you are so conscientious why did you tell the Court that Colthurst fired in the air?—Capt. Colthurst fired in the air for the purpose of making people keep away.

May I ask were you once in Holy Orders?—

I AM TAKING HOLY ORDERS.

Did you say one word before to the effect that you saw Colthurst fire and wound mortally a man until I pressed you on the subject?—I did not.

Do you know that the man who was shot was entirely unarmed?—So far as I know he was.

What became of his body?—It was left there.

What assistance was given to the wounded man?—The ambulance came for him.

What assistance did your party give the wounded man?—We gave him none.

Now, I will take the rest of your performance that night. Did you then proceed with Captain Colthurst to Alderman Kelly's shop?—I went half the way with him.

Had Colthurst a bomb with him?—He had a man who carried bombs. I do not know his name.

Mr. Skeffington, though tied, had not his mouth gagged?—No.

What did he say when he saw Coade shot and deserted?—I didn't hear him say anything one way or the other.

Did he not protest against this man being left weltering in his blood?—I did not hear any protestation of any kind.

Did you hear Colthurst saying anything to Skeffington?—I can't honestly say I did.

However, the fact remains beyond all doubt that Skeffington was a witness to the

SLAUGHTER OF THIS MAN?—

Skeffington was a witness.

Replying to Mr. Brennan, solicitor (for McIntyre), the witness said Messrs. Skeffington, McIntyre, and Dickson had an opportunity of having an exchange of views with each other.

The Chairman—Did Skeffington hear Capt. Colthurst say that he was to be shot if his party was fired upon?—I cannot remember that, sir. I am not absolutely certain.

What was the first time it was said to you?—When Capt. Colthurst told me to take command of half of the party.

So that the order of the events was—Prayers in the barrack yard, the statement that Skeffington was going with the party as a hostage also made in the barracks—

Witness—I am not sure as to the sequence.

The Chairman—The party marched out of the barracks into Rathmines road and went along as far as Portobello Bridge. You were left with half the party, then the statement was made that Skeffington was to be shot if the other party was attacked?—That is so, sir.

Had you any conversation with the officer in

CHARGE OF THE PICKET

at the bridge?—I know there was a picket there with Lieut. Morris.

Did you tell him anything about Skeffington?—No, I don't think so. I think he heard Captain Colthurst give me the order.

Was there any conversation between you and Lieut. Morris about that—it was a strange order, was it not?

Witness—I did not consider it so.

Lord Justice Molony—How far away were you from them when you first observed these two men?—We were at the corner—at the junction of the two roads.

What was the position of your force when you first observed them?—Captain Colthurst asked them what their business was, and they did not give him any satisfactory answer. One of them used

INSULTING LANGUAGE.

What attracted your attention to them at all?—They seemed to be very suspicious.

Witness added that nobody was supposed to be about at that hour, as martial law had been proclaimed.

The Attorney-General—You were asked about that order and you considered it a strange one?—I did not consider it a strange order; I thought it was quite legal to take him as a hostage.

Questioned by the chairman, witness said his idea about the affair was that Skeffington would be shot if the people in the shop did not surrender.

Lord Justice Molony—Did you hear anything said by Captain Colthurst as to what he had done at Kelly's shop?—I cannot say that I did.

Can you give us any information as to what happened at Kelly's shop?—Only that bombs were thrown and that these men were found in the cellar.

Mr. Dickson and Mr. McIntyre?—Yes; and two others who were subsequently let go away.

Answering the chairman, witness said that when Captain Colthurst came back to Portobello from Kelly's shop he had

FOUR FRESH PRISONERS,

including Dickson and McIntyre.

Did Captain Colthurst say anything to Skeffington on the way back?—I don't know.

On resuming after luncheon,

Mr. Healy said the witness just examined felt that an observation of his (counsel's) reflected on him. The witness wished it to be known that he was giving evidence from the military standpoint, and with the rigidity that appertained to such conditions, and that he did not wish to show any want of candour. Knowing how strict are military methods he (counsel) was glad to take that view, and did not wish to suggest anything else.

The witness was then recalled and questioned by the President.

Did you on the occasion you have spoken of see anybody firing into the air except Capt. Colthurst?—Not that I know of.

Are you clear that there was firing into the air?—I am.

At what stage on the journey going or coming from Kelly's?—First of all, was there any such firing before this man was shot?—No.

At what stage was it that Capt. Colthurst secured a rifle at all?—I presume it was when we got to the end of the lane leading to Rathmines.

He borrowed it immediately in connection with these two men.

YOU SAY WERE SPYING?

—Yes.

Was there any firing in the air after that, before the party was divided into two at the bridge?—I believe yes, a few times.

Was there firing in the air afterwards by Captain Colthurst?—There was. It was done by more than one man.

Did you hear any order given?—As far as I remember, orders were given to cease.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—You told me you did not believe that Coade was the name of the man that was killed?—No.

The Chairman—I understood him to say he did not know the name of the man.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Are you aware that that was not the only man shot in the street that night by Capt. Colthurst?—That is the only man so far as I know.

You never heard that he previously shot another man?—No.

Witness said he wanted to make a protest against certain slanderous statements made by Mr. Healy against him.

The Chairman explained that Mr. Healy had already interposed and stated that, realising the stringency under which witness made his answers at the court martial, and that he only asked such questions as were asked, he held the witness to be quite candid, and that anything to the contrary was not intended.

Sergeant John W. Aldridge, 10th R.D.F., gave evidence that he was on duty at Portobello Barracks on the morning of the 26th April, and was on guard at the main gate. There were about 10 or 11 prisoners in the guardroom, all civilians. Mr. Sheehy Skeffington was confined in a cell apart from the rest. Some time after he mounted guard at 9 o'clock Capt. Bowen-Colthurst came to where he was and said he wanted to see three prisoners, mentioning the names of Sheehy Skeffington, Dickson, and McIntyre, and said he wanted to see them in the yard.

TO SPEAK TO THEM.

The yard was at the back of the guardroom enclosed with a wall. Capt. Bowen-Colthurst then ordered some of the guard to go out with him, and accordingly seven men went out. When in the yard Capt. Colthurst ordered the three prisoners to the far end of the yard to the wall, which they did. He then ordered the seven men to load, present, and fire, which they did, and the three men fell. Immediately Capt. Bowen-Colthurst went away, and after he had left, Lieut. Dobbin came in. Witness went over to the bodies, and as far as he could see the three men were dead, and he believed so still. Lieut. Dobbin said he thought there was a slight movement in one of the bodies, and then left the yard straight away and returned in a few minutes. Four men were again taken out with Lieut. Dobbin and the

FIRING WAS REPEATED.

During the time witness was in the barracks there was constant firing going on in the vicinity, and they apprehended an attack.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, the witness said the prisoners were neither pinioned nor blindfolded. They went out the same as any ordinary person.

Mr. Healy—Did they get any time to say their prayers?—They did not.

Did they know they were going to their deaths?—Not to my knowledge; I don't think they did.

Was that the only execution you witnessed in the barracks?—That is all, sir, unless you like to refresh my memory.

Was that the only execution you took part in?—That is all, with the exception of the 25th, when I went out for rations to Kingsbridge.

Did any of the prisoners say anything that morning going out?—No.

Were they shot in the back or in the front?—They were shot in the front, and the bullet penetrated through the back.

Were they facing the guns when they were shot?—Yes.

Take the case of McIntyre and Dickson—do you say when the guns were presented that they did not ask for a priest?—Not in my hearing.

Do you say that none of the men protested against being shot?—They did not mention anything in my hearing.

Did they utter even a cry?—No, sir. They looked down the rifle barrels and said nothing?—Absolutely nothing.

A SCENE.

At this stage a painful scene was enacted, a lady in the body of the court—a relative of Mr. MacIntyre—uttering piercing cries. She was removed in a fainting condition.

Cross-examination resumed—I put it to you that Dickson, the Scotchman, was a cripple?—Yes; he had a deformity.

Therefore he must have walked halting?—No; he walked at nearly the same pace as the others.

Do you suggest that this Scotchman, who had nothing to do with the rebellion made no protest against death?—No, sir; it was too sudden. They did not realise they were

GOING TO BE SHOT.

Further questioned, the witness said he could not give the names of the firing party, as he did not take them at the time, the pressure being too great.

Is not the practice among the military on such occasions that one blank cartridge is put in the rifle?—Yes.

Was that done on this occasion?—No, sir. There was no time to do anything.

But where was the rush about shooting these men?—There was no rush; but there was other duty to be performed.

Do I understand you to say that in the regiment there is no copy of the regimental entry of the names of the guard?—There is.

Have you got it?—It should be here. I handed it in to the authorities.

Further cross-examined, he said he made a report of the three men having been shot, but he did not give the names of the men who fired at them.

Mr. Healy called for the report.

Chairman—Mr. Powell, can you help about it?

Mr. Powell, K.C.—I will make inquiry.

In reply to the chairman, the witness said he took the number and rank of the firing party and the unit they belonged to. It was rather a mixed unit.

Mr. Healy—Was it the same firing party who came out on the second occasion to fire a second time at Mr. Skeffington?—I cannot say that it was the same men that went out the second time.

Did you select them?—I did not.

Who selected them?—It was Mr. Dobbin.

Were you there?—I was.

Now can you tell me whether Capt. Colthurst

VISITED THE PRISONERS

that morning and ask were there any complaints?—No, sir, not while I was on guard.

What time did you come on guard?—I came on guard about 9 o'clock.

Could you tell me the hour at which the prisoners had breakfast?—No; I was not on guard at the time.

Who was on guard at the time?—Sergt. Kellet that I relieved.

Replying to further questions by Mr. Healy, the witness said it was his duty to take orders from a commanding officer or an officer having power to give orders. He was not in the same regiment as Captain Colthurst. He did not know whether Capt. Colthurst was a commanding officer, but he knew he was an officer.

Chairman—You could tell he was an officer from the decorations on his uniform?—Yes.

The witness, replying to further questions by the chairman, said he was not long in barracks. He was on week-end leave, and when returning he was advised by a clergyman and a lady not to proceed to his barracks, and he reported himself at the nearest place, and was told to proceed to Portobello Barracks. Others had come there in the same way, and that accounted for

THE MIXED UNIT.

There were some sailors there, but there were no sailors in the firing party. They were all soldiers. So far as he knew, Captain Colthurst did not speak to the three men. All he said was that they should stand up against the wall.

Chairman—Did he ever explain to them that he was going to shoot them?—No.

Replying to the President, witness said he had no alternative but to obey the order given.

Did you yourself understand that the men were going to be shot?—No; even the poor men that are gone did not seem to realise that.

None of the men made any protest?—No.

MILITARY EVIDENCE AT INQUIRY

CAPTAIN COLTHURST'S POSITION

A REMARKABLE REPORT

FATHER O'LOUGHLIN EXAMINED

The second day's proceedings at the Portobello shootings inquiry was taken up with military evidence covering and elucidating the main circumstances already disclosed. It was proved that no incriminating documents were found on the men who were shot; that these men were buried in sheets in unconsecrated ground; that in the exhumation of Mr. Skeffington's body Mrs. Skeffington was not informed; that on a search of Mr. Dickson's house a black bag of his, with some documents, was taken to Ald. Kelly's shop and left there for a time; that Mrs. Skeffington's house was raided by armed military, and that "an unknown girl" was taken from under a table and "carried" to Rathmines Police Station. Major Rosborough and Col. M'Cammond were among the witnesses.

Sir J. Simon read a second report from Capt. Bowen-Colthurst alluding to Messrs. Skeffington, Dickson, and M'Intyre as "desperate men," and justifying the shootings on the ground that "only desperate measures would save the situation." Mr.



DR. SKEFFINGTON,
Father of the late Mr. Francis Sheehy Skeffington.
"Irish Independent" Photo.

Healy said notice had been served asking for Capt. Colthurst's attendance, and when the Attorney-General said he had been removed, as a lunatic, in the public interest, Sir J. Simon said he was sure the military authorities would facilitate Mr. Healy by the production of the Captain's order of conviction and record of transfer to England.

MR. HEALY & MAJOR ROSBOROUGH

At the opening of the sitting, Mr. Healy said he was not aware on the previous day that a statement had been made which might prejudice the holding of this inquiry, and the proceedings at it, in respect of an officer against whom it would have been his (Mr. Healy's) duty to make observations and to severely cross-examine. "I find, however," Mr. Healy said, "that this officer (Major Rosborough) has been condemned in Parliament in terms which entirely preclude me from either criticizing or cross-examining him. He has been, from the point of view of justice, mortally wounded." Mr. Healy quoted references in Parliament to Capt. Colthurst and Major Rosborough.

Sir J. Simon mentioned the report by apt. Colthurst which was under discussion the previous evening, and said there as a reference to a raid upon a house to which the Commission had not to inquire. Mr. Healy asked that the matter should not be determined at the moment. "We cannot inquire into all the raids on shops in Dublin," said Sir J. Simon.

WITNESSES.

Mr. Edelstein, referred to on the previous day, said his life was imperilled by what had been said about him, and Sir J. Simon promised to consider whether he should have an opportunity of giving evidence.

Mr. Healy intimated that he would today examine Sir Francis Vane and Mrs. Skeffington.

ADJUTANT MORGAN

BODIES BURIED IN SHEETS

Adj. Morgan, further cross-examined by Mr. Healy, said Capt. Colthurst made only one report. He did not report to witness what he had taken out Mr. Skeffington as a hostage and that he had killed the young man Coad. Witness knew nothing about it until Father O'Loughlin told him in ordinary conversation, which was some time during the rebellion. The bodies of Messrs. Skeffington, Dickson, and M'Intyre were rolled up in sheets and buried in unconsecrated ground. He could not say whether a ring was stripped from Mr. Skeffington's finger and denied to his wife. It was the duty of the medical officer to strip the dead men. Witness had no knowledge of whether a ring and a sursagette badge were kept from Mrs. Skeffington for weeks and weeks until, by persistent application, they were got from Dublin Castle. Mr. Dickson's personal belongings were handed over to his mother. He could not explain how Mr. Dickson's trunk was rought by a soldier to Ald. Kelly's shop, and from there to the barracks.

AT THE SKEFFINGTON RESIDENCE.

On the Friday after the victims had been buried, did Capt. Colthurst take a detachment of men and proceed to the widow's residence?—It came to my knowledge afterwards that Capt. Colthurst had visited the residence of Mr. Skeffington.

Did they fire a volley into the house?—I know nothing about it. It was not reported to me.

Surely you were aware that a motor car had been commandeered, and that the goods of the widow and her late husband were placed on it and brought to the barracks?—No; I was aware that a huge number of documents had been taken from the house, and I saw them in the stores.

Can you say what was the object of raiding the dead man's premises after the execution?—That I cannot say.

Dissatisfied with one visit, was there a second visit to the widow's premises?—Not to my knowledge.

Were the bricks where the shooting took place marked by bullet-marks?—They were.

And were these bricks—and by whose order—removed from the walls?—I understand the bricks were removed by the order of Col. M'Cammond, or by arrangement between him and Maj. Guinness, the engineer officer.

"At all events," proceeded Mr. Healy, "I am right in saying that a mason and labourer were employed to endeavour to efface the marks of the fusillade?"

Witness—You are right as far as saying the bricks were removed and new bricks put in, but I can't say the number of men employed.

Was that on a Sunday?—I really cannot say whether it was Sunday or Monday.

Perhaps you could tell me what firm was employed on this job?—That would not

come under my notice. Maj. Guinness will be able to explain that.

Of course this was all done, I take it, at the expense of the country?—It was.

EDELSTEIN'S ARREST.

Mr. Healy wished to ask upon whose directions Capt. Colthurst, after the shootings, was sent upon a further military expedition, but the question was ruled as being outside the terms of reference. "That," said Mr. Healy, "entirely truncates the exposure that I was about to make." Continuing, counsel said he would ask about a matter antecedent to the murders of the prisoners Dickson and M'Intyre, who were arrested in Ald. Kelly's tobacco shop. Who, he asked witness, instructed Colthurst to go and effect that raid.

Witness said that they consulted the General Officer Commanding the troops before they made that raid. They received information that the rebels were in Ald. Kelly's house.

I have now to ask you in connection with that about this man, Edelstein, and I want you to be very careful in your answers. When did you first see Edelstein?—On the Sunday night following the Easter Sunday. I heard of him on the morning of that day. He was not then in custody. He came into military custody on the Sunday night. Ald. Kelly told witness about his being in Ald. Kelly's shop on the night of Messrs. Dickson and M'Intyre's arrest.

Asked why Edelstein was arrested, witness said—It was reported by an officer belonging to the machine-gun section that Edelstein was in Ald. Kelly's house giving out cigars wholesale to the public (laughter). I inquired from Ald. Kelly, and he told me Edelstein had no right to be there.

Was that why he was arrested?—He got into the barracks by some manner of means late on Sunday night. He was brought before Col. M'Cammond the next day, and the Col. and myself investigated everything we could about him, and Col. M'Cammond was disposed at that time to release him.

Was he released?—No. Col. Kinnaird telephoned that all the men detained at Portobello were to be sent to Richmond Barracks, and, of course, we complied with that.

Sir J. Simon—Who directed the arrest of Edelstein?—Major Rosborough.

"A REMARKABLE STATEMENT."

Mr. Healy—Were the arrangements connected with the barracks so loose that in the middle of a rebellion a man could get inside your gates without your knowledge?—He should not have got in. I understand he came to see Major Sir Francis Vane. He told me that at the time.

Did he make a remarkable statement to you to the prejudice of Ald. Kelly to justify his arrest?—I cannot say, but I don't think so. He had so much to say that it would be very hard to remember what he did say—in fact, he had too much to say (laughter).

Did he make this statement to you—that when the bomb shattered Ald. Kelly's windows—

The Attorney-General inquired how it could be relevant to the inquiry what accusation was made by this man against Ald. Kelly.

Mr. Healy said he wished to show that Mr. Dickson was arrested on the information of Edelstein. Edelstein, from the body of the court, shouted: "It is an awful lie"; and Sir J. Simon said he could not be allowed to interrupt. Edelstein, who stated he was a Jew, said "these malicious and false statements" were "beyond human nature."

Sir J. Simon—The conversation, whatever it was, between this witness and Edelstein took place on the following Sunday, and could not have led to the arrest of Mr. Dickson on the previous Tuesday night.

Mr. Healy next asked witness if it was reported to him that Edelstein was on Ald. Kelly's premises when the arrest of Messrs. Dickson and M'Intyre took place?—Yes, by Ald. Kelly.

Can you explain why Mr. Edelstein was not put under arrest?—I can't, but I was the person that had him arrested afterwards—several days afterwards. Witness did not know whether Edelstein was what was called a "spotter." Witness had no statement made by Mr. Dickson while he was in custody. The guardroom report was kept by the Commander of the Guard, and if a prisoner made a statement at the time of his arrest it was taken down, and should appear there. Witness had never any reason to believe that Mr. Dickson was other than a loyal subject and a Scotchman, and, so far as he knew, the man had no connection whatever with the rebellion trouble.

A QUESTION OF DOCUMENTS.

"And his arrest was a horrible blunder?" suggested Mr. Healy. "Well, I could not say it was," replied witness. "Captain Bowen-Colthurst may have received information about him. But as to documents, nothing of an incriminating character was found on him as far as I know."

Now listen: "I had been busy on the previous evening until 3 a.m. examining documents found on these three men, and I recognised from these documents that the three men were all very dangerous characters."—Yes.

Is that false?—Well, according to the documents I saw it would not appear to be altogether correct.

Does that apply to Mr. M'Intyre?—Yes. There was nothing incriminating so far as I saw.

Sir J. Simon—So far as the documents handed to you, was there anything that could be described as of an incriminating character or to show that these men were dangerous characters?—Nothing at all. Of course I was very busy and had not time to go into everything at once, but afterwards, from perusing the documents, there was nothing incriminating.

There was nothing, in witness's opinion, found on Mr. Skeffington to justify the description given in Capt. Colthurst's report that he, as one of the 3, was a dangerous character.

When Mr. Healy asked whether the document which Colthurst endorsed as having been found that night on Mr. Skeffington was, in fact, obtained 2 days after his death at the widow's house, Sir J. Simon expressed the opinion that the witness had stated very fairly his knowledge and view of the documents he saw, and that Colthurst's state of mind did not enter into the inquiry.

ARRESTS ON SUSPICION.

To Mr. Brennan—Messrs. Dickson and M'Intyre were brought in on suspicion, as far as witness knew. No attempt was made to investigate the charge against Mr. M'Intyre. "It was late when he was brought in," said witness, "and we had so many things to attend to." Witness attempted to investigate the case of Mr. Skeffington, because he was brought before him; but there was no charge at the time. Maj. Rosborough detained Colthurst for the expedition to Kelly's shop, when word came from the Castle that it was to be raided. On and off, Colthurst had been in Portobello Barracks up to that time from about Nov., 1914, and Maj. Rosborough had been there since 1908.

Mr. Brennan said he wished to show that Capt. Bowen-Colthurst was not a person fit to be sent out on an expedition of the kind.

Sir J. Simon—We have the striking fact that he remained in a position of authority until the 6th May. We have to make an investigation and report on events, and these events will speak for themselves.

In reply to Mr. Brennan, witness said the effects found on Mr. M'Intyre were handed to his brother. The only documents found on M'Intyre and Dickson were papers such as "The Eye-Opener," "The Spark," and "The Searchlight," but, witness said, nothing incriminating.

Mr. Brennan—So that the statement of Captain Colthurst that he attached to his report incriminating documents found on them is without foundation.

NO "HOSTAGE."

In reply to Mr. Brennan, witness said that he never regarded Mr. Skeffington as a hostage. After the shootings Major Rosborough gave orders that no one was to be allowed to see the remaining prisoners but witness and himself and, of course, medical officers.

Sir J. Simon—He realised that these three men had been taken out and dealt

with, and he wanted to prevent these events happening again?

Witness—Yes; to prevent it happening again. Witness went on to say that he made special arrangements for the comfort of Mr. Skeffington while a prisoner, as he was of a different sphere of life to the others. He had a separate cell and rations from the Quartermaster's stores.

Mr. Healy admitted that the prisoners were properly fed.

witness said that after the shooting, orders were given that Colthurst was not to be placed on duty outside the barracks. He left without their knowledge by the canal gate and went to Mr. Skeffington's house.

Mr. Brown—Was Capt. Colthurst an efficient officer?

Sir J. Simon—I don't think that is a matter we have to inquire into. We have only to inquire into events. We cannot go into the character or reputation of anyone.

Witness said Colthurst was sent to Newry on May 11. He was placed under close arrest. The visits to Mr. Skeffington's house were on the Friday and the Monday after the shootings.

THE EXHUMATIONS.

In reply to Sir J. Simon, Mr. Healy said permission for the exhumation and removal of the body of Mr. Dickson "under cover of darkness or in the early morning" was given by Maj.-Gen. Sandbach. Dr. Skeffington, the respected father of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, was allowed to attend the exhumation and interment of the body of his unfortunate son on 8th May. Mrs. Skeffington had no intimation of it.

Mr. Brennan said the order for the interment of Mr. M'Intyre was dated 18th May, and it took place on the 19th.

Answering Mr. Brown, witness said the bodies were buried in sheets, as coffins could not be obtained. Soldiers were also buried in sheets, as that was the best they could do in the circumstances.

To the President, witness said some documents were annexed to the report of Capt. Colthurst. They were all documents found on Mr. Skeffington. Nothing of an incriminating nature was found on Mr. Dickson.

Sir J. Simon said the two documents identified by witness were a private letter and a document regarding the formation of a civic guard to deal with looting. The witness said that none of the documents at first shown to him as having been found on Mr. Skeffington showed that he was a dangerous character.

COLTHURST'S 2ND REPORT.

Sir J. Simon here referred to a second report by Capt. Colthurst, dated 9th May. It stated that on the evening of Tues., April 26, he was officially informed of the declaration of martial law; that there were 3 leaders of the rebels in the Portobello guardroom, and that he considered the guardroom not a safe place "for these desperate men." On Tues. rumours had reached him of massacres of police and soldiers, and also that 600 German prisoners had escaped from Oldcastle and were marching on Dublin, a large force being detailed to attack Portobello Barracks. There were in the barracks a considerable number of officers and men who had been wounded by the rebels, and he believed it was known that these rebel leaders were confined in the barracks. There were rumours of a rising all over Ireland, and of a landing of Germans and Americans in Galway.

He knew that men home from the trenches had been shot down like dogs in the streets of their own city.

On the Wed. morning all this was on his mind, and he felt that only desperate measures would save the situation, and, believing he had power under martial law, he felt it to be his duty to have the 3 "ringleaders" shot.

Mr. Healy called attention to an entry in the guardroom report which showed that the names and occupations of the 3 men were known on the night of their arrest.

Mr. Powell intimated that he proposed to call Maj. Rosborough. He understood, he said the difficult position he was in—a position that had not been made easier by the incident in Parliament to which Mr. Healy had referred at the beginning of the day's proceedings. An inquiry had been held specially as regarded his action during this trying period, and to a certain extent that matter was still in abeyance. He understood from Maj. Rosborough that he was very anxious to give evidence and throw what light he could on material matters.

Sir J. Simon said they should regard themselves as barred from putting questions not relating to the facts; and Mr. Healy said he

did not intend to ask Maj. Rosborough any questions, as an atonement for the outrage to which he had been subjected.

LIEUT. MORRIS RECALLED

At the request of Sir J. Simon, Lieut. Morris was recalled. He said he could not tell whether the document headed, "Secret orders issued to the military," which was signed at the bottom in red ink, apparently by Capt. Colthurst, was produced at the court martial or not. When Capt. Colthurst had gone through Mr. Skeffington's papers he had several leaflets, and he gave him one (produced), which he took for curiosity. When he got to Belfast he gave the document to the Adjutant. He was not quite clear whether he told him where it was found, and he didn't attach a great deal of importance to it.

Sir J. Simon—Then I understand he got the impression from you at first that it was a document found when Mr. Skeffington was searched?—Yes. Witness was not present when Mr. Skeffington's house was searched. He got the document referred to after the search was made.

MAJOR ROSBOROUGH

THE ORDERS TO COLTHURST

Major Rosborough, 3rd Batt. R. I. Rifles, stated that Col. M'Cammond went away on leave on the 23rd April, and did not return until 29th April. Witness was in command of the barracks from the 23rd until the 28th, and was in the barracks on Easter Mon. and on the Tues. He did not hear anything about Mr. Skeffington or the other prisoners until after the shooting. It had been stated that he was informed that night of the arrest of Mr. Skeffington, but if he was it had escaped his memory. It also appeared as if he had been aware that Colthurst was taking out Mr. Skeffington on Tues. night as a hostage. It appeared in the Press as if he were aware of this.

The Attorney-General—That was to some extent my fault. I think it appeared in my opening statement.

Witness said he first heard of the shooting of the three men about 10.35 on the morning of the executions. Colthurst told him what he had done, and witness told him to report in writing, and then witness gave instructions that Colthurst was not to be used outside the barracks.

Sir J. Simon—Did you give orders that Colthurst was to go outside with his men to Kelly's shop?—Yes.

Did you give him any orders about taking a hostage?—Certainly not.

And at that time he went out you did not hear anything about Mr. Skeffington?—Certainly not.

When he came back the Adjutant tells us Captain Colthurst reported to you himself verbally, and the Adjutant says he was present when Captain Colthurst reported to you?—That night was a night of much work, and I don't know if the Adjutant means by reporting verbally making a casual remark. I have no recollection of Capt. Colthurst giving me any detailed information or report.

"DETAINED PEOPLE."

Don't let us use the word "report." Do you remember seeing Capt. Colthurst that night after he had been at Kelly's shop?—Yes, I remember seeing something of him, but I am not quite certain. Witness had no recollection of Mr. Skeffington's name being mentioned at all that night, nor of Colthurst reporting the arrest of Messrs. Dickson and M'Intyre. He did not try to impeach the veracity of the Adjutant in any way.

We understand you were working under the greatest pressure and that it was a time of terrible anxiety?—It was at the height of the resistance during the week.

It would be a striking thing, and a very unusual thing, for Capt. Bowen-Colthurst to take a civilian prisoner out of the guardroom when going on an expedition of that sort?—Most unusual. I do not call these men prisoners. They were detained people, and, of course, it might be possible that

one would volunteer information of such thing; but I want it clearly understood that the word "hostage" was never heard.

To further questions witness said he visited the guardroom several times on the Tues., but that was before Mr. Sheehy Skeffington was brought in.

On the Wed. morning did you hear anything of the 3 men or their being taken out of the guardroom and shot until after they had been shot?—That was the first I heard of them. I was walking across the barrack square when Capt. Colthurst came over to me and said he had just shot 3 prisoners on his own responsibility, and that possibly he would get into trouble about it and that he would likely be hanged for it, or something like that.

AN ORDER DISOBEYED.

He did not tell you he was afraid that the prisoners were going to escape?—No. Or that he was afraid they were going to be rescued?—No.

Did he say to you at a later time anything of that kind?—In the orderly room he said

he shot them because he thought they might escape or be rescued.

You ordered him to make a certain report?—Yes.

What was the interval between the two occasions?—A considerable interval—from 10.35, when he went out of barracks, it might have been after 2 o'clock. I sent 2 or 3 times for the report. The yard close to the guard room is a very small place, and has high walls around it.

And unless the barracks were going to be rushed, and the whole place occupied, there was no more reason why these particular people could escape more than any other detained person?—No.

Witness's order as to Colthurst not going out of barracks was given on Wed. His going out to Mrs. Skeffington's house on the Friday would be a breach of that order. The senior officer then in charge was Col. Allott, who had since died. Witness did not think he was in command then. He had no knowledge of how many went with Colthurst to the house, but he thought he had heard about 18.

Mr. Powell said he would be prepared to produce witnesses as to the domiciliary visits referred to by the Court.

COLTHURST AS A LUNATIC

Sir J. Simon said they gathered that Capt. Colthurst, according to his instructions, was detained in a criminal lunatic asylum. They thought it would be an advantage if they could have a proper certificate which showed that, because they gathered that the Attorney-General had ascertained that he was not in a condition to be called here.

Mr. Healy—We have served two notices on the Crown requiring the attendance here of Capt. Colthurst. How a Scotch or Irish lunatic could come to be in custody in England is a matter of the legality of which I have my own opinion. He was taken out of this country, as we think, in view of this inquiry. If he cannot come up to be examined here we will press to obtain his evidence in England, as he was removed in view of the fact that this inquiry was promised, and we think he is an absolutely necessary witness.

Sir J. Simon—We know nothing about that, but it is going along the lines you suggest in asking for some information, if Capt. Colthurst is not produced, as to where he is and what is his condition.

The Attorney-General said the solicitor instructing Mr. Healy some days previously intimated to him, in pursuance of a request previously made to the Prime Minister, that they were anxious to have the attendance of Capt. Colthurst. He (the Attorney-General) replied that, having regard to the fact that Capt. Colthurst was shown to be insane, he would be no party to making any effort of any kind to produce him before this Commission. As regards Capt. Colthurst's present place of incarceration, he was confined in Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. He had just given instructions that the governor of that asylum should be telegraphed to to send a certificate to that effect. There was not a shadow of foundation for Mr. Healy's suggestion that Capt. Colthurst was sent out of Ireland in view of this inquiry. There was ample jurisdiction to transfer a criminal lunatic to any asylum in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Healy—We have the honour of having a criminal lunatic asylum in Dundrum, 4 miles from Dublin.

The Attorney-General said Capt. Colthurst had been removed in the public interest.

Mr. Healy—Beyond the jurisdiction.

The Attorney-General—There is no foundation whatever for Mr. Healy's suggestion

Mr. Healy—May I suggest that a record showing the transfer of the gallant gentleman to this lunatic asylum and the order of his conviction should be put in. I have an archaic interest in them, and I should like to see them.

Sir J. Simon—I am sure that from the desire to help us the military authorities will adopt the suggestion.

COL. M'CAMMOND

Col. M'Cammond, who commanded the 3rd R. I. Rifles at Portobello previous to April 23rd, deposed to his having been ill and to his return to barracks on April 29th. He heard of the shootings from his wife on the previous day. Regarding a visit to Mr. Skeffington's house by Sergeant Claxton, witness did not give any instructions to have the visit made. He gave no instructions to have Mr. Skeffington's house searched.

Mr. Healy—Having taken the view that the prisoners were shot in the wrong, why did you allow Capt. Colthurst to remain in his command. Mr. Powell submitted this was a matter as to military discipline, which did not concern the treatment of the 3 men. The Court overruled the question.

Mr. Healy—When the shootings were reported to you were you told Mr. Skeffington was taken out as a hostage?—Not as a hostage. I heard he had been taken out the night before.

Did your information include the fact that he murdered a boy named Coad?—No; I never heard the name Coad until I got to Belfast.

I understand Coad's father called to the barracks—surely there was someone who saw him?—I don't know.

Has any investigation beyond the court martial taken place into the deaths of these three men—I want to see if there are any documents relevant to these cases beyond the court martial. Witness said there was a court of inquiry at Belfast on May 9.

Mr. Healy called for the documents in connection with that inquiry. Mr. Powell objected, and after some discussion the chairman directed the production of any necessary documents.

Col. M'Cammond explained that the reason the bricks were removed from the wall at Portobello was that there were other civilian prisoners being exercised there.

Major Guinness, R.E., concurred with Col. M'Cammond's explanation regarding the bricks, and said he gave instructions in the matter.

SEARCH AT MR. DICKSON'S

Capt. Murphy, 1st R. I. Fus., said that on the Wed. afternoon he was detailed off to search Mr. Dickson's house in Harrington St. He had 2 officers and 25 men with him. In the house he found a black bag in which there were some literature. He found some further literature and miniature ammunition, which he put in the bag, and had the whole removed.

Questioned by Mr. Healy, witness said he searched two other houses on that day. None of the three addresses he had got included Mr. Skeffington's or Mr. M'Intyre's house.

"So that Dickson was the person to whom on that date the Government fastened most suspicion upon?" observed Mr. Healy. Mr. Powell objected.

In reply to Sir J. Simon, witness said Major Rosborough gave the order for the search.

Lieut. Morris, again recalled, said he was with the last witness when they searched Mr. Dickson's house. They brought a black bag out of the house, but the man who was carrying it was lame, and witness told him to go to the nearest picket, which was Kelly's tobacco shop, and leave the bag there.

"AN UNKNOWN PERSON."

Sergt. Claxton, 4th R. I. Fus., stated that the bag was kept in Kelly's shop until Ald. Kelly was arrested, and then it was sent to Portobello Barracks.

On 1st May witness was at Wynnefield road telephone exchange when a policeman came to him, and said that two unknown

persons had been seen going into Mr. Skeffington's house. Witness went to the house, and found a girl underneath the table.

Sir J. Simon—You went there to arrest a man?—No, sir. It was an unknown person I was told. I found the lady there, and brought her out, and carried her to Rathmines Police Station. The form said it was an unknown person. I didn't know whether it was a man or a woman until I got there (laughter). The door of the house was opened, and the place was in disorder. I did not see Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington. The girl said she was sent there from Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington's at Temple Gardens to look after the place.

CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN.

THE SHOOTING OF COAD.

Rev. F. O'Loughlin, C.C., Army Chaplain, Portobello, said that on the night of April 26th he read the service at the interment of Messrs. Skeffington, Dickson, and M'Intyre, and he was present at the exhuming of the bodies. He certified that the ground was not consecrated, so that there was no difficulty about exhumation.

Witness was called upon to prepare several for death, he said in reply to Mr. Healy, but, he added, "not the prisoners."

The deceased boy Coad (shot by Capt. Colthurst) was a member of the Holy Family Sodality associated with witness's parish. He was a well-conducted youth, and attended the Sodality meeting on the evening when he was shot. The meeting was over at 8.30.

Mr. Powell thought this evidence was irrelevant. "The boy Coad was murdered in the presence of Mr. Skeffington," observed Mr. Healy. Sir J. Simon said the Commissioners took a different view of the shooting, which, it was stated, happened in presence of Mr. Skeffington and was connected with what occurred during the last hours of his life.

Further questioned by Mr. Healy, witness said that Coad died in the hospital at the barracks on the morning that the others were shot. He did not observe that the boy's jaw was broken, and saw no marks on his face. He was unconscious when witness saw him and incapable of stating what had happened. He was buried in Glasnevin.

To Mr. Brennan—The first order of the military authorities was that the body of Mr. M'Intyre was to be exhumed by the military, but this was cancelled, and it was afterwards disinterred by the undertaker's men.

Mr. Healy—Did you lodge any complaint that three members of your Church were sent into eternity without a priest being called in?

Mr. Powell—I object to that question. Sir J. Simon—I do not think we need go into that matter.

Mr. Healy mentioned that a Trooper Davies, of the Glamorganshire Regt., wrote a newspaper description of the raid on Mr. Skeffington's house.

Mr. Powell said that was all the evidence he proposed to offer for the military authorities.

Mr. J. Beardon, B.L. (instructed by Mr. W. P. Tristram), entered an appearance for Ald. J. J. Kelly, in whose shop Messrs. Dickson and M'Intyre were arrested.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Portobello shootings sat again to-day at the Court of Appeal, and as on the previous occasions, there was a very large attendance of the general public.

At the sitting of the Court,

Mr. J. Edelstein, who was amongst the public, rose and said—Sir John, pardon me, I wish to draw your attention to a statement in the Press—yesterday evening's papers.

The Chairman—Just hand it up. We won't have anything said about it in public.

Mr. Edelstein—I wish to say I never said that I was not present when Ald. Kelly was arrested. I was present.

The Chairman—Will you hand up what you want to refer to?

Mr. Edelstein—It is the "Evening Mail."

The Chairman—Will you sit down until we look at it.

Mr. Edelstein—I shall stand.
The Chairman—Mr. Edelstein, we might as well dispose of this thing at once. I dare say you will hand in your full name. You will understand I am asking you questions I want answered now. First of all, were you present when Mr. Dickson was arrested on that evening?
Mr. Edelstein—No.

I WAS NOT THERE.

The Chairman—Were you there when Mr. McIntyre was arrested?

Mr. Edelstein—No, I was not there.

The Chairman—Did you know anything at all about their arrest before it took place?

Mr. Edelstein—Not at all. I never knew Dickson and never wrote for him. I must do my duty to myself.

The Chairman—We will see that is done. You really knew nothing about it at all?

Mr. Edelstein again denied that he did.

The Chairman—It goes without saying you knew nothing at all about the arrest of Mr. Skeffington?

Mr. Edelstein—Not at all. It is all bosh from beginning to end, Mr. Healy's statement.

The Chairman—One other question. Reference was made about you being a spotter for the military. You have already denied that, and I understand it is not true.

Mr. Edelstein—Not at all. I simply did what I thought my duty—got bread and milk for the poor people.

Mr. Healy (handing up a document)—Ask him, Sir John, is that his writing.

The Chairman—A moment, Mr. Healy. Mr. Edelstein, you have come here in order to—

Mr. Edelstein—

TO GET JUSTICE.

The Chairman—In order to see that there shall be any reflection on you, which you resent. You have made your denial in open Court, and your proper course is now to sit down, and I would ask you to do that.

Mr. Edelstein then thanked the Chairman and resumed his seat.

Mr. Healy then asked the chairman would he desire to terminate the inquiry if possible to-day, subject to the calling of other officers.

The Chairman said they should be glad if that was possible, but their first duty was to see that the inquiry was conducted properly and fully within the terms of reference. They should be glad by co-operation if it was possible to secure the result.

Mr. Healy thought he could promise he would so condense the evidence that they would easily finish to-day.

The Chairman informed Dr. Skeffington, father of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, that the Commission would be glad to have him in the witness box in case of necessity after the evidence was over. In the meantime he was grateful to Dr. Skeffington for watching the proceedings.

Mr. Healy—I would like to ask Mrs. Skeffington one or two questions. (To witness)—Had you in your house any picture of the Kaiser?—No.

But long before the war I believe you had a little flag used in teaching of the Kaiser?—Yes; I had it since 1906 or 1907. I got it at a bazaar in the country.

You read a statement on the 2nd May in the London Press which said that your husband had been killed wearing a green uniform while fighting for the rebels?—I did.

And that, of course, as we know, was untrue?—Absolutely.

CAPTAIN COLTHURST

"A Cold, Collected Type of Englishman"

Mrs. Kettle, wife of Lieut. Professor Kettle, and a sister of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, was then examined by Mr. P. O'C. White, and stated that up to the Friday after Easter Monday her sister and herself gave no credence to reports that they heard of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, as they appeared to be simply outrageous fairy tales. On the Friday evening they heard from an authoritative source that he had been shot, and she went with another sister, Mrs. Culhane, widow of the late Taxing Master, to Rathmines Police Station to make inquiries. They afterwards went to Portobello Barracks and asked about their brother, Lieut. Sheehy, of the Dublin Fusiliers. They were admitted at the first gate, but had some difficulty at the second.

They met a junior officer of the Munster Fusiliers who knew their brother, and he promised to communicate with them if he got any information of him. They then asked about their brother-in-law, and the young officer got very confused, flustered, and appeared to be very nervous—in fact, they all seemed to be very

NERVOUS AND UPSET

in the barracks that day. He excused himself and went away and consulted with other soldiers and officers. He came and went several times like that, and after about half an hour he said he regretted he must place them under arrest. This was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. The officer on being asked why said they had information that they were Sinn Feiners. They said that was absurd, that their brother was in the Dublin Fusiliers, and had never been identified with the Sinn Fein Party; they were arrested and the soldiers said they would place them in the guard room. They were marched some distance across the barrack square and placed in a guardroom. They were halted outside and a young officer left them under guard. Five or six officers were there, and they retired to arrange, as witness thought, for

THEIR COURT MARTIAL.

After about ten minutes Capt. Colthurst came out. He was a cold, collected type of Englishman (laughter). There was a peculiar, cruel look which goes with the unimaginative nature.

THEIR COURT MARTIAL.

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came out. He was a cold, collected type of Englishman (laughter). There was a peculiar, cruel look which goes with the unimaginative nature.

The Chairman—I think you had better tell us what he did.

Witness—In view of the evidence at the court martial I think it better to give you my impression.

In further evidence the witness said they asked for Lieut. Sheehy as a pretence for getting information about Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington.

THE ORDER—EYES RIGHT!

Prisoners "Ordered Not to Look Round"

"We also said," continued the witness, "that we wished to know something about Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, and he said, 'I know nothing whatever about Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington.' This was on the Friday following the Wednesday about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The young officer

LOOKED UNEASY.

Mr. White—When he said he knew nothing about Mr. Skeffington were the other officers within hearing?—There was no other officer except the young officer and the armed escort. The young officer was standing close by. He looked uneasy and muttered something, and my sister went on to say, "That is strange, as we have definite information that Mr. Skeffington was arrested and brought to Portobello, and, as a matter of fact, we heard this morning on good authority

HE HAS BEEN SHOT."

The young officer then said something to Capt. Colthurst sotto voce, and Capt. Colthurst then said, "There is no information concerning Mr. Skeffington available, and the sooner you leave the barracks the better."

Chairman—Are you quite sure that in answer to the first question he said he knew nothing about Mr. Skeffington?—Absolutely certain. Then, she continued, there was an order given to have the "prisoners" conducted back. On the way back my sister and I were speaking and

Captain Colthurst sent a soldier after us to forbid the prisoners to speak. We were ordered not to look around us—to have our eyes right was the order

(laughter). The escort of soldiers conducted us to the gate, and there the officer dismissed the guard and conducted us himself to the tramway line. There we were told we were not to reveal anything we had seen or heard.

Sir John Simon directed that an inquiry be made as to who were the officers on duty at the main guard at 1.30 p.m. on the Friday. He asked the witness if she was sure the 2nd-Lieut. belonged to the Munster Fusiliers.

Witness—My sister remembered that he had a green

SHAMROCK ON HIS CAP.

The Chairman—As far as you could make out he appeared to be acting as officer on duty?—Yes.

You were taken to him as being the proper person to deal with you?—Yes.

In further reply to Mr. White, witness said there were a good many soldiers in the square as they were marched through. When they came out of the square they went back to Mrs. Skeffington's house and told her of the interview, and that all information was refused.

Mr. White—You saw the state of Mrs. Skeffington's house after the raids?—Yes. I went to stay with Mrs. Skeffington on Saturday, the day after the raid, because her servant had left terrified. The house was open and anyone might enter, but of course it was really the safest house in Rathmines.

The Chairman said that Mrs. Skeffington had given a very clear account of this, and Mr. Powell didn't find anything in it to challenge, so that they took it as an accurate account.

Mr. Healy—Then that will dispense us from calling Mrs. Culhane?

The Chairman—Yes.

"Unless, of course," added Mr. Healy, "that this young officer should challenge the statement."

The Chairman—Of course.

D.M.P. WITNESS

Who Was Asked to Raise His Voice

Station Sergeant Murphy, D.M.P., Rathmines Station, said he had no record in his books of Sergeant Claxton, the witness examined on the second day of the proceedings, getting any instructions from the police at Rathmines about arresting a person at the house of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Then his statement is untrue?—He certainly got no direction as stated. There is no record in the books of it.

Did he bring to the barracks a little maid servant?—Yes.

What statement did he make to you when he gave her into your custody?—He said he found her at 11 Grosvenor place, the residence of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington.

The witness gave his evidence in a low voice, and the difficulty of hearing him caused Lord Justice Molony to remark that they expected a louder voice in the D.M.P. He asked witness

TO RAISE HIS VOICE.

Mr. Healy—Especially as they are looking for a rise of pay (laughter).

To further questions by Mr. Healy, witness said that Sergeant Claxton, when he brought the little girl to the station, gave no reason for asking that she be kept in prison. He didn't say he got her

UNDER THE TABLE.

She was kept in custody from the Monday until half-past four on the 6th of May, when she was discharged by order of the Provost Marshal.

Mr. Healy—Can you corroborate the statement that you had no means of feeding the girl for the first few days?—That is so.

And then did you get food for her from the military?—No, we kept her at our own expense. I think she had no complaint to make in that respect.

Did Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington or her sister come to you to try and get the little girl discharged?—I saw Mrs. Kettle in the avenue leading to the station.

Replying to Mr. Powell, K.C., witness said that red forms were used at the station for sending messages, and several of these red forms were sent from the police to the military. These messages would be sent as the result of information received from the public at the station.

Lord Justice Molony—but before you sent out

THESE RED FORMS

you noted everything in the occurrence book?—It would be noted and a copy kept.

To the Chairman—Witness was Station Sergeant, and produced the book containing the messages.

Mr. Powell, K.C.—As I understand, some members of the public went into the police station conveying some information which was recorded?—Yes.

And that might apply to any police station?—Yes.

You have no record of this particular case?—No, I won't say no such message was sent.

I suppose there was a good deal of confusion?—Yes.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Did this girl tell you that she was first brought to Portobello Barracks and searched?—No.

The Chairman—Sergt. Claxton stated that he sent the red form by an orderly to Portobello Barracks.

Mr. Healy said the course he purposed taking was to call a couple of prisoners who were in the cell in the barracks—a couple who would give evidence regarding the murder of the young man Coade, and one or two witnesses.

INCLUDING MAJOR VANE,

as to the arrest.

The Chairman—As to Coade, we think we ought to hear evidence so far as it bears on Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington's case, and it does bear on it, but we do not think we need have it in too much detail.

Christopher Kearney, examined by Mr. Healy, K.C., said he was employed at the camp at the Curragh. On Easter Monday afternoon he was trying to get to 127 Rathmines road.

Were you stopped by the soldiers and arrested?—Yes.

You had done nothing to warrant that arrest?—Nothing whatever.

And the result was that you found yourself in a cell in Portobello Barracks. At what hour were you taken into the cells?—At about 6 o'clock.

That was on Monday?—Yes.

You were engaged in some way at the Curragh?—Yes.

At the camp?—Yes, I was working for the military at the Curragh.

And on that account you were persistent or anxious to get back and through the soldiers?—Yes, and in trying to pass through I was arrested.

IN THE CELLS

Witness's Story of Shots in the Square

Proceeding, witness said he was put into the cells about 6 o'clock. Two other men—Boland and Gaynor—were in the cells at that time. Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was not in his cell that night.

In fact, afterwards were Mr. Dickson and Mr. M'Intyre brought in?—Not till Tuesday.

You were kept there until Wednesday morning?—I was kept until the following Friday.

That was a treat (laughter). I come to the Tuesday. On that morning did you see Captain Colthurst for the first time?—Yes.

Was that the morning the handcuffs were put on Boland?—Yes.

Who put them on him?—Capt. Colthurst, or at least he gave orders.

Witness continued to say that Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was brought into the detention room where witness was on Tuesday night.

Did you hear him say anything?—He wanted a message sent to his wife about his arrest.

Did they refuse to send it?—Yes, at that time. He made repeated efforts to get the door opened, and he could not get any answer.

Did he complain to the other prisoners of the uneasiness his wife would be under?—Yes. The conversation was general amongst the prisoners.

Did a soldier come to Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington after he had repeatedly knocked at the door?—Yes.

Did you hear Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington say anything to the soldier?—He asked him would he take

A MESSAGE TO HIS WIFE,

and the soldier made some reply I could not catch. Mr. Skeffington then said: "Will you tell your superior officer?" I did not hear what the soldier said. That was about 9.30 o'clock. I told them I was employed at the Curragh. A few minutes after the conversation took place Mr. Skeffington was removed from the detention room. I never saw him afterwards. Dickson and MacIntyre, continued witness, were brought in about midnight.

Had you a conversation with Dickson and MacIntyre?—On Wednesday morning Dickson told us how he was arrested outside Kelly's.

Just tell us what he said. He said he was talking outside with Miss Kelly and the assistant, and the military came down from the direction of Portobello. They fired a volley, rushed inside, and closed the door. Then, he said

a bomb or something was thrown at the place, and they rushed down into the kitchen or cellar and were arrested there.

Did he say anything about his newspaper or proclamation?—Yes; he said he was after going down and getting the King's proclamation printed in his paper, and also an article advising the people to remain indoors.

Did he say that as soon as the Government got to know that, he would be discharged?—He was full sure he would be released, and so was Mr. M'Intyre.

What did he say?—That when they saw the proclamation in his paper he

WOULD BE DISCHARGED.

He was a loyal subject and anxious and determined to show himself such?—Yes; he thought that would prove his loyalty.

I gather that he intended to print it in a special edition?—Yes.

What did Mr. M'Intyre say?—He said he would refer them to Sir John Irwin as to his loyalty, and he would get him out.

Mr. Healy remarked that Sir John Irwin was prominently connected with recruiting in Dublin. Counsel asked witness if he heard the prisoners questioned by any officer.

Witness—No, sir. He further stated that an inventory was taken of property found on the prisoners. Sergeant Maxwell was present at the time.

Mr. Healy asked for its production.

Mr. Powell said he would make inquiries about it.

Answering Mr. Healy, witness said the prisoners got the same food as the military.

Dickson and M'Intyre were taken out from the presence of other prisoners shortly after breakfast on the Wednesday morning.

The Chairman—They were there from midnight, and had not been taken out in the meantime?—No, sir, except to wash; we were all taken out to wash.

Mr. Healy—Poor Dickson said it was not worth while to go and wash, as he thought he would be released. (To witness)—Tell us how they came to be called out of the detention room?—Shortly after breakfast they were called out. I thought they were going to be released. I just heard the names "Dickson and M'Intyre" called out, and they

BOTH STEPPED OUT.

Did you ever see them again?—I never saw them after that.

On this important particular I want you to answer truthfully. After Dickson and M'Intyre were taken out, did you hear anything?—I heard a report.

"Shots?" asked Mr. Healy, and the witness replied that he did not know the difference between shots and a volley.

The Chairman—It is perfectly plain that the shooting of these three unhappy men took place at the same time.

Mr. Healy—We do not agree.

Mr. Skeffington was called out by himself and shot by himself, and afterwards Dickson and M'Intyre were shot by themselves.

The Chairman—If it is disputed you are quite within your rights in asking about it.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Can you assist the tribunal in any way on that point in support or in opposition to what I say?—I heard a shot, then in about ten minutes afterwards I heard another. I went to where I could hear better in a corner, and I heard, "Ready, present, fire," and there was a shot again.

Witness said the noise of the shots proceeded apparently from the yard outside. He heard scrubbing and washing going on afterwards for nearly two hours. He only saw Capt. Colthurst once, and that was on the Tuesday morning. Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington and two men named Gaynor and Cowles were in the detention room with him. Witness was not present when Dickson was searched, but Dickson told him he was searched and that a cheque for £10 and a pound note were

TAKEN FROM HIM.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—At any time did you see ropes or irons put around Mr. Skeffington?—No.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

For Prisoner Who Made a Complaint

William Boland, an ex-soldier, and a resident of Dublin, stated he was arrested by the military at the corner of Cuffe street and Wexford street on Easter Monday between 1 and 2 o'clock. He was taken to Portobello Barracks. There his macintosh, outside coat, and vest were taken off, and he was placed in a cell, where there was another prisoner already. Witness rang the bell for his clothes, and he was

PUT IN HANDCUFFS.

Next morning Capt. Colthurst came into the cell—the handcuffs having been taken off in the meantime—and asked had they any complaints. This was put to the prisoners generally, and the others answered "No, sir." Witness said, "Yes, sir," and he went on to complain about being beaten. Capt. Colthurst thereupon shortened the zip on his stick as if about to strike, and said:

The less complaints you make about the military the better. Put the handcuffs on him and put him in solitary confinement.

Mr. Healy—On Tuesday, when did you first see Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington?—On Tuesday I was all alone in the cell. About dusk I went asleep on the plank bed. I was asleep for some time when I was rudely awakened and told to get up and bring my blankets with me. I went out under escort of a sergeant and some soldiers. Passing through the guardroom I saw Mr. Skeffington standing with his

HANDS BEHIND HIS BACK.

I never saw him again.

Can you tell me where he was standing?—In front of the table. There were some soldiers sitting at the table, apparently interrogating him.

Was that in the guardroom?—Yes, sir; there were accoutrement and equipment about.

How long were you in the Army?—About eight years.

How soon after that were Mr. M'Intyre and Mr. Dickson brought in?—About an hour or an hour and a half.

Did they say anything when they came in?—They were not inclined to talk, but they told us who they were, and we shared our blankets with them.

In the morning did they speak?—Yes, sir. I recognised Dickson, whom I used to see nearly every day.

The man spoke with a Scotch accent?—I think so—or a Jewish accent (laughter). I could not say which.

Did Dickson say anything to you in the morning?—He told us generally the circumstances of his arrest, but he gave a more detailed account to me. He said himself and M'Intyre were standing outside Ald. Kelly's shop talking to a girl—the assistant. They saw the military coming in single file from the direction of Portobello Bridge. They fired a volley in their direction. They (Dickson and M'Intyre) rushed in, and I am not quite clear whether he said they closed the door. They

RUSHED INTO THE KITCHEN;

and there was a bomb thrown at the door. The military then rushed down into the kitchen and arrested them.

Did they say the military threw the bomb?—Yes, sir. I think he said the girl was slightly wounded.

Did Dickson say anything about the proclamation in his paper?—He said that he had been about getting out a Stop Press, advising the people to keep indoors and conform to the military regulations.

Did he say anything about expecting his release?—Oh, yes. He was quite confident—both were. They mentioned Sir John Irwin and other important people.

The Chairman remarked that this was not challenged, and they entirely accepted it.

Mr. Healy said the point was, that if they said this to the prisoners, how much more did they say to the military.

"ANOTHER FELLOW GONE"

"Sergeant, That Man Is Not Dead"

To further questions witness said that they were all called out before breakfast to take an inventory of the property of his prisoners. Sergeant Maxwell and a young officer, a lieutenant, were doing this duty. After breakfast there was something about washing, and one of the prisoners said it would not be worth while washing—that they were getting out. The whole group of prisoners were talking when

A VOLLEY RANG OUT.

Dickson and M'Intyre must have heard the volley. Some of those present said that

probably it was some fool of a soldier who had let the shot off. There had been no firing about the place previously that morning.

Mr. Healy—Was the volley you heard in the yard outside?—Yes, sir.

How long was it until Dickson and M'Intyre were called out?—About a minute or two minutes. It would not be more than five minutes.

When they were called out did you hear any protest or voice?—No, sir; but some of us began to get suspicious, and somebody said, "Some poor fellow gone," but we were not quite sure.

Witness, describing further what happened, said—I heard the military falling in and the rattling of accoutrements, I heard the order, "Out into the yard," and presently I heard marching round the yard. I followed the sound, and it went down to the bottom of the yard.

How soon after that did the volley go?—Immediately afterwards, and it was in the yard outside where the first volley went off.

Did you hear any further noise in the yard?—After the second volley I heard an officer's voice who was very much in charge of the guard saying:

"SERGEANT, THAT MAN IS NOT DEAD."

What happened then?—Another volley rang out.

How soon after the words, "Sergeant, that man is not dead," did the third volley resound?—A minute or a little more.

Now I want you to be specially exact as to what interval elapsed between the second and third volley?—Less than two minutes.

After that did you hear noises?—Yes; the sound of buckets of water and brass brooms.

When was that?—About three o'clock. Did you afterwards see the bullet marks?—I did not count them, but on the right of the wall there were about six bricks—battered—that was at the height of Sheehy-Skeffington, and about the same number of marks about the height of Dickson, and six or

EIGHT BRICKS BATTERED

at the height of MacIntyre.

When you say battered you mean indented?—Yes.

What regiment were you attached to?—The 18th Royal Irish Regiment.

Mr. Powell, K.C.—The 18th Royal Irish Regiment?—Yes.

How many years' service had you?—Eight.

When were you discharged?—In 1905.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Have you got your character?—Yes; "Very good, sober, and steady."

Mr. Powell—There was only a minute or two between the second and third volley?—Less than two minutes.

The Chairman—Were you present when the last witness gave his evidence?—Yes.

Did you hear him say that when Dickson and M'Intyre were called out you all thought that they were called out to be released?—Yes.

Did you think so yourself?—I cannot say. There were a lot of theories in my mind.

That is already what Kearney said?—Yes.

And do you say that that was immediately after you heard the volley in the yard?—A few minutes.

You thought they were going out to be released?—That was one of the suggestions.

Was it after you heard the first volley you say you were listening at the door?—Yes.

And then you heard the tramp of men?—Yes.

You were listening all the time?—Yes.

You heard a voice saying, "Out to the yard"?—Yes.

Did that happen between the first and second or the second and third volley?—Between the first and second.

And was it following that you heard the tramp?—Yes, going out to the yard.

You heard some one say, "Sergeant, this man is not dead"?—Yes, between the second and third volley.

The Chairman—We would like to be perfectly clear of one other thing. The last witness was not able to say that Dickson and M'Intyre were in the detention room at the time the first volley was fired?—He was not quite sure.

But you say they were in the room?—To the best of my memory.

When you went out in the afternoon to the yard and looked at the bricks you, as an old soldier, would be able to see the marks?—I went out for the purpose.

Were there any marks at all showing that there had been shots at somebody lying on the ground?—I could not say that.

In reply to Mr. Healy, witness stated he was detained for about ten or twelve days. On the following Sunday he heard some hammering in the yard as if brick-laying was going on.

The Chairman said he had a list of the persons who were detained, and on looking through it he found they were all accounted for. There was no question of any of the persons in the list having been shot except the three individuals.

Mr. Healy—That is only one morning's list (laughter).

The Chairman (sharply)—Mr. Healy, please don't make an observation of that sort. I am trying to act fairly as between everybody. I am pointing out, and it is important we should clearly understand it, that the people who were in the detention room that morning are all accounted for.

Laurence Byrne, 7 Mountpleasant avenue, Rathmines, examined by Mr. Healy, stated that on Easter Monday night he was at Richmond Hill. He was with James Coade and a man named Keogh. A party of soldiers came on the scene, and Captain Colthurst, who was in charge, asked them what they were doing out at that hour of the night. Witness gave him an explanation. They said they were going home, and gave their names and addresses. Coade was smoking a cigarette, and Captain Colthurst seemed to be vexed with him for smoking. He told Coade to take the d—cigarette out of his mouth, and Coade threw it down. Captain Colthurst then asked: "Do you know martial law is proclaimed?" Witness told him he did not know what martial law meant. Captain Colthurst then turned and said:

"BASH HIM!"

and struck him on the jaw with the butt-end of his rifle.

Before he struck him, did Coade or any one of the others give any impudence to the officer?—None whatever.

Anyone who said so would not be accurate?—That is right. Witness continued to say that Keogh got off his bicycle and went off in one direction, while witness and Coade proceeded towards Rathmines. When about half-way across the road witness saw a flash of fire, and then Coade put up his hand to his back.

The Chairman—He was hit?—He was. He dropped?—Yes, and he roared out for me.

"DISTRESSING INCIDENT"

Chairman and the Shooting of Coade

The Chairman said it was a very distressing incident, and they wished to spare the relatives the painful details. What was important was that shots were fired, they knew by whom, the boy was badly hurt and dropped; he was taken to hospital, and whatever else happened they seemed to have done their best for him there.

Mr. Healy said the family were more

distressed and greatly surprised to hear the suggestion that Coade used blasphemy or improper language after coming out of church.

The Chairman—This young man seemed a careful, truthful witness, and quite distinctly states that it was not used.

Mr. Healy said he would call a witness in corroboration of that.

A young man named William Devlin stated he heard part of a conversation between a tall officer and Coade and the two other young fellows. Two others came up on the other side, and he asked were they with the three, and they said no. The officer took out a revolver; there was one shot. One of the chaps went off on a bicycle, another ran off by the side of the wall. Immediately after he fired the shot the officer stood in front of the soldiers and gave the

ORDER, "QUICK MARCH."

Witness went over immediately and saw young Coade lying in front of Behan's, the photographers.

Mr. Healy—Did you hear any insolence or bad language used by Coade to the officer?—Absolutely not.

The Chairman said the evidence as to the officer having used a revolver was in conflict with the testimony of the military witnesses.

Mr. Henry—Did you see Coade hit with the butt of the rifle?—No.

How far was Coade away from the officer?—Ten yards.

Mr. John Hughes, Kenilworth Square, said that as he turned round the Rathmines road a revolver was pointed at his head by the tall officer. He afterwards saw the latter—afterwards identified as Capt. Colthurst—aiming straight at a man, who fell. Witness wanted to make it quite clear that the man did not run away. He walked away like a gentleman.

Replying to Mr. Henry, the witness said there might have been a previous conversation between the officer and the man who was shot, but he did not see any.

"I WAS THREATENED"

Mr. Edelstein Asks for "Fair Play"

After the luncheon interval Mr. Edelstein, rising in the body of the court, said he wished to make a statement.

The chairman told him there was nothing which required him (Edelstein) to interpose again.

Mr. Edelstein—I must defend myself. Before coming into the court this afternoon I was threatened—

Chairman—Now, if you have anything to say on that subject you can communicate with the police, who will give you ample protection. If you have anything to say to the Commission you must write it down.

Mr. Edelstein—I simply ask for fair play.

Chairman—Everybody will get that, I hope.

A witness named Gaynor was called and questioned by the chairman. He said he was brought to Portobello Barracks on the evening of Monday and placed in a cell, afterwards being taken into the detention room. On the morning of Wednesday he saw the deceased men, Dickson and M'Intyre. He saw them being taken out, and afterwards he heard three shots or volleys. The first shot was fired about a second or so before the other two.

The Chairman said it seemed perfectly plain that there were three shots. Whether the first shooting occurred before Dickson and M'Intyre were called out of the room was a

VERY DIFFERENT MATTER.

Mr. Healy—May I say I opened the matter with considerable doubt myself, because I don't think we have had the facts of the shootings at all.

The Chairman—We are very grateful to you, Mr. Healy, because this is a matter we ought to inquire into very carefully.

Mr. Healy—I suggest that you should send for the other man whom we have been unable to get into touch with. Continuing, Mr. Healy said he was now going to call two witnesses to prove that Coade was wounded in the head.

Mrs. Coade was next called. She said that she got word of the death of her boy in the Portobello hospital on the Tuesday night. She saw him dead in the hospital. His head was then bandaged, and when the body was brought home she saw a wound on the left side of the head.

Miss Julia Byrne, sister of Mr. Byrne who was examined as to the attack on Coade, stated she saw the body when it was brought home. Coade's head was then bandaged round and there was a wound on the face. It was not a gunshot wound; it seemed to be from the blow the boy got—a bruise.

Miss Mary Bridget Kelly, examined by Mr. White, stated that she was a sister of Ald. Kelly. She remembered M'Intyre and Dickson coming to the house on the Tuesday night. Mr. M'Intyre was there all the evening—from about 6 o'clock. He came for an interview with her brother about some article about

INDIAN STUDENTS.

Mr. Dickson arrived about twenty minutes to eleven o'clock. They were standing on the path—the assistant, the maid, and witness—when Mr. Dickson came up. They heard the military coming over Portobello bridge, and they went to the corner to see where they were going. M'Intyre was in the shop with Mr. Lyons and witness's brother at that time.

Dickson ran in before he heard the shooting?—Yes, they fired in from the street, and we went downstairs, and Michael Brennan remained in, and there was a bomb fired.

A bomb was fired?—Yes. Who threw the bomb?—The military; there was no one else.

Where was the bomb thrown?—Through the stock room window next the shop.

Was the door shut?—The hall-door was, and they forced it open with a bayonet. The captain said: "Is there a telephone," and witness came up to show him where it was, and the maid said to come back. The captain then said:

"ANOTHER BOMB FOR UPSTAIRS."

Witness said there was no one upstairs to come down. The lieutenant had a bomb in his hand when he came downstairs. The lieutenant said: "Hands up," and said there were four men on the premises.

Was any reference made as to Dickson?—Yes.

What was it?—The officer said, "Is that man sitting?" and the reply he got was that he was not sitting—he was a deformed man.

That was Dickson?—Yes.

What then happened?—The lieutenant went up and brought the captain down, and the captain shouted "Hands up, down there."

Anything more?—Yes; he added: "Remember I can shoot you all like dogs. Martial law is proclaimed, and I can do it, as I already shot men in the street before I came here." The captain then asked for the names of the men, and M'Intyre said he was the editor of the "Searchlight," and the captain said: "Another rebel paper." Mr. M'Intyre said "No, it was a loyal paper." The captain then said if he stirred or did anything to "shoot him as a dog." He then said "Arrest these four men," and spoke of martial law being proclaimed. Witness said the trunk referred to was brought in by a lame soldier, and a soldier beside witness asked who was that, and the reply was: "I am the Prince of Wales—wounded home from the front" (laughter). The bag was handed over the window—but the man said he was "The Prince of Wales."

At this stage Mr. Edelstein again inter-

Continued from page 93. Ald. J. J. Kelly, in evidence, disclaimed any participation in the rebellion. On the Tuesday M'Intyre dined with him. There was no sniping from his house. He had no knowledge of the trunk belonging to Dickson being found on his premises.

Describing the raid on his shop, witness said he went out for fruit, and when returning saw 20 or 30 men in front of his shop. They fired a volley into the drawing-room, and threw a bomb into the stock room.

He was arrested by Major Vane on Wednesday evening. He owed his life to Major Vane, Major Rosborough, and Adjutant Morgan.

This concluded the evidence.

Mr. Healy then said he wished to put in some correspondence as evidence.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Portobello shooting: resumed its sittings in the Court of Appeal, Four Courts, today.

The throng of people who awaited the opening of the door, was a testimony to the enormous and growing interest in the proceedings.

Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington came into court accompanied by her little son.

As on the former occasions, the Crown was represented by the Attorney-General and Mr. Cusack (instructed by the Chief Crown Solicitor); Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., Mr. P. O'Connell, White, and Mr. M. Sheehy (instructed by Mr. Lemass) appeared for Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington; Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C. (instructed by Messrs. Webb and Webb), for the relatives of Mrs. Dickson; Mr. J. B. Powell and Mr. E. A. Payne (instructed by Messrs. Shannon and Co.) for the military authorities; Mr. T. W. Brown (instructed by G. Byrne and Co.) for Major Rosborough and Lieut. Morgan; Mr. Brennan, solr., Wexford, for the family of the late Mr. M'Intyre; Mr. Jas. Reardon (instructed by Mr. Tristram) for Alderman J. J. Kelly.

"TERRIBLY GRAVE CHARGE"

Mr. Edelstein Asks to Give Evidence

At the sitting of the Court Mr. J. Edelstein, rising in the body of the court, said: Sir John, I desire to ask you to give me a chance of giving evidence to-day.

The Chairman—Well, Mr. Edelstein, we think we shall at some stage require to hear you.

Mr. Edelstein—Verbally—

The Chairman—We cannot do more than say we shall expect to hear you at the proper time, but we shall ask you again.

Mr. Edelstein—Thanks.

The Attorney-General—Might I say with regard to that I, of course, am not concerned in any shape or form with any of these parties. My friend, Mr. Healy, does not obscure his meaning when he wishes to be plain, but I rather gather from the questions he put with regard to this gentleman who has intervened that the suggestion is that this Mr. Edelstein was in some way the instigator, or was responsible, for the action of Captain Bowen-Colthurst with regard to this Mr. Dickson. Well, that, of course, is a terribly grave charge, and I suggest to you, sir, and the members of your Commission that not only have you

NO JURISDICTION

to go into it, but you have no materials; and as far as I see it stands in this way. The suggestion has been made by my friend Mr. Healy; it has been contradicted in open Court by the person referred to, and if it is to be followed up further it seems to me that neither is this the tribunal nor have you got any jurisdiction under the terms of your reference.

The Chairman—You see, there is a suggestion—at present we do not know, but later on we shall know, whether there is foundation for it—that this individual was present at the time when Dickson and M'Intyre were arrested.

Mr. Healy—No; when Alderman Kelly was arrested.

Mr. Edelstein—I was not there.

The Chairman—The reason we wanted to hear Mr. Edelstein was that we wanted to ask him whether he was present when these two men were arrested.

Mr. Edelstein—I was not.

The Chairman—I am not asking you. If you are to remain in Court you

MUST REMAIN SILENT

until the time comes when you are asked. That was the suggestion which was made. We shall have to have it investigated. We shall have nothing whatever to do with the arrest of Ald. Kelly or with the treatment of anybody except these three individuals who most unhappily were shot, and it is because of that we want to ascertain whether Mr. Edelstein was present when these two prisoners were arrested, especially as we have not got any evidence as to what happened after they were arrested, and it was desirable he should be here.

The Attorney-General—My friend, Mr. Healy, has quite fairly stated he does not suggest he was present at the arrest of either of these men, and it seems to me you will be embarkin gon a very wide—

The Chairman—You will understand we have made it plain that our terms of reference certainly don't permit us to inquire into the treatment of parties other than the three persons arrested, and I know he will confine himself to what are our terms of reference.

INQUIRY AT BELFAST

Statement by Capt. Colthurst Read

The Attorney-General—I quite understand that.

The Chairman—That is all we can do. We will have to hear Mr. Healy and the points he wants to make. Mr. Healy (continued the chairman), you will remember when we rose yesterday the military authorities, through Mr. Powell, promised to see whether there was not any further material such as you suggested would be

RELEVANT TO THIS INQUIRY,

and Mr. Powell, in accordance with that suggestion, has sent me the material which is available. I am glad to be able to tell you. It has been produced, and there is on matter you ought to know at once. There is a further statement by Captain Colthurst, and, of course, I need not tell you you shall see it. This statement was made by Captain Colthurst at a court of inquiry assembled at the Victoria Barracks, Belfast, on the 10th May, 1916. I also have here a summary of evidence taken at the court martial.

Mr. Healy—That I have been supplied with.

Except for this statement, as far as he (the chairman) understood, there was no other statement taken or made.

The Chairman proceeded to read the statement made by Captain Bowen Colthurst at the court martial in Victoria Barracks, Belfast, in which he said that on the evening of Tuesday, 25th April, 1916, he was officially informed that martial law was declared in Dublin, his informant being the Garrison Adjutant. On the same evening a prisoner named Sheehy Skeffington was brought into the guard room at Portobello Barracks, Dublin, and a statement had been made by Lieut. Morris that the prisoner was seen

ADDRESSING A CROWD.

This prisoner was searched, and incriminating documents were found on him. At

11 p.m. on the same night he was ordered to search Mr. Kelly's premises, and he proceeded there with twenty men. On the way they were fired on. In the premises were two men—M'Intyre and Dickson—and as they were not in their own homes and could not give a satisfactory account of themselves they were brought to the barracks and confined in the guardroom. The guardroom was not sufficiently secure for the confinement of these three prisoners, and rescue from outside would have been easy. He regarded all three as being desperate men. On the 25th and 26th he had learned of the massacre of police and soldiers in Dublin, and there were rumours that an attack and massacre of troops in the barracks were contemplated. He was told that 600 prisoners had been released from Oldcastle, were armed by the rebels, and were marching on Dublin; that the rebels held depots for the supply of ammunition; and there was danger from the fact that the barracks only contained 600 men. There were numerous refugees, including wounded officers and men, in the barracks. It was known to the rebels that these three prisoners were in the barracks, and he had

FEARS FOR THEIR RESCUE.

There were rumours of a large American landing in Galway, and he had no knowledge of the possibility of the reinforcement of troops from England. He had no sleep on the 25th, and on the morning of the 26th he was exhausted and unstrung, and took the gravest view of the situation. He thought it clearly his duty to prevent the rescue of these prisoners, and he thought he had the power under martial law, and felt it clearly his duty, to order these men to be shot. Major Lentham informed him Dickson and M'Intyre were dangerous characters. As reference was

made to a statement made by Lieut. Morris that Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington had been seen addressing a crowd, the Chairman continued, it was only right to read that part of his statement. He stated that he was in charge of the picket at Portobello Bridge from 6 p.m. on the 25th April until 6 a.m. on the 26th April. About 7 p.m. on the 25th numerous groups were seen towards the northern end of Rathmines, and apparently listening to speeches, although there was a large friendly crowd—friendly towards the military—the Chairman remarked—at the bridge, there were rumours of an attack by the rebels, and he (Lieut. Morris) thought this was possible from his own observations on the neighbouring roofs. At 7.50 he was warned of the approach of a man named F. Sheehy-Skeffington, who, to the officer's own knowledge, was one of the leaders of the rebels. He approached the post

WALKING RAPIDLY

in the middle of the road, and several men were walking on each side. In view of danger and the suspicious circumstances he had him arrested and sent to Portobello Barracks.

The Attorney-General produced the record of the general court martial finding Capt. Bowen-Colthurst guilty of murder, but insane, and his committal, dated 10th June, 1916, to Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum during his Majesty's pleasure.

The Attorney-General then read correspondence between the Home Office and the War Office regarding the removal of Captain Bowen-Colthurst from King George V. Hospital to the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. The warrant authorising the removal of Capt. Colthurst was dated June 27. The letter accompanying the warrant stated that arrangements had been made for the reception of the prisoner in Broadmoor.

MR. HEALY'S STATEMENT

"Concerned Solely with Irish Regiments"

Mr. Healy then rose to open the proceedings on behalf of the families of Messrs. Skeffington and Dickson and said it became his duty to lay before the court certain considerations which he conceived to be of the gravest character; and that being so, he thought in time of war he should at first eliminate all topics of racial prejudice by making it clear at the start that they were

concerned solely with Irish regiments and Irish officers, and that, as far as the discredit which must indelibly remain on the names of some of them, it was a discredit on his own country, and in no sense on Great Britain.

That inquiry, went on counsel, had been directed by his Majesty to inquire into the death of his Majesty's subjects—subjects in a tender and special degree because of the fact that they were within his Majesty's ward, and because at all times, in every age and generation, and under every captain, the

KILLING OF PRISONERS

without trial has been regarded as the most heinous and awful of military offences. "Before I lay before you from my point of view what I have to say on behalf of the families of the murdered men," continued Mr. Healy, "let me recall to your minds that the building in which we now stand four months ago was in the hands of the insurgents, and that in the very Court in which I have the honour of speaking, a number of prisoners, police and others, were in the hands of the rebels.

What, sir, would be thought if the charge could be laid against the men who have paid the extreme penalty of the law if, in addition to the guilt of treason against their Sovereign, it could be proved they took innocent policemen out of this courtroom, through the little passage I see there indicating with a wave of his hand, and against the wall outside had their brains dashed out by bullets, and then had them buried in secret in the precincts of this Court, and keep from their families and wives and children all knowledge of this terrible

I conceive any man who lay under that charge in the course of the rebellion, he would feel he had inflicted upon his country

AN INDELIBLE DISHONOUR;

and how much more must it be when we are dealing not with the case of insurgents, of maddened peasants, but with men of

the regular army bearing the honoured commission of his Majesty?"

"STILL MORE TERRIBLE"

Absence of the Captain of the Guard

Therefore, Mr. Healy continued, they were investigating what he conceived to be one of the most serious and terrible matters that had ever come up in the whole history of that country. In the State trials they had it that Lord Carhampton, the Commander-in-Chief of that day, was severely condemned for striking a blacksmith who was a prisoner and who fired at him on the Chapelizod Hill. In the first instance he would ask them to consider, before he came to analyse the action of Captain Colthurst, what he believed to be still more terrible, the absence of the Captain of the Guard, whose absence he would consider it his duty to draw attention to. In Russell on "Crimes," in the case of the King and Thomas, there was a case of a seaman who was ordered to prevent boats from coming near his ship, and who was given ammunition and ball to prevent these boats coming within a certain distance of the ship. Some men in the boats defied his authority and he fired on them. The jury found a verdict exonerating him, on the ground that he was there as a sentinel and was obeying orders. It was referred to the judges, and the judges

DECLARED IT WAS MURDER.

That law had never been impugned, but, on the contrary, had been supported by every writer and authority from that day up to the present. What was the position on this Tuesday night? For the moment he would assume that the prisoners were all guilty; he would assume that they were three guilty men whom the law, as administered, might after trial sentence to death. These three men were lying in the King's prison and they were lying under the charge of three officers of this regiment. They should observe that in Dublin this was a permanent garrison, and the regiment was permanently garrisoned in Dublin. The condition of Portobello Barracks was well known. It was probably the best barracks in Dublin, and Dublin itself, no should tell them, having regard to the exaggeration of the circumstances of the rising, was the best barracked town for its size out of Prussia. There were eight barracks, and in addition there were various headquarter stations at Parkgate street and Dublin Castle. The township of Rathmines on Tuesday and Wednesday was as peaceful as this court. The death of no man except Coade took place beyond the canal. He (counsel) had the honour of driving through it on that day. Shopping was going on as usual—watercarts were passing along, and it was a fine, blazing hot summer's day. The barracks there beyond the canal was capable of holding 3,000 men, and garrisoned with at least 500 persons. The only post where there was trouble was a public-house, from which the looters were driven without the slightest difficulty. That disposed of the suggestion of

GERMANS FROM OLOCASTLE.

and peasants from the Wicklow hills. The people of Rathmines, anyway, were friendly and peaceful towards the military, and in that barracks were a number of seasoned soldiers and officers. For although this case assumed a special gravity by reason of the fact that hencforward military service in England and Scotland has been made compulsory, yet it must be remembered that these officers, so to speak, were seasoned resident soldiers stationed in that district. They were Irishmen, knowing Rathmines, and they had an orderly room annexed to the barracks. Now, as captains of the guard, there were three men, Lieut. Dobbin, Lieut. Wilson, and Lieut. Tooley. Of these three men only one had been called before this tribu-

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bunal—namely, Lieut. Tooley, although one of them, Lieut. Dobbin, according to the observations he made at the court martial—one of them assisted in the murder of the prisoners whom he was bound to protect. His learned friend, the Attorney-General, used the phrase in reference to Mr. Dobbin of an extraordinary kind—he said: "He is not available." No explanation beyond his learned friend's statement had been vouchsafed to the tribunal.

The Attorney-General—Pardon me, I stated that he was on active service at the front.

The Chairman—Yes, the Attorney-General called attention to the fact; he said: "Now, sir, I regret to say that Lieut. Dobbin is not available—he is somewhere on active service at the front, and it has been impossible to get access to him."

Mr. Healy said he took the summary of his learned friend, the Attorney-General's, statement from where he conceived it to be best reported—the "Irish Times"—he meant the best from his friend's point of view (laughter).

The Attorney-General—Where will you go to—heaven? (Laughter).

Mr. Healy, continuing, said that he found that in the guardroom at that time were Lieuts. Dobbin, Wilson, and Tooley. He didn't mean Lieut. Leslie Wilson, but the Lieut. Wilson he did mean was not, as far as he could make out, called at the court martial at all. His absence from the court martial, as far as he (Mr. Healy) was aware, was not explained, nor, as far as he knew, was his absence from that inquiry explained, and he (Mr. Healy) said that the action of the captains of the guard in delivering over their prisoners to death was, if possible,

MORE REPREHENSIBLE,

and more awful and more criminal than the act of Capt. Bowen-Colthurst himself. Mr. Healy then read the evidence of Lieut. Dobbin at the court martial. To the question of what Captain Bowen-Colthurst said when he came to the guardroom on the Wednesday morning, the answer was—"To the best of my ability he said—I am taking these prisoners out of the guardroom. I am going to shoot them. I think it is the right thing to do, or words to that effect." "Question—Did he mention any names? Answer—Not as far as I remember. Question—Did he indicate any of these eight prisoners? Answer—No." Discussing these answers, Mr. Healy said that as far as the evidence went, it was an indication that the whole of the prisoners in the guardroom were to be shot by Colthurst.

The Chairman—You see there was some slight doubt as to what the meaning of the language was which he used in the mind of the witness, and the President, Lord Chylesmore, asked: "Did he say these prisoners or did he say three prisoners," and the witness said: "I am not absolutely certain."

Mr. Healy said that Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was

IN A LOCKED CELL.

and the other two, as he would prove, were in the guardroom. This he would prove by some of the prisoners, although he did expect that in a grave inquiry of that kind, and in accordance with the promise of the Prime Minister, every officer and every soldier concerned in this transaction would have been present, and compelled to be present at any cost. They were not dealing with any matter done in a corner. They were dealing with a matter that would reverberate in the country for centuries to come, and not only in that country, but elsewhere.

If these things were done in Brussels, or to English prisoners now in internment at Limburg or elsewhere, the world would ring with it.

This was a great case, said Mr. Healy, and a great occasion, having regard to the fact that this country was at war, and the military officers, in especial, were bound to

have regard to the rules and usages of war. Counsel proceeded to quote evidence of witnesses at the court martial, including the officers of the guard who were on duty at the time the prisoners were shot, and one of whom had not been produced. The Commission should adjourn, said counsel. This man had taken a part in the murder of one of his prisoners, and unless that was a trifle to be laughed at in court, counsel maintained that the presence of this gentleman and his colleague in assassination was

absolutely essential, having regard to the promise made that these officers would be forthcoming. They had had Commissions as to Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles, and even, he understood, as to the amours of an old lady of 70 (laughter), to take evidence, and to take it compulsorily, but here where the fate of three prisoners was concerned—three admittedly innocent men—he (counsel) was not to be put off with the statement that this officer was at the front. Lieutenant Wilson had not been examined at all. They were told nothing of him. Acting on the basis that three persons had been in insurrection, counsel said that the officers of the guard were more guilty than Captain Colthurst. The latter had been

FOUND A LUNATIC.

These officers were not lunatics, and they had a duty to discharge. Their duty was to have died in defence of their prisoners. Efforts had been made elsewhere to throw dirt on Major Rosborough; there had been criticism of the adjutant. There they had a barracks as large as a village and almost a mile square in extent, and because an officer took out three prisoners and shot them in cold blood was a reason why Major Rosborough should be made a scapegoat of, or the adjutant held responsible for. Captain Colthurst had been found a lunatic. Were the men in charge of the guards lunatics? It passed human belief to think that the acts of those men were going to be passed over without their being dealt with. "We have here," Mr. Healy continued, "the

DOUBLE INFAMY

in Mr. Skeffington's case.

Not merely was he done to death: he was exposed to death, and compelled to witness the murder of an innocent man. He was turned out tied with a lanyard, and helpless, between 10 and 11 o'clock at night in the centre of a bombing party.

And now, Sir John, let me leave the assumption that he was a guilty man, and take the assumption that he was an innocent man, who abhorred bloodshed and abhorred violence."

The Chairman—On this matter we proceed quite definitely upon the basis that these three persons were innocent persons—a basis that is in no way contested. We accept that quite unreservedly.

Mr. Healy—The Headquarters authorities circulated throughout England and Scotland matter, which I will read to you, to prejudice Mr. Skeffington, assuming and suggesting that he was a guilty man. That is one of the things, to my mind, when you come to review the whole circumstances, which point to the fact that

it was the intention of the authorities here to have buried these men out of sight and that not one word of their death and burial would escape beyond the prison walls.

When you have heard me deal with the whole facts I will respectfully ask you to come unanimously to that conclusion. Let me deal with them on the basis of the innocence of this man. On the previous day Mr. Skeffington had tried to put up notices to prevent looting and calling for a civilian police, as unhappily that gallant force, the D.M.P., who might have been trusted to cope with it, had been, to the disgrace of whoever ordered it,

TAKEN OFF THE STREETS.

They would have been quite sufficiently gallant to cope with whatever disorder there was in the streets, and it will be part of my task to show you the gross exaggeration which has festooned the whole of this transaction—largely blathered out for political objects.

ORDERS TO BASH THEM!

"Firing Their Rifles at the Moon!"

Continuing, Mr. Healy said—They found this innocent man taken out with his hands tied behind his back and put in charge of a man certified now to be a madman and whose lunacy was relied upon by his learned friends. They had scarcely emerged from the barrack road on to the

tram track when they met a group of young men who had come out of the church from saying their prayers. The man Coode, who was selected for slaughter, was about 6ft. high, although only 19 years of age. It would be proved before them that this young man was of stainless character. He was a tectotiller, the son of an official in the Corporation, and himself a cycle mechanic. On that Tuesday evening, instead of being in a publichouse he was doing honour to the Holy Family. Some of his friends lived in the city and he volunteered to go over the bridge to see them safely past the patrol. After doing this he was returning with another friend, when a soldier at the bridge cautioned them and said that they had better pass on as it was

A DANGEROUS POINT.

The poor boy was making the best of his way home when

this party of madmen, firing their rifles at the moon, came out of the barracks.

They asked the young men if they knew martial law had been proclaimed, and they said they did not. Then Captain Colthurst turned to the tallest of the group—Coode, a virtuous young man the last penny of whose wages went to support his father and mother—and at first the boy, through nervousness, was hardly able to answer. So far from giving him impertinence or foul language, the evidence would be that he had just come from his prayers. Colthurst gave the orders to "bash them."

Young Coode was struck with a rifle on the jaw, with Skeffington looking on. Coode, being frightened, ran along the street, whereupon Capt. Colthurst took aim at him and poured out his life-blood on the pavement. Not one word of that was allowed to get into the newspapers, and it was not mentioned at the court martial.

Mr. Healy here paused to remark that when young Coode was taken to the hospital in the barracks he was treated with the greatest kindness, and continued to say that Mr. Skeffington was placed on the bridge of danger—where another young

man was killed the day before—while Capt. Colthurst went in quest of, apparently, the other men who were murdered. The Attorney-General, in his opening statement, in veiled and pillid language, seemed to be not unwilling to say that these persons were innocent, but he (counsel) would have expected some words of commiseration and sympathy with the families bereaved. They were not uttered, but instead it was left in a

QUASI-STATE OF OSCILLATION

as to whether these men might or not have participated in the rebellion.

The chairman said he did not take that view.

Mr. Healy went on to say that Dickson's father was employed in the Glasgow Corporation. The deceased was a Glasgow man who spoke a strong Scotch accent, and was the editor of a small paper called the "Eye-Opener." To show he was a loyal subject it would be proved that he boasted in the prison that night that he was having a special edition of his paper brought out to print the martial law proclamation, and he had not the smallest doubt of his discharge in the morning when the facts were known. Captain Colthurst described these men as ringleaders of the rebellion, as rebels, and as desperate men—phrases which he supposed, long ago Tippee Sahib used to his victims. McIntyre was the opponent of the men in insurrection. The victims were condemned to sudden death because martial law was proclaimed. As well might the soldiers present in court shoot down the gentlemen on the bench.

These two men, Dickson and McIntyre, had committed

THE TERRIBLE CRIME

of going into a tobacco shop to get cigarettes, and when they heard that there was sniping going on along this street, they might ask themselves how it was that the ordinary citizen was going about his business? If all these horrors were being committed in the streets that they heard of, was it not an amazing fact that within sight of Jacob's factory the only people who were a terror to law-abiding citizens were Captain Colthurst and his party.

Colthurst came down, according to his letter, to effect the arrest of Sinn Feiners who had taken Kelly's tobacco shop, and that was said somewhere to be information received from Dublin Castle. Kelly's tobacco shop was kept and maintained by a man in all Dublin the least likely to have harboured Sinn Feiners or Sinn Fein sentiment. Alderman Kelly was High Sheriff of Dublin the year before, and no shot, as he would tell them, was ever fired from his house. The house was searched from floor to basement, and not even a pereusion cap or a national ballad was found. The house was commanded by the military, but Colthurst comes along at 11 o'clock at night with a party of thirty or forty men, and he thought he was right in saying that not one of them had given evidence before that Commission, beyond the party at Portobello Bridge. Alderman Kelly would tell them and others in the shop that before they knew where they were Captain Colthurst

DISCHARGED THE RIFLES

of his party into their drawingroom windows, and that Colthurst himself took a bomb in his hand and fired it into the window, smashing the contents to smithereens, and slightly wounding the shop assistant, a man named Brennan. At that time Ald. Kelly had left the shop for a moment to go across to a fruiterer's shop to buy some fruit for McIntyre for his supper. Dickson had not been in the shop when Kelly went out, but he was a frequent visitor there, and apparently when shots began to be fired he took refuge in the shop. When the bomb struck the ground floor, they descended to a safer place, and they were arrested in the kitchen. A well-known citizen, a gentleman, and a Conservative, whose name he need not mention, was also arrested with them. This gentleman and Brennan, the assistant, and Dickson and McIntyre were taken and brought by Captain Colthurst and his party to Portobello Bridge, where Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was then absorbed into the rank, and were then deposited in Portobello Barracks. No charge was made against them, nor could be made. Counsel would now take the account of the criminal himself. Whilst that report wound up with matter which the tribunal thought well to exclude—although he thought it had a bearing—still, he would ask their attention to the rest of the report. It was marked "confidential." It was headed 26th April, and from Portobello Barracks, from Captain Bowen-Colthurst to the officer commanding: "I have to report for your information that yesterday evening at about 11 p.m., according to your orders, I proceeded with a party of 25 men to Kelly's tobacco shop in Harcourt row. Some shots were fired at us, but whether from this shop or not I cannot say." Now the court would observe in that report that not only was there no word of the killing of young Coode, but no word of the taking of Skeffington. In the report Capt. Bowen-Colthurst stated the occupations of the two men Dickson and McIntyre—one the editor of the "Searchlight" and the other the editor of the "Eye-Opener"—so that he knew thoroughly who the men were. He knew their newspapers and he knew their associations. The telephone

WAS NOT CUT OFF,

and a question to anybody on the telephone would have made him aware of the facts even if he was ignorant of them himself—an extraordinary thing to assume, he being resident in Dublin for so long. Another sentence in the report was that he (Capt. Bowen-Colthurst) had been informed that all the tobacco had been removed from Kelly's shop. That was a suggestion, Mr. Healy commented, which he supposed was meant to convey that the place was made into a fort; by the removal of the tobacco and its replacements he supposed, by sandbags or other military methods of defence. Dealing with the incidents of the Wednesday morning, Capt. Bowen-Colthurst said in his report: "This morning, at 9 a.m., I visited the guardroom, and I sent for the two men (Dickson and McIntyre) and for the man Skeffington, who was also detained." Again Mr. Healy asked, how was this man allowed this infraction of the guardroom? The theory of escape was then set up, and escape only. It hadn't then occurred to Capt. Bowen-Colthurst, in this quietude of Bathinibes, that rescue was possible. Dickson was a deformed man, so deformed indeed that when Colthurst came into the kitchen where Dickson was arrested he said to Miss Kelly, "somebody there,"

"IS THAT MAN SITTING DOWN?"

and the answer was that he was deformed, and forsooth the fear was that this deformed man would scale the wall, which was stated at the court martial as being from 12 to 13 feet high.

The Chairman here pointed out that Capt. Bowen-Colthurst, when he reported the matter verbally to Major Rosborough at 10.35 that morning, after the shooting, said nothing about rescue or escape.

Mr. Healy said he was going to remark that, and, further, that Capt. Bowen-Colthurst said he would be hanged.

Counsel, dealing further with the document, said that the soldier Michael Buckley gave evidence that Captain Colthurst had spent a couple of minutes alone with these men before their deaths. He suggested that at these interviews these men maintained their innocence. Dickson would have had no difficulty in proclaiming himself a loyal subject. M'Intyre's loyalty was notorious, because his newspaper was founded on that basis—it was the employers' newspaper he was editor of, Sheehy-Skeffington, although in sympathy with the Sinn Feiners, was what he called himself—a pacifist. Counsel described the statement by Captain Colthurst in this document that he found documents on these men as a lie. If documents were found in M'Intyre's possession why were they not produced?

The Chairman—I think it is clear there were not.

Mr. Healy said leaving the report he now came to this fact. Not one word of that tragedy was allowed to reach the outer world, was not allowed to reach the relatives, and although the Catholic chaplain was called in for their burial that evening or the next day, it was only when the father of the boy Coade was called in to see his son.

LYING IN THE MORTUARY

and recognised Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, and conveyed the news to his widow—no sorrower to another—it was only by that means for the first time that Friday that she learned of her unhappy husband's death. Not even the chaplain who buried them was allowed to break the seal of criminal secrecy within the walls of the barracks. That fact, coupled with the death of the boy Coade, the fact that the chaplain was not allowed to tell the families—he called that proof as far as military rigour could go of the effort to keep this tragedy hermetically sealed.

The Chairman—You used an expression I don't quite follow. You said something about the chaplain—Father McLoughlin—not being permitted to tell the relatives?

Mr. Healy—I did not put it as high as that. I say the fact that the natural instinct which a priest would have under these circumstances to condole and to make known the circumstances of the tragedy—the fact that he did not communicate that circumstance is, to my mind, proof that it was the intention to keep this matter sealed.

Proceeding, counsel said, with the exception of Captain Colthurst, there was no complaint against any of the officers in regard to the deficiencies observed in the burial of the bodies. They had to be placed in sheets, as coffins were not available. Strong comments had been made on Adjutant Morgan and Major Rosborough. So far as any exonerations from him on the part of the families of Messrs. Skeffington and Dickson was required, he fully exonerated them. Lieut. Morgan had taken steps, and the deficiencies of religion had been exercised.

The Chairman—The Adjutant concerned himself to find out what was the religious faith of these unfortunate men, and to see that their bodies were dealt with with the reverence in accordance with the

rites of their religion.

Mr. Healy said that was so, and their relatives had no desire to make any reproach against Lieutenant Morgan or Major Rosborough. The burial took place on the Wednesday night, and on Thursday night occurred an incident which he was sure would appear touching to the Commissioners. In this rebellion Mrs. Skeffington had a brother and brother-in-law fighting on his Majesty's side—Lieutenant Kettle and Lieutenant Sheehy. Having heard rumours, in her anguish the poor woman, thinking that she might in some way break the cloistered seal of Portobello Barracks sent her two sisters, Mrs. Kettle

and Mrs. Culhane, wife of the Taxing Master of that Court, to inquire for their brother, Lieut. Sheehy. They did not venture to ask for Mr. Skeffington. As the

SISTERS OF TWO OFFICERS

who were engaged in repressing the rebellion, they were cordially received at the barracks. They were brought to Captain Colthurst, and, having asked for Lieut. Sheehy, they ventured to ask if he had any information of Mr. Skeffington. He said he knew nothing about him. Whereupon the two ladies were put under arrest instantly, and by him sent to the guardroom, and ordered to prove their identity. Having done so, Colthurst said, with brazen impudence, that no information could be given about Mr. Skeffington, and that nothing was known of him. The ladies returned to the poor widow, and that night Coade informed her that he had seen Mr. Skeffington's body lying on a slab beside that of his son. That disposed of the case of Mr. Skeffington for a moment; but the case of Mr. Dickson was that his parents, poor canny bodies in Glasgow, never knew of their son's death until they read Mr. Asquith's statement in Parliament. The order of exhumation of Dickson's body was obtained by two brothers who came over from Glasgow. He was engaged to a lady in Dublin, who had him

BURIED IN GLASNEVIN.

"WHY THE SECRECY?"

Mr. Healy & "Miraculous Bricklaying"

Why this secrecy? Why not make a clean breast of it? If this man were a lunatic why the secrecy? Though the bricklayers removed the bricks which had been marked by the bullets—10 or 15 bullet marks were seen in the wall—Major Guinness, the military engineer, did not know who the bricklayers were. If he were a Prussian engineer he could tell it to them in six languages (laughter). He thought his learned friends would have devoted some time to explaining the miraculous bricklaying. The conclusion he would ask them to draw was, that at first it was never intended to grant an inquiry. "We," continued Mr. Healy, "not only knew that the bricks had been removed, but we knew that one of the bricklayers had a Munster accent." It would be of some interest to know (continued counsel) how these 15 bullet marks came to be in the wall after the bricks had been removed and replaced by others.

Mr. Healy went on to refer to the fact that the higher military command in Parkgate street received information by telephone from Lieut. Morgan on the day of the occurrence. Sir John Maxwell did not arrive in Dublin until the Friday, and therefore, so far as the murders were concerned, he was no more responsible for them than any man in court. But on the Monday Col. McCammond took physical notice on Capt. Colthurst's report, which he handed in at Dublin Castle to the proper authority. So far as the murder of Coade went, he (counsel) could find no proof that it was reported to the higher command. That, he submitted, it was the duty of Lieut. Leslie Wilson to do. Counsel next commented on the fact that on the Monday the command then held by

MAJOR SIR FRANCIS VANE

was taken from his hands and entrusted to Capt. Colthurst, the author of this bloody tragedy.

The Chairman pointed out that the Commission could not inquire into disciplinary matters.

Mr. Healy said Ald. J. J. Kelly was arrested by Sir Francis Vane, and counsel contended he was completing the transactions initiated by Colthurst.

The Chairman again directed attention to the terms of reference.

Mr. Healy—All I can say is, whoever made out the terms of reference ought to

be made King's High-Planner (loud laughter).

On resuming after luncheon, Mr. Healy, K.C., called attention to what he described as the important fact that on the Tuesday, contrary to what Capt. Bowen-Colthurst said he believed, martial law was not in existence. The proclamation was dated and published on the Tuesday, but the words were

"From and after," and it was dated the 20th April. So that at the time this unhappy man was taken out as a hostage, bound in the way he was,

NO MARTIAL LAW EXISTED or could exist.

The Chairman—You would not suggest, would you, that if there was martial law that it could possibly be a justification for summary execution without trial?

Mr. Healy said he entirely adopted the language of the Prime Minister on this matter in the House of Commons on the 11th May last.

The Chairman—Martial law or no martial law, people should not be shot without investigation.

Mr. Healy next dealt with the trunk incident on the Wednesday, and said that in the summary of the charges taken in the guardroom Dickson's name was spelt as Dickenson, and no address was given. Dickson was dead when that note was made, because the note was, "Shot, 25.4.1916"—a most businesslike record. At 1 o'clock that afternoon, of the three dead men the one whose residence was selected for perquisition was the Scotchman, Dickson, alone. It would be clear to the tribunal to find that on Alderman J. J. Kelly's premises Dickson's trunk meant sentence of death in the mind of a man whose

MIND WAS INFLAMED

as was the mind of Capt. Colthurst. The proclamation was regarded as a warrant for assassination. This bag was handed to a limping soldier, who was directed not to take it to the barracks, which by the road was about next door, but he was directed to bring the bag to the next picket, which, of all places in the world, should happen to be Ald. Kelly's shop. Counsel contended that the facts showed that the trunk was deliberately left there, and left in charge, not of Claxton, but of a private named Boland. Ald. Kelly would tell them that when he left in custody of Major Vane no trunk had been deposited on his premises. Major Vane would tell them that, as far as he knew, there was no trunk accompanying the party who took back and arrested Ald. Kelly. There was an alderman who might not unfairly be described as a Sinn Feiner, Ald. Thomas Kelly, who, when the rising began, had the good sense to go to a police station.

FOR PROTECTION.

The Chairman said he did not see just then how this confusion of names came within the terms of his reference.

Mr. Healy said the false endorsement of Captain Colthurst, admitted at the court martial, stated that he took a copy of the secret order of the military—that was notoriously the document read by Ald. Thomas Kelly, and as far as they were aware Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington never had a copy of it. So the military blunder was that they wished the Sinn Fein alderman to be arrested. But he lived in a different part of the city altogether. The tribunal should remember that every scrap of paper dealing with the dead man had been swept away out of his house. The whole transaction regarding this

BOGUS DOCUMENT.

and the two aldermen named Kelly, savoured of the Pigott forgery. That bogus circular was, in fact, an effort to stir up feeling against the military by a series of accusations. One phrase in it read: "Communications to or from the premises known as the Archbishop's House, Drumcondra," and that these premises were to be "isolated."

The Chairman said they were prepared to accept the suggestion that there was confusion as to the two aldermen.

Mr. Healy said what he was going to say was this, that to suggest that these so-called secret orders were found on the person or in the house of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was as false as that Alderman James Kelly had any connection with Dickson directly or indirectly, and it was simply another part of the plot.

Proceeding, counsel referred to the raid on Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington's house on the Friday. Scarcely, he said, had Mrs. Kettle and Mrs. Culhane reached the widow's residence with information that was denied, than there descended, about 7 o'clock that night, at a time when it was illegal—and anybody found out after 7 o'clock was liable to military punishment under the proclamation—upon her house a party of some 40 to 50 men. Might he make this

observation before he went further, that such an incident could have occurred and was openly denied in full Parliament by no less a person than the Prime Minister, and this inquiry had continued for three days and there had been no attempt to deny it or even to investigate it. Mr. Healy quoted the Prime Minister's statement and also Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington's statement as to the raid on her house, and, continuing, said the latter statement had been qualified as unbelievable and incredible. It had been promised that the matter would be inquired into. Three months had elapsed, and they met before that tribunal without one word of denial and without the production of one man, officer or otherwise, that took part in the raid. The very property taken from this woman, including her husband's letters

BEFORE HER MARRIAGE,

and other precious souvenirs, had never been returned. Articles of value she had not got back, and when pressure was applied she received instead some blood-stained garments belonging to other people (sensations). He did say when an important person made a promise of that kind, and when the military authorities did not think it worth their while to hold an investigation into the statement he said he believed to be untrue and declared it should be investigated, it should, as far as this country was concerned; not even the Prime Minister and Parliament of England could give up protection against the military authorities.

The chairman pointed out that the Commission would be glad to have evidence bearing out what the Prime Minister said, that this matter should be inquired into in the most thorough manner, and as far as they were concerned they should certainly do it.

Mr. Healy replied that he apprehended that the inquiry should not be one-sided. Was it likely that the widow would depart from the statement she made in writing three months ago, and he apprehended some attempt would be made to deal with that branch of the case.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S REPLY.

Concluding a three hours speech, Mr. Healy said: No person feels more than I do, or more than my clients do, the terrible tragedy of the events on both sides in this unhappy rebellion. I feel there is a great deal to be forgotten and to be forgiven on both sides.

I would like a great deal of it forgotten and forgiven. It is not with a view to stirring up harsh, bitter, and deplorable memories between our countrymen that pressure has been applied in connection with this inquiry. The motive was a far different one.

We feel that a rebellion conducted by what the Chief Secretary of the day called a job lot of Italian rifles, has been magnified to a degree, and has been visited with punishments which have not been inflicted in other parts of the British Empire. We believe that painful as the task and the duty may be of exposing and bringing to light some of the horrors that are committed on one side when terrible charges are made of cold-blooded murders on the other, it is a task which we must perform. In every situation of this kind there must be two aspects, and if you only apply the method of rigour, of condemnation, of libel, and of coercion, these are methods which cannot succeed.

Martial Law has been put into the hands of the soldiers as a sole specific for the evils that afflicted this land. I would say, in conclusion, if I might apply the fine words of Spenser—

"Ah, ye mistook, ye should have snatched his wand and boned him fast"

Without the rod reversed and backward matters of dissecting power, Ye cannot free the lady that sits here. In stony silence—still and motionless." The Attorney-General said Lieut. Wilson would be there to-morrow, and if Mr. Healy had given the slightest hint as to that he required him he would have produced him yesterday.

Mr. Healy—I am not yet Attorney-General.

The Attorney-General—No; but you will be if you go on like this (laughter).

Mr. Healy—My friend must be expecting promotion (loud laughter).

Mr. Sheehy Skeffington then entered the witness box and said she last saw her husband alive between 5.15 and 5.30 p.m. on the Tuesday evening.

They were married 13 years, and they were schoolmates together. So far as she knew her husband could not be described as a member of any dangerous society. Even in their school-days he was a strong pacifist, and on the Tuesday he told her that he was going to a meeting he had summoned at 31 Westmoreland street in connection with the preventing of looting.

"On Wednesday," she continued, "when he did not come home I began to be rather uneasy, and I tried to find

LIEUTENANT DOBBIN

LEFT THE TRENCHES ON MONDAY

At the sitting of the Commission the Attorney-General called Second Lieutenant William Leonard Price Dobbin, of the 2nd Royal Irish Rifles, who said he was at present on active service, and left the trenches only on Monday night to come and give evidence.

He was in charge of the guard at Portobello Barracks on the Tuesday night that Mr. Skeffington was taken out of the guardroom. He had not known Captain Bowen-Colthurst before.

Witness further stated that going into or coming out of the guardroom that night with Mr. Skeffington, Captain Colthurst said nothing to him. He did not know who was in charge of the guard, but Lieutenants Tooly and Wilson were there. Witness was senior of the three, and up to that had been on guards duty and night.

There was a good deal of

Excitement and Unrest

in the barracks.

The Attorney-General—Had you any communication with anyone that evening about Captain Colthurst taking a civilian from the guardroom? I conveyed the fact to the Adjutant.

Did you receive any reply or direction from the Adjutant in this matter? I am not sure.

The Chairman—Mr. Dobbin would not at present remember all the details, having come direct from duty as we know. (To witness)—We have had some evidence given while you were away. Lieut. Morgan said he heard about Mr. Skeffington being taken out of the guardroom, and he says he saw you and spoke to you about it. Do you recollect that? No, sir.

He stated: "I told Lieut. Dobbin to give it to me in writing," that is, that Captain Colthurst had taken Mr. Skeffington out of the guardroom? I am not sure; I remember communicating with him.

Witness continued to say that to his recollection he received no communication from Lieut. Morgan that night. He did not remember Captain Colthurst bringing in Mr. Skeffington that night. On the following morning, Wednesday, 25th, witness was again on duty at the main guard. On that morning he knew that the names of two of the detained men were "Dickenson" and Skeffington. He remembered Captain Bowen-Colthurst.

Going into The Guardroom

that morning. Witness was standing at the main gate at the time. Captain Colthurst came out pretty soon, and spoke to witness.

The Attorney-General—Just tell the Court what passed between you and him? As far as I can recollect, he said to me:

I am taking these prisoners out of the guardroom. I am going to shoot them, Dobbin.

Do you remember did he add anything to that? I don't remember.

Do you remember whether he said anything about his belief or his idea that was the right thing to do? He did. Captain Colthurst went back to the guardroom. I then sent Lieutenant Wilson over to the Adjutant.

For what purpose did you send him to the Adjutant? I told him to tell the Adjutant that Captain Colthurst was taking the prisoners out of the guardroom. Lieut. Wilson went away on a bicycle to deliver the message, and was away about two minutes.

When he came back, what answer did he deliver to you? I cannot recollect.

Can you give an idea of the substance? No, I cannot.

The Chairman pressed witness to try to recollect what Lieutenant Wilson said when he came back.

"I HEARD SHOTS FIRED"

Witness, after considering, said the message he got back was that the prisoners were not to be taken out.

The Attorney-General—When Lieut. Wilson came back, what was the next thing that happened? I heard shots fired.

Was that immediately? Either immediately or before he got to me, I think.

When he was on his way back, or immediately on his arrival? Yes.

When you heard shots, where did you go? I remained where I was.

From what direction did the shots come? They appeared to be at the back of the guardroom.

Did anyone come out of the guardroom after you heard the shots? Yes, Captain Colthurst.

Did he say anything to you or did he pass you without observation? He

Passed Me Without Observation.

What did you do? I went into the guard room.

What did you find in the yard at the back of the guardroom? Three men lying on the ground.

Did you observe something with regard to one of them; did you think you observed a movement or motion? Yes.

What did you do then? I sent to the orderly room to know what I was to do.

The Chairman—On noticing that did you speak to the sergeant. It was a serious and a terrible thing. Did you tell him? I think I drew his attention to it.

It was then put to the witness by the Chairman that one of the witnesses stated that he (Lieut. Dobbin) was heard to say to the sergeant,

"That Max Is Not Dead."

Witness replied that that was so.

The Chairman—That was the impression you got? Yes.

And did you speak to the sergeant? I think I did.

The Attorney-General—You sent Lieut. Tooly to the guardroom? I sent one of the officers.

And did he return to you with orders? He did, sir.

Mr. Healy—I must really object. My

friend has just asked, "Did he return to you with orders?"

The Chairman—We must all remember that the Commission is not sitting for the purpose of condemning or judging any individual. It is simply for the purpose of finding out the facts.

The Attorney-General asked the witness did he in consequence of that order fire another volley, and he replied in the affirmative.

WHAT LIEUT. DOBBIN READ IN FRANCE

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy—Do you remember when you left for France? On the 25th June.

Did you go by yourself or with your regiment? With a number of officers of my regiment.

When you returned this morning where did you report to? Colonel Staunton.

May I assume that you knew nothing whatever of what went on in this court for a week or so? Except what I read in France.

Were you able to get the whole of it? Very little.

What did you not get (laughter)—have you any idea? No.

The Chairman—Did you get Mr. Healy's speech? (laughter). I did, sir.

Mr. Healy—I suppose you had often

Mounted Guard

previous to this Tuesday? No. Had you ever taken part in what is called changing guard before? No.

Did you know anything about the changing guard? I knew the procedure. I knew that the guard presents arms to each other, that the commanders of the guard hand over the articles in the guardroom, the names of the prisoners, and also the prisoners. That is all I know.

Further cross-examined—Witness said he did not know that he had no power to discharge a prisoner from the guard, nor did he know that a prisoner should be brought to the guardroom before he was discharged. Witness would not have discharged the prisoner on his own authority.

Mr. Healy—Will you tell me what authority there was to tie Mr. Skeffington's hands behind his back and take him out as a hostage? I don't know.

Did you see this man

With His Hands Tied

behind his back? I did. Where was that operation performed? In front of the guardroom.

Who tied him? I don't know. Who gave the orders for the tying? I don't remember.

What did the prisoner say when this indignity was offered to him? I did not hear him say anything.

Did you protest? No. How many soldiers were there? I don't know.

Did you know what he was being taken for? No.

What did you do on that night in accordance with your duty for the safety of your prisoner? I did not do anything except to inform the adjutant that he had been taken.

Did you write this report to the adjutant? (Reading)—"An armed party under Captain J. C. Bowen-Colthurst has just

Passed Through My Guard

demanding and taking with them the last captured prisoner, Sheehy-Skeffington? Yes.

You sent that report at 11.10 p.m.? Yes. The Chairman—You said you did not remember putting in a report in writing, but this (document read) looks as if you must have done so. It looks as though the Adjutant did ask you to put it in writing, but whether he did or not, you did put it in writing that Mr. Skeffington was brought out, and this was written before he was brought back, because you do not state so?

Witness—Yes. The Chairman—In the interest of this gentleman, it should be pointed out that this report states, "An armed party, under Captain Bowen-Colthurst, has just passed through my guard, demanding and taking with him the last captured prisoner." Is that correct—did Captain Colthurst demand Mr. Skeffington? I don't remember, sir.

Witness stated, in reply to further questions, that when he wrote that report he knew Mr. Skeffington's name, and

He Was the Last Man

that had been brought into the guardroom. Mr. Skeffington was brought in, he thought, while he was away for a meal.

The Chairman pointed out that there was an hour stated on the report "11.10 p.m."

Witness stated to Mr. Healy that his inference was correct that the report was in his writing.

Chairman—There is a statement in it "By Orderly." That means sent to the Adjutant by an orderly? Yes.

Mr. Healy—This is no pencil sketch; it is a deliberate report that you had to sit down to write? Yes.

You know that this was something unusual in reference to the guard? Yes, sir.

You used the word "demanding the last captured prisoner." How did he put his demand? That I do not remember, sir.

Did he put you under an obedience to him as your senior officer? I don't remember him speaking to me that night at all.

Mr. Healy—This report somewhat contradicts that.

The Chairman—No, indeed, it does not. Mr. Healy—I said "somewhat."

The Chairman—The witness says "I do not remember his speaking to me that night." You say the report

Contradicts That.

With great respect, it does not; his memory does not serve him and there is nothing in the report which contradicts what he states.

"EXCUSING YOURSELF"

Do you observe, Lieut. Dobbin, that the phrase used is "An armed party under Captain Colthurst has just passed through my guard." That seems to show that you were overborne, does it not? I don't understand your question.

"That you were placed under a sort of constraint—doesn't it seem as if in that report you were excusing yourself for having let your prisoner out? No, sir.

You thought it was the most natural thing in the world? In taking the prisoner out, no.

You thought it was an irregularity? It appeared to me to be such.

Therefore you reported it straight way? I did.

Now at that time was Mr. Skeffington

in the detention room, in the guardroom, or in a cell? I don't know, sir. I do not remember when he was brought in and

I Don't Know Where He Was

when taken out. May I put it like this—that Captain Colthurst came up to you at the gate and said something to you—is that right? I don't remember it.

Is this the position—that if we had not the written memorandum from you you would not be able to tell us anything about it? Bar that he took them out.

And that is your present state of memory? Yes.

You do not remember even writing that letter? I do.

You didn't when you came into that box? No.

Witness further stated that he sent that letter to the Adjutant by an orderly, whose name he did not remember. He did not remember

What the Adjutant Did

on getting the letter. Surely you saw this unhappy man taken out, with his hands tied behind his back—that must have made an impression? Certainly.

It certainly made an impression. And you saw him marched off between a bombing party this unfortunate tied man—that must have made an impression on you? Yes.

The bombs that were put into their hands before their departure—that must have made some impression on you? I didn't see any bombs.

Did it make any impression on you when the Adjutant came to you? I don't remember him coming that night.

Witness continued to say that he remained in the guardroom that night. He had his meals in the officers' mess. He did not think he met the Adjutant in the officers' mess.

Mr. Healy—Will you contradict anyone who says that?

You Were Demonstrated With

for putting Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington in the charge of Captain Colthurst that night? The Chairman—He does not suggest that.

Mr. Healy—Would you permit me?

The Chairman said that seemed to him to suggest to the witness that somebody who was available and who had given testimony had said so, and if that was the case his (the Chairman's) memory had failed him.

Mr. Healy—Turn to the evidence of the Adjutant on the second occasion.

Mr. Henry—It was before the writing he saw him.

Mr. Healy accepted Mr. Henry's correction.

Continuing, Mr. Healy asked, "Before you wrote that report to the Adjutant where did the Adjutant see you?" I don't remember seeing him that night.

How come you to write that report, then? It would be the usual thing to do so.

Do you usually release prisoners? No. Do you now say that the Adjutant didn't see you that night? No, I don't.

The Chairman (interposing)—If you had to

Rely On Your Memory

you would not be able to tell us that the Adjutant had seen you, or that you had written a report? No, sir.

"It goes to show," the Chairman remarked, "that this gentleman's memory about what happened is not very full or precise. I don't say that to blame him at all. As a matter of fact I think it very candid of him."

Mr. Healy retorted that "You can get out of everything by saying 'I don't know.'"

The witness, further cross-examined, said he saw the importance of Sergeant Maxwell going and informing the Adjutant of his own motion that a prisoner had been taken from the guardroom. He didn't remember

Despatching the Sergeant

to give that information. Then, of all this business on the Tuesday night, all you remember is seeing Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington tied with his hands behind his back?" said Mr. Healy.

Witness—Yes. Everything else vanished from the picture? That is right.

Of course, Mr. Dobbin, you see the importance in its bearing on the death of this man next day as to whether you remonstrated the night before or not? Yes.

The Attorney-General—You already asked Mr. Healy not to make a suggestion of that kind.

Mr. Healy—Is this fair to me? The Attorney-General—It is quite fair.

The Chairman said it was right to say that, as far as they knew at present, there was no evidence of anybody having

Remonstrated With This Witness

about it. Mr. Healy—I am only trying, with regard to the extraordinary circumstances, to find out what happened.

Further cross-examined, witness said he didn't know whether Mr. Skeffington was put into the cell bound after he was brought back. He didn't know the hour he was brought back or by whom.

Questioned as to Mr. Dickson, he said he didn't think that

He Made Any Protest

as to his arrest. He as officer of the guard would have taken particulars from prisoners brought to the guardroom. He didn't remember taking particulars from Mr. Dickson.

QUESTIONING PRISONERS

Questioned by Mr. Healy as to whether he knew that Dickson said he was editor of the "Eye Opener," and that MacIntyre said he was editor of the "Searchlight," witness said he thought he knew that the next day.

After the thing was all over? I think so. Did you learn before the death of this man Dickson that he had declared his innocence? No.

Is that equally true of MacIntyre? As far as I know.

We were told that these three prisoners were questioned that night? I don't remember.

Lord Justice Molony—The only evidence is that Mr. Skeffington was questioned that night and that the others were not.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Do you know that

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington Was Questioned that night? No.

The Chairman—You know the name of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, because you wrote it in a report. Don't you know that he was examined that evening? I take it that he was examined by an officer. All the prisoners who came in were.

You do not remember it yourself? Not Sheehy-Skeffington.

The Chairman remarked that Dickson and MacIntyre were brought in by Captain Colthurst himself, and he was an officer of standing, and it might be that he bringing him in himself that would be the occasion when there would be an examination of them. But Sheehy-Skeffington was not brought in by an officer, and no doubt would have to be questioned.

Replying further to Mr. Healy, witness said he thought there was an examination of the prisoners, but

He Did Not Remember Who Conducted It.

Mr. Healy put it to witness that he as captain of the guard took statements from these prisoners, but witness in reply said he did not like to contradict that, but he could not remember.

Council next put some questions as to whether Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was taken out of one cell and put into another and the door locked.

The Attorney-General made a remark to the effect that

The DOOR of the Cell would be likely to be locked.

Mr. Healy—in Dublin Castle they know

nothing about that—they have no cells there (laughter).

The Attorney-General—You seem to know a lot about the three (laughter).

Mr. Healy—Since my friend's appointment (laughter).

The Attorney-General—You take a special interest in it. Perhaps you expect to go there soon (laughter).

Mr. Healy—Perhaps

We Will Take Possession of It some day (laughter).

The Attorney-General—I think it will be a long day.

Witness, replying to other questions, said the sergeant of the guard would keep the key. He did not remember being informed that Mr. Skeffington was put into a separate cell.

Mr. Healy put it to witness that he knew an irregularity had been committed, and that Captain Colthurst took the prisoners.

Witness said he did not know that the sergeant of the guard had been to the adjutant about it.

Mr. Healy—At all events you knew a gross irregularity had been committed? Yes.

Mr. Healy—Is not the irregularity threefold when dealing with three prisoners? Yes.

And is it not still more grave when, instead of taking one prisoner out as a hostage, three prisoners are taken out to be shot? Yes.

Did you ever hear of shooting prisoners without trial? No.

Did it strike you in any way as **A Grave Offence**

against civilization? It struck me as most peculiar at the time.

You were then in charge of eighteen fully armed men and two sub-lieutenants, and why did you not defend your prisoners? I was given an order, and obeyed it.

The Chairman—Was it Captain Colthurst gave you that order? No. I did not actually get an order.

Mr. Healy—Is it your view that you had no authority there as compared with Captain Colthurst? I had no authority there, in my opinion.

You say when Colthurst told you he was going to shoot the prisoners that he said, "I think it is the correct thing to do, Dobbin"—is not that rather a consultative question? He was not consulting me.

Did you say, "I don't think it is, Colthurst"? No.

Did you think it was the right thing to do? No.

And why didn't you say so? I did not consider

It Was My Position

to do so to a senior officer.

Did you know on that Tuesday night or early on Wednesday morning that Captain Colthurst shot a boy in the street? I heard a rumour to that effect.

Mr. Healy—Life was cheap that day.

The Chairman—Mr. Healy, we have a duty to this young officer.

Mr. Healy—So have I, Sir John—a duty to perform to a service for which I have a great respect and which I desire should remain in respect in this country—martial country. (To witness)—You remained silent during all this time? I did, sir.

You never said a word? No. And you thought it

Necessary to Send a Message

to the Adjutant? Yes, sir.

Did you say to Captain Colthurst "Hold your hand for five minutes until I send a cyclist to the Adjutant"? No.

Mr. Healy—Why didn't you say to Colthurst, "Give us a reprieve for two seconds and a quarter until the cyclist comes back"? He was my senior officer.

You did not intervene? No.

You remained stock-still out in the courtyard? Yes.

Replying to the Chairman, the witness said he was 19 years of age, and got his commission in June, 1915. Up to last April he had had no experience of shots being fired in anger or in self defence. He didn't give any orders for the opening of the cell doors on the morning in question.

The Chairman—This is the other report which this gentleman signed, and which he sent to the Adjutant. I think its terms should be read. It is dated 26th/4/16, which shows that it was written on the Wednesday. Reporting to the Adjutant, he says:—

Sir—I was in command of the main quarter guard, and at 10.20 a.m. Capt. J. C. Bowen-Colthurst came into the guardroom. He ordered six of my guard to stand to. He gave the order to the sergeant of the guard to bring out Thomas "Dickenson," Patrick McIntyre, and Sheehy-Skeffington, three of the civilian prisoners in my charge, out of the cells into the yard attached to the guardroom.

Shortly Afterwards I Heard Shots Fired.

Capt. Colthurst left the guardroom. On searching I found the prisoners dead.

That does not contain the second shooting, but it happened. There is one matter I want you to be careful about. Up to the time that you went into the yard and saw these men lying there shot, had there been more volleys than one? No, sir.

How soon after you heard this first volley did you go into the yard? In about ten seconds, directly Captain Colthurst left.

Are you clear that up to that time there had been

Only One Volley?

Yes, sir.

Is it true that when the guard was changed from time to time that sometimes a rifle went off by mistake? Very often, sir, during that rebellion.

You had what I might call a scratch lot—all sorts of men, specimens from ten different units—on your guard? Yes, sir.

Tell me this quite candidly—as I expect you will do—until this inquiry, before it, had you ever heard from anybody any suggestion that these men were not shot together—was it ever suggested, mooted or rumoured, or discussed at all? No, sir.

Did you know that at one time Lieut. Wilson was under the impression that

He Had Gone Twice

with two messages to the Adjutant? Yes, sir.

You must have had some talk over this dreadful thing? Yes, sir.

His memory about it at one time was that you sent him to take the message to the Adjutant that Captain Colthurst was going to take these men out of the guardroom, that he came back and that you then sent him to say that he had taken them out and was going to shoot them, and just at the end of the second message the shots were fired. That was his memory at one time, can you help us about that. It is very difficult to remember accurately, but the only thing an honest gentleman can say quite frankly is what his own recollection is, whether it agrees with others or not.

Witness—My recollection is that I only sent Lieut. Wilson once and Lieut. Tooley once.

That has always been your recollection? Yes, sir.

WITNESS'S JOURNEY

The Attorney-General mentioned that the last witness had lost his transport and had practically been travelling day and night since Monday to get here.

The Chairman said Lieutenant Dobbin had done everything which could be done to help them in ascertaining the facts, and they were very grateful to him. I think it is right, continued the Chairman, to men-

tion that we have seen that other document which was mentioned by those who instructed you, Mr. Powell.

Mr. Healy—I was supplied with it in the most frank manner by the solicitors. Nothing could be more candid.

The Chairman—We do not propose, unless you urge to the contrary, to go further into it.

Mr. Healy—I fall in with your views.

In reply to the Chairman,

Mr. Powell said he did not propose to examine Mr. Beattie as there was

No Substantial Difference

in the evidence he could give and that of Mrs. Kettle in regard to the treatment of herself and Mrs. Cullane in the barracks.

The Chairman said there was another point mentioned by Mrs. Kettle which was more important than the point of being marched about under an escort. That is a thing, said the Chairman, which in these troublous times ladies must excuse. The thing which we feel a little more important is the statement which Mrs. Kettle made that when she inquired on the Friday she was told by an officer that nothing was known about Mr. Skeffington.

Mr. Powell—I understood she said it was Captain Colthurst told her that.

The Chairman—No. I want to know whether I may take it from you that the facts are as she stated.

Mr. Powell—You may.

Mr. Healy—Therefore the evidence of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington and Mrs. Kettle

Stands Uncontradicted,

MR. BROWN'S SPEECH

Mr. T. W. Brown then addressed the Court on behalf of his clients, Major Rosborough and Lieutenant Morgan. Both these gentlemen, he said, welcomed that inquiry in order that all the facts might be gone into from their point of view. That had been a very full inquiry. Not only all the military witnesses who had been called, but also all the civilians who knew anything whatever about these circumstances, had been called, and had given the Commission the utmost assistance they could in their power. They welcomed the inquiry also because they hoped and trusted that one result of the inquiry would be that an end would be put to the

Attacks That Had Been Made Upon Them

—not by the Commissioners, he was glad to say, nor by any of the parties connected with the inquiry. In other places attacks had been made upon Major Rosborough and Adjutant Morgan for the way in which they behaved with regard to these prisoners. He only proposed to deal with the matter very slightly, and he would ask the Court to take into account, in dealing with their conduct and treatment of these prisoners throughout this unhappy affair, two things. One was the state of the city at that time; and the other was, the condition of Portobello Barracks. He thought, in dealing with the treatment of these men, it would not make

A True Picture

if the condition of Portobello Barracks and the condition the men were in—their excited condition, and the great strain and pressure under which they did their work—were not considered.

"Their heads," said Mr. Brown, "were almost turned with the amount of work they had to do, and I think that condition of affairs ought to be fairly taken into account when dealing with their conduct on those few days." Referring to Major Rosborough's evidence, he said Major Rosborough, as far as he could, was careful that the men under his command, many of whom he had never seen before,

Should Not Do Anything Rash,

that they should deal with the civilian population in a very trying time as carefully and as cautiously as they could. As to Adjutant Morgan, Mr. Brown said he seemed to have acted very properly as far as he was concerned. He went to the guardroom and seeing that Mr. Skeffington belonged to a different station in life from the other prisoners he ordered, for his comfort, that he should be put in a separate department. He also gave instructions with regard to his food. They had evidences that

Eggs Were Sent Across

from some part of the barracks for his breakfast. He also got clean linen—towels—and cutlery for him, in order that he might be made as comfortable as he could while he was there. Mr. Healy admitted that Mr. Morgan acted towards Mr. Skeffington as fairly as he could under the circumstances.

Dealing with the taking out of Mr. Skeffington from the guardroom, Mr. Browne said in such trying times as then existed, it might be advisable, in order to learn the whereabouts of certain parties, to take out a prisoner—

The Chairman said he should be very sorry that that would be the views the military authorities would take, save under the most exceptional circumstances. It seemed to him that they were on the strongest ground

When They Reprobated Such Conduct.

Mr. Browne—That is the attitude they have always taken up, that it was an irregular proceeding, for which there was no authority whatever. He felt certain that in dealing with the action of Major Rosborough and Lieut. Morgan that they would consider the great strain under which they were working, and he trusted that any shadow that might have been hanging over either of these men might be once and for all removed.

The Chairman remarked that Major Rosborough was the officer in command on the Tuesday and the Wednesday. He wished to know up to what date that officer was in command.

Mr. Brown—Up to Saturday, the 29th. Counsel explained that the late Colonel Allett returned on Thursday or Friday, but did not assume command, although he was Major Rosborough's senior officer.

MR. POWELL'S ADDRESS

Mr. Powell then addressed the Court on behalf of the military authorities, and said his duty had been to give every assistance in his power to the Commissioners, to supply them with every information within the power or procurement of the military authorities; to refrain from appearing as an advocate for any particular officer whose conduct was impugned, or against whom responsibility was alleged, and to see that no obstruction should be placed in the way of the Commission in

The Search After the Truth,

Counsel went on to say that the speech delivered by Mr. Healy had gone far and wide. Mr. Healy filled the newspapers here as in another place he filled the House. He was one of their most gifted advocates, and if he was some times bitter he had a most kindly heart. He, counsel was sure, had been greatly moved by the deplorable circumstances which the Commission had been investigating, and to that fact he attributed the circumstance that Mr. Healy made charges and suggestions which it

would be his (Mr. Powell's) duty to point out were

Without Foundation.

The events of the rebellion were tragic, and everyone would pray that the dark cloud which overshadowed their country might soon pass away. Counsel made reference to the grief which must fill the hearts of the relatives of these three unfortunate gentlemen, and said they would believe him genuine when he stated that those for whom he appeared—and he had been asked to associate General Maxwell and the Headquarters Staff—

Deeply Sympathised

with them in their sorrow. The officer who committed these grievous wrongs, an officer of sixteen years service, had been convicted of wilful murder, and his career had terminated in that which was worse than death, the awful seclusion of the mad-house. Mr. Healy had said, and said truly, that they were a sensitive race, and that if you wounded one of them you wounded all. That observation applied to our Irish soldiers, for they, too, were sensitive. Mr. Healy had said that the responsibility for the tragic events they were investigating must fall on one regiment alone,

An Irish Regiment,

and they felt that very deeply. But now at the end of several days investigation the only suggestion of responsibility against any officer in that regiment other than the one denuded man, for the tragedy of the 26th April was made in relation to the conduct of a couple of subalterns with less than one year's service, not long out of the nursery, and who had probably only learned the first great rule of army discipline, that when they received an order from a superior officer "their's not to reason why"—they must obey. Mrs. Skeffington, a very cultured lady, had told them that when they were searching her husband's house she heard one of the soldiers say, "We did not enlist for this." "I fear," said Mr. Powell, "that many a soldier said that as he fell on the pavements of our city. I fear that many a stricken mother and wife said, "It is not for this we gave up our men to our country," and the anguish of many is intensified to-day by the knowledge that these men fell

Not On The Field Of Honour,

fighting the common foe, but on the streets of Dublin against their own countrymen, and in a rebellion fostered by an enemy who having failed to penetrate the citadel offered to strike a deadly blow at the hearts of the Empire. There are many who revile the soldiers now whose ears on Easter Monday were strained for the sound of the tramp of soldiers' feet. He did not agree with Mr. Healy that the D.M.P. could have restored order, and furthermore he was afraid that that rebellion was ushered in by the

Cold-Blooded Murder of a Policeman

at the Castle gate. He did not agree that the conditions which prevailed at Portobello Barracks were of a peaceful character, notwithstanding its proximity to Rathmines. Here was war, war in one of its most objectionable forms. The soldier would face the guns he sees bravely, but the expectation of snipers—the bullet from

The Unseen Hand

would unnerve the bravest man. Counsel asked the Commissioners to remember that it was under the circumstances described that the men were arrested.

SKEFFINGTON'S ARREST

'A MOST UNCANNY EPISODE'

On resuming after luncheon, Mr. Powell said they had the circumstances under which Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested. He seemed to have been in the proximity of a crowd, which was following him, and, whether hostile or friendly, counsel gathered that if they were hostile to the military. Immediately, as a measure of prevention, Mr. Skeffington was arrested and sent to Portobello Barracks. He (Mr. Powell) did not understand that there was any real complaint as to that. He was brought by Lieutenant Maxwell to the orderly-room, and as a result of a conversation with Mr. Morgan, the Adjutant, he was detained, as many others were, who were subsequently released. During the inquiry Mr. Healy said the number of persons arrested was about

Three Hundred Thousand

(laughter)—a flight of imagination that reached high-water mark. However, a great number were arrested, who were afterwards released. On Tuesday, 25th April, Captain Colthurst, on the instructions of Major Rosborough, started to raid Kelly's shop, which occupies a conspicuous position in the street which approaches the main entrance of Portobello Barracks. Apparently that order was given to him, as it was thought that it was

Occupied by Sinn Feiners;

but it appeared to be quite clear now that some mistake was made in giving these instructions, for Alderman Kelly was a most loyal citizen who had offered his services to his King and country and was actually engaged at the time in munition work. It suggested that the instructions were intended for another gentleman of the same name, but of that counsel knew nothing. Captain Colthurst went with 40 men. Lieutenant Leslie Wilson said he was the only officer with him.

The Chairman—You have not been able to ascertain if there was any other?

Mr. Powell—No. Miss Kelly might have taken an imposing sergeant-major for an officer of very high rank.

The Chairman—In Captain Colthurst's report he refers to proceeding with 25 men. That is not inconsistent with your statement about 40 men, because

He Left a Party with Lieut. Wilson, and he refers to the conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men under his command.

Mr. Powell—That precludes the possibility of any other officer being present. Undoubtedly Captain Colthurst in some way got Mr. Skeffington out of the guardroom on that evening and tied his hands behind his back or procured them to be tied, and then occurred that terrible and

Most Uneasy Episode

which had been detailed by the witnesses. Mr. Skeffington was asked to say his prayers before he left the barracks. Having refused, they were said for him in the form that had been given by witnesses. Captain Colthurst said them himself.

Mr. Healy—He said no prayers before he killed Coade.

Mr. Powell—I am sure that is meant in the kindest way by my friend to see that I will not forget anything. I will not forget it when I come to deal with it. I say that was a

Terrible and Extraordinary Episode,

but there it is, and I think that at this time Captain Colthurst was suffering from some mental disturbance. The party was divided in two, Mr. Skeffington being left with Lieutenant Wilson, with orders to shoot him if his party was fired on. Continuing, counsel said he had only to say in reference to that that it appeared to those who instructed him that the conduct of Captain Colthurst in bringing Sheehy-Skeffington out of the guardroom and of the subsequent acts performed in regard to it were wholly unjustifiable. Adjutant Morgan said that first Sergeant Maxwell and subsequently Lieut. Dobbin told him that Captain Colthurst had taken Skeffington out of the guardroom, and Major Rosborough said he had no recollection of being told until after the shooting of the next day. On the way to Portobello Bridge occurred

The Lamentable Shooting of Coade.

Mr. Leslie Wilson's description of the

shooting of Coade did not agree with the description of other witnesses and did not agree with the description given by Mr. Byrne, Mr. Devin, or Mr. Hughes. He did not intend to analyse the evidence of these three civilian witnesses because the actual killing of the boy by Captain Colthurst there could be no doubt of. It was equally quite clear to say that was also an absolutely unjustifiable act on the part of Captain Colthurst. The incident was most deplorable and showed

Uncontrollable Mental Condition

of Captain Colthurst.

The Chairman pointed out that the Commission could not help leading to the conclusion on the evidence that there might have been more than one shooting. They were not concerned to investigate other cases. On the one hand, witnesses said positively a revolver was used, and, on the other hand, other witnesses said equally positively that it was a rifle. Had Mr. Powell, he asked, any way of reconciling that?

Mr. Powell replied that he found it impossible to reconcile the evidence of Mr. Leslie Wilson as regards the actual killing of Coade, and what actually occurred at the time, and the evidence of Mr. Byrne, Mr. Devin, and Mr. Hughes on the same subject matter.

The Chairman said for his own part he found it impossible. He had observed, of course, that Mr. Leslie Wilson was not willing to accept the suggestion that Coade was the name. He (Mr. Leslie Wilson) said he did not know the name at all, and they were left in some doubt as to whether

There Might Not Be Another Incident.

Mr. Powell—Of course you will understand me when I say that I am not really in a position to affirm or deny that conclusion. Counsel, continuing, said whether there was one or two incidents to which the same remark applied was utterly unjustifiable, and he thought it suggested that the mental condition of Captain Colthurst was very curious and excited at that time. On that night this raid was made on Alderman Kelly's house, and undoubtedly a bomb was thrown. It was believed by Major Rosborough that Alderman

Kelly's house was a stronghold held by Sinn Feiners, and it was necessary to clear the premises out. Of course anybody who knew the course of events during that terrible week knew it was necessary to get an entrance into these buildings to use bombs. Mr. Healy spoke in strong terms of

A Bombing Party

accompanying Captain Colthurst. On the assumption that Kelly's was in the possession of Sinn Feiners a bombing party was necessary. It was from these buildings that the unfortunate soldiers were sniped at and shot down along the street. Dickson and MacIntyre were arrested under circumstances they had heard, and the three prisoners were brought to Portobello Barracks. These three prisoners were innocent of the crime of being associated with the rebellion. If nothing but the arrest was complained of it would, of course, be very regrettable, but in terrible days as these were, it was

Inevitable That Innocent Men Should Be Arrested

and detained for a period.

The Chairman—Of course there are other examples of other people who were undoubtedly innocent who were detained and taken to the guardroom. A thing of that sort was very likely to happen, and it was a great inconvenience and it might be a great indignity, but it did not do any permanent harm so long as it stopped at that. I do not think we ought to be too precise in condemning people who were in great difficulty in dealing with a question of the sort.

Dealing with what occurred the next day, Mr. Powell said they knew that Lieutenant Dobbyn, Lieutenant Tooley, and Lieutenant A. S. Wilson, three particularly young and inexperienced officers,

Were in Charge of the Guard.

There was no opportunity upon that Tuesday of exercising any very acute discretion as to the different duties that the different officers were placed in. The barracks were threatened—points of vantage in respect of the barracks had been taken possession of. They were a very feeble garrison, and he had no doubt that very alarming rumours of the progress of events outside reached Portobello Barracks. Of course, the older and superior officers were detailed for more responsible and arduous duties. They were outside, and had various duties to perform in regard to the

Receiving of Messages

from civilians and interviewing civilians at the main gate. At about a quarter-past ten, as he understood, Captain Colthurst walked into the guardroom and asked Sergeant Aldridge, the sergeant of the guard inside, for those three prisoners, saying he wanted to speak to them. Apparently he had just immediately previous to that seen Mr. Dobbin outside, and according to the evidence he had said, "Dobbin, I am taking these three prisoners out of the guardroom; I am going to shoot them; I think it is the correct thing to do, Dobbin." Mr. Dobbin was then some distance from the guardroom, and apparently he at once sent Mr. Wilson to Adjutant Morgan to tell him that Colthurst had told him that

He Was Going to Shoot the Prisoners,

or according to Lieut. Morgan's evidence, that Colthurst was going to take the prisoners out. Undoubtedly the statement that Colthurst made to Dobbin was to the effect that he was going to shoot the prisoners. Mr. Dobbin did not appear to be quite clear as to whether he told Wilson to tell Morgan that Colthurst had said he was going to shoot the prisoners. It would appear that the balance of the testimony was in favour of the message Lieut. Morgan said he got. It seemed perfectly plain, counsel went on to say, that all this unfortunate business occupied a small space of time. It was stated by Mr. Healy on his instructions that these three men were gagged and blindfolded.

The Chairman, interposing, said Mr. Healy's point was that it appeared from the evidence that there was no sound of protest which could be heard, and he not unnaturally suggested that

The Men Did Not Protest, Because They Could Not,

but Mr. Healy had no evidence that they were gagged or bound, and he (the Chairman) was quite satisfied they were not, and he was not without hope that the view he had expressed would be generally shared. It appears that these three men behaved with great dignity. It was a sudden and terrible ordeal, and he was sure those who had reason to be specially attached to their memory would not resent the conclusion that they faced the circumstances and fell unbound.

Mr. Powell—And without any physical force having to be resorted to. He quite agreed with the evidence that there was

No Sign or Symptom of Craven Fear

in the mind of these three unfortunate gentlemen. With regard to the statements as to a movement being observed in the body of one of the men after the firing, he thought it was perfectly plain the unfortunate gentleman was dead, and he did not follow the reasoning in Mr. Healy's mind which prompted him to ask questions suggesting that he thought that under those terrible circumstances Mr. Dobbyn should have got orders from any particular officer as to firing another volley into the unfortunate man which he thought was fatally injured but not entirely dead.

The Chairman said the sergeant took the other view, that the three men had been killed.

Mr. Powell said he thought that was the general view.

Counsel went on to discuss at length the incidents in the guardroom previous to the shootings, and Sir J. Simon said he did not think anybody would doubt that Lieut. Dobbin, when he heard the firing, went to see what happened. It would appear that some time after the shootings Capt. Colthurst went to the orderly-room and told Lt. Morgan that he had shot the prisoners. A little later he appeared to have told Maj. Rosborough, and he was told then to report in writing.

Capt. Colthurst made a report on that day, and anybody who read the report must come to the conclusion that a great many of the statements in that report were absolutely without foundation.

The suggestion contained in the report that these prisoners were trying to escape was without foundation. Anybody who saw the Portobello Barracks, and the yard where these men were shot would be forced to come to the conclusion that a statement that there was any apprehension of these men escaping was absolutely without foundation.

Sir J. Simon—As regards rescue, I cannot conceive the slightest reason why there should be a rescue of these people more than any others in the place.

Mr. Powell said there was also a statement that Capt. Colthurst was up to a late hour examining documents. There were no documents found on Mr. Dickson, and none were found on Mr. Dickson of an incriminating character. The documents found on Mr. Skeffington were with reference to the policing of the streets, and were not of an incriminating character.

Sir J. Simon—You might examine the whole lot without sitting up to 3 o'clock in the morning.

"A DANGEROUS DOCUMENT."

Mr. Powell—I examined them in about two or three minutes. There was a document called "Secret Instructions to the Military," which undoubtedly must be characterised as a very dangerous document, because it suggested that the military authorities had prepared a plan of a very aggressive character, and the names of very distinguished persons were mentioned whose houses were to be surrounded, while it was said that a regular onslaught was to be made by the military. Counsel quite recognised that Mr. Skeffington, being a journalist, would have an extraordinary document of the kind in his house. Beyond that no document of a dangerous character was found in the house of any of the deceased men.

SIGNIFICANT REQUEST.

Counsel was making a reference to Mrs. Skeffington when Mr. Healy observed:

"Perhaps you will now give her back her bed linen."

Mr. Powell said the Adjt. would not take any responsibility in the matter. He was the alter ego of the commanding officer, entitled and bound to give the orders he would give if he were present. He disclaimed responsibility, but he could not prevent. How could they attribute to the subalterns blame for not doing that which Adjt. Morgan, with far greater authority, would not do?

Sir J. Simon—That does not strike me as quite doing justice to Adjt. Morgan. The only information he had was that conveyed in the message that these 3 men were going to be taken out into the yard.

Mr. Powell—I think that is a very reasonable suggestion to make—that it was present to his mind that this terrible act was about to be committed. Counsel said he accepted Mr. Healy's disclaimer of responsibility as regards Adjt. Morgan. Mrs. Kettle and Mrs. Culhane were under misapprehension that they were under arrest in the barracks.

Sir J. Simon referred to the fact that they were informed that there was no information about Mr. Skeffington, and that was two days after the shooting.

"CRUEL HEARTLESSNESS."

Mr. Powell said what had occurred might appear to be cruel heartlessness in not telling them what had happened, but it was very difficult in the atmosphere of a court of justice, after such a long period had elapsed, to gauge the feelings of the officers as to their responsibility at that terrible time.

Sir J. Simon—It is a very remarkable incident to my mind. The officer said "I know nothing whatever about Mr. Sheehy Skeffington"; and that was two days after he was shot. The lady said they had definite information that he had been arrested, and they had heard that morning, on definite authority, that he had been shot. He replied: "I have no information whatever concerning Mr. Sheehy Skeffington that is available, and the sooner you leave the barracks the better."

Mr. Powell—I accept that evidence. I don't contravene the testimony of Mrs. Kettle. Counsel said a cruel charge had been made against the military. It was stated or suggested that certain bricks had been removed from the wall of the yard in which the three unfortunate men were shot. That was done by Col. M'Cammond's instructions in order to repair the damage done to the appearance of the wall caused by the bullets.

THE BAG INCIDENT.

Counsel also referred to the charge of planting Mr. Dickson's bag in Aid. Kelly's house, and said that matter had been disposed of. Miss Kelly's evidence was very important. She told about a lame soldier laying the bag at her brother's house. She appeared to have thought the soldier was endeavouring to capture her imagination by saying he was the Prince of Wales (laughter).

Sir J. Simon—And was he? (renewed laughter). Proceeding, Sir J. Simon said that the Court accepted Sir Francis Vane's account of the bag—that he knew nothing about it.

Mr. Powell also accepted it. The point was that the bag was in Aid. Kelly's, and found its way to Portobello Barracks. Miss Kelly said it was brought away by the soldiers. That appeared to be the substance of the case.

The act of Capt. Colthurst in shooting these 3 men was, said Mr. Powell, "a terrible thing. No language in characterising it could be taken to be an exaggeration. It was really an act of madness. The shooting of Coade was a terrible act. But let not the public be carried away by their indignation. Let them place the burden that should in justice be laid upon one man only, upon the shoulders of those who were not responsible. Let them not put the disgrace, the blame, on the heads of soldiers who were going out their duties under circumstances of the greatest possible difficulty. Let it not be forgotten that they died also terribly in the discharge of their duties."

REASON FOR THE INQUIRY.

Sir J. Simon returned thanks to all who had helped the Commission, and said the report would be presented to his Majesty as soon as possible. Mr. Healy joined with the other legal gentlemen concerned in appreciation of the manner in which the inquiry had been conducted. He mentioned that Mrs. Skeffington, in pressing for the inquiry, had no other desire than that there should be placed in contradiction to the severities exercised against others the treatment which she and her unfortunate husband, as well as other victims, had received. Sir J. Simon said he hoped the result of the inquiry might prove to be for the future good of Ireland.

**TO MY DAUGHTER BETTY—
THE GIFT OF LOVE.**

[These are the last verses written by the late Lieutenant Kettle—a few days before his death in action at Ginchy.]

In wiser days, my darling rosebud, blown
To beauty proud as was your mother's prime—
In that desired, delayed, incredible time
You'll ask why I abandoned you, my own,
And the dear breast that was your baby's throne,
To dice with death, and, oh! they'll give you rhyme

And reason: one will call the thing sublime,
And one decry it in a knowing tone.
So here, while the mad guns curse overhead,
And tired men sigh, with mud for couch and floor,

Know that we fools, now with the foolish dead,
Died not for Flag, nor King, nor Emperor,
But for a dream, born in a herdman's shed
And for the secret Scripture of the poor.

T. M. KETTLE.

In the Field before Guillemont, Scimmie,
September 4th, 1916.

Mr. Pearse is supposed to speak

"A MOTHER SPEAKS."

The following poem was written by P. H. PEARSE in Kilmainham Gaol, for his mother, May, 1916:—

Dear Mary, who didst see thy first-born Son
Go forth to die amid the scorn of men for
whom He died,

Receive my first-born son into thy arms,
And keep him by thee till I come to him.

Dear Mary, I have shared thy sorrow
And soon shall share thy joy.

**WHAT WE HAVE LOST
IN IRELAND.**

By STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn, who contributes... below a deeply interesting article on the Irish question, has been Nationalist M.P. for Galway City since 1906. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, his sentiments are typically Anglo-Irish. He is a good sportsman and a versatile writer. He left England twelve years ago to live in Ireland.

While the Allied armies—Russian, French, and British—are for the first time turning the flood of battle against the enemies of liberty in Europe, in another quarter the Allied cause has suffered disaster.

Germany struck at the Allies in Ireland, and the blow went home. It was not the hammer-stroke of artillery and massed columns; it was a thing more formidable, the prick of a skilled operator's needle carrying poison. Yet the blow might have been countered. You had the antidote to that deadly toxin, but it was not used.

There has never been a case in which distinction was more sharply drawn between the Government and the people of England. Since the outbreak of this trouble the English people, as reflected in their Press, have shown that willingness to comprehend which is the best part of wisdom. Especially has this been true of *The Daily Mail*, to which one looks for the opinion of the ordinary man or woman who is citizen rather than politician. It is in real gratitude that I, as an Irish Nationalist, attempt to make those who have understood so much understand still more of what was—and perhaps still is—at issue in this dark business.

Nobody will care to deny that Ireland has been England's historic failure—the point where English qualities have shown themselves most at fault. Just because in this war England rose to its highest level of attainment Ireland was a danger. The great debate of August 4, 1914, made it clear to any candid observer that Great Britain would never have entered this war whole-heartedly except in defence of the liberties of a weak nation.

The moral authority which she brought with her was an incalculable asset to the Allied Forces. Ireland was the danger, because Ireland was the test of England's moral authority as champion of freedom for small nationalities. That is why Mr. Redmond's famous speech on that fourth of August (1914) found such an echo. We did our utmost to make good. The Government thanked us—and did nothing. If they had instantly said: We will use your Volunteers, and the Ulster Volunteers, to guard railways and bridges; we will give you instructors, even though we can only spare one crippled veteran to every thousand men; we will give you rifles, even though for the present you must drill with wooden guns, Ireland would have taken that as an earnest of full acceptance. Instead of this we had a six weeks' wrangle as to whether the Home Rule Bill should become law, and a tacit refusal even to form an explicitly Irish division. England lost the golden moment, and that split on the Volunteers began which opened the way for German intervention.

OFFICIAL COLD WATER.

When I blame the Government I blame the governing classes on both sides. If Mr. Balfour or Mr. Bonar Law had said then, what they say now, that Home Rule on the Statute-book is something other than a mere scrap of paper, that utterance would have been worth to us ten thousand more recruits. Their silence played the game of those—and there were such—who detested the growth of Irish Nationalist regiments, because every man who joined under such auspices joined—as *The Daily Mail* has seen—on the faith of a Home Rule settlement.

It was November before Mr. Redmond got the sixteenth division launched, and if official cold water is health-giving it should have thriven from the first. I speak of what I know, for I gave to recruiting work whatever time was not occupied by my duties, whether in the ranks or as an officer, until the duties left no time at all. Everywhere you had friendly audiences—and everywhere men came round and said to you secretly "The Act is on the Statute-book—but isn't the Government fooling you after all?"

The war went on. Irish regiments fought, as they had fought before; the Press correspondents wrote of them, but the despatches were silent. It was one more fatality—one more blunder. Then came the rising. I was with the Irish troops in the trenches and I know how they took it—as men who felt themselves stabbed in the back. But as news of the punishments came in a new indignation rose up in them. It seemed to them that all Ireland was being put into the dock, and Mr. Dillon's speech, which raised so much resentment here, was read by them with approbation. Yet the Press made it clear that England at least, whatever the Government might do, knew that in this war Ireland had been (in Meredith's phrase) "no longer England's broken arm," and that the true spirit of Ireland had been displayed not in Dublin but in the trenches.

When I came home at the end of May it seemed to me for a moment as if the Government shared that generous gratitude. They proposed to deal with the Irish difficulty by trusting Ireland. They—including the leaders of both parties—asked Irish public men to take over the charge of governing Ireland at a time when the task was of extraordinary difficulty.

THE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE.

It is perhaps characteristic of their minds that they and their supporters go about at the present time not declaring openly but hinting that the Nationalist leaders ran away from the ordeal. The accusation of want of courage and consistency comes well from them to the man whom they sent with a written agreement to secure acceptance of elaborately specified and most unwelcome terms. Agreement was secured by courage and by the utmost exertion of personal influence, but *carte blanche* to negotiate further was neither given nor asked for.

It appears now that there was a misunderstanding, and that the terms offered were not those by which the Government would stand. For that misunderstanding the Government must take entire responsibility, and unfortunately, because they speak in the name of England, Ireland's confidence in the fair dealing of England is terribly shaken. England's moral authority in Ireland is at a discount. And because Ireland, though a small country, is one of the world's nerve centres, an impression there is far felt. Not much news from America passes the censorship, and Englishmen will not be wholly aware what, in this wide aspect, has been lost to England and to the Allied cause.

But apart from this greater issue to us in Ireland, one loss is dreadfully plain. There seemed to be a chance that self-government might be inaugurated, under very grave difficulties, it is true, yet under this happy omen, that both the great parties in England would be pledged to make the best and not the worst of it. More and far more than that, it seems now that it might have started almost with the friendly co-operation, and certainly with the good will, of most powerful elements in the ranks of Unionist Ulster. That chance is let go by to-day; if it recurs it will be by a kind of miracle which British statesmanship has neither right nor reason to expect.

To-day British statesmanship in Ireland is bankrupt. The word is with the soldiers, now as before the rising. Their work goes on. Orangemen come back to Belfast wounded, and pay their visits to the Falls Road with news of this or that Catholic who has fought or fallen beside them. Catholics come back and bobble on crutches to Sandy Row with tidings of the Ulster Division. So a web is woven of common losses, of glories shared, and in the end, in spite of the statesmen, blood may be thicker than Boyne water.

Things may yet come right in Ireland. But in the meantime Germany has won a victory, not in Ireland, for in Ireland we defeated them, but here at Westminster, and it is Lord Lansdowne and his associates who deserve the Iron Cross.

Insurgent Leader's Death Poem.

The following poem was composed by the late Mr. P. H. PEARSE while awaiting the carrying out of the sentence of death:—

THE WAYFARER.

The beauty of this world hath made me sad;
This beauty that will pass;
Sometimes my heart hath shaken with great joy
To see a leaping squirrel in a tree,
Or a red lady-bird upon a stalk,
Or little rabbits in a field at evening
Lit by a starring sun;
On some green hill, where shadows drifting by,
Some quietude, where mountainy men had sown,
And some would reap, near to the gate of heaven;
Or children with bare feet upon the sands of some ebb'd sea,
Or playing on the streets of little towns in Connacht—
Things young and happy.
And then my heart hath told me
These will pass!
Will pass and change, will die and be no more,
Things bright and green, things young and happy,
And I have gone upon my way—sorrowful.

P. H. PEARSE.



FATHER SHEEHY.

This photograph of the late Rev. Eugene Sheehy, with his friend, C. S. Parnell, was taken at Cork after Father Sheehy's release from Kilmainham. Arising out of a debate in Parliament on his arrest, Mr. Parnell and all the Irish Nationalist members were suspended.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Portobello shootings resumed its sittings to-day in the Court of Appeal, when there was again a large attendance of the public. At the sitting of the Court.

Mr. J. Edelstein said—Kindly allow me to hand in these documents that you asked for, Sir John.

The Chairman—Will you sit down?

Mr. Edelstein—I am simply handing in what you asked for.

The Chairman—Hand them in privately. You need not do it publicly. Hand them to an officer.

Mr. Edelstein having done so, said—Perhaps you will note their contents.

A BOMBER'S STATEMENT

Published In an Australian Paper

Mr. Healy—Sir John, there has reached me from Belfast in a sealed wrapper a newspaper which, as it contains a corroboration of Lieut. Leslie Wilson's statement as against my witnesses, I think it only candid to bring before the court. I suppose it is sent by some friends of his. It seems to be an Australian paper.

The Chairman—Might I see it.

Mr. Healy handed up the paper, and while the Commissioners were examining it counsel remarked: "You see it says a rifle, not a revolver."

The Chairman—I see the sentence.

Mr. Healy handed in the wrapper which contained the newspaper, and said the postmark was Belfast. "And this is a Belfast regiment," added counsel.

Lord Justice Molony—It is an Australian paper.

Mr. Healy—It came to the court this morning.

The Chairman—It is a Melbourne paper, and apparently it was issued in Melbourne on the 2nd July.

Mr. Healy—Yes, it came to the court this morning and I thought it necessary to bring it before the court.

The Chairman—Mr. Powell, it is open to both you and your learned friend

TO SEE THIS CRITICISM.

The statement is an anonymous statement; the name of the informant is not given. On the other hand, its materiality would appear to be that since it was published in Australia as early as the beginning of July, it must have been written very shortly after the events occurred.

Mr. Healy—And long before there was any conflict established between witnesses in this court.

The Chairman—Perhaps you will allow me to state how it stands. It stands in this way. This is a copy of an Australian newspaper—a Melbourne newspaper—published in Melbourne on the 6th July, and it contains a letter that professes to record the experiences of an Australian officer, and in view of the distance of Australia from this country, it is clear if this is a genuine letter it must have been written shortly after the event, and the thing that is material is this:—

"They called for bombers, and I was turned over to a captain—an enormous man, about 6ft. 4in. At 10.30 we went to attack a shop," and so on. And this is the sentence that is material:—

"Near the barrack we saw three men. The captain wanted to know their business, and one answered back, so the captain just knocked him insensible with the butt of his rifle."

It is right (continued the chairman) that we should remember this is an anonymous statement, and nothing like the statement of a person who could be cross-examined. It is a statement which was written down apparently shortly after the event, and it goes to show that a rifle was used, and

if that account is accurate it was used very violently.

FATHER O'LOUGHLIN

"No Arrangement to Suppress Facts"

The Chairman next requested the recall of Father O'Loughlin, and the rev. gentleman having entered the witness box the Chairman said—Our attention has been called to a statement as appearing in the newspapers which might possibly seem to cast some reflection upon you, and our attention having been recalled to it, we think it fair to ask you to come back about it. The statement may be thought to suggest you had not given information as freely as you thought it your duty to do, and had taken part in some arrangement to suppress or not to publish facts that came to your knowledge. May I put a question—Did you put any difficulties in the way of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington seeing you?—None whatever.

Of course we understand you were very busy at the time. Were you in any way a party to any arrangement not to let the relatives know what happened?—None whatever. I considered being an official

IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

I would be debarred from making use of any information I obtained in my official capacity.

Mr. Healy—May I put this question—to ask the rev. gentleman did he on Tuesday night inform the Coade family of the death of their boy?—I did, because that was not a case that happened inside the barracks. He was not in the barracks, and the medical officer went so far as to ask me to bring round the information to the parents.

The Chairman—The thing is, were you party at all to an arrangement such as I mention?—There was no arrangement whatever.

The rev. gentleman then left the box.

The Chairman said they were told on Saturday by Mrs. Kettle that she and her sister called at the barracks on the Friday, that she saw at the main gate a young officer, and later saw Capt. Colthurst. He (the Chairman) had asked that an inquiry should be made as to who the officers were

who were on duty at the main gate at that time. What was the result?

Mr. Healy—The officer's name is Beatty, we understand.

Mr. Powell said inquiries were being made, and he hoped later on to

HAVE THE INFORMATION.

The Chairman—The lady said the officer she saw was an officer who denied any knowledge of what happened to Mr. Skeffington, and that Capt. Colthurst was referred to subsequently and said there was no information available. We should like to see the young officer, and see how his own recollection serves him. This was a thing we were anxious to check, because it is very important as showing whether there was any serious attempt made to cover what had been done.

ESSENTIAL EVIDENCE

Mr. Healy and Lieutenant Dobbin

The Chairman said they had there that day one other person who was detained at the main guard the time the shootings took place. He thought it would be better to call him before Mr. Powell spoke.

Mr. Powell said he was entirely in the hands of the Chairman, but he thought it right to take the earliest opportunity of mentioning a matter in reference to Mr. Dobbin, because that might have some influence on the future action of the Commission. A telegram was sent to the War Office in reference to Mr. Dobbin, saying that the Commission required his attendance. On Saturday evening, about 8 o'clock, a reply was received from the War Office headquarters staff as follows:—"W. L. P. Dobbin is in France; could not arrive before the 29th; is his attendance required?" A reply was sent to that, saying his attendance was required, and they expected a reply during the day, saying exactly the

Do you remember what the words of the order were?—Yes, "Firing party, load!" Anything else?—Yes, "From the right-hand man; fire low." A volley followed and that was the last. One thing you have not made quite clear.

Mr. Healy—I presume, then, that Mr. Powell might, under these circumstances, desire to postpone his statement until Lieutenant Dobbin arrives, because I would suggest that his evidence is essential, and also every document which he signed or brought up, or in reference to which he is examined. So that when he has now become the central, if not the most important, witness, those who are conducting this difficult matter from the point of view of the relatives should know what he has said. It may be thought that I have criticised the military authorities severely, but I wish to acknowledge, having regard to the difficulties of the case, that I have got a great deal of information from the military authorities that

MIGHT HAVE BEEN WITHHELD.

The Chairman—The military here are in two great difficulties. The things we are inquiring into occurred at a time of great stress, anxiety, and difficulty, and there was no opportunity of keeping a clear record. The second difficulty is that we are at war, and that many of the people whom we might naturally wish to see have been most busily engaged here and in France, and the Commission wish to acknowledge the efforts made both to produce witnesses and documents.

Mr. Healy—I feel especially grateful to the Headquarters Staff for their efforts to produce Mr. Dobbin, because I was somewhat sceptical myself. Another matter I wish to draw attention to with regard to Dr. Balch. I don't know whether you saw—because there was no observation upon it—the bearing of the original evidence given by Lieut. A. S. Wilson, on the question of whether there were two volleys or three. I suggest to you that his original evidence has a distinct bearing on that point, although there is no apparent connection. That brings me to the position of Dr. Balch, who, the Attorney-General says, has been sent to Sierra Leone. Dr. Balch occupied, perhaps the most important position that could be entrusted to an officer. He was over an important branch, and he has been suddenly

JERKED OUT OF DUBLIN.

The Chairman—Oh, Mr. Healy, if you have any statement to make—

Mr. Healy—I would suggest to you that you should get Dr. Balch, who examined the bodies after death.

He would be in a position to tell you how many bullet wounds each body bore, and he would be also able to tell if, in fact, he declined to certify if Capt. Colthurst was insane.

The Chairman—Oh, no, Mr. Healy. We made it perfectly plain that in our view we are not inquiring into the state of mind of anybody. We have an honest desire and a fixed intention to ascertain the material facts and events. However, we will consider what you say.

Mr. Healy—I asked that you should put in a record from Broadmoor of the detention of Captain Colthurst. So equally should be put in the fact that he was gazetted on half-pay.

John Coules, of 11 Leinster square, Rathmines, was then examined by the chairman. He said he was brought into Portobello Detention Barracks about 7 o'clock on the Tuesday evening and kept there till the following Friday. He was in the detention room with the others on the Wednesday morning. A soldier, who had neither rifle nor bayonet, opened the door and called out M'Intyre and Dickson. They had gone barely as far as the guard room when the first volley was fired. About two minutes afterwards he heard the second volley.

Asked to describe what happened when M'Intyre and Dickson were called out, he said he heard an officer say "Stand up, man"—he thought it referred to Dickson.

The Chairman—Then there was this second volley?—Yes, after the order was given—"Firing party, load, ready, present, from the right hand man. Fire!" After that order was given, witness said, there was

ONE DISTINCT VOLLEY.

The next thing he heard, in about a minute afterwards, was an officer saying,

FOUR WERE ON GUARD.

Adjutant Morgan, recalled, gave evidence that when men were ordered to load he took it that the order would be load the magazine. The men carried the ammunition in clips of five rounds, and each man would put in one of these clips. The next thing would be to "present," "fire," and after that the word "load" would not be used again until the clip would be exhausted. The word "load" would only be used once, and the orders for the subsequent firing until the clip would be exhausted would be "ready," "present," "fire."

The Chairman—Do you know of such an order as "ready, present, from the right-hand man, fire"?—They may use such a word of command, but it would not be customary. The whole lot would fire together in any case.

When you give the order, "Ready, present, fire," how many bullets does a man fire on that order?—Each man would

FIRE ONE BULLET

on that order.

Replying to Mr. Healy as to what was the name of the captain who was over the sentry section and over the lieutenants of the guard that morning, Adjutant Morgan said there would be no officer superior to them in connection with the guard. Before the trouble broke out there would be a captain of the day who would visit the prisoners in the guardroom. Also there was an orderly officer of the day whose duty it was to visit the guardroom periodically and find out if there were any complaints. There were typewritten orders of the day up to the Monday, and witness produced the orders of the day for the 24th.

Witness, proceeding, produced orders of the day dealing with the 24th, 25th, and 26th April, and explained the procedure which would be followed in ordinary times. Owing to the trouble which arose, however, duties had to be detailed verbally.

Mr. Healy—Who was the captain of the guard on Tuesday night when Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was taken?—I cannot say from memory. The captain of the day from the 25th was Major Rigg. The next was Capt. Boddell. It would be his duty to visit the prisoners detained to find out if they had any complaints.

The Chairman said he understood that there were three officers—Mr. Tooley, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Dobbins—who were more or less on continuous duty, and that they shared duty on guard on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

Lieut. Tooley, speaking from the body of the court, said that was so. They more or less arranged it among themselves. Mr. Dobbins would be the senior.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Is there any assignment of duty in the orders of the day for Tuesday and Wednesday of Capt. Bowen-Colthurst?—Witness replied that there was not on paper. The captain of the day for the 26th was detailed verbally, and he was

UNABLE TO SAY WHO HE WAS.

Mr. Healy asked that the documents which had been handed up by the witness should be put in.

Witness mentioned that Major Rigg, who was detailed for duty on the 25th, was wounded on Monday, and could not do duty on the 25th.

The Chairman handed to Mr. Healy the documents which had been given in, with the remark that only some of them were relevant.

Mr. Healy agreed that only the relevant parts should be put in. He said he saw the name of Mr. Dobbins in a note in one of the documents, and he wanted to read it.

The Chairman read publicly the note in question, and explained that it was merely a correction of a mistake in a previous record about Mr. Dobbins having returned to headquarters on completion of duty.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Mr. Dobbins was on duty on Tuesday night as well as Wednesday morning as captain of the guard?—Yes.

From what document did you ascertain that to hold him responsible?—I visited the guard that night when it came to my knowledge that Capt. Colthurst going out. I saw Mr. Dobbins on duty and spoke to him about Capt. Colthurst going out.

Did you remonstrate with Mr. Dobbins for allowing the release of the prisoner?—I asked him why he went out, and he could not give any explanation. Sergeant Maxwell first brought it to my notice, and I went to Mr. Dobbins and he

COULD NOT TELL ME.

Can you give me any military order or

You told us you heard a voice saying "That man's dead"?—I am positive of it that those words were the words used.

How long was it after you heard the voice saying that that you heard the third volley?—Between one and two minutes.

Witness, further questioned, said he never went into the yard again. He was detained until Friday. Up to the time he heard the first volley they had not been expecting any shooting, and were not attending to any marching or anything that was taking place outside. The first volley

CAME AS A SURPRISE.

He and the other prisoners were expecting to be sent for every minute.

The Chairman said as this was a new witness, Mr. Healy and Mr. Powell were entitled to put questions to him.

Mr. Healy—We sent two letters to him but he refused to give us a statement.

Witness—Business prevented me from doing so. Answering the Chairman, witness said he was born in the army, but never served in it. His father served 23 years in the artillery.

"STRANGE INFORMATION"

Mr. Healy and Firing in the Yard

Mr. Healy asked the chairman to ask witness whether after the third firing he heard that day or next day any further firing in the yard, he desired the question be asked, because of certain strange information that had come to him.

The Chairman—I do not think we can go into questions about the next day. A reputable witness had given evidence that the three men were shot at the same time. These three unfortunate men were buried that night. (To the witness)—After the third volley, within the next half hour was there a single shot?—No.

Or any further volley?—Not in the yard. Mr. Healy—Or the next morning?—Nor the next morning in that yard.

Mr. Powell—He said he heard a voice giving the first order—

The Chairman—He said after the first volley he heard someone say, "Stand up, man," and then he heard the order: "Firing party, load, ready, present—from the right hand man—fire."

Mr. Powell—Was it the same voice that gave the second order?

Witness—It would be very hard for me to distinguish if

THERE WERE TWO VOICES.

Mr. Healy—Did he hear any of the prisoners make a protest?

The chairman said he had already put that question in another way without suggesting any answer.

To Mr. Brown, witness said that in the detention room there was a window on the top left hand corner and a ventilator and a gas pipe.

Any opening through which a person could see?—No.

Mr. Healy asked that he might be supplied with the name of the officer immediately superior to the officer of the guard on that Wednesday morning.

The Chairman—We will try and find it out.

Mr. Powell pointed out that this allegation as to the three different volleys was only made on Saturday. He was not complaining of that, and he hoped his friend would not interrupt him.

Mr. Healy—Don't say that (laughter).

The Chairman—You are a very sanguine man (laughter).

Mr. Powell said they had taken all the steps in their power to give every information possible on the subject, and the strictest inquiry had been made as regards every soldier who was on the guard. They had in court five of that number, of whom one was an actual witness of the shooting, and

anything where I can find the duty of the captain of the guard?—The duties of the officer in charge of the guard—it may be a captain or other officer or a sergeant—are drawn up by the commanding officer.

Can they be ascertained and referred to?—Yes.

Mr. Healy called for the production of any such document.

The Chairman said they were not trying anybody; they were trying to find out facts, and it would be

HORRIBLY UNFAIR

if they were to allow their inquiry to turn into a trial at headquarters. It was important that they should know what happened, and they were glad to know that Mr. Dobbins would be there in a day or two. Nobody ever contemplated that detained persons should be taken out as hostages. This was the thing that unhappily Capt. Bowen-Colthurst did. It was obvious that it was a terrible mistake made by a particular individual.

Mr. Healy—Do you think I am proceeding too stringently in asking for the written orders that that gentleman would have for his guidance?

The Chairman said he was coming to give evidence, and when he came the documents would be produced.

The witness said the written orders were supplemented by verbal orders. It was unusual to have civilians detained at all. Hitherto the people in the guardroom were soldiers. They gave orders from time to time in reference to the civilian prisoners as regards their food and giving them exercise. They were issued verbally. Witness and Major Rosborough gave orders about the prisoners. The orders that were in force up to Easter Monday were in court.

The Chairman, referring to the orders which were produced, said they were orders for the commander of the main guard; they were signed by Lieut. Morgan, and they were dated some time in April before the disturbances. They directed that on taking off guard he would see that all men detained should be shared and properly cleaned, and so on.

Mr. Healy—Not shot.

The Chairman—No. It was, he added, in connection with a very serious allegation that he had been at some pains to get it. It had nothing to do with any serious matters at all. The thing that happened was never contemplated, and as it never happened there were no regulations about it. He suggested that as Mr. Powell had been good enough to get some men there, he should do anything he could to help them about the

FIRING PARTY.

Bombardier McCaughey was called, and stated in reply to Mr. Powell that he was a member of the firing party on the Wednesday morning. He remembered Captain Bowen-Colthurst coming into the guardroom. The next thing he remembered was that some of the guard were called out to the yard. When they got to the yard—he was the last man out—he saw the three prisoners standing up against the wall at the far end.

The Chairman—Did you know until you got into the yard that any of these three prisoners were there?—I did not, sir.

Mr. Powell—When you went out, tell us exactly what happened. You say you saw three men?—Three men standing facing us, opposite to us. We stood out in line, and this happened in seconds. We got the command "Load"—we had our magazines loaded at the time—"Load, present, fire." That was all that happened.

Who gave that order?—Capt. Bowen-Colthurst, as I now know him.

Mr. Powell—Would you tell us when that happened what you and the firing party did next—what was the next thing?—Well, the men dropped. I think I was the last to leave the yard, as far as I can recollect. I was coming out and I was cleaning over my pull-through of the rifle.

The Chairman—After firing your round?—Yes.

Mr. Powell—What do you mean by that?—Just one bullet. The round I had in the bore was one bullet, and that I fired in pursuance of the order.

Did the firing party, including you, leave the yard and go into the guardroom?—Yes.

Tell us what occurred next?—I can remember as I was coming out of the yard Lieut. Dobbins coming into the yard. When he saw what was before us he put his hand up to his head and said:

"OH, MY GOD."

I walked into the guardroom. A short time after—a matter of a minute or two—he called on four men, and I happened to be the nearest.

The Chairman—Who called?—That I could not say. I have no recollection who called us out the second time.

Mr. Powell—Somebody called you out the second time?—Yes.

The Chairman—What was the interval between the first time you were called out and the second time—was it long enough to clean your rifle?—Yes; I had it cleaned; it was a matter of two or three minutes.

Mr. Powell—What happened after somebody gave you the order?—The four of us went out. What the order was I cannot say. When we got into the yard we were told to fire at a certain man. We put a round in the bore again and presented and fired.

As far as you know, was there any volley fired in the yard before the first volley that you have described when the three men were shot?—Decidedly not, sir. There was an incident happened, and it happened quite frequently. When we were mounting guard, or whenever there was an inspection on, a shot always went off, somebody having

PRESSED THE TRIGGER.

This got to be quite a joke. Some of the officers in the barracks will recollect how frequently this thing was happening. I was thinking when I read the evidence in the paper that a shot was fired when the guard was being inspected.

Witness added that he was in both firing parties. One volley was fired by the first party, and one by the second party.

In reply to Mr. Healy, witness stated that he had made the declaration he referred to in the office of Mr. Shannon, solicitor, only the other day as a proof of his evidence.

You have given your evidence very well and very candidly, and I am quite impressed by it. Would you tell me if you saw the prisoners removed from their cells or detention room?—No, sir. I cannot say that I saw them in the guardroom.

But you would be in the guardroom?—Not necessarily.

Can you tell me from what place Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was taken?—He had a separate cell of his own. He was in that cell.

Who brought him out of it?—I could not state that.

Witness further stated that he got the impression that he saw Capt. Colthurst going into the guardroom, and he (witness) followed him in to see if there was anything doing.

Now you followed Captain Colthurst into the guardroom—what did he say?—I cannot tell.

Did you see Mr. Skeffington leaving his cell?—I did not.

Who picked you out for the firing party?—It was a matter of

THE NEAREST MEN.

There were 8 men in the first and 4 in the second firing party.

You appear to have been in both firing parties—can you explain that?—No, sir; I just happened to be the nearest.

You were the last man to go out—can you tell me anything that Mr. Dickson was doing to provoke the remark: "Stand up, man"—did you notice he was deformed?—I did; he was very knock-kneed and small, and he wore his hat in a curious way on the back of his head.

Did you hear the remark: "Stand up, man"?—It was not necessary. When we got out the prisoners had just turned round, and it is my firm belief they never realised what was going to happen.

Lance-Corporal Fitzsimons, Coldstream Guards, stated that he was in Dublin at the outbreak of the rebellion and reported himself at Portobello barracks on the Monday. On Wednesday he was in the guard room when Capt. Colthurst came in and asked the sergeant of the guard to get three prisoners—Dixon, McIntyre, and Skeffington. He saw the latter come out of the cell, but he did not actually see Dixon and McIntyre leave their cell. Capt. Colthurst accompanied them out into the yard, and then the sergeant called for

some men to go out. Some short time afterwards a volley was fired.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, K.C., the witness said he did not see Lieut. Dobbin go into the guardroom after the first volley was fired.

Mr. Healy—Did you know how long the bodies were allowed to remain in the yard?

—I could not say.

Did you see them removed?—Yes.

Under whose charge were they removed?

—I don't know; they were

TAKEN OUT ON STRETCHERS.

Rifleman Jones, Royal Irish Rifles, who was one of the guard on the morning of the tragedy, said he heard several shots fired some time after ten o'clock. He could not say how many volleys were fired.

Rifleman M'Sweeney, of the 11th Hussars, said he heard two volleys, but one was accidentally discharged about 9 o'clock by a sailor.

Mr. Healy—Are you sure that instead of being a sailor he was a marine? (laughter).

Witness gravely replied "No."

This concluded the evidence, except for that of Lieut. Dobbin.

Mr. Healy said that, speaking generally, the impression left on his mind was that the military had fairly discharged their duty in regard to the inquiry.

The Chairman said he was glad to hear Mr. Healy say that, and announced that the Commission would adjourn till Thursday for the evidence of Lieut. Dobbin.

KILKENNY HONOURS SINN FEIN COUNTESS.

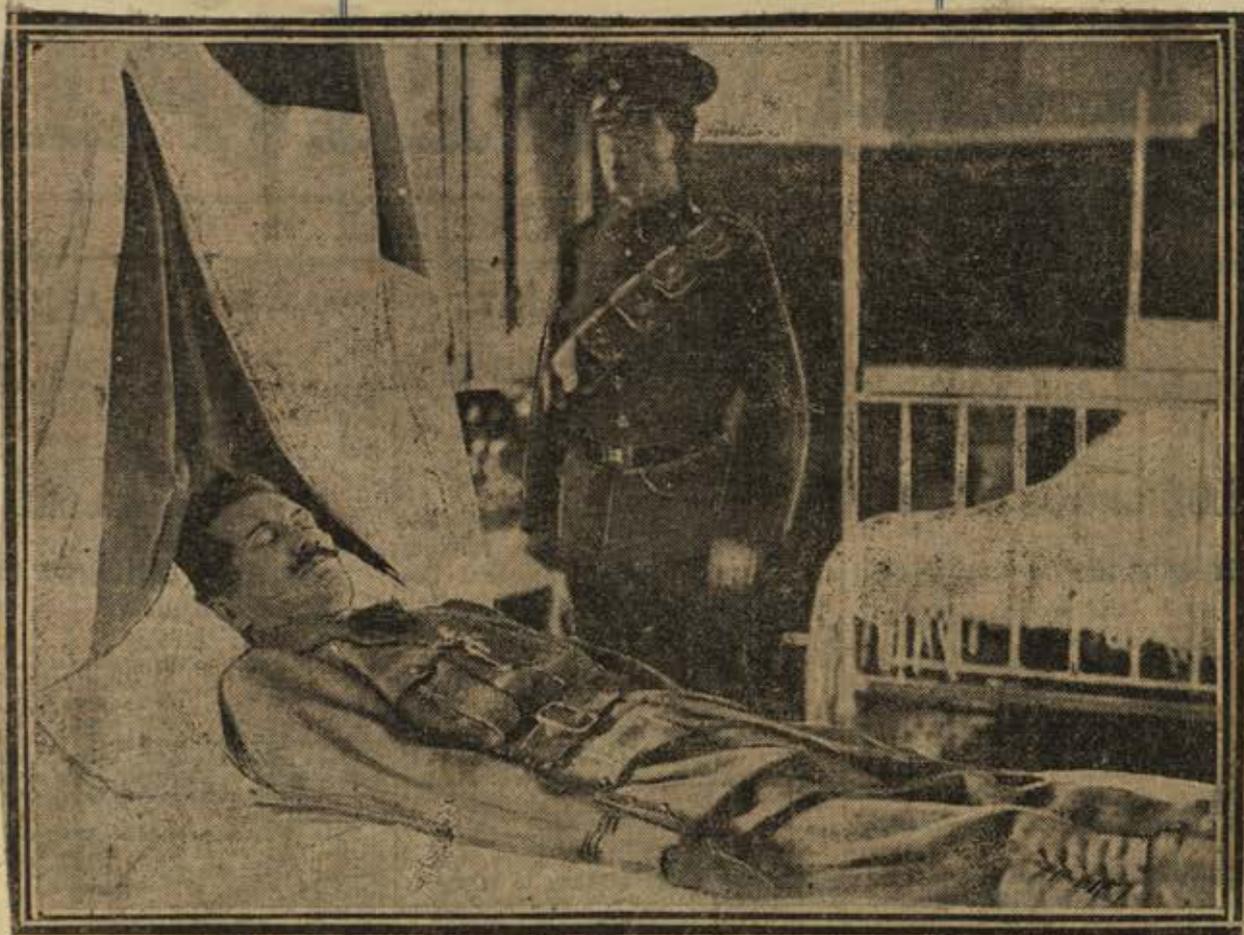
L. J. Fitzsimons, Lance-Corporal of Coldstream Guards, and other members of the Kilkenny Sinn Fein.

THOMAS ASHE'S DEATH

REMARKABLE SCENES AT THE INQUEST

Mr. Healy's Objection to the Jury

LORD MAYOR ON A VISIT TO MCUNTOY



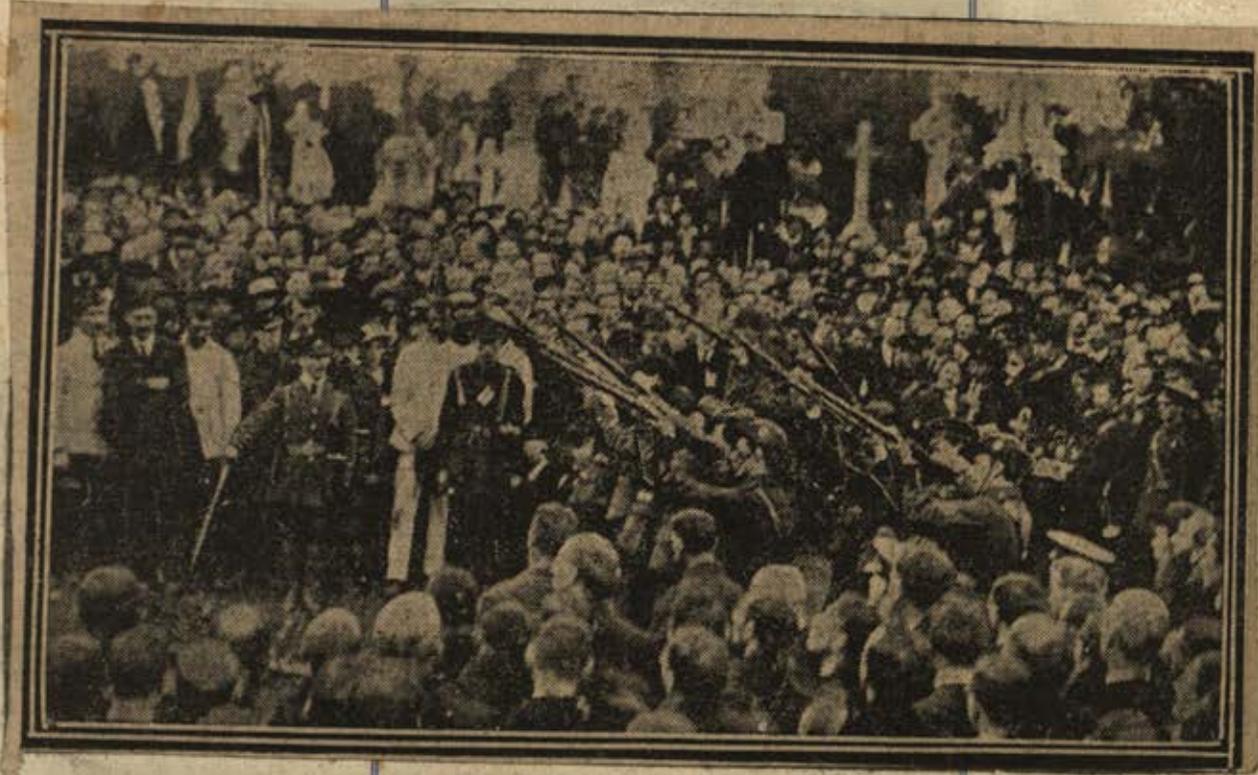
Photograph of Late Thomas Ashe Lying-in-State



The remains of Mr. Thos. Ashe were removed yesterday from the Pro-Cathedral to the City Hall, where they will lie in state until Sunday.



LAST SCENE BEFORE INTERMENT.



MR. T. M. HEALY, K.C.



MR. H. HANNA, K.C.

Remarkable scene took place at the Mater Hospital this morning, when the inquest was opened in reference to the death of Thomas Ashe, the rebel leader, who died in the hospital on Tuesday night, five hours after admission from Mountjoy Prison, where, with about forty other Sinn Fein prisoners, he had been on a hunger strike.

It was for a speech delivered in the County Longford that Ashe was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. From Thursday morning he resolutely refused food, and was forcibly fed.

Outside the hospital this morning there was a big crowd. Only those immediately interested were present. Not for a long time has an inquest excited such public interest. Even the memorable inquiry into the Bachelor's walk affray did not excite more curiosity.

The relatives of the deceased present were Mr. John Ashe (brother), Mr. P. Ashe (cousin)

Superintendent Willoughby and Inspector Lowry represented the police; Mr. Henry Hanna, K.C. (instructed by the Chief Crown Solicitor) appeared for the prison authorities.

Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., and Mr. J. Dixon (instructed by Mr. Edmund J. Duggan) appeared for the next of kin.

The following gentlemen were sworn on the jury:—Messrs. Owen M'intyre (foreman), Jas. M'Entee, John Robinson, Saml. Walton, Benjamin Ayleshire, George S. Woods, Michael Bulger, Eugene M'Guinness, Michael Maguire, Thomas Smyth, Thomas Walsh, John Coyne, William H. Turley, James Casey, Alexander Cochrane, William S. Graham.

When the jury had been sworn, Mr. Healy, K.C., rose, and said—I appear with my learned friend, Mr. Dixon, on behalf of the relatives of the martyr, and wish to know under what conditions the jury had been sworn. I understand we are entitled—the public are entitled—to have this inquiry conducted by a jury of 23. I don't know how the names were read out, but it is very easy to gather, from the frame of the supposed panel, what the police have been at. I would like to know from you, sir, before this jury is sworn, have we any means of ascertaining how this remarkable composition of the jury has been obtained? This statement was greeted with a

Remarkable Outburst

of applause in the crowded room. The Coroner, not heeding the demonstration, quietly replied—The course prescribed by the Coroner in these cases is to have at least 12 and not more than 23 summoned. I gave instructions, in the usual way, to the police, to summon 23 and from that I took the jury. I have 16 on the jury now. I have nothing to do with the calling of them. I merely instructed the police to summon 23 citizens from the immediate vicinity of the place where the death occurred. "Sir," replied Mr. Healy, with passion, "your instructions have not been obeyed. You see only 15 men have been called, and of these, half

Consist of Tories."

More applause greeted this statement. The Coroner appealed to those present to keep quiet and let the business proceed. Handing a document to Inspector Lowry, he said—"Mr. Lowry, these are the 23 that you subpoenaed!"

"Yes," replied the inspector. The Coroner told Mr. Healy he could have the list examined if he liked. Mr. Healy, K.C.—I would; and I think we are entitled to a full and pious correspondence with your mandate. The least we may expect is the law, which is so much respected in this country, and we are entitled in law to a panel of 23 jurors, from whom a verdict of 12 men may be taken.

I am not willing to go on under the present conditions. I think the police ought to do their duty and bring here 23 honest men.

The Coroner (to Mr. Hanna)—Before I give my ruling do you wish to say anything?

Mr. Hanna, K.C.—I appear on behalf of the Prison authorities and have nothing to say as to the point raised by Mr. Healy.

The Coroner—Mr. Healy, I purpose going on with the 16 men I have.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Are they householders? The Coroner—They are.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Are they of the

Requisite Valuation?

The Coroner—I cannot answer the question as to the valuation. I presume they have the necessary qualifications.

Mr. Healy—Surely, in a matter of this kind, which comes before us in this sudden manner, you are entitled to have some opinion from some independent person connected with the law as to whether it is right to go on with a jury

Truncated in This Manner.

The Coroner—The inspector in charge of the arrangements states that they are householders of the proper valuation.

Mr. Healy—I am on the point also of the 23 names.

The Coroner—Yes. Well, I have ruled that.

Mr. Healy remarked that he would have the qualifications of the jury examined and the proceedings quashed if the law had not been complied with.

The Coroner—Will you take a copy of the list?

Mr. Healy said he would, and the list was handed to him.

The jury then retired to

View the Body.

They were absent a considerable time.

Mr. Healy, K.C., requested the Coroner to call the names of the jury again, which was complied with.

The Coroner said the case they were about to inquire into was the death of Mr. Thomas Ashe. Deceased was admitted into Mountjoy on the 29th August. He was discharged from same on the 25th September, and immediately brought in an ambulance to the Mater Hospital. He was then in a serious state, and notwithstanding the efforts of the staff he died a few hours after.

John Ashe (brother) was about to give evidence of identification.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—I protest against this. Let the Government prove their own handiwork and not leave it to the poor relatives.

Let The Government Prove Their Victim's Death.

Renewed applause greeted Mr. Healy,

K.C., when he remarked that it was the duty of those who killed the man to prove his identification and not to put the exonerating duty on the relatives.

The Coroner—in all inquiries I hold I always get a relative of the deceased to give evidence of identification.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—This is

A Unique Case.

There was never one like it before.

The Coroner pointed out that if Mr. Healy, K.C., asked, he would have the prison authorities and the Governor. "It is within your right," he concluded, "but I am doing it in the ordinary everyday fashion in this case."

The Lord Mayor said—I stand not in the position of Governor of Mountjoy, but as one of the visiting justices. In my official capacity as Lord Mayor of the city, when I heard about the Sinn Fein prisoners,

I Went to Investigate

the trouble. Consequently Sir John Irwin, who is Chairman of the Visiting Justices, rendered me every assistance possible. Accompanied by Sir John Irwin I visited Mountjoy Prison last Saturday, about 11.30, with the Deputy-Governor, head warder, and two other warders. We visited many of these men, amongst the number being the late Mr. Ashe.

The cell door was opened, and I saw Mr. Ashe, apparently lying on the bare boards, in a corner of the cell, with no beds, no bedding, and no furniture of any description.

He told me that not alone had they taken those things, but four warders took the boots from off his feet, and left him in his bare feet in that cold cell.

(Here a sister of the deceased broke down.)

"I pointed out to Mr. Ashe," continued the Lord Mayor, "whom I had known previously, that I had come to find out from his own lips what complaints he had to make. He told me he had

No Complaints Whatever to Make

against any official of the prison, but that he had gone on hunger strike the previous Thursday as a protest against being designated as a criminal, and treated as such. He said the, were not criminals, and that they were not very particular as to how they were treated so long as they were not treated as criminals. That finished my interview with Mr. Ashe on that day. I suggested to Sir John Irwin, who was very courteous throughout the whole proceedings—and the same remark applied to the Deputy-Governor—I stated that I would like to get into communication with the authorities in the Castle. Sir John Irwin and myself went to the Castle, and saw the Chief Secretary, who sent for

Mr. Green, the Chairman of the Prisons' Board.

I stated to those gentlemen what I found in Mountjoy. I did not especially mention the case of Mr. Ashe. I mentioned the case of Mr. M'Donagh. I told these gentlemen the tone of the conversation I had with these men. They did not want any complaints whatever from the Government, but they strongly objected to be

Designated as Criminals.

The Chief Secretary was very sympathetic, and, to my mind, anxious to do something. The Chairman of the Prisons' Board said that, if these men were handed over to him as criminals, he had no other alternative but to treat them as such. I told these two men in the hearing of Sir John Irwin that they were shouldering a dreadful responsibility, and if anything happened the consequences would rest upon their shoulders. I did not see Mr. Ashe on Sunday, nor did I know how they were, but I was told by the Deputy-Governor that

They Were All Very Well.

Mr. M'Donagh, whom I took a deep interest in, was the worst. On Monday morning, with Sir John Irwin, I visited again the prison. I saw many of these men, and Mr. Ashe in particular. With Sir John Irwin, the Deputy Governor, and two warders, I went to Mr. Ashe's cell. The door was open, and the poor fellow was standing perfectly erect. I commented on his bed and bedding having been restored to him. "Yes," he said; "after your visit with Sir John Irwin on Saturday evening the bedding was restored. See," he said, pointing to the window of his cell, "I had to break three or four panes of glass

To Give Me Air,

fearing I might become exhausted." I asked the poor fellow how he was. "Well, but," said he, "they have been putting me through the revolting operation of forcible feeding. And," said he further, "an outside doctor has told me

My Throat is so Weak and Delicate,

and if they persist in feeding me as they did this morning the end will be fatal. I reasoned with him that now that he had made his protest the authorities had given back his bedding would it not be better for him to take his food? "No, they have branded me as a criminal, and even if I do die I will die in a good cause" (applause).

Sadly and slowly, continued the Lord Mayor:—I left poor Ashe. He has died, and it is for his country to decide whether the cause is right.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—I would like to ask if the prison authorities propose to ask any questions.

Mr. Hanna, K.C.—Did he make any complaint about the prison officials or their attitude towards him when you saw him first?

The Lord Mayor—When I first saw him he had no complaint to make.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—Was he clad in prison clothes?

The Lord Mayor—No, he was lightly clad.

SIR JOHN IRWIN.

His Conversation with Deceased in Prison.

Sir John Irwin, Chairman of the Visiting Justices Committee, Mountjoy Prison, said that on last Thursday morning he saw the deceased.

"I had a conversation with him," he added, "and asked him could he tell me what the trouble in the prison was about. He said: 'We (speaking in the plural) claim to be treated as prisoners of war, and not as ordinary criminals.' I replied: 'Personally I do not consider you a criminal, but as far as I know, from the rules governing prisons, there is no class into which you can be placed, in view of the fact that the court martial by whom you were sentenced did not order you to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.' He replied: 'I am a political prisoner, and I claim to be treated as such. I do not ask to be released, but I ask to be treated differently to the pickpocket and other criminals.'

"I reasoned with him," continued the witness, "and pointed out that the forcible feeding, which he told me was intended to be carried out, might have a serious effect upon his health. He replied: 'I am prepared to take the consequences.' I then told him that a meeting of the Visiting Justices Committee would be held in about half-an-hour, and I had already promised Prisoner Joseph MacDonagh to afford him an opportunity of appearing before the committee. At the meeting of the Visiting Committee Mr. MacDonagh appeared before us."

The Coroner said he was limited to the inquiry of Mr. Ashe's death.

Mr. Healy said this evidence would have bearing on Mr. Theobald Ashe's case.

Sir John Irwin, continuing, said—The Lord Mayor has accurately stated what took place between himself and Mr. Ashe and me. The Lord Mayor and I proceeded to the Castle with a view to seeing the Chief Secretary on behalf of Mr. Ashe and the others. As the Lord Mayor has stated, Mr. Duke appeared anxious to do anything he could to ameliorate the lot of Mr. Ashe and his fellows. He pointed out to us certain legal difficulties in the way, but he said: "I shall bring in the Chairman of the Prisons Board, and discuss the matter with him while you are here." The Chairman of the Prisons Board pointed out that he, as an official,

HAD NO DISCRETION

in carrying out the rules laid down by Parliament, and

with regard to forcible feeding, which the Lord Mayor and I had referred to, he said that, properly administered, no harm could result.

Mr. Duke told the Lord Mayor and me that he would further consider the matter in conjunction with the Law Advisers. The interview then terminated. On last Monday morning the Lord Mayor having expressed the wish to see the prisoners before leaving for Cork, I again accompanied him to Mountjoy. Amongst others, we visited Mr. Ashe, and the Lord Mayor's account of that I confirm. On Tuesday morning last I again visited the prison, and Mr. Ashe was one of the first I saw. He was in his cell. I asked if he had any was, and he said he was feeling rather light in the head. I asked if he had any complaints to make with regard to the treatment he was receiving from the officials, and he replied,

"No; they are acting as humanely as possible under the circumstances."

About an hour later, while I was visiting Mr. Joseph McDonagh in the hospital, I was informed that Mr. Ashe had been brought over and placed in the ward. That was the last I saw of the unfortunate man. I may add that on each occasion I visited Mr. Ashe he appeared

CHEERFUL AND DETERMINED

to continue the protest which he was making, and on no occasion did he complain of any treatment at the hands of the officials. That is, Mr. Coroner, a plain and unvarnished statement so far as I am concerned.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, Sir John

said that he was chairman of the Visiting Justices at the time the Suffragettes were in Mountjoy.

Mr. Healy—Did they go on hunger-strike?—They threatened to.

What was the result?—I went to Lord Aberdeen about it, and the result was that they were treated as first-class misdemeanants. His Excellency had power to grant that, and he did it.

Am I right in saying that there were some male prisoners also who are now more?—Mr. Sheehy Skeffington and Mr. James Connolly—who threatened to go on hunger strike in your time?—Mr. James Connolly was released after he had been hunger-striking for some time. The morning after Mr. Skeffington arrived in Mountjoy he expressed a wish to see me. I saw him, and he was not forcibly fed. Mr. Connolly's case occurred in 1913, and Mr. Skeffington's in 1915.

Am I right in saying that two distinguished medical men were called in by the prison authorities to consider the question of applying forcible feeding to the Suffragettes?

—I don't know what they were called in for, but they were called in. One of them was, he thought, a lady doctor—Doctor Kathleen Lynn or Dr. Maguire, and he could not remember who the other doctor was.

Do you remember Sir Thomas Myles being called in?—I am aware he was called in on one occasion.

Wasn't the same medical officer then in charge of the prison as when Mr. Ashe was there?—Yes; Dr. Dowdall.

And Dr. Dowdall would, therefore, know of any report made by two distinguished persons who were called in in the Suffragette cases?—He would.

Are these reports made in writing?—That I cannot say, because those minutes are not open to us.

Was your Committee consulted in the case of the Suffragettes?—No, but I intervened as Chairman of the Justices.

Did your Committee also intervene in the cases of Messrs. Skeffington and Connolly?—I certainly intervened.

THE TIME OF MR. SKEFFINGTON.

Was your intervention as Visiting Justice on those occasions, in the case of the male and female prisoners, in the nature of an objection to prevent forcible feeding?—That was the object we had in view.

But I notice you said to Mr. Ashe, according to your evidence, "I told him forcible feeding might have a serious effect on his health?"—I believed that.

Was it from any experience of treatment in prisons or in asylums that you arrived at that conclusion?—I have seen it both in Mountjoy and at the Asylum.

Is the Mountjoy procedure through the nose or the mouth?—Through the mouth, as a rule.

Do you know whether Mr. Ashe was practised on through the nose or the mouth?—I believe it was through the mouth, judging from the conversation

Was he gagged?—I cannot say, because I was not present.

Was he fettered?—The rule is that

IF A PRISONER RESISTS

he is put in a chair and strapped. Of course, I cannot say what took place in his case.

Mr. Healy—No doubt we will get that from the prison authorities. They will exhibit their usual candour (laughter).

Asked under what prison rules bed and bed-clothing could be taken from a prisoner and to justify subjecting him to forcible feeding after two days and two nights in a debilitated condition, Sir John said that was a question which should be asked the governor, because the visiting justices had no jurisdiction in the matter. They could consider the complaint of a prisoner in connection with a transaction of that sort, but they had no power, nor would they exercise such a power.

When you saw the prisoner in this plight and went straight to Dublin Castle, I take it you thought the prisoner was being subjected to dangerous treatment?—The Lord Mayor and myself agreed that, after lying in his own clothes for

TWO NIGHTS ON THE BARE FLOOR, it would be prejudicial to the health of the man. We both felt keenly about the matter at the time. I did not see a thermometer in the cell. The

TEMPERATURE WAS ALL RIGHT,

but in the small hours of the morning it would not be quite so good as in the daytime when we were there.

I am glad you speak so sympathetically of the Chief Secretary. It is quite in accordance with what I know of him (laughter). I am not speaking ironically. I am speaking seriously. (To witness): Was Mr. Duke alone with you when you first interviewed him?—He was. That interview lasted for about 15 minutes before the head of his department was called on. The impression left on his (the witness's) mind was that Mr. Duke seemed disposed to make some concessions to the prisoners. He (Sir John) was not a lawyer, and could not give an opinion as to whether prisoners sentenced for sedition were entitled to be treated as first-class misdemeanants under Section 19 of the Act of 1877. No report was made to his Committee by the jailer that he had inflicted any punishment on Mr. Ashe. The prisoner himself told him that he had been confined to his cell because while in the wood yard he refused to cease speaking with other prisoners, and that he had told the Governor or Deputy-Governor that he would not conform to any rules which applied to criminals. A first-class misdemeanant was treated very differently from an ordinary prisoner.

Will you tell us what Mr. Max Green said as to the status of those prisoners?—Mr. Green said that

the Prisons Board had no power to relax the rules or to make any change in the status of prisoners,

that if he did, he might leave himself open to be impeached or indicted—I cannot tell you exactly which word he used.

Surely, the character of the offence—whether it was sedition on which Mr. Ashe was found guilty—was a matter of vital importance?—Yes.

If he is found guilty of sedition or its equivalent he is entitled to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant?—Personally, I think these men should be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and

I PRESSED MY OPINION AS FAR AS I COULD.

Was the nature of the evidence discussed by the Chairman of the Prisons Board?—No, it was not. What he said was to the effect that he had no power to discriminate or differentiate.

Was the offence discussed with the Chief Secretary?—With the Lord Mayor, yes.

You stated that the Chief Sec. informed you that he would consult the law advisers—that was on Saturday; had you any further reply?—No; we have heard nothing since.

No doubt, we will get the conviction before the inquest terminates, and we can see whether it is sedition or not. Had you any interview with the military authorities?—I had.

Whom did you see—Sir Bryan Mahon. Was that before or after you saw the Chief Secretary?—Later.

Was the result of your visit to the Castle because of the impression that the Castle was powerless as against the military authorities?—Oh, no.

If that was not your impression why did you go, if I may say so, from Pilate to Herod (laughter)?—Well, my reason was

that Sir Bryan Mahon is, by virtue of his office, Lord Justice, charged with the governing of Ireland during his Excellency's absence. Of course, if I may so, I was anxious to see if anything could be done.

Mr. Healy—On behalf of the next-of-kin I have nothing but gratitude for your action. What was the result of your interview with Sir Bryan Mahon?—Well, it is only fair to say that I found Sir Bryan Mahon also sympathetic and sorry for the condition of things which existed.

You rather pointedly said that you found the Chief Secretary sympathetic?—I did.

And Sir Bryan Mahon?—Yes.

But you have omitted Mr. Max Green. Was he not sympathetic?—Well, of course, it was Mr. Duke we were interviewing, not Mr. Max Green.

Mr. Healy—Well, you were unable to plumb the depths of his sympathy. Was the Lord Mayor with you when you went to Sir Bryan Mahon?—He was in Cork.

When did you see Sir Bryan Mahon?—It was on Monday afternoon. I was at the prison after the Lord Mayor had been there. The

WHOLE THING WAS WORRYING ME considerably.

As the result, at all events, of a sympathetic Chief Secretary, and a sympathetic Commander-in-Chief, and a non-sympathetic Chairman of the Prisons' Board, nothing was done?—Not so far.

Have I the net result?—(No answer.)

Did anybody, except Mr. Max Green, who had no discrimination in carrying out these rules laid down by Parliament, make any reference to forcible feeding?—I don't remember anyone else referring to it. Of course, when the Lord Mayor and I visited these men they told us that they were going to be forcibly fed. We pointed out to Mr. Duke the very serious results. The Lord Mayor was very emphatic in pointing out to Mr. Duke that if the lives of any of these men should be jeopardised that the responsibility would not be on me, but on him.

Did you ask the chairman of the Prisons Board why Mr. Connolly and Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington or the ladies were not forcibly fed?—No, I did not.

In the course of further cross-examination Sir John Irwin said he was familiar with the

"CAT AND MOUSE ACT."

What was it passed for?—To prevent people dying, I suppose.

Was the existence of a Statute passed to prevent the death of prisoners referred to by any of the officials?—No; not specifically.

Did you convey to the officials at Dublin Castle and the Commander-in-Chief's department that these prisoners would resist to the end?—Yes.

And that they claimed the status as first-class misdemeanants?—Yes, there was no secret about it.

MEDICAL EVIDENCE

Professor McWeeney Describes Condition of Body.

Professor McWeeney was the next witness. He stated he was pathologist, National University, Dublin, and also pathologist at the Mater Hospital. By instructions of the Coroner he that day examined the body of the late Mr. Thomas Ashe, with the assistance of Dr. McKenna, house surgeon, and in the presence of Sir Thos. Myles, Sir Arthur Chance, Dr. Dowdall, Dr. Hayes, Dr. O'Kelly, and a number of others whom he did not remember. Dr. Kathleen Lynn was there also. He (Professor McWeeney) found the body muscular and well-developed, no emaciation. On the right side of the face, about the angle of the jaw, he found 12 superficial scratches averaging about half an inch in length. Smaller scratches extended from the angle of the jaw to the chin. On the chin were nine superficial excoriations, measuring roughly half an inch to a quarter. On the other side was a smaller excoriation about a quarter of an inch long. On the left side of the chin, about one inch below the lip, a triangular excoriation about three-quarters of an inch in length. In addition there were six or seven small point-like excoriations. Witness also described that in the neck, in the vicinity of the Adam's apple, were a number of small excoriations, oval in shape.

On the prominence on the thyroid there was another small excoriation, and on the left side a larger one, about an inch and a quarter. Below the thyroid cartilage was a semilunar depression not excoriated, and not unlike the mark of a thumb-nail.

He considered death to have been due partly to syncope, owing to the failure of a weak and slightly dilated heart and partly to intense passive congestion and oedema of both lungs.

In reply to Mr. Healy, the witness said that he had no personal experience of the administration of forcible feeding, and could not say whether from the scientific point of view it would be better to administer the forcible feeding through the mouth or nose. The congestion in the lungs was quite recent, and the lungs, apart from that, would be perfectly healthy. The heart was three ounces above the ordinary weight. Mr. Ashe was a man of excellent physique, but fat. One would expect a large heart to go with a large physique. To some extent fat was a sort of reservoir on which a man drew in the case of hunger.

How long would you expect a well-nourished man, fairly fatted in his physique, to stand hunger, pure and simple?—That would depend on whether he got an abundant supply of water. If he drank water ad lib he would keep alive for a longer period than without it. Of course,

DECEASED DID NOT DIE OF HUNGER.

HOUSE SURGEON'S EVIDENCE.

Replying to further questions from Mr. Healy, Prof. McWeeney said the condition of the heart and of the lungs were the organs immediately responsible for death. Congestion of the lungs, he thought, would result from forcible feeding.

It would be the routine practice to examine the heart of the patient before subjecting him to a surgical operation. He thought that a man of the type of Mr. Ashe would be apt to succumb to sudden shock or to any prolonged physical struggle.

To the Coroner, the witness added that a man having such a fatty heart as deceased, the effect of being strapped down in the chair and forcibly fed against his will, it would have a highly serious effect on his heart. Even the excitable effect on his nervous system of being strapped down might possibly bring about such a collapse and a fatal attack of syncope.

Dr. McKenna, House Surgeon at the Mater Hospital, said that Mr. Ashe was admitted to the Hospital on Tuesday evening at 5.10 p.m. He was conscious, but in a state of extreme collapse, and complaining very much of thirst. His breathing was very difficult, and the action of the heart was

very quick and rapid. His temperature was sub-normal, and his lungs showed signs of marked congestion.

Witness added—"asked him when he became ill, and he said that he got a fit of coughing that day after being forcibly fed, and that he then collapsed. He also said that for two nights last week he had slept on the floor of his cell without any covering but the clothes he wore, and that he suffered intensely from the cold. He was treated by Dr. Dempsey, but gradually became worse, and he died about 10.30 p.m.

In reply to Mr. Healy, witness said he did not know by whom the deceased was brought to the hospital. He was in a condition of collapse at the time.

Dr. Martin Dempsey, Visiting Physician Mater Hospital, said Mr. Ashe's lungs on Tuesday evening about 5.45 showed signs of bronchitis and congestion. His heart was weak.

Mr. Healy—I suppose in a lunatic asylum they would not first subject a patient to sleeping three nights on a floor without a bed and then submit him to forcible feeding?—No, I don't think so.

Mr. Hanna Did Mr. Ashe suggest to you that he was gagged or strapped in a chair?—No.

Inquest adjourned until 11.30 to-morrow at the City Morgue.

The Coroner, at the opening of the proceedings, said that Dr. McKenna, who had given evidence the previous evening, wished to make an alteration in a statement he had made.

Dr. McKenna said he had stated that the man in the hall of the Mater Hospital was in a policeman's uniform. He wished to correct that, as he did not know what was the uniform in which the man was attired.

The Coroner announced that he had received a request from the Press to ask the witnesses to speak out, as they would have some difficulty in hearing where they were placed.

SIR THOMAS MYLES

His Opinion on Treatment of Mr. Ashe

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Myles, replying to Mr. Hanna, stated that he was present at the post-mortem upon the deceased, and had an opportunity of examining portion of the body, with a view to ascertaining the cause of death. The deceased had a dilated and rather flabby heart. He agreed with the evidence of Professor McWeeney.

"From the examination that you made," asked Mr. Hanna, "what was in your opinion the cause of death?"

Witness—Heart failure.

Can you form any opinion as to the presence of edema in the lungs? It was secondary to the heart failure.

To Mr. Healy—Did you hear Dr. Dempsey's evidence as to the treatment of the prisoner in the hospital after his removal from jail? I cannot say that I heard him very clearly.

Did you hear the evidence of the house surgeon, Dr. McKenna, that he was in a collapsed condition when he arrived in the hospital? Yes.

Do you think it a prudent thing to take a man in a collapsed condition and remove him to that distance and subject him to that shakeage?

No answer.

"I will," added Mr. Healy, "read the prison rules for you." "No prisoner labouring under acute or dangerous illness shall be discharged from the prison until, in the opinion of the medical officer, the discharge is safe, unless the prisoner requires to be discharged." I ask you, Sir Thomas Myles, do you think it a prudent thing to remove a man in a collapsed condition, and have him brought from the hospital in prison, where he was under the care of the doctors of the prison, to get treatment at an outside hospital? I think the removal was the lesser of two evils.

And the greater one being that the Government should get rid of his dying in jail? No, it was for the lack of professional facilities; they had not the facilities for treatment in jail.

Then it was only on the basis that you had no facilities for treating a sick person that you remove him to hospital?

The witness was understood to state that if the person were in the street he would have been removed to hospital.

Disapproved of Removal.

"This man," continued Mr. Healy, "was under treatment in the hospital of the jail, and my suggestion is that the removal from one hospital to another hospital, which has occurred, is an act imperilling the life of the prisoner—he was not in the street run over by a tram. He was in hospital under a humane Government (laughter). That is the hypothesis, you know—that he was in hospital. The hypothesis is that this man was living under a humane Government, treated by civilised people under competent doctors, under efficient prison system which says that he should not be removed if it would imperil his life. But he was removed and he died—what do you think of that removal? I would not have approved of it myself.

Forcible Feeding.

With regard to this question of forcible feeding, did you have the honour on a former occasion with regard to former prisoners of being consulted as an eminent specialist by the prison authorities? I was approached some years ago to see some ladies that were in Mountjoy. This was about five years ago, and he thought it was anterior to the passing of the Cat and Mouse Act.

Now that was a period when by law the authorities had no option except to administer forcible feeding or release the prisoner, and this is a period when the Government have an option given them by law. What were you consulted on at that date? I was consulted and directed to report to the authorities whether it would be safe or unsafe to continue forcible feeding of the ladies who were there.

Was Dr. Dowdall then in function at Mountjoy? Yes.

What did you advise?

Mr. Hanna, K.C., objected on behalf of the prison authorities, and asked was it relevant to go back on matters that took place several years ago.

The Coroner held that the question was relevant, and Mr. Hanna said that he would then be entitled to put before them the question of the treatment of the suffragettes, and it was only fair that the prison case should be heard about them.

Mr. Healy said that so far as he was concerned they could go into this whole question.

Mr. Hanna said he did not make that remark for Mr. Healy's benefit, but for the tribunal.

Mr. Healy continued his cross-examination of the witness, and asked Sir Thomas what did he advise when he was called to Mountjoy to see the suffragettes? Sir Thomas said he advised that the ladies be discharged immediately.

Mr. Healy—On the grounds of the safety of their lives? Well, I thought one of them could hardly be taken alive out of the prison. He could not remember how long the suffragettes were in prison.

You are here now, as I understand, giving evidence on behalf of his Majesty's Government? I am here at the request of the At-

Have you been consulted medically with regard to the treatment of the prisoners now in Mountjoy before the death of Mr. Ashe as to the desirability of administering forcible feeding? No, sir.

Former Opinion in Writing.

Further cross-examined, he said that the opinion he gave regarding the suffragettes was put in writing, and was jointly signed by himself and Sir Christopher Nixon. He had seen cases of forcible feeding in a lunatic asylum when he was a young doctor. The food was then administered through the nose and the mouth.

Mr. Healy—Could it be administered through the mouth without a gag? It could.

Without the co-operation of the patient can it be administered without a gag? Not without great risk.

It is also necessary in the case of forcible feeding to fetter the prisoner in some way? That depends on whether the patient resists or whether he makes any other form of protest.

How many assistants would you say would be necessary in the administration of forcible feeding to a man? That would depend on the vigour of his resistance.

What is the least number? Two, I should think.

From the state of Mr. Ashe's heart, which you described as rather flabby and dilated, was that a condition of heart which you could easily detect in life? Not easily, but it could be detected beforehand by a very expert heart specialist.

A man may have a heart which does not show disease under the stethoscope and yet drop dead after forcible feeding? Of course there are other factors.

Mr. Healy repeated the question which he asked the witness to kindly answer and he replied that the result depended upon the accuracy of the examination beforehand. If a careful analysis of the man's condition was made he thought they would be able to detect symptoms.

The pretence for the justification of forcible feeding is to save life? Yes.

I therefore put it to you may a man under the pretence of saving his life be subjected to a condition fatal to his heart without the medical officer previously detecting that he has a heart to which treatment with forcible feeding would bring about a stoppage? It is quite possible.

What greater combination of forces are there than here? Here are a group of men in prison at this moment—twenty in all, and you state, as I understand, that a heart that won't show disease under the stethoscope would be subject to stoppage under forcible feeding? I am not quite so emphatic as that. Under an ordinary examination it might be quite different.

Do you include a prison official as an ordinary man or extraordinary man? Oh, ordinary men.

The Risks.

Witness further stated that he considered that any surgical case required handling. He thought that in cases of forcible feeding there were risks ensuing as a result of the food being forced down the throat by a tube and getting into the lung. He agreed that if a man were suffering from a glandular throat it was most undesirable.

Do you know that a prison rule forbids any operation on a patient without a second medical man being called in? No, sir, I am not aware of it.

Have you spoken to the prison doctor on this question? On the question of the second man.

No, on the general question? I think I spoke to him yesterday in a casual way.

When you received your instructions in this way from the Attorney-General that confined any evidence you could give as to the result of the post mortem? The only instructions I received were through a letter from Dr. Dowdall asking me to attend the post mortem examination the following morning.

The Prison Doctor.

Was the messenger whom the Attorney-General used to convey to you the fact that you were to attend the post-mortem the prison doctor who was involved in this case? Yes.

And except by his word of mouth you have no other knowledge that you are retained by the Attorney-General? None whatever.

Your instructions would be to obtain some history of the dead man on whose condition you were about to give your sworn testimony? I got no information whatever except that he had been brought to the Mater Hospital, and died there, and that there was to be a post-mortem the following morning. I went to the post-mortem the following morning.

Two Days Without Food.

Do you add anything as a result of your presence at the post-mortem to the evidence given by Dr. Dempsey, Dr. McKenna, and Dr. McWeeny? No, except I have little doubt that the man was two days without food and died from cardiac failure.

Do you mean to say that he was two days without food, two days left standing in a naked cell without his boots, two days without sleep, two days suffering from cold—do you think that had anything to do with cardiac failure? Undoubtedly.

There was slight applause in the gallery on hearing this answer, and it was immediately suppressed.

Do you think it a suitable preliminary to subject a man in this condition to this horrible torture of forcible feeding? If you ask my independent opinion, I say I am opposed to it on anybody, man or woman.

Witness added that he knew nothing about the man having been deprived of his boots, and kept in a naked cell in the cold.

Re-examined by Mr. Hanna—With reference to the removal of the deceased in the condition in which he was, you told us that you thought you would not have removed him? Not if there was any accommodation for him.

Assume that the man would take food voluntarily if brought to an outside hospital? Would that have an effect on your opinion? Possibly.

SIR A. CHANCE EXAMINED.

The Question at Issue

Sir Arthur Chance, examined by Mr. Hanna, K.C., said he was present at the post mortem; he agreed with the report of Prof. M'Weeny.

In your opinion, what was the cause of death? Primarily heart failure, associated with edema and congestion of the lungs.

Do you agree with Prof. M'Weeny and Sir Thos. Myles as regards the cause of death? Yes.

Examined by Mr. Healy, Sir Arthur Chance said he had no practical acquaintance with forcible feeding. This is the first time that he had been called on to express an opinion on the subject of forcible feeding.

Asked if he agreed with the evidence of Sir Thos. Myles, Sir Arthur said emphatically—I think I ought to be asked definite questions and be allowed to give my own definite answers.

Mr. Healy—Do you agree or disagree with the evidence of Sir Thomas Myles, your colleague? I don't accept all that Sir Thomas Myles said.

Do you advise the jury not to act on it?

Mr. Hanna—That is very unfair. He added that he never heard of such a question.

Mr. Healy—You never heard such a case as this, a reply that evoked audible approval from the public in the body of the court.

Sir Arthur Chance—I submit that it is not fair to ask me, having regard to the long examination of Sir Thomas Myles to accept everything that he has uttered. I want to express my own opinion in answer to any question you may ask me.

Mr. Healy—I ask you do you agree with his evidence or disagree.

Sir Arthur—I say I am not prepared to accept the answers he gave to all the questions.

With what portions of the evidence do you differ? I cannot carry all the evidence in my mind. If you read the evidence I

will modify any portions of it that I think ought to be modified.

Mr. Healy—If you subject me to that form of forcible feeling I will do it (laughter).

Sir Arthur Chance remarked that he was anxious to give the evidence, but he could not do it except as he suggested.

Mr. Healy—I take it that there are parts of the evidence with which you disagree? I cannot tell you all the parts. If you give me the depositions I will read each passage.

Sir Arthur Chance was thereupon given the depositions of Sir Thos. Myles, which he proceeded to read and pointed out certain important parts which he agreed. He agreed that the cause of death was heart failure, and the presence of edema in the lungs was secondary to the heart failure.

In regard to Sir Thos. Myles' evidence, as to the removal of Mr. Ashe, Sir Arthur Chance observed that he did not know the circumstances under which he was removed. If Mr. Ashe refused food in prison it would, of course, be better to remove him.

He was removed at the peril of his life? Witness—I would imperil his life in the hope of saving it. If he remained in hospital and refused to take food he would die.

Mr. Healy—Do you approve of bringing a prisoner to the point of death before the question of his removal from hospital arises? I don't.

Is not that the question we are trying here? It is.

Heart Must be Sound for Forcible Feeding.

Continuing, Sir Arthur said he had not been consulted medically as regards the treatment of prisoners in Mountjoy. He would like to modify the statement that the condition of the heart would not be easily detected in life except by heart specialists. The size of the heart could be detected by a skilled medical man. He thought there was a more important question, that is, the condition of the muscles of the heart, which could only be detected by an elaborate examination, that is, an examination with suitable appliances. The measure of the heart, the quality, the exact strength, to be tested would require a very complicated examination.

In your opinion is it a necessary condition preceding forcible feeding to determine if possible that the heart was sound? Yes.

Mr. Healy, in commenting on a reply of the witness, said: "I don't wish to modify this answer in the least."

There was laughter in the court at this remark.

Coroner and Laughter in Court.

The Coroner, addressing those in court, said—I regret exceedingly that there should be any levity. This is a Coroner's Court, and it is a very sad duty imposed on us to inquire into the death of a fellow-countryman. I will ask you not to let it take place again.

The witness remarked that he was answering as definitely as he could.

Mr. Healy—That goes without saying.

Witness—I am afraid that it is not universally recognised.

Dealing with the evidence of Sir Thomas Myles, witness said they had to risk life to save life, as in surgical operations.

Mr. Healy pointed out that they were dealing with forcible feeding.

Mr. Hanna—This shows the injurious method of this cross-examination.

Mr. Healy—I am surprised at my friend.

Witness—I am not speaking of this particular proceeding. Every day in hospital we risk life to save it. I am dealing with surgical operations.

This was not a surgical operation? I won't say that it was not surgical. I don't say that it was a proper one to perform, but the inserting of a tube into the throat is a surgical operation.

Therefore, in this matter forcible feeding is a surgical operation as performed? Yes.

Are you acquainted with the prison rules, which requires the presence of a second doctor at a surgical operation? I have no acquaintance with prison rules.

Are all dangerous or painful surgical operations performed under anaesthetics? Not all, but very nearly all.

Forcible Feeding Described.

Would you describe to the jury the nature of the surgical operation of forcible feeding patients? The patient would have to be restrained, his head would have to be kept steady, his mouth—I am assuming resistance, not artificial but forcible feeding—his mouth forcibly opened.

Mr. Healy—Kept open by a gag?

Witness—Kept open, let it stand at that. The tube would then be passed down through the throat into the stomach. The length of the tube would be about three feet, and about 18 inches would be used. A funnel would be used for forcing the food into the tube. The larger and softer the tube the better; a smaller and harder tube would be likely to cause injury. It would depend upon the resistance whether it would be better to bind or fetter his limbs.

Witness added that even with skilful treatment, forcible feeding was dangerous to life. The amount of danger depended upon various circumstances, the amount of resistance and the skill of the operator.

Replying to further inquiries, Sir Arthur said he thought one of the great dangers in

forcible feeding was that when the tube was inside the patient might vomit, and if he was restrained he might not be able to empty his stomach.

Mr. Healy—Is the best way when a man is lying down or sitting up in a chair.

Witness—I think, theoretically, the best way would be to have the patient lying prone with his head low.

What is the practical way? I don't know anything about forcible feeding. On the whole he thought the best way would be to have the patient lying down.

You see how awkward it would be were you to say the best method would be to feed prone if the prison doctor said he fed him upright, sitting on a chair? I suppose if you feed him upright you get the food in more quickly. If he is lying on his back the food is less likely to go down. There is a good deal to be said on both sides. I myself would have the patient lying down.

How was the Attorney-General's message to attend the post-mortem conveyed to you? By telephone message from a voice that said it was the Crown Solicitor's.

Further cross-examined, he said that in the course of an informal conversation with Dr. Dowdall his impression was that Dr. Dowdall told him that Mr. Ashe ceased to take food on Thursday; that he had been forcibly fed, he thought, on the Saturday, and every day until Tuesday.

Mr. Healy—Did you express to Dr. Dowdall any view on forcible feeding? I cannot remember to have expressed any view on any subject in this case.

Medical Help.

Did you ask if he had applied for medical help? I did not.

Do you know that he did? I do not.

Do you know that he sent around to the various hospitals, including the Richmond, asking for medical assistance and promising the sum of five guineas a week? I never heard of it before.

Witness agreed with Sir Thos. Myles that death was due to cardiac failure and other circumstances should be taken into consideration at the same time—that the man had been for some time in an empty cell without bed clothing or boots and suffering from cold.

Mr. Healy proceeded to read Professor McWeeney's evidence given yesterday from a newspaper report. Mr. Hanna asked what report that was, and Mr. Healy said it was a report in the Government organ, the "Freeman's Journal."

Do you consider the watery condition of his lung described by Professor McWeeney occurred shortly before his death? Yes.

Professor McWeeney says—"His lungs showed signs of a moderate amount of bronchitis and congestion." He was speaking of the clinical examination of his lungs.

That was in life, I take it? In life.

What would you attribute that moderate amount of bronchitis to—would it have been to his having been left standing for fifty hours in his cell without bed clothing, or would it be the result of forcible feeding?

I think both.

Therefore he must have had bronchitis before forcible feeding was administered? You put an abstract question to me, Mr. Healy.

Do you contradict Dr. Dempsey? I don't, because I could not. I did not examine him in life.

The Prison Authorities.

You see, Sir Arthur, I don't object to you throwing the shield of his great authority over the prison authorities.

Sir Arthur Chances—I object to that remark very strongly. I have given my evidence perfectly fairly.

Mr. Hanna—I think it most unchivalrous that a doctor of Sir Arthur Chances's eminence should be charged with throwing his shield over the prison authorities.

Mr. Healy said he did not think he used the word "shield," but if he said anything that was offensive, even to the most sensitive, he would withdraw it. He only wished the same chivalry was shown to the late Mr. Ashe. Now, Sir Arthur, supposing you had

been called into a hospital, and told by Dr. Dempsey that X-rays had shown signs of a moderate amount of bronchitis and congestion, would you accept it?

I would, and would continue to accept it, except that the bronchi was opened at the post mortem examination.

And do you think the post mortem negated the existence of bronchitis?

I think that the post mortem showed that the bronchi, so far as exposed, was normal.

Do you think a man would get bronchitis who, subject to lung trouble and having been deprived of his bed and shoes is then subjected to this horrible operation? Very likely.

May I take it from you that in your opinion there was malpractice?

That would depend entirely on the nature of symptoms during life. I was greatly struck with the statement Sir John Irwin made that Mr. Ashe told him he was light-headed. He did not complain.

Mr. Healy—Heroes and martyrs do not complain.

Sir Arthur—I quite realise that. He was most uncomplaining.

Let in the Cell.

Mr. Healy—Was it malpractice, in your

opinion, to subject a man who had been in cold storage, so to speak, for 48 hours, to forcible feeding? If the man had any signs of lung disease he should not be forcibly fed.

With the knowledge that they intended to forcibly feed, was it malpractice to subject him to the treatment they did? I don't quite understand the technical meaning of the word.

Do you disapprove of the conduct of the Government here with regard to Thomas Ashe? That is purely political, but I say it is very wrong to leave this man in a cell as he was for 48 hours.

Do you approve of the treatment of Mr. Ashe by your fellow-medical practitioner in this case?

Mr. Hanna—He cannot answer that unless he knows what the doctor did.

Do you approve of the action of the medical officer for Mountjoy Prison in administering forcible feeding to Mr. Thos. Ashe with the knowledge that he had been left in the body of the jail for 48 hours without bed, bedding, without clothes, without a seat to sit on and standing in a cold cell? I don't approve of the treatment meted out to Mr. Thomas Ashe. I do not like apportioning responsibility as between one officer and another. I do not approve of the treatment.

Present Treatment of Prisoners.

Do you know that the very same thing is now going on in regard to twenty other men in this Christian island where men kneel down and pray? I don't know.

Have you any knowledge or do you know anything of the circumstances under which Mr. Ashe was treated? Nothing except what I heard.

Mr. Hanna—Or suggested by Mr. Healy?

Witness—I have no knowledge.

Mr. Hanna (to witness)—You have no knowledge as to whether he was restrained? No.

Or whether he actually assisted in the operation himself after making his protest? I have not the remotest idea.

On resuming after the luncheon-hour,

Mr. Healy said that Mr. Hanna was after making a communication to him as to the course of the inquiry, and he thought they were at one as to the true course to follow. Mr. Hanna told him it was not inconvenient for the Court that they should sit to-morrow, and in view of the fact that he (Mr. Healy) had engagements which were made long before this calamity arose, he would ask the Coroner to take that into consideration. His learned friend was not going to object to the application that they should not sit at all next week.

The Coroner—I am altogether in your hands, but it is a question I have to put to the jury.

After consultation, the jury decided that on the conclusion of the day's proceedings the inquest be adjourned to next Monday week at 11.30 o'clock.

CASE FOR PRISON AUTHORITIES

Mr. Hanna, K.C., said, before he called the ordinary prison witnesses—the men who had charge of the deceased in prison, he would be glad if the Coroner would give him the opportunity of stating briefly to the jury the case on behalf of the prison authorities.

The Coroner assented to this course. Mr. Hanna said he appeared on behalf of the prison authorities there, and as he said in the course of the evidence that was given that morning, he courted the fullest investigation as to the care that was taken with reference to the deceased while he was in Mountjoy prison. Mr. Healy, in the course of his examination and his interlocutory examination, had made comments upon the Prisons' Board and upon the Executive, but with these matters he was not so immediately concerned as with the position of the actual local prison authorities. Now Thomas Ashe was brought into Mountjoy Prison first of all on the 29th August. He was then brought in as a prisoner awaiting trial. He was tried by court-martial, and the order under which he was committed was dated the 10th September. He was sentenced to a period of two years' imprisonment with hard labour, one year being remitted, so that he was in Mountjoy Prison and received by the Governor of the prison under an order which put him into the category of an offender of the third division. He had twelve months with hard labour to serve in the prison, and it was necessary for him at that stage to explain that in connection with the administration of a prison the governor and the deputy governor and the other people who were employed there by the Government had no discretion as to altering the class in which a prisoner might be put. If the order of the Court which tried him, whether it be a Court-martial or a Judge at Green street Commission or anywhere else, directed he was to be a first-class misdemeanant, the governor must put him in that category and keep him there, and if no mention was made in the order he was put in the third class as an offender of the third division.

Carried Out Orders.

He wanted the jury to start with this in their minds—that a great many things had to be considered, and he wanted to point out that the Governor of the Prison and those under him had to act in strict conformity with the order which was handed to him when the deceased was put into their custody. Dealing with the position of the Visiting Justices, counsel said they were persons nominated by various authorities, approved of by the Lord Lieutenant to visit the prison in their district for the purpose of observation, and, he supposed, in a way, to see that no injustice was done to the prisoners, and that the orders were being carried out. It was in virtue of that that Sir John Irwin, and at his invitation, the Lord Mayor visited these prisoners in Mountjoy on the date they had mentioned. In these addition to these people there had been mentioned the Prisons Board. The Prisons Board was a department of the Civil Service, the head of which was Mr. Max Green, who had no more power under the Act of Parliament to vary the condition in which a prisoner was under the order of the court than Mr. Monroe, the Governor of the prison. He was only an official under the Government to see that Mr. Monroe and the others carried out the orders of the Courts of Justice, and if an order was made by the assize court or by the police court or by the Recorder that prisoner was to be put into the second division the chairman of the Prisons Board had no more power or authority to alter that to the first division. That was the position under the law, and he did not think it would be gainsaid by Mr. Healy. When they saw these men put into a prison under an order of the Court a system was laid down hard and fast, a system which must be obeyed. Mr. Healy had incidentally stated to him that when a man was convicted of sedition he was entitled under the Act of Parliament to be put into the first class of misdemeanants. First offender, Ashe was not convicted of sedition in the sense in which Mr. Healy used the word and read the section.

Question for the Cabinet.

Mr. Ashe was convicted under a special Statute—D.O.R.A.—for causing dissension amongst his Majesty's subjects, and no unprejudiced person would say that a person convicted under D.O.R.A. was entitled to privileges under the Act of 1877, which was passed under different conditions. As to whether Mr. Ashe should be put in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd class was not a question for the Lord Lieutenant. It might be a question for the Cabinet in London or such high statesmanship, and the Lord Lieutenant may not feel at liberty to deal with the matter. Dealing with the facts of the case, counsel said that Thomas Ashe was in the prison on the 10th September, and on the 11th September he asked to be brought before the Governor, Mr. Munroe. As Mr. Munroe was absent, Mr. Boland, the Deputy Governor, saw him. Mr. Ashe told him that he would not work or obey any order or rule relating to criminal prisoners, as he did not consider himself a criminal. Mr. Boland said he would note what Ashe had said, but he warned him against disobeying the regulations. Mr. Boland brought the matter before the Prison's Board. From the time that Ashe went into prison until the day he left it he did no work;

the work he was expected to do was sewing mail bags. When he was out at exercise he talked continually with everyone he got in contact with. He set the whole place at defiance (hear hear).

Mr. Hanna, addressing the Coroner, said he knew that a great many of the people present disagreed with the matters he put forward, but like the prison officials he had his duty to perform. His duty was to put before the jury the case on behalf of the people whom Mr. Healy intended to implead. There would be a great many things said that would not be agreeable (A Voice—"Very likely").

The Coroner here intervened and called for order.

A Very Serious Matter.

Mr. Hanna, resuming, said they were investigating a very serious matter, and if he was unable to put the case of the prison authorities without interruption he would ask the Coroner to have the court cleared. Even, said counsel, Mr. Healy's supporters should have a sense of fair play. As he (counsel) had stated, Mr. Ashe set the place at defiance. He was perfectly civil to Mr. Boland, but he was resolved and determined that he would not conform to the prison regulations. The whole matter in regard to the prisoners was under consideration when this unfortunate hunger strike started. The complaint made by Ashe was put before the Prisons' Board, and the report which Mr. Boland got from the Chairman of the Prisons Board was one warning the prisoner as to the consequences of persistently disobeying the prison rules. When the prisoner continued in this insubordinate manner, the Governor was entitled to give him severe punishment if he was so minded, but the Governor was aware that Ashe was not of the ordinary criminal pickpocket class, and was unwilling to do anything unduly harsh. He had Ashe brought before him and informed him as to what the Prison Board had said. Ashe replied that he would still protest against being classed as a criminal and that he would not comply with the rules. He was taken out to work and again refused, and again he was brought before the Deputy-Governor. Counsel pointed out that these men were put into a wooden shed together, away from the ordinary prisoners, but they were not allowed to talk. It was a prison these men were in, added counsel, and not a place of joy.

No Forcibly Fed.

Mr. Hanna, continuing, emphasised the fact that in no case was the deceased forcibly fed. He would not feed himself. The doctor advised him that as he had now made his protest, that it would be far better for him to take his food and have no trouble. The doctor said "We cannot allow you to die, we will have to feed you." He said, "Very well." He was fed artificially, twice on Sunday, twice on Monday and once on Tuesday. On no occasion was he gagged or strapped or restrained in any way whatever. More of these supposed operations took place. He did not place the slightest obstacle in being brought from the cell to the doctor's room, where he was fed. He walked there with the warder and he walked back with him. On each occasion he gave the doctor any little assistance. When the doctor asked him if he was all right. He said that he felt all right. The man took a sensible view about it. He said "I won't feed myself; I won't resist. It will make me very uncomfortable." He did actually state that, but that was the view he took of it. He was fed artificially on these five occasions. With reference to this artificial feeding, Dr. Dowdall had been the doctor there for a considerable time. He was there when the suffragettes were there, and he had as much experience in artificial feeding as any doctor in Ireland. The state of affairs in Mountjoy was absolutely unprecedented. In the case of the suffragettes when they refused to take food, he fed them, but these ladies were otherwise agreeable to the prison regulations. The whole place was in pandemonium, and the Governor had to take means to have the rules obeyed. It was suggested in the case of Ashe that he had not his bed or bed clothes up to the time he was taken to hospital.

Mr. Healy—I never suggested t.

Mr. Hanna—That is not the fact. On either Thursday or Friday night, as Sir John Irwin stated, he was without his bed. They would have to remember that when they took the bed and bed clothes away, the state of these men's feelings towards the prison reasonable. It was not the case as if they were authorities there. It was because they might be destroyed, as they started to destroy everything. The temperature of the cell was fairly reasonable. It was not the case as if they were in the open air. Soldiers and heroes sleep out in the open air, and endure hardships far greater than any of the Mountjoy prisoners, without grumble or murmur. It was not unreasonable for the staff to take these precautions for the purpose of protecting the property. If he said that he felt cold, because he was left like that all night, he had himself to blame for it. When they were put into prison they had to obey the rules of the prison, which were stringent ones. He could have been put into the punishment cell, where there was no furniture or anything to lie upon. If they had done that, probably they might have made some other complaint. Dr. Dowdall would inform what he did with Ashe. When he came to the prison originally he examined him with reference to the heart with the stethoscope, and he would tell them that he found nothing wrong with him, and passed him as fit for hard labour.

PRISON ORDERLY'S EVIDENCE

Bernard Watters, an orderly in Mountjoy Prison, and who has 33 years in the service, stated that he remembered the deceased, who at no time was under his charge from the time he was artificially fed. Witness assisted to get the food ready for him. In order to be fed, the prisoners were brought from the cell to the room where the doctor was. He had nothing to do with Ashe until Tuesday morning. When being brought to the doctor's room deceased made no resistance. Dr. Lowe was in attendance when the deceased was brought to the room. When deceased came into the room he asked the doctor for some opening medicine.

The Feeding Described.

The doctor asked him would he prefer a pill, and deceased said he would prefer a draught in the milk. The food consisted of two eggs beaten up in a pint of warm milk. The deceased sat down on a chair and did not in any way resist. He opened his mouth to receive the tube, and Dr. Lowe inserted the tube. Deceased when the tube was first inserted seemed inclined to vomit, as it tickled the back of his throat, and the doctor brought up the tube again. The doctor put it down again and asked Ashe if he was all right, and he nodded his head. The tube was put on to the end of the stomach pump. The end of the pump was put into the vessel containing the food, and the food was then pumped into the stomach. During the operation he continued sitting in the chair. The operation lasted from five to eight minutes. When the contents had been pumped into the stomach the tube was withdrawn and deceased then vomited about a wineglassful of food, which was a thing that frequently happened. As deceased was a little weak the doctor told the warders to bring Ashe out carefully and he was accordingly removed outside the room. Witness also stated that he assisted at the feeding of the deceased on the Sunday previously and on that occasion Ashe did not resist in any way.

In reply to the Coroner, witness stated that he was certain the stomach pump was used in putting the food into the stomach.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy—Have you got he war bonus? I have (laughter).

What was the name of the warder that attended Mr. Ashe on the Saturday when he was being forcibly fed? I don't know, I was not there.

Is it that you cannot tell or won't tell? I cannot tell. I was not present, and could not say whether he was fed on Saturday or not.

Is it part of your case that this gentleman was not forcibly fed on the Saturday? I have nothing to do with the forcing business.

Witness continued to say that he was never in charge of the late Mr. Ashe. The rules attaching to the prison were strictly observed. Mr. Healy asked for the production of the prison punishment book and other records, and

Mr. Hanna said any books not in court could be produced to Mr. Healy.

Mr. Healy cross-examined the witness at length as to the prison rules, and more particularly as to the infliction of punishment.

Mr. Healy called for the

Punishment Book,

but was informed that it was not in court. Mr. Hanna said the book could be produced.

Mr. Healy said he also wanted the Governor's book. "And," he went on, "I want them now."

The Coroner directed a special messenger to be sent to the prison for these books.

Mr. Healy also asked for the medical books.

Mr. Hanna produced these, and Mr. Healy examined them.

The witness Waters went on to say, in further reply to Mr. Healy, that some of the prisoners were removed to the refractory portion of the prison—C base. He did not know if Mr. Ashe was amongst them.

Mr. Hanna said Mr. Ashe was never in that part of the prison.

Mr. Healy, K.C.—How many stomach-pumps have you in Mountjoy.

Witness—Four or five.

And there were 40 hunger striker prisoners? Yes.

One pump to ten men? That may be.

Mr. Healy called for the pump used on Mr. Ashe.

Dr. Dowdall said it was not in court, but he had the tube.

Mr. Healy—I want

The Weapon of Death.

Witness said he had nothing to do except to get the food ready—"to break the eggs and things like that."

Mr. Healy—I that the whole of your function—breaking eggs?

The witness declared that he did not know of the matters referred to by counsel, and Mr. Healy asked him was he called because he was innocent.

Mr. Healy read extracts from the medical books, in which the doctor stated he proposed artificially feeding the prisoners on the Saturday.

The witness said that in his presence 15 or 20 prisoners were subjected to this treatment. It was the same pump used on each, and it might have been the same tube, sterilised.

How is the tube sterilised? Hot water is put through it and poured out again.

The Coroner said it was cleansing—not sterilisation.

Answering further questions the witness said Ashe was about the tenth to be fed, but he did not know whether it was the same tube. Three warders and the doctors took part in the operation.

DR. W. H. LOWE'S TESTIMONY

HOW "FEEDING" WAS CARRIED OUT

Dr. Wm. Henry Lowe, examined by Mr. Hanna, said he graduated in 1909 and had been in practice since then. On Tues., 25th Sept. he was engaged in Mountjoy Prison, assisting Dr. Dowdall artificially feeding the prisoners. He was not a member of the prison staff. There was no force used when Mr. Ashe came into the room. Witness asked him how he felt, and he replied, "I feel well, but a bit weak." Witness then took his pulse, which was steady, regular, somewhat quick, and a little weak. Witness was satisfied as a result that he was fit for artificial feeding. He asked for a purgative, and witness asked him if he would have a pill. He replied that he would prefer a draught to the pill. Witness then proceeded to give him the food. He sat in the chair and offered no resistance whatever. The warders had not to restrain him in any way; he voluntarily opened his mouth. Witness passed the tube gently into his mouth, and when it passed into his throat it caused him inconvenience, so he withdrew it. The nature of the inconvenience was that he coughed slightly, and witness withdrew it to enable him to clear his throat, and, after that he was enabled to get the tube in without difficulty.

When he got it down sufficiently, witness asked if Mr. Ashe felt all right, and he nodded assent. Witness used the pump, and it took between 5 and 10 minutes to put the food in. When the feed was over, and after I had withdrawn the tube, he vomited slightly. To witness he said "I am all right, but a bit weak."

AFTER THE OPERATION.

Did you observe in his face any signs?—I noticed his lips were somewhat blue, just when he was going to get out of the chair. I then told the warders to take him away, and get him lying down as quickly as possible. That was the last I saw of him.

Prior to the feeding operation being concluded, did you notice any signs of falling heart?—No. Before I started to feed him I was satisfied he was in a fit condition to be fed. I was aware he had been fed several times previously through the tube.

MR. HEALY CROSS-EXAMINES

To Mr. Healy—I first performed this operation on Tues. He was connected with Stevens's Hospital, and with the Dental Hospital.

Are there many cases of forcible feeding in Stevens's Hospital? Witness replied that he had never seen one performed there, nor did he ever carry out the operation himself up to then; but he did artificial feeding.

This was the first occasion on which you had been engaged in forcible feeding?—I was not engaged in forcible feeding; it was artificial feeding. There was no force.

If there was force necessary, you were there to do it?—If force was necessary, I would first call my senior, Dr. Dowdall. He was engaged by Dr. Dowdall, who telephoned to him. He could not say if Dr. Dowdall had informed him he was wanted for artificial feeding; he used some words to that effect. Dr. Cooke, another prison doctor, told him what had been going on in the prison.

You thought artificial and forcible feeding were the same thing?—I did not think they were the same thing; but the difference did not strike me (laughter).

EXAMPLES OF PUMPING.

Were you shown some specimens of the work you were to do—were you to serve an apprenticeship?—I saw some others fed by Dr. Dowdall.

How many examples of pumping did Dr. Dowdall perform in your presence before you performed on Mr. Ashe? I think there were four or five. I assisted him in some others.

When he inducted you into the art, did he leave you alone in your glory?—He appeared satisfied, and left.

Witness said he was an M.B. of Dublin University. He had not yet ceased to act as feeding operator at Mountjoy.

Did you practise the operations this morning?—Yes.

Did Mr. Lynch and Mr. Stack complain of your treatment of them in your operation?—Mr. Stack said he would prefer Dr. Dowdall to do it.

Asked why did Mr. Stack object, witness replied—His reason was that Dr. Dowdall would put the tube down more easily. That was after he had done with Mr. Ashe. Witness thought one other prisoner complained.

Was that after you had done with Mr. Ashe?—It was.

Therefore, after you had done with Mr. Ashe, two prisoners complained of your treatment?—They said that Dr. Dowdall did it easier. I don't remember the names.

You had seen, as a result of your operation that Mr. Ashe's lips went blue?—Yes.

You knew this was a dangerous operation?—Yes. He had learned of this from his teachings, but he could mention no book of authority wherein he saw it.

A FIVE-GUINEA FEE.

Asked what he got for the job, witness said five guineas a week.

Disregarding of the number of persons

to be operated on?—There was no statement about any number. I was told, roughly, how long it would take me, and I said I would go up.

Did you tell Dr. Dowdall that you never had any previous experience of the work?—I told him I never artificially fed persons. I had considerable experience in passing the stomach tube in private practice and in hospitals.

Which hospital?—Stevens' Hospital, where I was a student for about a year.

How many did you operate on before Mr. Ashe's fatal turn came?—I think about four persons.

Is it your evidence that these were all willing victims?—None of them made any protest to me.

So that when Watters says the prisoner said, "I protest against being forcibly fed" you were unable to hear it?—I didn't hear him make that statement. He certainly didn't make it to me.

Watters was in the room, and you were the person in charge, and you swear that the man who was going to be operated on did not protest?—I swear that.

And you swear that, knowing in that respect you are in conflict with the warder?—I do not think I am in conflict.

Mr. Ashe's lips got blue and he collapsed and had to be taken to hospital?—Yes.

And you say that he said nothing in the nature of a protest against your practice upon him?—I did not hear him protest.

NO STERILISATION.

Witness proceeded to say that he used the same pump in each case. There were a number of tubes, but it might not have been the same tube. He cleaned the tubes, he did not sterilise them. Some 19 or 20 were artificially fed on Tues.

You know if one man has tuberculosis or cancer there is danger of the infection being conveyed from one to another?—No such thing could happen in these cases. No man with disease would have been subject to that treatment.

Before you put this gentleman through the treatment that provoked his death, and feeling his pulse, did you apply any test to his condition?—I asked him how he felt.

Beyond taking his pulse did you apply any medical test to the man's condition to show that he was fit for this forcible feeding?—I did not.

And immediately afterwards his lips went blue?—Yes, I can explain why I did not give any further medical examination as to the condition of his heart. When that man's card was brought in with him it stated he was undergoing hard

labour. No man is passed fit for hard labour until the prison doctor has examined his heart and given his opinion.

Witness explained that some of the other prisoners underwent the feeding without having the tube put into their stomachs, and, instead, had the food inserted into a funnel. He asked Mr. Ashe was it by the tube into the stomach that he was fed, and he said "Yes." Mr. Ashe was offered a different method of feeding, and declined it. The tubes were cleaned in the same water, and likely cleaned on the same towel. Since the tragedy he had kept up the operation on other prisoners. He performed it on 17 on Wednesday.

Mr. Healy asked for an order for the attendance of the warders present on Tues., and Mr. Hanna said they would find out who they were and produce them.

EPSOM SALTS.

Witness, in reply to Mr. Healy, said that he was not asked to make any return of how he treated deceased and had made none. At the request of the deceased he gave him a purgative which consisted of a dose of Epsom salts, which was administered in the food.

Mr. Healy—Is Epsom salts to a man in a state of collapse a suitable purgative? It is not; he was not in a state of collapse. I would not give any purgative to a man in a collapsed condition.

In further reply, witness said that he wrote that the heart of the deceased was steady, regular, somewhat quick, and a little weak.

And this was the man to whom you gave Epsom salts?—Yes.

This is the man whose lips became blue when he got it?—Yes.

And this is the man who was dead within seven hours?—Yes.

Mr. Healy—And you are the man who did it! (Applause.)

Mr. Hanna protested that it was absolutely unparalleled in the history of the Irish Bar for counsel to take advantage of his position to insult a witness—a professional man, who was clearly acting to the best of his ability, and had given his evidence, as they could see, very frankly, whether it was in his favour or against him.

Mr. Healy—I hold I was absolutely justified by what the witness himself said.

Dr. Lowe—All I can say is that I carried out my duty to the best of my ability, and I acted under instructions.

Mr. Healy said that he would read the only record affecting the prisoner—17th Sept. Mr. Boyd said—"Prisoner refused to do any work. Prisoner says he has nothing to say." Under the heading: "Other Punishments" was—"Forfeit of instructive books for 7 days; also marks for every day he refuses to work." There was no record, as the prison rules required, that the bedclothes and furniture should be removed from these men.

Dr. Lowe is a near relative of Rev. W. J. Lowe, M.A., D.D., a well-known Presbyterian clergyman, and of ex-Supt. Lowe, D.M.P., and has been for some time in practice on the north side of Dublin.

A crowd passing Dr. Lowe's residence in Amiens street last night indulged in bores. The house was recently guarded by police.

THE JURY.

The following are the names of the jury at the Ashe inquest:—

G. McIntyre (Foreman), 40 St. Patrick's road; J. Robinson, 1 Lindsay terrace; B. E. Allshire, 2 Helena road; George S. Woods, 108 Philiboro road; E. McGuinness, 89 Philiboro road; J. Coyne, 48 Decat street; W. S. Graham, 318 North Circular road; J. M'Entee, 21 St. Anne's road; S. Walton, 12 Lindsay road; A. Cochrane, 393 and 456 North Circular road; W. H. Turtley, 80 Upr. Dorset street; T. Walsh, 93 Upr. Dorset street; M. McGee, 18 Philiboro road; M. Bolger, 96 Philiboro road; P. McGuinness, 114 Philiboro road; T. Smith, 100 Primrose street; J. Casey, 8 Upr. Dorset street.

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

EVIDENCE OF 2 PRISON DOCTORS.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. T. M. HEALY.

The inquest on the late Mr. Thos. Ashe was resumed yesterday in the City Morgue, and after the evidence of Dr. Dowdall, M.O., Mountjoy Prison, and Dr. Kinsella, M.O., Maryborough Prison, was adjourned until to-morrow. Warder Watters was further examined. Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., for the next-of-kin, whose cross-examination of Dr. Dowdall as to his "artificial feeding" of Mr. Ashe and points of prison procedure excited great interest, asked for the production of certain records and also of certain of Mr. Ashe's fellow-prisoners. Ald. Byrne and Mr. Cosgrave, M.P.'s, were among those present.

The resignation is officially announced of Dr. Edgar Flinn, of the Prisons Board.

PRISONERS AS WITNESSES.

AN APPLICATION BY MR HEALY.

Mr. Healy, at the outset, mentioned that it would be necessary for him to apply for the examination of certain prisoners—colleagues of the deceased in Mountjoy—and if any attempt were made to remove those prisoners to England, as was reported, he would charge it as an attempt to hamper the interests of justice.

Mr. Hanna described the proposition to regard the prisoners in Mountjoy as possible witnesses as ridiculous, but said whatever legal procedure was necessary to have witnesses brought to Court could be adopted by Mr. Healy. The latter then said that he did not know whether the Coroner had the power to demand the attendance of prisoners undergoing sentence, but, if he had, application would be made that he should exercise it, while, if he had not, application would be made to the High Courts.

The Coroner stated that his business was limited; he could not go into a general inquiry—only into the question of Thos. Ashe's death. If Mr. Healy showed him that any prisoner was present when the treatment was carried on he would summon him. He understood he had that power. Mr. Healy said, in that case, he would give the names, and he added that he proposed flatly contradicting a statement by Mr. Hanna, at the previous sitting, that the prisoners' bedclothes, shoes and beds were removed on the ground that the men were creating a pandemonium.

WARDER WATTERS RECALLED.

On Warder Watters being recalled, Mr. Healy said there was an absolute conflict of opinion between that witness and Dr. Lowe, and if this was an attempt to prepare an assimilation of truth between the two, he held that that could not be done. Mr. Hanna suggested that Mr. Healy was again endeavouring to throw dirt on Dr. Lowe, and Mr. Healy retorted, amid applause and laughter, "Dr. Lowe threw dirt on himself. I threw none." Mr. Hanna said if there were any further demonstrations by the public he would leave the Court with all his witnesses. He added that there was "a clique attending every day for the purpose of supporting Mr. Healy, and entirely in sympathy with him." They had a right to be there, but they had no right to express their feelings in the way they were doing.

Replying to Mr. Hanna, Watters said he was present at the feeding of Mr. Ashe on the Sun, before his death. Mr. Ashe was then strapped to a chair; the straps were fastened loosely around each arm and leg. He did not believe straps were used on the Tues—the last occasion of the feeding of Mr. Ashe.

Mr. Healy—If he did not resist, why was he strapped?—A great many were strapped, and some were not. Mr. Ashe made no resistance. Dr. Dowdall was present. I believe Dr. Dowdall was right in saying that Sun. was the first occasion on which Mr. Ashe was forcibly fed. It was the first day I was present. Some of the others were forcibly fed on the Sat. I do not know why an exception was made in Mr. Ashe's case.

NO PROTESTS.

On the Tues., when Mr. Ashe's lips went blue, did Dr. Lowe give him any restorative? What did Dr. Lowe do?—He told the warder to bring him out and lay him down quietly in his bed.

And it was by a chance he met Dr. Dowdall coming out?—I don't know. Witness added that he did not know the name of the first prisoner operated on. About 6 or 7 were operated on before Mr. Ashe, and none of them protested as being hurt. He could not give the names. Some of them vomited. Each was inclined to vomit when the tube went down the throat.

On the Tues. was Mr. Ashe's throat held by anybody?—It was not. Witness could not account for the marks on deceased's throat and chin. There were no scars when he last saw him.

To the Coroner, witness said none of the other prisoners saw deceased forcibly fed.

DR. DOWDALL'S EVIDENCE.

THE FIRST FEEDING PROCESS.

Dr. R. G. Dowdall, M.O., Mountjoy Prison, stated, in answer to Mr. Hanna, that Mr. Ashe first came under his control on Aug. 29, when he was awaiting trial, and that he was then in good health. The prisoner was stripped to the waist, and witness made a complete examination of his heart with the stethoscope, and he also examined his lungs. There was nothing wrong—no irregularity and no displacement of the apex beat of the heart, and he was free from rupture. Witness asked him if he was in good health, and he said he was. He said nothing of having been treated for tubercular glands, and witness observed none. In physique, Mr. Ashe was a tall, powerfully-built man, inclined to be stout. After trial by court martial, prisoner was committed on Sept. 10, with a hard labour sentence. Witness again examined him, when he again said he was in good health, and the examination disclosed no weakness in the constitution, and Mr. Ashe made no complaint. Witness was of opinion that he was fit for hard labour.

Witness's attention was next drawn to the prisoner on Sept. 20, when he heard that the prisoners had gone on hunger strike. On Sun., 23rd, he was first artificially fed, and that was the only occasion on which witness fed him. On that occasion witness had a conversation with him. Mr. Ashe was brought into a room between two warders, and sat on a chair. Witness asked him to partake of the food himself, as the artificial process was most unpleasant; but he refused. Witness could not say what words he used, but he refused to take the food voluntarily.

THE PUMP AND TUBE.

"I then examined him," continued Dr. Dowdall; "I am not certain if I examined his heart with the stethoscope. I examined his pulse. He then protested. I then asked him to open his mouth, which he did. Straps were loosely put on in case he put up his hands to touch the food. The straps were perfectly loose. He voluntarily opened his mouth, and I passed the tube in without any difficulty. The food consisted of milk and beaten up eggs, and I passed that with the aid of the pump and tube which I have here."

Handed the pump and tube, witness proceeded to explain the manner in which they were worked. "What not produce the

whole guillotine?" inquired Mr. Healy. Witness explained the difference between the working of the funnel tube and the pump. In the former case, if the tube got blocked with particles of the egg he would have to withdraw it and clean it, and again insert it, which would cause discomfort. He had considerable experience in artificial feeding. He seldom had to use force. His experience was that the small tube and pump was the better medium for feeding. Mr. Ashe made no complaint; he was fed through the mouth.

"SERIOUSLY ILL."

"On the Tues. morning at 11.45," Dr. Dowdall added, "I met Mr. Ashe coming from the room in company with two warders, one walking on each side supporting him. I spoke to him. I said, 'Ashe, how do you feel?' He said, 'I feel weak.' I told the warders to bring him at once to hospital. I went over immediately afterwards and examined him. The heart was weak and somewhat irregular; the extremities were slightly cold; the respiration was much embarrassed. I said to him, 'You are very seriously ill, I shall secure your release, and shall want you to take some brandy and milk.' I handed him myself about an ounce of brandy and an equal quantity of milk. This he took from me, on the understanding that he would be released. I had a hot jar placed at his feet, and I told one of the assistant hospital warders to remain with him and administer brandy, milk, and beef-tea every fifteen minutes."

Witness had a conversation with Mr. Ashe as to where he should be sent to on his release, and he said he wished to be sent to the Mater Hospital. He asked him if he felt fit to undertake the journey, and he said he did. Witness met one of the chaplains, Dr. Dargie, and asked him to secure a bed at the Mater Hospital. He also called his attention to Mr. Ashe. He asked him if he wished to communicate with any friend, and he mentioned one—Mr. Michael Foley, of Cabra road. Witness could not tell what hour he handed the name to the Governor. Before his removal Mr. Ashe appeared to improve slightly, and said he felt better.

Mr. Hanna read Dr. Dowdall's report to the Governor, which stated his opinion that Mr. Ashe's illness "may terminate fatally before the termination of his sentence." The nature of the disease was given as "weak heart," and it was stated in the report that the prisoner's illness had not been caused by confinement in prison, or aggravated by his treatment there.

REMOVAL TO MATER.

Dr. Dowdall said the prisoner was removed about 5.5 p.m. on Tues. evening, and he personally supervised his removal. He was then of opinion that Mr. Ashe was fit to be removed, and that it was for his benefit to be removed. Some hours afterwards witness called at the Mater Hospital to inquire how he was, and a nursing sister informed him that Dr. Dempsey had hopes of his recovery. While he was in prison Mr. Ashe had grown a beard about a quarter of an inch long. When he was removed to hospital he had this beard on. He had no scratches or bruises on his face, and witness had repeated opportunities for noticing him. Witness was present at the post-mortem, and the deceased was then clean-shaven. The marks referred to by Professor M'Weney were then visible. In his opinion, the marks could be caused by shaving, with the exception of one mark on the lower part of the neck. This was a depression in preentic form, but there was no abrasion at the bottom of it which he would expect to find if the deceased had been grasped by the neck. He could not say whether the marks were caused before or after death, but while Mr. Ashe was under his care he never saw any cuts on his face or bruises on his throat.

Mr. Hanna—And did he ever complain to you of anyone kicking or bruising him?—He made no complaint whatever.

The Coroner—Were there any prisoners in the room when you were feeding Mr. Ashe?—No. I may say a prisoner is never fed in the presence of another.

PUNISHMENT RECORDS.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy—Rule 163 (3) says: "The medical officer shall once every day, or oftener, visit every prisoner under punishment, or under special discipline, or any other prisoner to whom his attention is specially directed." The only record in the Governor's punishment book handed to me is this: "Sept. 15th, Thomas Ashe, idling. Mr. Boyd says: 'Prisoner refuses to do any work.' Prisoner says he has nothing to say. Punishment awarded: Forfeit instructive books for seven days; also marks for every day he refused to work." You are aware that that is the only record in the book authorising any punishment of Mr. Ashe?—I don't quite understand you.

How are you to know that a prisoner is under punishment unless there is a record showing the punishment?—It would be reported to me on special docket.

Show me the special docket. I did not know of this on Saturday week when we called for all records. Before I look at it, will you tell me why the contents of this docket were not entered in the punishment book?—I have nothing whatever to do with that.

The punishment book is dated 17th Sept.: I hereby certify that I have examined Prisoner 873 (Thos. Ashe), and find him fit for close confinement, fit for scale punishment No. 1 and No. 2. Also deprivation of mattress, fit for restraint in handcuffs, waist belt, muffs, restraint jacket or jacket in splints.—R. Dowdall, Medical Officer?

Dr. Dowdall said that was quite right. Asked under what circumstances Mr. Ashe was deprived of his bed and bedding, witness said he merely marked him fit for deprivation and close confinement. He did not, as his knowledge was at the time, know that the sentence of deprivation of bed and bedding was entered in a book.

On the 17th Sept. you had no knowledge that Thomas Ashe was sentenced to be deprived of his bed and bedding?—No.

And in fact he was not?—No.

And it was not under the record that he was deprived of his bed and bedding?—I cannot tell you what the reason may have been.

The dates speak for themselves—he was not deprived on the 19th Sept.?—No, I believe not.

Was he in separate confinement on the 17th September?—No.

You were bound to visit him every day when he was deprived of his bedding?—He was not in a punishment cell, nor was he under special discipline, and I was not obliged to visit him unless he directed my attention.

Can a man be deprived of bed and bedding without trial or sentence?—No, I assume not.

TRIAL AND SENTENCE.

Let me read the rule for you—Rule 32: "He shall not be deprived of mattress for the rest of his sentence after the first 14 days except as a punishment. The punishment can only be inflicted as the result of trial and sentence." If the doctor has got no record of that sentence on a prisoner to go upon, you say he is not obliged to visit him?—Unless the prisoner complains.

The doctor has no means of knowing, except by hearsay, of punishment upon a prisoner except by the Governor's book?—Except he complains to me.

You cannot know, except from the Governor's book, of a sentence on a prisoner?—No, except in that way.

Therefore, the result of not entering in that book is that it inflicts an illegal sentence upon him by depriving him of the medical officer's assistance?—I don't see that. If the man has any complaint to make he puts his name down for the medical officer.

You are bound to visit a prisoner suffering from punishment?—He was not in a punishment cell.

You cannot punish a man unless in a punishment cell, although you take his bed and bedding away. Is it a punishment to do that?—It may be, yes.

Looking an entry in the Governor's book

that the prisoner is under punishment, can you have any official knowledge of that punishment?—No.

Then the result of the non-entry of a punishment in the Governor's book is not only to inflict a punishment beyond the prison rules but to deprive the prisoner under punishment of the service and daily visits of the doctor?—I think that is for the Governor to reply to.

Do you know in fact that the sentence of the deprivation of bed and bedding and boots had been inflicted on Mr. Thos. Ashe?—I did not.

Therefore, the prisoner lost the advantage of your visit once a day or oftener?—He was not visited by me.

And I take it, doctor, that you would not have been a party to keeping a man without bed or bedding, without seating accommodation, without boots for 50 hours before administering forcible feeding to him?—Certainly not, under the conditions. Mr. Healy—I think that answer is to your credit.

Witness—Under the condition of hunger-strike.

You would not?—No.

AUSTIN STACK'S COMPLAINT.

When was it first brought to your knowledge that this cruelty had been inflicted on Mr. Ashe?—I was aware that there had been an outbreak on Thurs. I heard of the cells being broken up. I visited the deceased and all the other Defence of the Realm Act prisoners the following morning (Fri.). The cells were empty. No complaint was made by any of the prisoners. I visited them again on Sat. and a complaint was made.

By whom?—By one of the prisoners named Austin Stack.

He will be one of the gentlemen we will call, and I will apply for a summons for him. There was a complaint by Austin Stack to what effect?—That he had been deprived of his bed. He did not say he had been deprived of his boots. I made an order that the beds should be restored in all cases.

How did the complaint of one prisoner impress on your mind that 39 had been similarly treated?—I expect I went round and asked.

"SCAPEGOAT!"

On Mr. Hanna directing attention to Dr. Dowdall's direct evidence, Mr. Healy observed, "Mr. Hanna wants to make a scapegoat of you, doctor." "I do not want to make a scapegoat of him," retorted Mr. Hanna, "but I know whom you want to make a scapegoat of—Mr. Max Green." Mr. Healy denied this, and said he intended to push it to a higher authority than Mr. Max Green. "That observation," continued counsel, "should not have been made. I have not said one word about Mr. Max Green except as it arose. I made no reflection on the gentleman as yet. I will give him an opportunity of exonerating himself, which, I understand, he will do, and throw the blame on others. That may interest you."

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Mr. Hanna now wants to make you a scapegoat.

Witness—I should not think so.

Mr. Healy—Perhaps you do not appreciate legal observations as keenly as I do. Tell the Coroner and jury exactly the position you wish to take up—either that you knew on the Thurs. and the Fri. and the Sat. that the prisoners were being deprived of bed and bedding and boots, or that you did not know.

Witness replied he did not know until Saturday.

These 40 men were having a severe punishment applied to them without the knowledge of the medical officer of the prison?—Yes, I think so.

Mr. Healy was proceeding to read an entry relating to the prisoners generally, when Mr. Hanna objected, and said that the condition of another prisoner was not relevant to the case they were inquiring into. Mr. Healy was now trying to get in by an ingenious artifice the condition of the other prisoners.

HUNGER STRIKE EFFECT.

The Coroner allowed the question, and Mr. Healy read the following entry—

"My attention was called this morning to Prisoner —, who has been hunger-striking since Thurs. 20th, on which day he had taken neither dinner

I nor supper. This man appeared unable to speak; his heart was weak and extremities cold. I admitted him to hospital, and administered by tube one pint of warm milk and one ounce of brandy. The chaplain's attention was called to him. Seventeen prisoners artificially fed; fourteen as well as I understand, not yet fed. Another prisoner who has been hunger-striking was admitted to hospital in an exhausted state about 12 noon. I considered it necessary to feed him at once artificially."

Arising out of this entry, Mr Healy asked witness was it only when that state of things had arisen as regards two prisoners that their beds were ordered to be returned to them. The witness answered that these two prisoners were in hospital.

Mr. Healy—The order of your entry is this: that these two prisoners had practically collapsed, and that as a consequence the beds were to be restored to the rest?—The beds were restored to the rest on a direct complaint.

Two prisoners had been sent to hospital, and, therefore, they would get their bed and bedding in the hospital?—Yes.

You have put underneath that entry—"All the prisoners on hunger-strike are to be given their bedding." That entry had no reference whatever to the other.

But until these two prisoners had shown signs of collapse was any attempt made to give the other prisoners back their beds?—I am not sure that the beds may not have been ordered before I saw those prisoners. I made the order on Sat., and the reason I made the order was that I had a complaint from one of the prisoners that he had not a bed.

STARVATION.

At all events, you know on Sat. that the result of these men being left in that condition was that one of them was unable to speak, his heart was weak, his extremities cold, and he had to be admitted to hospital and given brandy?—Yes, as a result of starvation.

And not of being subjected to cold?—That comes from starvation.

Do you say that if you deprive a man of bed and bedding, compel him to stand or lie on the cold floor for 48 or 50 hours, that that does not tend to lower his constitution?—It tends to lower the constitution. As regards the cold, the temperature in the cells is shown by a thermograph. It was 61 on Thursday and 62.5 on Friday. That was the highest and the lowest temperature during the 48 hours.

Give me the temperature at 2 o'clock in the morning?—That will be shown in the paper.

And the heating in the hospital did not commence for a week after these events. The patients in the hospital have bed and bedding, and they would require less heat than the persons deprived of bed and bedding?—I don't think there is any comparison between hospital patients and those confined in a prison.

Mr. Hanna pointed out that there was no heating. This was the natural heat.

Mr. Healy—Is not this thermograph of a ward in which the prisoners were not kept?—They would be all alike as regards heat.

Therefore, we are given a fictitious thermograph of a ward in which the prisoners were not kept—you can keep that.

What killed Thos. Ashe?—A weak heart primarily, and starvation.

Witness was not prepared to say what effect the temperature might have had; want of sleep would be an effect to some extent. He did not see Mr. Ashe on the morning before he was fed by Dr. Lowe; but when he did see him his condition was such that he had to guarantee his discharge to induce him to take food.

DR. E. FLINN'S VISITS.

Mr. Healy read entries by witness on the Fri. and Sat. recommending artificial feeding. Dr. Edgar Flinn, of the Prisons Board, visited the prison on Tues. evening, said witness.

I suggest to you that he was there no less than four times at the period covered by these two entries?—That may be.

I may be right?—For all I know to the contrary.

The Coroner—Did you see Dr. Flinn?—I saw him on one occasion.

Mr. Healy—Do you know of the existence of a written authority to forcibly

feed these prisoners?—As a matter of fact, no prisoner was forcibly fed.

To delicately feed these prisoners—would you prefer that?—No, I prefer "artificial feeding."

To use another word, "mechanical," do you accept that?—Yes.

Do you know of the existence of a written authority for the forcible or mechanical feeding of these prisoners?—I understand it is my duty where a man is injuring his health to preserve his life, which can only be done by artificial feeding.

Counsel repeated the question, and witness replied, "No."

"That is a very faint no," said Mr. Healy, and witness replied "I really don't know; to the best of my knowledge, no."

Do you know of the existence of an official order prescribing mechanical or forcible feeding for these prisoners?—I do not.

Did you never hear of it?—I cannot say.

I suppose you are near your pension? (laughter)—One of these days.

RESPONSIBILITY.

Are you going to take on your shoulders and relieve the Prisons Board and the other authorities who will later come into the limelight—do you take on your shoulders the responsibility of prescribing without consultation with the Prisons Board or other authority the forcible feeding which resulted in the death of Thomas Ashe?—I may say I understand it is my duty not to forcibly feed, but to mechanically feed them.

Do you tell the jury on your oath that you are unaware of the existence of any other minute, order, prescription, or direction coming to you from a superior authority?—I recollect one minute, that in the case of two particular prisoners they were not to be fed.

Therefore all the rest were?—Certainly; I should think so.

Witness said the minute referred to alluded to the prisoners Barry and Griffey, and directed that these men should not be fed until he had sent in a report. He could not say why they were not to be fed.

Mr. Healy said a gentleman sitting on the side of the Court allotted to the prison authorities was signalling to witness, and Mr. Hanna asked the gentleman to desist.

"A GENTLE ZEPHYR."

If forcible feeding is such a gentle zephyr operation, why were these two men not to be forcibly fed?—Possibly because in their state of health it would be well to defer it until I reported on them.

Did you report?—I do not think I had time to report.

What happened then?—They were both released in the end.

You were to feed other men to keep them alive?—I was bound to feed them.

Witness did not recollect whose signature was to the document relating to Barry and Griffey, but Dr. Flinn initialled it. Asked whether one member of the Prisons Board had authority to act for all, witness said he had nothing to do with the Board in that way.

You gave it as your evidence that he died of starvation?—I gave it in my opinion as heart failure.

You don't use the word starvation?—I read it was accentuated by hunger and excitement.

Dr. McWeeney did not state that he died of starvation?—He said that he died of heart failure.

Mr. Hanna stated that there was an outbreak of pandemonium on Thurs. 20th Sept., for which they were punished by the Governor?—Legal speeches don't impress me. I am only an ordinary medical man.

Mr. Healy—Nothing but forcible feeding would impress you.

Is it not a fact that the punishment preceded the alleged pandemonium, and the alleged pandemonium was a protest against the punishment?—I don't know anything about it.

Do you know that the hunger-strike was against the alleged punishment?—I have nothing to do with that.

Would you be surprised to learn that the prisoners were under punishment from Fri., Sept. 14?—I really don't know anything about the punishment.

If these men were punished on Sat. Sept. 15, deprived of exercise, put in punishment cells—should not that, according to the prison rules, be reported to you?—I should have received a punishment docket.

Did you receive it?—I cannot say. You shall have it if I did.

Can you produce the punishment docket you received on Sept. 15 for Thos. Ashe?—I don't know anything about that punishment docket.

MUFFLED BELLS.

Witness added that he did not know on Mon., Sept. 17, that Ashe and the other prisoners were not brought out to work, and were left in their cells. If a man were punished he (Dr. Dowdall) should get a docket. He did not know that on Sept. 19 Mr. Ashe was suffering from deprivation as a punishment.

Do you know that when the supposed pandemonium broke out, it was a protest against the deprivation of exercise?—I saw Mr. Ashe that day, but he did not complain to me.

Do you know that the men could not ring the bells, as the warders had muffled them?—I don't know anything about it.

And that as a protest, and in order to get air, that they broke the glass in the cells?—I don't know anything about it.

That they only broke the glass after being deprived of bed, bedding and boots, illegally and without a written order?—I don't know. It is the Governor who will tell you about these things.

Witness further stated that if the jury visited Mountjoy they would see the broken glass and the broken woodwork.

Mr. Healy—Do you know that the hunger strike started after the bedding had been removed?—I did not know what was the cause of it, but I heard it had started.

PRISONS BOARD INSTRUCTIONS.

Do you think if the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, dared to set aside the prison rules, were they acting under the superior instructions of the Prisons Board?—I cannot say.

Do you know if he was acting under the instructions of the Prisons Board?—I cannot say.

Witness said he discussed the hunger strike with Dr. Edgar Flinn. He remembered when Sir T. Myles and the late Sir C. Nixon visited the prison on the occasion the suffragettes were there, but he did not know what report they made. The ladies were soon afterwards discharged.

"I put it to you," said Mr. Healy, "that you discussed with the Prisons Board the policy of subjecting these Realm Act prisoners to forcible feeding?"—I did not," was the reply.

They discussed it with you?—No.

Do you swear that you acted, after the advice of Sir T. Myles and Sir C. Nixon, on your own responsibility in administering forcible feeding to Ashe and the other prisoners?—I did not forcibly feed them. I administered feeding—artificial feeding—to Ashe on one occasion, and I am bound to do it.

Do you swear that it was on your own sole responsibility, and without the intervention of any superior authority, that you administered the kind of feeding on Mr. Ashe which ended in his death?—I do, but I don't say, nor do I attribute his death to artificial feeding.

THROAT REMEDIES.

Witness added that he was not aware that Mr. Ashe brought throat remedies into the prison.

Mr. Healy produced three small boxes of throat remedies which, he stated, Mr. Ashe's sister had received from the prison after he died.

Witness said that if they were brought into the prison they should have been sent to him for approval. He had examined Mr. Ashe's throat and found it all right. Mr. Healy—He didn't think so himself. Witness said it was he, and not the Prisons Board, who engaged Dr. Lowe.

When you told me there was no such thing as forcible feeding, am I right in saying that in one case it took several men to hold the prisoner in the chair?—You are perfectly right, but he was not fed.

Am I right in saying that in another case, that of Griffey, his resistance was so violent that the leather strap he was wearing was burst asunder?—I am not aware of any strap being burst.

If the prisoner has sufficient strength to resist, his resistance prevails against

If the prisoner has sufficient strength to resist, his resistance prevails against the doctor?—If the prisoner resisted I call it forcible feeding. I did not proceed with the feeding on account of the risk it would be to the man.
 If he has sufficient strength to resist he is not forcibly fed, but if he is near exhaustion and cannot resist he is fed?—We do not allow him to become exhausted.

"THAT IS NOT FAIR"

Mr. Hanna's Reply to Mr. Healy

Replying to a question as to whether he vomited, witness said that he was not forcibly fed when he vomited the food.

Mr. Healy—You are dealing now with a lot. I suppose one life is of no importance?

Mr. Hanna—That is not fair.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—You not only fed Mr. Griffey, but you fed him through the nose. Was he when bleeding from the nose removed to a punishment cell without furniture or bedding?

Mr. Hanna—I make a legal objection. This inquiry must be kept within the limits of Mr. Ashe's case.

Mr. Healy—He said that no one was forcibly fed, and that Mr. Ashe did not die of forcible feeding. (To witness)—Mr. Ashe's lips

GOT BLUE IMMEDIATELY

after this, which was not forcible feeding?—Yes.

Take the case of Griffey, was he, after this admitted insertion into his nose, was he taken and put into a cell without bed or bedding or furniture?—I cannot tell you.

Replying to detailed questions as to the nature of the cells, witness said they had no punishment cells, but they had refractory cells.

Mr. Healy—So that we might know these distinctions, have you a prison dictionary? (Laughter.)

In reply to other questions, witness said he was no taware that Griffey was under punishment.

Mr. Hanna, commenting on questions such as those being put by Mr. Healy, said he would have to take up a position as to whether the witnesses should not answer questions except those dealing with Ashe.

Mr. Healy submitted the evidence as to prisoners being forcibly fed and then put back to cells such as he had described was relevant to the question relating to Mr. Ashe. What he put to the jury was that Mr. Griffey was subjected to

CRUEL PUNISHMENT.

To witness—Did you apply forcible feeding to Griffey's nose when you could not get the tube down his throat?

Mr. Hanna—I advise him not to answer.
 Mr. Healy—

He is in your power because you can stop his salary if he does not obey you.

Counsel further said that counsel for the Crown had power to deprive the witness of his salary if he did not obey his instructions.

Mr. Hanna—I am not counsel for the Crown. I am for the Prison authorities.

The Coroner, interposing said that the witness was not bound to answer questions which might incriminate himself.

Mr. Healy said that the Crown, having stated that they courted the fullest investigation, had now directed their witnesses not to answer questions for fear of the loss of their salary. For his part he could not, therefore continue the cross-examination.

Mr. Healy then sat down, but afterwards asked the witness if he declined on the advice of Mr. Hanna to answer further questions about Griffey.

Witness replied that he did, and added that he presumed Mr. Hanna was competent to conduct the examination.

Mr. Healy said he wished it to be understood that the question would not be answered, although the Coroner ruled them relevant.

The Coroner—You cannot put it in that way exactly. I said he would not be bound to answer questions that might incriminate himself.

Mr. Healy—What is the Christian name of the Prisons' Board Secretary named Douglas?

The answer of the witness was "S. H."

Dr. Kincaid, medical officer of Maryborough Prison, examined by Mr. Hanna, said forcible feeding had, to his knowledge, been carried on without any injurious result to the persons so treated that he had even known. He had fed one prisoner for nearly two years by artificial means.

Mr. Healy—Would you approve of forcible feeding a man after keeping him for 50 hours under conditions which I have described?—I would not.

Would you forcibly feed a man who was speechless, whose heart was weak and extremities cold?

Witness—Not under any circumstances.

Mr. Healy at this stage said he would wish to have produced certain books and records relating to Mr. Ashe, and he would also ask for the production of prisoners whose names had been mentioned—namely, Austin Stack, Finian Lynch, Mr. MacDonagh, and Mr. Lowe. These four men would be able to contradict much of the evidence that had been given. Further, if Mr. Max Green was anxious to prove that he had no responsibility for forcible feeding and was anxious to appear he (Mr. Healy) had no difficulty.

Mr. Hanna said he did not appear for Mr. Douglas nor any of the persons mentioned by Mr. Healy.

Mr. Healy said he wanted Mr. Douglas to produce the records of the Prison Board before the death of Mr. Ashe.

The Coroner said he would direct the appearance of Mr. Stack, as he had made specific complaints.

Mr. Healy further said that none of the prisoners ought to be removed from Mountjoy until this inquiry was disposed of.

Inquiry was then adjourned till 11.30 o'clock on Wednesday.

Mr. John Boland, Deputy Governor of Mountjoy Prison, was the first witness examined. He stated that he had held his present position since the middle of March last. Previous to that he was Governor of Tullamore Prison for about five or six years. He had had about 33 years in the prison service. During the time that the deceased was in Mountjoy Prison Mr. Monroe, the Governor, was absent on leave. Mr. Monroe went on leave on the 30th August, and returned on the morning that Ashe died. Witness was in control during that time as Acting Governor. Ashe was committed first on the 28th August to await trial, he was tried on the 3rd September, and sentenced on the 10th to two years hard labour with one year remitted.

Not a Criminal.

Witness read the warrant under which the deceased was committed. On deceased's own request he was brought before witness, and his application, a note of which was taken at the time in deceased's own presence, was

I won't work or obey any order or rule relating to criminal prisoners. I do not consider myself a criminal.

"I informed the prisoner," continued the witness, "that I noted his applications, but warned him against disobeying the regulations."

Mr. Hanna—What was the work he was required to do? Making mail bags.

And is the work done in his cell or in a workshop? Done in his cell by him.

While in Mountjoy he did not work? No. Proceeding, witness said Ashe was before him again on the 13th September, and he again warned deceased of continuing to disobey the prison regulations and against idleness. He said he would not work.

Did you communicate to him the consequences of not obeying the prison regulations? Yes, and he said he would persist in disobeying the regulations.

Up till that time he had obeyed none of the regulations of the prison authorities? No.

And although that had been his conduct no punishment was inflicted on him? Not up till then. On the 17th, continued witness, he was brought before me on a report for refusing to work in his cell. When I informed

said, "The charge is correct."

First Punishment.

Did you make an order depriving him of his instruction books for seven days? Yes, and forfeit marks for days he refused to work.

Up to that time had he eaten the ordinary prison diet? Yes.

And had made no complaint about the food? No.

What exercise did he get? He got two hours open-air exercise every day.

What was his conduct during the open-air exercise? I would regard it as very insubordinate, inasmuch as he persistently disobeyed the directions of the officers who were in charge to cease talking. He was continually talking, and would refuse to obey the orders of the warders, who told him to cease talking.

On Thursday, the 20th September, did anything particular happen? Yes. What was it? Between 9.30 and 9.45 a.m. I was engaged in the office dealing with the morning correspondence, when the Chief Warder reported to me that there was a great row going on in the prison.

Mr. Healy—Give the name of the Chief Warder. Chief Warder Ryan.

Mr. Hanna—In what part of the prison was the row going on? In the division known as the "C" division, in which Ashe was.

General Tumult.

What was the nature of the disturbance that commenced at 9 o'clock that morning? When I left the office, I went inside the prison. There was a regular uproar in it; shouting, yelling, banging the cell doors, and the breaking of prison furniture.

Mr. Healy—I wish now to call the attention of the Coroner to his evidence of a general tumult, not merely of the prisoner Ashe. I don't object to it, but I hope that I shall be allowed to call prisoners to give absolute denial of every statement that he has made.

The Coroner directed that the witness should confine himself to Mr. Ashe. Did Mr. Ashe take part in it? Yes.

Coroner—Then confine yourself to him.

Mr. Hanna—At what time of the day did you take steps to prevent this outbreak? Immediately. I saw that the situation was very serious.

How many other prisoners were in Mountjoy?

Coroner—I will ask you to confine yourself to Mr. Ashe; otherwise we will be starting a roving commission.

Mr. Healy—I will not object, because I will be able to give an absolute denial to his statement by the evidence of the other prisoners.

Mr. Hanna—You will not.

Mr. Healy—I will be able to prove that every word of his statement is false.

Mr. Hanna—You will be able to get them to swear it.

Mr. Healy—And they will be believed by the Irish people.

There was loud applause in the court following this remark.

Coroner's Warning.

Coroner—I wish to warn the people in the court that if there is any interference with this inquiry—it is a thing I don't want to do—but I will have the court cleared.

Mr. Hanna—Of course this is for the purpose of influencing the jury.

Coroner—Please go on.

Mr. Healy (to Mr. Hanna)—You have influenced the jury at the start.

Mr. Hanna—You had things removed from Ashe's cell, amongst others? Every article that was in his cell—utensils, bedding, and plank-bed.

With reference to his boots, what was the position with regard to them? His boots were also removed, and he was given slippers instead.

Bar that you can't show us to conduct the case. I am sorry to have to say that to one whom I always regarded as a friend.

Mr. Healy—I make no retort to my friend.
Mr. Ashe's Part.

Witness added that Mr. Ashe did not take as great a part in the disturbance, or did as much damage to the prison property as the other prisoners.

Mr. Hanna—What kind of slippers was he given? They were canvas slippers.

Were these in his cell when the Lord Mayor visited him on Saturday? He had them, but they were not on his feet (laughter).

Did you draw the Lord Mayor's attention to them? Yes, they were left in the corner of his cell.

Witness further said that he took the steps he had described to preserve authority and protect the Government property. Mr. Ashe made no complaint afterwards.

You heard the suggestion on the cross-examination of Dr. Dowdall that the hunger strike on the part of Ashe started subsequent to that as a protest against the removal of the furniture? All was coincident. They started the row immediately after breakfast and took no food afterwards and the two things went together. Mr. Ashe made no statement to witness as to why he started to hunger strike, nor did he complain to witness of being deprived of bed-clothing or of being cold at night, although he saw Mr. Ashe every day.

Did he make a complaint of your treatment or of the treatment of the warders? No.

You had nothing to say to the actual operation of artificial feeding? No.

That was left to the doctor? Yes.

CROSS EXAMINATION

Confidential Report to the Prisons Board

PRIVILEGE CLAIMED

Replying to questions put by Mr. Healy in cross-examination, witness said he regarded the state of things on the Thursday as extremely serious.

Did you report the fact to the Prisons Board? Yes, I made a confidential report to my authorities.

"Confidential," repeated Mr. Healy, at which there was some laughter.

Mr. Hanna—I protest against this tittering and laughter.

Mr. Healy retorted that Mr. Hanna was speaking for the "Irish Times."

Mr. Hanna protested that that was not so. He had already stated for whom he was appearing and speaking.

Mr. Healy—It was he and his friends who killed the man, and I am trying to find out how he was killed. (To witness)—Have you got your letter of report to the Prisons Board? No.

Give us the effect of it? It was confidential.

Mr. Hanna—I object to an answer being given as to the communication.

Mr. Douglas, a Prison Board official, who was in court, being referred to, said he would produce it.

Mr. Wynne (Chief Crown Solicitor)—I appear for them, and at the proper time I will take a certain course.

Claim of Privilege.

Mr. Healy—You intend to claim privilege?

Mr. Wynne—That is quite so.

The Coroner ruled that the contents of the communication could not be given by this particular witness.

Replying to further cross-examination, witness said he got a reply to his communication, but he could not exactly give the date. He got no written reply.

Mr. Healy—Was it a telephonic reply—is the telephone privileged? Yes.

The telephone was marked "Confidential"—which end of it? (Laughter.)

Witness—I don't say that for a moment. I got a reply from the heads of my department.

Mr. Wynne objected to this cross-examination.

Mr. Healy—Had you a conversation with Dr. Edgar Flinn, who has since resigned?

Mr. Wynne—I object to any conversation between the witness and the head of his department. Such communications are privileged.

Coroner—Do you claim privilege?

Mr. Wynne—Yes.

The Coroner—I allow it.

If a Landlord was Killed!

Mr. Healy remarked that it was only a question of a date. If a landlord was killed would the ruling prevail that the date was privileged?

The Coroner said he had ruled that the communication in question was privileged.

Mr. Healy said then that he would ask the jury to draw the conclusion that Dr. Edgar Flinn was one of those who investigated the proceedings. (To witness)—Had you a conversation with Mr. Max Green?

Mr. Wynne—I object.

Mr. Healy pressed for some authority to show that it was a breach of privilege for the witness to say that he had a conversation with a superior.

Mr. Wynne submitted that the communication was absolutely privileged.

Mr. Healy said he was merely asking for the date of a conversation.

The Coroner held to his ruling in favour of the question of privilege.

Mr. Healy proceeded to cross-examine the witness as to where the conversation took place, and again Dr. Wynne objected, and the objection was ruled in his favour.

Mr. Healy—I will have to laugh if this thing goes on further, and then I will be checked by Mr. Hanna.

Mr. Hanna—You may laugh.

Again Mr. Healy asked the witness where the conversation took place, and again Dr. Wynne objected.

Mr. Healy—Without the citation of a single authority. To Witness—You had a conversation with Mr. Max Green up in a balloon (laughter)—you may take it like that—up in an aeroplane!

Witness—I had not, sir.

Mr. Healy—Had the conversation any relation to the treatment of the prisoners?

Mr. Wynne objected, and the Coroner ruled in his favour.

The Policeman's Phrase.

Mr. Healy said he would put it in the manner in which the police did—in consequence of information you received, did you proceed back to Mountjoy Prison? Not in consequence of information I received. I would come back whether I got information or not.

When did you reach Mountjoy Prison after the conversation? Sometime in the afternoon.

Mr. Healy—Of Thursday?

Mr. Wynne objected to anything being said in respect of the confidential conversations.

Mr. Healy, protesting, said he had sat down 20 times in the course of 20 minutes; he asked him now did he reach his prison on Thursday. He (Mr. Healy) protested against what he termed foolish interruptions.

Mr. Wynne protested against Mr. Healy's suggestion—there was no foolish interruptions.

Mr. Healy (to Witness)—Did you reach your prison in safety on Thursday? Yes. When he reached there he carried on the ordinary routine work of his office.

Is it part of your routine work to remove bed, bedding, and boots of the prisoners? It may be my duty to give directions in the matter.

Did you do so? Yes, early on the day when the pandemonium arose.

Your case is that you had removed the bed, bedding, and boots of the prisoners before you had the conversation referred to? I gave instructions for their removal early in the day.

Before you had the conversation? Yes.

Protesting the Property of the Prison.

Therefore you had no authority except your own for the action which you took? I had the authority that was vested in me to protect the property of the prison from the consequences of their misconduct, and also to protect the prison officers in case of any violence used—

Mr. Healy—By machine guns (laughter).

Witness—There were no machine guns.

Do you know that the prisoners maintain that until the removal of their beds, bedding and boots there was no disturbance whatever in the prison? That gave cause for the removal of the bed and bedding.

Continuing, witness said there was a great deal of glass broken, and it was the breaking of the glass which was the cause of the removal of the bed and bedding.

A question having arisen as to the exact nature of witness's reply, he added—The breaking of the glass was one of the causes which led to the removal of the bed, bedding and other furniture.

On your oath, was there any glass broken in Mr. Ashe's cell until Saturday? Very little, except that in the cell door—the spy-hole.

No glass then was broken in Mr. Ashe's cell except the spy-hole, about the size of a watch-glass? Yes.

And that was not broken until after the furniture was removed? I cannot exactly say.

Then, in so far as the man whose death we are considering, you cannot say if glass was broken in his cell prior to the deprivation of his bed, bedding and boots—can you? No; he was reported to me as one of those concerned in creating the pandemonium.

Who reported to you that Mr. Ashe was engaged in creating pandemonium? There was no report made to me of the conduct of any individual.

No report was made to you of Mr. Ashe's conduct? Not individually.

No report having been made against Mr. Ashe, what do you pretend to the jury that Mr. Ashe did before his bed and boots were removed? I pretend he was creating a disturbance in the prison by shouting and yelling with others.

"A Great Noise."

Did you hear him? Nothing more than to hear the din that was going on in the prison—a great noise.

Like a hive of bees? (Laughter.) No, it was not.

Ashe's offence, then, was that there was a din? His offence was that he was creating a disturbance in the prison by shouting.

The Foreman—Was it from information that you received from others that you acted? Yes.

Not on what you saw? Not what I saw individually.

Mr. Healy—Or heard? I heard a great noise when I was there. I did not hear anything particular from Thos. Ashe. I was not beside the cell to hear him.

It results from that that a certain state of things arose under the prison rules? Yes.

You had neither heard Thos. Ashe do anything or say anything; he had broken nothing, he had spoken nothing in your presence on this day—what did you do when Warder Ryan reported to you something about Mr. Ashe? He didn't report anything special about Mr. Ashe.

Therefore on that Thursday morning, as regards the murdered man, there was no thing against Thomas Ashe to entitle you without trial to punish him? Yes, he was engaged creating a disturbance in the prison.

You had not seen it? I knew it from Warder Ryan.

Knew what Ashe was Prepared to Do.

What did Warder Ryan report to you against Mr. Ashe? It was said to me that all the prisoners undergoing sentence under the Defence of the Realm Act were creating a disturbance in the prison, and I went to the prison from my office to see what was going on. From my previous knowledge of Thomas

Ashe, I know what he was prepared to do, and what he had already done. He had already told me he would defy all rules and regulations. When it was reported to me that the prisoners under the Defence of the Realm Act were breaking the prison rules and creating a disturbance, I made no exception of Thomas Ashe or any other prisoners. I knew they were all out for fight to defy the application to them of the prison rules and regulations.

You are a great stickler for the preservation of prison rules and regulations? Well, I hope so in the discharge of my duty.

The Deputy-Governor ought to be far stricter in the observance of the rules and regulations than the prisoners? Yes; he has to enforce the regulations which he could not enforce on this occasion.

Refer me to the rule which you are so anxious to maintain that entitles you to punish a prisoner without trial and without sentence? I never punish a prisoner without trial.

Must the sentence of every prisoner be recorded? Yes; u

In writing? After trial. And you never punish a prisoner without trial? No.

And the punishment must be such that the rules prescribe? Yes.

And any jailer acting contrary to these rules is a law-breaker and trespasser? I am not prepared to go so far as to affirm what you are saying.

You see the offence is far greater in the breaking of a rule on those who have to enforce it than on those who have to obey it—is it not? Possibly.

You will also admit that the carrying out of penal punishment is a matter that must be strictly looked at and adhered to? Yes.

Find for me in the Governor's book the entry sentencing Thomas Ashe to deprivation of his bed, his bedding, and his boots, and the period for which that sentence was to continue. There is no entry in the punishment book for that, for the simple reason that anything that was done on that occasion was not done as a punishment.

A Precautionary Measure.

It was done as an indulgence? No; it was done as a precautionary measure to save the public property from destruction.

Mr. Healy—Splendid! Give us the public property in Mr. Ashe's possession—were his boots public property? No, but they could be utilised.

This was done to save the public property from destruction? Yes. They could be used for the destruction of public property.

And his hands, too? Yes, obviously so.

What did you do with his hands? He could use his boots with them for the destruction of public property.

Did you do anything with his hands? Not that I am aware of, except that portion of his cell door must have been broken by his hands.

Did you do anything with his hands? No, I did not.

Now, you have told us that you were not aware of Mr. Ashe doing anything until Saturday, and this deprivation took place on Thursday? Yes.

For how long did you sentence Thos. Ashe to be deprived of his bed, bedding, boots and mattress? I did not sentence him to deprivation of his bed and mattress.

It was an indeterminate matter? There was no sentence on him, and it could not be indeterminate.

It might have continued for ever! It continued until I was satisfied that the good order and discipline of the prison could be maintained.

When you had reduced him to pulp—when you had made him an inanimate object? I don't believe that.

The Lord Mayor's Visit.

We know it continued until the Lord Mayor's visit on the Saturday, and his unprivileged communication to Dublin Castle to the Chief Secretary and Mr. Max Green? With great respect to the Lord Mayor, the result of giving him his bed and bedding had nothing to do with the Lord Mayor's visit, so far as I know.

Mr. Hanna—Who said his communication was unprivileged?

Mr. Healy—Would you rule it to be privileged if I asked him to give the time the Lord Mayor visited the prison on Saturday?

Coroner—No. Witness—Before 12 o'clock—I could not exactly say.

At what hour were the bed, bedding and boots restored? In the afternoon or evening. Some time before bedtime.

You had been caught at it? I don't understand you.

The Chief Magistrate of the City had come to the prison, and he had found Mr. Ashe in a state of collapse, and he reported it to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the boots and bedding of the dying man were restored to him? I don't think Mr. Ashe was in a state of collapse when the Lord Mayor visited him.

We have had his evidence, and it will be more generally accepted, perhaps? Perhaps so.

What was the state of Thomas Ashe's cell when the Lord Mayor called? Everything was out of the cell at the time, except under-clothing and his slippers.

Your slippers—the prison slippers? Yes.

The Visiting Justices.

Before I ask you any other question, had you received instructions that the jurisdiction of the Visiting Justices over the Defence of the Realm prisoners did not obtain?

Mr. Wynne—I object.

Mr. Healy—I really beg of my learned friend, unless he has some authority—I acknowledge I am at his mercy.

Coroner—I allow the question.

Mr. Healy—Did you receive instructions that as regards the Defence of the Realm prisoners that the jurisdiction of the Visiting Justices did not extend to them? No, not so far as they related to the convicted prisoners. There are two classes of prisoners under the Defence of the Realm Act—the untried and the convicted prisoners.

In answer to further questions by Mr. Healy, witness said the Visiting Justices had the same authority and power over convicted prisoners under the Defence of the Realm Act

and ordinary prisoners, but their jurisdiction was withdrawn over untried prisoners.

At what hour on Saturday were Mr. Ashe's bed clothing, bed and boots restored? Some time in the afternoon.

Did you hear Dr. Dowdall saying that he ordered the bed and bed clothing to restored; is that correct? Yes, I saw that, but apart from that, the chaplain, Father John Watters, consulted me, and from representations he made to me he said that the prisoners would give a guarantee that they would not destroy any prison property, and, acting on that, I interviewed the prisoners, including Mr. Ashe, and Mr. Ashe said he would not destroy any prison property.

What did you say to Mr. Ashe; he is dead and cannot contradict you? I said: "Ashe, now things are settling down, and I am sure you won't do anything in the way of the destruction of your bed and bed-clothes."

Had he injured one thread of the bed or bedding up to that? No, nor any of the others; it was all out in time before they were able to do anything.

Had Ashe threatened to do anything with his bed and bedding or boots? Not that I am aware.

When did you devise these pretexts for illegalities? I did not devise any pretexts.

What gave you ground for apprehension that these men would deprive themselves of bed-clothes at night and lie on the cold ground? Their general behaviour.

Grounds for Apprehension.

What gave you ground for apprehension as to Mr. Ashe? On the general principle that he was out for fight to defy the prison rules and regulations.

And was anxious to leave himself without a bed to lie on? That was one of the means they had of drawing attention to the position to see that attention would be drawn to them.

Pressed further, witness said he could not exactly say what property Ashe had destroyed before.

If you were candid would you not answer "None"? What property had he destroyed before the bed and bedding were removed? I am not personally aware what property he had destroyed.

Give me the names of the warders who were in charge of Mr. Ashe? I cannot exactly give you the names.

How many of a staff have you? About fifty.

Can you give the name of any one of the enormous staff when there were apprehensions that Mr. Ashe would destroy his bed and bedding, from anything he did in the prison before?

Witness repeated that he could not exactly give names.

How many cases have you known of bed and bedding of prisoners being removed otherwise than as a punishment? I have

never known an occasion to exist in the history of the prison service equal to the occasion in Mountjoy on the 20th September.

Will you shorten it to the one word "never"—you have never known such an occasion? I have given my answer.

Mr. Healy—How many occasions have you known an entry ordering a prisoner to be deprived of his bed and bedding as a punishment? None. I did not order the deprivation of his bed and bedding as a punishment.

You have stated that in the history of the Prison Service you had not known of bed and bedding to be removed as a punishment. Is that right? Yes.

What was the Offence?

It follows, therefore, that Thomas Ashe must have committed, to deserve this hitherto unknown and unrecorded treatment, some abominable offence. What was the offence? Witness offered no reply.

Mr. Healy—I will give it to you in one word—Ashbourne! Can you suggest, except what he did at Ashbourne, that there was no reason for this treatment of this unhappy man?

Witness—It had nothing to do with Ashbourne or anywhere else, about which I know very little.

Mr. Healy—I ask you to tell that jury, if you can, what he did to deserve a punishment which never in the history of the Prison Service, for crime or otherwise, has been inflicted upon a prisoner!

Witness—I knew he was engaged with others in the destruction of prison property, and if he did not do as much himself as others, he was recognised as a leader of the others.

A Leader of Men.

Mr. Healy—Thank God. He was punished for being a leader of men. (To witness)—For all this you take individual responsibility? Yes.

The Deputy Governor—a deputy of deputies—you take all this responsibility on yourself? Yes.

And you proclaim that it is shared by no other human being? I took responsibility on myself for doing all I possibly could, under the emergency that arose in Mountjoy on that occasion of the destruction of prison property.

Perhaps you can give us the value of the property yet set against human life? I didn't set it against human life.

Give the value of the property that you took from Thomas Ashe—except his own boots—what was the value of the blanket? Altogether it might be £6 or £7.

Asked as to the covering allowed prisoners, witness replied it consisted of two blankets, two sheets, rugs, pillows, plank bed.

Mr. Healy—That is what is called the mattress in prison rules? Witness replied that a prisoner would get a mattress if he was entitled to it.

So that he was lying on the boards, and you grudged him the blankets—the boards were even taken away—the plank bed was taken away? Yes.

Give us the value of those articles which roused such apprehension in your mind? I cannot say the value, it may be £4, £5 or £6.

Which of the prisoners destroyed their bed and bedding? None of them, because they had not the opportunity. All was taken out as a precautionary measure.

Report to the Prisons Board.

Did you report that to the Prisons Board on the Thursday morning on which you removed the prisoners' bed and bedding? Yes. I reported the full circumstances to the Prisons Board.

Did you report to the Prisons Board that you deprived the prisoners of their bed and bedding and mats? Yes.

Of course your conduct was approved of? Dr. Wynne objected, and no reply was given to the question.

Replying to further questions, the witness said that acting on his own judgment, when comparative quiet was restored, he was considering the question whether it would be safe to restore the furniture.

THE PRISON RULES**Broken to Mr. Ashe's Disadvantage****WITNESS'S EXPLANATION**

Mr. Healy next proceeded to deal with the Prison Rules, and arising therefrom he asked—There is no power given to you to subject a prisoner to the torture which you subjected Thos. Ashe—did you observe that? Yes.

He couldn't sit down or he couldn't lie down except on the cold floor, and when he lay down he had not the wherewith to cover him? My reply to that is this—in the ordinary everyday working of the prison these regulations are strictly enforced.

We are dealing with every night regulations! Witness—On this occasion—an occasion of the outbreak of mutiny and rebellion in Mountjoy Prison, it was an occasion the like of which was never heard of before in the prison cells, and special measures had to be taken in order to protect the property of the prisons and the prisoners doing away with the public property.

Do you know that they did the same thing in Lewes Prison when the humane English jailors never resorted to this abomination? I haven't the particulars of what took place in Lewes Jail.

You have told us that Thomas Ashe had no mattress for the first fourteen days of his punishment in Mountjoy? Yes.

And he was "sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour for two years, commencing on the aforesaid day" (3rd Sept.)? Yes.

Fourteen days added to the 3rd September makes what? 17.

Therefore on the 17th September Mr. Ashe was entitled to a mattress? He was entitled to a mattress 14 days, commencing from the day that the sentence was promulgated.

You cannot give your interpretation of this. This is the law—martial law.

Deprived of Mattress.

Witness was pressed to say whether the deceased was not on the 17th September entitled to a mattress, and,

Mr. Hanna (interposing) contended that the hard labour started from the 10th September and 14 days from that would be the 24th.

The Coroner said no evidence had been given to that effect, and according to the warrant deceased was convicted and sentenced from the 3rd September.

Mr. Healy read the prison rule which stated "He shall not be deprived of a mattress for the rest of his sentence except as a punishment," and asked witness "What do you think of that, Mr. Deputy-Governor?"

Yes, witness replied, that is the rule.

The Prison Rule Broken.

And you broke them—did you break that rule? I don't think so under the circumstances.

You are the judge of the rules—they bend in your feeble hands. Did you break that rule? Not under the circumstances.

Did Mr. Thomas Ashe get the benefit of the rule? Yes, he did have—

Who deprived him of it? Primarily himself. He deprived himself of that privilege—

Mr. Healy (interrupting)—Privilege! Where is the privilege? Is hard labour a privilege? (laughter). We cannot breathe the air soon. I suppose the stomach pump is a privilege? (To witness)—Who deprived Thomas Ashe of his rights under Rule 32? His own actions on the occasion deprived him.

Under what rule did you deprive Thomas Ashe of the benefit of 32? There is a rule in the book for the guidance of the governor.

On resuming after lunch, the witness referred Mr. Healy to Rule 156.

Mr. Healy—This is the rule that entitles you to deprive the prisoner of the benefit of the prison rules? Yes, acting on my best judgment.

Mr. Healy read the rule in question,

which stated that "the Governor shall freely and confidentially communicate with the Board on all matters relating to the prison apprising them of any events of importance and in case of any emergency not sufficiently provided for in the rules, he shall apply to them and conform to their orders, acting if necessary in the meantime to the best of his own judgment according to the circumstances of the case.

Abrogation of Rules.

Witness, in answer to counsel, said that was the rule under which he acted. He knew that these rules were made by the Lord Lieutenant in Council and took statutory effect after a certain procedure, and that they were as much the law as an Act of Parliament.

And your case is that the Governor can, at his own instance, under Rule D 6, abrogate the whole of them? I do not put it that way.

How many can you abrogate? It gives a certain discretionary power to the Governor under certain circumstances, and he has to act on his own judgment and to the best of his ability.

Without discussing that question, I wish to ask you whether you claim that you can abrogate any or all of these prison rules under these conditions? I would all depend on circumstances.

Being pressed by Mr. Healy as to whether he could abrogate any of the prison rules, witness said that no circumstances arose in the prison to abrogate the rules. He was not aware that he abrogated rules in respect of Thomas Ashe, but Thomas Ashe broke all the prison rules that were applicable to him.

Questioned as to whether he acted under the rule regarding the deprivation of a mattress as a punishment, he said he did not act under that rule, because that rule referred to where prisoners were brought before the Governor and given an opportunity of making his defence.

Was there a charge brought against Mr. Ashe at the time? No, he was not charged and brought before the Governor, but a charge was pending against him of being concerned in disturbing the peace of the prison. That charge was being made by some prison official.

How many warders were in charge of Mr. Ashe? One warder was in charge of him in the ordinary working of the prison.

What was his name? I do not know his name.

Several questions were put as to the punishment that the Governor could inflict of his own motion, and witness said he could deprive him of the privileges of books, or privileges that he attained by good conduct, or with regard to remission of sentence up to fourteen days by reduction of marks.

Gross Misconduct.

You say that Ashe was guilty of gross misconduct, and you admit that you have no power to punish for gross misconduct—is that right? Yes.

You are deprived of the power to punish a prisoner for wilfully destroying prison property? I did not punish a prisoner for destroying prison property.

But you admit that you are deprived of the power to do it? Yes.

And prisoners accused of such offences must be arraigned on oath before the Visiting Justices, and punishment must be awarded by them? Yes.

Did you report the serious charge against Mr. Ashe "without loss of time to the Visiting Committee"? No; there was no special report made.

Counsel pressed for an answer as to the making of a report, and witness replied that Sir John Irwin, Chairman of the Visiting Committee, was present during a time that this pandemonium, of the 20th, was taking place, but he (witness) made no special report of the conduct of Ashe.

Entitled to an Inquiry.

Did you tell Sir John Irwin that you desired an inquiry on oath into Ashe's conduct? No.

Was he entitled to such an inquiry if he had been guilty of the alleged gross misconduct and insubordination? He was entitled to it.

He did not get that inquiry? Circumstances of the prison did not admit of any inquiry taking place.

Ashe was undergoing punishment on the 20th September? That punishment had nothing whatever to do with the 20th September.

What had he done on the 20th September which was not covered by the punishment he was already undergoing? As I explained before, he was taking part in combined action with others to defy the prison rules and upset the good order and discipline of the prison. I know that from his previous conduct.

Will you mention any specific act done by him for which he was not already under punishment—I await your answer? There is no specific act except that he was taking part in the shouting and yelling to the other prisoners.

A Serious Offence.

Is that a serious offence? It is a very serious offence coming from a man, who was recognised by those prisoners as a leader.

He was then under punishment on the 20th September? In so far as he was deprived of his instruction books.

Was he then under punishment or not? He was under punishment from the 17th Sept by being deprived of his instruction books for seven days.

It was a very serious offence for a prisoner undergoing punishment? Yes, it goes to show that the punishment previously inflicted on him had not the desired effect.

Is not that why it is specially reserved and put outside your jurisdiction. Is there anything in the rules to make the punishment of a leader different from a follower? No.

In reply to further questions in cross-examination, the witness said that the more serious the offence committed by a prisoner the less power the Governor has to deal with it; it has to be dealt with by the Visiting Justices.

Did you violate Rule 82 in failing to bring the alleged serious misconduct of Thomas Ashe before the only body appointed by law to try a serious offence against the Prison Rules? No.

Pressed to answer if he obeyed the rule, the witness replied that there was no offence brought before the Visiting Justices on oath in respect of Thos. Ashe. He admitted that the Visiting Justices had not the power to inflict upon Thos. Ashe the punishment that had been inflicted.

Leaders or no leaders you subjected them to deprivations which the Visiting Justices could not inflict? Yes, under the circumstances they were deprived of these.

Mr. Healy—Necessities of life I call it.

The Hunger Strike.

Was not all that done before one of these men had commenced the hunger strike and was not their hunger strike a protest against your illegality? Not at all. The prisoners had their breakfast; they commenced hunger strike at one o'clock, when dinner was served. The beds and bedding and boots were removed at 10 o'clock.

Had you four warders to take the boots off Thomas Ashe? I don't know whether it was done by force or not.

Who detailed the party? The Chief Warder; he would probably be able to tell how many warders it took to remove Mr. Ashe's boots.

Mr. Healy—I suggest it was four warders, and that it was done at 10 o'clock. It might be.

I suggest he had eaten his breakfast at the proper hour? Yes.

And it was only at one o'clock, three hours after this gross malpractice upon him and illegal assault, that he commenced his protest against your illegal action by the abstention of food? That is not exactly the case. The hunger strike was part of the game or fight these prisoners were to play along with breaking up the prison.

“Are you a prophet, or the son of a prophet?” asked Mr. Healy. “No,” said witness, who expressed his belief that even if the prisoners had not been deprived of their mattresses, bedding, and boots they would have struck. He could give no special act in the case of Mr. Ashe to justify his story.

Therefore, I am entitled to call your story—I won't call it an invention—an afterthought?—It is my belief. Mr. Ashe, said witness, was deprived of his mattress on 10th Sept., when his sentence was promulgated.

“EXTRAORDINARY” PUNISHMENT.

Contrary to what you wish the court to believe, except as a protest against the abominable illegalities to which he was subjected, Mr. Ashe never attempted any hunger-strike?—No, he did not commence the strike until 12 o'clock, and he did so as a protest against his being treated as a criminal prisoner. Mr. Ashe was not punished in the ordinary sense of punishment.

Was it punishment in the extraordinary sense of punishment—a punishment that was never visited on the lowest burglar, thief, or prostitute in the city of Dublin since prisons were erected—on your own confession? Witness did not reply.

In answer to questions of detail in relation to punishment of prisoners, witness said the same rules applied to men and women prisoners.

Mr. Healy—Can women be visited with the same violence and trespass as men? Witness replied that they had to carry out the prison regulations, but women had no authority to punish prisoners. To the Coroner, witness said he claimed the right to punish a male prisoner.

Replying to further questions put by Mr. Healy, witness said that, in the present instance, this was a privation which the men inflicted upon themselves by misconduct.

Mr. Healy—If Mr. Ashe was a law-breaker, I wonder what the Governor of Mountjoy was!

UNDERGROUND CELLS.

Some questions were put as to the nature of some of the cells in which the prisoners were confined, and witness said there were subterranean cells, but they were ventilated to let in fresh air.

Mr. Healy—To let in fresh air underground. Was it in one of these cells that a prisoner was found practically unconscious by the Lord Mayor? Mr. Hanna objected that this had relation to another case. The Coroner disallowed the question.

Witness said certain of these prisoners were picked out as ringleaders, and they were removed from the other prisoners.

Mr. Healy—Who decided that Mr. Ashe was a more docile or tractable prisoner than those who were put in the basement?—The case was not decided whether he was docile or otherwise. Witness added that a report was made by the Chief Warden that others of the prisoners were worse than Mr. Ashe.

Mr. Healy—Had Mr. Griffey a bed in the basement cell before he was forcibly—

Mr. Hanna objected, but the question was allowed by the Coroner.

“Was Mr. Griffey,” asked Mr. Healy, “after being forcibly fed, removed to a basement cell, where there was no bed or bedding?”—“Possibly,” was the reply; “he was forcibly fed on Sat., and if he were fed on Sat. before the beds were given to the prisoners he would.”

Every prisoner forcibly fed on Sat., amongst whom I include Mr. Ashe, was removed to a cell in which there was neither bed nor bedding?—Yes.

Witness denied that it was reported to him on Sat. that Mr. Griffey was bleeding from the nose. He could not tell how many tubes, pumps, or funnels had been ordered for the prison.

THE SUFFRAGETTES.

Mr. Healy asked what length of time was allowed to lapse before Mr. Ashe was fed as against the time allowed when the suffragettes were fed. Mr. Hanna protested against the question of the Suffragettes being introduced; but the Coroner said Mr. Hanna had examined Sir T. Myles on the feeding of the suffragettes. Mr. Hanna protested against the Coroner placing the responsibility on him, when the answers were given in answer to Mr. Healy.

Witness said Dr. Dowdall did not consult him before he commenced the pumping treatment on Mr. Ashe. The question of artificially feeding the prisoners was spoken about, but not about Mr. Ashe.

Mr. Healy—Did you give any authority to the doctor to take these prisoners from their cells and apply the pump to them?—No; the doctor can do that under his own responsibility.

Under what rule?—I cannot exactly quote the rule. The Governor of the prison might be cognisant of the fact, but the Governor cannot stay his hand.

DOCTOR AND DEPRIVATION.

The doctor has sworn that you never consulted him about deprivation of these men of their wretched bed, bedding, clothing, and boots?—I heard the doctor say that.

Did it surprise you?—I believe the doctor was aware that they were deprived of their beds.

Then he had told a falsehood?—No; I don't say that.

The doctor has sworn that until the Sat. when a complaint was made to him by the prisoner Austin Stack, he was unaware of your illegalities. Do you contradict him?—I believed, from the conversation that passed between us, that the doctor was aware that they were removed.

And that, therefore, he has perjured himself?—Oh, no. It may be a lapse of memory.

That, in the case of 40 men, they had been deprived of beds and boots—the doctor you say was suffering from a lapse of memory. That is what the doctors call “aphasia”?—I believe, from the conversation with the doctor, that he was aware that the prisoners were deprived of bed and bedding.

Is he suffering from untruth or “aphasia”?—It must be either falsehood or lapsed memory—he left you in the cart, rather. When did you tell the doctor?—

In the ordinary course of our conversation, either on the Fri. or Sat., when we were around the cells.

Then this doctor, when he inflicted this punishment on these weak and wounded men, knew that they had been left for 30

hours in the cells deprived of bed and bedding and boots, unable even to sit down?—I don't know that he knew it. That is for himself to say.

I want you to say it, and you have said it?—I believed, from conversations with Dr. Dowdall, that he was aware of the fact that these prisoners were deprived of their bed and bedding. That is my belief.

“THIS HIDEOUS TORTURE.”

Questioned by Mr. Healy why “this hideous torture” was left unrecorded in either the punishment book or order book, witness said that all orders given in a prison were not entered in the Governor's book. He admitted the existence of Rule 131, which stated that, if the Governor failed to enter any matter that he was bound to enter, he must make a record of the reason for the omission. He did not make that record.

Wasn't your act and breach of all these rules done to conceal them from the eye of man?—Not at all; I have nothing to conceal. There was no necessity for making any order in connection with the matter. The Governor was the judge of what orders he was to put in his book. Mr. Ashe was kept in close confinement after the outbreak on the Thurs. He would not go to exercise. Some of the prisoners took separate exercise, and subsequently refused to take it.

What day did you give the order to muffle the bells?—I didn't give the order.

Who muffled the bells?—Probably the warden in charge of the ward, to prevent unnecessary ringing.

So that if these prisoners had a call in mind—however desperate—no sound would reach the ear of the warden?—That is not the fact. The sound could reach the ears of the warden, but it might not cause a great noise in the prison, by having the bells muffled.

I suggest that Ashe rang his bell on the Thurs.; that it was muffled; and that, whether he was ill or well, troubled no man in the prison?—He was offered exercise on Thurs. by a warden, whose name I cannot give, nor can I give the name of the warden who offered the exercise to the other prisoners.

Counsel put it to witness that by not entering in the book that these prisoners were punished they were allowed to freeze in their cells.—“I would not say that,” answered witness. On Mr. Healy suggesting that a person charged with sedition could only be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, Mr. Hanna said that rule was repealed in 1913. Mr. Healy said they might repeal a rule, but not a statute, and the statute was still in existence.

AUSTIN STACK AS WITNESS.

Mr. Healy asked the Deputy-Governor if he would allow Austin Stack to attend the Court as a witness on the Coroner's summons, to which witness replied that that was a question he was not prepared to answer; it was, he said, a question for the Governor. Dr. Wynne pointed out that the only way in which a prisoner could be got to attend was by applying for habeas corpus. So far as the Coroner's summons was concerned, it could not be acted upon. Mr. Healy remarked that the prison authorities said they courted every inquiry, and yet would not help this inquiry.

The inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Thomas Ashe, late Sinn Fein prisoner in Mountjoy, who died on the 25th September in the Mater Hospital a few hours after his removal there from the prison, was resumed this afternoon in the City Morgue.

There was again a great demand for admission on the part of the public, and a queue had to be formed up on the pathway outside long before the hour of the resumption of the inquiry.

Gentlemen and ladies were again numerous in the general attendance, and the Court was crowded when Dr. Louis Byrne, City Coroner, took his seat.

The names of the jury having been called over and answered, the Coroner (addressing Mr. Hanna) asked whom did he propose calling.

Mr. Hanna said he proposed to call no further witnesses, unless the Coroner desired some particular witnesses, or the jury desired, and he would now close his case by putting in a minute of the Visiting Justices for the 20th September, 1917. He would give a copy of the minute to the Coroner and read it out.

Counsel read the minute in question, which stated that Sir John Irwin presided, and which contained the following paragraph:—

The Deputy Governor submitted a letter, dated 11th, from the General Prisons Board, with reference to civilians awaiting trial by court martial. The Committee found considerable difficulty exists in the prison to-day. The prisoners undergoing sentences passed on them by court martial refused to work unless they are treated as prisoners of war, and are given the privileges as set out in a memo prepared by prisoner J. J. Liddy, and forwarded to the Prisons' Board by the Governor. The prisoner, Joseph MacDonagh, appeared before the committee and stated that he and the other prisoners of his class demanded in the terms of Prisoner Liddy's memorandum be given effect to. He further states he declines to recognise any authority to treat him as an ordinary prisoner, and if their demands are not conceded he and the others will go on hunger-strike. The committee found considerable damage has already been done in the cells by these court martial prisoners.

Mr. Hanna handed in Prisoner Liddy's memorandum referred to in a few minutes, the document being signed by him: “J. J. Liddy, Clare Brigade, Irish Republican Army.”

Mr. Healy asked to have the letter addressed to the Deputy Governor read. Mr. Hanna said he had not got it.

HUMANE WARDER

Is Thanked by Counsel for His Kindness

Edward Fitzpatrick, a warder, who assisted in the prison hospital, said that when the deceased was brought to the hospital on the 24th September he took him to bed and put four pillows under his head. He put a hot jar to his feet, and another warder put a blanket over him.

Mr. Healy said that this warder treated the deceased with the utmost kindness, and on behalf of the relatives he desired to thank him.

Witness, in the course of further evidence, stated that later in the evening in question he took Mr. Ashe to the Mater Hospital. When there was some reference made to his treatment by the crowd. Somebody in the crowd shouted that "they had murdered Tom." He said, "No, I have hope yet." Inside the hospital a friend of his made reference to his treatment, and he said that he was treated gently by the staff and that he had no complaint to make about it. When he left the hospital he had a beard, and there were no scratches on his face or throat that he saw.

Mr. Healy before cross-examining the witness, asked him to convey to the members of his staff that no blame attached to them and that Mr. Ashe was treated by them with the utmost kindness.

Counsel then questioned witness as to scratches on Mr. Ashe's chin, and as to whether he thought the beard concealed them. The witness replied that he would not say that the beard concealed scratches.

Mr. Healy put it to the witness that they were seen when Mr. Ashe was shaved after death.

Witness replied that he could not say anything about that.

Further cross-examined, he said he did not see Mr. Ashe in the prison until he was in hospital, and he did not know who the warders were who brought him to the hospital.

Do you know that he had been given a powerful purgative by Dr. Lowe?—No. Neither did witness know if a purgative acted.

Did he make any complaint to you as to the deprivation of his bed, bedding, and boots?—No.

Or as to the cold?—No. Did he speak of the forcible feeding?—He said that he felt very weak after it.

Witness further said that he had no conversation with him except to ask him how he felt, and his reply was that he was very weak.

Witness further stated the only remark Mr. Ashe made in his hearing from the time he reached the hospital until he was discharged was:

"I FEEL VERY WEAK."

Did he say anything when in the ambulance?—When coming out he got a letter and was about to open it, but put it into his pocket, and remarked that he would read it when he got to the Mater Hospital.

When Dr. Lowe operated on Mr. Ashe were there two warders present?—Yes. What are their names?

Mr. Hanna—These men are here, and you will have them.

Patrick M'Manus, warder, next examined by Mr. Hanna, said Warder Kilroy was with him when he brought Ashe from his cell to the doctor's room to be fed by Dr. Lowe. There was

NO FORCE USED.

He practically walked before witness, and when he came into the room he walked to and sat on a chair.

Were straps put on him?—They were; around each arm and leg. He did not resist in any way.

Continuing, he said:—During the operation of the artificial feeding the doctor had first some trouble in putting down the tube; he had to withdraw it and put it down again.

What was the cause?—He took a fit of coughing. It was the passage of the tube that brought on the fit of coughing. The doctor asked him first how he was fed on the previous occasion—was it through the nose or mouth, and Ashe replied that it was through the mouth. He asked the doctor at the time for some opening medicine. After the tube was passed, the doctor asked him if it was all right, and

ASHE NODDED HIS HEAD

to indicate that it was. From the time he left the cell until he was brought to hospital was no more than 10 or 12 minutes. After the tube was withdrawn Ashe appeared to get weak, and the doctor told witness to take him back to his cell and get him to bed. Witness, with Kilroy, took him by the arms to help him, and when about 10 or 15 yards from the doctor's room they met Dr. Dowdall. From Dr. Dowdall they got instructions to take him to the hospital. Kilroy went to the cell to get Mr. Ashe's coat and other things, and then he was brought to the hospital.

"STRAPS ON HIM."

Warder Describes Process of Restraint.

Cross-examined by Mr. Healy, witness said he did not hear the deceased say to Dr. Lowe, "I object to being forcibly fed."

Consequently you didn't hear the doctor's reply that he was there to do his duty?—No, I don't remember him saying that.

You have told us that the prisoner's arms and legs were strapped?—Yes.

I presume that the painful duty was done by yourself and Mr. Watters?—Myself and Warder Kilroy.

Do you that Dr. Lowe has told the jury: "The warders had not to restrain him in any way"—is that correct?—Well, the straps were on him.

That is restraint?—Yes. Therefore it is not true for Dr. Lowe to say that the warders had not restrained him in any way?—Yes, sir.

Witness continued to say that the deceased walked into the room by himself, but when coming out he had to be linked.

"And what happened," asked counsel, "to that man in the chair? Dr. Kinsella, an eminent doctor, has told us that he has practised this operation for two years, and the patient not fat (laughter). What happened to Thos. Ashe in five minutes at the hands of Dr. Lowe?"

"I am not prepared to answer," replied the witness.

Has the deputy governor been speaking to you about this transaction?—No.

Or the doctor?—Yes, Dr. Dowdall. Has Dr. Lowe spoken to you about it?—No.

Is he still at work in the prison?—No, sir; I didn't see him.

When was he discontinued?—I only saw him once since that occasion.

At what stage of this business did the unfortunate man's lips go blue?—Well, I didn't see them going blue, but I saw that he was getting weak at the finish up of the feeding before the tube was withdrawn from his stomach.

Mr. Healy—How many **STROKES OF THE PUMP**

per minute did Dr. Lowe administer to him?—I believe about 20 or 30; I could not tell.

Do you know if any air was pumped into the man's stomach?—I don't.

When he got weak was the tube withdrawn before the operation was finished?—No.

So that after he got weak the pump still went on?—I could not say.

What was said when the indication of the tragedy became evident—what did the doctor say, when he saw the man's lips become blue?—I could not say. He told us to take him away, and leave him lying down for some time.

If you had not accidentally encountered Dr. Dowdall you would have taken him upstairs to his cell?—Yes.

With his lips blue and his heart collapsed?—Yes.

Do you know if the prisoner had been subject to the deprivation of his bed, bedding, and boots for two days and so nights before this forcible feeding?—Personally, of my own knowledge I did not know, but I heard about it.

Have you any doubt if Dr. Lowe knew of it?—I could not say.

What do you say he was subjected to this enormity for, to this unheard-of deprivation that was never visited on any prisoner in Ireland before?

Mr. Hanna objected to the question, as the witness had said he knew nothing about it.

Witness said that he had never been in charge of Ashe until half-past eleven on Tuesday. He then took him over from Warder Owens. He didn't know the names of the warders, who had charge of Ashe when he was deprived of his bed and his boots.

Mr. Healy—Is there any difficulty in the prison authorities getting the names of the warders who did these things?—No. I don't think there would be.

Would there be any difficulty in getting

the names of the warders who supervised the forcible feeding of the other prisoners on the Saturday?—I could not say.

Who apportions your duties?—The Chief warder.

Mr. Healy—That is the man we want, Mr. Ryan.

To witness—After Ashe collapsed in the chair did he say anything?—He said he felt very weak.

Was that in presence of Dr. Lowe?—Yes.

What did Dr. Lowe say?—He told us to take him out and take him to his cell and let him lie down.

Were you at the forcible feeding of other men?—Yes.

Give me their names?—

Mr. Hanna objected to the question, but it was allowed.

Mr. Healy repeated his question as to the names of the other at whose forcible feeding witness was present.

Witness answered that he could not give the names because he did not know them.

ANGRY SCENE

Mr. Hanna Objects to Word "Killed"

Mr. Healy was then in the act of inquiring from the witness when he had seen Dr. Kinsella, of Maryboro', in Mountjoy prison before Mr. Ashe was killed.

Mr. Hanna jumped excitedly to his feet and said he objected to the repetition of such words as "killed," "murdered," and so forth.

Mr. Healy said he would continue to repeat it, and it would be repeated by four millions of people outside. "You can pack a jury," he exclaimed, "but not a gallery."

At this there was loud applause in court.

Mr. Hanna, who still continued to be very much excited, said he had protested before that if these demonstrations were repeated he and his witnesses would withdraw, and they would now do so and leave the Court.

Counsel then commenced to pack up his papers.

The Coroner, intervening, said he hoped there would be no further demonstration. He had got a representation on the previous evening from the representatives of the Press as to accommodation in Court, and he had given instructions that no one should be allowed in unless there was a seat. He would make

ONE MORE APPEAL

to the gallery, and if they did not conduct themselves properly he would have to take measures. They did not help the case in any way by demonstrations.

Mr. Hanna—These demonstrations are made for a purpose. I do not use threats unless I intend to carry them out. I have said three times that I would withdraw with my witnesses if these disgraceful scenes were continued.

Mr. Healy—There are no disgraceful scenes, and no scenes that Judges of the High Court in Ireland and England have not allowed.

The Coroner—Will you allow the matter to end and let us get on with our business.

Mr. Hanna persisted in his attitude, and, **AMIDST A SCENE OF CONSIDERABLE EXCITEMENT,**

left the Court.

As he was leaving Mr. Healy remarked: He has gone, but he has left Mr. Wynne a good looker-on.

Mr. Healy—Is Mr. Douglas going to withdraw, too?

HABEAS CORPUS

Jail Tragedy Echo in Four Courts

MOUNTJOY PRISONERS

Application for Attendance at Inquest

To-day, in the King's Bench Division, before the Lord Chief Justice, sitting as vacation judge,

Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., with whom was Mr. Dixon (instructed by Mr. Edmund J. Duggan), applied ex parte for

an order for the attendance of certain prisoners in Mountjoy Prison at the inquest now being held concerning the death of Thomas Ashe, for the purpose of being examined as witnesses.

He moved on an affidavit filed by his solicitor that morning, in which he stated that he was acting for the next-of-kin of the late Thomas Ashe, who died in the Mater Misericordiarum Hospital on the 5th September last, where he was serving a term of one year's imprisonment with hard labour for a speech alleged to have been delivered by him at Ballinalee, Co. Longford, in July last. During the currency of his sentence there were incarcerated with the deceased about 40 other Defence of the Realm Act prisoners, under a similar order of a court martial, with the exception of Mr. Joseph McDonagh, who was sentenced under an order of a Dublin police magistrate. In consequence of the death of the prisoner the Coroner for the city of Dublin held an inquest, which was commenced on the 27th Sept., and was still proceeding. Counsel for the prison authorities had examined a number of witnesses.

The Lord Chief Justice said he had read the affidavit which Mr. Healy was now opening, and he did not think that some of the paragraphs were necessary for the application.

Mr. Healy said he respectfully submitted that the matters contained in these paragraphs were necessary.

The Lord Chief Justice said he did not see why these matters should be introduced into the affidavits.

Mr. Healy said the prison authorities had made every objection to enabling them to probe this matter sufficiently.

The Lord Chief Justice said all these allegations as to what was alleged to have happened as to this deceased man when in prison did not appear to be relevant.

Mr. Healy—With every respect, we hold **THEY ARE NECESSARY AND RELEVANT.**

The case of the prison authorities is that the deceased died because of a hunger-strike in which they say he engaged in order to obtain luxuries and a summer holiday. We, on the other hand, say that he died in consequence of cruelty inflicted on him before ever he engaged in a hunger-strike.

The Lord Chief Justice—Assuming that is the case you present now, tell me what exactly is the nature of your application?

Mr. Healy said his application was that an order should be made that four prisoners should be produced at the inquest.

The Lord Chief Justice—To give evidence on what subject?

Mr. Healy—Touching the death and treatment of Thomas Ashe.

The Lord Chief Justice—This inquiry has been going on for a considerable time?

Mr. Healy—Yes.

The Lord Chief Justice—And when is it to be resumed?

Mr. Healy—This day at 1 o'clock.

The Lord Chief Justice—This a matter of considerable importance, and I do not want to act in any way hastily in the matter. Have you given any notice of the application? I will take it in any day that may be convenient.

PRISONS BOARD SECRETARY.

Mr. S. H. Douglas, Secretary of the Prisons Board, in reply to Mr. Healy, said he came to the Prisons Board Service before the passing of the Prisons Act of 1877.

Asked if this Act, known as Lord Cross's Act, was the first Act to create a distinction between prisoners convicted of sedition and ordinary prisoners, he said that upon that question he could not give an opinion.

When I was asking the Deputy Governor about the treatment of first-class misdemeanants and as to sedition, Mr. Hanna said that Act was repealed. Did you instruct Mr. Hanna to say that?

Dr. Wynne—I object to that. Instructions between solicitor and client are privileged.

Mr. Healy contended that Mr. Douglas was not a client of Mr. Hanna's, and Mr. Hanna was not his counsel. Mr. Wynne might be Chief Crown Solicitor for Ireland, but he was not the Chief Crown Objector.

Dr. Wynne—Is this kind of offence to be tolerated? So far as I am personally concerned what Mr. Healy says does not concern me; but, as a matter of respect to this Court, it should not be tolerated. The Coroner upheld the objection.

Mr. Healy (to witness) Have you expressed any opinion as to whether or not Section 49 of Lord Cross's Act is still in force?—Nobody knows better than Mr. Healy that the greater portion of that Act is in force.

I ask you is that particular section of the Act?—The greater portion of that is still in force.

The witness was then examined at some length on the question of the prison rules and the repeal of those rules relating especially to the treatment of prisoners as first-class misdemeanants. He said he could not recollect the exact date when this supposed repeal of these rules was issued to the Governor of Mountjoy Prison.

PRISON DOCUMENTS.

BOARD'S OFFICIAL REFUSAL.

A lengthy argument ensued between Mr. Healy and Dr. Wynne as to whether the witness should give evidence relating to the minutes of the Prisons Board.

Mr. Douglas said he believed that the question whether a prisoner convicted under Regulation 42 of the Realm Acts was entitled to the benefit of Section 49 of Lord Cross's Act, had been considered by the Prisons Board. As to the production of the minutes containing the Prisons Board's conclusions he was not at liberty to give information.

Dr. Wynne thereupon produced a document from the Chairman of the Prisons Board, which he handed to witness, and which was as follows:—

In the opinion of the General Prisons Board for Ireland the production of the memos, letters, and minutes of the Board referred to in the subpoena dated 8th Oct., 1917, and addressed to S. H. Douglas, Esq., Sec., Prisons Board, will be prejudicial and injurious to the public service of His Majesty, and the Board have directed their secretary not to produce them.—Signed, Max S. Green, Chairman.

Mr. Healy having read the terms of the subpoena, the Coroner said he was not in a position to enforce the summons.

MR. HEALY AND MR. GREEN.

Mr. Healy asked witness if there was a minute directing the treatment of hunger strikers in the illegal manner to which Mr. Boland had deposed.

Dr. Wynne objected, and the objection was upheld, as was also one in relation to other questions which Mr. Healy wished to ask as to telephone messages and other communications between the witness and the prison authorities.

After several of these rulings, Mr. Healy said he would ask no further questions, and, in taking leave of the witness, counsel said, amid some laughter, "Give our compliments to Mr. Max Green."

Tuesday, at 11.30, was fixed for the further proceedings. Mr. Hanna informed a Press representative outside the court that the prison authorities would decline to be represented any further at the inquest.

Dr. Wynne—He will stay with me.

Mr. Healy remarked that he would do so owing to the Coroner's subpoena.

Dr. Wynne said he attended here in court to the Coroner.

Mr. Healy said he had not referred to Dr. Wynne. And he added—I am going to recall Dr. Dowdall.

Dr. Wynne—He is leaving with his counsel. I wish again to say that I am attending there through courtesy with Mr. Douglas.

Mr. Healy said Dr. Wynne was attending there as a public duty.

During these interchanges, Dr. Dowdall and the solicitors sitting at the table next to Mr. Hanna left their seats and proceeded to leave the court after their counsel, and as they moved from the body of the court Mr. Healy remarked: "Of course, this is all arranged."

Dr. Wynne—If it is arranged, it is arranged by Mr. Healy and the gallery.

Mr. Healy—You are here only for one limited purpose, and that is to safeguard the interests of Mr. Douglas, and I beg my learned friend to confine himself to that.

Mr. Healy said Mr. Hanna and some of the witnesses having gone, he would tell the Court the course he proposed to take. That morning he made application to the High Court having been refused the attendance, on the Coroner's subpoena, of a prisoner in Mountjoy, notwithstanding the bounden courtesy with which the Chief Crown Solicitor desired to treat everything

connected with the Coroner and his tribunal—he made application to the High Court for the attendance of four prisoners at that inquiry in order

TO GIVE THE LIE

—and he used no other word—to the mass of prison evidence which had been obtruded on that court by the deputy governor. It had been arranged that the motion should stand until Monday next, in order that arguments might be presented by the Crown, if they so thought fit, as to whether these witnesses were relevant or necessary witnesses or not.

ADJOURNMENT APPLICATION.

Mr. Healy said Mr. Hanna and some of the witnesses having gone, he would tell the Court the course he proposed to take. That morning he made application to the High Court—having been refused the attendance, on the Coroner's subpoena, of a prisoner in Mountjoy, notwithstanding the bounden courtesy with which the Chief Crown Solicitor desired to treat everything connected with the Coroner and his tribunal. His application to the High Court was for the attendance of four prisoners at that inquiry in order to give the lie—and he used no other word—to the mass of prison evidence which had been obtruded on that court by the deputy governor. It had been arranged that the motion should stand until Monday next, in order that arguments might be presented by the Crown, if they thought fit, as to whether these witnesses were relevant or necessary witnesses or not.

Mr. Hanna, having had the advantage of hearing Sir A. Chance and Sir T. Myles, addressed the Court, making the case that these prisoners were out for luxuries and for a summer holiday, and that the hunger-strike preceded, and not succeeded, the deprivation of their clothing and bedding and boots. As that suggestion, which Mr. Hanna made on his instructions, was absolutely false, he would apply for an adjournment to enable the argument to be proceeded with in the High Court. His chief witnesses would be the prisoners. If these were shut out—if it was so decided, after what had taken place—it would very much shorten the inquiry, and very much abridge the view that he intended presenting to the jury. By that time Mr. Hanna would have got back from Belfast (laughter)—where he had to go that evening—after his temporary disappearance (renewed laughter).

Mr. Healy—I have carefully considered the practice, and I will not—if I may say so, respectfully—contest your lordship's suggestion. This is an ex parte application. The Lord Chief Justice said the very fact that it was found necessary to make an

AFFIDAVIT WITH TEN PARAGRAPHS

rendered it essential that he should be cautious in the matter. He would sit specially to hear this motion on whatever date was convenient to Mr. Healy and suiting the convenience of the Crown.

Mr. Healy—I think, with every respect to your lordship and to the Crown, that it should be heard at once.

Lord Chief Justice—I will take it for you to-morrow, and perhaps before I rise you can get someone from the Chief Crown Solicitor's office to ascertain if they are ready. Subject to what I may hear I shall be very glad to take it up to-morrow.

Mr. Healy said that was the very course he would have been disposed to take in the interests of justice, and he did not at all quarrel with his lordship's view.

Subsequently the Lord Chief Justice stated that he had ascertained that Monday next would be a date convenient to all parties, and he would hear Mr. Healy's application on that day.

To-day in the King's Bench Division, the Lord Chief Justice as Vacation Judge, sat specially to hear the application in the matter of the late Thomas Ashe.

It was a motion made ex parte for an order for the attendance of four prisoners, at present in Mountjoy Prison, at the inquest being held concerning the death of Thomas Ashe, for the purpose of their being examined as witnesses.

The application had been adjourned from a previous day to afford the Crown an opportunity of being present.

Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., and Mr. Dixon (instructed by Mr. Edward J. Duggan) appeared for the next-of-kin of the late Thomas Ashe.

The Attorney-General and Mr. Devitt (instructed by the Chief Crown Solicitor) attended for the Crown.

The Attorney-General's Attitude.

When the case was called,

The Attorney-General said—The notice of motion in this matter has been served on me, and I have had an opportunity of reading the affidavit of Mr. Duggan the solicitor for the next-of-kin. That affidavit does seem to me to present a prima facie case for the production of these prisoners, and, therefore, I make no objection to the issue of the necessary order. I do not think I ought therefore take any further part in the proceeding.

The Lord Chief Justice—You say Mr. Attorney that there is a prima facie case presented. It is not my concern to probe any further into that—but I have to be satisfied that a prima facie case has been made. As to your further action and intervention that is a matter for yourself.

The Attorney-General and Mr. Devitt then left the Court.

The Affidavit of Mr. Duggan.

Mr. Healy read the affidavit sworn by Mr. Duggan, solicitor, on which the application was grounded, in which Mr. Duggan stated that he was the solicitor for the next-of-kin of the late Thomas Ashe, who died in the Mater Misericordiae Hospital on Tuesday, the 25th last, within five hours after his discharge from Mountjoy Prison, where he was serving a sentence of one year's imprisonment with hard labour for a speech alleged to have been delivered by him at Ballinacree in the County of Longford in July last. He was convicted and sentenced by a Courtmartial, the sentence to take effect from 3rd of September, 1917, and during the currency of his sentence there were incarcerated with deceased about forty other prisoners under the Defence of the Realm Act under order of similar tribunals with one exception, Mr. Joseph M'Donagh, who was sentenced by order of a Dublin police magis-

trate. He went on to state the facts relating to the holding of the inquest and the evidence given at it. The Lord Mayor of Dublin and Sir John Irwin, who is Chairman of the Visiting Justices of Mountjoy Prison, he said, were examined by the Coroner, and proved that on Saturday, 22nd September ult., they found deceased in his cell where he had been since the previous Thursday morning, deprived of his bed, bedding, boots and cell furniture.

Combination with other Prisoners.

It was afterwards admitted by the Deputy-Governor that for over 50 hours the deceased had been left in this condition with nothing to sit or sleep upon save the bare floor, and that this deprivation had been inflicted upon him and the other prisoners without any inquiry or sentence of punishment. The excuse offered for this ill-treatment was that the deceased in combination with other Defence of the Realm Act prisoners was at the time of the removal of his boots, bedding, etc., engaged in a hunger strike, and in pursuance of a common design, contemplated the destruction of his bed, bedclothes, and prison furniture whereupon the Deputy-Governor did the acts complained of.

What the Other Prisoners Say.

"I have had access to several of the prisoners," Mr. Duggan continued, "subjected by the Deputy-Governor to similar treatment and they have informed me, and I believe that such allegations which had previously been made by Mr. Hanna, K.C., on behalf of the prison authorities are totally without foundation."

It appears from the prison records put in evidence that several of the said prisoners were subjected to forcible or artificial feeding on Saturday the 22nd ult., and that while suffering from the deprivations aforesaid, it was admitted they were sent back to their cells to lie on the bare floor without bed or bedding, and I am informed and believe that one of them, James Griffey, was then bleeding profusely from the treatment he had received, and has since been sent to the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, where he now lies. As solicitor for the next-of-kin, I propose to show that the case made on behalf of the prison authorities that deceased died partly from starvation and partly from a weak heart caused thereby is unfounded, and it is put forward to screen the illegality to which the deceased was subjected. I say that the Deputy-Governor admitted that the deceased and the other prisoners partook of their breakfast as usual on Thursday morning, the 20th September, and that it was only after they were assaulted by warders, about 10 a.m. on that day, and their boots, bed, bedding, and cell furniture taken away, that they refused food at dinner time on that day, and began a hunger strike as a protest against the illegal treatment to which they were subjected, and I say that said prisoners informed me, and I believe, that no attempt at hunger strike was made by them until after the assaults and deprivations aforesaid, and that it was not because of any apprehension of such hunger strike or destruction of property as sworn to by the Deputy-Governor that they and the deceased were subject to the barbarities which led to the death of deceased. I say that the prison doctor, in his evidence, stated that he was wholly unaware of the deprivations by the Prison Governor of the prisoners' bed, bedding, and boots until after a number of them had been forcibly fed on Saturday the 22nd ult. As to this, he was contradicted by the Deputy-Governor, who deposed that the Doctor was throughout aware of said deprivations. I say that it is

vital, in the interests of justice, and in order that a right verdict may be arrived at, that the jury should be able to apportion responsibility as between the various officials."

Why the Prisoners Should be Called.

Mr. Duggan further stated in his affidavit that he advised and believed that the evidence of Joseph McDonagh, Austin Stack, Finian Lynch, and Philip McMahon, who are at present undergoing sentence in Mountjoy Prison,

as Defence of the Realm Act prisoners, should be present at the inquest in view of the allegations made by the learned counsel and witnesses for the prison authorities. These prisoners, he added, will be able to show that the allegations of the Deputy-Governor against Thomas Ashe are entirely unfounded, and more than one of them, as he believed, will be able to show that the forcible feeding applied by the doctor under whose hands the deceased collapsed immediately after being fed was incompetently and brutally administered.

The Lord Chief Justice—As regards that allegation, of course, I know nothing about this whole matter beyond noting the proceedings in the public Press, but were any of those persons whom you propose to examine as witnesses present at the time the deceased man was fed?

Mr. Healy—No, my lord, nor do we rely entirely, or mainly, on the forcible feeding—we make the application absolutely independent of that.

Lord Chief Justice's View.

The Lord Chief Justice—I must confine myself within the four corners of your affidavit, and it is stated here in the material paragraph, 9, in reference to the persons for whose attendance you are making this application that they will be able to prove "that the allegations of the Deputy-Governor against the said Thomas Ashe are entirely unfounded, and more than one of them, as I believe, will be able to show that the forcible feeding applied by the doctor under whose hands the deceased collapsed immediately after being fed was incompetently and brutally administered." Now, it is perfectly obvious to me that it would be impossible for them to give evidence of what occurred at the time if they were not present on that occasion.

Mr. Healy—They were not present, I think your lordship does not apprehend the matter.

Contents of the Affidavit.

Lord Chief Justice—I am not dealing with any matter beyond what is in the affidavit. I am dealing with the statement that more than one of these persons would be able to show that the forcible feeding of the deceased man was incompetently and brutally administered.

Mr. Healy—Your Lordship, I think, is mistaken.

Lord Chief Justice—I am reading from the affidavit.

Mr. Healy—Your Lordship won't allow time to read it.

Lord Chief Justice—I don't quite understand that observation, Mr. Healy. You have already read it.

Mr. Healy—Will your Lordship allow me to read it?

Lord Chief Justice—Certainly.

Mr. Healy again referred to the paragraph in the affidavit in which it was stated that the allegations the Deputy-Governor made against Thomas Ashe were entirely unfounded.

The Lord Chief Justice said he was calling his attention to the statement in paragraph 9 of the affidavit that more than one of these prisoners would be able to show that the forcible feeding applied by the doctor under whose hands the deceased collapsed immediately after being fed was incompetently and brutally administered.

Mr. Healy said that was only a secondary portion of the illegality practised against the deceased by the prison authorities. The principal illegalities alleged were mentioned in the paragraphs he had read and which had been referred to by counsel for the prison authorities.

The Lord Chief Justice said he was only anxious to prevent the inquiry from being exploited and extended for the purpose of dealing with wholly irrelevant matters.

The Breaking of Furniture.

Mr. Healy said the forcible feeding had been mentioned in connection with the illegalities as the last straw that broke the camel's back. It was stated on behalf of the prison authorities, that the deceased had misconducted himself by break-

FOUR PRISONERS

Present to Give Evidence

MR. HANNA BACK AGAIN

The Thomas Ashe inquest, as it has now come to be known, was resumed to-day in the City Morgue at 11.30 o'clock by Dr. Louis A. Byrne, City Coroner, and the sixteen jurors, of whom Mr. McIntyre is foreman.

The dramatic incident of the last day's sitting, when Mr. Henry Hanna, K.C., counsel retained on behalf of the prison authorities, left the court with his witnesses as a protest against demonstrations on the part of the "gallery," and the fact that yesterday the Lord Chief Justice, sitting as Vacation Judge, granted an application for the attendance of four Sinn Fein prisoners at present in Mountjoy Jail as witnesses at the inquest, lent additional interest to the investigation.

These four prisoners, whose names are:

- JOSEPH MacDONAGH,
- AUSTIN STACK,
- FINIAN LYNCH, and
- PHILIP MacMAHON,

are being produced to prove, as stated by Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., at the High Court proceedings yesterday, "that the allegations of the Deputy Governor (of Mountjoy Prison) against Thos. Ashe are unfounded," the allegation also being made by counsel that more than one of them would be able to show "that the forcible feeding applied by the doctor under whose hands the deceased collapsed immediately after being fed, was incompetently and brutally administered."

THE JURY.

The names of the Jury are as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| OWEN M'INTYRE, 40 St. Patrick's road, clerk. | WM. S. GRAHAM, 218 North Circular road, builder and contractor. |
| JOHN ROBINSON, 1 Lindsay terrace, provision merchant. | JAMES M'ENTEE, 21 St. Anne's road, provision merchant. |
| BENJAMIN S. ALL-SHINE, 3 Botanic road, gentleman. | SAMUEL WALTON, 12 Lindsay road, gentleman. |
| GEORGE S. WOODS, 106 Phibbers' road, chemist. | ALEXR. COCHRANE, 323 and 435 North Circular road, builder and contractor. |
| E. McGUIRE, 22 Phibbers' road, provision merchant. | WM. H. TURLEY, 89 Upper Dorset street, publican. |
| THOS. SMITH, 105 Primrose street, provision merchant. | THOS. WALSH, 21 Upper Dorset street, provision merchant. |
| JOHN COYNE, 45 Upper Dorset street, provision merchant. | MICHAEL McGUIRE, 16 Phibbers' road, publican. |
| JAMES CASEY, 2 Upper Dorset street, news-agent. | MICHAEL BOLGER, 29 Phibbers' road, provision merchant. |

From nine o'clock onward people began to assemble at the Morgue in the hope of securing admission to the inquest. As the dimensions of the crowd increased a police cordon was drawn across the road some distance from the Morgue, and none except witnesses and ticket-holders were allowed to pass into the building. There was a large police force on duty all the time.

A great deal of interest was centered in the arrival of the prisoners from Mountjoy, who are to give evidence at the inquest to-day. Accompanied by police and prison warders, Austin Stack, Joseph MacDonagh, Finian Lynch and Philip MacMahon reached the Morgue by taxi, shortly after 10.30 o'clock. The thoroughfare was crowded at the time, and their arrival was the signal for loud cheers, which were renewed many times as the prisoners alighted from the cars and passed into the Morgue.

ing glass and furniture, as set out in the evidence, but there was no foundation for that statement. There was no real pretence that he broke glass or did anything that was improper; yet it was alleged by the Crown, and they put in a document with the view to showing that Thomas Ashe was a ringleader, and acted in combination with others, and, as a result, he was punished, his clothes taken from him, and he was left lying on the floor for 48 hours. It was while in that weak and debilitated condition that he was subjected to an operation which a strong man might have been able to endure, but which this poor man was quite unfitted for. From the very start the case of the Crown was, as he (counsel) had stated it. He would read the words used by Mr. Hanna to show that he was not overstating the matter.

The Lord Chief Justice—I will take your word, of course, for it.

Mr. Healy said the minute of the Visiting Justices had been put in affecting two prisoners, one named Liddy and another named, he thought M'Donagh, but no mention was made of Ashe, and it was stated that these persons on that day had broken glass and mis-conducted themselves, by taking up stools and hammering them against the doors, and in fact turning the place into pandemonium.

Was Ashe a "Ringleader"?

It was alleged by the Prison authorities that Ashe was a ringleader, an inciter to disorder. But in truth and in fact there was not a scintilla of foundation for such an allegation in respect of Ashe. These prisoners would be able to prove that these stories affecting them and affecting Ashe, in so far as he was acting in consort with them, were absolutely unfounded.

Allegations by Mr. Hanna, K.C.

Counsel could not meet the case made by Mr. Hanna unless by the evidence of the witnesses he proposed examining. Mr. Hanna put it forward that these men acted as they had done, not to protest against illegality, but to obtain comforts and luxuries such as people obtain on a summer holiday. Counsel wished to show that Ashe while silent and passive in his cell was set upon, seized, and deprived of his boots, and having been himself reduced almost to mummy was operated on by a doctor who was not

told by the Governor that the unfortunate man had been subjected to this treatment. If in the course of the proceedings it was found that the doctor operating on him was acting with even unskilfulness or even was brutal in the discharge of his duty the jury could not differentiate as between more or less roughness—but as regarded the Governor of the prison he had no right to punish as he had done. Counsel relied with confidence on the facts put forward in the affidavit as ample to establish his right to the order asked.

JUDGE'S DECISION

Comments on Attorney-General's Action

The Lord Chief Justice said that in this case he greatly regretted, though he could not find fault with, the action of the Attorney-General. He thought that the court was entitled in this matter to have had his assistance on the constructions of the facts on which this application was founded. He said that with all the greater force because while Mr. Healy was perfectly right in saying that the first and perhaps most essential ground of his application was based on what he alleges to be the conduct of the case on the part of the learned counsel representing the interests involved, that certain allegations are made of a general conspiracy in which the person the cause of whose death is being inquired into—that in fact he was a ringleader. Mr. Healy states that that case being made it was essential in the interests of justice that he should have an opportunity of examining the persons alleged to have been in the conspiracy with the person whose death took place afterwards. That

conception his lordship could quite understand, but having regard to the public importance of the inquiry and the attention it had naturally aroused and more particularly inasmuch as in the affidavit on which the application was grounded, the second specific assertion was dwelt on, and his lordship said that Mr. Healy himself must know that it was wholly out of the power of these witnesses to give any legal evidence in reference to the matter mentioned. It was stated that these people were required for the purpose of proving that this particular deceased person was incompetently and brutally and forcibly fed.

Impossible to Refuse Action.

His Lordship was struck by that, because he would be surprised if forcible feeding was carried on in presence of other prisoners, and Mr. Healy had fairly and frankly admitted that they clearly could not give legal evidence on the question. But, on the other hand, there was the first and substantial ground, and as to which he was not in a situation to pronounce an opinion, nor would it be his duty to do so. His lordship knew nothing of the action taken by counsel, but in face of the allegations made in the affidavit it was impossible for him to refuse the application.

The Duty of Coroner and Jury.

He must trust to the experience and knowledge of the Coroner to determine how far the evidence of any or all of these witnesses was relevant or necessary. He desired to point out that the purpose of the inquiry by the Coroner and jury was to find out the cause of death—nothing more, nothing less. It was open in investigations of this kind to the Coroner's jury to go further in endeavouring to ascertain whether blame attaches to any or more persons, and also if they think fit to apportion the measure of that blame. In the majority of cases the Coroners and juries rather avoided such a course, and preferred to bring in an open verdict. His Lordship thought, having regard to the fact that the machinery of the Court was not the best for the ascertainment of that kind to which he had alluded, it was wise and prudent to confine the finding to an open verdict. Whether this case required a different issue was not for him to say—it was entirely for the Coroner and the jury. His lordship was quite certain that the Coroner, with his experience, would take care in the investigation to see that it proceeded on those lines, so as to ensure that no unfair or unjust imputation which the facts of the case did not authorise will be cast on any man. He could conceive no greater injustice or a more cruel wrong being inflicted on any member of the community if, as proceedings of this kind, where a man may not have a proper opportunity of defending himself, aspersions are cast upon him that might ruin him professionally. In this case the Coroner and the jury had been engaged—he did not say at too considerable length—a considerable time, however, had elapsed, and he thought that, in the interests of public peace, it was eminently desirable that it should be brought to a conclusion as speedily as possible consistently with the duty which the coroner and the jury have to perform. I grant the application.

Prisoners to be in Court To-morrow.

Mr. Healy—Will you lordship give directions to have the writs made out immediately.

Lord Chief Justice—When does the inquiry resume?

Mr. Healy—To-morrow.

Lord Chief Justice—There is no difficulty in the writs for the attendance of the prisoners named being issued to-day and their attendance ensured to-morrow morning.

Mr. Hanna Re-appears.

Contrary to expectations, Mr. Henry Hanna, K.C., made his appearance, and took his accustomed seat at the table reserved for the legal gentlemen. All his witnesses also put in an appearance.

The Sinn Féin prisoners had arrived at the Morgue sometime before 11 o'clock, and were accommodated with a room in the building until the inquiry was resumed.

When Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., who, with Mr. Dixon (instructed by Mr. Duggan), appearing for the next-of-kin, came into court at 11.25 o'clock, he shook hands with Mr. Hanna, and greeted him with: "Welcome, little stranger."

The attendance in court by this time was very large, and the seating accommodation was fully occupied, among those present being Miss Ashe (sister of deceased), and the Countess Markievicz.

Dr. Wynne, who appears for Mr. Douglas, Secretary of the Prisons Board, and also instructs Mr. Hanna for the prison authorities, was also present.

It was 11.45 o'clock when the Coroner, who was accompanied by the Lord Mayor, took his seat on the Bench. The members of the jury immediately filed into court from their room and their names were formally called over and answered.

When the court was constituted the Lord Mayor volunteered a statement, which was in effect that Mr. Ashe told him he could assign no reason why his bed and bedding and boots were taken from him.

The deceased, said the Lord Mayor, also told him that no glass was broken in his cell window, and the only piece of furniture in the cell was a hat rack.

Mr. Healy then submitted the names of several warders whom he desired in attendance at the inquest for examination and Mr. Hanna said the request would be complied with.

Prisons Board and the Prison Officials.

Dr. Dowdall, the Prison Doctor, was re-examined by Mr. Healy, and on the latter putting a question as to whether there was a difference of opinion between the Prisons Board and prison officials as to the system of artificial feeding, Mr. Hanna objected.

"I yield," replied Mr. Healy. "I am most anxious to correspond with my friend's wishes," a remark which caused slight laughter amongst the audience.

The witness was closely examined by Mr. Healy as to Dr. Edgar Flinn's visits to the prison during the period of the artificial feeding, and said he had not seen Dr. Flinn, or been instructed by him on the subject.

The Feeding Pump.

Dr. Dowdall was not aware that the pump used in artificial feeding at Mountjoy was considered obsolete in lunatic asylums.

"Would an experienced and capable practitioner," Mr. Healy asked, "seeing a patient's life and limbs go down after a distressing operation followed by a fit of violent coughing, direct as the only medical comfort: 'Take him back to his cell and lay him down!'"

The witness answered—In such circumstances he would not have sent him to his cell.

"And it was only the mercy of God," questioned counsel, "that brought you into the corridor and led to his being sent to hospital?"

An affirmative answer was given by Dr. Dowdall.

ADDRESS TO THE JURY.

Mr. Healy then commenced his address to the jury on behalf of the next-of-kin. He paid a tribute to both the Coroner and jury for their patience during the investigation.

"Every illegality," said counsel, "which brought the man to his death was the illegality of Mr. Max Green and the Deputy Governor in their instruments."

"I say it now," he continued amid some sensation in court, "and I say it advisedly that the case put forward for the Prison Authorities against Thomas Ashe is as false as hell itself. I say that the case was deliberately concocted by the Prison Board to escape the guilt of wilful murder which lies at their doors."

Counsel then proceeded to deal with the evidence given, and while speaking Count Plunkett arrived and took a seat next the Coroner's Clerk.

Before the adjournment for luncheon Mr. Healy proceeded to whitewash the Government, Dublin Castle, Toryism and Unionism; and did his best to vindicate "the old gang."

THE LORD MAYOR**Important Addition to his Evidence****CONVERSATION WITH MR. ASHE**

At the sitting of the court,

The Foreman, addressing Mr. Hanna, said that he had made certain arrangements by which only the seating accommodation in court would be occupied so that the business would be facilitated.

Dr. Byrne then mentioned that the Lord Mayor would like to say a few words in addition to what he had already stated.

The Lord Mayor, giving evidence, said they would remember in the evidence which he had already given he dealt with the situation as it arose when the cell of Mr. Ashe was visited by himself in company with Sir John Irwin, the Deputy-Governor (Mr. Boland), two warders and the Chief-Warder, Mr. Ryan. "If you remember," continued the Lord Mayor, "in my evidence I stated that I had a conversation with the late Mr. Ashe. I did not go to repeat anything that has been stated already, but I asked Mr. Ashe when he pointed out to me that his bed and bedding had been taken from him and when he told me that four warders had forcibly taken the boots off his feet—I asked him could he assign any reason as to why this treatment was meted out to him. In the presence of the gentlemen named he told me he could assign no reason whatever. He pointed out that no glass was broken in his cell window. He mentioned that he had not interfered with his furniture in any way; in fact," said he, "you can see for yourself that the window is not broken. The only piece of furniture in the cell was merely a hat-rack, which was not interfered with."

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hanna—On what day, Lord Mayor, was that interview? That was on Saturday about 12 o'clock.

Was he making a complaint about it? No, but I asked him could he assign any reason why his bed and bedding, and boots had been taken from him. I might explain that I took the same precaution with all the other prisoners that I had examined.

And you asked each of the whole forty?

Mr. Healy—Mr. Coroner, with great deference, I would call your attention, especially after the judgment of the Lord Chief Justice,

that it is Mr. Hanna and not I who is going into this.

Mr. Hanna—I beg your pardon, it is not. The Lord Mayor volunteers the evidence that he asked everyone of the other prisoners the same question.

The Lord Mayor—If you will allow me, those whom I visited.

Mr. Hanna—In deference to Mr. Healy's objection—

Mr. Healy—It is not an objection.

Mr. Hanna said in consequence of Mr. Healy's statement, he had gone carefully through the report in the Press of this inquiry and he thought it was entirely an error for Mr. Healy to suggest that he introduced all the prisoners. However, if Mr. Healy and he were upon agreement, and apparently the Coroner agreed with the Lord Chief Justice, that they should confine themselves to Mr. Ashe, it would make things much smoother.

Reports of Prison Board.

Mr. Healy said he wanted to point out how matters stood. Evidence had been put, which could not be recalled. Mr. Hanna in his statement made some reference to the reports of the Prison Board, and then he put in the Visiting Justices book, containing the demands of Liddy. That had gone before the jury, and it could not be recalled. He was endeavouring to obey the Lord Chief Justice's ruling as strictly as he could but it was inevitable that some reference would be made to the other prisoners. With regard to the reports of the Prison Board, the moment the Prisons Board official, Mr. Douglass, was called, objection was taken by Dr. Wynne to any document being produced, although Mr. Hanna had it opened to the jury.

Mr. Hanna asked what document was it. He did not think there was any.

SOMETHING ALARMING

Lord Mayor—May I explain that I did not state at any time, nor did I state now that I interviewed the forty prisoners. In interviewed five other prisoners, and I am prepared to give evidence as to the five, if you wish it, and it may be something alarming.

The Board's Warning.

Mr. Healy referring to the report of the "Irish Times," which, he said would be one more favourable to Mr. Hanna, it stated that "Mr. Boland warned him (Ashe) against disobeying the regulations and then brought the matter before the Prisons Board." It then went on to say that "The statement of Ashe was put before the Prisons Board, and the reply which the Deputy-Governor received was: 'Want the prisoner of the necessary consequences of his persisting in disobeying the prison rules. Should he still persist in defying the prison rules, he will be dealt with in the prescribed manner.'" When Mr. Hanna was about Mr. Max Green sent in a document claiming privilege for these documents.

Mr. Hanna said that Mr. Healy was not correct. Mr. Boland read that statement out from a minute, which he had.

Mr. Healy said that he did not remember any such incident, and he did not think the deposition would bear it out.

Mr. Hanna now produced the document.

Mr. Healy said that was the first time he saw it. It was signed by Mr. Max Green, dated the 12/9/17, and communicated to the prison on the 15/9/17.

Mr. Hanna (to Witness)—You asked specifically whether he had any complaint to make against the Prison Board—he said "No."

Lord Mayor—I asked him had he any complaint to make about the officials who were dealing with him immediately—he said distinctly, "No."

Did you observe the slippers in the cell? Liddy.

Mr. Healy—Did you know that the slippers were served to the prisoners, but did not fit them? I remember Mr. Ashe making the remark that "when the boots were taken off his feet they gave me these slippers," pointing to them in the corner of his cell, "but I won't wear them."

The Deputy-Governor was aware when he gave his evidence here that Ashe asked what had he done to deserve his punishment and asked the reason of it? Well, he was standing by.

Did the Deputy-Governor make any reply or explanation? No.

Witness added that there was no furniture in the cell, and no sanitary accommodation.

Mr. Hanna said the Coroner had asked him if it would be possible to give the names of the warders within whose jurisdiction the deceased had been within certain days and he had the names of fifteen warders who had been on duty there—they were not actually in charge of Ashe, but were on duty indiscriminately.

Mr. Healy remarked that he did not think he would trouble Mr. Hanna on that matter now, as they had the other prisoners present. He would, however, ask to have Warder McManis recalled and he would ask also that Mr. Douglas should produce the minute that had been referred to. Further, he wished to have Chief Warder Ryan as a witness.

Mr. Hanna explained that as the Governor and the Deputy Governor were absent from the prison there would be a difficulty about Chief Warder Ryan's immediate attendance, but he could be produced to-morrow.

Mr. Healy subsequently intimated that in order to shorten the inquiry he would dispense with Chief Warder Ryan, but he would ask for the production of a warder named Berry.

DOCTOR DOWDALL

Cross Examined on Forcible Feeding

PRISON BOARD'S ORDERS

Dr. Dowdall was then recalled, and, questioned by Mr. Healy as to who fed Mr. Ashe on the Monday, witness replied that he thought it was Dr. Cooke.

Was he bound on the Monday as on the Tuesday? I was not present, but I have no doubt the straps were loosely put on.

Mr. Healy—I put it to you that in connection with the feeding on the Saturday Dr. Edgar Flinn protested that it should not be continued? Not to my knowledge.

Was the fact of the feeding reported to Dr. Edgar Flinn? Dr. Flinn visited the prison on the Saturday; I do not think I was present at the time.

Who would be the doctor who would report to Dr. Edgar Flinn that the forcible feeding had commenced? I reported that the artificial feeding had commenced. Witness added that Dr. Kissella was in the prison, and might have been there at the time Dr. Edgar Flinn was in the prison.

I suggest that on Saturday, 22nd, Dr. Flinn visited the prison? I have no recollection of it, but I recollect him on Saturday, 29th.

Do you know that there is a minute on the question of mechanical feeding?

Mr. Hanna objected and the question was not pressed.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—You made a minute that you proposed to feed them artificially; did Dr. Flinn visit the prison on the Thursday, Friday, or Saturday? I have no recollection, but that would be in the gate book.

Did Not Consult Dr. Flinn.

I suggest that in reference to this great adventure of forcibly feeding forty men, you consulted the medical doctor of the Prisons Board? Not to my recollection.

Were the Prisons Board in blank ignorance of this transaction? Certainly not; my journal would show that.

Having regard to the minute made at the time that Sir Christopher Nixon and Sir Thomas Myles made a protest against forcible feeding of the ladies, I put it to you that Dr. Edgar Flinn warned you as to this course? No; in two cases on the 29th there was a direction that this feeding was not to be proceeded with. That was initiated by Dr. Edgar Flinn.

The other point I want to bring out is—did you discuss with Dr. Edgar Flinn the nature of the mechanical apparatus to be used, whether it was to be a pump of a funnel? I did not.

Do you know that in lunatic asylums and other institutions the pump is regarded as an obsolete and dangerous instrument? I do not.

To other questions the doctor replied that there were two pumps on the 20th September, and he himself procured two, so that there were four pumps to be used on forty prisoners.

Services of Dr. Lowe.

In regard to the services of Dr. Lowe, Mr. Healy asked Dr. Dowdall if it were not the fact that he had been met by the warder accidentally when being taken to his cell after being fed that he would have been removed directly to his cell in a fainting condition, to which Dr. Dowdall replied that Ashe was certainly in a very weak condition.

Would any practised doctor, asked Mr. Healy, seeing the man's lips go blue and violently coughing, send that man back to his cell without medical attention?

Witness—I was not there when he was fed.

Mr. Healy repeated the question in this form—Would any skillful practitioner, seeing the patient's lips go blue, and affected with a violent fit of coughing, send that man back to his cell without medical attention?

Mr. Hanna—These are not the facts.

Witness—I did not see that. I was not present when he was fed. When I saw Ashe he was very weak, and when I saw him shortly afterwards in the hospital his lips were slightly blue, and also his hands.

What Witness Would Have Done.

Mr. Healy—That makes the matter worse. The question was again repeated, and Dr. Dowdall replied—I should not have sent him back to the cell.

Mr. Healy—Therefore, it was only the mercy of God that brought you there in the corridor by accident and led to his being sent to hospital? Yes, that is the truth.

Re-examined by Mr. Hanna—Would it be the duty of the warders if they took a man back to the cell in a weak condition to report the fact to you? Certainly.

COUNSEL'S ADDRESS

Authorities Charged with Murder

"THE HOME OF CRIME"

Mr. Healy then addressed the jury on behalf of the next-of-kin. He wished first to thank them very sincerely whatever their views might be for the great care and attention and patience they had displayed in the box for so many days. He wished also to thank the Coroner himself for the great care which he had shown. Perhaps it was unusual, speaking for the next-of-kin, to express these sentiments; at the same time the circumstances were so tragic and the inquiry had been so prolonged that he felt neither the Coroner nor the jury would think him not wanting in expressing to them his sentiments of thankfulness for the patience with which they had conducted that inquiry. "We are," said counsel, "investigating a death of a very unusual kind, the death of a very unusual man, a death so tragic and a man so remarkable that as we know his poor coffin was followed to the grave by some 70,000 or 80,000 of their fellow-citizens; and therefore it needs no words of mine to in any way to attempt to inflate or exaggerate the importance of the occasion and the grave nature of the finding which I think your verdict should summarise." There were two ways of looking at every fact in life, especially facts in controversy.

Not a Word of Regret.

At the outset of the case, when they had only been sitting for the second day, his learned friend (Mr. Hanna) presented the facts from the point of view of the prison authorities, and, on his instructions, he uttered not one single word of regret for the conduct of those who brought Thomas Ashe to his grave in Glasnevin—he let fall no word of explanation on any of the appalling series of illegalities and revolting cruelties with which he was treated; and the whole attitude which he took up on his instructions might be summed up in one word, one phrase of his which he (Mr. Healy) might take for his text—"If he felt the cold he was himself to blame for it." There was where his learned friend and he took absolute issue together for. "I say," said Mr. Healy, "that Thomas Ashe was brought to his death by illegality, confessed, admitted, proclaimed, almost boasted of, and now enshrined in that document which the Coroner has, and which at the last moment, in spite of the claim of privilege the Deputy-Governor was obliged to disgorge over this morning.

"The Death Warrant of Thomas Ashe."

This document (which counsel held aloft in his hand) is the death warrant of Thomas Ashe, concocted in illegality; framed with malignity, and couched in callousness, wrenched and forced from those who framed it—from the President of the Prisons Board, who claimed privilege for every document bearing on the death of Thomas Ashe. "What was the case made? The case made was that the deceased was a suicide, that he was the architect of his own misfortunes, that he was treated with absolute legality in the prison, and that everything flowed from his own misconduct, from his own lawlessness and from his own breach of the prison rules. What were the facts? That from start to finish except the refusal to work, for which he was punished, and for which the sentence of punishment was in the punishment book, a sentence merely of deprivation of marks and instruction books—every illegality which brought this man to his death, was the illegality of Mr. Max Green and

the Deputy Governor, his instrument. And the account presented to the public and to the jury by Mr. Hanna, who, of course, was as ignorant as he was of these facts until they were largely dragged out by the pincers of cross-examination the case made to them was that Ashe and his friends turned this prison into a pandemonium, that they broke the prison furniture, that he (deceased) broke the glass in his windows, that he broke the spyhole of his door, and that Ashe having wrecked his cell, wrecked the furniture; that then as a necessary measure of precaution to save the Government the price of the blankets and the plank bed, the Deputy Governor, as an act of salvage and in consequence of the disorder which culminated in the prison strike, removed the furniture from the prison.

"As False as Hell Itself."

"In that case which my learned friend presented on his instructions," proceeded counsel, "there is not one word, one shadow or one tittle of foundation, and I say it now and I say it advisedly that the case put forward for the Prison authorities against Thomas Ashe is as false as hell itself. I say that the case was deliberately concocted by the Prisons Board to escape the guilt of wilful murder which lies at their doors. These are serious statements. I will prove them and in proving them I will tear asunder and desecrate into shreds the case that has been made for the Prisons Board." The case had been put forward by Mr. Hanna with great skill and in a way it affected even his own mind accustomed as it was to receive with caution all official allegations. The dates in the case were important. The death of Ashe was on Tuesday, Sept. 25th, the last day of his forcible feeding. The hunger strike began on Thursday, 20th, and the hour it began was the dinner hour. What had happened in the prison on that date according to Mr. Hanna? On Sept. 11th when as Mr. Hanna said the promulgation of the sentence began.

Ashe asked to be brought before the Governor, and he was brought before the Deputy, Mr. Boland. He said he would not work or obey any order or rule relative to criminal prisoners, because he did not consider himself a criminal. Mr. Boland warned him against disobeying the regulations, and then brought the matter before the Prisons Board. There they had it, Colonel continued, that the Prisons Board knew officially from the Deputy-Governor on the day Ashe's sentence began on the 11th September that Ashe said he was no criminal and would obey no rule applicable to criminals. They had plenty of time to consider the matter before the hunger-strike began. Mr. Healy read further extracts from Mr. Hanna's address to the jury, which were in effect that deceased refused to make mail bags and talked continually to other prisoners and set the whole place at defiance. Those two irregularities were punishable irregularities. He was brought in due course before the Deputy-Governor for refusing to work. On the 17th September he was charged with idling. "He says he has nothing to say, and the offence for which he was punished was for idling." The sentence was forty of instructive books for seven and works. On the 17th September that was the only charge against Thomas Ashe, and that was the only recorded punishment against him. So on that date he became a punished prisoner, serving out his punishment for the offence for which he was charged—namely, refusing to work. From that hour to the present no other punishment, according to the Governor, was ever meted upon him. No other charge was ever made against him. No opportunity was given to him for answering any other charge.

The Lord Mayor's Interposition.

They had the valuable interposition of the Lord Mayor that morning, for which he (Mr. Healy) was quite unprepared. When he told them on Saturday, after this hideous deprivation had been inflicted on him, he was found in a naked cell, having lain there for two days and two nights without bed, bedding, or boots. Racked from want of sleep, and lying ungrudgingly in his cell, he lifted himself up in the presence of the Chief Magistrate and said, in the face of the Governor—"I don't know what I have done to deserve this." What pitious words! What did the Deputy-Governor say? That was the time for him to have made his case. Ashe was still alive: the earth of Glasnevin had not enclosed his coffin. That was the time for him to say, "You broke glass in the cell." He did not, for the glass was unbroken—no more than he (Mr. Healy) could be charged for the glass which was looking on the road outside. That was the time for him to have said, "You tore your comfortable blankets." That was the time for him to have said, "You smashed your downing plank-bed." No, he could not do it, and he made no such case until he had to defend the Prisons' Board by his oath in the box, which was all untrue—all untrue. Ashe had been guilty, according to the prison rules of refusing to work, and he was punished for it, and he was undergoing his punishment at that moment. Therefore, whoever inflicted these atrocities upon him, which were confessed to be such that never in the history of the prison system were they ever before inflicted upon a prisoner—especially upon a prisoner preliminary to forcible feeding—never before in history were they inflicted, and therefore an excuse had to be made on oath for these barbarities. And then they put the cart before the horse.

"The Death Warrant."

Then they invented the story of the smashing of the glass, of the pandemonium, of the tearing up of the prison clothing, and so on, and the rest of those foregoing precatious now come to light by the document which he called the death warrant. He was not making any fancy case, he must quote from Mr. Hanna. "Mr. Ashe was perfectly civil to Mr. Boland but he would not conform to the regulations. The whole matter was

under consideration when the hunger strike started." Now, he would be able to prove to them fortunately by the presence of the prisoners, whom they welcomed there as witnesses that the hunger strike—after their written demands had not been complied with—that the hunger strike was fixed for the 1st of October. There was no thought of hunger strike on the 20th Sept., and that the whole business was precipitated by this illegal order of the Prisons Board, who removed the stuff from their cells, and that it was a deliberate order of the Prisons Board. He had abstained all along from asking the question, who was the person from the

Prisons Board that this illegality was carried by. Who had they as their emissary there to see that the Governor did not shirk the cruelty. They despatched one of their acolytes called Metcalfe, and Metcalfe came from Mr. Max Green to see that the unfortunate Deputy-Governor did what he was illegally told to do, and which brought them there at an inquest to consider what brought Thomas Ashe to his grave. Mr. Ashe was brought to his grave by the order of Mr. Max Green, transmitted through Metcalfe to the Deputy-Governor of the prison. Counsel then took the jury through the various stages in the prison treatment of the deceased, who, he said, was dealt with in the "prescribed manner," namely, in accordance with the prison rules. Counsel made reference to the document signed "J. J. Liddy, Clare Brigade, Irish Republican Army," and said that although there was no evidence that Ashe had any knowledge of it, that document was saddled on him. The allegations of damage to Government property in the prison were next dealt with, and denied, and counsel pointed out that Ashe and the other prisoners who had done nothing except refuse to work had already been punished for that. In face of this, however, five warders came into the cell of Ashe, removed his bed, bedding, and clothing.

Attack on Mr. Max Green.

"I do not," Mr. Healy exclaimed, "make the Governor responsible for that. I make Mr. Max Green responsible. He broke the law." What hypocrisy it was in those who were continually inviting us to look up in reverence to British law. We are fondled, as it were, by the suckling mother of the British Constitution. And then the men who disregarded, outraged, blasphemed, and attacked the law were our hypocritical mentors who sent Ashe to prison, and when he asked for the benefit of the miserable protections which the prison code afforded, the person who directed their violation and that they should be broken and spat upon was Mr. Max Green, the head of the prison system in Ireland. What was the law as regards these prisoners? It was that not one man of them could have inflicted upon him any of the punishments for which Metcalfe bore the massive to be inflicted upon Thomas Ashe. The matter could have been brought before the Visiting Justices, and even they had no power to inflict the punishment meted out to Ashe. The Prisons Board had no such power; he Lord Lieutenant had no such power, and even the Competent Military Authority had no such power. It would require an Act of Parliament to undo the Statute that the only punishments to which these men were bound to mete the punishments—Ashe had no such. The punishments were part of the penal system which could not be departed from.

Home of Irish Cruelty.

The punishments that had been inflicted were devised in the home of Irish cruelty, Dublin Castle, and the prison officials were told to obey Dublin Castle and do obey the laws and subject Ashe and his comrades to cold, sleepless anguish for 50 hours. It had not been for the chance that of the Lord Mayor to the prison they would have had 40 corpses inside Mountjoy Prison. The details of these punishments were the admission of Thomas Ashe, and one of the

invented, and that was why counsel for the prison authorities was ordered to make the false and perjured case presented here of, first, the pandemonium, the wreckage of the furniture, the bed and bedding; then, the Governor driven to interfere; and that all after the prisoners had committed illegalities and commenced a hunger strike, as it was stated, without provocation. That was the case presented by as scrupulous and as careful a counsel as ever appeared before a jury. When the case of forcible feeding was being dealt with by Mr. Hanna, he made the case that Ashe was neither restrained or strapped. On each occasion he was actually strapped or restrained. Dr. Lowe bore out Mr. Hanna, but when he came the more candid warder he told them about the use of the straps. These instances were but parts of the false hood coming from the prison reservoir. Even in small details a false case was made. Mr. Hanna made the case, "If he felt the cold he was himself to blame." Was there a man amongst the jury, asked Mr. Healy, that he had not convinced that Ashe's bed, bedding, and boots had been illegally taken away, that in addition he should have, not a plank bed, but a mattress. Dr. Edgar Flinn had resigned the Prisons Board in the middle of this inquiry.

The Suffragettes.

It was strange if he approved of these proceedings after the evidence which Sir Thomas Myles gave as to the minute which he and Sir Christopher Nixon wrote some five or six years ago when the Suffragettes made their historic and successful protest. They, like Thomas Ashe, said they would not be treated as criminals. They won their fight, and the result of their struggle is that this year six million women will be added to the franchise roll. If they had remained in their bondoirs, opening their variety bags, and powdering their noses (laughter), the women to-day would not have got the vote. Whether or not they approved or disapproved of the Suffragettes or of Sinn Fein proceedings the death of Thomas Ashe had resulted in the men in prison who had not been rendered corpses, getting concessions which Mr. Max Green had sworn they would never get. The history of this case was the history of Ireland—slander your victim, denounce him, depict him as a law-breaker and then when he has died either on the scaffold or in prison, it is conceded that his demands are commonplace. Mr. Hanna had summed up the case for the prison authorities by saying that the doctor, knowing the condition to which the man had been reduced by voluntary starvation, immediately took steps to have him removed to hospital, which was done at 5 o'clock on the Tuesday afternoon; that no reasonable man could blame the prison officials; that the prisoners had set the law at defiance, and that they had only themselves to blame. Let me, added Mr. Healy, tell you the case which I shall present as the reality as distinct from the falsehood connected with the actions of Mr. Ashe.

The Battle of Ashbourne.

Counsel proceeded to give a sketch of the career of Ashe, and mentioned that he was recognised as a man of outstanding mentality. He had been in the rebellion with a body of men which the police magnified to 500; he withstood an attack of something like 90 or 100 policemen at Ashbourne and took police prisoners with all their guns and 5,000 cartridges. In consequence of that the bitterest feeling was entertained against him by the authorities. With a small number of men he had defeated forces more than twice his number and had taken several police barracks, he had blown up the Great Northern Railway, and apparently was a man of very bold, daring and resourceful nature. He

clearly shown to the prisoners, including Thomas Ashe. Counsel referred to the subsequent arrest of Mr. Ashe as a result of a speech he delivered at Ballinakea, Co. Longford, in July last, and was convicted before a Court-martial on the evidence of police without any shorthand note of the speech being produced. Counsel proceeded to deal at some length with the legal aspect of the charge of sedition which was brought against Mr. Ashe, and pointed out that a person so charged when convicted was entitled to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

The Prison Law.

Proceeding, counsel said he had asked Mr. Douglas when a warrant containing the sentence of a prisoner tried by court-martial reached the prison authorities was it usual to refer the matter to the Prisons Board, and he replied it was, that he had known it to be done. The penal law, at all events, must be construed strictly, and always against the Government and always intended in favour of the subject. When the prisons authorities were commended in cases of sedition to treat prisoners as first-class misdemeanants the prison authorities were bound so to do, and he said that enormity which occurred here. As he had told them, Mr. Ashe was a schoolmaster and an educated man. Those who were with him in the prison were also men of education. Mr. Joseph McDonagh, whose name was mentioned, and was a brother of the poor man who was shot by General Maxwell, was a Civil Servant; Mr. Austin Stack was a legal gentleman, and there was a number of other men of intelligence, and they knew the law. He believed, although he had not the opportunity of probing it, that Mr. Austin Stack, who was there on habeas corpus, was the real leader of this demand for treatment as first-class misdemeanants, and the case of the prisoners was—"We are law-abiding, give us the law; we demand, as Robert Emmet said, our rights." That was their crime, and it was their only crime, and yet Mr. Ashe, who was subjected to this abominable treatment, was described in certain newspapers as a suicide, a man who brought about his own death, and so forth.

THE GOVERNMENT DEFENDED.

Before I come to the next branch of my argument, continued counsel, and tell you the case which the prisoners made, and the way in which they were treated, I want to say one word. It is being pretended on the one side that Ashe was a suicide. It is being pretended in another quarter that he was the victim of the old gang in Dublin Castle, that he was the victim of Toryism and Unionism. Nothing of the kind. He was the victim of no Tory conspirator. He was the victim of the new gang who had taken the place—I may almost say usurped the sceptre and the throne of the stern, unbending Tories. He was the victim of those who owed their position to the pollution of political power, and I say, and I say it advisedly, that the Tory party as such, the Orange body as such, the Conservative Party as such, are no more responsible for the death of Thomas Ashe than I am. If that man has been persecuted and visited with hunger and cold and suffering and deprivation, his death lies not at the door of the old gang in Dublin Castle, but at the door of their incompetent successors and replacers.

On resuming after the luncheon hour, Mr. Healy, continuing his address, said in approaching the second branch of the case he wanted to point out that the jury were entitled to the fullest information which the law afforded touching the death of any subject of His Majesty, not partial information, not partisan information, not political information, but they were entitled to have every fact bearing on the death of the deceased. How was that met by those who were responsible for Ashe's death. When they commenced the inquiry the next of kin of Thomas Ashe—his father, his brothers and sisters—were in absolute ignorance of how their re-

lative met his death. The law required that in the case of a death under these conditions that it shall be investigated upon the oath of lawful men. And on the day the inquiry started nobody but the Prison authorities, the Prison officials, knew what brought that man to his death. We did not, said counsel. Consequently one would have expected, both for public satisfaction and family alleviation, that the Prison authorities would be frank and candid, and in a piquary sense open as to what act of theirs brought about this misfortune. Equally one would suppose some expression of regret, some sign or desire would be shown on the part of those responsible to atone for what happened. If he and his learned friend (Mr. Dixon) had not had some acquaintance with prison rules the facts would never have come forth. What was the course they took? As soon as the Prisons Board thought they were getting uncomfortably nearer them they directed their secretary to present the jury with the minute of the 9th October, 1917, which was signed by Mr. Max S. Green and directed the secretary (Mr. Douglas) not to produce at the inquest certain memos, letters and minutes of the Prisons Board.

Privilege.

That was done after Mr. Hanna had read to them one of the minutes for which privilege was claimed. He asked them what was privilege? Where was the privilege to conceal these? Where was the privilege to conceal responsibility? Was it to be an invention of the person impeached? Privilege is claimed on behalf of his Majesty for something connected with his service. He respectfully thought, where death and life were called in question, that no privilege could exist to screen any official from the disclosure that he was responsible for an illegal order. The invention of this doctrine of privilege, in a case like this, could not exist—at least, when those claiming privilege avail of it for their purpose, and the very minutes which they, in other respects, sought to conceal. There could not be such a thing as partial privilege—a privilege whereby as much of the minutes as help them could be disclosed, and as much of the minutes as hurt them kept back seemed to him to be repugnant to commonsense. They had an iron shutter and an opaque screen let down on what was going on in Mountjoy Prison and Dublin Castle and what was it that occurred in connection with the death of this man. After a long system of cross-examination and now lay the arm of the High Court itself, they had succeeded in elucidating the facts and throwing a little different light on this matter than that given through the representatives of the Prison office. What were the facts.

Status of Non-Criminals.

Mr. Ashe and the other prisoners claimed luxuries; they claimed no conveniences, but they were claiming a status—the status of non-criminals, and it was the claim for that status, even if put under the harshest condition of convicts. If a first-class misdemeanant was a person who was only fed once a day, and that the food was bread and water, they were claiming that status, because it was a non-criminal status. In other words, they only wanted to save their characters from stain, to have their honour and honesty from criminal contact. They said that they would not mix with the burglars and the thieves, and the other out-scourings and jail-birds of the City of Dublin. They were not jail-birds, they were not pickpockets; they were honest men. They might have different views of how Ireland should be governed. They (the authorities) might think that every shilling from this country should go across to London and be spent there, but these men thought that it should be spent at home. They might think that their first duty was to Russia, Serbia, or Montenegro, or the Cambril Islands, but these men thought their first duty was to their own land, that was the position they took up. The prison authorities had that claim put forward to them. But he did not see how it was brought in, in connection with Thomas Ashe. He said that he would not do work that criminals were called on to do. Thereby, he would brand himself as a criminal and in the recesses of his own heart, he would not endure that humiliation.

Counsel, in explaining various matters which led up to the difficulties between the prisoners and the authorities, said that a Belfast prisoner named Samuel Hearn, who was sentenced for refusing to admit the police to a Gaelic concert, went on hunger strike in Belfast and was brought to Dublin. A little device to annoy the prisoners was adopted by the Prison authorities namely that of changing the exercise hour. Hearn, on the afternoon of Wednesday, rang his bell at the usual hour, and demanded his exercise, but the warders said he had already had exercise at the changed hour. The origin of the trouble was the contemptible little irritation about the changing of the time of the exercise. At 10 o'clock on the Thursday morning something happened in the cells of these men. Mr. Metcalfe had been dispatched by Mr. Max Green with peremptory instructions to the Governor to assault the prisoners and inflict punishments unknown in the history of prison treatment. That was done before a whimper had occurred in the prison except the report on the Wednesday for the afternoon exercise. Being deprived of ordinary conveniences in their cells the prisoners stamped and battered on the floor and made noise to direct attention to their wrongs, but no attention was paid to them. The treatment to which they were subjected was a pre-conceived thing, done before anything had occurred on the Thursday. At ten o'clock on the morning the illegalities were committed by the prison officials and it was only at a quarter to twelve that the Visiting Justices met. Mr. Healy then made reference to the extract from the visiting book of the 20th September, and in reading from it came to a passage in which it was stated that the food was of the usual good quality.

Some of the prisoners in court laughed at this.

Special Set on Mr. Ashe.

Mr. Healy went on to say that a special set was made on Mr. Ashe. The strategy of Mr. Max Green was this, not to concede the legal demands of the prisoners, to get the criminal band removed from them, but to gamble his cruelties against their pluck. The Prisons Board made up their minds that the prisoners' pluck could not withstand the Board's cruelties, and they gambled for a victim. Counsel then drew a striking picture of Ashe either lying or standing on the cold floor of the cell in torture passing the miserable watches of the Friday night. It was not (counsel continued) until the Saturday that the Lord Mayor came unexpectedly like a ministering angel. He came and Sir John

Irwin also came, and Ashe was found a huddled wreck on the prison floor. There was no damage done in his cell. He asked why he was so treated, but the lips of the Governor and Deputy-Governor were sealed. Who sealed them? Mr. Max Green and the Prisons Board. The Lord Mayor and Sir John Irwin went to see Mr. Duke, and he seemed to be sympathetic, and Sir Bryan Mahon, to whom they also went, seemed sympathetic. It was not, however, until about eight o'clock on Saturday night when at least some human mind in Dublin Castle prevailed over that of Mr. Max Green, that the beds were restored to the prisoners.

WARDERS FLOURISHING BATONS.

One of the men would tell them that warders came to the cell flourishing batons. It was said that Thomas Ashe did not resist. Evidence would be given that he struggled so much that he couldn't be fed—that he burst his bonds which held him in the struggle; his ear was wrenched and bleeding; they thrust into his bloody nose an India rubber tube, and then his coughing and struggles overcame him, and he was sent back to the basement punishment cells, and had to lie on the cold floor in the cell from which he had emerged. On the Sunday morning, before Mass had begun, and after it had finished, he spoke to some of the prisoners and inquired with apprehension about this forcible feeding with which he was going to be inflicted, and

compassed or the cold and suffering that he had endured on the Thursday and Friday nights. All these facts were known to the Irish Government, who knew that the prisoners were fighting for a right to be treated, as the law allowed, as first-class misdemeanants. They claimed a status different to the band of a criminal. Mr. Max Green thought he would break Ashe's spirit, but he succeeded in breaking his heart. Counsel proceeded to say that Ashe was forcibly fed after being three days without food and two nights without sleep, and without a chair or a stool to sit on. Mr. Max Green was satisfied that he would quell and overcome the demand of these gallant 40 men. He (counsel) asked the jury to draw this conclusion—that apparently Dr. Dowdall got rather tired of the dirty work, for on the Monday he called in Dr. Cooke, of whom counsel said the prisoners spoke with kindness for his treatment. He (Mr. Healy) thought it would be admitted that in ordinary practice doctors do not now apply the stomach pump to prisoners or patients. On Tuesday Dr. Lowe was brought in. It was said that he (counsel) had been severe on him, but he did not wish to be severe on anybody. These men were entitled to competent doctoring, supposing there was no other resource except the application of the stomach pump. Counsel then referred to the passing of the Cat and Mouse Act, and asked why it had not been applied in Mountjoy. Why, he asked, was a different course taken in regard to Thomas Ashe, of Ashbourne, in the County of Meath? The answer is—Because he was Thomas Ashe, of Ashbourne, in the County of Meath.

The Forcible Feeding.

Was the deceased, counsel asked, a proper subject for the treatment he received on the day of his torture? Did they suppose that the operator was a competent operator? They were not told much about him, but he (the operator) himself stated that he was engaged at five guineas a week to do this job. The doctor sent round to the hospitals of Dublin to find out what butchers they could get for the dirty work at five guineas a week. They were able to man four pumps with four doctors—a doctor per pump. Dr. Lowe stated no constraint was used in regard to Thomas Ashe, and he understood Warder Watters indicated the same thing. It was only on Thursday last that the warder who brought the deceased from his cell upstairs told the jury that he was bound, and that morning Dr. Dowdall admitted that both Sunday and Monday he was similarly manacled.

The National Spirit of Ireland.

After describing the treatment that the deceased had received, and which he stated led to his death, Counsel asked by what chronometer, or thermometer or barometer, did the Government measure the National spirit of Ireland? "Why," he asked, "should Max Green try to do in the case of these forty men what Cromwell, in his day, failed to do in the case of their ancestors, and why should he seek to do it by the mean and contemptible devices which have been revealed in this case. They have added another blood spot to the Irish Calvary; they have added bloody footprint on the road on which Irish martyrs have trodden. Have they gained by it? No. Other nations, not merely our own, will read with horror, and will set it to the account to which it should properly belong—this terrible story of the death of Thomas Ashe. Other nations will read of it, and when they read it in times long yet to come they will be enheartened, and perhaps in their distress consoled by the story of the uncomplaining martyrdom of this humble schoolmaster. Schoolmaster! He has given us all a liberal education in how to endure discomfort, suffering, sleeplessness, pain, and sorrow, and to endure them uncomplainingly and without a murmur. Even those who inflicted the torture upon him must admit he made no reproach. But you whose function is to appraise the blame as to how this man met his untimely end, it is for you to so frame your verdict in accordance with the facts, in accordance

with truth, in accordance with the light of equity, that the race and nation and people to whom you belong may know that this man was no suicide, that this man was the victim of injustice and illegality, and if you in your wise conclusions find in accordance with the facts, sad as was the death of Thos. Ashe, he will at least have brought some measure of appeasement to the country which hangs upon your verdict.

At the conclusion of Mr. Healy's address there was loud applause in court.

Mr. Max Green as Witness.

Mr. Healy added that he would be able to present the whole of his witnesses to-morrow, and suggested that as it was past 4 o'clock, that they should adjourn until to-morrow.

The Coroner said that he would have to attend at the Richmond Hospital in the morning.

The Jury agreed that the inquest should be adjourned and resumed to-morrow at 2.30 o'clock.

Mr. Healy applied for a subpoena for the attendance of Mr. Max Green.

The Coroner granted the request.

Mr. Healy concluded his address at 3.50, and

The inquiry adjourned until 2.30 o'clock

When the court was constituted,

Warder McManus, Mountjoy Prison, was recalled, and examined by Mr. Healy. He stated that on Thursday last he left the Court before his deposition was finished, on the instructions of Mr. Hanna.

The last answer in your deposition states—I saw Dr. Kinsella forcibly feeding a prisoner. He was not there until after the 23rd September. Now, are you sure that is correct?—Yes, sir.

Had Dr. Lowe then left?—Well, I could not say.

Then it was after the death of Mr. Ashe that Dr. Kinsella was introduced to feed prisoners?—Yes.

Mr. Healy then brought the witness to the Tuesday when Mr. Ashe was fed for the last time, and asked him had he since Thursday last been speaking to anyone about what happened on that day.

"To none of my authorities," replied the witness.

I accept your statement. You told us Mr. Ashe

COUGHED VIOLENTLY

when the tube was placed in his throat?—Yes.

How long would you say that coughing continued?—A minute or two.

Was he strapped hands and legs at the time?—Yes.

Was he in a state of perspiration?—Well I do not think so, as far as I recollect.

What rest was he given before the tube was put down for the second time?—Soon after he stopped coughing.

Did he say anything?—He made some remark about the tube being put down the wrong passage, or something to that effect.

Can you recall his exact words?—I could not.

When he told the doctor he had put the tube down the wrong passage, what did Dr. Lowe say?—He said it was impossible, no such thing.

He contradicted the patient?—Yes.

Did Mr. Ashe reply to that contradiction?—No, I do not think so.

He was still bound?—Yes.

THE HANDS STRAPPED

Warder's Description of Feeding Operation

Had any pumping taken place at the first time he inserted the tube?—No.

When the patient got the tube in him, the second time was he able to speak?—I cannot say.

And he could make no signals with his hands?—He could.

I thought you said they were strapped?—Yes, but he could raise them up.

Where were you standing in reference to the patient—could you see his face?—Yes.

Did you see his lips go blue?—No, sir.

Did you see his hands go blue?—No.

Who spoke first when the tube was removed for the second time?—I think it was he.

What did he say?—He said he felt very weak.

Is that all?—That is all as far as I can recollect.

Had there been anything put into his mouth except the tube?—No.

You say you heard him say he was very weak. He said nothing else?—No.

Did he cough?—He vomited slightly some of the food.

After the vomiting did the cough return?—I think not, sir.

Was it after he vomited he said he felt very weak?—Yes.

Did Dr. Lowe do anything for him?—No.

Did you unbind him then?—Yes.

Was it after he vomited he was unbound?—Yes.

I want to put it to you, said counsel, that the poor fellow to explain the vomiting he made a remark. Think about it?—As far as I can recollect the only thing he said is what I have told you.

Did he say he vomited because the food had gone the wrong

way?—No, he did not use these words.

Or that he was afraid the food had got into his lungs?—No.

You never said to anybody he used those words?—Not to my knowledge; I did not say it.

Why were you in such a hurry to leave the chair on Thursday?—I was

NOT IN A HURRY.

Why did you leave the chair at all when I was approaching this question?—I asked Mr. Hanna, who was going out the door, would I leave.

Further questioned by Mr. Healy, he said that Dr. Dowdall took a statement from him, or took notes, on the evening Mr. Ashe died, and no further statement was taken except what he gave to counsel.

Warder P. J. Berry, in answer to Mr. Healy, said he was a warder over Mr. Ashe on the Sunday when he was first fed by Dr. Dowdall. No statement had been taken from him as to the evidence he would give at the inquest.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

What Ashe Said in Dr. Dowdall's Room

Witness further said that he had made no statement to anyone regarding the death of Mr. Ashe. He brought Mr. Ashe from his cell to Dr. Dowdall's operating room on the Sunday morning, assisted by Warder Hurley. They were both present when Dr. Dowdall fed Mr. Ashe that morning in Dr. Dowdall's room. Ashe was the first to speak. That was when he was bound.

What did he say?—He made reference to the French Revolution and to the guillotine, and asked where was the executioner.

Was he conveying that he was being treated like a prisoner during the French Revolution?—I think so. He further said that there were three warders present—Watters, Hurley, and witness.

What did Dr. Dowdall say?—He said, "Ashe, I want to speak to you as a sensible man."

What did Ashe reply?—Ashe replied, "How can I speak to you when you have me in this position."

What, then, did Dr. Dowdall say?—He said he would have the straps removed if Ashe would partake of food, but otherwise he had no choice in the matter.

What did Ashe reply?—He said he was sorry to see a doctor reducing a noble profession to the level of an executioner.

Did the doctor answer?—No; he asked him whether he would like to be artificially fed.

"Whether he would rather be roasted or boiled," interjected Mr. Healy.

"THE EXECUTIONER"

Warder's Account of What Ashe Said

Replying to other questions, witness said Dr. Dowdall told Ashe it would be easier for himself to have the feeding tube through the mouth than through the nose, and Ashe said he would have it through the mouth.

Mr. Healy—I put it that you have not told the whole conversation?

Witness replied that when he went to the cell he told Ashe that he was wanted for Dr. Dowdall. Ashe asked what he had done to deserve all this, and said also that he had told the same thing to the Lord Mayor the day before. It was when he got to the doctor's operating room that he asked where was

THE EXECUTIONER

Witness further stated that he had told all that had taken place in the doctor's presence.

Did he say any more?—Nothing in the doctor's presence.

Did he say anything to you when going away?—

He said: "This is a horrible ordeal to go through."

You put him back in his cell?—Yes.

Did you see any of the other prisoners forcibly fed?—Yes.

On the Sunday?—Yes, and also on the Saturday.

Were these prisoners from whose cells all utensils and bedding had been removed?—Not that I am aware of. I did not take part in the removal.

Witness proceeded to say that he saw where the articles were put into. They were put into a store-room at the end of the ward.

Mr. Healy—Did you learn how many cells were stripped?

Mr. Hanna objected and said surely that was not relevant.

In the course of discussion on the point Mr. Hanna mentioned that he had made

THIRTEEN PROTESTS

since the inquiry started.

The Coroner asked that the proceedings be allowed to continue.

Mr. Healy (to witness)—Where was the furniture, bed, and bedding of Mr. Thomas Ashe's cell transferred to?—To the end of the corridor.

Do you know the officials of the Prisons Board who presided over this removal?—I was not there when it was removed.

Is there a gentleman connected with the Prisons Board called Metcalfe?—Yes.

Did you see him in the prison on Thursday?—No.

Did you see anyone from the Prisons Board in the prison on Thursday?—No.

Mr. Max Green, chairman of the General Prisons Board, was the next witness called.

Dr. Wynne said he represented Mr. Green, and he would like to indicate Mr. Green's position.

Mr. Healy said he should be very slow to interfere with any professional friend in making a preliminary statement, but he thought the matter would only arise when he asked questions of an illegal character.

Dr. Wynne said the reason he intervened was to call attention to the practice that exists in matters of this kind. Mr. Green has been subpoenaed here as head of the Department known as the General Prisons Board.

Mr. Healy—It is a corporation.

Dr. Wynne said he presumed the object was to get from Mr. Green matters which could only have come to his knowledge in his capacity as head of the Department. It is not alleged he was at any time present in the prison, or has any first-hand knowledge of anything that happened. You, Mr. Coroner, have already ruled that all communications that passed between the prison authorities and Mr. Green were privileged.

It was well established by cases that he was not to be sworn. He comes into court by order of the Executive, and he has formed the opinion—and he is the judge in the matter—that it would be prejudicial to produce these documents in court. Mr. Healy seemed to controvert that position as a matter of law, and if he still held that view he (Dr. Wynne) would cite the authorities.

Mr. Green is the person who is to say whether documents should be produced or not. The moment he says it would be prejudicial to produce these documents, then the Court has no power over him.

Mr. Healy—What are the authorities?

Dr. Wynne referred to the judgment of the Lord Chief Baron in the case of Queen v. McCormack.

Dr. Wynne quoted the authorities on which he relied, and the Coroner asked Mr. Healy to reply to the point made.

Mr. Healy said the objection raised by Dr. Wynne had reference to communications between public officials in public affairs, which might well be privileged. But he had not yet asked Mr. Green anything, so that so far he was unscathed as far as the secrets of Dublin Castle were concerned.

Dr. Wynne said if Mr. Healy believed Mr. Green could give evidence on any material or relevant to the issue he was entitled to examine him:

but if Mr. Healy's object was merely to examine him on matters of which he had no first-hand knowledge, then he, on behalf of Mr. Green, claimed privilege.

The Coroner then asked Mr. Green to be sworn, which being done he was examined by Mr. Healy.

MR. MAX GREEN EXAMINED

Objection to a Question by Dr. Wynne

You are chairman of the Prisons Board?—Yes.

For how long?—It is 31 years since I was first appointed to the Prison service, and I was appointed chairman over five years ago. I was appointed to the Prisons Board in 1897 by Earl Cadogan.

On the 11th September did the deputy governor make a report to you in respect of Thomas Ashe?

Dr. Wynne—I object.

Mr. Healy—Here is the report put in by the Crown themselves.

Dr. Wynne said the document was there, and

EXPLAINED ITSELF.

The question being repeated, Mr. Max Green replied—

"I don't think it is in the King's interest to answer."

Mr. Healy—I presume you don't contradict the statement of the Deputy-Governor, that he had a conversation with him on the 11th September about Mr. Ashe?

Witness claimed privilege (laughter).

The Coroner asked those present not to put him to the necessity of having the court cleared, as he did not want to do it.

Dr. Wynne said he was glad the Coroner made that observation, for it was most unseemly that a witness should have his answer jeered at.

Mr. Healy then put to the witness a minute of the 12th September, signed by him in the course of which it was stated that the prisoner was to be warned as to the necessary consequences of persisting in disobeying the prison rules, and should he still persist he would be dealt with in the prescribed manner. Counsel asked witness if he made that minute.

Witness claimed privilege (laughter).

Dr. Wynne said he was glad the Coroner made that observation, for it was most unseemly that a witness should have his answer jeered at.

Mr. Healy submitted that it was an absurdity that Mr. Max Green, who directed that the minute was to be read to the prisoner, should be allowed to decline to answer.

(To witness)—Is the Governor of Mountjoy bound to carry out the prison rules?

Dr. Wynne objected that that was a pure question of law.

The question was not allowed.

Mr. Healy—Do you know of the prison rule which compels the Governor to enter in his book every punishment administered to a prisoner?

The question was objected to, and ruled out as privileged.

Mr. Healy—Is the Governor bound to enter in his book punishment administered to prisoners?

This question was also objected to, Mr. Wynne pointing out that the rules were there.

Mr. Healy then put another question as follows—

Did you give the Governor any order not sanctioned or warranted by the prison rules?

Dr. Wynne—I object.

Mr. Healy protested against the objection, and declared that no man could have a privilege

TO BREAK THE LAW.

Dr. Wynne claimed privilege, and said he advised the witness not to answer.

Mr. Healy said he would formally put the question, and if the witness declined to answer he would take that fact. The question was

whether the witness gave the Governor directions contrary to the prison rules, to remove the bed, bedding, bedclothes, sheets, and boots of the deceased Thomas Ashe.

Dr. Wynne—On my advice Mr. Green claims privilege.

The question was disallowed.

"SEEKING SHELTER"

Mr. Healy & the Prisons Board "Trench"

Mr. Healy—That sufficiently indicates the trench into which the Prisons Board seeks shelter, and, therefore, I won't pursue that line any further. Is there an official in the Prisons Board named Metcalfe?—Yes.

What is he, Mr. Green?—His official title is Controller of Industries.

As Controller of Industries has he any charge of prison stores?—That is part of his duty.

On Thursday, 29th, or Wednesday, 19th, was he despatched to Mountjoy Prison?

Dr. Wynne rose to object to the question, and Mr. Green simultaneously made the reply—

"There is not a word of truth in it."

Mr. Healy—Now we are getting on. You didn't despatch Mr. Metcalfe to Mountjoy Prison on the 20th September?—I did not.

Dr. Wynne—I beg your pardon, Mr. Green. You will kindly answer no questions until I make my objection.

The Coroner—He has answered it anyhow.

Mr. Healy next asked witness was there a prison official named Gamble, and Dr. Wynne asked was the

QUESTION RELEVANT.

The Coroner—How do I know until I hear the answer.

Mr. Healy repeated the question, adding—"Perhaps you will claim privilege for Gamble?"

"I do not know," said witness; "there may be, but I cannot say."

Is there a Mountjoy official called Gamble?—I could not tell you that.

Can you tell me whether the medium of communication between Mountjoy Prison and Dublin Castle was personal, telephone, or written?

Dr. Wynne objected.

Mr. Healy—Perhaps it was a hackney car (laughter).

Witness claimed privilege.

Mr. Healy—Might I ask this question—When was the telephone wire put into Mountjoy from the Castle?

Dr. Wynne objected.

Mr. Healy (resuming his seat)—My learned friend and his witness have covered themselves with glory (laughter). This concluded the examination of Mr. Green.

JURY AND A DOCUMENT

Mr. Healy and Mitchelstown Case

At this stage the jury retired for a few minutes, and on coming back to the court the foreman handed a typewritten document to the Coroner, who having glanced over it, handed it back again.

Mr. Healy then rose and said that in view of the Mitchelstown case, if a jury had a communication to make to the Coroner it would be advisable that it should be done in open court. He thought it was ruled in the Mitchelstown case, when communications passed between Coroner and jury which was not known to the outside world, that was a ground of objection. He had observed the jury made a communication to the Coroner, who handed it back to the jury. That might afterwards be a ground of objection, and he respectfully said that he preserved all his rights, not knowing what the jury's document was.

The Coroner said he received a document as mentioned by Mr. Healy from the foreman of the jury, and having read it found it was unsigned. Being a document unsigned, he took no notice of it and handed it back. If the jury wanted anything of that nature sent in it must be signed. He would take no notice of the document until there was a signature at the end of it.

Mr. Healy—I quite concur in that view. The Coroner—You understand my position.

Mr. Healy—I know it is perfectly correct.

MR. AUSTIN STACK

Gives His Address as 'Mountjoy Prison'

Mr. Austin Stack, who gave his address as "Mountjoy Prison," was not examined. Mr. Dixon asked the witness what he was arrested for.

Mr. Hanna objected to the question, saying it had nothing to do with the inquiry.

Mr. Dixon—I assume Mr. Hanna does not say he was illegally in custody. You are in custody, Mr. Stack, serving a sentence of court martial.

Mr. Hanna objected to this question.

The Coroner said he did not think the question was relevant.

Answering Mr. Dixon, the witness stated that on Wednesday, 19th, he got exercise at about half-past six or seven o'clock in the morning for an hour. That was before breakfast. He got exercise again at midday before dinner.

With the exception of some Belfast prisoners, asked counsel, were all the Defence of the Realm prisoners associated with ordinary criminals?—We were associated with the ordinary criminals up to that particular day.

Up to that Wednesday what were the usual hours for exercise?—Prior to the previous Saturday we had no exercise except on Sundays. We were working in the wood yard and got no exercise.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, he went on to say, they got exercise. On Monday and Tuesday they were at exercise after breakfast and after dinner. On Wednesday they got no exercise in the afternoon.

What happened then?—We waited for a little while, after the other prisoners had gone to work—the ordinary prisoners—and then when there was no appearance of our being allowed out we all commenced

RINGING OUR BELLS.

Did any warder answer the bells?—I believe a warder came to my door and asked me what I wanted. I said to go out to exercise. He answered he would see about it.

Did he see about it?—He did not come back to me any more. The bells were then tied up, or something else happened then. About an hour afterwards we were transferred to another part of the prison.

Further examined, witness said they get no exercise on Thursday before breakfast, neither had they got any after breakfast. They endeavoured to attract the attention of the warders by ringing the bells. A warder came to the cell of witness and he demanded exercise. The warder said, "Wait for a minute." Witness waited about ten minutes before he began to ring the bell again.

After the bells stopped ringing the warders did not come, and witness commenced to kick at his door with the heel of his boot.

What happened then?—I heard a lot of knocking of the same kind hammering at the doors. After that suddenly the door of his (witness's) cell was opened, and two or three warders came in besides Chief Warder Ryan, and they took away the bed, board, table, and stove, and locked up the cell again.

A short time afterwards the warders came back again and removed everything out of the cell, bed clothes, mattress, sanitary utensils, slippers, Bible, prayerbook—everything except his own personal clothing. About ten minutes or a quarter of an hour later the Deputy Chief Warder came back with

two other warders and took witness's boots by force.

Mr. Dixon—Would you describe the operation?

At first I resisted, and they were unable to take them off, but one of the warders kept on saying, "Why give so much trouble; it is to us you are causing it." Eventually I allowed one of them to take off my boots, while another pinned my arms, and the deputy chief warder looked on.

Proceeding, witness stated he was then left with his stockings on his feet, and he had to remain that way until near locking-up hour. That was probably about 4.30 o'clock, when he had occasion to go out of the cell, and he said to Warder Skelly, "Are you going to leave me without either boots or slippers." The warder then got him his slippers. At that time he had done nothing whatever in his cell. He had broken up glass in the cell window, and had not threatened to break anything. He had not threatened to damage bed or bedding.

Asked if he knew the Deputy Governor of the prison, witness said, "Oh, I know him well" (laughter).

The Deputy-Governor, in his evidence, stated that the pandemonium started before the furniture was taken out—There was a considerable amount of noise and hammering at the doors when the bells were tied up. If that is called pandemonium there certainly was.

As far as you know, was any furniture broken before it was taken out?

A THUNDERBOLT

Jury's Document Changes Course of Inquiry

POSITION OF MR. DUKE

At the sitting of the court,

The Foreman of the jury handed to the Coroner a typewritten document.

The Coroner—Gentlemen, the foreman has handed me a document which I propose reading, and which is signed by each member of the jury.

The Coroner's Clerk read the document as follows:—

Mr. Coroner, with regard to the refusal of the Prisons Board to allow Mr. Douglas to give evidence and to produce the books and documents which you sent for a few days ago, we are surprised that subordinate officials, civil servants, as the members of the Prisons Board appear to be, have power to prevent such evidence being given. We know nothing about law, but on reading the Prisons Act, it seems to us the Lord Lieutenant is head of the Prison Service in Ireland, and that he holds the same position in regard to prisons and prisoners in this country as the Home Secretary holds in England. He has the appointment and dismissal of the members of the Prisons Board, and nearly everything done by the Board is stated to be "subject to such directions as they may from time to time receive from the Lord Lieutenant." If this be so, is it not the head of the department, the Lord Lieutenant, or, in his absence, the Lords Justices, who should claim privilege for such evidence when the claim is made on the ground of public policy? We always understood that civil servants had nothing to do with questions of public policy. As jurors, we would like to hear Mr. Douglas's evidence, and also that of the members of the Prisons Board. We think also that the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary should be called to give evidence. The Lord Mayor and Sir John Irwin have stated that Mr. Duke was informed of how Mr. Ashe was being treated. We think the jury ought to know whether the Chief Secretary and Under-Secretary had power to get the treatment changed, and if so what exactly they did in the matter. It is through no desire on our part that we were summoned on this jury, and we are as anxious as anybody can be to get back to our business, but being concerned to ascertain the cause of Mr. Ashe's death we think it extraordinary that the Government having brought us jurors here for this purpose should now prevent us getting the information necessary to enable us to discharge our duty properly. There is another matter. If the Prisons Board had legal authority to prevent this evidence being given had they also power if they chose to use it to prevent the Deputy-Governor and the prison doctors and warders from giving evidence? If they had we would like it to be explained to us jurors why this distinction has been drawn between officials of the prison and the other officials who gave them their instructions."

(Here followed the signatures of the jurors.)

The Coroner—This document was handed to me last evening by the Foreman, but it was not signed at the time and I declined to take notice of it. Now it is handed to me this morning with the signatures of the 16 jurors to it.

Mr. Healy—That is to say the jury are unanimous.

The Foreman—Yes,

Mr. HEALY SURPRISED

Adjournment of Inquest Suggested

POSITION OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. Healy—That is a very weighty and important pronouncement, especially in view of the fact that I conceived* it to be my duty to call Mr. Max Green here yesterday, and give him the opportunity of his self-exculpation, if it were in his power to do so. I do not know what course the jury may take. I fully feel the weight of much that is stated in that document, which, of course, came upon me, I may say entirely by surprise. If the jurors desire an adjournment to give the heads of the Executive in Ireland an opportunity of either coming here, or being summoned here, I, at whatever sacrifice and time and trouble, seeing that they are entirely honorary and unpaid gentlemen, discharging a very difficult function—I am entirely in their hands. The fact that what the jury have in mind is this, that something may be said elsewhere in the course of next week as to the responsibility for actions that have been taken in this court. If so, and if the jury desire an adjournment with the view to illumination being cast on these matters in another place, I am entirely in their hands. I desire nothing, sir, as you know, and as the jury know, except the elucidation of the facts to the very roots. The jury have made a statement now which must call for the attention of the Government. It peremptorily

demands it, and its importance is due to the fact that it is a jury necessarily constituted by law by the police authorities of the city, and therefore it is a verdict of a mixed jury.

A Weighty Pronouncement.

It is not the verdict of the jury of one way of thought or one way of sectional feeling or one sect. It is the unanimous expression of a jury representing every sect and feeling and class and creed in the city of Dublin. It is the most weighty pronouncement that I have ever known to come from a jury engaged in a great public inquiry. It goes to the root of the matter, and I cannot but believe seeing the quarter from which it springs that his Majesty's Government will have regard to it. Knowing what I do, sir, of what public opinion is, I cannot but feel that his Majesty's Government will have regard to what is practically a unanimous verdict. It is the unanimous verdict and conclusion of the jury. Therefore if the jury are of opinion that you should adjourn this inquiry for a week I certainly will offer no objection. I do not know what position my learned friend (Mr. Hanna) takes up, but it seems to me that this verdict now, if I may so call it, is a verdict against the procedure adopted by the Prisons Board, and that it is one that calls for immediate attention either by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, or by the Executive Government of this country responsible to public opinion not only in Ireland, but to Great Britain and throughout the Empire.

PRIVILEGE CLAIM

Made by Order of the Government

STATEMENT BY MR. HANNA

Mr. Hanna said that as representing the Prison authorities, he would like to say that any communication made by juries in public court was a matter which must be considered and dealt with by the persons responsible. There was only one matter of fact in the statement put forward by the jury, which he wished to clear up. When Mr. Douglas was called he did not claim privilege on his own account. He did not as a subordinate official claim privilege. He produced a minute of the Prisons Board. This was the record directing that the documents which he was subpoenaed to produce were privileged.

ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE.

When Mr. Max Green was called yesterday, Dr. Wynne stated he claimed privilege by order of the Executive and this matter of privilege could only be claimed by a Minister of State, acting on the discretion of the Sovereign whose mountpiece he was in court. Therefore, it was necessary for Dr. Wynne to claim privilege yesterday.

He claimed privilege by order of the Executive, and that being so he (Mr. Hanna) thought it right to point out that the statement in the document handed in that this privilege was claimed by subordinate officials and not by a Minister of State was not exactly in accordance with the actual facts. Mr. Max Green and Mr. Douglas only claim privilege by order of their superiors in the Government of the country.

There was nothing else in the document which called for very much comment from him. It was a matter entirely for the Coroner as to whether he would adjourn the inquiry. It was not for him to say whether Mr. Max Green would welcome that attitude or not, or whether Mr. Boland would welcome it. The privilege being claimed by a Minister of State there was an end to the matter so far as the court was concerned. It was another matter whether the Coroner would direct an adjournment for the purpose of sending the communication to the Chief Secretary.

Probably your view, Mr. Coroner, concluded Mr. Hanna, is that it is a document which should have attention. Whether the Executive will acquiesce in the suggestion of the jury or not I am unable to say. It is not a matter for Mr. Max Green or Mr. Boland, it is entirely a matter for the Executive.

THE PRIVILEGE PLEA

Keeps Back Real Facts of the Case

Mr. Healy—I think my friend has fairly dealt with the position which, undoubtedly, now has become one of great and special gravity. I have never known a mixed jury, such as this is, to have arrived at such a pronouncement in relation to high matters of State. We, as advocates, have, so to speak, to face the position that the jury feel we have been unable to present to them the real facts of the case by reason of this magic plea of privilege interposed to prevent the exploration and elucidation of facts. That being so it suggests itself to me the duty is cast upon you as President of this Court, before further evidence is taken to forward that pronouncement immediately to the Executive authority responsible for having put forward this claim of privilege, and to forward it with, perhaps, your own view, in support or criticism, or in whatever sense you desire, of the recommendation of the jury. That being so, to take no further evidence, even the evidence of the prisoners who are here at some inconvenience to themselves, and, perhaps, to the prison authorities; in spite of that fact the jury having now practically declared that they cannot get out the whole truth no matter what evidence if that evidence is truncated, and if their functions are paralysed by the retention behind a safety curtain—an iron curtain—of

the real authors of the death of this unfortunate—this unhappy young man—an adjournment becomes absolutely essential, and it only remains to say the date you conceive that adjournment would be made to. I feel it is you and the jury who are paramount in this matter.

Mr. Hanna suggested that it would be quite possible for the Coroner to communicate this matter to the head of the Executive—he could communicate it to the Lord Lieutenant, and also to Mr. Duke by telegram. If that were done they might be able to resume on Monday, unless the course were followed as suggested by Mr. Healy, and the matter being further gone into in Parliament.

Mr. Healy and Mr. Duke's Views.

Mr. Healy said that taking it on Monday would omit from consideration the fact that Mr. Duke might take a wholly different view especially under pressure elsewhere on Tuesday from what had been taken here so far. The House of Commons was a place where public opinion prevailed. It was a fluid assembly in which English members gave their views, and that affected the judgment that was arrived at. He suggested that an adjournment should not take place which would not include the date when it was expected Irish affairs would be under consideration, and which would be from the English point of view, at any rate, if not from the Irish, the grand inquest of the nation. It would be futile to make an adjournment which would not embrace the date of the debate on Irish affairs next week. He thought the date of the adjournment ought not to be fixed now, but that it should be to such a date as the Coroner would issue a fresh mandate to the jury, assuming that no present dispersal of the jury would affect their functions by reason of the fact that a certain date was not fixed.

The Coroner pointed out that it was necessary to specify a date.

Mr. Healy then agreed that the adjournment must be specific, and he suggested that the Coroner should name a date.

CORONER'S DECISION

The Coroner said an application had been made to him by the jury which he could not disregard. It was unanimous, and he was bound to grant it. He inquired, however, if it would be possible, as they were there now to examine as many witnesses as possible, and then, later on, adjourn to a suitable day.

The Effect of the Document.

Mr. Healy put it to the Coroner that that would be to impair the effect of the document handed in by the jury. Supposing they had the prison authorities full exhibition of their documents it might be wholly unnecessary to call the witnesses who were present now. This was a document to the effect that the jury were unable to come to a decision without certain evidence. The evidence that he (counsel) could present now would be of a colourless class, and he could not go on with the inquiry until they knew what decision the Government would come to as to the unparalleled and momentous declaration of the jury.

Document and Note to Castle.

The Coroner remarked that the Chief Secretary is not in Ireland now, and he was thinking of sending the document with a note (which he would entrust to counsel) to the Castle now.

Mr. Hanna said if that course were adopted the Under Secretary could forward it by the usual means of communication to the Chief Secretary.

This course was agreed to by counsel on both sides, Mr. Hanna remarking that the Coroner need not trouble to submit to them the note which he would send with the document.

The jury then retired to consider the question of the adjournment, and on returning to court the foreman suggested Monday week, and said the jury were unanimous on the point.

This was agreed to, and it was left to the Coroner to send on the document to the Castle.

Onus on the Executive.

The Coroner said he purposed sending it on to Sir Wm. Byrne, Under-Secretary, with an accompanying note saying that the jury had desired him to do so. He added that by sending it to headquarters it would put the onus on the Executive and take it off the officials.

The inquiry was then adjourned till Monday week.



The Late Mr. Thos. Ashe.







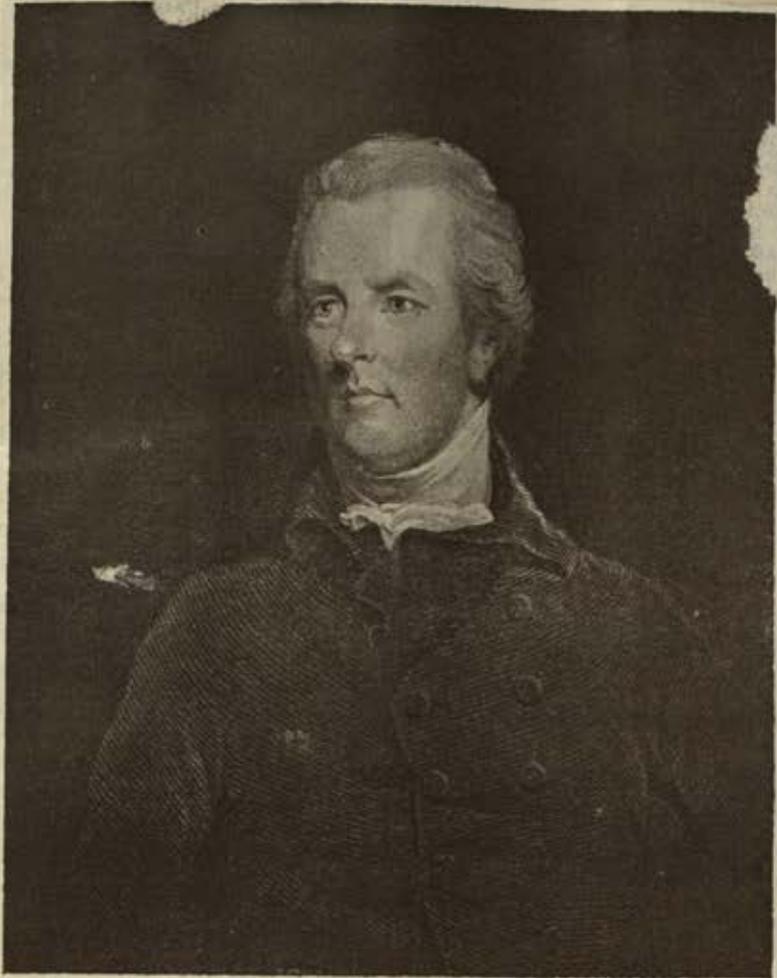




This remarkable photograph was taken at Dublin during the demolition of a house which was wrecked during the rebellion. A large amount of property will have to be pulled down altogether before building operations can be commenced. The total damage is estimated at £3,000,000.

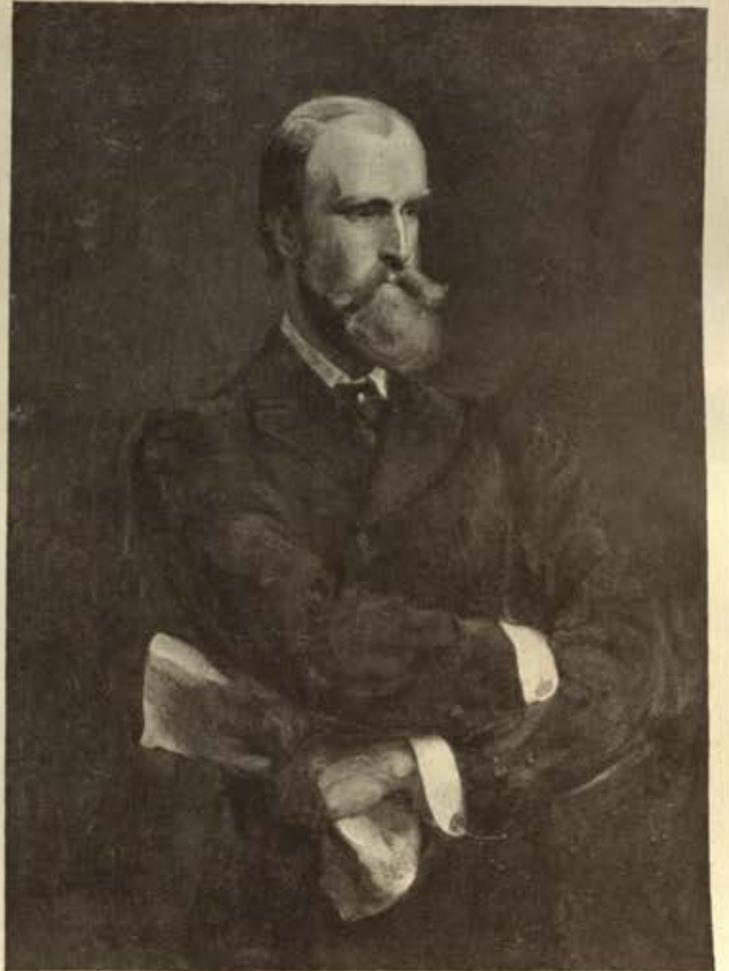






WILLIAM PITT.

Prime Minister of the Parliament of Great Britain, 1783-1801; 1804-1806.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL, M.P.

"I fight not for faction, but for freedom."



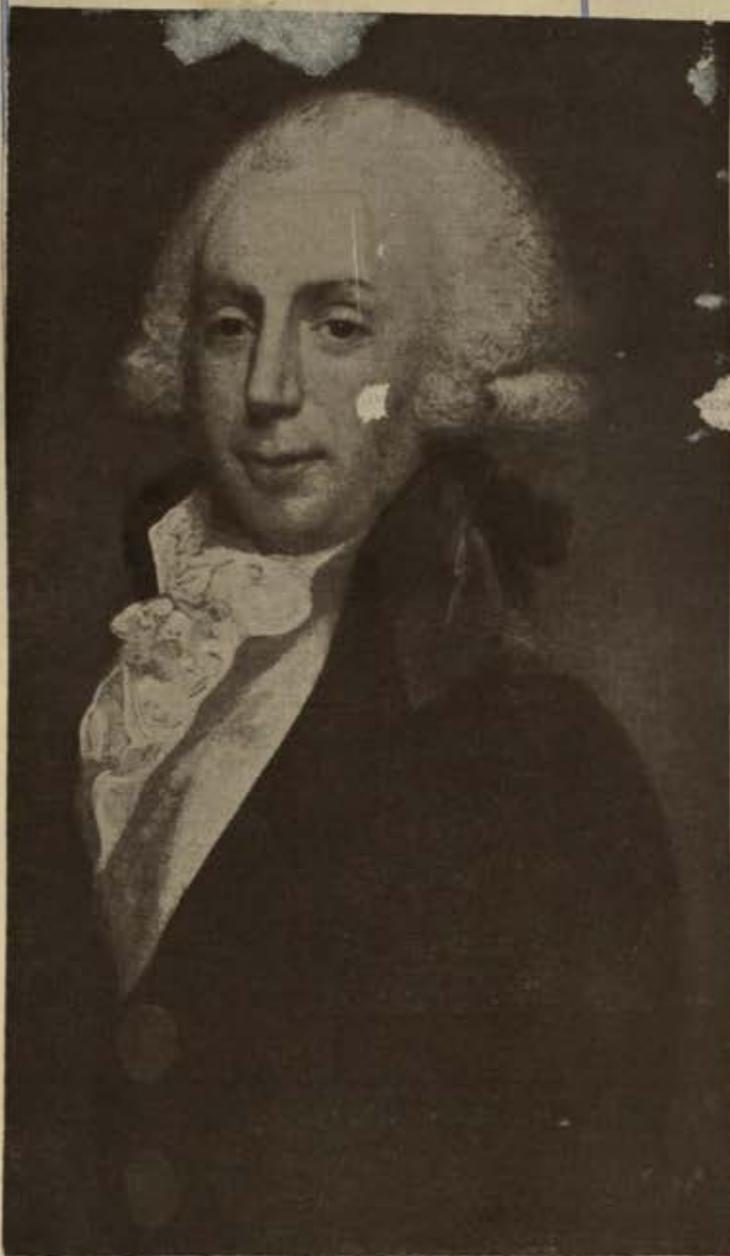
WILLIAM VINCENT WALLACE.

*The Waterford musician who composed "Maritana,"
"Lurline," and "The Amber Witch." Born 1812; died 1865.*

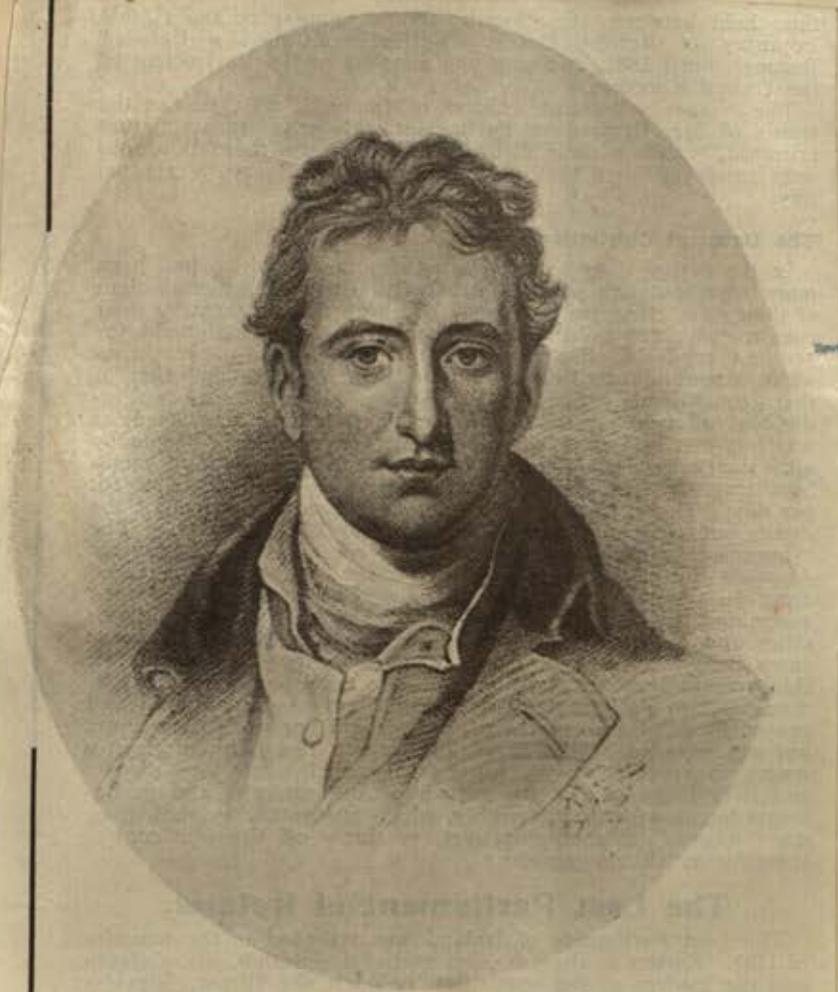


MICHAEL WILLIAM BALFE.

*The Dublin musician who composed "The Bohemian Girl,"
the most popular of his twenty-seven operas.
Born 1808; died 1870.*

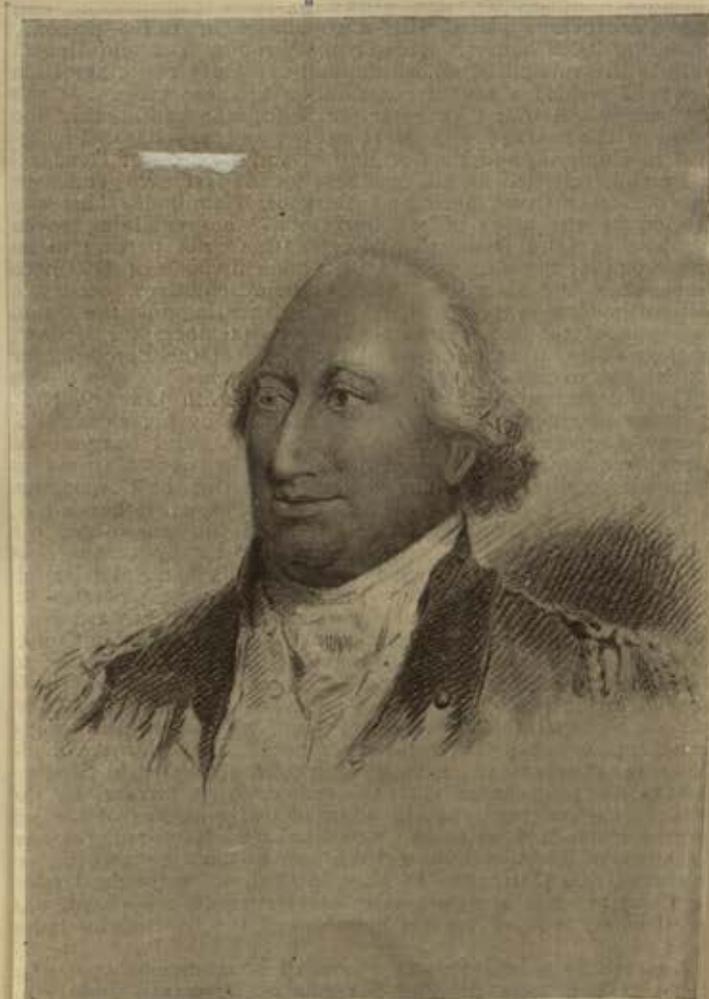
**JOHN FORBES.**

Burgess for Ratoath, Co. Meath, 1776-83, and for the County and Town of Drogheda, 1783-1796; Governor of the Bahamas, where Mr. Forbes died in 1797. Mr. Forbes was a distinguished member of Mr. Grattan's independent party and an indefatigable worker for the reform of the Parliament of Ireland. He drafted the Pension and Place Acts and forced both the measures through Parliament after eight years of great exertion. This portrait is reproduced from the painting in the possession of Mr. Arthur Forbes, Earlsvale, Cavan.



RT. HON. ROBERT STEWART, VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Knight of the Shire for Down County; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1798-1801. Conducted the Union operations under the Viceroy, Marquis Cornwallis. Viscount Castlereagh was the first Irishman to fill the office of Chief Secretary. "He is so very unlike an Irishman, I think he had a first claim to an exception in his favour."—Marquis Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, 20th November, 1798—"Cornwallis Correspondence," Vol. II., p. 441.



MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, THE UNION VICEROY.

Who organised the Union operations. Lord Cornwallis arrived in Dublin, 20th June, 1798, and, immediately the Rebellion was suppressed, began to prepare the way for the Measure of Union. His letters (Cornwallis Correspondence) teem with lamentations regarding the corruption of which he was the chief organiser in the years 1799-1800.



MERCHANTS' QUAY, CORK.
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THE SOUTH MALL, CORK.

HISTORIC FUNERAL PAGEANT.

IRELAND'S TRIBUTE
TO THE DEAD.

SPLENDID ORDER.

A RECORD DISPLAY IN
DUBLIN

MILITARY PRECISION; ARMS
CARRIED BY UNIFORMED
VOLUNTEERS

TRICOLOUR IN MOURNING
ON ALL SIDES

All Ireland joined yesterday in a magnificent and record tribute to Thomas Ashe, whose death under such tragic circumstances touched the heart of the country as nothing has in the present generation.

Despite the fact that no special train facilities were available, thousands flocked into Dublin from the most remote parts of the country, and besides the many tens of thousands of spectators lining the streets it is estimated that between 30,000 and 40,000 marched after the remains. These included uniformed Volunteers (those surrounding the hearse carrying rifles reversed), G.A.A. Clubs, with the forbidden woman; trades bodies, Gaelic League branches, National Teachers, postmen, women, girls and boys, many in picturesque costumes and uniforms, and all wearing the tricolour in crepe.

The long cortege took nearly an hour and a half to pass any given point at quick step, and over two hours when the many bands approaching the cemetery played funeral music. The whole spectacle was impressive and reverential in the highest degree, and one of the most notable features was the large body of priests who marched the entire distance.

A GENERAL SURVEY
OF THE DAY.

MEMORABLE SPECTACLE.

Considered from all points of view, the funeral procession was, perhaps, the most imposing and impressive sight ever witnessed in Dublin, notwithstanding the fact that it was principally confined to the residents of the city and county. As regards numbers, it certainly far exceeded the record of any of the great national demonstrations which took place in the metropolis for at least a generation. It is estimated that between 30,000 to 40,000 people marched in the procession alone, while many tens of thousands of spectators lined the streets from the starting point at the City Hall, Cork Hill, through the lengthy route to Glasnevin Cemetery.

Marching quickly, four deep, the processionists took close on an hour and a half to pass a given point. So perfect was the combinational order maintained throughout—which, incidentally, was a remarkable testimony to the organising ability of the Sinn Féiners—that the ranks never for a moment lost their cohesion. The contingents marched in close military formation, and when passing through the centre of the city, moved quickly march pace, the halts being few and brief.

TIME IN PASSING.

As it approached Glasnevin the congestion there necessitated a slackening of the marching pace, and consequently it took at least 2 hours to pass certain points on the route on the northern side of the city. This was the case, for instance, at Blackquiere Bridge.

What the numbers participating in the great procession would have reached had the sympathisers throughout the country been given facilities for travelling by excursion trains, may well be imagined. Many parts of the country, even the most remote parts, were, however, largely represented. These participants arrived by ordinary trains on Saturday or by those arriving yesterday morning. Kerry, the native place of the late Mr Ashe, was represented by contingents numbering close on 700. Longford sent an exceedingly large body, likewise Roscommon, Clare, and Kilkenny, all of which latter places have returned Sinn Féin members of Parliament. Westmeath, Limerick, Queen's Co., Kildare, Cork, Queenstown, Wexford, Nenagh, Thurles, and many other places sent big contingents.

NOTABLE FEATURE.

The great demonstration had many remarkable features that were not to be found in any of the previous great national gatherings in Ireland. The attendance of a body of clergymen numbering about 150, at the head of the procession, was, for instance, a unique feature. Never before at a similar public function did such a large number of Catholic clergymen assemble to pay public tribute to the memory of a fellow-countryman. Many of these travelled long distances.

Another remarkable feature was the presence of some thousands of young women and girls who, too, have prominently identified themselves with Sinn Féin, the attendance of a large section of Cumann na mBan in uniform costume being especially impressive. Youths, too, took part in large numbers, while the city trades and labour bodies turned out in strength of numbers seldom if ever before excelled in a public demonstration in the metropolis.

REGULATIONS SET AT NAUGHT.

It was remarkable that despite all recent military orders under the Defence of the Realm Act, drilling of contingents was carried out openly. Firearms and hurleys were borne, Volunteer and pipers' bands uniforms worn, Republican flags and bannerettes carried, and, in fact, all regulations transgressed regardless of the presence of the police. More remarkable still was the presence of a large firing party marching, in single file, on either side of the hearse with rifles reversed. About a dozen bands were present.

The tricolour was worn in some form or other by every person participating in the procession, as well as by most people amongst the spectators. Numerous flags, too, were displayed from houses along the route, in each instance draped in crepe.

The members of the Dublin Fire Brigade, which made a very fine display, also wore in conspicuous fashion the Sinn Féin colours draped with crepe. It is worthy of note, too, that a big section of the National Volunteers, those who had been followers of the Redmondite section, marched under the leadership of Col. Moore, and most of the contingent wore their uniforms.

SPLENDID ORDERLINESS.

The orderliness and respect displayed from start to finish by the immense gathering, processionists and spectators alike, was a striking and fitting tribute to the memory of the deceased. Thousands marched bareheaded, window blinds were drawn in most of the houses along the route, and a reverential silence and attitude were adopted by all. Numbers of soldiers, too, who were in the streets, watched the procession with keen interest and respect, but the military generally were confined to barracks.

After the concluding ceremony at Glasnevin the people left for the city, and the best of good order prevailed. The number of police on duty was comparatively small, and in no instance were their services called on.

MUSTER OF CONTINGENTS

From an early hour the main streets, especially those in the neighbourhood of the City Hall, presented an appearance of unusual stir and suppressed excitement. Through gathered to watch the batches of delegates and contingents assembling at the designated points. All incoming morning trains were crowded to the limit, and all the roads leading to the city were thronged by pedestrians (many of whom marched 20 or 30 miles) and every mode of vehicle—motor cars covered with dust after long journeys, cycles, carriages, outside cars, waggons and brakes, gigs, and traps—each fully laden.

By noon the various sections had lined up at the stations allotted to them. One of the largest contingents, the I.T.W. and Women Workers' Union, marching 8,000 strong, and in charge of Mr. T. Egan (President) took up its position at Essex and Exchange streets, facing Parliament St. Dublin trades bodies mustered 6,000 men at Wood quay and another 4,000 at Werburgh and Bride streets. The Irish Volunteers numbered about 9,000, and made a remarkably smart and imposing appearance, the majority of them being in complete uniform, and all marching in strict order and precision. National Volunteers (many in full uniform) assembled in Drury and Stephen streets, the best display in numbers being the followers of the "Officers' Committee." Major Cullen and Capt. Eckersley headed 140 N. Volunteers of the 3rd Dublin Batt.

CONTINGENTS' NUMBERS

The Inghinidhe na hEireann and Cumann na mBann furnished very large contingents, and their picturesque costumes added variety and colour to the scene. Other notable and large sections of the procession were—

The Fingal Batt. (1. Vols.); the Postmen's Federation (1,000, in charge of E. W. Mahon, M. J. Keogh, M. Smyth, E. J. and C. P. Kelly); the Irish National Foresters, with band (300 Costume and Lady members, in charge of Marshal Bro. Loran and Bro. Duffy, G.H.C.R.; with, in carriages, Bro. Hutchinson, Gen. Sec.; Bros. Kelly, E.C. Treas.; E. Quinn, H.C.R.; T. J. Brady, Trustee; P. J. Rooney, Ex. Committee); Dublin Schools Hurling and Football League (300 boys, 270 girls, in charge of S. O'Hanlon, G. Hughes, and N. Caffrey); C. J. Nickham N.A.G.A.C. Club (350, in charge of P. J. Walsh, Presdt.; T. L. Quane, and M. J. Drumgoole); P. O'Flanagan Sinn Fein Club, N. City Ward (200, in charge, J. Stanley, D. Lyden); Sean Connolly S.F. Club, Harbour Div. (400—F. Uahill; O'eahilly S.F. Club (500—W. Paul). Amongst the provincial delegates and contingents were:—Naul S.F. Club (100—C. Gillenan); Nenagh (120—45 in uniform—F. McGrath, W. Wholahan); Thurles (200—J. Cullane); Kildare (100—J. Fitzgerald, Newbridge); Blackrock (60); Wicklow (250); Wexford and Waterford (340); Tipperary (120); Kilkenny (200); Roscommon (180); Maryboro (50—M. Reistean); Armagh (20—F. Shortt, E. Donnelly); Limerick (40—Mackey); Edgeworthstown (50—Fenelon, Muttonson, O'Keefe); "Lewes" Prisoners (50—T. Hunter); Executive Sinn Fein, Wolfe Tone, National Aid, Council Comds Gnotha—Riordan, Kerry (two sections), 300 and 400—P. Cahill, B. Callaghan, Sinn (30—Cneir, Monson, Treacy, McCarthy, Nevin); West and Craughwell, 40—P. J. Piggott; Fernanagh, 20; Dunboyna, 100—E. Boylan, M. Dwyer; Dunshaughlin, 60—Sean Boylan, P. Blake; Drogheda, 300—P. Monahan, Dr. Bradley; Donier, 40—M. Reynolds; Dundalk, 230—F. Hughes, T.L.; Ardee, 40—W. Wren; Longford, 60—F. McGuinness, J.P.; M. P. Connolly, Co. Comdr., J. Ahearn; Bray, with Bpers' Band, and 250—Capt. Rochford, W. Forde; Shankill, 35; Dundrum, 45; Westmeath, Mullingar, Athlone, Moate, Eahan, Kildare, Castlepollard, 250—D. Bourke, P. Brett, T.C., E. Dunne, M. Carey, D.C., M. O'G. Maguire, B. Kelly, C. Wheehan, W. Murray, M. Kennedy, T. O'Herlihy; Nenagh, 50—F. McGrath, W. Houlihan; Thurles, 300—C. Cullane; Fermoy, 10—G. Power, U.D.C., J. Barry; Killarney Gaelic League, 20—Sean Casey, M. Spillane; Milltown (Kerry) A. F. Club, 25—Mrs. D. Sheehan; Lismore (Waterford), 10—Sean Dooley; Killybegs S. F. Club, 35—T. Horan, D. Fitzgerald; Ennis G. League, 15—J. Griffin; Dublin Trades Bodies—Executive Trades Council—J. Boyle (Treas.), W. O'Brien (Sec.), J. Farren (Treas.), J. Simmons, J. P. Dunne, J. Lawlor, O. Hynes, T. Parren, J. Bowes, T. M'Parren, T. Lawlor, T. Foran, E. Byrne, and T. Johnson respectively, Belfast. Bodine—Amalgamated Tailors, 1,000; Op. Farriers, 120; Op. Pasteurizers, 250; Op. Shipwrights, 100; Coachmakers, 40; Butchers, 165; Met. House Painters, 200; Wood-cutting Mechanists, 150; Corporation Labourers, Band, 800; N. E. Railworkers, 2,150; Amalgamated Carpenters, 1,500

Amalgamated Carpenters, 1,500; Bricklayers, 500; Brushmakers, 150; Amalgamated House and Ship Painters, 500; Bakers, 600; N. Union Clerks, 400; Grocers' Assistants' Association, 200.

HISTORIC CORTEGE.

IMPRESSIVE FUNERAL SCENES.

Thousands of people had an opportunity of witnessing the lying-in-state before the closing of the City Hall to the public at noon yesterday. From that hour up to the time of the removal of the remains only the relatives, immediate friends, and clergy remained in the Hall. Shortly after 1 o'clock the father, sister, brother, and other relatives of the deceased knelt in prayer beside the coffin, and wept silently, many of the onlookers being visibly moved. At 1.30 p.m. Father Kennedy, Dingle, recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish and the De Profundis. Those present included the Lord Mayor, Ald. Byrne, M.P.; Ald. Corrigan, and several clergymen.

The transferring of the wreaths from the City Hall to the hearse and a wagon provided for the surplus floral tributes took a considerable time, with the result that the start was delayed 20 minutes after the scheduled time. Six Lewes prisoners, in uniform, brought the coffin to the hearse, the clergy reciting the De Profundis during the removal. The Lord Mayor attended Miss Asha to a mourning coach.

MILES OF SPECTATORS.

The windows of the buildings in the vicinity, including the various municipal offices, were crowded. Lord Edward street offered accommodation for tremendous numbers of spectators, and afforded excellent points from which to view the movement of the enormous cortege, which, by the way, occupied exactly an hour and 20 minutes in passing this point at a quick step.

It was natural that there should be some delay at the start considering the vast proportions of the procession, which were such as to render handling and management an extremely difficult matter. It was about 10 minutes to 2 o'clock when the coffin was carried out and became first exposed to the view of the dense mass of people extending in all directions. All heads were uncovered while it was placed in the hearse.

GREAT BODY OF PRIESTS.

The open space in the vicinity of the Castle street entrance was principally occupied by priests, of whom about 150—young, middle-aged, and old—took part in the procession, walking immediately in front of the hearse. The Fianna and Volunteers who kept the approaches to the City Hall clear, took prompt measures to open the route between the compact masses of spectators just before the procession was ready to start, and they got every assistance from the marvellously orderly gathering that filled the streets. Police were here and there in groups, but they were merely lookers-on and were not called upon to operate among the crowd in any way.

Republican flags were naturally in evidence around, the tricolour having the additional hue of black, in token of mourning. A long line of carriages containing mourners followed the hearse. In one of the earlier carriages the Lord Mayor of Dublin was noticed, accompanied by his chaplain, his secretary (Mr. Foley, T.C.), and Ald. A. Byrne, M.P. Count Plunkett was in one almost immediately afterwards. Ladies were in the majority among the mourners. The Lusk pipes, in their striking costumes, formed the foremost musical combination in the line of march.

KILKENNY IN THE VAN.

Kilkenny was the first provincial contingent to display its locality in a bannerette borne in front. The crowd seemed almost inclined to give it a cheer, but held back, apparently under the impression that on such an impressive occasion cheering might be out of place. A moment or so afterwards, however, the silence was broken by a cheer, which had almost a startling effect, following the silence which had hitherto pervaded the gathering. The cheer was for the Dublin Fire Brigade. The men looked well in

their shining helmets, and bearing the implements of their life and property-saving functions. Lt. Myers was seated in front, and at the close of this section came the captain's gig, driven by Captain Purcell.

The next item of the procession was a prominent local one—namely, the St. James's Band, and, hereabouts, slow music commenced, rendering the march dead slow for some minutes. The brisk step was soon resumed, and the Kerry contingent came in for many complimentary comments.

MEMORIES OF EMMET.

The march continued through unbroken lines of spectators along High St. and Thomas St. In the latter thoroughfare, in the region of St. Catherine's Church, many heads were bared in recollection of the tragic associations of the spot. Dense crowds were encountered at Bridgefoot St., and down to the quays, along which the procession wended its solemn way amidst scenes similar to those already enacted at the earlier stages of the route.

It was a wise precaution to keep people off the Metal Bridge, which was closed, labelled "Dangerous," and guarded by stewards. A good and easy view of the entire spectacle presented by the procession was had by those who took up positions on the long stretch of quays terminating with Ormond quay and Bachelor's Walk, where the flags and banners could be seen waving for a considerable distance. Some of the largest of these were borne by Dublin trade societies.

COUNTRY CONTINGENTS.

Longford, Westmeath, and Castlepollard were among the numerous other country places which contributed to the display, and were indicated by cards. Women and girls connected with various bodies were also very numerous, and the latter portion of the procession contained strong representations of Sinn Fein Clubs. It was a little after 4 o'clock when the end of the column passed along Bachelor's Walk and reached O'Connell Bridge. The first of the procession reached the cemetery about this hour.

FROM O'CONNELL STREET

Early hour in the forenoon crowds gathered in O'Connell St. and adjoining thoroughfares. The vicinity of O'Connell Bridge was thronged at noon. It was noticeable that large numbers of those who took up positions earliest were country folk, many having come by road from distant districts in Co. Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, and Meath.

Remarkable and inspiring were the scenes witnessed in and around O'Connell St. prior to the muster at Cork Hill. In Beresford place the Citizen Army was marshalled to the number of several thousands. Drilling was carried on for some time before the contingent marched to the appointed place at Fade St.

The Great Northern trains brought immense numbers from Drogheda, Balbriggan, Skerries, Lusk, and other centres, and most of these formed in military order outside Amiens St. station and marched to the centre of the city. The precision and orderliness characterising the movements of the country contingents were a universal subject of admiration. They took up their allotted places with mathematical accuracy, and marched in splendid order to the cemetery.

LINED UP IN ORDER.

By 1 o'clock a dense crowd extended all the way from North Frederick street to O'Connell Bridge. Instinctively, the people lined up in positions which did not in the meantime interfere with the tram and vehicular traffic, and not the slightest complication occurred.

Dorset St., Upper and Lower, was almost impassable, and here, as well as elsewhere, the tricolour, draped in black, was prominently displayed from windows and other vantage points. It was also observed that the blinds in many houses were drawn in O'Connell St., Frederick St., Berkeley road, Philsborough, and Finglas road.

Precisely at 3 p.m. the advance guard of Irish Volunteers wheeled around from Beresford place into O'Connell St., and at this time the crowd on both sides of the

spacious thoroughfare, could be numbered by tens of thousands. The steady, martial tramp of the Volunteers, alone broke the prevailing stillness.

THE "SOLDIER'S SONG."

Impressive to a degree was the representation of priests, who were respectfully greeted. Heads were bared as the hearse moved slowly by, and numbers prayed audibly. A thrill went through the multitude as the St. James's Band, heading the Irish Volunteers, struck up "The Soldier's Song." Other bands following played various national airs, the contingents stepping out at a quick march. The Countess Markievicz, who headed companies of the Citizen Army, was cheered at various points en route. She was in the full Volunteer uniform, and carried a revolver in her belt. A number of Volunteer officers, also in uniform, were cheered.

THE MEN FROM KERRY.

Naturally, the men from Kerry attracted much attention. They were identified by a bannerette containing the inscription "Contingent from Kerry," and their splendid physique and fine comportment elicited murmurs of admiration, interspersed with cries of "Up, Kerry." One of the Kerry-men, who seemed to be close on 7 feet in height, and built like a Hercules, was the cynosure of all eyes. They were permitted to enter the cemetery immediately after the chief mourners.

A dramatic and touching scene was witnessed as the head of the procession reached the Mater Hospital. The two prisoners, Griffey and Barry, at present patients there, had their beds moved to a window from which they viewed the historic scene. Their presence became known, and the order "Eyes right" was given, and promptly obeyed. The hospital having been passed, the order "Eyes front" rang out, and the processionists moved on rapidly.

PASSING THE PRISON.

Mountjoy prison, which was heavily guarded, was passed in almost deathlike silence. At a later stage, when the band of the Irish National Foresters was passing the Mater Hospital, they played, with much impressiveness "The Memory of the Dead," while cheers were raised for Messrs. Griffey and Barry. The Mater was also the object of a regular demonstration on the return journey.

A crowd of stalwart Tipperary men marched, headed by a banner with the inscription, "We will not forget; we will never forgive. Remember Ashe."

The Longford Sinn Fein Clubs made a brave display, as did those from Westmeath, Roscommon, and other centres in the Midlands, North, South, and West.

A STRIKING SPECTACLE.

Particularly striking was the spectacle presented by the Trades bodies, who assembled in thousands, displaying beautiful banners draped with black. Nothing could be more picturesque and impressive than the muster of the girl scouts. Their attractive uniforms made them particularly prominent and their obvious earnestness and enthusiasm gripped the attention of the onlookers.

In the vicinity of Glasnevin enormous throngs had been gathered for many weary hours, and here, as elsewhere, the best of order prevailed. When Cross Guns Bridge was reached, the marching thousands slowed down occasionally to a funeral pace. The bands, which had been playing varied quick-step music up to now, changed to the solemn dirges of funeral marches, while the pipers played Irish lamentations.

MARCHING 2 1/2 HOURS.

As the hearse turned into Finglas road the congestion was such that the procession was obliged to move at a very slow pace. The cemetery gates were reached a few minutes before 4 o'clock—2 1/2 hours after the start from the City Hall. An idea of the immensity of the demonstration can be gathered from the fact that many of the bodies participating were unable to proceed further than Blessington St., and others were obliged to break up in the vicinity of Phibsborough and Cross Guns Bridge.

AT THE CEMETERY

The arrangements for the reception of the remains in the cemetery were a master-

piece of organisation. They were in the hands of 7 Companies of the 1st Batt. Irish Volunteers, under command of Vice-Commandant Thos. Byrne, Captains Balfe, M'Guirk, Flood, Levans, and Lieuts. Corless and Frank M'Cabe. From the front entrance of the cemetery down to the end of Finglas road cordons of Volunteers in charge of uniformed officers kept the thoroughfare clear before the arrival of the procession, and no one was allowed through save those who had street passes issued by the organisers.

From the main entrance gates to the Mortuary Chapel and on to the graveside the pathway was lined with young men on either side, and a circle was formed by another contingent around the grave, which is in the Fenian Plot next to that of the old Fenian chiefs, John O'Leary and James Stephens, while close by ate the graves of O'Donovan Rossa. The O'Rahilly, and Mrs. Thomas M'Donagh. The result of the elaborate system of organisation was that there was no overcrowding or crush of onlookers, and everything pertaining to the sad ceremony was a model of reverence and decorum.

THE REMAINS ARRIVE.

At 3.45 p.m. a bugle call at the main entrance told of the arrival of the remains, headed by the long line of clergy, regular and secular, the hearse passed in through the gates to the Mortuary Chapel through lines of Volunteers standing to attention. The coffin was removed inside and placed in front of the altar, where prayers were recited by the Rev. James Fitzgibbon, C.C., Arran quay. Then began the melancholy procession to the graveside. Down the pathway the coffin, covered over with the Republican flag, was borne on the shoulders of six uniformed men, while in front marched the clergy, chanting in chorus the solemn strains of Dies Irae.

A solemn silence pervaded the whole atmosphere when the last words had been chanted. Suddenly the music of the Dead March in "Saul" came floating in from the roadway outside, emphasising a hundred-fold the Nation's mourning, and arousing tender memories of poor Ashe.

COFFIN INSCRIPTION.

The coffin was placed on a green sward near the newly-made grave while the flag with which it was enshrouded was removed. Worked on the breastplate were two Republican flags, and there was the following inscription—

Tomás Ásár,
Coannairí, Co. Cluainne,
Caoifead an Áim Pobláca na hÉireann,
ogúlaing dar an rún a Síne
An 25th Lá de Meánóm Fómhair, 1917,
Aí 407 a 32 bliana ao.
I n-íosaíct na n-áom 50 páib a anam.

The relatives then walked slowly round the coffin. The father, a splendid type of the sturdy old Kerry peasant, could not restrain his grief, and when the remains were lowered into their last resting place, there was scarcely a dry eye present. The clergy then chanted the inspiring Misereere and Benediction, after which the grave was filled in. Father Fitzgibbon recited the De Profundis, and the responses were given by all the clergy present. A decade of the Rosary in Irish was next given by the Rev. Father Augustine, O.S.F.C., and practically all present replied in the vernacular.

"LAST POST" AND VOLLEYS.

Then came the last imposing tributes to the memory of the dead. The firing party consisting of 8 picked Volunteers, under Capt. Liam Clarke, took up a position 10 yards in front of the grave, and with military skill and precision fired three volleys over the freshly covered-in grave of their dead comrade. The "Last Post" was sounded by the trumpeters, and Vice-Commandant Michael Collins, standing at the head of the grave, speaking first in Irish and then in English, said—

"Nothing additional remains to be said. That volley which we have just heard is the only speech which it is proper to make above the grave of a dead Fenian."

Hundreds of tender hands next carried floral tributes to the grave, and in a few minutes the red earth was covered over with beautiful flowers. The waiting con-

tingents of Volunteers, headed by the Kerry corps, then poured into the cemetery four deep, passed around the grave, and out through the old gate near St. Teresa's road.

For over two hours pilgrims passed in and out near the graveside, and it was 6 o'clock when the cemetery gates were closed.

SOME OF THE WREATHS.

It would be impossible to give anything like a full list of wreaths, as close on 300 were placed on the grave. The following were among those who sent them—

The Socialist Party of Ireland; Limerick Clothing Factory Workers; "Benmore," Glenarr, Co. Antrim; Skerries Sinn Fein Club; Sheila and Josie Gunning; Tralee Gaelic League; Admirers in Arnett and Co.; the O'Harrabhans; Nurse Lily Byrne; Pupils of Corduff National School; Mrs. Dudley Edwards; Mrs. M'Inerney, Ennistymon; Coláiste Gnotha, Dorothy Hungerford, Luak I.N.V.; May M'Elcormey, Chreadington.

Volunteers, and Cumann na mBan, Tipperary; Cumann Eamonn Ceannit, Ath Cliath; the Dublin Sanitary Staff; Jim and Mrs. Clarke, Ballybunton; Cumann na mBan, Tralee; Dublin Brigade I.V.; Nurse Lily O'Byrne; Jas. and May O'Brien, Skibbereen; The O'Harranhan Sinn Fein Club, Baginbally; J. J. Byrne, F. Thornton; Thos. Walsh, Jas. Morrissey, M. Mervyn, J. J. Bourke, J. J. Deansington, fellow-prisoners at Lewes; I.V. Kiteely, Limerick; Pat Spoteas Sinn Fein Club, Ballybunton; Employee Municipal Workshops, Stanley St.; I.N. Volunteers; the O'Rahilly S.F. Club, Dublin; J. J. Walsh and Sisters; O'Rahilly Sinn Fein Club, Killanny, Co. Louth; Employees of Waggon and Sawmill Dept., Broadstone; Ballygigan; Aine Burntshebhac C. Ceannit; Pembroke St. Club, Tralee; Mr. and Mrs. Kinahan, Emerald Gem; Attendant Nurses and Trades Staff, Richmond Asylum; Muinntir ni Dalaigh Lurnnigh; Committee of the Irish Women's Franchise League; Clann na nGaothál Girl Scouts, I.A.A.; Coláiste Gnotha Coimhád na nGaothál; Flanna Saonpe; Mrs. Eamonn Ceannit and Ronan; Mr. and Mrs. J. D. M'Dermott; Officers and Men, 5th Batt.; the Logford Sinn Fein Club; Craobh na nÁine, Cill Áine; Maeve Cavanagh; Clann Colum; Craobh Sean Mae Diarmada i nBeal Feirde; Sheila and Joe Gunning; Ard Coláiste Sinn Fein; Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Moran; Mrs. MacInerney, Maura MacInerney, Sean MacInerney, Ennistymon; Muinntir Rinn Duir Mharbh Airgead; Cumann Annacht na nÉireann; Nelson Pillar, Mrs. M. W.; Ben Mor, Glewarr, Co. Antrim; Employee, Loco. Shop, M.G.W.E.; Lusk Company I.V.; Skerries Sinn Fein Club; A'Nebel Family; O'Chualcáit Coannairí Gaotháil i dTraigh U; Padraig and Mrs. Ashe, Co. Clare; A. Gully; Admirers, Arnett and Co.; An Irish Mother and Children; Mrs. Kilkelly and Mrs. Little; Na Flanna Saonpe; Nellie; Sean M'Garry; Michael Collins; Diarmuid Lynch; others from National Aid Office; 30 to 40 placed on grave; 40 wreaths made by Dublin Branches of Cumann na mBan; wreath from the Boys of St. Enda's; Sinn Fein Club, Granard; E. D. Cusack, Granard; Sinn Fein Club, Carlow.

THE CROWDS DISPERSE

The dispersal after the funeral was conducted with extraordinary regularity, and the enormous procession melted back again and merged in the most orderly manner into the crowds in the city. The contingents marched in squads, companies, and sections by many different routes—Old Phibsborough Rd., Botanic Ave., Iona Rd., Lindsay Rd., and Whitworth Rd.; suburban and outlying district sections went by N. C. Rd., and thence down to the Northern quays, or crossed the city via the routes above named, while N. Dublin contingents left by Finglas, Glasnevin, or Drumcondra. An imposing array of Irish Volunteers was drawn up in Parnell square at 7 p.m., when about 5,000 men of the 4 Dublin battalions were dismissed by their respective commandants.

A striking feature of the stupendous assembly in the city—processionists and spectators alike—was the admirable good order, sobriety, discipline, and most respectful bearing of all taking part. It was a worthy tribute of respect and honour to the memory of the dead, and a wonderful expression of the Irish people's sympathy with the comrades and relatives of Thomas Ashe.

The arrangements were carried out under the Executive of the Wolfe Tone Memorial Association, and the marshalling arrangements by the Brigade Council Dublin Battalion I. Volunteers.

GREAT MUSTER OF PRIESTS.

Nearly 200 priests walked in the procession, including—Rev. J. Hoey, P.P., Luak; Rev. M. Toher, C.C., do.; Rev. F. Farrington, Aughrim St.; Rev. T. Tuomey, Clonsilla; Rev. T. Foley, Maynooth; Rev. M. J. Ryan, Thurles; Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, do.; Rev. J. Rouchan, C.M., Phibsboro'; Rev. J. Cussen, do.; Rev. C. O'Connell, do.; Rev. P. O'Gorman, do.; Rev. F. O'Regan, do.; Rev. M. Gallagher, do.; Rev. M. M'Garry, do.; Fr. Augustine, O.S.F.C.; Fr. Albert, Fr. Stanislaus, Fr. Alaric, Fr. Sylvester, Fr. Alphonse, Fr. Mather, O.S.F.C., Cork; Fr. Dowling, O.P. (Prov.);

Fr. Hendley, O.P.; Fr. O'Neill, O.P.; Fr. Master-son, O.P.; Fr. Crofts, O.P., Drogheda; Fr. Lynch, O.F.M.; Rev. T. Harris, Kilmarney; Rev. J. Rosen, Millstreet; Rev. M. Scallan, P.P., Spa, Tralee; Rev. T. Lyne, Tralee; Rev. J. Kelly, C.M., Cork; Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J.; Rev. P. Connolly, S.J.; Rev. F. Gannon, S.J.; Rev. M. M'Grave, S.J.; Rev. J. J. Haman, S.J.; Rev. B. Meehan, C.M., Pres., Castleknock Coll.; Rev. F. Carroll, C.M., Drumcondra; Rev. Dr. Coffey, Maynooth College; Rev. P. Connolly, do.; Rev. Dr. Pierce, do.; Rev. Dr. Cleary, do.; Rev. Dr. Kinnah, do.; Rev. T. Fahy, do.; Rev. Dr. D'Alton, do.; Rev. E. O'Keane, do.; Rev. Dr. Browne, do.; Rev. M. M'Sweeney, do.; Rev. F. O'Novlan, Rev. T. J. Murray, Chaplain Mater Hospital; Rev. T. MacGrath, Lakelands; Rev. Dr. Maguire, All Hallows; Rev. J. St. Costello, SS. Michael and John's, Dublin; Rev. P. Flanagan, G.C., Blessard; Rev. H. Thornton, Harcourt St.; Rev. P. Gavin, Roebuck; Rev. P. O'Byrne, St. Michael's; Rev. E. O'Mahony, Blackrock; Rev. T. Manning, Rev. J. Kelly, Rathfriland; Rev. A. Farrell, Doneybrook; Rev. J. O'Toole, do.; Rev. P. M'Aniff, Hanelagh; Rev. M. V. Ronan, Pro-Cathedral; Rev. M. Curran, Archbishop's House; Rev. L. M. Gerhard, O.C.C.; Rev. J. M. Rabbitt, O.C.C.; Rev. D. B. Devlin, O.C.C.; Rev. M. Hickey, National University; Fr. O'Kane, Belfast; Rev. T. Horke, Galway; Rev. E. O'Rahilly (representing the Gaelic League of New York); Rev. J. O'Brien, Cork; Rev. F. O'Brien, O.D.C.; Rev. P. Deenihan, Kerry; Rev. T. Connor, do.; Rev. J. P. Kelly, Kilkenny; Rev. J. Russell, Rev. J. Devine, Achery; Rev. P. O'Billy, New York; Rev. J. O'Shea, Aghish; Rev. M. Fitzgerald, Ardert; Rev. T. Knapock, Westmeath; Rev. F. Casey, do.; Rev. F. Rody, Strokestown; Rev. T. Conners, Sacramento; Rev. F. Hayes, Newcastlewest; Rev. M. A. O'Shea, do.; Rev. M. J. Devine, Rev. F. Morrissey, Kildrillo; Rev. M. Traynor, Clonsilla; Rev. F. Keane, Sierra Leone; Rev. P. Millet, Rev. T. M'Gath, Clifton; Rev. F. Sweetman, O.S.B., Gorey; Rev. M. Kilty, D.D., P.P., Ballygar; Rev. C. P. O'Hea, O.S.A.; Rev. L. M. Hughes, O.S.A.; Rev. E. Flynn, Rathon; Rev. O. Kehoe, Camolin; Rev. R. Gault, Ferns; Rev. M. O'Flanagan, Crosthwaite; Rev. M. Kivichan, Oldtown; Rev. J. Ren, Limerick; Rev. W. P. Keane, C.S.Sp.; Rev. D. O'Brien, C.S.Sp., Trinidad; Rev. J. Smith, G.P., Mount Argus; Rev. J. O'Boyle, do.; Rev. D. Kane, do.; Rev. K. Farrell, do.; Rev. H. Wills, do.; Rev. B. Keegan, C.F., Sandymount; Rev. M. Blake, Glasnevin; Rev. J. Casey, Longford; Rev. M. O'Brien, Kill; Rev. J. James, Ballyna; Rev. M. O'Shea, Stillorgan; Rev. J. Donnelly, P.P., Ardara; Rev. M. Fahy, Gort; Rev. W. Macdonald, Dublin; Rev. F. Stafford, U.S.Sp.; Rev. P. A. Doyle, O.S.A.; Rev. J. Manning, Rev. P. Walsh, Kilkenny; Rev. J. Lynch, O.F.M.; Rev. M. O'Rourke, St. Agatha's, Dublin; Rev. J. M. Neary, do.; Rev. M. J. Ryan, Vice Pres., Thurles College; Rev. J. W. Gerrard, Capetown; Christian Brothers, Dublin; Carmelite Brothers, Clonsilla; Rev. Bro. Gabriel, O.P.

LIST OF CONTINGENTS.

The following is a list of places from where contingents were present and of public bodies represented:-
 Liverpool, Rosera, Armagh, Co. Armagh Executive Sinn Fein, Ballinasloe, Athlery, Clonsilla, Galway City, Longhura, Ardahan, Dunmore, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone; Newry, Meate, Whitecross, Co. Armagh; Fethard, Leit. Co. Board G.A.A.; Clara I.N.V., Trim S.F. Club, Scariff S.F., Nenacah Gaelic League, Tuamsoor Guardians, Kilmannagh, Dunmore S.F., Glanara, Kilmallock, Giltown, Co. Dublin, Castleknock, Ballinacree, Harold's Cross S.F., Donohill, Limerick Co. Co., Anthony Markey and M. O'Mahony, Kilmoran, Limerick City Sinn Fein, Kerry Co. Council (J. J. M'Keena, Chairman); Lilstow U.D.C. and Gaelic League; Mayo G.A.A. Co. Board; Ballinagh, Co. Tipperary, Dr. O'Dwyer S.F. Club and Cament Club, Limerick; Wicklow S.F. Club, Clonsilla, Galway City S.F. and Volunteers, Monaghan S.F. and L.V., Coonahilly, Enniskillen, and Kinscourt S.F., Crinis, Kilmock, Kilmore, Gerard, Dublin S.F., Leinster Co. Board G.A.A.; New Ross, Leit., Wexford, Enniscebray and Mullingar G.A.A.; Rathfriland S.F.; Belfast Cumann na mBan, Carlow Cumann na mBan, Strabane, Fohenah and Killoe (Ballinasloe), Belfast City S.F., Mountstuart, Mountmellick, Ashy, Carrigrohane, Queenstown (J. Campbell, Town Clerk); Cork Gaelic League, Tinnarony, Ardhanne, Dunashon (Co. Tipperary); Dungannon, Templetonny, Bagnalstown, Tarnahally (Co. Roscommon); Cork Cumann na mBan, Limerick I.N.V.O., Cork City I.V., Feneston, Carrickmacross, Cork Fianna, Kilmoney I.V., Club and Gaelic League, Kilmallock; Bruff, Legan, Carrickmonee Mullarshan and Longford; Cork Rural and Poor Law Boards, Coonahilly, Wexford, Oldcastle, Westport, N. Meath S.F. Executive; Ballycastle, Cullen (Co. Tipperary), Cortown, Tuam, Brures, Kenmare, Mountbrow S.F. Club, Roscommon, Teomraney, Co. Carlow, Kildare Co. Executive S.F.; Dooon Co. Limerick; Sligo S.F., Tralee, Dingle, Castlegrange, Ballinacree, Templetonny, Ardee, Dunboyne, Trim (250), Dunlary, Kiltroe, Edenderry, Sillagh, Oxington, L.V. 20, Castleknock, Whitecross, New Ross E.D.C. (Mr. J. Dunphy) and Guardians (J. J. Joyce and J. Cummins), Hospital, Bogis S.F., Cootshill, Tipperary Teachers (A. Mansfield, P. Lynch and T. Kelly), Callan S.F., Anacorthy (Co. Tipperary), Inchicore S.F., Ballinasloe S.F., Lusk Cumann na mBan, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra (150); Galtee I.V., Ballymore, F.C. and S.F.C., Dublin District I.N.V. Derry S.F.C. and I.V.C., Tallon, Carrickmacross S.F.C. and Guardians (M. Hickey, Clerk), Clonsilla-Guardians, Meath, Malacky and Lough and S.F., Castlebar S.F.C., J. J. O'Connell, U.D.C., Ballinacree S.F.C., Moolish, Strabane, Dublin Evicted Tenants Association.

THE RELATIVES.

The relatives present at funeral were:-Gregory Ashe (father); Mrs. Devane, Hannah and Nora Ashe (sisters); John Ashe (brother); M. Devane (brother-in-law); James Ashe (uncle); Rev. M. Scallan, Rev. T. Lyne, Rev. J. Kennedy, Mr. O'Flaherty, Mrs. Murphy, Matreud Ashe, Blainna Ashe, Marzusa Ashe (Thouless), Elsie A. Griffin,

Kia Griffin, Ailie Gray, James Cowley, Kate O'Sullivan, Margaret M'Donnell, B.A., Mrs. Guinness (Dublin), Rita Devane, Maggie Devane, Katie M. Griffin, Padraig Scott and Mat Ashe, James and Bob Ashe, Tom Ashe, M. Griffin, George M'Donnell, M. and Padraig Devane, V. J. Griffin, Tom Moriarty, Jas. Kavanagh, Pat and Tom Griffin, Tom, Jack and John Kennedy, T. J. Lyne, Jas. O'Connor, P. O'Sullivan, P. and Jas. Casey, Tim Brennan, Dr. and Mr. M'Donnell, Tom, John and M. Sheehy, P. Neilgan, P. Barrett, Maurice Kennedy (cousin).

THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

It would be impossible to give anything like a full list of public men present. They included:-
 The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Count Plunkett, J. Gimnel, J. M'Guinness, W. Cochrane, T.C., A.D., Byrne, M.P., A.D. T. Kelly and J. J. Kelly, John Foley, T.C., S. T. O'Kelly, T.C., and Corrigan, F. M'Guinness, U.D.C., Longford, P. Flanagan, P.L.G., Nenagh; M. O'Connell, U.D.C., do.; J. E. Connolly, Town Clerk, Drogheda; J. M'Gee, P.L.G., Ardee; Martin O'Dwyer, U.D.C., Dungannon; J. H. O'Donnell, T. Deane, U.D.C., Tralee; J. M. O'Connell, U.D.C., do.; T. Boyle, President, Dublin Trades' Council; J. Farran, Treas.; Wm. O'Brien, Sec.; E. T. Keane, Editor "Kilkenny People"; G. C. Nolan, Editor "Kerryman"; A. Blackey, G.C., Limerick; P. De Loughrey, Sec., Kilkenny; M. Loughrey, U.D.C., Tralee; J. Lawlor, Sec., Tralee; Harbour Commissioners; Dr. Quinn, Tralee; H. Spring, R.D.C., do.; T. Gurtin, Cork; W. Crawford, D.C., Ballylanders; Dr. Dillon, Dublin; E. Douglas, solr.; U. Garra Dally, Dr. Kathleen Lynn, P. J. Rooney, Editor "Foresters Journal".

The following were amongst the Lower Prisoners present:-Capt. P. Fahy, Messrs. James Hughes, Sean R. Birmingham, D.C., R. King, P. S. Dogia, T.C.; H. O'Hanrahan, J. Fleming, J. MacDonnagh, M.P., John MacNeill, J. McArdie, Prof. M. de Lacy, James Dempsey, V. Roche, W. O'Dea, James Brennan, F. and J. Lawless, James and John Wilson, P. Kelly, W. Meehan, T. Norton, T. Peppard, D. Lynch, P. O'Connor, T. Hunter, E. Duggan, M. Tobin, G. Crofts, J. Downey, J. J. Reid, J. P. Galligan, M. Scully, Sean M'Garry, Dermot Lynch, Con Collins, Michael Fleming, P. Kelly, T. Brogan, Castlegrange; Denis O'Callaghan.

The members of the National Aid Executive present included:-Mrs. T. J. Clarke, Mrs. Pears, Mrs. O'Doherty, Seoras Nic Matha, Mamma, Miss O'Rahilly, Miss O'Hanrahan, P. Keohane, P. J. Allan, P. Bolton, T. J. O'Connell, John M'Donagh, Allan, P. Bolton, T. J. O'Connell, J. E. O'Carroll, J. J. John Murphy, D. O'Hegarty, L. E. O'Carroll, J. J. Kelly, John O'Connell, Wm. O'Brien, T. Farran, A.D., Corrigan, Dr. Mat Russell, and Dr. P. S. Birmingham, Wolfe Tone Memorial Committee:-Messrs. B. M'Garry, D. Lynch, S. O'Connell, M. O'Connell, G. Collins, Jas. Stritch, J. E. Reynolds, M. Sinter.

Comite Gnotha, Comradh na Gaeligh:-Sean O'Connell, Vice-Pres., Maire Ní Chinnéid, M.A.; Thomas O'Muirghaigh, H.L.; Liam O'Brian, M.A.; Deora Frinisco, Sean Sheamona, Seamus O'Broghain, O'Connell, T.C., Gen. Sec.; Padraig O'Broghain; Peadar O'Hanrahan; Seamus O'Callaghan; Sean Mac Coluige.

Irish National Foresters:-Dublin District officials present:-Messrs. T. J. Lown, Chairman; S. J. Murphy, Sec.; Dr. Gleeson, T. Morris, P. Doonan, The branches represented were:-A. M. Sullivan, Sons of St. Patrick, Owen Roe O'Neill, Independent, Dr. Crooks, Bunsburb, Father Tom Burke, Patrick Barnfield, John Redmond, Round Tower, John Dillon, Billy Byrne, Old Guard, Father Wall, Michael Dwyer, St. Paul and Ocean Star, Napper Tandy, St. Columbkille.

The Sign Fein Executive was represented (among others mentioned elsewhere) by:-Sean Breen, Chas. Murphy, Joseph Murray, J. J. Scallan, Mrs. Eamonn O'Connell, Mrs. Wyea Furber, Mrs. Plunkett, Sean P. O'Connell, Padraig O'Connell, Gen. Sec.; James O'Connell, Liam Clarke, Eamonn Price, Joseph Whelan, Cathal Brugha, J. J. O'Kelly ("Scott"), Aid. Theo. Kelly.

The A.O.H. (Irish-American Alliance) was represented by Messrs. M. J. Pender, Past Nat. Pres., and J. J. Sullivan, Nat. Sec., A.O.H., and R. M. Clarke, Bette, Montana, representing A.O.H. in America. Delegates were also present from Kerry, Cork, Louth, Derry, Antrim, Londond, Roscommon, etc.

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

The Most Rev. Dr. Walsh wrote as follows to the Lord Mayor:-
 "I feel it a duty to take part in the public protest that will find expression in the funeral. Kindly say to what place I should send my car, so that it can most conveniently find its place in the procession."

Messages of condolence were received from, amongst others:-FitzGerald, Ardert; Father O'Mahony, Blackrock Coll.; Thos. Scully, Drumcondra; Miss Heffernan, N. O. Road, Dublin; Cumann na mBan, Carlow; Kibhlin Club; David Sandymount; Cappamore Sinn Fein Club; Kent, Cork; M. Sheehy, Clongues Wood Coll.; Father Hill, Tralee; E. Markey, Berr; M. O'Connell, Carlow; O'Mulholland, Limerick; Geraldine and Annie Leahy, Limerick; Limerick Teachers' Association; J. J. O'Donnell, Tralee; M. Sheehy, Carrow; P. Power and Family, Rock St., Tralee; P. O'Connor, Edgeworthstown; Father Broen, Millstreet; Kathleen Cronin, Ardert; Daly, Limerick; Cumann na mBan, Tipperary; M. Griffin, Lilstow; Avoca Sinn Fein; Alice Gaffney and Madge Brassil, Bradford; J. O'Neill, Chairman Co. Tipperary Gaelic League; Lee, Limerick; the National Aid Association.

INCIDENTS OF THE DAY.

The carriages numbered 32.
 The Lady Foresters made a fine show.
 Many women spectators wept as the hearse passed.
 Several of the city church bells were tolled as the cortege passed.
 Mr. J. M'Guinness, in Volunteer uniform, marched in the procession.
 Youths were seen beside the elephant.

BISHOP'S PROTEST

Dr. Fogarty and the Ashe Tragedy

"HEARTLESS TORTURERS"

What the Triumph of English Culture Means

The following appears in to-day's "Freeman":—

Dear Sir—Permit me to thank you in your columns for your worthy protest against what I cannot otherwise designate than the slow killing of poor Thomas Ashe.

It is horrible that the country has to stand silently by listening to the moans of the decent young Irish boys who are being slowly done to death behind the walls of Mountjoy Prison by brutal tyrants; or to see them thrown in their last gasp out to die like dogs outside the jail door.

They may die as poor Thomas Ashe has died, but with other results than Dublin Castle has dreamed of. Their deaths will sanctify them in the memory of Ireland and surround their heartless torturers with indistinguishable hatred and ignominy.

This is the sort of cruelty we were accustomed to hear of as possible only in the ancient Bastille, or the dungeons of Naples, or the black prisons of Russia; but as altogether impossible under English rule. We have no need to wait for the future to inform us; the world sees already in these hideous atrocities what the triumph of English culture means for small nationalities.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

* M. FOGARTY,
Bishop of Killaloe.

body (see.) read a letter from the Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, who wrote:—

"Dear Mr. Hogan—I cannot come to your meeting, but I join with you and the people in giving a warm welcome to the brave and honourable representative of East Clare, Eamonn De Valera. He stands for the honest policy of Irish independence which should have behind it, and, please God, will soon have behind it, the whole manhood of Ireland, both North and South. Had we that acknowledged right of every nationality and were we free from all intermeddling in our national affairs by English Cabinets, who have made such a mess of their own big business, the country would not be convulsed as it is now by the horrors of Mountjoy Prison, and the death of poor Thomas Ashe, to whose persecuted soul may the good God show eternal mercy. At this moment not one, but several, young men from Clare are undergoing the same in the same degrading dungeons, and for what crime?"

"THE LEVEL OF JAIL-BIRDS."

"Had they wronged or injured any man or menaced public peace in any way? No; but they had been openly drilling with no thought of injury or insult to any man, and for so doing they are arrested—some of them, I am told, mere lads of 17 years—and thrust into prisons and degraded to the level of jail-birds, and because their manly spirits preferred death to degradations of this kind we have the hunger-strike and forcible feeding, with all its disgusting episodes. The whole procedure is, I presume to say, a disgrace to civilisation. Government and public order is impossible in a community when young people are tyrannised over as they are now in Clare by petty officials because they have the audacity to elect Eamonn De Valera as their sterling representative. Wishing your meeting and your efforts for Irish freedom every success and the blessing of God."



A diary.

Sunday Apr. 30th. :- Surrender order read and executed 1 pm.

From Sunday Apr. 30th 2 pm until Tues. May 2nd.

(Monday May 1st) detained at Ballsbridge.

Tuesday May 2nd. taken to Richmond Barracks Detention Cells until Friday morning May 5th.

{ Wednesday } 3rd.
{ Thursday } 4th. at Richmond Bks.

Friday, May 5th to Saturday Afternoon May 6th in Gymnasium Richmond Bks.

Saturday May 6th to Monday, May 8th in Room 4 L Block Richmond Bks.

(Sunday May 7th) Room 4 L Block Richmond Bks

Monday, May 8th 9.45 Trial ordered. with Ashe & Lawless's Dr. Hayes + others.

2 pm. trial took place.

Monday May 8th (Evening) taken to Kilmainham to cell No. 59.

Tuesday May 9th sentenced to death

Thursday May 11th. sentence commuted to Penal Servitude

The notice of Surrender was signed by P.H. Pearse on 29th of April 1916 (Sat.) at 3.45 P.M.

were muffled the Realm prisoners were taken from the hall in which they were and brought together into one wing of the prison. When witness' bell was muffled he started to kick the door. There was no explanation as to why they did not get the ordinary exercise on Thurs.

Mr. Healy here read the following extract from the Chief Secretary's speech:—"It would be pernicious for the Government to interfere to aggravate the sentences on prisoners; they interfered in no way." Was there, asked counsel, interference with the prison rules by some authority?—Exercise is supposed to be given daily, and on the Thurs. morning we did not get it.

Replying to questions as to his subsequent treatment, witness said that three or four warders came into his cell, took out the bed board, table and stool, and closed the door. The bedding was not taken at that time. About ten minutes later the warders came back and removed the bed-clothes, cell utensils, and everything except his private property. They removed the card containing the prison rules.

Mr. Healy—That is, that you would get no treatment in accordance with the prison rules—you were treated as an outlaw.

DEPUTY-GOVERNOR'S "POOH,POOH!"

Witness described his resistance to an attempt of warders to remove his boots; the warders' catching hold of his arms and left leg and lifting him from the ground, and the ultimate removal of the footwear. Canvas slippers were brought. He was without boots, clothing, or bed on Thurs. and Fri. and up to 7 or 8 o'clock on Sat. evening. They had no exercise from the Wed. until the following Sun. week.

Mr. Healy—Am I right in saying that the application in Sept., to which the Chief Secretary refers, that that was refused?—When I went to make my claim the Deputy-Governor pooh-pooched the idea.

Did he tell you, as Mr. Duke suggests, that it was under consideration? No.

And there is no foundation for the statement that you organised a prison mutiny or resorted to some kind of thing as when you were in Lewes Jail?—Not until after we were deprived of our bedclothes and until our cells were stripped.

On the Sat. morning witness asked the Deputy Governor who was responsible for the removal of the bedding, and the answer he got was, "Don't be making a fool of yourself." On Thurs. night, after the removal of his bedding, he was not able to lie down for more than half an hour at a time, having to get up and run around his cell to keep the blood in circulation. The only thing he broke in his cell was a lamp-hole, and he also shook an iron bar between his cell and Mr. Stack's in order that he might be able to communicate with him.

Mr. Lynch, proceeding, said he was first forcibly fed by Dr. Dowdall, being placed on a high chair and his arms strapped about the elbows to the back of the chair. His legs were strapped below the knees to the legs of the chair. He opened his mouth voluntarily, and then the prison bone-spoon was inserted into his mouth. He felt a choking sensation when the tube reached his throat. He told Dr. Dowdall, and he said it was all right.

VOLUNTARILY FEEDING.

At about dinner time on Sun. someone mentioned that certain prisoners were taking food voluntarily. Mr. Stack said if there was any such to say so, and they would be excused, as they wanted to know who would stick it out to the bitter end. Two men then admitted that they had voluntarily taken the foodstuff, one of them giving the explanation that he had suffered very much when they attempted to feed him. Mr. Stack stated that in such cases they should demand the presence of an independent doctor during the feeding operation. Mr. Stack himself mentioned that he had suffered considerably that day when being fed by Dr. Dowdall. Mr. Ashe said he agreed with having an outside doctor, that he also had suffered greatly that day when being fed by Dr. Dowdall, and that "we should not call him doctor, but public executioner."

Witness was again fed by Dr. Dowdall on the Mon., but suffered little. On the Sun. evening he attended to General Mr. Ashe, the Mr. Stack had been treated at the establishment, and he was not able to show the

Mr. Birrell's Explanation

Mr. Birrell's evidence before the Royal Commission of inquiry into the Dublin outbreak is more an explanation of the rising and of the Government inaction than a personal defence. But though that is so it will, in the minds of all fair-minded men, very seriously reduce the amount of blame that he must bear alone. Almost the last sentence in his examination explains the whole tragedy. "Before the war the policy of non-intervention in Ulster was decided by the Cabinet." From that moment the hands of the Irish Executive were tied, especially after the war broke out, unless they desired to court worse disasters. The Commissioners seem to have been puzzled by one part of Sir Mathew Nathan's evidence. They seemed not to be able to understand why the Administration could not have undertaken the forcible disarmament of the Sinn Feiners without risking the disapproval of the peaceful majority of the Irish public. But the answer is simple. As the great Elizabethan lawyer said, there is no nation that loves justice more than this Irish nation. And the spectacle of the Government that had allowed the sedition-mongers of Ulster to arm, and drill, and import munitions from Germany unchecked, attacking the Irish Volunteers and disarming them by force before they had committed any act of rebellion, and while the leaders professed that they were merely following Sir Edward Carson's example and arming for defence would undoubtedly have revolted many law-abiding people in Ireland. "You had armed bodies of Volunteers all over the place. If you could have got disarmament all round it would have been a blessing; but to disarm any one section of the population on the evidence that we had, appeared to be a very dangerous and doubtful proposition." The toleration of the Ulster sedition prevented the Executive even, until the Defence of the Realm Act was passed, from controlling the import of arms and ammunition. Lord Hardinge wonders that the Customs Act was not used. But it was used, and

the lawyers of the Provisional Government of Ulster, we presume, with the approval of the present Attorney-General for Ireland, indicted the action of the Executive in the courts and compelled them to withdraw their proclamation, and even to pay damages. Even to-day the Press of the Covenant is defiant in its assertion of the right of the Covenanters to remain armed.

The Executive was compelled by Sir Edward Carson's triumphs over the law to wait and see. Bad as the results have been, every intelligent person in Ireland knows that they would have been worse if the Executive had taken the initiative in attack. What would have been said? "You have shot down men remorselessly in the streets of Dublin for doing what you permitted Orangemen in Belfast to do freely." At least the disaster has left the majority of the people of Ireland the memory of one Administration, which, whatever its weakness, attempted to treat all sections of the Irish people with equality and equal indulgence. Mr. Birrell is evidently still of opinion that the policy would have succeeded but for the sinister and untoward circumstances that gave what was at first a negligible faction the strength of an insurgent force. The doubts that were allowed to gather round the Home Rule Act were, in Mr. Birrell's opinion, the first influence that assisted the disastrous propaganda. The formation of the Coalition Government and the admission of Sir Edward Carson to a place in it converted these doubts into certainties in the minds of those whose faith was being undermined. Mr. Birrell does not hesitate to indicate that the O'Brien campaign of disbelief and what he calls the "daily nagging" of the "Independent" as among the evil influences that increased the Sinn Feiners' strength and increased their destructive force. Pervading the whole atmosphere was the War, its formidable character, its absence of success, the prospect of its prolongation—and, Mr. Birrell might have added, the revelations of the incapacity of the War Office—all this made it easy to dupe minds into the belief in chances that never existed in the realms of reality. Undoubtedly, as far as it goes, this is a true account of the origin of the feeling that made the rising possible, and of the paralysis of Government that made its timely prevention impossible. One curious feature of the whole business was the absence of reliable information regarding the strength, resources, and

intentions of the Sinn Feiners. Mr. Birrell confesses his utter incapacity, with the information he possessed, to measure the risk in Dublin. He scented danger. A month before the rising he appealed to Lord Kitchener and Lord French to strengthen the Dublin Garrison, and make such a parade of military strength as would show the conspirators what they would be up against. The Secretary of War and the Commander-in-Chief refused. They were too busy training troops—as if the troops could not train in Dublin. The insurgents believed that if there were a rising the German submarines would keep the Irish Sea clear of troopships. Were the troops already here that calculation would not have availed them. If, as Sir Mathew Nathan says, the insurrection was decided upon by a majority of one by the insurgent Executive, the decision would quite certainly have been the other way had the Military Authorities done their duty. The irony of the position now is that the peace and resettlement of Ireland is now in the hands of these authorities.

The potent conclusion from Mr. Birrell's evidence is that the strength and mind of the Empire at the most critical moment of the war are divided in their task, and the prestige of the Empire with the hitherto friendly American people imperilled by a disaster that would never have occurred had Ireland possessed a National Government. It was because the Sinn Feiners were left the power of evil prophecy, were able to assert without the contradiction of incontrovertible operative fact that Ireland had been wicked and would be betrayed in its trust that they gathered followers. Their lies needed the disproof of concrete truth. Because they were left to deal with a Government that had tolerated armed sedition they were able to pursue their way unchecked. A National Government would have prevented their growth. Such a Government could have disarmed them in twenty-four hours with the help of the Irish Regiments and National Volunteers, and the entire approval of the masses of the nation. No Irish Minister would have been as ignorant as Mr. Birrell is forced to confess that he was after his nine years in Ireland. The disaster befell because the policy that would have destroyed the forces of disloyalty and disorder for ever was arrested at the moment when the nation's hopes were about to be fulfilled. Ireland's history contains the story of many tragedies springing from delay; but of them all this is the blackest.

THE SINN FEIN INSURRECTION.

MR. BIRRELL'S EXPLANATION.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF SINN FEIN.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.

THE COALITION CABINET.

ULSTER SEDITION.

FACTIONIST NAGGING

(Special Telegram.)

Westminster, Friday.

Mr. Birrell gave evidence to-day at the second sitting of the Royal Commission, which, at the Royal Commission's House, Westminster, is engaged in investigating the causes of the recent rising in Ireland.

Mr. Birrell was in the witness-chair less than an hour and a half. He opened by reading a prepared statement on the nature and history of the Sinn Fein movement, its definite relation to the traditional hatred of the British connection in Ireland, and the pro-war hopes of its gradual submersion. The ex-Chief Secretary analysed the attitude of Ireland to the war, and the effect of that attitude on the accompanying controversy about recruiting, and the growth of the disloyal feeling. Among the contributory causes, he referred to the doubtful future of Home Rule, the unrest in the North of Ireland, and the presence of Sir Edward Carson in the British Cabinet. The prolongation of the war also brought support and encouragement to the small disloyal minority.

Afterwards Mr. Birrell answered questions put by Lord Hardinge, the President of the Commission, and his two colleagues, Mr. Justice Shearman and Sir MacKenzie Chalmers. Mr. Birrell defined the policy followed by the authorities with reference to disarmament in Ireland, and expressed his sense of the danger that would have been invited by attempting to deprive any one section of the arms it had secured. He admitted that he did not attach much importance to the opinion of Mr. Redmond that the Sinn Fein element was negligible, and divulged the fact that Mr. Dillon, on the other hand, pointed out the danger of the movement, though favouring the policy of non-intervention. Although the position in Dublin was seriously disquieting to himself, Mr. Birrell said he was not conscious of any warning until 16th April.

Mr. Birrell, at the outset, said he had no intention of making a statement on the statement of Sir Mathew Nathan, given to the Commission on the previous day.

CHARACTER OF SINN FEINISM.

As to the general character of Sinn Feinism, he wished to read a statement. The spirit of what to-day was called

Sinn Feinism, proceeded Mr. Birrell, was mainly composed of the old hatred and distrust of the British connection which was always at the background of Irish politics and character. Dr. Newman, bearing over to Dublin as an English Catholic in the middle of the last century, discovered it; was amazed and disgusted at its virility, and was very glad to get away from it. This dislike, hatred and disloyalty, so unintelligible to many Englishmen, is hard to define, but easy to discern, though incapable of exact measurement from year to year. They might assume that it was always there, and always dangerous. Reasons were often given for its persistency, despite of efforts to obliterate it. Had Catholic emancipation accompanied the Act of Union, had land reform been ante-dated half a century, had the Protestant Church of Ireland been disestablished a little more to please the Irish people and not so much to gratify the British Nonconformist, had the University question been earlier settled, it was possible, though not obvious, that the spirit of Sinn Feinism might by now have been exorcised. It had, in point of fact, been immensely weakened and restricted, and out of many Irish breasts it might perhaps be removed altogether. The last twenty years had worked a transformation; the face of the country was changed. The risky experiment of self-government in the countries had, on the whole, succeeded. The Irish Local Government Board, though much exposed to criticism, and coming in for a fair share of abuse, was essentially an Irish Board and wholly outside what was called, often most unstrategically, "The Castle influence." The Congested Districts Board, with enlarged statutory powers and a very considerable income, was also essentially an Irish Board, and within its powers and within its income supreme. "The Department," as it was called, of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, was Irish in all its ways, quarrels, and pursuits. Despite these things, and in the face of prosperity among the farmers, cottages for labourers, and control over her most important affairs, no close observer of Ireland, as a whole, during the last two years, could fail to notice this Sinn Fein spirit was increasing.

THE HOME RULE CONTROVERSY.

For a number of years the Home Rule

controversy, which seemed at last to be on its way to Parliamentary solution, absorbed most of the energies of active politicians, whilst those who were out of real sympathy with a movement which seems to them limited and unromantic, were content to allow the controversy to be conducted in Parliament by able leaders and to run its course whilst they stayed at home and attended, or, at least, supported the Gaelic League and other kindred and influential societies.

LITERARY IRISH REVIVAL.

This period was also marked by a genuine literary Irish revival in prose, poetry, and the drama, which had produced remarkable books and plays and acting, all characterised by originality and independence of thought and expression quite divorced from any political party, and all tending towards and feeling the latest desires for some kind of separate Irish national existence. "It was a curious situation to watch," continued Mr. Birrell, "but there was nothing in it suggestive of revolt or rebellion, except in the realm of thought; indeed, it was quite the other way. The Abbey Theatre made merciless fun of mad political enterprises, and lashed with savage satire some historical aspects of the Irish revolutionary spirit. I was often amazed at the literary detachment and courage of the playwright, the relentless audacity of the actors and actresses, and the patience and comprehension of the audience. This new critical tone and temper, noticeable everywhere, penetrating everywhere, and influencing many minds and ranks, whilst having its disintegrating effects upon old-fashioned political beliefs and worn-out controversial phrases, was the deadly foe of that wild sentimental passion which has once more led too many brave young fellows to a certain doom in the belief that in Ireland any revolution is better than none. A little more time, and but for the outbreak of the war, this new critical temper would, in my belief, have finally prevailed, not indeed to destroy national sentiment (for that is immortal), but to kill by ridicule insensate revolt. But this was not to be.

There were a number of contributory causes which lately have created the utmost exaltation of feeling among those ill-affected as to constitutional methods and to increase their numbers.

U.S. AND IRISH HOME RULE.

(1) The first growing doubts about the actual advent of Home Rule.—If the Home Rule Bill had not been placed on the Statute Book there must have been, both in Ireland and the United States, a great and dangerous explosion of rage and disappointment which, when the war broke out, would have assumed the most alarming proportions. In Ireland all (outside parts of Ulster) would have joined hands, whilst our reports from Washington tell us what the effect in America would have been. Still, even with Home Rule on the Statute Book the chance of its ever becoming a fact was so uncertain, the outstanding difficulty about Ulster was so obvious, and the details of the measure itself were so unattractive and difficult to transmute into telling platform phrases, that Home Rule as an emotional flag fell out of daily use in current Irish life. People left off talking about it, or waving it in the air.

(2) But in Ireland, whenever constitutional and Parliamentary procedure cease to be of absorbing influence, other men, other methods, other thoughts, before somewhat harshly snubbed, come rapidly

to the surface and secure attention, sympathy, and support.

O'BRIENITE SNEERS AND THE "INDEPENDENT."

The sneers of the O'Brienites, the daily naggings of the Dublin "Irish Independent" also contributed to the partial eclipse of Home Rule, and this eclipse foretold danger.

(3) The Ulster rebellion, gun-running at Larne, the Covenant, the Provisional Government, and its members, its plan of warfare in Belfast, its armed volunteers and public drillings, and all the rest of the pomp and circumstance of revolution had the most prodigious effect upon disloyalists.

THE ULSTER REBELS.

Elsewhere there was no anger with the Ulster rebels. Catholic Ireland was very proud of them. What they are allowed to do, we can do. This needs no elaboration from me.

(4) Then came the war on the 4th August risk. Nobody could foretell what the risk. Nobody could foretell what would happen in Ireland, or what her attitude would be. It might easily have demanded sixty thousand soldiers to keep her down.

MR. REDMOND'S BOLD STROKE.

Mr. Redmond's spontaneous, patriotic, courageous, but British speech has a bold stroke and bravely has it succeeded. One hundred and fifty thousand Irish Volunteers, soldiers, are fighting as Irish soldiers know how to fight on the side of Great Britain.

To me it is marvellous, but there were in Ireland men and women who thought that Mr. Redmond had thrown away a great opportunity, and that he should have struck a bargain with the Crown. Here he consented to become a recruiting officer for it. These men were in a small minority, and Ireland preserved an unbroken front with the rest of the United Kingdom and the Empire, and this led to the bitter disappointment of Germany. But the minority were still there, and shortly to be increased in numbers.

COALITION GOVERNMENT.

(5) The Coalition Government, with Sir Edward Carson in it.

It is impossible to describe or overestimate the effect of this in Ireland, and the fact that Mr. Redmond could, had he chosen to do so, have sat in the same Cabinet with Sir Edward Carson, had no mollifying influence, and if Mr. Redmond had consented he would this instant have ceased to be an Irish leader. This seemed to make an end of Home Rule, and strengthened the Sinn Feiners enormously all over the country.

(6) The prolongation of the war and its dubious end and Irish criticism of the war and its chances were not of the optimistic caste that prevail in Britain, and every event and result was put in the balance and weighed, and the excitement was intense. So long as the war lasted, and it soon became obvious that it might last for years, there were not wholly unreasonable expectations of a German landing or landings in Ireland, and of partial risings in different parts of the country, which if timed so as to synchronise with a German bombardment of the English coasts and bases of Zeppelins flying over the North of England and Midlands would be quite enough, so it might well be thought by an Irish revolutionist, to secure a fair chance of an immediate Irish success which, were Germany ultimately victorious, could not but greatly damage British authority and rule in the future.

GERMANY AT BOTTOM OF OUTBREAK.

German assistance was at the bottom of the outbreak. The war turned many heads and upset prudent calculations. To us in Dublin was added the boarded passions of the labour disputes since the war's Walk.

At the conclusion of his statement Mr. Birrell was interrogated at some length by Members of the Committee.

Questioned by the Chairman, Mr. Birrell agreed that in its original conception Sinn Feinism was an ideal. It was an ideal of Irish life, character, literature, education, and everything else being kept entirely separate and remote from the English connection. The idea laying at the root of it was a real divorce between England and Ireland.

The Chairman—Did not the separation of the Sinn Feiners from Mr. Redmond and the loyalists (those who preached to Ireland the desirability of enlisting in the Army and helping the Empire in its hour of need) occur very largely owing to the great number of Sinn Feiners who wanted to avoid military service?

Mr. Birrell—There are a number of persons who are anxious to avoid military service who would be willing to take hold of any excuse to escape it. I think the more active British recruiting was in Ireland the more increase there was of the Sinn Feiners, but they were not the real Sinn Feiners. They were shirkers and very glad of any excuse.

Perhaps the shirkers were more numerous than the Sinn Feiners?

No, the Sinn Feiners had spread all over the place. Leave us alone, they said; we are sick of Parliamentary politics, we are tired of all this talk. We will never be happy unless we are allowed to develop ourselves on our own lines.

Chairman—I imagine last year or so you realised that there was a dangerous movement in Ireland?

Yes, farther back than that, certainly during the last two years.

But after consultation with the various Irish leaders you came to the conclusion that the policy of non-intervention was the safest?

MISERY OF THE WHOLE THING.

That is so. The misery of the whole thing was this. You had armed bodies of Volunteers all over the place. As you could have got assurances all round it would have been a blessing, but to disarm any one section of the population on the evidence that we had, appeared to me to be a very dangerous and doubtful proposition.

The fact that the Ulster people had surreptitiously armed themselves would not have prevented you from attempting to stop the landing of arms in Ireland under the Customs Act?

That may be so.

The Customs Act does give power?

Yes.

You would have encouraged your Customs officers to stop it?

Yes, undoubtedly. Any arms for anybody I should have stopped.

You need not answer this unless you like: Who were the Irish Leaders who advised you most?

Well, in the first place I formed a pretty clear estimate of my own, and I do not think that I was unduly influenced by other people.

IRISH LEADER AND THE SINN FEINERS.

But Mr. Redmond, for example, always took the view that the Sinn Feiners were negligible, and was good enough to say so in the House of Commons. I did not attach very much importance to his

opinion in that matter, because I was quite sure that they were dangerous. At the same time he expressed that opinion strongly, and it affected my mind to this extent that I gave it great consideration. But I came round to another view. Mr. Dillon was strongly of opinion that the Sinn Fein and the insurrectionary movement undoubtedly was a danger.

Was Mr. Dillon equally in favour of non-intervention?

Yes, in the absence of proof of hostile association with the enemy. If there had been any proof of hostile association with the enemy, particularly against individuals, naturally he would have been in favour of prosecution, but a general prosecution of people involved in the business would, in his judgment, have been unwise.

What specific warnings of impending trouble did you have?

I think in this matter you have to distinguish very clearly between Dublin and the rest of the country. So far as the country generally was concerned we had, in the reports of the Royal Irish Constabulary sent in almost daily from nearly every district in Ireland, information which enabled anybody in Dublin or London to form a very correct general estimate of the feeling of the countryside. The feeling varied very much in the localities according to the character of the priest. If the Administrators, as they are called, were opposed Sinn Feiners died out in their localities. If, on the other hand, Sinn Fein was favoured and fostered by the clergy, the movement was extended in their locality. From these reports I had no difficulty whatsoever in coming to a pretty just view as to the general effect of Sinn Feinism and of the Irish Volunteers all over the country. But when you come to Dublin you are under the Metropolitan Police, not the R.I.C. I always felt I was very ignorant of what was actually going on in the minds—and cellars, if you like—of the Dublin population. I

was always exceedingly nervous about that.

SIR M. NATHAN'S POSITION.

So far as Dublin is concerned, I do not know that Sir Matthew Nathan was more in a position to know than I was. He received this warning. I was not conscious of any until towards the end, the 18th of April. I heard at different times that there were opinions that the Castle was going to be taken, but it never came off. I am not aware of any warning beyond what I saw myself in the streets, and on that I took very decided views. I had a conference at the War Office on March 20th, 1916, and at the Horse Guards on March 23rd in reference to the supply of more soldiers in Dublin. The view I put before Lord Kitchener and other military authorities was that we should have more soldiers in the streets of Dublin. The impression we got walking about the streets was that Sinn Feinism was in a certain sense in possession. I put that as forcibly as I could to General Friend. I said: "Let the soldiers be seen in the streets; march them about and let the people see the force they will have to contend with." I was told by the military authorities that they were busy training the soldiers and that they could not be spared, and that if there was any trouble the troops could be transported from Liverpool perhaps as quickly as in any other way. The military were considering our proposals.

LORD WIMBORNE'S VIEWS.

Lord Wimborne held my views as strongly as I did myself. He was present at the Horse Guards. I am sure that if the troops had been present in Dublin for some time it would at all events have been a warning. All the same, I did not anticipate the sort of thing that happened, and I don't suppose anybody else did.

Mr. Justice Shearman—Were many of the priests turbulent?

I should not like to say. There are a considerable number. One of the most formidable anti-recruiting pamphlets was written by the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Bishop O'Dwyer. He is a very clever man, but he has never been a friend of the Nationalist Party.

The Chairman—Lord Middleton said in his speech in the House of Lords that the last time he saw you he gave you copies of a speech of the worst description and an Order issued by the Irish Volunteers. What was that speech by Father Flanagan in the neighbourhood of Cork?

Lord Middleton never said anything to me about Dublin. His interests are connected with Cork. I don't think his warning had any relation to Dublin. With regard to the rest of the country, I think what he said was quite accurate, but I knew a great deal more about it than he did.

When there were sittings of the Cabinet you had to be in London?

I have held the office of Chief Secretary for nine years, and from the beginning I held the view that it was my business to be present at Cabinet meetings in order to see whether Ireland was affected and was or was not to be included in the various measures that were brought forward. Ordinarily when Bills are introduced Ireland would be left in or left out without consideration of the necessities or particular history of Ireland. Therefore it is necessary to be present at Cabinet meetings, not merely for general purposes but for Irish purposes.

Mr. Birrell went on to say that the Chief Secretary had to answer in the House of Commons all questions relating to Ireland. For the Chief Secretary not to be present to deal with these very numerous questions would be disastrous. If there was Irish legislation he must be present. Almost every year there was some Irish Bill or another. We were in constant communication with the Castle, he continued, and connected by wire to the Under-Secretary. Parliament has unfortunately been sitting for the past few years all the year round, and therefore my visits to Ireland have been at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, and some time or other during the summer.

I have not lived much at the Lodge, but during all these years I have spent short holidays in Ireland, and owing to the use of motors I have been far more in all parts of Ireland than any Chief Secretary who has preceded me. I always travelled with those who knew the country.

The Chairman—When you were in England, who acted in Dublin, supposing an emergency arose?

The Under-Secretary has some statutory power in the absence of the Chief Secretary to act. That power is limited. If soldiers were wanted to assist the civil force the Under-Secretary could order them.

What circumstances brought about the repeal of the Arms Act?

It was in Mr. Bryce's time, but I was in the Cabinet, and I remember it came up. It was allowed to drop. I have a sort of recollection that it had been a great deal evaded.

If that Act had been in force it would have operated against Ulster?

Yes. Even though the Arms Act had lapsed you had ample powers to deal with stores of ammunition and explosives under the Explosives Act, 1875 and 1883?

I can't say that. There is a section of that Act which provided that anyone found in possession of explosives is liable to a fine or imprisonment unless he can show he had them for public purposes.

In fact it says you are guilty unless you can show you have some reasonable ground for having them.

Now many months prior to August 4th, 1914, I think you will agree that Ireland

was in a state of internal unrest. This was known to Germany, and it has always been assumed that trouble in Ireland was one of the factors Germany took into account in deciding on war. For obvious reasons, therefore, one would have thought it was desirable to restrict the importation of arms. Why was the restriction removed on August 5th, 1914, the day after the declaration of war?

Mr. Birrell—And not renewed until November?

The Chairman—Yes.

Mr. Birrell—I have a note about it. I will put that in. I have a recollection about it.

Mr. Justice Shearman—I take it the resolution to revoke the Arms Act had been arrived at before war was declared?

Yes, it was found that the proclamations could not be maintained, and in order to avoid scandal they were revoked.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—Can you tell us what turned this Sinn Fein literary movement into a military movement?

It was the war and the excitement.

It was not captured by another set of men?

I think that in Dublin it was. The nucleus was there. A tremendous effect is produced in Ireland by such a war as this. It upset what I believed would in time destroy this insane revolutionary mass. It upset all our calculations.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers elicited that a note would be handed in giving details as to the distribution throughout the provinces of Ireland of the 150,000 Irishmen who had joined the colours.

OBJECTION TO CONSCRIPTION.

Mr. Birrell, in reply to further questions, said the objection to conscription came from the country districts, where men did not wish to leave farms on which they were doing well. There were a certain number of prosecutions for anti-recruiting and seditious meetings, but convictions could not be got from the juries.

Do you put that down to fear or favour?

I put it down to hatred of a case in which the Attorney-General appears prosecuting for the Crown. It is nothing treasonable or quasi-treasonable or anything of that sort. If the Attorney-General is there or is represented, that is enough. If you have a jury you are done.

Sir Matthew told us that there were proceedings before several magistrates which were unsuccessful. Were they president magistrates or unpaid magistrates?

Unpaid. We changed the venue from Sligo to Dublin, and the result was the same.

Has there been much difficulty in getting evidence in these cases?

The evidence has been chiefly that of the police, who have taken notes of anti-recruiting speeches and so on. If clear proof were given of a very violent anti-recruiting speech, in the majority of cases we got a conviction, but when it was a case against a schoolmaster for having explosives and ammunition and seditious literature in his possession, before a jury, we could not get any. It seems outside a schoolmaster's functions to go about with explosives. They were to kill fish (laughter).

Asked as to the two forces of police in Dublin, Mr. Birrell said he should be glad to see the Constabulary extended everywhere. He admitted that it was for the sake of the name that there were two different forces in Dublin.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—I was struck by your remark that now the rising is over a great many people in Dublin say that they thought it was coming. Is your detective force efficient? I have been told by people that there were any number of structural alterations made and tunnelling in the streets. If anything of the sort happened, you would hardly require a detective force to discover it. It is also said that house partitions were removed so that men could run through

eight or nine houses?

I have no reason to believe that these stories are true. I hope something will be ascertained. There must have been a very careful plan, because all these various points were seized within twenty minutes by a large number of men who were very well prepared for their work. I think they must have kept it very much in their own hands.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers—Do you think you required further assistance in the way of what we call the C.I.D.?

I think the events have shown we did.

Mr. Birrell expressed the view that by the way they believed the B.I.C. had re-established their character as high as ever it was. He did not know that a large number of soldiers, unless employed beforehand, would have been able to do much when the places in Dublin had been seized. From a military point of view the rising was a failure from the beginning, because the soldiers were there before the end of the evening in quite sufficient force from the Curragh and Belfast. Another odd thousand soldiers on the spot at the time would not have affected the position. Disposed as the rebels were, it took time and great destruction of property to smoke them out.

IF THE GERMANS LANDED.

If there had been a little more success in Dublin, do you think many would have joined in the country? Was there a large body of men sitting on the fence?

I don't think so, apart from the German landing. If the Germans had really landed men and guns I do not think anybody could say what the effect on the population would have been. But I do not think so of the mere holding up of Dublin, even for another week. Apart from Germany, they believed that England was surrounded by submarines, and that troops could not come from Liverpool, because there were submarines in the Channel. They thought England was cut off, and the moment they discovered that soldiers were pouring over—

Mr. Birrell broke off his reply here with a significant gesture.

Replying to Mr. Justice Shearman, Mr. Birrell said no effort was made to consult political leaders on the other side to try and get general disarmament of Volunteer bodies before the outbreak.

With regard to the suppression of drill by armed disloyal people, Mr. Birrell said it was thought it would be difficult to prove that the drilling was associated with the enemy.

Mr. Justice Shearman—As soon as you had the Defence of the Realm Act you could have forbidden drilling in any part of the United Kingdom. I cannot understand why it did not occur to anybody to say "We will not have armed Volunteers drilling while the war is on." That could have been applied equally to any part of Ireland.

Mr. Birrell—Of course that would have been a challenge to the Volunteers. Mr. Birrell added that the attempt would have required soldiers.

Mr. Justice Shearman—Everybody knew these people were known to be disloyal and known to be having sham fights and training people in the field, including ladies for ambulance work.

Mr. Birrell—I quite agree. It seems almost ridiculous, but, on the other hand, the alternative would have been to employ policemen to have done it. You would have attacked these people and disarmed them, and whether it was done north, south, east or west it would have resulted in bloodshed.

Mr. Justice Shearman—Assuming they had been forbidden to march out with arms, and I agree that if they had done it they would have been attacked by the military, would they have done it? Oh, yes.

POLICY OF THE AUTHORITIES.

Mr. Birrell said the policy of the authorities was that they could not advisedly, properly, or safely proceed by soldiery to disarm these forces. That also had prevented action in Ulster. Before the war the policy of non-inter-

vention in Ulster was decided by the Cabinet. He concurred in it or would have resigned. In regard to the Sinn Feiners it was not a Cabinet decision.

THE DUBLIN SITTING.

This concluded Mr. Birrell's evidence, and the Commission adjourned till Monday. It hopes to hold its first sitting in Dublin on Thursday morning.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY: 1918-22.
BUDG. STATE. MILITARY. 1918-22.
M. C. D.

Evening Telegraph



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RELEASE OF THE SINN FEIN PRISONERS

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REBELLION RECALLED

Brief Biographies and Portraits of the Principal Prisoners who have been Released

We are glad to be able to announce the release of the Sinn Fein prisoners. Further particulars will be found on Column 2, Page 4.

The announcement will be received with the greatest satisfaction throughout Ireland and by their fellow-countrymen in all parts of the world.

Twenty-one prisoners who received sentences of one year's imprisonment or under have, in the ordinary course, been released already. In addition, three prisoners—Mr. William Partridge, Mr. Frank Collen, and Mr. Gerald Crofts—have been sent home in ill-health.

Immediately after the collapse of the outbreak in Dublin, Field General Court-martial were held behind closed doors, and no intimation of the trials taking place or the nature of their was given to the public until the orders were issued by the military authorities.

While the court-martial was in progress hundreds of arrests were being made all over the city and country, and those arrested, after being detained for some days in Richmond Military Barracks, which became terribly overcrowded and insanitary, were de-

women and 1,862 men were deported to England and interned there. Numbers of these were released at intervals, and last Christmas the general body were set at liberty and returned to Ireland.

One hundred and eighty persons were tried by court-martial, of whom fifteen were executed, namely—P. H. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, Edmund



MR. JOHN McNEILL,
Originator of the Irish Volunteers.

part from those in which death sentences were carried out. It is prepared from the list officially published at the time.

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to penal servitude for life:—

- William Cosgrave,
- Thomas Hunter,
- Countess Markievicz,
- Henry O'Hanrahan,
- Edward de Valera,
- Thomas Ashe,
- John M'Entee (Belfast).

Sentenced to penal servitude for life:—

- Eoin M'Neill,
- Austin Stack (Tralee),
- Cornelius Collins (Dublin).

Sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude:—

- Dr. Richard Hayes (Lusk).

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to penal servitude for ten years:—

- Thomas Bevan,
- Thomas Walsh,
- Finian Lynch,
- Michael Mervyn,
- Denis O'Callaghan,
- P. E. Sweeney,
- Patrick M'Neary,
- Peter Clancy,
- William Tobin,
- George Irvine,
- John Doherty,
- J. J. Walsh,
- Jas. Melim,
- J. J. Reid,
- John Williams,
- George Plunkett,
- John Plunkett,
- Frank Lawless,
- James Lawless,
- Brian Molloy (Galway),
- Francis Martin (Dublin),
- Denis Leahy (Dundalk),
- Jerri. C. Lynch (Dublin).

Sentenced to ten years' penal servitude:—

- Francis Fahy,
- Richard Davys,
- James T. Hughes,
- Frank Brennan,
- Colan O'Leary (Mayo),
- John Tomkins (Wexford),
- Patrick Fahy (Galway),
- Thos. D. Fitzgerald (Dublin),
- Wm. Partridge (Dublin).

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to eight years' penal servitude:—

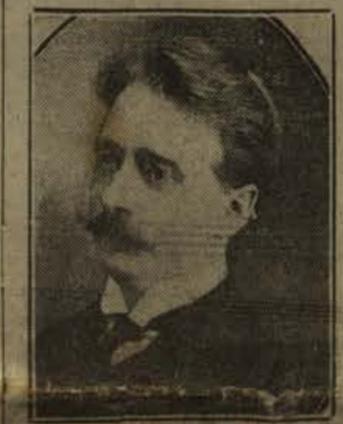
- John M'Garry,
- James O'Sullivan.

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to penal servitude for ten years:—

- Philip B. Cosgrave,
- Vincent Poole,
- Wm. P. Corrigan,
- C. O'Donovan,
- John Shoultice,
- Michael De Lacy (Enniscorthy),
- David Kent (Kerry),
- Peter Galligan (Wexford),
- John B. Etchingham (Enniscorthy),
- Robert Brennan (do.),
- James Rafter (do.),
- Richard F. King (do.),
- James Doyle (do.),
- Henry James Boland,
- Gerald Crofts,
- James Joyce (Dublin),
- James Saffy (Dundalk),
- Thomas Brennan (Kerry).

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to penal servitude for three years:—

- W. Meehan,
- R. Kelly,
- W. Wilson,
- J. Clarke,
- J. Marks,
- J. Brennan,
- P. Wilson,
- F. Brooks.



WILLIAM P. COSGRAVE.

- B. Coleman,
- T. Peppard,
- J. Norton,
- J. Byrne,
- T. O'Kelly,
- Jas. Downey,
- Jas. Burke,
- Maurice Brennan,
- James Morrissey,
- Gerald Doyle,
- Charles Bevan,
- John O'Brien,
- Patrick Fogarty,
- John Faulkner,
- Michael Brady,
- James Dempsey,
- George Lewis.

Sentenced to two years' imprisonment:—

- J. Wilson.

One year's imprisonment:—

- E. Roach,
- Wm. Derrington,
- J. Gernigan,
- Charles O'Neill,
- Michael Grady (Athlery),
- Charles White (do.),
- John Haniffy (do.),
- Martin Hanberry (do.),
- Michael Higgins (do.),
- John Grady (do.),
- Jas. Murray (do.),
- Thomas Barrett (do.),
- Patrick Kennedy (do.),
- Thomas Kennedy (do.),
- Murtagh Fahy (do.),
- Michael Donohue (do.),
- Michael Fleming (Galway).

Six months' imprisonment:—

- Patrick Weaver (Maynooth),
- John Greaves (do.),
- Joseph Ledwick (do.),
- P. M'Mahon (Dublin).

WHO'S WHO IN LISTS.

The majority of those imprisoned were comparatively unknown, and they represented various walks of life.

John M'Neill was probably the best known of them in the country. He was President of the Irish Volunteers, and editor of the official weekly paper of that organisation, Mr. Asquith, after his trial, stated in the House of Commons that there were twelve charges against him, eight of which were for attempting to cause disaffection among the civil population, and four for acting in a seditious and seditious manner. He was found guilty on all charges. He is a native of Co. Antrim, and spent more than twenty years in the Accountant-General's Office at the Four Courts. An enthusiastic student of Celtic language, literature, and history, he was one of the founders of the Gaelic League. He was appointed to the Chair of Early and Medieval Irish History at the National University at its establishment. He took an active part in the founding of the Volunteers at the end of 1913, addressed organising meetings in the country, and when the Sinn Fein section broke away from the National Com-

mittee in 1914 he became President of the seceding body. It will be recalled that late on Easter Saturday, 1916, he issued orders through the Sunday newspapers and by other means, countermarching the bands of Volunteers arranged for Easter Sunday.

William T. Cosgrave was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Dublin Corporation, and an able and popular member of the Municipal Council. He was one of the representatives of Usher's quay Ward, and resided in James's street, where he carried on business as grocer and wine merchant.

Countess Markievicz is the daughter of the late Sir Henry Gore Booth, of Sligo, was presented at Court to the late Queen Victoria, went to Paris as an art student and achieved some success. About seventeen years ago she married Count Casimir Dunin Markievicz, a Polish artist, who returned to Poland in 1914, and was fighting with the Russian forces in the Caucasus shortly before the insurrectionary outbreak in Dublin. Both he and the Countess took an active interest in promoting amateur drama, and were associated for some time with the Dublin Repertory Theatre. Countess Markievicz established the National Boy Scouts in 1910, and was for several years prominently identified with the Sinn Fein Movement in Dublin. She was stated to have been in charge of the insurgents in Stephen's Green district.



EDWARD DE VALERA,
Who commanded the rebels at Boland's Mill, was of Spanish extraction. He was a teacher in Blackrock College, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Henry O'Hanrahan, who was employed on the clerical staff of the Volunteer organisation, is a brother of Michael O'Hanrahan, one of the men executed on May 4th. Edward de Valera commanded the insurgents in the Ringsend area, and is a native of Galway, where he was born of Spanish parents. He was educated at Blackrock College, is a Bachelor of Arts of the National University, and held the position of Professor of Mathematics at Blackrock College. Thom. Ashe was a National School

teacher, they might have come to Tralee from some part of Ireland, or from Tralee, or anywhere else, so far as the world goes.

Cornelius Collins stated he was in the employ of the Post Office since May, 1902, and was spending his annual leave in Limerick and Kerry when arrested. He had not been a member of any Volunteer force for eighteen months, and knew nothing of Moneth or Bailey or of the landing of arms in Kerry.

Dr. Richard Hayes was medical officer of Lusk Dispensary district.

J. J. Walsh, whose death sentence was commuted to ten years' penal servitude, was formerly employed in the Cork Post Office, but was transferred by the authorities to Bedford, in Yorkshire. He was a member of the Civil Service and opened a tobacconist's and newspaper shop at the corner of Berkeley road, Dublin.

Frank Lawless is a farmer who resided at Lancelstown, near Swords.

James Lawless, of Cloghan, Co. Dublin, was an official of the Dublin Co. Council.

Wm. Partridge was a member of the Dublin Corporation, representing New Kilmahain Ward, and a prominent labour advocate in Dublin. He was released some weeks ago from Lewes Prison broken in health, and is at present in Dublin, after spending some time in a private hospital in England.

Philip B. Cosgrave is a brother of Wm. P. Cosgrave.

Wm. P. Corrigan is a young Dublin solicitor, of the well-known firm of Corrigan and Sons.

Michael De Lacy was an official of the Board of Trade Labour Exchange in Enniscorthy.

David Kent is a farmer residing at Coole, near Fermoy, was court-martialled on a charge of being concerned in the killing of Head-Constable Rowe at Fermoy. His brother Richard died of wounds received on the occasion, and another brother Thomas Kent, was executed at Queenstown. A third brother William was tried and executed.

John B. Etchingham resided at Courtown Harbour, Co. Wexford, and was a journalist. He was a member of the Gorey Board of Guardians and District Council. He took an active interest in Gaelic sports, and was identified with horse racing and training.

Robert Brennan is a journalist, and was employed on the staff of a local paper in Enniscorthy.

Gerald Crofts, who was released recently owing to ill-health, is well-known in Dublin musical circles. He is a young musician and composer of much promise.

Pierce Beasley is a well-known Dublin journalist and a Gaelic scholar of some repute.

Joseph M'Guinness is the recently elected Sinn Fein M.P. for South Longford.

The announcement will be received with the greatest satisfaction throughout Ireland and by their fellow-countrymen in all parts of the world.

Twenty-one prisoners who received sentences of one year's imprisonment or under have, in the ordinary course, been released already. In addition, three prisoners—Mr. William Partridge, Mr. Frank Cullen, and Mr. Gerald Crofts—have been sent home in ill-health.

Immediately after the collapse of the outbreak in Dublin, Field-Generals Courtmartial were held behind closed doors, and no information of the trials taking place or the nature of their sentences given to the public until the issue by the military authorities.

While the court-martials were in progress hundreds of arrests were being made all over the city and country, and those arrested, after being detained for some days in Richmond Military Barracks, which became terribly overcrowded and insanitary, were de-



THE COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ, Condemned to death, but sentence commuted to penal servitude for life. She is an Irish lady who married a Polish Count, and was an enthusiastic adherent of Jim Larkin.

ported to England without trial. In all, 5,226 prisoners were detained in Richmond Barracks, and of these 77 were women. After some days' detention 1,104 were released, of whom 73 were women. Five

max the general body were set at liberty and returned to Ireland.

One hundred and eighty persons were tried by court-martial, of whom fifteen were executed, namely—P. H. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, Edmund



MR. JOHN McNEILL, Originator of the Irish Volunteers.

Kent, Thomas J. Clarke, James Connolly, John M'Dermott (the seven signatories to the Irish Republican proclamation), Edward Daly, Wm. Pearse, Cornelius Colbert, J. J. Henstons, Michael O'Hanrahan, John MacBride, Michael Mallin, and Thomas

In addition, 75 others were sentenced to death, but the sentences were commuted to penal servitude for various terms. There were in all 157 convictions.

The first official intimation of the findings of the court-martial was made on Wednesday, May 3rd, and the trials were continued until the end of the month. On June 9th an open court-martial was held at Richmond Barracks in connection with the death of Constable M'Gea, at Castlebellingham, when four men were charged and sentenced. On June 16th Austin Stack and Cornelius Collins were tried and sentenced at an open court-martial. Two days before David Kent had been tried and sentenced at a public court-martial.

THE SENTENCES. The following is a full list of the sentences,

William Tobin, George Irvine, John Doherty, J. J. Walsh, Jas. Molins, J. J. Reid, John Williams, George Plunkett, John Plunkett, Frank Lawless, James Lawless, Brian Molloy (Galway), Francis Martin (Dublin), Denis Leahy (Dundalk), Jerh. C. Lynch (Dublin).

Sentenced to ten years' penal servitude:—Francis Fahy, Richard Davys, James T. Hughes, Frank Brennan, Colan O'Geary (Mayo), John Tomkins (Wexford), Patrick Fahy (Galway), Thom. D. Fitzgerald (Dublin), Wm. Partridge (Dublin).

Sentenced to death, but sentence commuted to eight years' penal servitude:—John M'Garry, James O'Sullivan.



JOSEPH MCGUINNESS, was a shopkeeper in Dorset street, Dublin.



WILLIAM P. COSGRAVE

R. Coleman, T. Peppard, J. Nocton, J. Byrne, T. O'Kelly, Jas. Downey, Jas. Burke, Maurice Brennan, James Morrissey, Gerald Doyle, Charles Bevan, John O'Brian, Patrick Fogarty, John Faulkner, Michael Brady, James Dempsey, George Lavins, John F. Cullen, J. Dorrington, W. O'Dea, P. Kelly, John M'Archie.

Sentenced to three years' penal servitude:—Edward Duggan, Pierce Beasley, Joseph M'Guinness, Michael Scully, Fergus O'Conner (Dublin), Michael Reynolds (Dundalk), John Quinn (Dundalk), Connor M'Ginley (Dublin), Philip Joseph M'Mahon (Dundalk), John Carrick (Oranmore), Michael Hehir (do.), Christopher Carrick (do.), Wm. Corcoran (do.), Patrick Fury (do.), Ed. Corcoran (do.), Thomas Higgins (do.), Michael Fyngins (do.), Patrick Flanagan (do.), James Loughlin (do.).

WHO'S WHO IN LISTS.

The majority of those imprisoned were comparatively unknown, and they represented various walks of life.

John M'Neill was probably the best known of them in the country. He was President of the Irish Volunteers, and editor of the official weekly paper of that organisation. Mr. Asquith, after his trial, stated in the House of Commons that there were twelve charges against him, eight of which were for attempting to cause disaffection among the civil population, and four for acting in a warlike manner. He was found guilty on all charges. He is a native of Co. Antrim, and spent more than twenty years in the Accountant-General's Office at the Four Courts. An enthusiastic student of Celtic language, literature, and history, he was one of the founders of the Gaelic League. He was appointed to the Chair of Early and Medieval Irish History at the National University at its establishment. He took an active part in the founding of the Volunteers at the end of 1913, addressed organising meetings in the country, and when the Sinn Fein section broke away from the National Com-



JOHN M'GARRY, One of the leaders, who was sentenced to 5 years' penal servitude. He was engaged in commercial business in Dublin.



EDWARD DE VALERA, Who commanded the rebels at Boland's Mills, was of Spanish extraction. He was a teacher in Blackrock College, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Henry O'Hanrahan, who was employed on the clerical staff of the Volunteer organisation, is a brother of Michael O'Hanrahan, one of the men executed on May 4th.

Edward de Valera commanded the insurgents in the Ringsend area, and is a native of Galway, where he was born of Spanish parents. He was educated at Blackrock College, is a Bachelor of Arts of the National University, and held the position of Professor of Mathematics at Blackrock College.

Thomas Ash was a National School teacher at Corduff, near Swords.

John M'Entee is an electrical engineer, of Belfast. He was tried with three others in connection with the killing of a police constable at Castlebellingham on April 24th. His statement to the court denied the charge of murder and lamented the death of a fellow-countryman in the discharge of his duty. He added that what he had done on the occasion was for love of Ireland and not to assist the King's enemies.

Austin Stack was a solicitor's clerk at Trillick, and was tried by public court-martial at Richmond Barracks along with Cornelius Collins, a clerk in the General Post Office, Dublin, on charges of conspiring to bring about rebellion and to spread disaffection, and for harbouring Monteith and Bailey at the time of the landing of Sir Roger Casement in Kerry. Stack, in a written statement, said he was an active Irish Volunteer, and when conscription was proposed he was prepared to resist it by means similar to those which the Ulster Volunteers used against Home Rule. So far as Monteith and

health, and is at present in Dublin, after spending some time in a private hospital in England.

Philip B. Cosgrave is a brother of Wm. P. Cosgrave.

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Michael De Lacy was an official of the Board of Trade Labour Exchange in Ennis-corthy.

David Kent is a farmer residing at Coole, near Fermoy, was court-martialled on a charge of being concerned in the killing of Head-Constable Rowe at Fermoy. His brother Richard died of wounds received on the occasion, and another brother Thomas Kent was executed at Queenstown. A third brother William was tried and no-

John R. Birmingham resided at Courstown Harbour, Co. Wexford, and was a journalist. He was a member of the Gorry Board of Guardians and District Council. He took an active interest in Gaelic sports, and was identified with horse racing and training.

Robert Brennan is a journalist, and was employed on the staff of a local paper in Ennis-corthy.

Gerald Crofts, who was released recently owing to ill-health, is well-known in Dublin musical circles. He is a young musician and composer of much promise.

Pierce Beasley is a well-known Dublin journalist and a Gaelic scholar of some repute.

Joseph M'Guinness is the recently elected Sinn Fein M.P. for South Longford.



HENRY O'HANRAHAN, Was connected officially with the organisation of the Irish Volunteers, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life.

THE INSURRECTION IN BRIEF.

The principal features of the insurrectionary outbreak may be summarised as follows: Fifteen men executed.

Over one hundred and fifty sent to prison.

Two thousand persons deported.

Seventeen military officers killed and forty-six wounded.

Of the non-commissioned officers and men 85 were killed, 311 wounded, and nine reported missing.

Fourteen B.I.C. men killed, and twenty-three wounded.

Three Dublin Metropolitan Police killed and seven wounded.

About 300 civilians and insurgents killed, and about 800 wounded.

Damage to property to the extent of about 25 millions.

The total loss of life would appear to be about 450, and the number wounded about 1,200.

The official lists of the casualties gave a total of 180 civilians and insurgents killed, and 614 wounded, but this was obviously incorrect, as at Glasnevin cemetery alone, 250 persons whose deaths were directly attributable to the insurrectionary outbreak were interred. In more than a score of cases there was no identification.

The insurrection began in Dublin with the taking of the General Post Office at noon on Easter Monday, April 24th, 1916. The first bloodshed in O'Connell street occurred about half-past one when a squadron of Lancers appeared in the street, and were fired on from the Post Office. There was practically no real fighting in the area until the middle of the week. On Monday evening a Proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant that an attempt had been made and designed by the foreign enemies of the King to incite rebellion in Ireland had been made by a reckless though small body of men, who have been guilty of insurrectionary acts in the City of Dublin,

and warning citizens of the danger of unnecessarily frequenting streets or public places, or of assembling in crowds.

On Tuesday martial law was proclaimed for a period of one month in the city and county of Dublin, and the people were ordered to remain indoors between 7.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. In the city area all licensed premises were closed except between the hours of two and five o'clock p.m.

On Wednesday martial law was by proclamation extended to all Ireland.

The progress of the insurrection may be gathered from the various official statements: On Tuesday evening, 25th April, Mr. Birrell supplied the London Press with the following:—

"At noon yesterday serious disturbances broke out in Dublin.

"A large body of men, identified with the Sinn Feiners, mostly armed, occupied Stephen's Green, and took possession forcibly of the Post Office, where they cut the telegraph and telephone wires. Houses were occupied in Stephen's Green, Sackville street, Abbey street, and along the quays.

"In the course of the day soldiers arrived from the Curragh, and the situation is now well in hand. So far as is known here three military officers, two loyal volunteers, four or five soldiers, and two policemen have been killed, and four or five military officers, seven or eight soldiers, and six loyal volunteers wounded.

"No exact information has been received of casualties on the side of the Sinn Feiners. Reports received from Cork, Limerick, Ennis, Tralee, and both Ridings of Tipperary show that no disturbances of any kind have occurred in these localities.

The following was issued by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in Dublin on Wednesday, 26th April:—

"There is now a complete cordon of troops around the centre of the town on the north side of the river. Two more battalions are ar-

riving this afternoon (Wednesday) from England. There has been a small rising at Ardee, Louth, and a rather more serious one at Swords and Lusk, close to Dublin. The last report I have shows a total of fifteen killed and twenty-one wounded, besides two loyal Volunteers and two policemen killed and six loyal volunteers wounded.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, 26th April, in reply to question about the rebellion, Mr. Asquith said—Troops have arrived from Belfast and from England. A building called Liberty Hall is already occupied by soldiers. So, also is Stephen's Green. Martial law has been proclaimed in Dublin City and County. Draastic action both to suppress the movement, and to secure the arrest of all concerned is at this moment being taken. Outside Dublin the country is tranquil, and only three minor cases of disturbances are reported. Steps are being taken to give full and accurate information to our friends abroad as to the real significance of this most recent German campaign.

The Prime Minister afterwards read the following telegram from the Viceroy:—

"Situation satisfactory. St. Stephen's Green captured. Eleven insurgents killed. Provincial news reassuring. Inspector-General, Royal Irish Constabulary, reports that at Drogheda the National Volunteers turned out to assist the military. Many private persons have offered assistance.

Mr. Asquith added it was not the case that the rebels had machine guns.

Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords on Wednesday, 26th April, said the Dublin garrison had had reinforcements from Belfast and England, and the Sinn Feiners had been driven out of Stephen's Green with a certain number of casualties. On Tuesday evening the military had succeeded in protecting the line from Kingsbridge station, via Trinity College, to the Customs House and the North Wall. By midday on Wednesday it was

learned that Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Citizen Army and formerly of Mr. Larkin, had been wholly or partially destroyed and occupied by the military. He added that the latest details showed that there was a cordon of troops round the centre of the town on the north bank of the river, that two more battalions were to arrive in Dublin this afternoon from England, and that there had been a small rising at Ardee, in County Louth, and a rather more serious one at Swords and Lusk, near Dublin. The casualties he put at 19 killed and 27 wounded.

SIR JOHN MAXWELL'S APPOINTMENT.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, 27th April,

Mr. Asquith said—The Cabinet have decided to-day that the Irish Executive must at once proclaim martial law over the whole of Ireland. General Sir John Maxwell left this afternoon for Ireland, and has been given plenary power to proclaim martial law over the whole of the country, and the Irish Executive have placed themselves at his disposal to carry out his instructions. He added that here were indications of the movement spreading, especially in the West and that the rebels continued to hold important public buildings in Dublin.

The Lord Lieutenant issued the following from the Viceroyal Lodge on Thursday, 27th April:—

"In the last forty-eight hours satisfactory progress has been made. Enemy activity is confined to sniping from houses in certain restricted areas. Large additional reinforcements have arrived from England, and are in hand for disposal as required.

The following communication was issued by Field-Marshal Viscount French, Commanding-in-Chief of the Home Forces, early on Saturday morning, 29th April:—

The military operations for the suppression

of the rebellion in Dublin are proceeding satisfactorily. What may be described as the organised forces of the rebels are confined to a few localities, the principal one being the Sackville street district, in which the rebels' headquarters appear to be the General Post Office. The cordon of troops round this district has been drawn closer, and the rebels in this locality appear now to be confined behind the line of their barricades.

Sniping from houses in which small parties of the rebels have established themselves in various parts of the city still continues. The district where this is most prevalent is that to the north-west of the Four Courts, which he still in possession of the rebels. The clearance of the rebels is a matter of time.

Considerable damage was caused by fires on Thursday, and a large fire is still burning in Sackville street.

In other parts of Ireland the principal centres of disturbance are County Galway and Ennis-corthy. Disturbances have also been reported at Killyarny, Clonmel and Gorey.

Other parts of Ireland appear to be normal. The general trend of the reports received indicates that the disturbances are local in character.

The following was issued by Field-Marshal Viscount French, Commanding-in-Chief Home Forces, on Saturday night, 29th April:—

Dublin.—The situation this morning had improved considerably, but the rebels were still offering serious resistance in the neighbourhood of Sackville street.

The cordon of troops encircling this quarter was, however, steadily closing in, but the house to house fighting necessarily rendered this progress slow. The Post Office and a block of buildings east of Sackville street have been destroyed by fire. A party of rebels have been driven out of Boland's Mills, Ringsend, by gains mounted on motor lorries.

One of the rebel leaders, a man named

Pearse, was said to be in this area, and was wounded in the leg. A report received this evening states that Pearse has surrendered authority to accept the same terms of surrender for his followers in Dublin.

Another leader, James Connolly, is reported killed. The Four Courts district, which is still held by the rebels, is also surrounded by a cordon of troops, which is gradually closing in.

All the information to hand points to the conclusion that the rebellion, so far as Dublin is concerned, is on the verge of collapse. A considerable number of rebels are prisoners in military custody.

Reports received this evening from the rest of Ireland are generally satisfactory. The conditions in Belfast and the Ulster Province are normal, and the situation in Londonderry is stated to be quite satisfactory.

The district within fifteen miles of Galway is also reported to be normal, but a band of rebels has been located between Athlone and Craughwell.

Nineteen rebel prisoners have been captured, and are on their way to Queenstown. Another band of rebels are reported to have entrenched themselves at Ennis-corthy, but the police are still holding out, and the roads and railways are clear to within four miles of the town.

The damage done to the Barrow Bridge on Dublin and South-Eastern Railway, is now reported to be serious.

DIVISION OF TROOPS IN DUBLIN.

An official intimation was circulated among the Royal Irish Constabulary in County Dublin on Saturday, 29th April, as follows:—

The Sinn Fein rebels in the area of Capel street, Great Britain street, and Lower Gardiner street are completely surrounded by a cordon of troops, which is gradually closing on the centre. The troops in the district are gradually overcoming resistance. One of the

principal rebel leaders, P. H. Pearse, known to be inside the cordon with a fractured thigh. The woman generally known as Countess Markievicz has also been seen inside. Another leader, James Connolly, is reported killed. The additional area containing the Four Courts is also surrounded by a cordon, which is closing in on the centre. It contains within it most of the rebels.

A division complete with artillery is now operating in the Dublin area, and more troops are constantly arriving. Arrangements are being made to inter in England all the Sinn Feiners captured or wounded who are not dealt with here.

Sir Roger Casement has declared that Germany has sent all the assistance she is going to send, and that is now at the bottom of the sea.

On Saturday evening, 29th April, it was officially announced in Dublin that the leaders of the rebels had surrendered. The following is an exact copy of the documents:—

In order to prevent the further slaughter of unarmed people, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, now so wounded and hopelessly outnumbered, Members of the Provisional Government present at Headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the Commanders of all Units of the Republican Forces will order their followers to lay down their arms.—(Signed), P. H. PEARSE, 29th April, 1916, 3.45 p.m.

I agree to these conditions for the rest only under my own command in the Moyn street District, and for the men in the Stephen's Green Command.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

April 29, '16.

On consultation with Commandant Conant and other officers I have decided to agree to unconditional surrender also.

THOMAS MACDONAGH.

AMUSEMENTS.

GAIETY THEATRE. J. AUGUSTUS KEIGHTER COMPANY. In the Exceedingly Successful Play in Four Acts...

THEATRE ROYAL. HIPPODROME AND WINTER GARDENS. TRICE NIGHTLY. THE MOST POPULAR OF ALL REVUEES.

EMPIRE THEATRE. TWICE NIGHTLY. MR. LAWRENCE BROUGH AND FULL WEST END CO. THE LADY OF OSTEND.

QUEEN'S THEATRE. THREE NIGHTLY. LUBLINE. HARRY O'DENEFEE, E. HAYLAND JACKSON, WAIVER McNALLY, E. O'CONNOR COX, KILFEYSBURGH, BRETHER, KATHLEEN GAVIN.

CATHOLIC NOTICES. ST. JOSEPH'S, Berkeley St. FEAST OF THE SACRED HEART. Special Devotions at 3.30 o'clock. SHORT INSTRUCTION on the DEVOTION by GANON DOWNING. Exposition from 4.30 until 8.30. EVENING BENEDICTION & DEVOTIONS AT 8.30 O'CLOCK.

Kennedy's Bread. FINEST QUALITY MADE. BAKERIES: 124 to 126 St. Patrick's Bakery, DUBLIN.

Maguire & Gatchell, Limited. 7, 8, 10, 12 and 14 DAWSON ST., DUBLIN. Carpet Squares. AXMINSTER AND WILTON. In Newest Designs and Colorings, the Line and Cork Carpet to Latest Patterns.

EVENING TELEGRAPH. DUBLIN: FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1917. HIGH WATER AT DUBLIN BAR. SUNRISE AND SUNSET. LIGHTING-UP TIME 10.34 P.M.

IS AMNESTY TO BE MARRED?

A paragraph in to-day's Daily Chronicle has a somewhat sinister sound. "I understand," says the Parliamentary correspondent of that journal, "that the Government have decided to amnesty the great majority of the Sinn Fein prisoners now in custody in English jails."

We cannot forget, however, that from the day that war was declared up to this very hour the powers that be have hardly ever missed a chance of antagonising Irish sentiment. Every scheme that might have helped to create and foster better relations between Ireland and England has been marred and maimed by the "unseen hand."

Maguire & Gatchell, Limited. 7, 8, 10, 12 and 14 DAWSON ST., DUBLIN. Carpet Squares. AXMINSTER AND WILTON. In Newest Designs and Colorings, the Line and Cork Carpet to Latest Patterns.

hastle to the Convention, and uses arguments to assail it which could be used of almost any possible scheme of representation that the wit of man could devise. Father Lawless takes occasion to remind his lordship that, when in the interrogatory mood, there were some other questions he might have asked. "To round it off," says Father Lawless, "he should have asked why are the Catholic Bishops on it, and whom do they represent? Should they be elected? If so, how many amongst them of his lordship's way of thinking in politics would be sent by their own people? Would even one?"

We greatly fear that Mr. William Martin Murphy's pious journals will be compelled to denounce Father Lawless as an anti-cleric. It is one of the cynical humours of the latest development in Irish politics that the "Independent" has taken the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood under its sheltering wing. The "Evening Herald" is particularly perturbed by any criticism of priests whose hostility to the Irish Party leads them to circulate the loathsome list that was coined by Mr. Laurence Ginnell, the disappointed applicant for a job under the Department of Agriculture in the days of Sir Horace Plunkett's authority.

It is, therefore, all the more necessary now for the "Independent" and its "bantling" to adopt an ultra-pro-clerical pose. We do not see how the Murphyite organs can afford to let pass the shocking anti-clericalism of Father Lawless in referring to the Bishop of Derry's performance in "the unworthy role of wrecker." It is quite as bad as the message which the Very Rev. Canon Quinn, of Beesbrook, has sent to the Irish Leader, in which he said: "The name of Redmond will descend to posterity alongside the names of O'Connell, O'Donnell, and O'Neill, patriots and heroes, who laboured and fought for Ireland, when your critics will rot in their tombs unhonoured and unused."

Messieurs Sir Peter Reilly O'Connell, of Belfast, sits in the Gresham Hotel, at the request of the Bishop of Derry, waiting for the arrival of the representatives of the various Colonies. Mr. Balfour has had the evil effects of England's betrayal of Irish hopes brought home to him in vivid fashion during his recent visit to the States. But apparently the forces that would rather see the Kaiser triumphant than set Ireland free are still dominant in the councils of the British Government. If amnesty is not merely delayed but diluted it is worse than worthless. There is nothing to be gained by releasing "the great majority of the Sinn Fein prisoners." The mere fact that the British Government had marked down certain men to be the particular victims on whom vengeance should be wreaked would create a feeling

Separation Allowances Our Information Bureau

Special to the "Evening Telegraph." In the series of articles which have appeared since May we have dealt generally with the principal features of separation allowances as it affects the soldier and his wife or dependent. In this issue we deal with some of the anomalies of the system, which has hitherto evolved at the outbreak of war, and includes many petty and irritating details which demand the urgent attention of the Army Council. Intermittent efforts have been made to eradicate some of the weak points, resulting, as a rule, in entangling the unfortunate dependent still more closely in the meshes of red tape. Every amendment which has been introduced has involved fresh outpourings of long-winded and intricate forms. The basic ideas contained in most of the innovations are excellent. They require a commercial rather than an academic direction.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS.

The first point which occurs to the ordinary layman—and which the expert realises from intimate experience as fruitful of endless correspondence of an acrimonious nature—is the necessity for simplifying the heavy burden which the compulsory allotment entails on the allowance which a grateful nation offers to the soldier for his whole-time service. The withdrawal of this compulsory allotment would remove a genuine grievance, and considerably lighten the daily mill-bag of the regimental paymaster. The Army Council is meticulously correct and exact in seeing that the soldier pays his share of any allowance which may be granted. The same stringent supervision is no means characteristic of the administration of the allowance. We have already drawn attention to the entirely inadequate provisions made for the distribution of the allowances for motherless children. The simple production of a birth certificate is practically sufficient to secure the administration of an allowance for a motherless child. There is no preliminary investigation as to the suitability of the proposed guardian, and no subsequent inquiry as to whether the child is really deriving the benefit of this grant from the public funds. On the other hand, should the mother of an orphan child who has attained the age limit of 16, and who is in a good home under loving guidance, apply for an extension of the allowance, extensive precautions are first taken, and the completion of elaborate forms periodically demanded. The appointment in principal towns and large centres of men experienced in social work, and with an intimate knowledge of the field of their operations, to supervise and report on the allowances for motherless children, would go far towards preventing what is, in fact, a lamentable abuse of public money.

STANDARDISATION OF RATES FOR DEPENDENTS.

Another reform, which if rather drastic and extensive, is nevertheless urgently called for, is the standardisation of the rates for dependents. At present the scale ranges from 1s. to 12s. 6d., based on the soldier's average weekly contributions prior to enlistment, and subject to numerous pitfalls in the matter of the pensionable allotment. Why not make a fixed rate of 12s. 6d. for a wholly dependent parent, with corresponding allowances at children's rate for other members of the household dependent on the soldier? The saving in stationary and correspondence would alone be worth the trouble involved in the change. The Government's avowed intention is to win the war, regardless of cost. Its activities are manifold, and its multitudinous departments all-pervading. Here is a problem which deserves more attention at the hands of its financial experts than it has so far received. The glaring defect in the whole scheme is that it is being run on the old methods of the pre-war Government department. Business-like, stable and commercial schemes are possible, and the Government should be commended for its efforts to improve the system.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

PENSION.—If the recipient receives her money from the Central Pension Office, the matter is in order. If not, she should cease drawing the allowance, and draw the paymaster's attention to the matter. If she continues drawing the allowance, knowing it to be illegal, she is liable to prosecution. S.G.R.—We fear that you are not entitled to any increased allowance. It is assessed on the actual pre-war earnings, and not on the prospective or future income. INQUIRY.—You can claim either a Pension or Gratuity in respect of your son. The gratuity would be calculated on a year's Separation Allowance or a year's rate of pay of the soldier, whichever is greater. The paymaster will forward you the necessary form on which to make the claim when the continuation period of 26 weeks is near completed.

SOUTH COUNTY DUBLIN

Dr. Lorcan Sherlock Not a Candidate

Amongst those who have been mentioned as likely to be candidates in the Nationalist interest for South County Dublin are Messrs. Thomas Clarke, J.P., Chairman Rathfarnham Guardians; James J. Kennedy, J.P., Chairman Kingstown Urban Council; and J. P. McCabe, J.P., Chairman Blackrock Urban Council. Our London Correspondent writes:—Dr. Lorcan Sherlock authorises me to state that there is no foundation for the statement in which his name has been mentioned in connection with the South Dublin vacancy. He has, he asserts, no intention of being a candidate, and has not requested support from anybody in the constituency. It is, however, the rumour is true that Alderman Dr. M'Walter is about to be a candidate. Dr. Sherlock would be glad to give him all the support in his power.

FREEDOM OF NATIONS

American Labour Insists on People's Rights

Washington, Thursday (Reuter).—Mr. Gumpers, President of the American Federation of Labour, has cabled to Mr. Dunlop, representative of organised labour with the American mission to Russia, as follows:—Cablegrams from Petrograd published in the American newspapers contain information that a conference has been called by Petrograd to consider the advisability of calling a Congress of Socialist bodies, Federations, and trade unions throughout the world. The credentials which have been issued to you by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour authorize you to participate in such a conference, and if invited, you are advised to accept the invitation. Of course you will insist on the acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy for every country, and also of the necessity of all peoples in such countries, large or small, to live their own lives and to work out their own destinies. The cause for which America entered this war was to safeguard these principles. Much as we desire peace, no false notions should prevail. The world cannot any longer tolerate half autonomy and half democracy. Either one or the other will prevail. American Labour will fight for the destruction of autocracy and the restoration of democracy and maintenance of democracy.

LABOUR UNREST AND HIGH FOOD PRICES

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph. Sir—The Commissioners appointed by the Government to inquire into the above subject were received yesterday by Mr. Lloyd George. The Premier, addressing the gathering, dwelt on one of the causes of industrial unrest, viz., "high prices," which he said they were not going to wait for report if Commissioners to deal with. Did this imply ever apply to Ireland? Is it possible that this implied promise of some relief that is so often made on the same wire that cables are to be actually bought £10 to £12 per head dearer in Ireland than the return by the Government themselves than last. Starting with the price the Government have purchased, viz., Australian beef, 4½d per lb.; mutton, 6d to 6½d, viz., dressed meat ready to be consumed, there would seem to be some relief for the English nation who eat this meat when we can get it. Recently it was up to 1s 6d retail. The Irish artisan is now faced with cattle 1s 4d per lb and the cheaper autumn months (at least they used to be) when Ireland's millions of cattle were being distributed, the price was 1s 3d per lb.—by the Government themselves. The closing of butchers' shops is the only result I can see of this latest action by the Government. Even the most astute Government official cannot increase the price of live cattle and decrease the price of the same beef in meat. Irish cattle are bought dear by the farmer; his feeding stuffs are the world's record. The Government may be justified in securing him with profit out of his position. We, butchers, have to condemn the discontent caused by price as distributors. Why not, as a solution, take the offer we have made of our shops? If it will help the Premier's co-operative distribution of the country's food assets scheme. Again I say who has walked off with the swag in the foreign market? I give you prices of their original market and out. WILLIAM T. DELANY, J.P., T.C. Dublin, June 11, 1917.

MEETING OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber of Commerce met on Thursday evening, June 11, 1917, at 8 o'clock, in the City Hall, Dublin. The meeting was presided over by Mr. J. J. O'Connell, Chairman, and Mr. J. J. O'Connell, Secretary. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. A report was received from the Finance Committee, and a resolution was passed regarding the same. The meeting then adjourned until the next meeting on Thursday evening, June 18, 1917.

GERMANY FROM WITHIN

Saving the Harvest

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS

London, Thursday Afternoon. One of the most definite indications of the food situation in Germany is the elaborate organisation of a scheme to anticipate the corn harvest. It has been decided, says the "Times," to pay farmers a premium of three marks for every hundred-weight of corn threshed and delivered by the middle of August, two marks for every hundred-weight threshed and delivered by September 1, and one mark for every hundred-weight threshed and delivered during September. At the same time special supplies of coal and other materials are promised to districts which undertake to begin the harvest before the middle of July. As regards labour, more ambitious plans of assistance have been made than in any previous year. Military threshing Kommandos are to be applied wherever possible, and all the public schools, army cadet establishments, schools for non-commissioned officers and so on, will send out their students. As a rule, only youths over 16 years of age will be supplied. The whole bureaucratic and educational machinery is being employed on the scheme. It appears that the harvest returns will only receive board and lodging and 1s 6d a week as pocket-money. France and England. The Berlin "Lokalanzeiger" makes yet one more deploring effort, remarks the London "Daily Express," to convince Berliners that there is no real friendship between France and England. We are perfectly well aware that, notwithstanding all the claptrap we are constantly reading, there exists no real harmony between the English and the French. The English are not in the habit of lending unselfish assistance to others. When ever they render any services they always take good care to make others feel that they are the overlords. The Parisians are beginning to tremble at the possible consequences of a mistaken marriage between Marianne and John Bull. We have it on the faith of fair-minded and observant neutrals who have lately been in Paris that the signs and tokens of Marianne's daily augmenting disgust at the unnatural union into which she has been forced are everywhere in evidence. Nobody now dares in any public resort to play or sing the English National anthem. Recently at the Cafe Riche a Swiss orchestral conductor, newly arrived in Paris, who knew naught of these restrictions, struck up "God save the King," and was assailed by all those present with beer trays, saucers and other missiles with such fury that he had to retire from the scene with the blood trickling down his face.

IN MEMORIAM

Major Willie Redmond

One of the Irish great, with a soul that knew no fear, And a heart that knew no hate, when the stern hour grew near. He stretched his hand to his brothers, With the death-deed on his brow, And the hand grown old, Oh Ulster, Will you not grasp it now? He stretched his hand to his brothers, With the death-deed on his brow, And the hand grown old, Oh Ulster, Will you not grasp it now? Will you, can you forget the supreme price he paid, While the world is singing yet with the brave spirit he made? He from the blood-red field, Whose Minister and Ulster rose To conquer or die, Oh Ulster, Will you not grasp it now? Tonight the Four Winds are sobbing Around his native shore, And the burden of their sighing Is the too dread word "no more." Yes he died, as he lived, for Ireland, And sorrow to pride gave way, Has he died in vain? Oh Ulster, Will you not grasp it now? S. GIBBINS HURLEY.

TRAMWAYMEN'S GRIEVANCES.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph. Sir—I and a great many other tramway men read with no small interest Mr. Hogan's letter in this evening's TELEGRAPH, in which he uses most picturesque nautical language, and what one would expect from a person living near the Dalkey Sound—to justify his abandoning the meeting which he himself had to be held on Saturday night. Now, I tell him that no one believed he had any intention of deserting the Trades Union ship up to Sunday morning, and his explanation as to his absence from Rutland Square seems satisfactory enough. But why should a special train be got to bring in the Dalkey men to Dublin? Could not a few brakes be got cheaper, and on a fine summer's night and morning they would be as comfortable a mode of locomotion as a luxurious special provided by the traffic manager, who I don't think is

GOSSIP OF THE DAY

Strong Enemy Free Invades Derbyshire

Do you like caterpillars? No! Well, well, we all have our likes and dislikes. Personally I have no use for the wriggling things, but I dare say there are folk who, when they feel that nobody loves them, go out into the garden and play with the furry-wuzzler. It is possible that there are people who, having in mind the caterpillar's eventual evolution into a butterfly—a thing of beauty and a joy for an hour—would like to form a society for its protection and education. But I don't think any of those tender-hearted folk can live in the Peak district of Derbyshire. Around that way just now they are suffering from too much caterpillar. From the accounts of voracious special correspondents all the letters of emigrated residents I gather that a caterpillar army has mobilised down there, and is holding up the traffic, destroying the crops, chasing the cattle to look pasturage, and playing Old Harry generally. Wonderful what friend caterpillar can do when there is a lot of him, all animated by the one idea—grub!

The main body of the marching army is concentrating on Chapel-en-le-Frith. I think they must have been annoyed by the noise of the place. Other bodies are reported from the vicinity of Tideswell, Wilehall (near Buxton), and on the hills near Kettletholme, in Cheshire. The inhabitants of the annexed districts are making desperate attempts to resist the advance. In one place the highway surveyor spread a broad belt of lime half-an-inch deep across the road. It killed the wheelings of the army, but the vast majority got through, and seemed, if anything, in better form than ever. At another point the roads were sprayed with a solution of paraffin and water, and this seems to have been more or less successful until the invaders hit upon the idea of going round the obstacle. Urgent appeals have been sent to the Board of Agriculture for reinforcements in the shape of experts. There seems, however, to have been some delay in sending the required help. I suppose the Board has never been up against a proposition like this before, and doesn't know exactly what kind of experts are required or where to find them.

These caterpillars appear to be larger and more hefty than the common garden variety. The main army is said to be five miles long and half a mile deep. A local official who gallantly volunteered to spy on the band succeeded in taking several prisoners single-handed, and they are reported to be extra large and hairy, veritable Samsons among caterpillars, as it were. In the villages timid folk speak with bated breath of the "monsters," and use them as a piece of the old Bogey Man as an inducement to make the children go to bed at a reasonable hour. A proof of the military intelligence of the leaders, it may be mentioned that they are prying most conclusively Napoleon's axiom that an army marches upon its stomach. Furthermore, they are making the enemy's last support their own strength. At the moment it just appears to me to be a very good idea to have the roots or young shoots of rank mountain grass, it will be seen that the commissariat has an easy job. Cattle, however, refuse to eat what the caterpillars have passed over, and in one case a flock of disgruntled sheep has emigrated of their own accord in search of sweeter grass.

It is quite evident that there are few Alpinists among the Furry-Wuzzlers. Walls evidently present a serious difficulty to them. An intrepid Pressman (we are a brave race) who saw the army at close quarters makes this clear. He says:—A material pulled up to draw up attention to a hole of mastic things on the wall. For fully a quarter of a mile along the limestone road there was a moving mass, millions upon millions. Like an advancing army they came over the mountain, wriggling and writhing amongst the trees. Walls and such other things. They scrambled up, and in reaching the top were unable to clear the downward road, and they dropped into the grass. Across the road they were seen to be crawling and the

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MODERN EARTHENWARE.

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LAW SOCIETY APPOINTMENT.
At a meeting yesterday the Council of the
Incorporated Law Society appointed Mr.
Francis O. McKeever (Sen. Mod.), B.A.,
LL.B., T.C.D., solicitor, to the office of
Professor of Equity, Real Property Law, and
Conveyancing.

SACRED HEART HOME, DRUMCONRA.—The
Committee met yesterday. Present—Miss
O'Brien (presiding), Mrs. A. M. Sullivan,
Mrs. T. Healy, Mrs. O'Connor, Mrs. Murphy,
Mrs. Murray, Miss Redington Roche, Miss
MacSweeney, Miss Sweetman, Miss O'Reilly,
Miss Power, Ma Souer Monica, Miss Howard.
Receipts box at gate, £1 3s 5d; Miss Gynor,
£1; Asking Prayers, 3s 4d.

SUCCESSFUL STUDENT.—At the recent examina-
tions in Clongowes Wood College, Master
Lysaght Ryan, grandson of Mr. Stephen
O'Mara, Limerick, won the Union Silver
Medal in English Composition.

The British Cabinet she could not have
been better served. The full tide of
Irish sympathy with the Allies' cause
was checked and turned aside. The
spirit created by the passing of the
Home Rule bill into law was poisoned
and perverted by justices partly stupid
and partly criminal. The Irish in the
Colonies who gave such splendid proofs
of their enthusiasm in the early days of
the war were driven into a condition of
angry resentment that has seriously
reacted to the detriment of the Allied
cause. In the United States the policy
of the British Government gave the
small pro-German faction of Clan-na-
Gael professionals their only chance of
developing their propaganda. The
Government are fully aware of these
facts. They have been made known to
Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues by
the accredited representatives of the
various Colonies. Mr. Balfour has had
the evil effects of England's betrayal of
Irish hopes brought home to him in
vivid fashion during his recent visit to
the States. But apparently the forces
that would rather see the Kaiser
triumphant than set Ireland free are still
dominant in the councils of the British
Government. If amnesty is not merely
delayed but diluted it is worse than
worthless. There is nothing to be
gained by releasing "the great majority of
the Sinn Fein prisoners." The mere
fact that the British Government had
marked down certain men to be the par-
ticular victims on whom vengeance
should be wreaked would create a feel-
ing even more intensely hostile than
that which has up to the present pre-
vailed.

It has to be remembered that none of
the men in jail got a trial in the ordinary
sense in which the word is used. Nobody
regards the courts-martial as tri-
bunals of justice. The time, the place,
the surroundings, the secrecy of the
elaborate farces that preceded the
passing of sentence made the whole
thing a huge and repulsive mockery.
Up to the present day the charges
against the men and the evidence on
which they were convicted have been
suppressed. The military who tried
them could by no stretch of imagination
be regarded as a judicial body,
qualified by training, temperament, and
the circumstances of the time to deal
out even-handed justice. They took the
place of judge and jury in a period
of panic, and the whole proceedings of
the courts over which they presided are,
in the eyes of the Irish people, tainted
and perished.

There is but one way to deal with the
whole problem. It is to the interest of
England and the Empire that the good-
will of the Irish race should be secured.
The forthcoming Convention offers a
possible way to that end. If that Con-
vention is to succeed a better atmos-
phere must be created. A policy of
vengeance that arouses antagonism and
creates suspicion must come to an end.
Any convention is hopeless whilst one
of the men who was seduced into rebel-
lion by the teachings of Sir Edward
Carson and his provisional "rebels"
remains in jail. The leader of the
Ulster Unionist Party taught Irishmen
to lose faith in moral suasion and revert
to the principles of physical force. The
Government of which Sir Edward
Carson is a member owes it to those
who believe in constitutional methods
to release the men who put his uncon-
stitutional teachings into practice; but
the release must be full, immediate and
unconditional. Partial amnesty would
be a mockery, a delusion and a snare.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Rev. Father Lawless, the patriotic
parish priest of Faughars, Dundalk, addresses
some plain, unambiguous observations to
the Bishop of Derry, in a letter in to-day's "Free-
man." The Bishop of Derry is undistinguish-

able in his pro-prosecution pose. We do
not see how the Murphyite organs can afford
to let pass the shocking anti-clericalism of
Father Lawless in referring to the Bishop of
Derry's performance in "the unworthy role
of wreckers." It is quite as bad as the mes-
sage which the Very Rev. Canon Quinn, of
Beshbrook, has sent to the Irish Leader, in
which he said—"The name of Edmond will
descend to posterity alongside the names of
O'Connell, O'Donnell, and O'Neill, patriots
and heroes, who laboured and fought for Ire-
land, when your critics will see in their
bosoms unhonoured and unsmug." This of a
man who has been charged with having
"practically sold" Ireland!

Messieurs Sir Peter Reilly O'Connell, of
Belfast, sits in the Gresham Hotel, at the re-
quest of the Bishop of Derry, waiting for the
names of "every County Councillor, Alde-
man, Mayor and Urban Commissioner," who
are willing to leave the Convention—the Conven-
tion on whose behalf Cardinal Logue asks the
prayers of the faithful so that its members
may arrive at "a decision which will put an
end to the jealousies, distrust and divisions
which have been the bane of the nation for
centuries." Sir Peter is also waiting the
money-labile telegrams from the men in Cork
and elsewhere who have been invited to
join in summoning a meeting in
Dublin "to protest against the parti-
san and pre-partisan arrangements for
the proposed Convention." The selection of
Sir Peter Reilly O'Connell as Dr. M'Hugh's
lieutenant in the new campaign has created
some amusement in Belfast, where he is
better known than in Dublin. But what has
become of Mr. Charles O'Neill, D.L., Derry?
Is the Belfast Knight more reliable than the
Derry Deputy? Lieutenant! By way of
pleasing contrast to the wrecking campaign
of Dr. M'Hugh is the meeting held in Cork
to-day. The Bishop of Cork was one of the
signatories to the resolution calling that
meeting for the purpose of "cordially wel-
coming the holding a Convention." If
the Convention is to be destroyed, Sir Peter
Reilly O'Connell, of Belfast, is scarcely the
man for the task.

The new Franchise Bill, with its provision
for practically automatic registration of votes
and for the payment by the State of election
expenses, is bound to hit many persons who
have been receiving remuneration for the
work under the present cumbersome arrange-
ment regarding electoral returns and revis-
ion. The persons interested in this work
include the temporary Revising Barristers,
the Town Clerks of different cities, the Secre-
taries of County Councils, the Clerks of the
Crown and Peace, and the Sheriffs, who are
the Returning Officers at Parliamentary elec-
tions. The Revising Barristers and those con-
nected with municipal and county bodies en-
gaged in the work have been already moving
for the protection of their interests, and now
the Sub-Sheriffs are taking steps to see that
their claims are not overlooked. A deputa-
tion, consisting of Dr. Sherlock, T.O., and
Mr. Richard Bull, Sub-Sheriff of King's
County, representing the Association of
Sheriffs in Ireland, have been at the House
of Commons for the past few days, and have
been putting before members their proposal
for the infusion of a definite sum in the
schedule as reasonable remuneration for the
Sheriff's work.

The depreciation of the business capacity of
Irishmen as long as they continue to live in
their own country has almost passed into a
proverb. The Irishman a progressive and go-
ahead in trade and manufacture everywhere
but at home. So say our critics across the
Channel, and so say also, indeed, their West
British sympathisers in Ireland. The doc-
trines of the wiseacres received distinct rep-
udiation yesterday at the meeting of the Cork
Industrial Development Association, and from
no less a personage than Mr. Perry, the Amer-
ican managing director of the new Ford
Motor Factory in Cork. He told the meeting
how the Ford interests came to Cork through
the agency of the Industrial Development As-
sociation, and he added that it was only fair,
right and proper to say—and he had done
business all over the world—that he never had
the privilege of doing business with men so
businesslike. They were prompt, courteous,
and everything desirable in the commercial
sense. And then he proceeded to point the
moral. The trouble in business matters in all
countries, he said, had always been an ab-
sentee government, which was very often looked
upon as absentee omniscience as well as om-
nipotence. And surely, there is no country
to which the saying is more applicable than to
Ireland.

DEPENDANTS.
Another reform, which if it is drastic and
extensive, is nevertheless urgently called for,
is the standardisation of the rates for de-
pendants. At present the scale ranges from
1s. 12d. 6d., based on the soldier's average
weekly contributions prior to enlistment, and
subject to numerous pitfalls in the matter of
the invalids' allotment. Why not make a
fixed rate of 12s. 6d. for a wholly dependent
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Its activities are manifold, and its multitudi-
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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.
Payers.—If the recipient receives her
money from the Central Pension Office, the
matter is in order. If not, she should
cease drawing the allowance, and draw the
paysmaster's attention to the matter. If she
continues drawing the allowance, knowing it
to be illegal, she is liable to prosecution.
S.C.R.—We fear that you are not entitled
to any increased allowance. It is assessed on
the actual pre-war earnings, and not on
probable or future income.
Inquirer.—You can claim either a
Pension or Gratuity in respect of your son.
The gratuity would be calculated on a year's
Separation Allowance or a year's rate of pay
of the soldier, whichever is greater. The
paysmaster will forward you the necessary
form on which to make the claim when the
continuation period of 26 weeks is near com-
pletion.

Corkonian (Cork).—12s. 6d. is the maxi-
mum Separation allowance which any one de-
pendant can receive. If, however, there were
other members in the household, such as
younger brothers and sisters dependent on the
soldier's contributions, the limit is extended
to that permissible for a wife and a corre-
sponding number of children.

Distressed.—You can obtain a supplement-
ary allowance from your local War Pensions
Committee to enable you to pay your rent.
Curious.—There are two Army Pay Offices
in Ireland—Cork and Dublin. The Pay Office
in Dublin deals with the following regiments—
Dublin Fusiliers, Irish Fusiliers, Innis-
killiog Fusiliers, Royal Irish Rifles, and
North Irish Horse.

Visitor (Lurgan).—Any separation allow-
ance (including allotment) due up to the
death of the wife of a soldier and remaining
for issue is disposed of as follows:—Any
charges on account of funeral or sick-bed
expenses have first claim. The balance, if
any, will be paid to the person in charge of
the soldier's children. Any sum not so dis-
posed of is credited to the soldier's pay ac-
count.

Injustice.—Wives of soldiers enlisted dur-
ing the war who were residing in the Lon-
don Postal Area at the date of enlistment,
if then married, or at the date of marriage
if married after enlistment, are allowed 3s.
per week in addition to the ordinary separa-
tion allowance. The cost of living in Lon-
don is the reason advanced for this dis-
crimination.

Disappointed.—You are not eligible for a
transfer of the separation allowance received
by your late mother, as you were not a
member of the household or in any way de-
pendent on the soldier on enlistment. You
can, however, receive your brother's allot-
ment.
(These articles appear each Thursday.)

LIBERATED.—Six young men, named Robert
Cussen, J. Quigley, M. O'Hara, J. Dick, A.
Lyons, and Wm. O'Grady, who were sen-
tenced to 2 months' imprisonment in connec-
tion with recent disturbances, were released
yesterday morning.

Sir.—The Commissioners appointed by the
Government to inquire into the above sub-
ject were received yesterday by Mr. Leo
George. The Premier, addressing the gather-
ing, dwelt on one of the causes of industrial
unrest, viz., "high prices," which he said
they were not going to "wait for reports of
Commissioners to deal with. Did this inquiry
ever apply to Ireland? Is it possible that
this implied promise of some relief that is
are told almost on the same wire that cattle
are to be actually bought £10 to £12 per head
dearer in Ireland this autumn by the Govern-
ment themselves than last. Starting with
foreign meat, as Sir Albert Stanley says
the price the Government have purchased
viz., Australian beef, 52d per lb., dressed meat, 54
to 56d, viz., dressed meat ready to
be consumed, there would seem to be
some relief for the English house-
hold who eat this meat when they
can get it. Recently it was up to 1s 6d red.
The Irish artisan is now faced with cattle 3-
day is 4d per lb and the cheaper autumn
months (at least they used to be when Ire-
land's millions of cattle were being distrib-
uted to the Continent). The Government's
equal to 1s 3d per lb. by the Government
themselves. The showing of butchers' shops
is the only result I can see of this latest ac-
tion by the Government. Even the most active
Government official cannot increase the price
of live cattle and decrease the price of the
same beast in meat. Irish cattle are bought
dear by the farmer; his feeding stuffs are a
world's record. The Government may feel
justified in securing him with profit out of
his position. We, butchers, have to contend
with the discount caused by price as distributors.
Why not, as a solution, take the offer we
have made of our shops? It fits well with
the Premier's co-operative distribution of the
country's food assets scheme. Again I ask
who has walked off with the swag in the
foreign market? I give you prices of their
original market and ours.
WILLIAM P. DELANY, J.P., T.O.
Dublin, June 13, 1917.

MEETING OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Restrictions on Brewing
A special general meeting of Dublin Cham-
ber of Commerce will be held on 21st inst., to
consider the effect of the Government's
restrictions already in force, or threatened, on
the malting, brewing, distilling, agricultural
and allied industries, and on the trade and
commerce of the country generally, and to
take such action as the meeting may direct.



THE KING OF GREECE.

GUARDIANS' SYMPATHY.—Dungannon Guardian
passed votes of sympathy on the death of
Mrs. Flynn, mother of a member, and of
Mr. Brennan, rate collector. Mr. Kiely was
appointed collector pro tem.

Major Willie Redmond
One of the Irish great, with a soul that knew no fear,
And a heart that knew no hate, when the stern
hour drew near.
He stretched his hand to his brothers,
With the death-deeds on his brow,
And the hand grown cold, Oh Dater,
Will you not grasp it now?
Will you, can you forget the supreme price he paid,
While the world is singing '34 with Os brave
And he made it?

From the Island of Field,
Where Minister and Leader rose
To conquer or die, Oh Dater,
Will you not hear him now?

To-night the Four Winds are sobbing
Around his native shore,
And the burden of their sighing
Is the two blood-stained "no more."
Yet he died, as he lived, for Ireland,
And he gave to public grief a ray,
That he died in vain, Oh Dater.

J. GURRIN HURLEY.

TRAMWAYMEN'S GRIEVANCES.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph.
Sir—I and a great many other tramway
men send with no small interest Mr. Hogan's
letter in this evening's TELEGRAPH, in which
he says most picturesque nautical language.
—just what one would expect from a person
living near the Dalkey Sound—to justify his
abandoning the meeting which he himself
said to be held on Saturday night. Now, I
tell him that no one believed he had any in-
tention of deserting the Trades Union ship
up to Sunday morning, and his explanation
as to his absence from Bolland Square seems
satisfactory enough. But why should a
special team be got to bring in the Dalkey
team to Dublin? Could not a few brakes be
got cheaper, and on a fine summer's night and
morning they would be as comfortable a mode
of locomotion as a luxurious special provided
by the traffic manager, who I don't think is
out to increase our wages. He is not paid for
that sort of thing. There is nothing to be
gained by delay. Why not strike the iron
while it is hot, and hammer out grievances on
the anvil of public opinion at once? I would
appeal to Mr. Hogan and to all conductors
and drivers to decide definitely on holding a
mass meeting on Saturday night next, 16th
inst., for which the Banba Hall, the A.O.B.
Hall, or the Foresters' Hall can be got for the
asking. Mr. Hogan can write to the TEL-
EGRAPH, stating in which of the halls the meet-
ing will be held.
A HARD-PRESSED CONDUCTOR.
Dublin, June 13, 1917.

THE HOME RULE ACT.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph.
Dear Sir.—In a recent issue of your valued
paper you made reference to a pamphlet on
the Home Rule Act by Mr. J. J. Clancy,
M.P., to be obtained, I think, from U.L.L.
offices. You omitted to state the price, and
we are most anxious to obtain it, in view of
the "Independents'" recent explosion. W.
M. Murphy's little games are too transparent
for Clarendon.—Faithfully,
"CLARE."
(The price of Mr. Clancy's pamphlet is one
penny.—Ed. E.T.)

THE COLLINS LIBRARY.

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph.
Dear Sir.—Might I supplement Mr. J. W.
O'Brien's plea, that this collection be secured
for the nation. It would be disastrous if we
were to allow it to be distributed broadcast
under the auctioneer's hammer. Is one
hour's work to dispel the careful accumula-
tion of years. Say the pending auction
until steps are devised to secure the collection
in all its entirety. It is primarily a question
for our Corporation; but falling this, let a
subscription fund be opened. To allow such
a collection of Irish literature to be dispersed
would be a standing disgrace.—Yours truly,
EDWARD GORDON.

REARING ACCIDENT.—Three men—Field,
Buckley, and Mullins—were injured in a
serious blasting accident at Coolgrue, near
Newcastle West. One of Field's legs was
blown off. They were taken to hospital.

PERSONALITIES OF THE GREEK CRISIS



M. ZAIMIS,
The Greek Premier.



M. JONNART,
High Commissioner.



PRINCE ALEXANDER,
The New King.



PRINCE GEORGE,
The Ex-Crown Prince.

These caterpillars appear to be larger and
more hefty than the common garden var-
iety. The main army is said to be five miles
long and half a mile deep. A local official
who gallantly volunteered to spy out the land
succeeded in taking several prisoners single-
handed, and they are reported to be extra
large and hairy, veritable Samsons among
caterpillars, as it were. In the villages limit
folk speak with luted breath of the
"monsters," and use them to placate
of the old Boggy Man as an in-
dument to make the children go
to bed at a reasonable hour. As proof of
the military intelligence of the invaders, it
may be mentioned that they are proving most
conclusively Napoleon's axiom that an army
marches upon its stomach. Fishermen,
they are making the enemy's land supports
them as far as possible. As their principal
diet appears to be vegetable matter, with the
roots or young shoots of rank meadow grass,
it will be seen that the commissariat has an
easy job. Cattle, however, refuse to eat what
the caterpillars have passed over, and in our
case a flock of disgusted sheep have emigrated
of their own accord in search of greener grass.

It is quite evident that there are few
Alpini among the Fuzzy-Wuzzies. Walls
evidently present a serious difficulty to them.
An intrepid Pressman (we are a brave race)
who says the army at close quarters makes
this clear. He says—

A messenger pulled up to draw my attention to a
horde of crawling Gunges on the wall. For fully a
quarter of a mile along the Dunmore road there was
a moving mass, millions upon millions. Like an
advancing army they came down the mountain,
wriggling and writhing amongst the rocks. Walls
did not deter them. They scrambled up, and on
reaching the top were unable to cling to the down-
ward rocks, and fell straight into the grass. Across
the road they came in waves, but their curious
thing happened.
On reaching the far side of the road they seemed
to stop again, but apparently overcome, they fell
back, and now returned to the roadway, aimed with
the rapidity of snail. After their first visit an
hour only a very few caterpillars scaled the second
wall.

It seems to me that in view of this fatal defect
in the enemy's organisation the defenders can
achieve victory very simply. All they have
to do is erect barricades in the path of the
advancing army and man them with picked
volunteers to grapple with the invaders'
minority of mountaineers.

Of course there are not wanting people
who see in this another manifestation of the
Huns' diabolical ingenuity and merciless
utilization of every means to secure triumph.
One favourite story told seriously by lovers
of legends, is that a Zeppelin passed over
Kinder Scout and dropped millions of in-
sect eggs to hatch out and devour the crops
of England! The more practical minded
attribute the presence of these unscrupulous
to the fact that there has been no heather
burning on the moors for some years, with
the result that there has been a vast increase
of caterpillars. Whatever the cause the
caterpillars are an undeniable fact, and the
situation is serious. If only they could be
annihilated by the vapour of a hot-
blast and persuaded to hurry up and meta-
morphosis all might yet be well. At present,
however, they seem quite satisfied to remain
caterpillars, and are evidently bent on having
a good time.

Another idea occurs to me at the last
minute—just as I am entering the straight,
so to speak. Why not use poison gas? Some
of my friends among the plotters tell me
that they have used gas against the
enemies of their crops with great success. It
is possible that the Derbyshire caterpillars
are impervious to gas attacks, but that re-
mains to be found out. The need is urgent.
Unless effective steps are instantly taken I
expect to hear that the invaders have been
slaughtering sheep and cattle, carrying off
horses, and burning down farmsteads.

J. A. P.

RECORD TRANSACTION.—A midland small
bank, established under the Local Loans Act,
1843, has been doing business since principally
with small farmers. It has lent out in that
time tens of thousands of pounds, and has
the extraordinary record of being paid back in
full, with interest, without contracting a
single bad debt. Thirteen pounds was out-
standing in the case of two young farmers
who joined the colours. Both were killed in
action, as were their sureties. This is the
only sum not redeemed. This satisfactory
statement was made at the annual meeting.

LADY'S SCHOLARSHIP.—A Technical Instruc-
tion Scholarship, tenable for the academic
year, has been awarded by the Leitrim County
Committee to Miss Mary Faughnan, Finn-
lougha, Dromed.

MAJOR REDMOND

Influence of his Death on the Troops

HIS LAST BATTLE

Mr. W. Bruce Thomas, the "Daily Mail" war correspondent in France, writes:— "An account of Major Redmond's death in an English paper has just reached me. I spoke on the day after with some of the men who fought side by side with Major Redmond in his last battle, but they did not wish anything to be said till the world at large knew of his death. He had proved so invaluable a soldier that at least, against his will, he was compelled to go on the staff to enter a few dangerous spots and leave his companions. His value in the new position was as obvious as it had been in the trenches, but on the eve of this battle he so urged his claims to be present with his old battalion that he was irresistible, and leave was given reluctantly and with misgivings.

As a Man inspired. "He went back as a man inspired, delighted as a boy to be with his fighting companions more and more and at the centre of a great battle for freedom.

"When that mist and shell tempest opened at 3.10 on Thursday morning he was one of the very first over the parapet, and it is not easy to be among the first in an Irish regiment—least of all in a trench. He was struck by a fragment of a German shell in the neck and carried a few yards back into the shelter of the trench he had just left. Some of the men near him, who, while waiting, had thought much more of his safety than their own, went forward rejoicing in the belief that a comparatively light wound had saved him from greater dangers to come, and they continued for twenty-four hours to nurse the hope that he was on his way back to England safe from further harm, but the wound in the arm was not the only wound, and while everyone was in full hope of his recovery he died of shock.

A Mystic Influence. "I have already said that he died in an ambulance of Ulster troops who fought alongside the South Irish. This incident has exercised almost a mystic influence on many of the troops, as I know from the lips of the officers and soldiers of his unit. It symbolised mystically the value of his sacrifice and softened the shock of his death.

"The broad facts of his death are as I have given them, and I repeat them because the details of the last moments of another brave Irishman of a name not less well known have been attached to Major Redmond. This other advanced into the wood and was shot at point-blank range on the edge of a German strong point which, thanks largely to his self-sacrificing dash, was successfully stormed at the point of the bayonet."

MESSAGES OF REGRET

Messages of deep regret at the death of Major Redmond continue to be received.

H. M. Queen Alexandra has telegraphed to Mr. John Redmond:—"Accept the expression of my deep and heartfelt sympathy with you on the death of your gallant and most distinguished brother, who has laid down his life in the glorious cause."

ALEXANDRA

Mrs. W. Redmond and Mr. John Redmond have received further messages of sympathy from the following:—

THE MOST REV. DR. FOLEY.

The Most Rev. Dr. Foley, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who wired:—"Deepest sympathy in death of noble-hearted, chivalrous, lovable brother."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor writes:—"My Dear Mrs. Redmond.—The dreadful news of Willie's death was a shock as well as a grief to me. I can only say that his death was worthy of his generous and brave character and of all the great love you always gave him. I pray that the land for which he gave his life may be wise enough to accept all the magnificent love he gave to her."

SENIOR CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN, 16th DIVISION.

Rev. M. O'Connell, senior Catholic Chaplain to the 16th Division, writing to Mrs. Redmond, says:—"Anything I could say would fall very short in trying to express to you how we all feel about poor Willie's death. I.E.P. He was the heart and soul of the Irish Division. We all worshipped him, and made his troubles and joys our own. We have lived in a little world of our own for the past two years, and have been supremely happy. I hear only a uniform expression of grief from all on the loss of a true and sincere friend and, mingled with this, a pride and satisfaction in the glorious circumstances that attended his death. All the chaplains deplore poor Willie's loss. He was always their champion."

LIEUT.-COLONEL ROCHE KELLY.

Lieut.-Col. Roche Kelly, Commanding Officer of the Royal Irish, writes to Mrs. Redmond:—"The gallant and brave Major Redmond, who died for his country, has left behind him a name which will live for ever in the hearts of his countrymen."

(Vice-Chairman, Richard K. Gamble, J.P.; Wm. Wallace, J.P.; Marcus Goodbody, J.P.; Lawrence Martin, William Crowe, George Byrne, J.P.; James W. Hill, J.P.; David Barry, Wm. H. Litchfield, S. S. McCormick, J.P.; William Hewat.

The Chairman said since they had lost another prominent and respected Irishman had passed away in the person of Major Redmond. The Board would be doing itself honour in respecting his memory and in passing a vote of condolence with his family.

Mr. Hill, in seconding, said they all felt that he had died for Ireland.

Mr. McCormick—I think Major Redmond had done more to cement the differences existing among Irishmen than any other politician.

Mr. Litchfield—I think the country has lost a great man in Major Redmond.

Mr. Hewat identified himself with the tribute to Major Redmond's memory, and said his death had now become a great national loss. He was certainly a man who at a time like this would be a very great bond of union between the different parties in this country, and his loss at the present time was one that they must all deplore, whether they agreed with his political views or not.

Mr. Hollway associated himself with his colleagues, and said Major Redmond had played the part of a man and a true patriot.

The vote of condolence was passed unanimously.

A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE

Willie Redmond's Views

A UNITED IRELAND

"Had Poor Kettle Lived"

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle writes to the "Times":—"Perhaps you would care to publish the enclosed letter from Major Redmond, which may almost be described as his voice from the grave, calling upon the coming Convention to work hard for a decision. I am sure that when the men of the North read such words they will realize that there are many outside their own ranks who would stand by them if any real attempt were made to act fairly towards them, and that such knowledge must help to allay their very natural fears."

December 18, 1916.

Dear Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "It was very good of you to write to me, and I value very much the expression of your opinion. There are a great many Irish men to-day who feel that out of this we should try to build up a new Ireland. The trouble is, men are so timid about meeting each other half-way. It would be fine memorial to the men who have so splendidly if we could, over their graves build up a bridge between the North and South.

"I have been thinking a lot about this lately in France—no one could help doing so when one finds that the two sections from Ireland are actually side by side holding the trenches! No words could do justice to the splendid action of the new Irish soldiers. They never have flinched, they never give any trouble, and they are steady and sober.

"Had poor Kettle lived he would have given the world a wonderful account of things out there. I saw a good deal of Kettle, and we had many talks of the way we both hoped would come out of the war. I have been an extreme Nationalist all my life, and if others as extreme, perhaps, on the other side will only come half-way, then I believe impossible as it may seem, we should be able to hit upon a plan to satisfy the best sentiment and the Imperial sentiment at one and the same time."

"UP THE COUNTY CLARE"

How Willie Redmond Fell

Some of the Nationalist and Ulster soldiers who went over the top with Major Redmond have arrived in London, says the "Daily News," and speak with poignant feeling of the loss of a much-loved leader.

Major Redmond, said one young soldier, "was in high spirit and as irrepressible as ever. He had a joke and a smile for every man, and as we flew over the parapet to the shouts of 'Up the County Clare!' Major Willie showed us a clean pair of heels."

THIS AFTERNOON'S PARLIAMENT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.)

IRISH PRISON WARDERS' WAGES.

Mr. NUGENT asked the Chief Secretary if he was now in a position to state the result of his inquiries into the position of the Irish prison warders as affected by the scheme of payment recently introduced, and whether he is now in a position to recommend the officials in the Irish prison service to be placed on an equality with those on the English scale in accordance with the promise made to them.

Mr. DUKE—I have been in communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had authorized certain detailed improvements in the scheme of payment recently introduced, which have been communicated to the General Prisons Board, and will be published in due course.

REDUCTION OF PRISON STAFF.

Mr. NUGENT asked the Chief Secretary if it is intended to reduce the general staff of the Irish Prisons Service by 100 warders; if the reduction is to be secured by the compulsory retirement of all warders with under 15 years' service; if he is aware that any further reduction of these officials would mean the imposing of extra and long hours of duty on those retained, and that it would impose untold hardships on the married men, with young and helpless families, who would be compelled to remain in such a place in a construction which he says at what date the reduction is to take place and what provision is to be made for the married warders affected.

Mr. DUKE—There has been no proposal made to retire any warders under fifteen years' service. It has been proposed to make up temporarily of the services of such warders as are at present not required for prison work on such other employment as can be found for them.

CHARGE AGAINST IRISHMAN IN ENGLAND.

Mr. O'LEARY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he could state the charge against Henry Stack in respect of which he had been detained in Cumberland Prison since 28th April without trial; whether he would be brought to trial forthwith or admitted to bail; whether he was aware that he was an American citizen; and whether the American Ambassador had been informed of his detention.

Sir George CAVE—I find on inquiry that a man named Henry Stack was detained in Carlisle Prison on remand and awaiting trial in connection with a criminal charge from April 28 to June 1st, when he appeared at the Assizes, was found not guilty, and discharged. The answer to the last two parts of the question is in the negative.

IRISH TEACHERS IN DUBLIN SCHOOLS.

Mr. BYRNE asked the Chief Secretary if he could state the number of principal and assistant teachers respectively employed in National Schools of all kinds in Dublin City and County, and the number of such teachers who were registered as qualified to teach Irish.

Mr. DUKE—The Commissioners of National Education have no returns available to enable them to furnish the information desired.

DESTRUCTIVE CROWS.

Replying to a question, Mr. DUKE said that the Department of Agriculture were fully aware of the importance of dealing with the damage done to crops this season by crows, rooks, and daws; and they had been in communication with the police and military authorities as to what practical steps could be taken. He believed arrangements had been made for authority to be given to manufacturers to supply shot to dealers for sale to holders of licences issued by the Royal Irish Constabulary. No additional order under the Defence of the Realm Regulations appeared to be called for.

EXPORT OF POTATOES.

Replying to Mr. T. M. Healy, who asked whether permits for the export of potatoes were issued on the 24th June by the Department of Agriculture to Cullen and Allen to export 1,000 tons; to the North of Ireland Produce Co. 200 tons; to Warden and Stewart 1,000 tons; and to Messrs. Hugh L. Dargie and Co. for a large engagement; whether at the same time permits were refused to Ulster Catholic merchants, and, if so, would he say on what grounds.

Mr. DUKE said—On the 24th, 25th, and 26th June licences were issued to various contractors, including the firms mentioned in the question, for the export of 1,525 tons of potatoes the past year. He did not intend to give a Presidential address on that occasion, but he would ask them to remember that his whole heart and soul were ever and always wrapped up in the Association. He thought he could claim that he had done a great deal for it—at all events he had done what he could. He had worked hard and honestly, and having come of a fighting breed he would fight for the Association to the last farthing.

THE FREEDOMY.

Dr. Martin Blake, B.Sc., M.D., M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., was re-elected President, and in thanking the meeting, said the profession had done him a very great honour in electing him as President of the Association for the second session. It was a certificate of honour that the members appeared to be satisfied with his action during the past year. He did not intend to give a Presidential address on that occasion, but he would ask them to remember that his whole heart and soul were ever and always wrapped up in the Association. He thought he could claim that he had done a great deal for it—at all events he had done what he could. He had worked hard and honestly, and having come of a fighting breed he would fight for the Association to the last farthing.

Dr. G. E. J. Greene, Monte Vista, Ferns, Co. Wexford, was also re-elected Vice-president, and suitably returned thanks. The Council and Committee having been elected and routine business disposed of the meeting terminated.

RELEASING WINES AND SPIRITS FROM BOND.

Mr. W. I. DOLLAR

BELFAST ACCIDENT

Inquest on the Victims

TANK COLLAPSES AFTER FLASH OF LIGHTNING

The adjourned inquest on the three victims of the disaster which occurred at York road, Belfast, through the collapse of a water tank was resumed this afternoon. The evidence showed that the tank was made last August of reinforced concrete and was almost 70 tons weight. The engineer of the mill could not give any explanation as to the cause of the accident, but mentioned that immediately before it occurred there had been a vivid flash of lightning and a heavy peal of thunder.

IRISH DOCTORS

Annual Meeting of the Association in Dublin

THE MIDWIVES' BILL

The annual general meeting of the Irish Medical Association was held to-day in the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin. Mr. Maurice Blake, the outgoing President, occupied the chair, and there was a representative attendance. Mr. Dick, the secretary, submitted the annual report of the Council, which stated that the membership at the end of 1916 was 615. During the war such questions of vital importance to the profession as superannation for Poor Law Medical Officers and Poor Law reform were still in abeyance. The graded scale of salaries had been adopted by some unions during the past year, but there were still several that had not come into line. The Medicine Act Committee had waited on the Local Government Board, and a Bill had been drafted, and would be presented in Parliament when the time was ripe. The income received, with the balance in hand, amounted to £1,060, and payments to £621, leaving a balance of £439.

A discussion took place on the subject of the proposed Midwives Bill for Ireland. Dr. McGuinness said the Association should take steps to have the matter dealt with. It was an urgent question, affecting the lives of the babies of the country, and Mr. Duke should be pressed to have the Bill which was prepared carried into law in such a manner as to have the clauses suitable to the conditions of the country.

The President said that Mr. Duke was at present a very busy man, and instead of dealing with the birth of babies he was engrossed with the subject of a bill of a union.

Dr. Green proposed that copies of the Bill would be procured, and sent to each county branch of the Association for their consideration.

Dr. Hennessy said the Bill should be sent to the Local Committees of the Medical Profession, for all the doctors were concerned in the matter, and the views of all of them should be taken upon the measure.

The President said he did not see why all the members of the Medical Profession would not see a copy of this Bill. The provisions of the Bill had been submitted to some members of the profession already.

Dr. Hennessy seconded the motion of Dr. Green, which, however, was ruled out of order by the President, and the subject dropped.

The President said the financial state of the Association was satisfactory, and on the motion of Dr. Higgins, seconded by Dr. Connolly, the report and statement of accounts were adopted.

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MUNITIONS TRIBUNAL

Sequel to an Increase of Wages in England

THREE CITY FIRMS INVOLVED

A general Munitions Tribunal sat this afternoon in the Southern Police Court for the purpose of hearing the complaints of three city firms against a number of their employees, who, as alleged, took part in a strike in connection with a difference as to the rates of wages affecting employment on or in connection with munitions of war.

Mr. E. J. McElligott, K.C., presided over the tribunal, with Messrs. H. McLaughlin and Thos. Boniface as assessors.

Mr. E. H. Burns appeared for the complainants, and Mr. William McGrath (instructed by Messrs. James O'Connor and Co.) for the employees.

Mr. Burns, in the opening of the case for the complainants, said that prior to March last there was a conference held under the Munitions of War Act, and an award was made bringing the wages up to a 4c. advance over that which had been in existence prior to these rates. An award was delayed in March under the Munitions of War Act giving an additional 5c. to men and 2c. to boys and youths. That made a total award of 9c. to the men. But before that award was given in March dealing with Ireland an award dealing with the same trades was given in England bringing the total increase up to 12c. When that award was declared in England the Irish representatives claimed special treatment for this country. The Board of Trade agreed that Ireland, having regard to its special circumstances, should be considered separately.

Mr. McGrath—The man says that there was no jurisdiction to make a separate award.

"A Shabby Way" Mr. Burns, continuing, said the men were back at work, but in consequence of a letter received from the Secretary to the Irish Founders' Society, claiming the same rates as the English employees, they applied for an advance to bring the award to 12c. The employers did not agree, and the men walked out, in what the employers thought a shabby way. Strikes were practically prohibited by the Munitions of War Act as illegal. The Munitions of War Act, by section 2, sub-section 1, provided the method to be employed by men dissatisfied with any pay or conditions—they were to give 21 days' notice, for that was what it practically amounted to.

A member of one of the firms concerned gave evidence to the effect that the men were paid 9c. a week increase on pre-war rates acting on an award of March last, and they accepted that. Referring to the other advance applied for, witness said he heard that if the men did not get it they would strike. The work was held up in consequence of the action of the men.

Replying to question put by Mr. McGrath in cross-examination, witness said there was to be special treatment for Ireland in the matter of increased wages, and objection was raised to the inclusion of Ireland in a national arrangement.

Mr. McGrath inquired from which quarter the objection came.

Mr. Burns said the objection came from the Secretary's Department of the Employers' Federation.

Witness said there were different arrangements for different countries.

Mr. McGrath—Is it a fact that in Belfast the iron founders have got an increase corresponding with the English increase?

Witness said that Belfast was different from Dublin. He knew they were getting more than in Dublin, but he did not know how much.

DONEGAL WILL

Suit Involving £100,000

To-day the hearing was resumed of the Probate suit of Gallagher against O'Donnell and another. The plaintiff, James Gallagher, was one of the next of kin of the late Charles McDerritt, merchant, of Glenties, Co. Donegal, who died a bachelor on the 15th April, 1914, leaving assets representing over £100,000. His will was dated 20th January, 1911, and there were two codicils dated respectively 13th and 14th April, 1914. Probate of the will and codicils was granted to the defendants, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, and Mr. Peter Gallagher, Postmaster, Glenties, as executors, and the plaintiff sought to have the probate and codicils revoked and declared null and void on the ground that testator was not of testamentary capacity, and did not know and approve of them. The defendants deny the allegations in the statement of claim, contend that the will and codicils were properly executed, and asked the Court to decree probate. The testator bequeathed by his will certain sums to relatives, and by the codicils £10,000 to provide four nurses at Glen...

SPORTING

ROSGCOMMON MEETING

Arnott's Stable in Form

2.8. STARD PLATE of 20 acres, of which one will run 5 acres. A flat race for horses that have never won a race under any rules value 25 sovereigns. Two miles.

Mr. J. P. Hogan's OAKLEIGH, 3.10. Mr. W. J. J. Hogan's MANIFESTO, 3.10. Mr. J. P. Hogan's MANIFESTO, 3.10. Mr. J. P. Hogan's MANIFESTO, 3.10.

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TO-DAY'S PRODUCE MARKETS

Messages of deep regret at the death of Major Redmond continue to be received.

H. M. Queen Alexandra has telegraphed to Mr. John Redmond:—"Accept the expression of my deep and heartfelt sympathy with you on the death of your gallant and most distinguished brother, who has laid down his life in the glorious cause."

ALEXANDRA

Mrs. W. Redmond and Mr. John Redmond have received further messages of sympathy from the following—

THE MOST REV. DR. FOLEY

The Most Rev. Dr. Foley, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who wired:—"Deepest sympathy in death of noble-hearted, chivalrous, lovable brother."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR

Mr. T. P. O'Connor writes:—"My Dear Mrs. Redmond—The dreadful news of Willie's death was a shock as well as a grief to me. I can only say that his death was worthy of his parents and brave soldier. I pray that the land for which he gave his life may be wise enough to accept all the magnificent love he gave to her."

SENIOR CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN, 16th DIVISION

Rev. M. O'Donnell, senior Catholic Chaplain to the 16th Division, writing to Mrs. Redmond, says:—"Anything I could say would fall very short in trying to express to you how we all feel about poor Willie's death. R.I.P. He was the heart and soul of the Irish Division. We all worshipped him, and made his troubles and joys our own. We have loved in a little world of our own for the past two years, and have been supremely happy. I hear only a uniform expression of grief from all on the loss of a true and sincere friend and, mingled with this, a pride and satisfaction in the glorious circumstances that attended his death. All the chaplains deplore poor Willie's loss. He was always their champion."

LIEUT.-COLONEL ROCHE KELLY

Lieut.-Col. Roche Kelly, Commanding Officer of the Royal Irish, writes to Mrs. Redmond from France:—"I wish to convey to you, on behalf of myself and all ranks of the battalion, our deepest sympathy in your very great loss. We all feel for you very much, and we are all very sad at our loss and our country's loss. Your husband was with me a few hours before the battle commenced. He was quite cheerful and happy to be going over with the men. He went round the companies in the trenches that night and spoke to them all, and I feel sure his words were an incentive to all. On all sides I hear expressions of real regret at his death."

EARL OF DERRY

The Earl of Derry telegraphed:—"I cannot tell you how deeply I sympathize with you in the loss you and the nation have sustained by the death of your gallant brother. Quite apart from other feelings he was a great personal friend of my own, and I shall miss him very much, as he never failed to come and see me when on leave in this country. He was one of the most gallant and patriotic soldiers that this war has produced.—Derry."

A MESSAGE FROM FRANCE

Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Sterling Hotel, Ponticher, Place de la Liberte, Mornant, France, cables:—"Je vous prie d'accepter mon sentiment de profond sympathie pour le mort de votre cher et brave frere, Major Redmond."

WILLIE'S OLD CURATE

Father Doherty, D.D., Arran Quay, Dublin, wired:—"Kindly accept, through sympathy, my deepest sympathy for Willie's old curate in Kilmacode. Loved him in life, forgot him not in death. Said Mass Sunday for his noble soul and asked prayers of a big congregation."

Father Henry, Foxford, telegraphs:—"Deepest sympathy on death of Major Redmond. Cannot forget his noble lead in land war on the De Freyne estate."

TRIBUTE FROM THE IRISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

At the annual meeting of the Irish Medical Association in the College of Surgeons, Dublin, to-day.

Dr. Green, Vice-President, moved: "This meeting of the Irish Medical Association hereby expresses to Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P., and family, and Mrs. William Redmond, our sincerest regret at the sad occurrence which has deprived Ireland and the Parliamentary Party generally and humanity at large, of one of the brightest and most self-sacrificing men that I have ever come across."

He said that Major Redmond had died fighting for his country and the Empire at an age when other men would be sitting in their arm-chairs.

Dr. Marshall Day seconded. Dr. Marley Blake (the President) in putting the resolution, which was passed with the members standing, said no words of his were needed to bring home that resolution to all of them. The whole hearts of Ireland and the Empire at large had gone out to the Redmond family in their sad loss. The death of this glorious and very gallant gentleman had brought fresh lustre upon the fighting Irish name and the Irish race. He had died as he was sure Major Redmond would wish to have died.

PORT BOARD'S SYMPATHY

Alderman Moran, J.P., Chairman, presided at to-day's meeting of the Port and Docks Board, the other members present being:—Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, John Holloway

ing each other half-way. It would be fine memorial to the men who have done so splendidly if we could, over their graves, build up a bridge between the North and South.

"I have been thinking a lot about this lately in France—no one could help doing it when one finds that the two sections from Ireland are actually side by side holding the trenches! No words could do justice to the splendid action of the new Irish soldiers. They never have flinched, they never give any trouble, and they are steady and sober."

"Had poor Kettle lived he would have given the world a wonderful account of things out there. I saw a good deal of Kettle, and we had many talks of the night. We both hoped would come out of the war. I have been an extreme Nationalist all my life, and if others are extreme, perhaps, on the other side will only come half-way, and be able to hit upon a plan to satisfy the feelings and the Imperial sentiment at us and the same time."

UP THE COUNTY CLARE

How Willie Redmond Fell

Some of the Nationalist and Ulster soldiers who went over the top with Major Willie Redmond have arrived in London, says the "Daily News," and speak with poignant feeling of the loss of a much-loved leader. "Major Redmond," said one young soldier, "was in high spirits and as irrepressible as ever. He had a joke and a smile for every man, and as we flew over the parapet to the assault of 'Up the County Clare' Major Willie showed us a clean pair of heels. At this moment there was a hurricane of shells, one of which exploded almost beside Major Redmond. He fell, but at the time we thought his wound was not serious. The men went on with the attack and carried the objective. We took the Germans completely by surprise, and returned with almost light casualties. Speaking of the camaraderie existing between the men of the North and South of Ireland in the trenches, this officer related a story of how a well-known Irish nationalist, a staunch Protestant, had repeatedly risked his life to save old political opponents. "The battlefield," he said, "has melted the passions of bygone days. I'm a Belfast man myself, so I know."

THE IRISH PARTY

Sorrow for Deaths of Major Redmond and Ald. Cotton

A meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party was held at noon yesterday in the House of Commons.

Mr. P. O'Brien presided, and the members present included:—Messrs. Boland, Byrne, Clancy, Condon, Crumley, Devlin, Doms, Duffy, French, Field, Fitzgibbon, Flynn, Gair, G. de la Cour, Guinness, Hayden, De Keating, Kelly, Law, London, MacNeill, MacVeagh, Molloy, Mooney, Muldoon, Murphy, Nolan, Sir W. Nugent, O'Dowd, O'Malley, Dr. O'Neill, O'Shea, Reddy, Scallan, White, P. J. Whitty.

On the motion of Mr. Clancy, seconded by Mr. O'Malley, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

That at this, the first meeting of the Irish Party, since the death in action of our dear colleague, Major William Redmond, we desire to place on record an expression of our deep sorrow that one who so eminently fulfilled the character of an Irish patriot and faithful representative of the Irish people, and who, by the sacrifice of his life for his country, has set the crown on a life of devotion to Ireland, has passed away, and that we beg to tender to Mrs. Redmond, to our Leader, Mr. John E. Redmond, and to the other relatives of the deceased patriot our most sincere sympathy with them in their great misfortune.

On the motion of Mr. Kelly, seconded by Mr. MacVeagh, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

That we, the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, hereby tender to the widow and relatives of Ald. Cotton our sincere sympathy in their bereavement, and express our regret at the loss of a most loyal and respected colleague.

FREIGHTS

LONDON—June 14—There has been no fresh change placed on the markets, consequently charterers cannot execute their orders. Nominally, quotations remain unchanged.

IRISH TEACHERS IN DUBLIN SCHOOLS.

Mr. BYRNE asked the Chief Secretary if he could state the number of principal and assistant teachers respectively employed in National Schools of all kinds in Dublin City and County, and the number of such teachers who were registered as qualified to teach Irish.

Mr. DUKE—The Commissioners of National Education have no returns available to enable them to furnish the information desired.

DESTRUCTIVE CROWS.

Replying to a question, Mr. DUKE said that the Department of Agriculture was fully aware of the importance of dealing with the damage done to crops this season by crows, rooks, and jays, and they had been in communication with the police and military authorities as to what practical steps could be taken. He believed arrangements had been made for authority to give prizes to manufacturers to supply shot to shooters for use to holders of licenses issued by the Royal Irish Constabulary. No additional system under the Deference of the Board.

EXPORT OF POTATOES.

Replying to Mr. Y. M. Harty, who asked whether permits for the export of potatoes were issued on the 14th June by the Department of Agriculture to Galley and Allen to export 1,000 tons; to the North of Ireland Produce Co. 200 tons; to Warden and Stewart 1,000 tons; and to Messrs. Hugh T. Barrie and Co. for a large consignment; whether at the same time permits were refused to Ulster Catholic merchants, and, if so, would he say on what grounds.

Mr. DUKE said—On the 4th, 5th, and 6th June licenses were issued to six contractors, including the firms mentioned in the question, for the export of 1,325 tons of potatoes which had been secured but were not immediately required by the military authorities. Licences are granted only in the case of potatoes actually secured for the military, and there is no ground for the suggestion in the concluding portion of the question.

RELEASING WINES AND SPIRITS FROM BOND.

Mr. NUGENT asked the Chief Secretary whether under the regulations made by the Customs and Excise licensed traders are entitled to release from bond for the year ending 31st March, 1918, on paying the duty assessable, fifty per cent. of the quantity of wines and spirits cleared by them during the year 1916, and if it is understood that this amount is to be apportioned over quarterly periods ending 30th June, 1917; 30th September, 1917; and 31st March, 1918, during each of which periods the quantity allowable would be 25 per cent. of 1916 clearance; why it is that Dublin traders who made returns in March last have not yet been furnished with authority to clear what they are entitled to for even the first quarter ending 30th June, 1917; whether instalment authorities have been issued for the half-year authorities to be furnished with traders have applied to be furnished with authority for the balance to which they are entitled; the accuracy of the returns made had been established; the Advisory Committee will authorize the clearance of whatever amount appears to be due; why, after the lapse of nearly three months, it has not been possible to check the returns; if it is intended to give any fair play at all to a trade which has provided so much revenue for the Government, if certain regulations in restriction of trade have been made, and why officials can make the case still harder by not allowing traders to know what they are obviously entitled to under the regulations made by or under the authority of the Imperial Government.

Mr. BALDWIN—The Regulations under the Intoxicating Liquor Order, 1917, dated March 29, 1917, provide for the issue of authorities to clear from ships' side or bonded warehouses during each of the two periods of six months ending 30th September, 1917, and 31st March, 1918, quantities of spirits not exceeding 25 per cent. of the total quantities delivered during the year, 1916, and the quantities that may be delivered in each period can be cleared at any time in the period. The Board of Customs and Excise are not aware of any case in which a Dublin trader who had made application for an authority and whose application appeared to furnish correct particulars, has not yet been furnished with an instalment authority to clear, but if the hon. member will furnish them with particulars inquiry will be made into the matter. It is a fact that traders have been informed that authorities for the balance to which they are entitled will be issued when the accuracy of the returns made in connection with the applications for authorities has been established, and the delay in the issue of such authorities has been due partly to pressure of work and in some cases to the failure of traders to give correct particulars in their returns. Every effort is, however, being made to issue as rapidly as possible authorities to applicants to clear the full quantities to which they may be entitled.

MULLINGAR SEWAGE SYSTEM.

Replying to a member, Mr. MACPHERSON said that no report from the sanitary officer of Mullingar with reference to the danger to the public health from an open sewer running from the military barracks through certain private grounds appeared to have reached the military authorities. No action was contemplated, as the local officers report that the whole sewage system, which was not an open sewer, but a

ground was subject of a birth of a nation.

Dr. Green asked that copies of the Bill would be procured, and sent to each county branch of the Association for their consideration.

Dr. Hennessy said the Bill should be sent to the Local Committees of the Medical Profession, for all the doctors were concerned in the matter, and the views of all of them should be taken upon the measure.

The President said he did not see why all the members of the Medical Profession would not see a copy of this Bill. The provisions of the Bill had been submitted to some members of the profession already.

Dr. Hennessy seconded the motion of Dr. Green, which, however, was ruled out of order by the President, and the subject dropped.

The President said the financial state of the Association was satisfactory, and on the motion of Dr. Higgins, seconded by Mr. Connolly, the report and statement of accounts were adopted.

THE PRESIDENCY

Dr. Sturges, senior member of the Council, was re-elected President, and in thanking the meeting, said the profession had done him a very great honour in an obscure country doctor in electing him as President of the Association for the second session. It was a certificate of honour that the members appeared to be satisfied with his action during the past year. He did not intend to give a Presidential address on that occasion, but he would ask them to remember that his whole heart and soul were ever and always wrapped up in the Association. He thought he could claim that he had done a great deal for it—at all events he had done what he could. He had worked hard and honestly, and having come of a fighting breed he would fight for the Association to the last (applause).

Dr. G. E. J. Greene, Monte Vista, Ferns, Co. Wexford, was also re-elected Vice-president, and suitably returned thanks. The Council and Committee having been elected and routine business disposed of the meeting terminated.

MR. W. J. DOLLAR

Resignation from Port Board

At to-day's meeting of the Port and Docks Board, Alderman Moran, J.P. (Chairman), presiding, a report was read from the Law Agent giving the judgment of the Court of King's Bench in the case of the King (Scott) v. Dollar, and read.

A letter was read from Mr. W. J. Dollar, formally notifying that he had vacated his seat on the Board. This was brought about owing to the "law" delay," and a copy of the letter, which he now no longer possessed, the qualifications he held when elected in January, 1915.

properly designed pipe line, was in perfect order.

A REBELLION VICTIM.

Mr. NUGENT asked the Chief Secretary whether compensation at the rate of 10s per week had been awarded in the case of Christopher Broughal, 133 Foley street, Dublin, who was injured during the rebellion in Dublin last year, and who was the sole support of his mother, since deceased, and a young sister aged eight years; whether he is aware that on the death of Christopher Broughal in April this year, as a result of the injuries he received, application was made for compensation on behalf of his sister, Mary Broughal, who had been dependent on him and who, after her mother's death, had gone to live with her half-brother, John Kelly, at 14 St. Joseph's parade; if he will explain why compensation had been refused in the case of this dependant; and if he will see that provision is made for this young girl's upkeep by having reasonable compensation awarded.

Mr. DUKE—An award of 12s a week was approved in the case of Christopher Broughal in respect of injuries sustained by him in the rebellion, with effect from the 25th April, 1916, and the allowance was paid down to the date of his death. An application was subsequently made for a grant of compensation to the sister of the deceased, but I am informed that dependancy was not established.

SUBMARINING OF IRISH FISHING BOATS.

Mr. O'LEARY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty whether measures had been adopted to give Irish fishing boats adequate protection against the operations of enemy submarines.

Dr. MACNAMARA—The Irish fishing vessels receive all the protection that can be given to them.

DUBLIN CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE'S SUGGESTION

Mr. DUKE informed Mr. Byrne that he had received a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Child Welfare Committee of the Women's National Health Association, held in Dublin on the 10th May last, to the effect that section 7 of the Poor Law (Ireland) Act, 1862, should be amended so as to enable necessitous children requiring medical or surgical treatment to be sent by the Guardians to an hospital or infirmary without insisting on such children being previously made inmates of a workhouse, and that further legislation was requested for the purpose of enabling the Guardians to provide out of the rates institutional care for crippled or other defective children. In the event of a revision of the Poor Law the proposal in question would not be overlooked.

replying to question put by Mr. O'Grath in cross-examination, witness said there was to be special treatment for Ireland in the matter of increased wages, and objection was raised to the inclusion of Ireland in a national arrangement.

Mr. M'Grath inquired from which quarter the objection came.

Mr. Byrne said the objection came from the Secretary's Department of the Employers' Federation.

Witness said there were different arrangements for different countries.

Mr. M'Grath—Is it a fact that in Belfast the iron founders have got an increase corresponding with the English increase?

Witness said that Belfast was different from Dublin. He knew they were getting more than in Dublin, but he did not know how much.

DONEGAL WILL

Suit Involving £100,000

To-day the hearing was resumed of the Probate suit of Gallagher against O'Donnell and another. The plaintiff, James Gallagher, was one of the next of kin of the late Charles M'Devitt, merchant, of Glenties, Co. Donegal, who died a bachelor on the 15th April, 1914, leaving assets representing over £100,000. His will was dated 29th January, 1911, and there were two codicils dated respectively 13th and 14th April, 1914. Probate of the will and affidavits were granted to the defendants, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, and Mr. Peter Gallagher, Postmaster, Glenties, as executors, and the plaintiff sought to have the probate and codicils revoked and declared null and void on the ground that testator was not testamentary capacity, and did not know and approve of them. The defendants deny the allegations in the statement of claim, contend that the will and codicils were properly executed, and asked the Court to decree probate. The testator bequeathed by his will certain sums to relatives, and by the codicils £10,000 to provide four nurses at Glenties, Bessies and Fintona, £4,000 for Christian Brothers, £5,000 for a church, £5,000 for a convent, etc., and the residue to be applied by the executor for technical, industrial and benevolent purposes.

Mr. Serjeant Matheson, Mr. James MacLoone, K.C., and Mr. T. W. Brown (instructed by Messrs. George Muldoon and Son) for the plaintiff.

Mr. Serjeant Sullivan, Mr. M'Conn, K.C.; Mr. Pigot, K.C., and Mr. Little (instructed by Messrs. O'Hagan and Son) for the defendants.

Mr. T. H. Maxwell (instructed by Mr. T. M. Maxwell) for the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests.

Mr. H. R. Sullivan (instructed by Mr. Hawthorne) held a watching brief for next-of-kin.

The Lord Chief Justice—I just wanted to ask you question. Can you recall whether, before you came to Dublin to see the testator during Easter week, you received any communication as to his condition? I cannot recollect receiving any communication from the home.

Mr. MacLoone, K.C., then addressed the jury for the plaintiff, and said the courts had very seldom to deal with a case of this kind, involving such a vast sum of money as £100,000.

The Lord Chief Justice—So far as I understand, your client gets nothing so far as the first codicil is concerned.

Mr. MacLoone said that was so. Serjeant Matheson said it depended on the actual construction of the two codicils.

Counsel on both sides having addressed the court, the case was adjourned until to-morrow morning.

DESERTED HER CHILDREN

Dublin Woman Sentenced to One Month's Imprisonment

In the Northern Police Court to-day, before Mr. Macintyre, K.C., a woman named Annie Fitzgerald, the wife of a soldier at present on active service, was charged on remand at the instance of the N.S.P.C.C., with neglecting her children—Mary (9), Evelyn (8), Nicholas (5), John (3), and Annie (1½). It was stated that accused left the children and went to reside in Manchester, where she was arrested on warrant by Detective-Sergeant Cummins, of the Dublin Police.

Inspector O'Connor, of the Society, presented complaints from a Sister of the Convent at Golden Bridge, agreeing to take the girls, and also a consent from a woman who was recommended by him to take the boys.

Mr. J. W. Davis, solicitor, who appeared for the prosecution, explained that no correspondence could be had with the War Office as regards the way in which the soldiers' money could be applied for the benefit of the children until the Court had made its order. He had custody of the original "ring paper" issued by the War Office, which would enable him to see that the needs of the children should be properly looked after.

The magistrate made an order handing the children over to the custody of the persons mentioned in the consents, and sentenced the mother to one month's imprisonment.

WAR VETERAN'S DEATH.—The death has taken place at Garten, Co. Sligo, of Thomas Kane, a veteran of the American Civil War.

ride. A notice of a similar character at the last Carragh Meeting proved a success. Entries close on Wednesday next.

WELL-KNOWN GREYHOUND DEAD.

Mr. M. G. Hale has lost his dog, Harry Challenge, who ran up in the Waterloo Cup in 1915, when he was beaten by Sir Thomas Dewar's Winning Number.

CYCLING.

Fingal Road.

The first of the club handlings for the season will take place on Saturday, 22nd inst., when a 25-mile road race will be held over the usual out-and-home course at Ashtown. Members intending to compete are requested to send in their entries to Mr. F. J. Hyder, hon. secretary, 13 Upper Beaght street, before Wednesday, 20th inst.

CITY TEACHERS' CLAIMS

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph.

Dear Sir,—As there appears to be considerable misunderstanding as to the claims put forward on behalf of all city teachers, I am requested by my committee to ask you to please publish the following copy of our memorial, which speaks for itself.

"We, the undersigned city teachers, beg to request you to give your kind consideration to the following, in order that the situation of the harassed city and suburban teachers in Ireland may be made known to the public and the basis as between city and country teachers:—

- (1) Abnormally high house rents in the city as compared with rents in the country;
- (2) High cost to city teachers of such important articles of food as milk, butter, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, etc., which are obtainable at first, or sometimes even at second, hand in the country;
- (3) Expenses occasioned by circumstances and customs unknown to city life;
- (4) Facilities of supplementing official incomes at various points in the country;
- (5) Recognition by municipal officers, Post Office, Police, and Civil Service Authorities, by Education Authorities in other countries, and by railway and other corporations, of the fact that the "lowest of the cost of living exists in all quarters of metropolitan Ireland" and that city teachers are entitled to special allowances to meet the extra cost of living in cities.

"As an illustration of the magnitude of the principle mentioned in (2) above, we quote the following table of the cost of living in Dublin, as shown on the Great Southern and Western Railway, and made fixed some years ago by the Post Office authorities for posting and telegraph bills in Ireland:—

"We therefore, most earnestly beg to request that in fixing the future salaries of Irish teachers the principle of increasing salaries to meet extra cost of living be recognized, and that we be paid the full economic equivalent of the salaries of country teachers."

We further very respectfully request that in deciding as to salaries to be paid to city teachers we be guided by some value for the figure in the appended table which shows wages and salaries in the similar towns and country districts:—

Mr. HANLEY, Secretary, City Teachers' Committee, 44 Dunmough street, 12th July 1917.

THE LATE ALDERMAN COTTON, M.P.

At the meeting of the Port and Docks Board to-day, the Chairman (Alderman Moran) said that since the Board had last met, one who had been an old and valued member of that Board had passed away, in the person of the late Alderman Cotton. They all regretted his death, and he moved that a vote of condolence be passed to the family of the late Alderman.

Mr. M'Clernan seconded the vote of condolence, and said he had always found Alderman Cotton a faithful and generous supporter of the Board.

Mr. Wallace joined in the vote of condolence, which was passed, all the members standing.

LATEST LONDON MONEY.

2.30—Money wanted. Call loans, 4½ to 5½ per cent.; bills, 4½ to 5½ per cent. (Rio, 13 21-32; Buenos Ayres, 50d; Valparaiso, 12 17-32d; Madrid, 30.17; Petrograd, 208. The Stock Exchange is extremely quiet, the only feature being the firmness of Industrials, though business is restricted. Fraser Chalmers, 18s; Lambert, 4½; Thorncroft, 35 6d; Nobels, 50s; National Explosives, 32s 6d. Gilt-edged securities extremely quiet, and prices are generally unchanged. Consols, 54½; War Loan, 94 7-16. Home Rails are notably unchanged, the record of dealings being very small. Great Western shows the most activity, marking 89½. Foreign Rails featureless, but an inquiry prevails for Asahi-fagata Preferred Ordinary at 86. Argentine issues steady. Absence of support has caused an unsettled tone in the Rubber market, several descriptions being easier. The feature in Oils is the firmness of Shells.

Births, Marriages and Deaths

Announcements of Births, Marriages, and Deaths are charged at the rate of One Penny per word. Minimum charge 2/6. All announcements must be authenticated.

DEATHS.

CLARE (Dublin)—June 13, 1917, at his residence, 25, Finlay's Lane, Clontarf, the late William Clary, aged 78 years, died at 10.30 a.m. Burial at Glasnevin Cemetery. American papers, please copy.

For the average rate of gold for the week ending 14th June, 1917, see the 14th June issue of the "Daily News."

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If you wish to secure a copy of the best informed paper in Ireland regularly, without disappointment, become a subscriber

to THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL

"THE REAL ULSTER"

A Further Reply from Mr. O'Kane

To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph.

Sir—I agree that Ballycastle had nothing to do with the controversy. Why, then, did Mr. Moles introduce it in his first letter? He says the penal laws are outside the subject, and yet starting him in the face are the Acts of Parliament inviting "foreign Protestants" over, and giving, "in the Protestant interest in Ireland, the utmost encouragement to the linen industry," and "immunities given to Protestant weavers and Protestant flax-dressers" which, according to the very author quoted by Mr. Moles (Newenham), contributed "to confine the linen manufacture in a great degree to Ulster." The very words which I used, stating that the trade restrictions and penal laws acted and reacted on each other, and were, in fact, intertwined, were not mine. They were the words of Lecky and Froese. Quotation marks were purposely omitted just to test Mr. Moles's criticism. Those eminent historians were, therefore, in the classic language of my friend, Mr. "Lobby." The Catholics are only the pawns manipulated by the Protestants had done on 200 years of a start in commercial life, and Mr. Moles sees no undue advantage in this. He doesn't want to. It is pure balderdash to argue that no Catholic ever sought to be Lord Mayor. Would he have got it if he did? Is a Catholic to go begging for the position? Rather is it not the duty of a majority, if it wants to be generous, to offer the honour to one of the minority? It only adds insult to injury to say that Protestants were concerned about a Catholic Councillor's pocket. I again ask when was a Catholic ever asked, publicly or privately, to accept the post? I venture to repeat that he never will be asked. In my last I specifically stated that I deferred dealing with Cavan and Armagh for want of space, and I am now charged with running away. Perhaps this is the method of an old campaigner. It was my intention to say that I was not accurate in claiming for Cavan that the highly-paid offices were chiefly held by Protestants. I find, however, nine Protestant officials out of thirty-three in good positions. The chief position—county surveyor—held by a Catholic, was filled by open competition. When the County Council took over control in 1899 it was found that in a county over 80 per cent. Catholic not a single member of the popular faith had been employed in any capacity. In spite of this example, a few years ago, Cavan Urban Council, consisting of fourteen Catholics to four Protestants, elected a Protestant town surveyor, there being a strong Catholic candidate against him, who only got six votes. In Armagh the acquisition of the tolls was resisted by the Ascendancy at every step, and it put £2,000 of costs on the town, and because the Council appointed their own solicitor, in place of one who had fought against them on all occasions, it is made a fault. On the eve of acquiring the tolls the secretary died, and the Council requested the committee, who were almost out of office, not to fill the position. This was refused, and an old man was appointed. He was not retained; neither was the superintendent, a farmer, living three miles out. The other officials, with one exception—a recently-appointed ex-policeman—were retained. It was, however, County Armagh I had referred to, and Mr. Moles replied that they were represented "in the coroners, rate collectors, and assistant surveyors." This sounds fine, but let us analyse it. There is one coroner out of three, one assistant surveyor out of six, and one rate collector out of twelve, and with the poorest district. Out of fifty officials five are Catholics in a county numbering 68,740 Protestants and 56,602 Catholics, and Mr. Moles is so content with the position that he couldn't wait till I got space to reply. Let him visit Tyrone and he will think he is in heaven, for there he will find 32 rate collectors, and not one a Catholic, and the Secretary of the County Council and his six clerks all Protestants. Dr. O'Doherty, assistant medical officer, to the Asylum, with 13 years' service, wouldn't get the principal post. They took a Protestant doctor from Belfast. I said Mr. Gregg was not known to be a Catholic to many who voted for him. Mr. Moles leaves out the last six words, and proceeds to criticize my statement as doctored by him, and insinuates that it means that Mr. Gregg was not a virile Catholic. The dead might be immune from Mr. Tom Moles's hunt for literary scalps. I repeat my assertion, and I know the facts better than Mr. Moles. He doesn't deny the effort made at next meeting to make the appointment a

Belfast was increasing by leaps and bounds, and in 1757 the town possessed no less than 350 linen looms. The only drawback was that it gradually came to be more and more confined to Ulster, and it is probable that the immunities conferred on Protestant Weavers by the Irish Parliament had some thing to say to that." ("History of Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland," p. 123 and 124.) Newenham, Mr. Moles' friend, after stating that about £24,000 was annually spent on subsidies, says it is a pity farmers couldn't get a share, and, in irony, adds—"But they are the most part Papists forsooth; and the owners are mostly Protestants. When shall we see an end of this political fatuity, to speak of it in the mildest terms. The linen manufacture, valuable as it is, has certainly been bolstered up long enough" (pp. 116-117). Lecky gives the following illuminating incident—"Although the encouragement of the linen manufacture was the great compensation which England had offered for the ruin of Irish wool, no sooner was there a prospect of that manufacture being extended to the wretched population of Leinster than a fierce opposition sprang up" ("History of England," II, p. 215). Miss Murray epitomises the situation—"It is only when we take English commercial and financial policy in conjunction with the policy of persecuting the Irish Catholics that we can get a clear idea of all the miseries at work, during the Eighteenth Century, preventing the development of an Irish Nation and leaving the Irish people in such depths of misery and barbarism" (pp. 83-84). Finally, a table of the flax sown in 1839 gives 62,441 acres for Ulster and only 14,503 acres for the other three provinces ("Wakefield's Account of Ireland," I, p. 683). Dublin was the export Mart for all Ireland. Mr. Moles must remember that Belfast is a city of recent growth. The Statistical Survey of Antrim says—"Most of the linen that is finished is sent there, and buyers resort to Dublin from all parts of Great Britain" (p. 394). Dublin was the export Mart, therefore, the linen industry flourished in the South and Midlands. Is this Mr. Moles' logic? If it is, it is unique of its kind. The "application of power in 1830 raised the linen to the position of the staple industry of the North," says my friend. Now assume the industry made great strides after the introduction of "power." Would this disprove the benefits conferred before this on a young industry by bounties and fosterage which lasted over 120 years? It would certainly prove the immense impetus which machinery gives an industry, but it does not disprove the benefits which subsidies and fostering give to a comparatively new industry, established as a substitute for a flourishing trade elsewhere that was to be killed off. Belfast was the seat of the cotton trade. Granted, and yet Wakefield found 1,300 looms at Colton, Co. Louth, and 500 persons employed in Co. Wicklow. This does not disprove Belfast was the centre, and so with the linen trade Ulster was the Linen Province, although the industry was not unknown elsewhere in Ireland. By one test alone, triumphantly cries Mr. Moles my theory re the Subsidy System can be shattered. "It ceased in 1827," but the York Street Spinning Company, the pioneer of the power manufacturing concerns, was not built till 1830." One would think three years made little difference. Apparently, however, if the subsidy had continued till 1830 my friend's case would, on his own showing, collapse. Well, the bounties did continue till 1830. Several eminent authorities I admit are of opinion that 1827 was the date of cessation, and I quoted the date usually given. I candidly admit I wanted to test Mr. Moles' knowledge—he knows all about the subject, and I know nothing. I find the following bounties paid on Irish linen.—In 1827, £12,114; in 1828, £9,494 7s. 5d.; and in 1829, £6,896 1s. 11d. ("The British Empire," I, p. 711). To prevent all cavil I give a recognised statistician and unimpeachable authority, Mulhall (Dictionary of Statistics, p. 494), who states that bounties were not abolished till 1830. He adds that between 1690 and 1830 "Great Britain paid Belfast and Dundee 28 millions sterling to sell and export Irish and Scotch linen at less than cost." After the foregoing I'm afraid Mr. Moles may give up any more theorising and "frankly admit he has made a mistake," and a pretty gross one at that. His crumb of truth must have a false bottom. He says he has tabled "unchallengeable proofs" and asks where have I "countered any of the authorities quoted." I regret to have to term this in plain language an untruth. He quoted only one authority—Newenham—the rest were all statements of his own. Your readers can refer to his first letter and test this for themselves. I gave full references for everything I stated, and

THE VERY LATEST

Our Telephone No. 3001 (3 lines)

STOP PRESS.

THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS.

We are in a position to announce that the Government have decided to release all the Sinn Féin prisoners.

PILLAR PICTURE HOUSE
TO-DAY,
Charlie Chaplin
IN ONE A.M.
And Full Change of Programmes
2-10.30 p.m. CONTINUOUS.
COME EARLY.

EVENING TELEGRAPH

DUBLIN: DAY, JUNE 1917.

DUBLIN STOCK EXCHANGE

SUBSTANTIAL RISE IN BURKES.

Thursday Evening. There was a falling off in business on the Dublin Stock Exchange this afternoon, but markets remained fairly firm in tone. In the Funds, there was less doing and no change of note. Banks were a neglected market; but in Brewery and Distillery issues dealings were active, and Dublin Distillers Ordinary rose to 18s. 6d. Telegraph shares were little dealt in, while as regards Railway Stocks there was nothing done. Dublin Trams were a quiet market, but Parent Deferred hardened. In the Miscellaneous market, Burko Ordinary and Preference rose to 62s. 6d. and 70s., respectively.

Government Funds.—The 4½ per Cent. "B" War Stock was unaltered, at 93 13-16, as was the 5 per Cent. Stock, at 94½. The 4 per Cent. Stock (tax compounded) rose ¼, to 101½. India 5½ per Cent. issue declined ¼, to 85½.

Banks.—Business in this market was restricted to Provincials (New), which reopened, but closed on sale. Belfast (Old and New) shares remained buyers, at 9 5-16 and 11-16, respectively.

Breweries, Etc.—Dublin Distillers Ordinary were actively bought, and closed 1s. 6d. higher, at 18s. 6d.; the Preference closed 3d. easier, at 70s. 3d., after being dealt in at 7s. Guinness Ordinary were a limited market, and fell ¼, to 24. John Jameson Debentures rose 1-16, to 6 5-16.

Telegraphs.—There was a small transaction in Marconi Ordinary, at 64s. 6d., and this was all the business in this market.

Railways.—All Ordinary, Preference and Debenture issues were idle. In Baronials West Clares were unchanged at 6j.

Tramways.—Dublin Ordinary shares advanced ¼, to 7s, for a small lot. None of the others quoted.

Tyres.—Business was limited to Parent Deferred and Rubber "A" Preference; the former recovered 6d., at 35s., and the latter were dealt in at 20s. Parent Ordinary were marked buyers at 26s.

Miscellaneous.—A fairly good business was done in this market. Textiles were active. Cottens were busy, and touched 55s., but closed at 52s. 9d. Fine Spinner Ordinary were 6d. better, at 50s. 3d., and the Preference hardened 1d., to 18s. 10d. Coats Ordinary and Preferred were firm and unchanged, at 6j and 55s, respectively. Calico Ordinary were quieter, and eased off 3d., to 14s. 3d. Bradford Dyers Ordinary repeated 37s. 7½d. Arnolds were 1-16 down, at 7, for a small lot; but Good, Burns Preference maintained 90s. Lever "C" Preference were nominally 20s. 10½d. to 21s. 1½d. Burke Ordinary rose 1½s. 3d., to 62s. 6d., and the Preference 7s. 6d., to 70s. Parkes Preference advanced 6d., to 16s.

Exchequer 6 per Cent. (1920), Regd. Bonds were dealt in at 101½, and the 5 per Cent. (1921), Transferable by Deed, at 99½.

GOVERNMENT FUNDS.

	Free. Price.	Bus. Price.	Debt. Price.	Nominal Value.	Quoted Price.
War Loan, "B" Stock	93 13-16	90 13-16	—	—	—
5 p.c. War Loan, fully pd.	101 1/2	101 1/2	—	—	—
4 p.c. War Loan, fully pd.	101 1/2	101 1/2	—	—	—
India 5 1/2 p.c. Stock	85 1/2	85 1/2	—	—	—

BANKS.

Belfast Banking Co.	9 5-16	—	11-16
Do. do. do.	11-16	—	11-16

BREWERIES AND DISTILLERIES.

Dublin Distillers Ord.	17/9	17/6-18/0
Dublin Dis. 5 p.c. Pref.	70/3	70/0-70/3
Guinness (A) Ordinary	24	24
Jameson (A) 4 p.c. Debts.	—	6 5-16

TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES.

Marconi Wireless Ordinary	64s.	64s.
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RAILWAY ORDINARY STOCKS.

Gr. Northern (L) Stock	86	86 1/2 (13/6/17)
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RAILWAY PREFERENCE STOCKS.

(With Dividends contingent on the Profit of each separate year.)		
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Belfast & Co. Down 4 p.c.	68	—	68
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RAILWAY BARONIAL GUARANTEED SHARES.

In Perpetuity under Act, 1855.		
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West Clars 4 p.c.	6j	6j
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TRAMWAYS.

Dub. V. Tram. Ord.	17 1/2	17 1/2
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MINES

	Last Price.	To-day's Price.
Buckspan	5	5 1-2
Geduld	47/6	47 1-2
Rupee Assets	—	2
Spring Mines	33-38	—

RUBBER MARKET

	Last Price.	To-day's Price.
Anglo Java 2 1/2 sh.	7/6	7 1/2
Ber. Rob. F. Java 2 1/2 sh.	5/0	5 1/2
Bukit Rajah	10s.	10 1-2
Bukit Sembawang 2 1/2 sh.	5/8	5 1/2
East Java	—	5 1/2
Highlands and Lowlands	58-0	57 1/2
Jobon Rob. Lanch.	20/0	20 1/2
Kaper Para	7s.	7 1/2
Kepong 2 1/2 sh.	17/6	17 1/2
Labery	5 1/2	5 1/2
Linggi Plantation 2 1/2 sh.	28-3	28 0
Malacca Ord.	5s.	5 1/2
Rotterdam Delta 2 1/2 sh.	4/0	4 1/2
Rob. F. Krian 2 1/2 sh.	4/0	4 1/2
Rubber Trust	27 1/2	27 1/2
United Sea Bring	57-28	58 1/2

All the above shares are £1 fully paid, unless otherwise stated.

RATHDOWN DOCTOR

GUARDIANS PROCEEDING AGAINST THE L.G.B.

In the King's Bench Division to-day, before Mr. Justice Gibson, Mr. Justice Madden, and Mr. Justice Kenny, the case of the King (Guardians of the Poor of Rathdown Union) v. the Local Government Board was listed for hearing. It was a motion to make absolute a conditional order of 15th May for a mandamus to compel the Local Government Board to give their approval to the appointment of Dr. Boland as a Medical Officer of the Rathdown Union.

Mr. Powell, K.C., with whom were Mr. Wylie, K.C., and Mr. A. E. Wood (instructed by Messrs. T. T. McCredy and Son), said he was showing cause, but since the conditional order was made certain facts had been brought to light which he had to mention to the Court. The whole basis of the decision of the Local Government Board that they would not approve of Dr. Boland's appointment as medical officer was because in their view such an appointment should not be given to a medical gentleman of military age fit for military service. The question that would have had to be tried before the Court was whether the Local Government Board were justified in that, or whether they have power under the statute to refuse their sanction. The conditional order was obtained on 15th May by the Guardians, and since then the Local Government Board had shown cause. On 7th June Mr. Slaton, the solicitor for the Guardians, made a communication to the Local Government Board that in fact the doctor had medical certificates that he was not fit for military service.

Mr. Justice Gibson—The question could not have been raised if that fact had been before you. Mr. Powell—Of course. When that information was laid before the Local Government Board, we said we would not disapprove of the appointment.

Mr. Justice Gibson—There is no doubt the mandamus was not necessary, because you will give your approval on the new facts. The only question then is as to costs.

Mr. Powell—It was never suggested to the Local Government Board that this gentleman was unfit for military service.

Mr. Justice Gibson—How does that now appear? Mr. Powell said it appeared in the correct evidence. He had sent in certificates from Surgeon McAnlis and Surgeon Hayden to the effect that he was unfit for R.A.M.C. work. Counsel also referred to a letter of the Local Government Board stating they were now prepared to sanction the appointment, the grounds of their previous disapproval being removed. It was further stated that the Guardians knew of this situation.

Mr. S. L. Brown, K.C., with whom was Mr. W. G. Shannon (instructed by Mr. W. J. Shannon), appeared for the Guardians, and said that, except through their clerk, they had no knowledge of these certificates. The first they heard of them was in a letter written by Dr. Boland on 24th May, 1915, in which the doctor asked the clerk what steps he should take. Counsel suggested that each party should, under the circumstances, abide their own costs.

Mr. Powell said the Guardians knew of this on the 24th May, and they allowed the Local Government Board to go on incurring useless expense.

Mr. Justice Gibson said the Court would discharge the order, and would give no costs.

If you wish to secure a copy of the best informed morning paper in Ireland regularly, without disappointment, become a subscriber to



You need a War-diet corrective

Here it is—Andrew's! It supplies the system with the cleansing and health-maintaining elements contained in the less-plentiful Vegetables, Fruits and Cereals, whose Natural Salts and Acids it effectively substitutes.

The restricted diet imposed on the general Public by War-time conditions—involving bread economy, lessened Fruit imports, scarcity of Vegetables and a liberal Meat proportion—requires the aid of some easy corrective for the maintenance of good Health. Andrew's meets the need quite well. For years, seafaring men have relied upon it to supply the deficiency resulting from the Fruit-and-Vegetable restricted Shipboard Diet. To them, Andrew's is a necessity.

The proportion of Sugar biscuits used (for the sake of palatableness only) has been lessened in conformity with National recommendations. Andrew's is nevertheless, still pleasantly palatable, and its MEDICAL PROPERTIES ARE GUARANTEED TO BE UNALTERED. Sold by Grocers, Chemists, Stores, etc.

DUBLIN DEPOT—St. Ship St., or BELFAST DEPOT—28, Waring St.

BEER RESTRICTIONS.

PUBLIC MEETING OF PROTEST, CITY HALL, KILKENNY, SUNDAY, 17th JUNE, 1917, AT 3 P.M. (New Time).

Chairman—HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY. This Meeting will be constituted of M.P.s of the City and County of Kilkenny, and other Parliamentary Representatives; Chairmen and Delegations from the several Public Boards of Kilkenny, Farmers Association of Kilkenny, and Barley Growers of the District. Chairman and Secretary of Licensed Vintners' Protection Association, Dublin, will address the Meeting, in addition to other prominent speakers. A common platform and all are welcome. EDWARD O'CONNELL, Town Clerk, Hon. Secretary to Executive.

BRIEF PREPAID NOTICES.

Price for Prepaid Advertisements (Small):—Up to 18 words, 6d. One Halfpenny per word afterwards. Minimum Charge, 6d.

NOTICES.

PROBATION—Carnell—Theresa—Stall—Result of C. Raffle, Status, 15s. Yellow ticket. PROBATION—Tax Recovered; no failure. Returns filed; accounts prepared. J. T. Wallace, Lic. 74 Dame street, Dublin. F14

SITUATIONS VACANT.

INSURANCE—Cannesser wanted for Industrial and ordinary assurance; salary £2 10s. per week and commission; apply stating age, experience, etc. address, 323, Freeman Office. F15
GENERAL Servant wanted, accustomed to children; dress; R.C.; wages £10 to £12. Apply, 10 Home Road, Drumcondra. F16
AUNTY Marker and Packer, head Calendar, L. hand, Trainers, wanted; also experienced woman for washhouse; seaside resort; permanent situation and good wages to suitable workers; wages paid here. Laundry, Barr, Moteenah, Lismahoir, Ireland. F17
PHOTO Engraving—Wanted first-class type and line letter, also metal printer, for Glasgow News paper. Encouragement to capable workers. Must be over military age. State salary and experience. Engraving, 7, 9, Springcourt, 13 St. Vincent Place, Glasgow. F18

MEDICAL.

A PERFECT Cure—"Wellness" removed last of Salt Gravel, or Water, rapid and painless, without and hurt; 1s.; post free, 1s. 1d. W. Wallace, Lic. 74 Dame street, Dublin. F14
BLOODS Bloods for Blood and Sera, 1s. 7½d. per ounce, including 2s. 6d. Express, Dublin. F15
MISCELLANEOUS.
A L.L. Fishing Sundries, Bait, Reels, Lines, Flies, etc. All Travelling Goods, Bag, Portmanteau, Tents, Trunks, Bags, Waterproof Coats, Ice Cases, Footballs, Jerseys, Boots. W. A. Moore, 7 Astor's Quay, Dublin. F14
A BERRY Whisker, strongly recommended, 1s. 4d. 6d., 2s. 6d. per pair; 7s. extra postage. Nugent, 89 Talbot street, Dublin. F15
A SORTMENT—Trunks, Bags, Portmanteaus, etc. All kinds of Hats, Boxes, Bags and Trunk Straps. (Old Bags, etc., allowed for in exchange). F14
MOORE, 4 Bedford row, Dublin. F13
CLOTHES; High Class Tailor-Made Coats; new and materials and latest designs; ready or monthly payments. The Reliable Tailors, 2 Temple Bar, Dublin. F12
SHEPHERD—Flawless, Markets, Soap, Bulk Crates, etc. 50, 61, Begonia's Crates, 25 to 61, Little Free, Newcastle Art Palace, Victoria, Dublin. F13
WEATHER: Both of all classes of Builders wanted; would send to make sites if in city or suburbs; if in country send postal order; we pay carriage; Materials supplied in exchange of required Irish iron, original advertisement. Telephone 885, Irish Feather Co., Ltd., Lane street, Dublin. F14
TREATERS: Both, Hair Restorers, wanted; highest

SHER HOLT

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The Coombe Hospital staff treated 30 wounded cases during the troubles. One soldier brought in was beyond human aid. Many poor women and their children sought sanctuary in the institution. Rev. P. Monahan, C.C., Francis street, was indefatigable in his attention to patients and others.

During the food crisis in Howth the Rev. Father Williams, C.C., assisted by Mr. Smith, helped the Howth people admirably. Often under fire they drove to the city or neighbouring towns, procuring provisions which were welcomed by the famine threatened people.