BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IRISH HISTORY

1912–1921

JOHN CARTY, M.A.

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1912-1921

BY

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PREFACE

THE present Catalogue is the first volume of a general Bibliography of Irish history which it is proposed to publish in sections. It has been thought best to begin with recent history, the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Free State, as being that upon which attention is at present largely directed, and for which consequently the need of accurate and detailed information is most felt. This will be followed by the period 1870-1911, covering the Home Rule and other movements.

Mr. Carty's *Introduction* is to be regarded as an explanatory guide to this literature rather than an historical relation of the events recorded. Likewise the notes appended to the various entries are not intended as critical judgments, but rather as indications of the point of view and authority of the writer, and in the case of periodical publications, the circumstances under which they were produced and circulated.

The Bibliography is confined to publications in the National Library collection. Many of these—rare pamphlets, journals and other papers of the period—have been acquired by the Library through the generosity of donors, whose gifts have been acknowledged in the annual reports of the Trustees.

Thanks are due to Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty, Mr. Bulmer Hobson, Mr. Pádraig Ó Caoimh, and Mr. Frank Gallagher for kindly perusing the proof-sheets and for making many helpful suggestions.

R. I. BEST,
Director.

INTRODUCTION

BETWEEN the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill and the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland (1921) there was an interval of about ten years. The problems connected with Irish government and the various phases of the Irish national movement during this period have been discussed from a great variety of aspects in books, pamphlets, bulletins, reports, reviews and political journals, as well as in daily and weekly newspapers. Many of the publications which the student of the period will find it necessary to consult were issued in times of civil disturbance and national insurrection, and must be read with close reference to the position and purpose of the writers and the political conditions at the moment of publication. It must be borne in mind also that Ireland was subjected from 1914 to 1921 to a rigorous censorship of the press, established under the Defence of the Realm Act and continued after the Great War.

Political literature abounds in what Dean Swift described as "temporary occasional things, that dye naturally with the Change of times." No principles of selection have been applied in the following pages, however, except those enforced by restrictions of space. Articles in monthly and quarterly journals have been included, but not those in the daily and weekly press, which are far too numerous. As a rule, leaflets, pamphlets and review articles of less than eight pages have been excluded for the same reason (except in Section 3: THE INSURRECTION OF 1916, which has been treated in greater detail than the other sections). Many of the broadsides, printed forms and leaflets, songs and ballads, etc., of the period are preserved and may be consulted in the National Library of Ireland. Some of these are of no small historical interest, but they issued from the press in such numbers that it would be impossible to catalogue them in detail. The Bibliography is restricted to constitutional and political questions during the period 1912-1921. For the literary, economic and general history of modern Ireland reference may be made to special works of bibliography such as the following:

"A Bibliography of Irish philology and printed literature" by R. I. Best (National Library of Ireland, 1913); "A Catalogue of the Bradshaw collection of Irish books in the University Library, Cambridge," 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1916); "The history of Irish periodical literature from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century" by Richard Robert Madden, M.D. (London, 1867); "List of books, tracts and broadsides printed in Ireland since 1601" by

E. R. McClintock Dix (Dublin, 1898-1905), and the various papers by Mr. Dix on the history of Irish printing; " The Irish Book Lover " (Dublin, 1909 —), which, in addition to many papers of Irish bibliographical interest, has for several years published a quarterly bibliography of new books relating to Ireland; " Ireland's literary renaissance " by Ernest A. Boyd (Second edition. New York, 1922), and " Ireland in fiction " by the Rev. S. J. Brown, S.J. (Dublin, 1923). [For the literary works of the 1916 leaders, see " Studies, a quarterly review," V. June-December, 1916 (Thomas MacDonagh, Patrick H. Pearse, Joseph Plunkett), and " The Dublin Magazine," VI-VII, July, 1931—March, 1932 (P. H. Pearse, by P. S. O'Hegarty, Thomas MacDonagh, by F. R. Higgins, and Joseph Mary Plunkett)]. " A select bibliography of Irish economic history " by P. L. Prendeville (London, 1932), and " History of the commercial relations between England and Ireland from the time of the Restoration " by Alice E. Murray (London, 1903) should be consulted for economic history, " Labour and nationality " by J. Dunsmore Clarkson (New York, 1924) for the Irish Labour movement, and " The struggle for the land in Ireland " by J. E. Pomfret (Princeton, 1930) for a bibliography of the Irish land question from 1800 to 1923. Publications relating to Irish literature, politics and economics during the period of the Great War and the Peace Treaties are included by M. Maurice Bourgeois in his Catalogue méthodique des fonds britannique et Nord américain de la bibliothèque, III. L'Empire britannique, la grande Bretagne et la guerre (Catalogues des " Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre," Paris, 1931). The annual and decennial consolidated lists of British official publications—" General Alphabetical Index to the Bills, Reports, Estimates, Accounts and Papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, and to the Papers Presented by Command " (London, H.M.S.O.) give the titles of the numerous official printed papers relating to the British administration of Ireland in 1912-1921 and previous decades. For material in periodicals, Poole and Fletcher's Index, with supplements (London and New York); Wilson's " Reader's Guide to periodical literature " (New York) and the " Subject Index to periodicals " (London, Library Association, 1915 —), should be consulted.*

* Publications which relate to the military, political and economic history of the Great War of 1914-1918 and the Peace Conference are not included except when they refer also to events in Ireland. For war literature some of the following works may be consulted : " A select analytical list of books concerning the Great War " by Sir George Protheroe (London, H.M.S.O., 1920), " War books, a critical guide " by Cyril Falls (London, Davies, 1920) [This work includes Irish regimental histories for the period], " Bibliographical survey of contemporary sources for the economic and social history of the war " by M. E. Bulkley (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Economic and Social History of the World War, British series, 1922). *Irische Blätter* (January, 1917–October, 1918), the journal of the German-Irish Society, published surveys of articles relating to Ireland in the German, Irish, English and American press. The annotated index to British war propaganda [Wellington House literature] comprises over a thousand books and pamphlets. Many of these and other publications emphasising the idealist war aims

The entries in the Bibliography have been divided into sections according to periods, each section arranged in alphabetical order. The GENERAL AND INTRODUCTORY section includes: (a) General historical and bibliographical works, annual reports in series, studies of Irish administration and finance, and other publications which treat of the entire period, 1912-1921; (b) Publications relating to the earlier careers and political writings of Irishmen who took a prominent part in the events of the time; (c) Publications issued immediately before 1912 by the more important political organisations, such as the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sinn Féin, and the Irish Unionist Alliance. Thus, among the entries in this section will be found the "Historical and political addresses of John Redmond" (178), "The resurrection of Hungary" by Arthur Griffith (63), "The life of Lord Carson," Vol. I., by Edward Marjoribanks (133), and "Glimpses of an Irish felon's prison life," the autobiography of Thomas J. Clarke (18), who was the first signatory to the proclamation of Easter week, 1916. The second section, 1912-1916, comprises the Home Rule period. When this period began, the principal subject of political controversy in Great Britain and Ireland was the forthcoming Home Rule Bill. It ended (April, 1916) in the second year of the European war, with Home Rule enacted but indefinitely suspended. The third section, 1916, is devoted to the Rising of Easter Week and the weeks immediately preceding and following it. The events of this brief period had so much influence on the subsequent course of events that an exception has been made by including a selection from the narratives of the Rising scattered during the past twenty years through the Irish daily and weekly press. The fourth section, 1916-1918, extends from May, 1916, to the end of 1918. The most important political development during this period was the reorganisation of Sinn Féin after the Rising and its triumph at the General Election of December, 1918. The fifth section, 1919-1921, begins with the establishment of Dáil Eireann in January, 1919, and ends with the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December, 1921. Publications which refer to events subsequent to 1921 are included only if they also treat of some part of the period, 1912-1921.

Much of the Irish political literature issued for a generation before 1921 was inspired, either by what M. Paul-Dubois called "ces grandes ligues d'agitation populaire dont il est remarquable que ce soit elle qui ait donné le modèle à l'Angleterre moderne" or by the

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of the Allied and Associated Powers, especially the principles of self-determination, government by consent of the governed, and the rights of small nations, were extensively circulated in Ireland at the public charge during the war years. For the chronology of the War period the following works may be consulted: "History of the Great War . . . . Principal events, 1914-1918" compiled by the historical section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (London, H.M.S.O., 1922), and "An economic chronicle of the Great War for Britain and Ireland" by N. B. Dearle (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1929).

wealthy and powerful associations striving to maintain the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. Systematic Irish political "propaganda" in the modern sense may, perhaps, be said to date from the end of 1885, when the Irish Parliamentary Party, led by Parnell, won 85 of the 105 Irish seats—"an electoral demonstration," wrote John Morley, "never surpassed in any country"—and Gladstone was converted to the policy of Home Rule. English political students, tourists and special correspondents visiting and writing about Ireland were more numerous than ever before, and the "Irish problem" was regularly examined and often solved in the monthly and quarterly reviews. Irish nationalist organisations now increased their efforts to convince public opinion in England, by the distribution of literature, that the demands for agrarian reform and self-government were reasonable and just. The Irish Press Agency (95), established in London in 1885 by the Irish Parliamentary Party, issued large numbers of leaflets and pamphlets for the next thirty years, showing special activity when the prospects of Home Rule were most favourable (in 1886, 1892-1893, and 1908-1914). A counter-propaganda on a still more voluminous scale was conducted by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, which afterwards changed its name to the Irish Unionist Alliance (98), and continued to diffuse Unionist books, pamphlets and journals, until 1921. The Irish Unionist Alliance worked in close touch with the Union Defence League, formed in 1907 under the chairmanship of Mr. Walter Long, afterwards Viscount Long (Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1905-1906), and the Ulster Unionist Council (568), formed in 1905. The associated Unionist organisations, commanding large financial resources and having the support of great newspapers, showed remarkable propagandist activity in 1910-1914. Lord Long in his "Memories" (117) tells how they distributed immense quantities of literature, and engaged throughout Britain in "missionary work" for the maintenance of the legislative Union. Motor vans were sent through the country with photographs, moving pictures and lantern slides illustrating the arguments of the speakers, who were accompanied by Unionist farmers from Ireland to corroborate the narratives.

In Ireland the Parnell "split" and the rejection of the second Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords diminished the output of controversial political literature for some years. The last decade of the nineteenth century was, nevertheless, one of much interest in Irish history. The Irish Literary Society, London, was established in 1892, the Gaelic League in 1893, the Oireachtas (Literary Festival) in 1897, the Irish Literary Theatre in 1897. Closely associated with these were the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), the Feis Ceoil (Musical Festival) (1897) and the societies for the preservation and development of Irish industries. In spite of the failure of the latest phase of the nationalist movement there was a hopeful spirit among

the younger generation, who were attracted by the new literary societies and especially by the Gaelic League. "For in Ireland just now," wrote Mr. W. B. Yeats, "one has only to discover an idea that seems of service to the country, for friends and helpers to start up on every side" ("Samhain," 1901). Although these new societies had no political aims, they helped to produce a new political movement, which differed essentially from that of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Mr. Edward Martyn (69), an ardent supporter of the Feis Ceoil, who with Mr. Yeats and Lady Gregory, founded the Irish Literary Theatre, became the first President of Sinn Féin in 1905. Professor Eoin MacNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League and first editor of its official journal, "An Claidheamh Soluis" (17), was afterwards Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers at their foundation in November, 1913, and a member of the Ministry set up by Dáil Éireann in 1919-1921. Pádraic Pearse, President of the Provisional Government in the 1916 Rising, had been secretary to the publications committee of the Gaelic League and editor of "An Claidheamh Soluis," 1903-1908.

The beginning of a new political movement, arising in part from these associated movements and in part from the embers of Fenianism, might be seen in the celebrations held in 1898 to commemorate the centenary of the 'ninety-eight insurrection. The Ninety-eight and Wolfe Tone clubs (the latter usually centres of the I.R.B. or Irish Republican Brotherhood), formed in that year, provided the organisation required for the success of a new weekly journal—"The United Irishman" (209), edited by Arthur Griffith, 1899-1906. This was the first of a series of newspapers which Griffith edited (except—in 1916-1921—during the intervals which he spent in prisons and internment camps), writing the leading articles for over twenty years. "From 1899 to 1911," writes Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty (157), "the 'United Irishman' and its successor, 'Sinn Féin' (225) were the chief inspiration of all extreme propaganda and extreme discussion in Ireland, and although from 1911 until 1914 'Irish Freedom' more properly represented the Fenian element yet the influence of Griffith has gone heavily in the same direction." The "Hungarian policy," outlined by Griffith at the third annual convention of Cumann na nGaedheal (1902) was fully developed in a series of articles in "The United Irishman" during the early months of 1904. "Sixty years ago," he wrote, "Hungary realised that the political centre of the nation must be within the nation. When Ireland realises this obvious truth and turns her back on London the parallel will be complete." Many well-known Irish writers and scholars contributed to "The United Irishman" and its successor, "Sinn Féin." Of the former Professor Henry (82) says: "The paper was remarkable for the ability with which it was edited, the literary excellence of its articles, both editorial and contributed, the range of its topics and the freedom

which it allowed to the discussion of different views in its columns" (p. 54).

The policy of the original Sinn Féin movement was expounded from 1904 to 1916 in a limited number of publications—almost all written or edited by Arthur Griffith: the journals already mentioned, "The resurrection of Hungary" (63), "Leabhar na hÉireann" or "The Irish Year Book" (109-111), and a few pamphlets, published on behalf of the National Council, "The Peasant" (94), edited by Mr. W. P. Ryan, and three or four provincial weekly newspapers also supported Sinn Féin. The Dungannon clubs which published some pamphlets in Dublin and Belfast in the early years of the century and during 1907, a weekly journal "The Republic" (191), edited by Mr. Bulmer Hobson represented a movement on kindred lines which became merged with Sinn Féin. With a very few exceptions, the nationalist daily and weekly newspapers adhered to the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and, when, in 1910, the prospects of Home Rule became brighter, the publication of Sinn Féin literature almost ceased until the outbreak of the European War. The spirit of Sinn Féin during its first decade must be sought, however, not only in political propaganda, but in the publications of the Irish literary movement, the Gaelic League and the Industrial Development Association, and in the productions of the Irish Theatre. Unionist criticism before 1914 was directed mainly against the predominant Irish nationalist group, the Irish Parliamentary Party, and its powerful agrarian organisation, the United Irish League, but the appearance of a joint "Irish Ireland" movement of a different character had attracted attention as early as 1906 in "Notes from Ireland" (98).

The general expectancy of changes in Irish government at the outset of the new Home Rule period encouraged the publication of earnest enquiries into the administration, finance, and social problems of the country as they were and as they might be affected by the restoration of an Irish legislature. Among these were the three volumes of Leabhar na hÉireann (1908-1910), issued by the Sinn Féin National Council. The object of this Irish Year Book, Griffith explained in his foreword to the original edition, 1908, was "to place before All Ireland a book in which All Ireland expresses itself, and when this book was projected, we accordingly communicated with men and women of all parties, classes, and creeds in Ireland, inviting them to deal in The Irish Year Book with those subjects in which they were skilled." General works which may profitably be consulted as introductory studies to the period include "L'Irlande contemporaine" by M. Paul-Dubois (170), whose survey led him to conclude that, in spite of maladministration, the neglect of her economic well-being, and "the melancholy dilapidation of her towns," Ireland was being transformed by the new spirit of self-reliance; the Report of the

Committee on Irish finance (90); the reprint of "The Times" Irish number (219); the examination of Dominion Home Rule made by Mr. Erskine Childers (15); the Home Rule studies edited by Mr. Basil Williams (233); the elaborate apologia for the Union to which several Irish and English Unionist leaders contributed (529); R. Barry O'Brien's "Dublin Castle and the Irish people" (148); and the collection of essays edited for the Eighty Club by Professor J. H. Morgan (142). In the last-named work Lord (Sir Antony) MacDonnell, Under-Secretary for Ireland, 1902-1908, gives an account of the forty-seven departments which carried on the administration of Ireland, some of them controlled by "Dublin Castle," the headquarters of Irish government, others partly controlled in Dublin and partly in London, some wholly controlled in London, and others "uncontrolled by the Irish government, while the supervision exercised over them by the British government is of the most shadowy character." The published material for the study of the actual workings of the British administration in Ireland in 1912-1921 are not extensive. The student may obtain some guidance as to the frequent changes of policy, the efforts to stem the rising tide of Irish nationality, and the growing militarisation of the régime in the biographies and reminiscences of Cabinet ministers, officials, judges, and soldiers, the proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry into the pay and allowances of the Irish police (197), and the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Howth gun-running (537) and the Royal Commission on the rebellion (715).

Irish studies by recognised authorities on questions of administration, trade, finance and constitutional law, and elaborate arguments for and against Home Rule which received so much attention about the year 1912 began to be replaced in 1913 by a briefer and sharper style of writing and speaking. The slow but apparently assured progress of Home Rule through Parliament to the statute book was now imperilled by a new Unionist policy—the organisation of an Ulster Volunteer Force and Ulster Provisional Government, under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Carson, to prevent the Bill in the form already approved by the House of Commons from coming into operation. The British public were made familiar with the claim that some portion of Ireland should be withheld from the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament—at first, as suggested in 1912, the four counties of Ulster in which there were Unionist majorities, then, as proposed by Sir Edward Carson in 1913, the whole province of nine counties, and finally the six counties which were ultimately selected for exclusion in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (1159). The propaganda of the Ulster Unionist Council in 1912-1914 attained large dimensions (568-575). It dwelt mainly on the superiority of Belfast and Eastern Ulster to the rest of Ireland in wealth, trade and industrial enterprise, on the alleged lack of appreciation among Irish

Nationalists of Ulster's economic and social interests, and especially on Protestant fears of " a Roman Catholic ascendancy."

The essence of Ulster Unionist literature may be found in the " Solemn League and Covenant " against Home Rule, stated to have been signed by 471,414 Ulster men and women over the age of sixteen, each of whom was presented with a copy of the covenant printed on parchment. Lord Cushendun (Mr. Ronald MacNeill) has given an account (37, p. 104) of the composition and revision of this document in September, 1912. In its approved form it was read out to the members of the Ulster Unionist Council from the arcade at Craigavon House by Sir Edward Carson, who was the first to sign it. The publications of the Irish Press Agency and the Home Rule Council in 1913-1914 consist largely of replies to Ulster Unionist literature. Mr. John Redmond, Professor T. M. Kettle, Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, Mr. Stephen Gwynn and other members of the Irish Parliamentary Party took much care to allay the apprehensions of religious persecution and discrimination against Ulster's economic interests in an Irish Parliament. The inferences unfavourable to Irish national unity drawn in the Ulster Unionist Council propaganda were challenged by Nationalist writers, who quoted in support of their arguments from the Irish Census (1911) Reports, the polls at local government and parliamentary elections, and other statistical returns. (See 146, 1188 and 1238).

By the summer of 1913 the Irish situation had begun to assume a military character. The arming of the Ulster Volunteers was now well advanced. Less interest was shown in the details of Home Rule than in the preparations to resist it by force of arms, and English newspapers printed long despatches from special correspondents describing the military parades, manœuvres and gun-runnings in Ulster. A Unionist member of parliment declared that " as an argument, ten thousand pounds spent on rifles would be a thousand times stronger than the same amount spent on meetings, speeches and pamphlets " (9, p. 14). A very extensive controversy (see the list of references under " Curragh army incident " in Section 1912-1916) followed the intervention of the British army in the Home Rule crisis. The virtual exercise of a veto on legislation by military officers was regarded in the parliamentary debates and periodical press at the time of its occurrence as a decisive event for Ireland and, perhaps, for Britain. In conjunction with the illegal importation of 35,000 rifles by the Ulster Volunteers (" the Larne gun-running ") in the following month, it induced Mr. John Redmond for the first time to give public support to the Irish Volunteers.

The enrolment of Irish Volunteers began at a public meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, on Tuesday, November 25, 1913. Issues of " The Irish Review " (367), " Sinn Féin " (209), " An Claidheamh Soluis " (17), " The Irish Worker " (374), and " Irish Freedom " (92)

in the later months of 1913 may be consulted for comment on the new departure, which was largely modelled on the great Irish Volunteer movement of 1782. The Irish Volunteer Fund appeal and other Volunteer manifestoes published in 1913-1914 emphasise the non-political character of the Volunteers. "The movement is not aggressive but defensive; it is directed, not towards the coercing of any section of Irishmen, but towards uniting Irishmen of all sections in the cause of Irish nationality." Some of the nationalist newspapers greeted the movement with enthusiasm; many, including those supporting the Irish Parliamentary Party, regarded it as premature, if not unwise. The influence of the Dublin labour troubles led "The Irish Worker" to treat the Volunteer movement in a critical spirit.

The founders of the Irish Volunteers were mainly young little-known men: teachers, writers and lecturers. Several of the most energetic and determined were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood ("I.R.B."). This organisation had been moribund for some years until the centenary celebrations of 1898, when it was revived. Among its leading members a few years later was Thomas J. Clarke. "On his return to Ireland in 1907," according to John Devoy (44, p. 392), "the I.R.B., inspired by his resoluteness and singleness of purpose, began to assume new life and vigour and became an active force." The I.R.B. school of nationalist thought found expression for its views in "Irish Freedom." The policy of this paper, although similar in many respects to that of "Sinn Féin," favoured a republic rather than an Irish or dual monarchy, laid more stress on armed than on passive resistance to English rule, and showed greater sympathy with the tendencies represented by the formation of the Irish Labour Party in 1911 and the organisation of the Transport and General Workers' Union by Mr. James Larkin. Both "Irish Freedom" and "Sinn Féin" comment with something like satisfaction on the progress of the Ulster Volunteer Force. "We do not care, fellow-countrymen, what you arm for. We only care that you arm," says "Irish Freedom" in December, 1913. "We regard their proceedings with no unfriendly eye," says "Sinn Féin," May 2nd, 1914, referring to the Larne gun-running. General Sir C. F. N. Macready, who was sent to Ulster on a special military mission after the Curragh army incident, writes: "When going about the country outside Belfast in 1914 it would seem from the reports of police and soldiers that the state of feeling between Protestants and Catholics was improving" (415a, p. 196).

"The Irish Volunteer" (371), a weekly newspaper authorised by the Provisional Committee, made its appearance in February, 1914, from the offices of the Enniscorthy "Echo." "The Irish Volunteer," "Sinn Fein," "Irish Freedom," and "The Irish Worker," although in general agreement on national questions, were controlled

by different groups. "The Irish Worker" was the organ of the Transport Union and of a small armed force, the Irish Citizen Army, which had come into existence some months before the Irish National Volunteers. In Mr. W. P. Ryan's "Irish Labour movement" (202a) and Mr. J. Dunsmore Clarkson's "Labour and nationalism in Ireland" (19) will be found some account of the earlier literature of the Irish Labour movement, in which James Connolly took a part analogous to that of Arthur Griffith in the literary history of Sinn Féin. Connolly, while advocating insurrection as early as the year 1900, confesses himself more concerned with Irish housing problems and working-class mortality than with "political oratory, or the almost ephemeral pamphleteering of our more brilliant revolutionists" (33).

The journals mentioned represented the movements which helped to bring about the Rising of 1916 and the subsequent union of national forces under Sinn Féin. The Irish nationalist daily and weekly newspaper press, however, with few exceptions, supported the Irish Parliamentary Party, of which Mr. John Redmond claimed that 95 per cent. of the Volunteers were political adherents. (Correspondence with Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Chairman of the Irish Volunteer Provisional Committee, June 12, 1914). In July, 1914, when the proclamation of an Ulster Provisional Government was believed to be imminent, some English newspapers, according to "The Daily Chronicle," seem to have transferred an important section of their editorial staffs to Belfast. Those Irish newspapers which had hitherto been unfriendly or indifferent to the Volunteers now reported their progress with enthusiasm on the ground that the Larne gun-running and the undisguised hostility of the British army to the Home Rule Bill had placed the whole Irish national movement in a position of extreme insecurity. Estimates of the strength of the Irish Volunteers in 1914 range from 135,000 to 160,000, of whom 38,000, it was claimed, were ex-soldiers or members of the General or Special Reserve of the British Army. The Irish and Irish-American newspapers in June and July contain many reports of meetings and conferences in the United States to discuss the provision of funds and military equipment for the Irish Volunteers on a scale commensurate with the assistance given by Unionist sympathisers to the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The political situation was transformed by the outbreak of the War. The Irish nationalist press divided into two well-defined groups in August, 1914—the daily and weekly newspapers, with few exceptions, endorsing Mr. Redmond's attitude towards the war, the small journals of the advanced groups holding, as Griffith wrote in "Sinn Féin," that "Ireland is not at war." On Wednesday, August 5, the Standing Committee of the Irish Volunteers expressed their "complete readiness to take joint action with the Ulster Volunteer

until February 14th, 1915. "The Spark" appeared on February 7th, "The Workers' Republic" on May 30th, and "Nationality" (440) on June 19th. The circulation of these journals, although not large, showed a tendency to increase during 1915 and the early months of 1916. Along with them may be consulted the series of pamphlets by leaders of Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers in the "Bodenstown series" and "Tracts for the Times." These journals and pamphlets were afterwards given considerable attention in the Proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Rebellion (714-715). A list of "Seditious weekly papers circulating in Ireland," produced before the Commission by Sir Mathew Nathan, Under-Secretary for Ireland, is printed in the Appendix to the Minutes of Evidence (p. 118). The list gives particulars (the accuracy of which has been challenged in some instances) of proprietors and editors and of estimated circulations in November, 1915, and February, 1916.

The issues of "The Irish Volunteer" from December, 1914, to April, 1916, are of special interest in the light of later events. The contributors include the chief officer (Professor E. MacNeill), J. J. O'Connell, Eimar O'Duffy, Bulmer Hobson, The O'Rahilly, Pádraic Pearse and Thomas MacDonagh, and a "Headquarters Bulletin" gives particulars of training and appointments. The last number (April 22nd, 1916) contains an announcement by the Director of Organisation, P. H. Pearse: "Arrangements are now nearing completion in all the more important Brigade areas for the holding of a very interesting series of manœuvres at Easter." The approach of a crisis is also plainly indicated in the last numbers of "The Workers' Republic." A leading article [by James Connolly] in this paper on April 8th states that the Council of the Irish Citizen Army had decided to hoist "the green flag of Ireland" over Liberty Hall. This ceremony, which took place in the presence of a large crowd, is described in the last issue (April 22nd). The immunity of "The Workers' Republic" from D.O.R.A. proceedings during the final weeks was due to the fact that Liberty Hall had become a fortress, garrisoned by the Irish Citizen Army.

Publications relating to the Rising will be found in the section 1916, with the exception of a few general works which are included in the earlier sections. It should be noted that the Dublin daily papers, "The Freeman's Journal" and "The Daily Express," ceased publication after Monday, April 24th, "The Irish Independent" after Tuesday. "The Irish Times" continued, though in a much reduced form, until Thursday, and resumed publication on Monday, May 1st. "The Daily Express" resumed on May 3rd, "The Irish Independent" on May 4th, and "The Freeman's Journal" on May 5th. Martial law continued in operation for several months after the Rising, and the censorship exercised over newspapers and other publications became much stricter than previously. (More than two

Force for the defence of Ireland," and " Sinn Féin " held that " if the Irish Volunteers are to defend Ireland they must defend it for Ireland, under Ireland's flag and under Irish officers." Two articles in the " United Services Magazine " (460-461) illustrate what was widely believed to be the War Office attitude with regard to plans of defence which implied any recognition of Irish nationality. " The Irish Volunteer " opposed Mr. Redmond's war policy and supported the original members of the Provisional Committee in repudiating his leadership (September 28th, 1914), but did not come directly under the control of the Volunteer Executive until the following December. " The National Volunteer " (439), a weekly journal supporting Mr. Redmond, began to appear from the offices of " The Freeman's Journal " on October 17th, 1914.

The Defence of the Realm news censorship came into operation on August 15th ,1914.* At first the press restrictions in Ireland applied only to naval and military matters, but those weekly journals which opposed recruiting and maintained that the first duty of Irishmen was to secure the freedom of their own country soon began to attract attention in England. (See a leading article in " The Times " on the latitude allowed to the Irish press, November 3rd, 1914, a reply in " Sinn Féin," November 7th, an article in " The Times," giving extracts from seditious Irish newspapers, November 24th, House of Lords Debates, November 24th, 1914, and January 8th, 1915, and House of Commons Debates, November 25th, 26th, 1914.) Mr. Augustine Birrell stated in the House of Commons that the matter of these journals was receiving attention from the Government. According to the Official Memorandum on the censorship published in 1915 (503a), the Press Bureau had no power to initiate or veto proceedings under the Defence of the Realm Act, that power being vested in the Naval or Military authorities. The latter acted in conjunction with the police on December 2nd-3rd, 1914, when the current issues of " Sinn Fein," " Irish Freedom," " Ireland," and " The Irish Worker " were seized, the printers warned, and, in some instances, type and removable parts of machinery taken away.

The suppressed journals reappeared, some in other forms or under other names. " The Irish Volunteer " continued without interruption under the editorship of Professor Eoin Mac Neill. The publication of " Scissors and Paste " (545) began on December 14th, and continued

* The Defence of the Realm Act had been prepared by the Committee of Imperial Defence before August, 1914, to be put into operation in the event of war. Sir Stanley Buckmaster (afterwards Lord Buckmaster), Solicitor-General, who succeeded Mr. F. E. Smith (afterwards Lord Birkenhead) as Director of the Press Bureau, stated in the House of Commons (November 11, 1914) that the Bureau was a safeguard for the press against " the untempered severity of martial law." (See " D.O.R.A. and restrictions on liberty " in " The consequences of the War to Great Britain " by F. W. Hirst, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1934.) The press enjoyed much greater latitude in England than in Ireland, especially after April, 1916.

years later, the Irish Press Censor still found it necessary to warn the editors of all Irish daily and weekly newspapers that speeches and statements justifying the Rebellion of 1916 must not be published). The contemporary English and Irish newspapers contain numerous descriptions of the events of Easter week by onlookers or members of the British forces, but very few narratives by insurgents could be published in Ireland until some years had elapsed. The events leading up to the Rising have been recorded from various points of view by Irish, English, German and American writers, but little authentic information has appeared concerning the plans of the Volunteer Executive or of the Military Council, which is said to have organised the Rising.

The literature printed and circulated by the insurgents during Easter Week included the proclamation of the Republic, which was read out by Pádraic Pearse from the General Post Office on Easter Monday, one or two hand-bills, and one number of "The Irish War News" (646b). The Proclamation is the chief document of the Rising. It is believed to have been mainly the work of Pearse, with emendations by Connolly and, possibly, also by Thomas MacDonagh. It was set up and printed under the protection of the Irish Citizen Army at Liberty Hall on Sunday, April 23rd, from type supplied by Mr. W. H. West, on paper from the stock of "The Workers' Republic" (582a). The copy was handed to the two compositors (Messrs. M. Molloy and C. O'Brien) and the printer (Mr. C. Brady) by James Connolly. It appears that 2,500 copies were printed (for distribution over all Ireland), but that, as the Rising was not general, the greater part of these were destroyed. Only a few hundred seem to have been distributed for public display. A detailed account of the production and typography of the Proclamation, mainly gathered from the recollections of the printers and others concerned, has been given by Mr. J. J. Bouch of the National Library of Ireland in a paper read before the Bibliographical Society of Ireland and printed in the Proceedings of the Society for 1936. "The Irish War News" (646a), the small four-page sheet, dated Tuesday, April 26, is similar in type and paper to "Honesty," and like that journal was printed at the Gaelic Press (Mr. J. Stanley). Reproductions of the Proclamation, "The Irish War News," and several of the printed and typewritten orders issued by the Irish Volunteer forces will be found in various newspapers and illustrated records published in 1916 (*e.g.*, 643a, 646) and afterwards.

Notwithstanding the severe press restrictions and the continuation of Martial law, "rebel" songs, ballads and broadsides were being printed and sold in large numbers very soon after the Rising, and much interest began to be shown in the literary works of the executed leaders—Pádraic Pearse, Joseph Mary Plunkett, James Connolly and Thomas MacDonagh. General Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-

Chief of the British forces, in a letter to the Prime Minister (585) alludes to the changes in Irish public opinion during the months of May and June, 1916. He mentions the "Skeffington case" and Mr. John Dillon's condemnation of military severity ("Mr. Dillon's speech in the House of Commons did enormous mischief") as tending to increase dissatisfaction with the British administration of Ireland. By the middle of June, Sir John Maxwell reported, "a revulsion of feeling set in—one of sympathy for the rebels . . . the executed leaders have become martyrs and the rank and file 'patriots.'"

Propaganda on behalf of the Sinn Féin and Irish Volunteer organisations was virtually suspended in May, 1916, owing to the numerous arrests. Notwithstanding the censorship, however, the unpopularity of the military régime was reflected in many Irish newspapers. When the prisoners were released from Frongoch internment camp in December, 1916, the "revulsion of feeling" had become noticeable throughout Ireland and the situation was more favourable to the dissemination of Sinn Féin ideas than ever before. On February 17th, 1917, Mr. Arthur Griffith resumed the publication of "Nationality." During 1917 and 1918 several new weekly journals advocating a similar national policy appeared, and many already in existence gave their support to the new Sinn Féin movement. The Irish nationalist press, while still generally supporting the Parliamentary party, showed increasing impatience at the postponement of self-government, and Irish Unionism as a practical policy was gradually abandoned outside the eastern counties of Ulster. The rise of a new Irish nationalist movement, resolute, well-organised, and largely recruited from the youth of the country, began to be generally recognised by commentators on Irish affairs after the Sinn Féin election successes in 1917. The Home Rule proposals made by Mr. D. Lloyd George in June, 1916 (840) were the first of several plans of Irish settlement put forward by the British Government in 1916-1918 as a matter of war policy. (See the biographies and reminiscences of Mr. John Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. T. M. Healy, Lord Cushendun, Mr. D. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, Dr. C. Addison, Lord Long and others). For the most important of these settlement plans, reference should be made to "Irish Convention" in the section 1916-1918. For the progress of Sinn Féin, "Nationality" is the chief source of information. The published documents of the tenth Sinn Féin Árd-Fheis (972-977) are also of considerable interest. This Convention, held in October, 1917, decided the form and policy of the reorganised movement and governed the programme adopted at the General Election a year later.

The restrictions on publication under the Defence of the Realm Act in 1916-1919 were set forth in numerous telegrams and circular letters addressed by the Press Censor, Ireland, to the editors of all Irish newspapers and marked "Confidential, Not for publication."

Many of these communications were intended to guide editors in the exclusion from their columns of naval and military information considered likely to be of service to the Central Powers in the European war, but after April, 1916, an increasing proportion refer to purely Irish affairs. "The Press are requested to bear in mind that resolutions or speeches passed or made at the meetings of Corporations; County, Urban or Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians should be most carefully considered before publication. Criticism of the Government or its administration which is likely to cause disaffection is not permitted" (17th August, 1916). "Editors are again reminded that reports of proceedings before a Court of Justice (including Courts of first instance) are not immune from the operation of those of the Defence of the Realm regulations which govern publication" (3rd March, 1917). "Speeches or articles which suggest that any particular political action by the Government will result in affecting the loyalty or discipline of His Majesty's Forces are in contravention of this [Defence of the Realm Act] Regulation" (13th April, 1917); "The Press are again most urgently reminded that the publication of reports of seditious speeches, articles or other matter which is intended or likely to cause disaffection is forbidden by the Defence of the Realm Act regulations" (19th July, 1917); "It shall not be lawful for any person in any newspaper, periodical, circular or other printed publication, or in any public speech, to publish any report or statement of, or to purport to describe or refer to, any proceedings of the Convention assembled on the invitation of His Majesty's Government for the purpose of preparing a constitution for the future government of Ireland, or of any Committee of that Convention, except such report or statement thereof as may be officially authorised by the Chairman of the Commission" (Defence of the Realm Regulation published in the *London Gazette*, 20th July, 1917). If a prisoner is charged in court proceedings with using seditious words, the words in question may be reported. "This does not apply to speeches or statements made by the accused containing fresh seditious matter" (29th August, 1917).

The warning concerning the Irish Convention is recalled more than once. "Allusions have been made to schemes before the Convention, and to the activities of certain political parties within it; rumours (frequently quite inaccurate) have been reproduced, and various meetings of the Convention and its Committees have been most improperly described as 'critical'" (3rd December, 1917). "The Press are informed that the publication of all reports of parades. drillings and route marches, of Sinn Féin Volunteers should not be published" (5th December, 1917). "The attention of the Press is again called to Defence of the Realm Regulation 27aa, and they are reminded that no reference whatever can be made in the Press to the Proceedings of the Irish Convention. It is therefore

necessary in view of the very delicate nature of the Convention's deliberations to issue this reminder, with strict injunctions to comply exactly with terms of [the] Regulation" (20th March, 1918). "In the event of your being asked to publish memorial, anniversary, or other notices in your advertisement columns, which refer to the Rebellion of Easter, 1916, you are requested to submit them to this Office before insertion" (29th March, 1918.) The Report of the Convention was laid on the table of the House of Commons on April 9, 1918, the same day on which the Prime Minister announced the decision of the British Government to include Ireland in their new Military Service [Conscription] Bill. Little public interest was now shown in the Report of the Convention, but the Conscription proposal was regarded by every section of nationalist opinion as an infringement of fundamental Irish rights. It led to an extraordinary demonstration of national solidarity, and the press reported determined preparations all over the country to resist the British law. "In connection with the recently published reports of organisation of resistance to the Military Service Act the attention of the Press is again called to Regulation 27 of the Defence of the Realm Regulation which provides that no person shall by word of mouth or in writing in any newspaper, periodical, book, circular or other printed publication . . . spread reports or make statements intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's forces" (20th April, 1918).

Many of the leading members of Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers were arrested and sent to English prisons in May, 1918, and these and other national organisations were proclaimed in the following month. "The Press are advised that letters from the Irish Deportees interned in Great Britain under Regulation 14B of the Defence of the Realm regulations, should be submitted to this Office before publication" (31st May, 1918). "In view of enquiries from many papers, Editors are informed that the proclamation under section six of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act of the Sinn Féin and kindred organisations as dangerous does not of itself prohibit or suppress these organisations but confers upon the Lord Lieutenant in Council the power to do so by Order to be published in the prescribed manner, and is in the nature of a preliminary warning upon which action will only be taken in any district if subsequent misconduct makes it necessary. In the absence of such an order there continues full liberty to publish reports of any meetings or proceedings of the Sinn Féin organisation, the Sinn Féin clubs or the Gaelic League, subject to these reports containing no matter which is likely to cause disaffection or otherwise offends against the Defence of the Realm Regulations. In the case of the Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan, the existing rule of censorship that no report of military activities of these bodies may be published (viz., Serial No. 70. 5th