

custody, the *Ley de Fuga* acted. And wholesale slaying and destruction were justified by the British "reprisals."

Indiscriminate Shooting.—Besides the slaying of selected Republican citizens, and the destruction of Republican cities, towns, and villages, indiscriminate violence also occurred. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, of Manchester, England, was an eye-witness of a shooting expedition to which she testified as follows:—

"Curfew was at ten o'clock. We went to our room. According to law no one is supposed to have a light or look out of the window. But we turned our lights out and wrapped ourselves up and went to the window. First of all there came the soldiers in extended formation, each wearing tin helmets—the shrapnel helmets—and carrying guns with fixed bayonets. And then came three armoured cars packed with soldiers. . . . They went on by and when they came back they fired into the houses at a certain level. We saw the bullet marks next morning. That, of course, is a terrible thing. Many people have been killed on account of this indiscriminate firing from motor-lorries. . . . It lasted from ten till three."

Mrs. Agnes B. King, of Ironton, Ohio, testified to the use of searchlights by the Imperial British Forces, in a similar shooting expedition witnessed by her.

It would appear that the Imperial British Forces, in organised bodies, on certain occasions, testified to before us, have engaged in indiscriminate shooting of the non-combatant Irish people in their homes at night.

Where the Responsibility Lies

It was testified before us that coroner's juries, summoned by the Imperial Administration in Ireland, found that Thomas Dwyer, of Ragg, James McCarthy, Patrick Lynch, and Lord Mayor MacCurtain were murdered by the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary; John A. Lynch and the Buckley youth are alleged to have been assassinated by the military. It was deposed that in the case of Nunan the attempt to murder was made at the order of an Imperial British soldier, and that in the case of the Buckley youth an officer of His Majesty's regiment of Cameron Highlanders was in command of the party. Most of the other murders including the Croke Park massacre were attributed to "police" or "Black-and-Tans."

Tribunals.—Your Commission has been impressed by the fact that ordinary civil processes early ceased to be involved by British authority in the investigation of surreptitious and public assassination of Irish citizens by agents of, or members of, the Imperial British forces, officers and men, disguised or wearing His Majesty's uniform; and that such investigation was relegated to specially formed military tribunals, sitting usually in secret.* The British military seem to have been at the same time prosecutor, judge, jury—and accused.

The testimony shows that the Imperial British authorities in cases such as the burning and slaying in Balbriggan,† Thurles, Galway, Mallow, and other Irish towns, have abstained from punishing the forces engaged on the alleged ground that the actual criminals could not be identified. It seems improbable to us that the considerable

* Lord R. Cecil (House of Commons, November 1, 1920): When my right hon. friend speaks of inquiries, are these inquiries made in private or public?

Sir H. Greenwood: Some inquiries are made in private and some in public. My own experience in Ireland is that the most effective inquiry is made in private.

Mr. Devlin: From whom does the right hon. gentleman make these inquiries?

Sir H. Greenwood: From those officers and persons who are responsible to me for their conduct. (*Loc. cit.*, vol. 134, cols. 27-28.)

Mr. Kiley (House of Commons, November 11, 1920) asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether at every inquiry held into alleged reprisals in Ireland there has been present some person with legal training or qualifications; and if not, in the case of how many inquiries such a person has been present?

Sir H. Greenwood: As I have already stated, the inquiries into such allegations are conducted by responsible police or military officers upon whose findings I can rely. (*Loc. cit.*, vol. 134, cols. 1344-45.)

forces employed for such expeditions of murder and destruction could absent themselves from their barracks, could use military motor trucks to transport themselves to the doomed towns, and expend British ammunition in shooting Irish citizens and gasoline in burning their property, and yet could leave behind no discoverable signs of their identity.

Officers in Reprisals.—The testimony before us mentions the participation of District Inspector Cruise in the Galway reprisal; of an unnamed officer in the Mallow reprisal; of District Inspector Lowndes and three subordinate officers in the reprisal at Ballylorby. The Mallow reprisal is shown to have resulted from a concerted military manoeuvre participated in by troops from Fermoy and Buttevant. The Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial British forces in Ireland, General Macready, forewarned, did not prevent this military sacking of Mallow. The Imperial British General commanding in Galway commended the assassins and incendiaries in Galway City; incited them to repeat their depredations; and immediately thereafter two more murders occurred there.

The Restoration of Order in Ireland Act of 1920 would seem to give to the Imperial military authorities in Ireland the administration of criminal law in set areas there. But this law does not dispense with trial; and it gives the military no sanction either for assassination, or for the invention of new crimes; and subsequently the penalty attached to such crimes is also illegal. There seems no sanction in the published civil or military codes of British justice for these assassinations. If the Irish are rebels to British authority it would seem to us that their assassination at least in custody must be contrary to British law.

Such assassination would seem likewise to be contrary to the assumption that the Irish are prisoners of war, for it is forbidden by the Hague Convention.

And the ethical as well as the legal aspects of the killing of the handcuffed Buckley and of the indiscriminate shooting up of sleeping towns and football crowds would seem to be defensible by no standard of human conduct.

†After describing the murder of two men, the destruction of more than twenty houses and a factory at Balbriggan, Sir H. Greenwood (House of Commons, October 20, 1920) said: "I myself have had the fullest inquiry made into the case. I will tell the House what I found. I found that from 100 to 150 men went to Balbriggan determined to revenge the death of a popular comrade shot at and murdered in cold blood. I find it is impossible out of that 150 to find the men who did the deed, who did the burning. I have had the most searching inquiry made." (*Loc. cit.*, vol. 133, col. 947.)

(To be continued.)

To Dora Sigerson

[The following poem is from the pen of George Sigerson, M.D., F.R.U.I., who, among other notable things in literature, is the author of that classic rendition of early Irish poetry, *The Bards of the Gael and the Gall*. Though beyond his ninetieth year he is still writing. His gifted daughter, Dora (Mrs. Clement Shorter, to whom the sonnet is addressed), was an intimate friend of the late Imogen Guiney, whose praises Dr. Sigerson here sings, and their charming correspondence will soon be a valuable addition to the literature of letters.]

Dear dweller in a world unknown,
Whose shining spirits walk our seas,
In clouds of floating harmonies,
From Hesperidian cities flown!
We hear their voices shoreward blown,
With kiss of freedom's living breeze—
Paeans of new-born destinies,
And death songs of a race o'erthrown.
One voice comes clear of all the choir,
Sweet as the ripe Falernian wine,
That thrills as thrilled the classic lyre:
In thee still glows that Light Divine
That touched the Hellas-heart with fire,
And kept night-watch in Palestine.