

proclamation makes death the penalty even for a mother who harbors her son in her home—if he is a Republican; and eighty per cent. of the people are Republicans:

"(d) That a state of armed insurrection exists, that any person taking part therein or harboring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding, or abetting any person to take part therein; is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King, and is liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer *Death*."

This proclamation would seem to us to be directed not only against Irish womanhood, but also against the memory of the noblest of Englishwomen, Edith Cavell, shot for harboring persons levying war against His Majesty the Kaiser. The British High Command would appear to make the heroism of Edith Cavell a crime and to confirm her sentence.

Death penalties imposed by proclamation for those who carry or possess arms, for those who have information and neglect to make it known to the British Imperial Forces, and for kindred crimes have been brought to our notice. The following attested excerpt from the *Weekly Freeman*, Dublin, February 5, 1921, was placed in evidence:

"An official communique, issued from Victoria Barracks, Cork, on Tuesday, states: 'Cornelius Murphy was tried at Cork, on January 17, by a military court for an offence against martial law, and he was charged with being at Ballydaly on January 4 in improper possession of arms and ammunition, namely, a loaded revolver.'

"The court found Cornelius Murphy guilty and sentenced him to suffer death by being shot. The finding and sentence of the court were duly confirmed by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Ireland. The sentence was duly executed at 8.1 a.m. on February 1."

Failed to Inform

"At the same court, Denis Murphy was charged with having failed to inform the Competent Military Authority of the fact that his brother, Cornelius, had firearms and ammunition. Accused denies that he was aware of the fact.

"Sentence in the latter case does not appear to have been promulgated."

And to these excerpts, by way of contrast, counsel for the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic added the following, attested as taken from the *London Nation* of February 5, 1921:

"And now, men, keep your arms, no matter what happens. I rely upon every man to fight for his arms to the end. Let no man take them from you. I do not care who they be or under what authority they come. I tell you, 'Stick to your arms.'"—[Sir Edward Carson at an inspection of the Ulster rebels, June 6, 1914.]

Sir Edward Carson was made a member of the Imperial British Cabinet, and is to-day alleged to be a chief instigator of the Imperial British policy in Ireland.

It would seem to us that the British High Command scarcely recognise the authority of the Hague Convention. Their proclamations appear to indicate that their military failure to suppress the Irish Republic has already driven their conduct beyond the boundaries of conventions.

Imperial British Government in Ireland

Attested utterances, from official sources, of Ministers of His Majesty's Government have been placed in evidence, and we have cited several of Sir Hamar Greenwood's statements in the course of this report. These would seem to us to indicate a moral tone regrettable in a public official of a civilised people. We would particularly emphasise his explanation of the death of Mrs. Ellen Quinn, the expectant mother who was shot wantonly by the military: of his inquiries by military tribunals into the crimes ordered and committed by the military; of his failure to arrest the miscreants who sacked Balbriggan, and his condonation of the Croke Park massacre. There has been placed in evidence the following attested excerpt from the *London Nation* of January 29, 1921:

"One of the most important of these documents is the *Weekly Summary*. This, it will be explained, is a paper which Sir Hamar Greenwood established as a means of keeping up the spirits of his constables. These constables were men enlisted by the medium of an advertising

agency for ex-soldiers who could not find employment in England. The *Weekly Summary* will be the most important document that the historian can use for showing the spirit which Sir Hamar Greenwood wished to introduce and maintain in a body of men armed with such powers as no British force had exercised since 1798. Let us note a few of the extracts that were chosen for publication in this paper. A number of them are threatening resolutions attributed to persons spoken of as 'The Anti-Sinn Fein Society.'"

"If in future any member of His Majesty's Forces be murdered, two members of the Sinn Fein Party in the Co. of Cork will be killed. And in the event of a member of the Sinn Fein Party not being available, three sympathisers will be killed. This will apply equally to laity and clergy of all denominations. In the event of a member of His Majesty's Forces being wounded, or an attempt made to wound him, one member of the Sinn Fein Party will be killed, or if a member of the Sinn Fein Party is not available, two sympathisers will be killed." [This was literally carried out a few weeks later.]

"A fair warning to Sinn Feiners and sympathisers. Lisburn will claim not an eye for an eye, but three or more lives for either the murder of or injury to any local member of the Royal Irish Constabulary or Auxiliary Forces."

Notice

"If G. Hogan is not returned by four o'clock to-day (Friday), December 10, rebels of Cork, beware, as one man and one shop shall disappear for each hour after the given time."

"(Signed) B.-and-T.'s

"Organisation Headquarters, Retaliations Section B."

Sinn Feiners Get a Warning

"It is your duty to support your Government. Don't harbor, engage by hire or otherwise, associates of Sinn Fein or members of that murderous society. We warn you that, if you do, revenge will be taken by means not yet heard of."

"By order, Secret Service Dept. 2 B, No. 17396 V."

"The public funerals of the murdered officers was a solemn and impressive sight, by which many thousands were deeply affected, and we have not a word to say against it. But a far more satisfactory tribute to the dead would have been the spectacle of a Sinn Fein murderer hanging on every lamp-post in Sackville Street and Grafton Street, and that is what ought to have been done.—*The Winning Post*."

"Alderman McSweeney would seem to have been most anxious for the world to note that he 'died a soldier of the Irish Republic' . . . He might just as reasonably have averred that he died an Admiral of the Swiss Navy."

It is inherent in British Parliamentary practice that the Premier is responsible for the acts and utterances of every member of his Cabinet. It would appear that he has not publicly dissociated himself or his Government from Sir Hamar Greenwood. The moral obliquity implied in "shot trying to escape," "shot for refusal to halt," "Sinn Fein Extremists," "reprisals," and such terms, used in official British utterances, would seem to us to need no emphasis.

It would appear to your Commission that the Imperial British Army in Ireland has been guilty of proved excesses, not incomparable in degree and kind with those alleged, by the Bryce Report on Belgian atrocities, to have been committed by the Imperial German Army.* And it would further appear that the Imperial British Government have created and introduced into Ireland, a country in area less than the State of Maine, a force of at least 78,000, many of whom were boys and some of them convicts; have incited them to slay, burn, and loot; have armed them for their task; and have tempered with terror and alcohol this chosen instrument to fit it for the appointed purposes of the Imperial British Government in Ireland. It would seem to us that the moral responsibility

*We are under the disadvantage of lacking the official British side of the case save as we gathered it from documents presented before us, but the Bryce Commission was similarly handicapped, and to an even greater degree.

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