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THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE



ADDRESS TO THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

ADOPTED AT THE JANUARY SESSION
OF DAIL EIREANN, 1921



21-26485

PRESENTED BY MR. BORAH

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.

To the elected Representatives of the people of the United States of America:

We, the elected representatives of Ireland, recognizing in you the elected Representatives in Congress of the people of the United States of America, our brethren in the common effort to hasten the day when the nations may dwell together in justice and in harmony, have the honor to greet and to address you.

1. We feel certain that the struggle of our people—the people of Ireland—against the aggression of England is not passing unobserved by you. We covet your esteem as we would value your sympathy and support and fearful lest you be misled by the widespread, persistent, and insidious propaganda of falsehood through which England seeks to create prejudice against us—distorting the character of the contest, we hasten to lay before you facts, so that correctly informed you may be able to judge justly.

2. The nation which we represent enjoyed for over a thousand years the life of an independent sovereign State among the States of Europe. Then a neighboring nation—England—which had received the benefits of civilization and education first from our hands, lost to gratitude and honor and burning with lust for our possessions, burst in upon us as a conscienceless invader, and through the course of many generations strove to subvert our polity, annihilate our language and our culture, suppress our industry, ruin our agriculture, steal our trade and our commerce, deprive us of the advantages of our geographical position, cut us off from our ancient intercourse with other peoples, rob our revenues, and erase our name from the roll of nations.

3. Failing to achieve these ends after centuries of criminal effort, this nation entered into solemn treaties acknowledging our national independence and contracting to respect it for all time, but this meant merely until our national defenses were dismantled. Then treaties and contracts were treated as scraps of paper and the compact treacherously and bloodily violated.

4. All the resources of a powerful and ruthless tyranny have been employed since in a desperate attempt to utterly destroy us as a nation. In the course of little over a century we have been robbed of wealth amounting to an empire's ransom, whilst within living memory a population of eight and a half millions which, with the normal rate of increase, would have given us to-day a population of some seventeen millions, has been reduced by enemy acts to four millions—a crime unique among civilized nations. Our island is surpassingly fertile, generously endowed by nature with every advantage and facility for industry, for trade, and for commerce, capable of supporting in happiness and prosperity twenty millions of souls, yet only last year it was publicly declared by the official head of the usurping

English Government that it was the considered policy of that Government to banish from our country the young and strong—the flower of the four millions that yet remain.

5. The Irish people have consistently resisted this infamous tyranny to the utmost of their power. Almost every generation has witnessed at least one armed uprising, and when the people were too weak to resist in arms they never ceased to make clear their hatred of the rule of the foreigner. Their oppressor's declarations that the national sentiment of Ireland is guilty of "disloyalty" to English rule has been a constant acknowledgment of this attitude. The attitude and the desire of the present generation has been made manifest beyond question.

6. On December 14, 1918, mindful of the principles professed by the Government of England during the Great War and seeing in the application of these principles a ready and a just means of arriving at a peaceful and final settlement of their own centuries struggle, the Irish people declared by an overwhelming majority at the polls for an independent Irish republic.

7. Acting on the mandate thus expressly given by this national plebiscite, carried out under the forms and laws prescribed by England herself, the people's elected representatives assembled on January 21, 1919, formally proclaimed the nation's independence and declared the republic of Ireland duly established.

8. This legitimate application of the principle of national self-determination, this peaceful and orderly exercise of their moral and democratic right by the Irish people, was met by the British Government with an immediate and murderous exercise of brutal force. Troops and engines of destruction that for four years had been engaged on the Continent of Europe in the cause of the rights of small nations, it was said, and the fundamental principles of democracy, were rushed to Ireland and used to trample on those very rights and to strangle that very principle in the name of which they had been enrolled and employed.

9. The reign of intensified military terrorism that was thus instituted, although rigorously persisted in, did not intimidate the voters at the ensuing municipal and rural elections for local governing bodies. The homes of the people were raided systematically by day and by night, individual electors were murdered by bayonet and bullet, men were taken by the thousand and dragged off to English jails, the fears of the women and children were mercilessly played upon, but the terror failed. The year, instead of weakening, increased the strength of the Irish people's determination, and the republican representation showed an increase of 15 per cent on the previous elections though the system of "proportional representation" had been applied with the express design of reducing it.

10. To this further peaceful and constitutional action on our part, the foreign usurping Government, replied with a still fiercer and more vicious brutality.

11. The national, political, cultural, and industrial associations of the people were proscribed, and membership deemed a crime. The right of public assembly was abolished and the press gagged. The elected representatives of the nation were declared a criminal body. All of their number with two exceptions were seized from time to time and imprisoned in English jails where two have already met their deaths.

12. For over two years the people of Ireland bore patiently these ever-increasing burdens and persecutions without committing a single act of violence, either in self-defense or in reprisal. In that period, thousands were torn from their homes and cast into prison, many died as a result of prison treatment, and seven unarmed citizens were willfully murdered by the armed agents of the English Government, which openly incited the murders and encouraged the murderers with rewards and promotion.

13. But this patience of the people at last became exhausted. Abandoned, as it seemed, by the world, they turned to defend themselves as best they could. The British Government then put aside every restraint of civilization and deliberately resolved to proceed without regard for life or property. So vile was the policy projected that their regular troops could not be relied upon to carry it out. The ex-convict from the jails, however, and the degenerate back from the trenches, in whose breast the savagery of the late war had extinguished the last sparks of humanity, could be depended upon to have few qualms in dealing with their victims, and to cause little embarrassment to those in high authority amongst their employers by any nice regard for nominal discipline. A special force of these fiends was accordingly embodied. Allured by the prospect of an easy prey and unlimited loot, they were gathered together from every corner of Britain, and operating with the whole British Army in their rear as a cover and a protection, they were let loose upon an unarmed and defenseless populace.

14. An orgy of murder and robbery began. Neither age nor sex nor profession was respected. Old men of 80 and little children of 8, sick and crippled boys, mothers and wives, even anointed ministers of God, were indiscriminately murdered—the breadwinner before the eyes of his family and the mother with the child at her breast at the cottage door. Houses, offices, workshops, factories and creameries were plundered and destroyed. Towns and villages were sacked and burned down. The home of the farmer and the home of the artisan, the shop, the store, the office were looted and given to the flames.

15. Whole districts were devastated and the produce destroyed in the hope of famishing the population. Individual citizens were held up at the point of the revolver or bayonet and robbed on the public streets, and while these outrages were being perpetrated every act of self-defense on the part of the victims was advertised by English propagandists as a crime, and the murderers and robbers proclaimed champions of law and order.

16. At the present moment these abominations continue unabated. The English Government's jails are being filled with our countrymen, some of whom have been murdered therein, and others put to the torture. New capital offenses are being created. The simple possession of firearms is a charge on which several Irishmen have been executed. Prominent citizens are carried as hostages by English troops in their military expeditions against our people, and their lives forfeit if the unit with which they are traveling be molested. The elected representatives of the nation, the mayors and the presidents of our municipal and urban councils, the chairmen of our county and rural councils—all the chief officers on whom devolve the direction of national and local administration are made objects of special attack, the uniform purpose being to prevent constructive legislation, and

to bring our domestic public affairs into chaos. Such, for example, was the purpose that lately prompted the murder of one lord mayor of Cork, the imprisonment till death of another lord mayor of Cork, and the imprisonment until his health was permanently impaired of the lord mayor of Dublin.

17. This demoniacal war upon our community is being waged with no other provocation than our insistence on our national right, and our faithful adherence to a principle which even the demon's masters themselves have pretended to serve.

18. The Irish people claim no more than their right as a nation to determine freely for themselves how they shall be governed. We, their official spokesmen—their elected parliament and government call mankind to witness that our people have ever been ready to welcome peace with England on that just basis.

19. On no other basis is peace possible. We shall not surrender our national right—nor will force compel us.

Our cause is the common cause of humankind. To that cause we have pledged ourselves and our people to remain faithful unto death.

You, the representatives of a sister nation, can not, we feel, be insensible to the issue.

Adopted at the January session of Dail Eireann, 1921.

(Signed:)

Eamon de Valera, president, deputy for East Clare and East Mayo; Arthur Griffith, deputy for East Cavan and Northwest Tyrone; James Lennon, deputy for Carlow County; Paul Galligan, deputy for West Cavan; Brian O'Higgins, deputy for West Clare; J. J. Walsh, deputy for Cork City; Liam de Roiste, deputy for Cork City; P. O'Keeffe, deputy for North Cork; T. Hunter, deputy for North East Cork; David Kent, deputy for East Cork; John Hayes, deputy for West Cork; Michael Collins, deputy for South Cork; Joseph O'Doherty, deputy for North Donegal; Joseph Sweeney, deputy for West Donegal; P. J. Ward, deputy for South Donegal; R. J. Mulcahy, deputy for Clontarf, Dublin City; John T. O'Kelly, deputy for College Green, Dublin City; Philip Shanahan, deputy for Harbour, Dublin City; Joseph McGrath, deputy for St. James, Dublin City; Michael Staines, deputy for St. Michans, Dublin City; Thomas Kelly, deputy for St. Stephens Green, Dublin City; Constance de Markieviz, deputy for St. Patricks, Dublin City; Eoin MacNeill, deputy for National University and Derry City; Frank Lawless, deputy for North County Dublin; George Gavan Duffy, deputy for South County Dublin; Desmond Fitzgerald, deputy for Pembroke, County Dublin; John O'Mahony, deputy for South Fermanagh; Padruig O'Maille, deputy for Connemara, County Galway; Brian Cusack, deputy for North Galway; Liam Mellowes, deputy for East Galway and North Meath; Francis Fahy, deputy for South Galway; J. Crowley, deputy for North Kerry; Austin Stack, deputy for West Kerry; Fionan Lynch, deputy for

South Kerry; Piaras Beaslai, deputy for East Kerry; Daniel Buckley, deputy for North Kildare; Art O'Connor, deputy for South Kildare; W. T. Cosgrave, deputy for North Kilkenny; James O'Mara, deputy for South Kilkenny; Patrick McCartan, deputy for Offaly (Kings County); James N. Dolan, deputy for Leitrim County; M. P. Colivet, deputy for Limerick City; Cornelius Collins, deputy for West Limerick; Richard Hayes, deputy for East Limerick; Joseph McGuinness, deputy for Longford County; J. J. O'Kelly, deputy for Louth County; J. Crowley, deputy for North Mayo; Joseph McBride, deputy for West Mayo; William Sears, deputy for South Mayo; E. J. Duggan, deputy for South Meath; Ernest Blythe, deputy for North Monaghan; John MacEntee, deputy for South Monaghan; Kevin O'Higgins, deputy for Leix (Queens County); George Noble Count Plunkett, deputy for North Roscommon; Henry Boland, deputy for South Roscommon; J. J. Clancy, deputy for North Sligo; Alex McCabe, deputy for South Sligo; Joseph McDonagh, deputy for North Tipperary; James A. Burke, deputy for Middle Tipperary; P. J. Moloney, deputy for South Tipperary; Cathal Brugha, deputy for Waterford County; Laurence Ginnell, deputy for Westmeath County; James Ryan, deputy for South Wexford; Robert C. Barton, deputy for West Wicklow; John R. Etchingham, deputy for East Wicklow.

APPENDIXES.

Every assertion in the foregoing address is founded upon facts. The following appendixes are intended to cover the more vital.

APPENDIX A.

DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

[Address, pars. 6, 7, and 9.]

I. THE NATIONAL PLEBISCITE.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1918.

In December, 1918, a general election for parliamentary candidates was held in every constituency in Ireland. The result of that election was that—

Of the total 101 representatives elected on the popular franchise (that is, excluding the privileged and duplicated university vote).¹

The Republicans secured	72
The Irish Parliamentary Party, who were self-determinationists and did not oppose the idea of a republic as such, but deemed it at the moment unattainable, secured	6
The official Unionists secured	21
The Independent Unionists secured	2

¹ There were 4 University seats: The National University returned 1 Republican; the Dublin University returned 2 Unionists; the Belfast University returned 1 Unionist.

Thus the Republican representatives won in a majority of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 over all other parties.

The self-determinationists (Republicans and Parliamentarians together) secured a majority of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 over those in favor of union with England.

Of the total popular vote of 1,519,894, only 311,210, that is a bare 20 per cent, were cast for union with England.

BY PROVINCES.

In the Province of Leinster, of its 27 members, every one elected with one exception—and he by a majority of only 54 votes in a poll of 14,766—was a Republican.

In the Province of Munster, of its 24 members, every one elected with one exception—and he a self-determinationist—was a Republican.

In the Province of Connaught, of its 13 members, every one elected was a Republican.

In the Province of Ulster, of its 37 members, 20 were official Unionists, and 2 Independent Unionists. The remaining 15 opposed the connection with England, 10 being Republicans and 5 Parliamentary Nationalists, and so self-determinationists.

BY COUNTIES.

Ireland is divided into 32 counties.

In not one of these counties did the Unionists secure the entire representation. In only four did they poll a majority.

On the other hand, the Republicans, who polled a majority in 27 counties, secured the entire representation in 24.

Of the six Irish boroughs, not one returned an entirely Unionist representation. In only one of the six is the Unionist representation a majority, whereas four of the Irish boroughs returned an entirely Republican representation.

The Province of Ulster, the attitude of which is so much misrepresented by English propaganda, has nine counties. In five of these counties the Republicans and self-determinationists combined polled a majority; in three they secured the entire representation.

In no county, even in Ulster, did the Unionists secure the entire representation, and they obtained a majority in only four. Outside Antrim County, 14 of the members elected for Ulster were opposed to the British connection and only 10 in favor of that connection. In Antrim County alone, which includes the city of Belfast, did the Unionists secure anything approaching a homogeneous predominance. That county was allotted as many as 13 representatives. Of these, 12 were Unionists, so that over one-half of the total popular Unionist representation in Ireland came from a single county.

This extraordinary degree of unanimity of opinion was registered by the Irish people despite active interference and aggression on the part of the English forces, both preceding and during the election.

As can be seen by these figures, the pro-English minority in Ireland is relatively less than the minority in Schleswig-Holstein who voted for union with Germany.

Many of the newly established Republics in Europe contain larger minorities in favor of a continuance of their political relationships of union with the Central Empires than the minority in Ireland in favor of union with England.

The present coalition government of England was elected by what is regarded as an almost unprecedented majority, yet the republican government of Ireland can show as the basis of its right a far greater relative majority. The Coalitionists, including the Independent Unionists and the National Democratic Party, secured a vote of only 39.7 per cent of the total British register, whereas the Irish Republicans secured 50.2 per cent of the total Irish register.

That there was no ambiguity about the issue put to the electors is admitted generally and borne witness to by the Irish Unionist Alliance—that is, the pro-English Party in Ireland. In a statement on the 1918 elections this body officially states:

“The general election of December, 1918, was the first occasion when the numerical strength of Sinn Fein could be officially known, for they contested all the constituencies against the sitting home-rule members. They stood boldly on the issue of an Irish republic, free from all connections with England, and on that issue swept the Home Rule Party out of existence.”

II. CONFIRMATORY PLEBISCITE.

LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1920.

More than a year after the national plebiscite the elections for local governing bodies were held. The national issue was again the dominant one, and as the elections were carried out on the basis of proportional representation, the results are a trustworthy index of the popular sentiment.

	Per cent.
Of the city and urban councils.....	77.0
Of the rural district councils.....	88.4
Of the boards of guardians.....	89.6
Of the county councils.....	87.9

were carried in favor of the republic, give allegiance to Dail Eireann (the national assembly) and carry out its decrees.

The present British prime minister admitted in the House of Commons in April, 1920—

“If you ask the people of Ireland what they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would say: ‘We want independence and an Irish republic.’ There is absolutely no doubt about that. The elected representatives of Ireland now by a clear, definite majority have declared in favor of independence.”

APPENDIX B.

DEPOPULATION OF IRELAND.

[Address, par. 4.]

The depopulation of Ireland during the last three-quarters of a century is without parallel anywhere in the civilized world.

The following table indicates:

1. The growth of Ireland's population during a comparatively peaceful period, although one marked by frequent famines and increasing emigration.
2. The striking depopulation of a later period in which famine and emigration were intensified and accompanied by coercion and eviction.

Total population and population per square mile.

Year.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.	
	Total population.	Population per square mile.	Total population.	Population per square mile.	Total population.	Population per square mile.
1801.....	8,892,536	152	1,608,420	54	5,395,456	166
1821.....	12,000,236	206	2,091,521	70	6,801,827	209
1841.....	15,914,148	272	2,620,184	88	8,175,124	251
1845.....	16,739,136	287	2,742,167	92	8,295,061	255
1851.....	17,927,609	308	2,888,742	97	6,552,385	201
1871.....	22,712,266	392	3,360,018	113	5,412,377	167
1911.....	36,070,492	618	4,760,904	160	4,390,219	137

Thus we see that—

In the period 1801 to 1911 whilst the population of England and Wales was more than quadrupled, and that of Scotland trebled, the population of Ireland was reduced one-fifth.

In the period 1845 to 1911 whilst the population of England and Wales was more than doubled, and that of Scotland almost doubled, the population of Ireland was reduced by one-half.

To appreciate how unique this appalling record is, one has only to study in comparison the population statistics over the same period of the subject nations on the European continent. The liberation of these nations from the oppression of alien rule was deemed a worthy objective in the great World War.

Austrian Poland:		
1846	.....	4,461,400
1913 (increase, 84 per cent)	.....	8,211,770
Ireland:		
1846	.....	8,287,848
1913 (decrease, 47 per cent)	.....	4,379,076
Prussian Poland:		
1855	.....	1,392,636
1910 (increase, 50 per cent)	.....	2,099,831
Ireland:		
1855	.....	6,014,665
1910 (decrease, 27 per cent)	.....	4,385,421
Russian Poland:		
1871	.....	6,193,710
1915 (increase, 97 per cent)	.....	12,247,600
Ireland:		
1871	.....	5,398,179
1915 (decrease, 19.7 per cent)	.....	4,337,000
Bohemia:		
1831	.....	3,900,000
1913 (increase, 75 per cent)	.....	6,860,000
Ireland:		
1831	.....	7,767,401
1913 (decrease, 43 per cent)	.....	4,379,076
Finland:		
1850	.....	1,636,915
1914 (increase, 99 per cent)	.....	3,269,401
Ireland:		
1850	.....	6,877,849
1914 (decrease, 36 per cent)	.....	4,381,398
Esthonia:		
1856	.....	293,559
1915 (increase, 54 per cent)	.....	512,500
Ireland:		
1856	.....	5,972,851
1915 (decrease, 27 per cent)	.....	4,337,000

The misrule of these nations has been a byword, yet had Ireland fared under British rule as well as these nations under their oppressors her present population would be about four times what it is. Had Ireland fared as well as Austrian Poland under the Hapsburgs, for example, her population in 1913 would have been not 4,379,076 but 15,257,888.

The destruction of Ireland's population is even greater than the above would show, for, with the exception of Holland, the birth rate in Ireland is the highest in Europe, as is proved by the following table issued in the year 1910 by the statistical department of the Government of Bavaria:

The birth rate—Legitimate births (per 1,000 women).

Country.	1876-1885	1886-1895	1896-1905	Country.	1875-1885	1886-1895	1896-1905
German Empire....	268	258	243	England and Wales.	250	229	203
Prussia.....	273	265	250	Scotland.....	271	255	235
Bavaria.....	276	263	259	Ireland.....	250	245	264
Saxony.....	267	250	216	Belgium.....	264	236	213
Wurtemberg.....	288	259	262	Holland.....	293	286	272
Baden.....	266	248	251	Denmark.....	244	235	217
Austria.....	246	250	.....	Sweden.....	240	231	.....
Hungary.....	234	224	.....	Norway.....	262	259	.....
Italy.....	248	249	232	Portugal.....	.....	235	.....
Switzerland.....	239	230	.....	Finland.....	259	246	.....
France.....	167	150	234	Servia.....	.....	237	.....

This conclusion is confirmed by the Report of the Proceedings of the London Statistical Society (1906), with the addition that:

"Ireland, * * * among all countries from which figures can be obtained, shows an increased fertility."

Apparently, however, the British Government are not satisfied with the destruction they have already wrought. Lord French, the chief representative of that Government, revealed the official mind and the policy it was intended to pursue when in an interview with the special correspondent of *Le Journal*, Paris, on January 23, 1920, he said:

"The main cause of the trouble is that during the last five years emigration has practically ceased. There are here 100,000 to 200,000 young men between the ages of 18 and 25 who in normal times would have expatriated themselves."

On this plane alone English rule in Ireland stands condemned. John Stuart Mill, an Englishman, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, says:

"The land of Ireland, like the land of every other country, belongs to the people who inhabit it * * * and when the inhabitants of a country leave it 'en masse' because a Government does not leave them room to live, that Government is already judged and condemned."

APPENDIX C.

DESTRUCTION OF WEALTH AND FINANCIAL ROBBERY.

[Address, par. 4.]

(A) OVERTAXATION.

In 1896 a commission set up by the British Government reported that Ireland had been taxed since the year 1800 by at least £2,750,000 per year over and above the contribution fixed by the act of union. (See Report of Financial Relations Commission, Blue Book, C. 8262.)

In 1896 the Irish revenue contributed was £8,034,000. For the year ending March 31, 1920, the revenue contributed was £50,615,000. England has, therefore, since she discovered Ireland was overtaxed, multiplied the collection of taxes in Ireland six times over.

The following table shows how Ireland's taxation was increased since England annexed the Irish exchequer at the close of the Napoleonic Wars:

	Revenue per head.	
	Ireland.	England.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Year ending Jan. 5, 1820.....	15 5	3 13 0
Year ending Mar. 31, 1920.....	11 10 7	21 19 3

Increase: Ireland, fourteenfold; England, fivefold.

The following table shows Irish revenue and expenditure during the past five years and the surplus remaining in England's hands after deducting Irish expenditure (see British Official Returns, White Paper No. 163 of 1919, and Nos. 239 and 245 of 1920):

Year ending Mar. 31—	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
1916.....	£17,929,000	£12,597,000	£5,332,000
1917.....	23,706,500	12,686,000	11,020,500
1918.....	26,865,000	13,002,000	13,863,000
1919.....	37,275,000	22,161,500	15,113,500
1920.....	50,615,000	29,221,000	21,394,000

A great deal of the expenditure on alleged Irish services is really paid out to English manufacturers to whom are allotted all the contracts for supplies for Irish services. In addition, England pockets the whole of the surplus. The figures for expenditure also include such items as (for 1920) £3,296,000 for that portion of the army of occupation known as the police force; £379,500 for the English law courts in the country; £23,000 for the English lord lieutenant; £42,500 for the English chief secretary in

Ireland; £328,500 for English prisons in Ireland; £315,000 for public offices and institutions situated in England; £39,000 for universities and schools in Great Britain; and much of the remainder on the 50 extravagant and irresponsible boards which England has set up to govern the country in England's interests.

(b) SURPLUS WAR TAXATION.

Over and above the overtaxation of £2,750,000 per annum Ireland has paid in the last six years a sum of £102,033,000 for the war to free small nations. That money was spent in English munition factories and to raise and equip huge armies, one of which is now used as an army of occupation in Ireland to murder liberty. The figures are:

Year ending Mar. 31—	<i>Revenue contributed.</i>
1915.....	£12,389,500
1916.....	17,929,000
1917.....	23,766,500
1918.....	26,865,000
1919.....	37,275,000
1920.....	50,615,000
Total.....	168,940,000
Deduct six years' taxation at 1914 rate, £11,134,500.....	66,807,000
Balance.....	102,033,000

(c) CAPITAL LOSS IN POPULATION.

One aspect of the depopulation of Ireland during the past half century is that it represents a loss in capital of at least £3,152,500,000.

The increase in Irish population from 1821 to 1841 is:

<i>Irish population.</i>	
1821.....	6,801,827
1831.....	7,767,401
1841.....	8,175,124

On the basis of this rate of increase the present population of Ireland should be 17,000,000.

The actual decrease in Ireland's population between 1845 and 1911 is 3,912,000.

The real loss in population is 12,610,000.

This represents a capital loss in money (at £250 per head) of £3,152,500,000.

(d) LOSS IN ABSENTEE RENTS.

Ireland has paid in rents to absentee landlords, mostly resident in England, a sum calculated at not less than £1,000,000,000.

This sum raised in Ireland and spent outside of Ireland has been a dead loss to the country.

SUMMARY.

If we add these various sums together:

(a) Overtaxation at two and three-quarter millions per year for 120 years (capital sum only, exclusive of interest).....	£330,000,000
(b) Surplus war taxation.....	102,033,000
(c) Capital loss in population.....	3,152,500,000
(d) Absentee rents.....	1,000,000,000
Total.....	4,584,533,000

We thus find that English domination has cost Ireland during the past 120 years the almost incredible sum of £4,584,533,000.

The entire German war indemnity of £11,300,000,000, payable in 42 years, is calculated to have a present value of £4,032,857,036.

It is thus clear that England during the past 120 years has robbed Ireland, a small country of 32,000 square miles and a population of some 4,000,000, of a sum exceeding

by £550,000,000 the present value of the entire indemnity which the conference of the entente allies decided to exact from Germany, a sum which many experts contend it would impoverish even the great German Empire to pay.

If to the above be added the losses due to the repression of industry and the destruction of trade by the direct action of Britain, it will be seen that to say: "In the course of little over a century we have been robbed of wealth amounting to an empire's ransom"—is literal truth and not a rhetorical exaggeration.

APPENDIX D.

I. TABLE SHOWING THE INTENSIFICATION OF BRITISH AGGRESSION IN IRELAND DURING FOUR YEARS.

[Address, pars. 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15.]

The following figures showing the activities of England's forces in Ireland are summarized from the reports published in the Irish daily press, which was subject to a rigorous official British censorship during the five years ending September, 1919, followed since by a continuous and unrelaxing system of military terrorism:

	1917	1918	1919	1920
Murder of Irish citizens.....	7	6	10	203
Armed assaults on unarmed civilians.....	18	81	476	1,184
Raids on Irish houses and institutions.....	11	260	13,782	48,474
Arrests (political).....	349	1,107	959	7,287
Deportation of Irish citizens.....	24	91	20	705
Courts-martial.....	36	62	209	630
Sentences on political charges.....	269	973	636	775
Proclamations and suppressions.....	2	32	335	203
Suppressions of newspapers.....	3	12	25	(1)

¹ See below.

II. DETAILS FOR 1920.

(a) Outrages on the person:	
Deliberate assassinations of representative Irish citizens.....	69
Murders of prisoners in custody after torture.....	36
Murders of Irish citizens by indiscriminate firing.....	98
Civilians wounded by bullet or bayonet.....	589
Civilians flogged and tortured.....	185
Armed assaults on unarmed civilians.....	1,184
Political arrests.....	7,287
Deportation of Irish citizens.....	705
Courts-martial.....	630
Sentences on political charges.....	775
Aggregate total of sentences imposed, 613 years 9 months.	
(b) Outrages on property:	
Raids on Irish homes and institutions.....	48,474
Houses deliberately destroyed or damaged.....	875
Shops deliberately destroyed or damaged.....	965
Factories deliberately destroyed or damaged.....	14
Creameries deliberately destroyed or damaged.....	44
Farmsteads deliberately burned.....	171
Stores of farm produce deliberately burned.....	299
(c) Outrages on civic liberty and public property:	
Proclamations and suppressions.....	203
Newspaper offices and printing works destroyed or damaged.....	12
City and town halls destroyed or damaged.....	15
Other public halls destroyed or damaged.....	91
Acts of sabotage by English forces.....	903

III. JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1921.

During the first two months, January and February, of the present year there has been a further intensification of the English terror. Amongst the reported activities of the English forces in this period there have been:

Murders and assassinations.....	67
Woundings of unarmed citizens.....	71
Men and boys tortured.....	15
Men and boys beaten with rifle butts.....	22
Men and boys flogged in the public streets and squares.....	29
Private houses wholly or partially destroyed.....	250
Bank wrecked.....	1
Irish school destroyed.....	1
Shops wholly or partially destroyed.....	62
Creameries wholly or partially destroyed.....	4
Public halls wholly or partially destroyed.....	5
Towns "shot up".....	14

Crops on 60 farms burned; many general raids, lootings, and robberies.

IV. BRITISH AGGRESSION IN 1917 AND 1918.

[Address, par. 13.]

In connection with these tables of figures it is well to call attention to the fact that the English Government alleges that their régime of terror in Ireland is necessary because of the campaign of crime. An examination of the Irish newspaper files for the years 1917 and 1918 shows that there was not in these years even an alleged campaign of crime. There was but one policeman killed in those two years; he died as a result of injuries received while leading a baton charge to disperse a peaceful public meeting. In 1917, 22 of the English assize judges in Ireland found "a remarkable absence of crime" on their circuits, covering practically the whole area of Ireland. In 1918, 16 of these judges had the same report to make. Yet during these two years English people and soldiers carried on a constant and consistent campaign of aggression to provoke the people into retaliation. Public meetings of the people were suppressed or dispersed with batons or bayonets. There were 1,456 people arrested for political offenses, over 100 civilians were tried by court-martial, 1,242 men and women were given savage sentences—as many as 5 years' penal servitude being inflicted for the reading of a Sinn Fein manifesto—115 leaders of nationalist opinion were deported to English jails without charge or trial, 15 nationalist papers were suppressed, 6 men died as a result of prison treatment, and 7 men were brutally murdered by English soldiers and police. The murderers were not only unpunished, but were selected for promotion in the service of their employers.

V. LIST OF IRISH TOWNS AND VILLAGES RAVAGED BY ENGLISH TROOPS FROM SEPTEMBER 9, 1919, TO FEBRUARY 25, 1920.

[Address, par. 15.]

1919.

- Sept. 9. Fermoy, County Cork, sacked.
 Nov. 6. Kinsale, County Cork, partially sacked.
 12. Cork city partially sacked.

1920.

- Jan. 22. Thurles, County Tipperary, sacked.
 Feb. 27. Three houses in Dublin wrecked.
 Mar. 1. Thurles, County Tipperary, partially wrecked.
 7. Several houses in Thurles, County Tipperary, wrecked.
 12. Many houses in Cork city wrecked.
 22. Many shop windows in Dublin wrecked.
 Apr. 26. Kilcommon, County Tipperary, partially wrecked.
 27. Many houses in Limerick city wrecked.
 May 13. Houses at Thurles, County Tipperary, fired and bombed.
 15. Houses at Bantry, County Cork, wrecked.
 28. Kilmallock, County Limerick, sacked.
 June 23. Bantry, County Cork, partially sacked.
 23. Houses in Limerick city wrecked.
 26. Many houses in Bantry, County Cork, wrecked and fired.

1920.

- June 27. Fermoy, County Cork, wrecked.
27. Lismore, County Waterford, sacked.
27. Many houses at Newcastle West, County Limerick, wrecked and fired.
28. Limerick city partially sacked.
- July 1. Newspaper offices at Limerick city wrecked and fired.
6. Residence at Ballylanders, County Limerick, bombed and wrecked.
15. Tralee, County Kerry, partially sacked.
16. Houses at Arklow, County Wicklow, bombed and wrecked.
19. Enly, County Limerick, creamery and houses wrecked.
20. Tuam, County Galway, sacked.
20. National Foresters' Hall at Enniscorthy, County Wexford, wrecked.
21. Houses at Limerick city bombed and wrecked.
22. Leap, County Cork, sacked.
23. Caltra, County Galway, partially sacked.
30. Upperchurch, County Tipperary, partially sacked.
31. Tipperary town partially sacked.
31. Business premises at Cork city sacked.
- Aug. 2. Many houses at Castlerea, County Roscommon, partially wrecked.
5. Doon, County Limerick, sacked.
8. Houses at Kildorrery, County Cork, wrecked and looted.
12. Sinn Fein Hall at Enniscorthy, County Wexford, wrecked.
15. Limerick city partially wrecked.
16. Templemore, County Tipperary, partially sacked.
17. Creameries at Castleiny, Loughmore, and Killea, County Tipperary, destroyed.
21. Oranmore, County Galway, sacked.
24. Several houses at Dundalk, County Louth, wrecked.
25. Kill, County Kildare, wrecked.
26. Creamery at Knocklong, County Limerick, destroyed.
26. Shanagolden, County Limerick, partially sacked.
27. Cobh, County Cork, sacked.
- Sept. 1. Ballaghaderreen, County Mayo, sacked.
2. Inniscarra, County Cork, partially sacked.
10. Tullow, County Carlow, sacked.
18. Several houses wrecked and fired in County Limerick.
19. Several houses at Salthill, County Galway, wrecked and fired.
20. Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, partially sacked.
20. Balbriggan, County Dublin, sacked.
22. Drumshambo, County Leitrim, partially sacked.
22. Houses at Tuam, County Galway, and Galway city, wrecked.
22. Ennistymon, County Clare, sacked.
22. Lahinch, County Clare, sacked.
22. Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, sacked.
22. Houses at Galway city wrecked and looted.
21. Newspaper offices and houses at Galway city bombed and wrecked.
25. Several houses at Athlone, County Westmeath, wrecked.
25. Houses at Killorglin, County Kerry, wrecked.
27. Trim, County Meath, sacked.
27. Silvermines Creamery, County Tipperary, burned
27. Fifteen houses in Cork wrecked and bombed.
28. Mallow, County Cork, sacked.
28. Houses in Clonmore, County Carlow, wrecked and fired.
28. Houses in Ballyshannon, County Donegal, wrecked.
28. Drimoleague, County Cork, houses sacked.
29. Gymnasium, Listowel, County Kerry, wrecked.
30. Tubbercurry, County Sligo, sacked.
30. Creameries at Ballyara and Achonry, County Sligo, burned.
30. Houses at Kilshenane, Cashel, County Tipperary, burned.
- Oct. 2. Ballinagare, County Roscommon, sacked.
2. Moylett's stores, Galway, wrecked and looted.
8. Farmhouse, Meelick, County Clare, burned.
9. Kildimo, County Limerick, sacked; creamery burned.
9. Mr. Halpin's farmstead, Pallaskenry, County Limerick, burned.
9. Houses in Blackboy Pike, County Limerick, burned.
9. Cork City Hall burned.
9. Houses on Ellis's Quay, Dublin, wrecked.

1920.

- Oct. 13. Clifden, County Galway, partially sacked.
 16. Athlone (County Westmeath) Printing Works and some houses sacked and burned.
 16. Houses bombed in Dublin.
 17. Tralee, County Kerry, partially sacked.
 18. Houses in Tipperary wrecked.
 18. Abbeydorney Creamery, County Kerry, burned.
 18. Finuge Sinn Fein Hall, County Kerry, burned.
 18. Three farmsteads in Kanturk, County Cork, burned.
 20. Leap, County Cork, partially sacked.
 21. Houses in Newceston and Coolanagh, County Cork, burned.
 21. Houses at Cussen Point, County Westmeath, burned.
 21. Houses in Tipperary town, wrecked.
 22. Bandon, County Cork, partially sacked.
 24. Hosiery factory burned in Bandon, County Cork.
 24. Houses in Tubbercurry, County Sligo, wrecked.
 24. Lixnaw, County Kerry, creamery partially burned.
 26. Sinn Fein Hall, Derrylahan, County Westmeath, burned.
 27. Houses and farmsteads in Cliffoney, County Sligo, burned.
 27. Houses in Skerries, County Dublin, burned.
 27. Houses in Galway city burned.
 28. Ballintrillick Creamery, County Sligo, burned.
 28. Houses in Bandon, County Cork, bombed.
 28. Houses in Shrule, County Mayo, burned.
 30. Houses and farmsteads, Lecarrow (Feakle), County Clare, burned.
 30. Templemore, County Tipperary, sacked.
 31. Creamery and farmhouses, Littleton, County Tipperary, burned.
 31. Tipperary town sacked.
 31. Dungannon, County Tyrone, partially sacked.
 31. Tullamore, King's County, sacked.
 31. County Hall and business houses, Tralee, County Kerry, burned.
 31. Creamery and business houses, Ballyduff, County Kerry, burned.
 31. Killybegs, County Donegal, partially sacked.
 31. Edgeworthstown, County Longford, partially sacked.
- Nov. 1. Tralee, County Kerry, partially sacked.
 1. Houses in Clara, King's County, wrecked.
 1. O'Brien's Bridge Village, County Clare, sacked.
 1. Town Hall, Miltown-Malbaw, County Clare, burned.
 1. Farmsteads at Inch Listowel, County Kerry, burned.
 1. Shops wrecked in Thurles, County Tipperary.
 1. Houses burned in Dingle, County Kerry.
 2. Temperance Hall, Longford, burned.
 2. Houses and farmsteads, O'Brien's Bridge, County Clare, burned.
 2. Houses in Athlone burned.
 2. Nenagh, County Tipperary, sacked.
 2. Houses in Auburn, Glasson, County Westmeath, burned.
 3. Athlone (County Westmeath), Printing Works burned.
 3. Ballymote, County Sligo, partially sacked and creamery burned.
 3. Houses wrecked in Roscommon.
 4. Tralee, County Kerry, again sacked.
 4. Granard, County Longford, sacked.
 4. Nenagh, County Tipperary, partially sacked.
 4. Business premises burned at Athlone, County Westmeath.
 4. Garvagh Hall, County Leitrim, burned.
 4. Shannon Vale Creamery, Ballyduff, County Kerry, burned.
 5. Houses bombed in Leap, County Cork.
 5. Youghal, County Cork, partially sacked.
 6. Houses and farmsteads in Coosan, County Westmeath, burned.
 6. Derry City, houses bombed and destroyed.
 1-6. Crops burned in Ballyduff district, County Kerry.
 7. Houses wrecked, Ballintubber, County Roscommon.
 8. Milford Creamery, County Cork, partially burned.
 8. Houses and farmsteads at Gort, County Galway, burned.
 8. Technical school, Carnegie Library, and other houses, Tralee, County Kerry, burned.
 9. Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, partially sacked.

1920.

- Nov. 9. Farranfore, County Kerry, sacked.
 9. Ballybrack, County Kerry, sacked.
 9. Gortalee, County Kerry, sacked.
 9. Houses at Castleisland, County Kerry, burned.
 9. Village Hall, Drumsna, County Leitrim, burned.
 9. Two public halls, Johnson's Bridge, County Longford, burned.
 9. Business and private houses, Tullamore, Kings County, burned.
 11. Houses in Enniscorthy, County Wexford, wrecked.
 11. Houses in Kilmalley, County Clare, burned.
 11. Houses in Abbeydorney, County Kerry, burned.
 11. Licensed premises in Longford, wrecked.
 13. Tipperary town partially sacked.
 13. Creamery and other houses burned at Ballydwyer, County Kerry.
 13. Houses at Lisrue, County Clare, burned.
 13. Farm produce and houses, O'Brien's Bridge, County Clare, burned.
 15. Houses in Tipperary town destroyed.
 15. Houses, Limerick City, bombed.
 15. Houses, Cappafarna, County Galway, wrecked.
 15. Kilcommon, County Tipperary, "shot up" and cows mutilated.
 15. Houses and farmsteads at Bohercrowe, County Tipperary, burned.
 15. Irish College and Cooperative Stores, Cloghaneely, County Donegal, burned.
 16. Houses in Tipperary town burned.
 16. Houses, Leap, County Cork, burned.
 16. Sinn Fein Hall, Dun Laoghaire, County Dublin, burned.
 16. Hibernian Hall, Derrylahan, Coalisland, County Tyrone, burned.
 17. Ballinamore, Catholic Hall, County Leitrim, wrecked.
 17. Houses in Listra, County Clare, burned.
 17. Houses in Cloone, County Leitrim, wrecked.
 17. Houses in Drumhallow, County Leitrim, wrecked.
 17. Houses in Aughavas, County Leitrim, wrecked.
 17. Parochial Hall, Fennagh, County Leitrim, wrecked.
 17. Farmhouses, Killyfea, County Leitrim, burned.
 17. Parochial Hall, Drumvilley, County Leitrim, burned.
 17. Parochial Hall, Aughwilliam, County Leitrim, burned.
 20. Village of Barna, County Galway, sacked.
 20. Houses, Cork City, partially wrecked.
 21. Village Hall and Gaelic Rooms, Newry, wrecked.
 21. Houses, Tubridmore, County Kerry, burned.
 22. Swords, County Dublin, partially sacked.
 22. Houses, Barna, County Galway, burned.
 22. Boat Club Houses, Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, burned.
 22. Houses, Millstreet, County Cork, sacked.
 22. Duhallo Creamery, Nenagh, County Tipperary, burned.
 22. Houses, Ballylongford, County Kerry, burned.
 22. Houses, Beltra, County Sligo, burned.
 22. Houses, Derrynocheran, burned.
 23. Irish College, Enniscrone, County Sligo, burned.
 24. Houses, Mount-Temple, County Westmeath, burned.
 25. Sinn Fein Hall, Pipers' Club and North East Ward Sinn Fein Club, Cork City, burned.
 26. Milford Creamery, County Cork, burned.
 27. Many houses, Cork City, burned.
 29. Houses, Waterfall, County Cork, burned.
 29. 30 houses, Greave's Cross, County Cork, burned.
 29. Houses in Belmont, County Galway, burned.
 29. Houses in Kinvara, County Galway, burned.
 29. Sinn Fein Hall and other houses, Camp, County Kerry, burned.
 29. Houses, Thurles, County Tipperary, bombed.
 29. Central Sinn Fein Hall and "Freeman," Dublin, partially wrecked.
 29. Sinn Fein Hall, Limerick, burned.
 29. Houses, Ballylongford, County Kerry, burned.
 29. Houses in Cork City burned.
 30. Many houses in Cork City burned.
 30. Boy Scout's Hall, Limerick City, burned.
- Dec. 1. Many houses, Cork City, burned,

1920.

Dec.

1. Houses, Clogheen, County Tipperary, burned.
1. Houses, Cahirciveen, County Kerry, wrecked.
1. Killarney, County Kerry, sacked.
2. Houses, Fermoy, County Cork, burned.
2. Houses, Tipperary town, burned.
2. Houses, Glencole, County Tipperary, burned.
2. Houses, Kilty, County Clare, burned.
2. Houses, Mountshannon, County Clare, burned.
2. Houses, Camp, County Kerry, burned.
2. Houses, Castlegregory, County Kerry, burned.
2. Temperance Hall, Dunleer, County Louth, wrecked.
3. Village Hall, Geevagh, County Sligo, burned.
3. Village Hall, Gleann, County Sligo, burned.
4. Houses, Timoleague, County Cork, burned.
4. Houses, Kilbrogan Hill, County Cork, burned.
4. Village Hall, Finuge, County Kerry, burned.
5. Houses at Race Course, Galway, burned.
5. Houses at Kilbeggan, County Westmeath, burned.
5. Longford town, houses burned.
5. Houses at Castleplunkett, County Roscommon, burned.
5. Houses at Millstreet, County Cork, burned.
6. Houses burned, Kilbrogan Hill, County Cork.
7. Cork city shot up and houses wrecked.
7. Houses at Clonakilty, County Cork, burned.
8. Houses, Tipperary town, wrecked.
8. Houses, Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, burned.
8. Houses, Newton (Oola), County Limerick, burned.
10. Rathcormack, County Cork, sacked.
10. Houses, Granard, County Longford, sacked.
10. Houses, Castleyons, County Cork, burned.
10. Houses, Cork city, wrecked.
10. Public Hall, Ballingar, Kings County, burned.
10. Houses, Ballinalee, County Longford, burned.
10. Camlough, County Down, sacked.
10. Houses, Newry, County Down, burned.
11. Houses, Grantstown, County Tipperary, burned.
11. Public Hall, Closetoken, County Galway, burned.
11. Large section of Cork city burned.
13. Ballinalee, County Longford, sacked.
16. Houses, vicinity Kilcommon, County Tipperary, burned.
16. Houses, Tipperary town, burned.
16. Houses, Gallery's Cross, County Clare, burned.
16. Houses, Kilfenora, County Clare, burned.
16. Houses, Ballina, County Clare, burned.
17. Houses, Swaminbar, County Cavan, burned.
17. Houses, Tipperary town, burned.
18. Houses in Tipperary burned.
19. Farmhouses, Rathronan, County Tipperary, burned.
19. Village Hall, Corinshego, County Down, burned.
19. Houses, Sallymount, County Limerick, burned.
20. Farmhouses, Nine-Mile House, County Tipperary, burned.
24. Shops, Castleblayney, County Monaghan, wrecked.
25. 'Freeman's Journal' office, Dublin, partially burned.
25. Two creameries and farmhouses, Athea, County Limerick, burned.
25. Houses in Tipperary town burned.
25. Houses in Ballydwyer, County Kerry, burned.
27. Houses, Tipperary town, burned.
28. Houses, Beleek, County Armagh, burned.
28. Cushinstown, Cooperative Hall, County Wexford, partially burned.
30. Houses in Bandon, County Cork, burned.
30. 'Freeman' office, Dublin, partially burned.
31. Farm crops burned, Bansha and Kilfeacle, County Tipperary.
31. Houses burned at Cutteen, County Tipperary.
31. Farm crops burned, Kilmoyle, County Tipperary.

1921.

- Jan. 1. Seven houses and two shops, garage and engineering works, burned at Middleton, County Cork.
3. Temperance Hall at Coosan, County Westmeath, burned.
4. Six houses burned at Meelin, County Cork.
5. Shop at Scariff, County Clare, burned.
6. Two residences and a shop burned at Elphin, County Roscommon.
7. Five houses burned at Camlough, County Armagh.
7. Creamery at Turraree, County Kerry, burned.
8. Tramore, County Waterford, Sinn Fein Hall wrecked.
8. Houses burned at Ballinalee, County Longford.
10. Farmhouses destroyed at Garrybawn, County Monaghan.
11. Shop fronts wrecked at Ballina.
13. Shop burned and three houses wrecked at Ballybay, County Monaghan.
13. Shop burned at Kilbeggan, County Westmeath.
14. Railwaymen's Recreation Hall, Limerick, destroyed.
15. Residence burned at Innishannon, County Cork.
17. Two shops burned in Cappawhite, County Tipperary.
18. One shop, six farmhouses, five private residences, and the crops on six farms, destroyed at Headford, County Galway.
19. Wine and spirit store burned at Cullyhanna, County Armagh.
20. Temporary business premises burned in Tipperary.
20. Shop fronts wrecked at Ballina, County Mayo.
20. One creamery, 1 bank, 2 shops, 4 private residences, 16 farmhouses, and crops on 20 farms destroyed at Six-Mile Bridge, County Clare. Cattle on many farms shot.
20. Three shops destroyed in Cork City.
21. Business premises burned at Cappawhite, County Tipperary.
21. Farmhouses burned at Clougheleigh, County Tipperary.
21. Furniture burned at Borrisoleigh, County Tipperary.
21. Crops burned on farms at Togher, County Tipperary.
21. Residence at Ballinure, County Tipperary, burned.
23. Crops burned at O'Brien's Bridge, County Clare.
23. Crops burned at Clonlara, County Clare.
23. Farmhouses, residences, and crops burned at Moate, County Westmeath.
24. Farmhouses burned at Clones, County Monaghan.
29. Stores and stabling destroyed at Mullinavat, County Kilkenny.
29. Two shops, grocery store, and drapery premises destroyed at Kingwilliamstown, County Kerry.
30. Destruction of Cullenswood House, Dublin, owned by Mrs. Pearse, mother of P. H. Pearse and W. Pearse, executed in 1916.
30. Farmhouse burned at Lenenagh, County Cork.
31. Hotel bombed in Galway City.
31. Farmhouses burned at Knockfuro, County Tipperary.
- Feb. 1. Two business premises burned in Castleisland, County Kerry.
2. Mahon's Hotel, Galway, fired into and burned.
2. Farmhouses burned at Newport, County Tipperary.
3. House and public hall destroyed at Burgatia, County Cork.
3. Houses destroyed at Ballinalee, County Longford. Crops on one farm destroyed.
3. Four houses and one shop destroyed at Kingwilliamstown, County Kerry.
3. Three houses destroyed at Ballinahassig, County Cork.
4. One shop destroyed at Kilbrittain, County Cork.
4. Two houses and two shops destroyed in New Pallas District, County Limerick.
4. Crops destroyed on four farms at Emly, County Limerick.
6. Houses destroyed at Duncomogue, County Limerick.
7. Several houses wrecked near Pallasgreen, County Limerick.
8. Many houses and farm produce burned at Claregalway, County Galway.
8. Houses burned in Ballinagh, County Cavan.
9. Houses and farmsteads burned in Emly, County Limerick.
9. Shop and crops on three farms destroyed at Bonlahy, County Longford.
9. Three farmsteads burned at Emly, County Limerick.
11. Eleven houses destroyed by fire in Abbeydorney, County Kerry.
12. Farm produce burned at Kanturk, County Cork.
12. Houses and farm produce burned at Abbeydorney.
12. Crops on five farms destroyed, at Killenaule, County Tipperary.

1921.

- Feb. 14. Five houses destroyed by fire near Thurles, County Tipperary.
 16. House destroyed at Douglas, County Cork.
 17. Crops burned near Ennistymon, County Clare.
 17. Gaelic Hall wrecked in Wexford town.
 18. House in Balbriggan, County Dublin, burned.
 19. House and Irish school burned in Cromogue, County Wexford.
 22. Public hall destroyed in Tralee, County Kerry.
 22. Public hall destroyed in Downpatrick, County Down.
 23. Ten houses and a public hall burned in Rosslea and Teemore, County Fermanagh.
 23. Farm houses burned near Nenagh, County Tipperary.
 24. Several houses and shops and a public hall wrecked in Donegal town.
 24. Several houses and business premises burned in Mountcharles, County Donegal.
 24. Twenty houses, including a creamery and business premises and private houses, destroyed by fire at Ballylongford, County Kerry.
 25. Inver Creamery and Cooperative Stores, County Donegal, destroyed by fire.
 28. Two farm houses and stores of farm produce burned at Lissycasey, County Clare.

VI. LIST OF 270 IRISH CITIZENS MURDERED BY THE ENGLISH FORCES IN IRELAND DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1920, TO FEBRUARY 28, 1921, ALONE.

This list does not include any casualties sustained by the forces of the Irish Republican army in action. It includes only the Irish citizens who were deliberately assassinated by special bands of murderers employed by the English Government or who were wantonly shot down or bayoneted whilst walking on the streets or employed on their daily work.

1920.

- Jan. 20. Michael Darcy, Cooraclare, County Clare, while working in a field was fired on by police. Running for shelter, he fell into a river, pursued by the police, who fired at the spot where he sank and also on his would-be rescuers.
- Feb. 2. Robert O'Dwyer, Limerick city, shot dead in his own shop by soldiers firing indiscriminately in the streets.
 2. Miss Helen Johnson, Limerick city, shot dead while on her way home by soldiers firing indiscriminately in the streets.
 12. James O'Brien, Rathdrum, County Wicklow, shot dead by police while conversing with a friend in the latter's door.
- Mar. 20. Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, lord mayor of Cork, shot dead in the presence of his wife and young family by disguised police who entered his house at midnight.
 22. Miss Ellen Hendrick, Dublin city, shot dead by a riotous party of soldiers who broke barracks and fired indiscriminately in the streets.
 22. Michael Cullen, Dublin city, shot dead by a riotous party of soldiers, who broke barracks and fired indiscriminately in the streets.
 27. James McCarthy, Thurles, County Tipperary, shot dead in his home by disguised police. His brother, Mr. Michael McCarthy, a Republican member of Thurles Urban Council, had demanded an inquiry into police rioting in the town.
 28. Thomas O'Dwyer, Bouladuff, County Tipperary, a prominent volunteer, shot dead in his house in presence of his sister by disguised police against whom the coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder.
- Apr. 14. James O'Loughlin, Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, shot dead when police and military fired on crowd singing round a bonfire to celebrate release of hunger-striking prisoners from Mountjoy jail.
 14. Patrick Hennessy, Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, shot dead under similar circumstances.
 14. Thomas O'Leary, shot dead under similar circumstances. (At the coroner's inquiry the jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against police and soldiers, named in evidence.)
 14. Patrick Dowling, railwayman, Arklow, County Wicklow, shot dead by a riotous party of soldiers, who broke barracks and fired indiscriminately in the streets.

1920.

- Apr. 17. Thomas Mulholland, Dundalk, County Louth, prominent Sinn Feiner, was without provocation shot down in the street by a police patrol.
- May 18. James Saunders, Limerick city, shot dead by police, who opened fire on pedestrians in the public streets without warning and without provocation.
- June 6. Michael Walsh (13½ years), Cappoquin, County Waterford, killed by military motor lorry willfully driven into a group of people in the village street.
8. Thomas Brett, Drombane, County Tipperary, mortally wounded by a British officer who fired at him in the public road without warning.
25. Cornelius Crowley, Bantry, County Cork, a cripple bed-ridden boy, shot dead in his bed by police who broke into his house.
- July 1. Miss M. Counihane, Limerick city, fatally injured by police when escaping from her home in the offices of the Republican newspaper, the Munster News, into which the police at midnight had thrown bombs and petrol, firing and wrecking the premises.
4. Richard Lumley, Rears Cross, County Tipperary, aged 60, a half-witted man, returning from a wake in the early morning, shot dead by police and military without warning.
4. Michael Small, Upperchurch, County Tipperary, shot dead without warning, by troops and police. At the inquest the British military authorities refused to produce officer in charge of firing party.
5. James Dunne, Ballinatray, Courtown Harbour, County Wexford, shot dead in Ferns village by a policeman with whom he refused to drink, and who sought to pick a quarrel with him.
8. Thomas Feery (aged 70), Ballycommon, Kings County, shot dead without warning, by military who fired into his house riddling the old man's body.
18. James Burke, an ex-soldier of Cork city, bayoneted in the stomach by military, while halted with his hands above his head.
18. William McGrath, an ex-soldier of Cork, mortally wounded during promiscuous firing by soldiers and police on unarmed civilians in the streets.
19. John O'Brien, aged 18, shot dead in Cork city while assisting an old lady who was wounded during promiscuous firing in the streets by soldiers.
21. Daniel McGrath, aged 18 years, one of a social gathering at Coracunna Cross, County Cork, which dispersed in terror on a shot being fired from a military lorry. McGrath was shot dead when running for cover.
21. Thomas McDonnell shot dead under similar circumstances.
21. James Cogau, Oldcastle, County Meath, a Republican policeman, escorting a noted cattle stealer who had been arrested, shot dead by military on failing to obey order to halt.
29. James Duggan, aged 10, Bruree, County Limerick, shot dead by fire from military motor lorries directed against pedestrians as a reprisal for an attempted ambush of a military patrol four hours previously.
29. Thomas Harris, Bruree, County Limerick, an epileptic and confirmed invalid, shot dead in his house by military after he had obeyed their order to put his hands up.
30. James O'Sullivan, Davis Street, Limerick, mortally wounded in his house as a result of police throwing bombs into and wrecking an adjoining house at 2 a. m.
31. James Mulcahy, Nicker, County Limerick, shot dead by military patrol who broke into his house. The coroner's jury returned a verdict that "James Mulcahy was willfully and foully murdered without provocation by military."
- Aug. 8. William Hartnett, Emly, County Limerick, shot dead without challenge or warning by police patrol.
10. Thomas Farelly, aged 20, Marys Lane, Dublin, shot dead without challenge or warning by military at 12.30 a. m. while sitting with others around the embers of a bonfire lit in celebration of the arrival of the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix.
14. Patrick Lynch (48), Hospital, County Limerick, taken from his home by military and shot dead in the road.
15. Edward Paget, Limerick city, attacked without provocation in the People's Park by police and savagely beaten. Collapsed on reaching home and died following day without regaining consciousness.
16. John O'Connell, Derrygallon, County Cork, shot dead by military and police from whom he endeavored to escape when they came to arrest him at his own house.

- 1920.
- Aug. 17. Andred Hayes, Tipperary town, overtaken by police on his way home and shot dead without challenge or warning.
17. Patrick Clancy, Derrygallon, County Cork, bayoneted while in custody of military, who, when he was mortally wounded, jumped on him, breaking several of his ribs.
20. Patrick Kennedy, Annascaul, County Kerry, shot dead by a military patrol, who without challenge or warning opened fire on four young men returning from a funeral.
26. John Hynes (aged 70), Shanagolden, County Limerick, shot dead on his way home by police who fired promiscuously along the streets.
27. John Buckley, Middleton, County Cork, shot dead while being conveyed with his brother, to whom he was bound with ropes, in a covered lorry under an escort of 20 armed soldiers. His brother was dangerously wounded.
28. George Walker, Queenstown, County Cork, a wounded and crippled ex-soldier unable to raise his hands rapidly enough when called upon by military, was promptly shot and after falling was bayoneted.
- Sept. 5. Patrick Hegarty, Ballyvourney, County Cork, shot dead when machine-gun fire was opened from an apparently deserted military motor lorry which was being viewed on the roadside by a crowd of young people.
5. Michael Lynch, Ballyvourney, County Cork, shot dead when cycling past an apparently deserted military motor lorry from which machine-gun fire was opened on a crowd of young people who were viewing it by the roadside.
8. John Mulvey, Galway city, shot dead by a policeman who opened fire promiscuously and without warning at Galway railway station.
9. James Quirke, Galway city, shot dead in the street by policemen who dragged him from his house at midnight.
11. Patrick Gill, Drumsna, County Leitrim, fired upon by a military sentry while walking on the public road with his sister and a lady friend. Was bayoneted in the stomach after falling. No challenge to halt was heard.
14. James Connolly (aged 70), Kinlough, County Leitrim, shot dead in his own house by military who came to arrest his son. Being deaf he did not hear an order to put up his hands.
16. Joseph Athy, Oranmore, County Galway, when driving to his home with three companions was fired on without challenge or warning by police and mortally wounded.
20. J. Healy (aged 18), Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, shot dead by a policeman whose salutation of "Good night" he did not answer.
20. Patrick Harnett, Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, shot dead by a policeman whose salutation of "Good night" he did not answer.
21. James Lawless (aged 48), Balbriggan, County Dublin, married man with eight children, dragged from his home at dead of night by police, savagely assaulted and shot dead, his body being afterwards shockingly mutilated with bayonet thrusts.
21. John Gibbons, Balbriggan, County Dublin, brought from his home by police, beaten with rifle butts for refusing to give information implicating others, and shot dead, his body being afterwards mutilated.
22. John A. Lynch, county councillor, Kilmallock, County Limerick, shot dead in bed at 3 a. m. in the Royal Exchange Hotel, Dublin City, by English secret service officers.
22. Thomas Connole, Ennistymon, County Clare, dragged from his house and shot by police, his body being then thrown into the flames of his house which was fired and destroyed.
22. Patrick J. Linnane, Ennistymon, County Clare, taken from his home and murdered by the police on refusing to give them information.
22. J. Salmon, Ennistymon, County Clare, shot dead in the street by police during the wrecking by them of the town of Ennistymon.
22. Patrick Lehane, Lahinch, County Clare, murdered by police during the burning of the town of Lahinch. The police had previously shot and seriously wounded this boy's father for refusing to disclose the whereabouts of his son.
26. John Gaynor, Springfield Road, Belfast, shot dead in bed at 1.30 a. m., by police who broke into his house.
26. John McFadden, 54, Springfield Road, Belfast, shot dead at 5.30 a. m. by police who broke into his house.

1920.

- Sept. 26. Edward Trodden, Falls Road, Belfast, shot dead in his house by police who forced an entry at 2 a. m.
- Oct. 2. Hugh Conway, Cullen, County Tipperary, when with others leaving a public house by order of the military, was fired upon and shot dead.
2. John O'Hanlon, Lackagh, County Galway, shot dead in his own house by police who told his mother they "were out to kill him."
6. John Clifford (aged 17), Derry City, when walking to his home with his mother, was fired upon without challenge or warning by a military sentry and shot dead.
6. Patrick Thompson, Lisnadaragh, county Westmeath, held up on the road by a policeman, who shot him dead without cause or provocation.
10. Michael Griffin (aged 60), Cork city, being deaf and not hearing a challenge to halt in the street at 2.40 p. m., was fired upon and mortally wounded by military.
12. Prof. Carolan, Drumcondra, Dublin, mortally wounded by officers of the English Army intelligence staff for refusing to give the names of two men who had escaped from his house.
14. Patrick Carroll (aged 15), Royal Canal Terrace, Dublin, shot dead by military and police who opened fire on pedestrians in Talbot Street, Dublin.
14. Joseph Corringham, Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin, shot dead by military and police, who opened fire on pedestrians in Talbot Street, Dublin.
15. John Connolly, Bandon, county Cork, found buried near the military barracks where he had been a prisoner in custody for 15 days.
15. James Lehane, Ballymakeera, county Cork, taken from the shop where he worked by police, who shot him dead near his father's house.
16. Peter O'Carroll (aged 58), Manor Place, Dublin, shot dead in his own house at 2 a. m. by auxiliary police on refusing to disclose the whereabouts of his sons.
17. Henry O'Kelly, Parnell Square, Dublin, shot dead by military, who had taken him into custody.
17. Michael O'Rourke, Green Street, Dublin, shot dead by military without cause or warning when looking on at a raid in Parnell Square.
18. Edward O'Dwyer, Ballydavid, county Tipperary, brother of Francis O'Dwyer, dragged from his bed and shot dead beside his brother.
18. Francis O'Dwyer, Ballydavid, County Tipperary, dragged from his bed by officers of the English Army intelligence staff and shot dead outside the door in the presence of his mother and sisters.
18. Patrick Doyle, Ballinagare, Castlereagh, County Roscommon, taken from his house by police and shot dead outside the door.
20. Michael S. Walsh, Republican member of Galway city urban council, dragged from his house by officers of the English Army intelligence staff, who shot him through the head and threw his dead body into the harbor.
22. Michael Burke, urban councillor, Athlone, County Westmeath, fired upon in the street by constabulary without cause or challenge and mortally wounded.
24. Thomas Egam Coshla, Athenry, County Galway, dragged from his house by police and shot dead in the presence of his wife.
24. Charles Lynch (aged 70), Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, deliberately shot dead by military who forced an entry into his house.
25. Michael Ryan, Curraghduff, County Tipperary, while ill in bed with pneumonia, shot dead in the presence of his sisters by officers of the English Army intelligence staff, who forced an entry into his room at 12.30 a. m.
25. William Gleeson, Finaghy, County Tipperary, taken from his house at 3.30 a. m. by officers of the English Army intelligence staff and shot dead.
26. Daniel Lehane, aged 65, Lahinch, County Clare, shot in the throat by police on September 22 for refusing to give information as to his son's whereabouts, died of his wounds.
26. Hugh Moore, Derry City, shot dead in the public street by a military sentry without warning or challenge.
27. James Sherlock, Skerries, County Dublin, dragged from his home 2.30 a. m. by auxiliary police and shot dead in a field 400 yards from his mother's house.

1920.

- Oct. 27. Michael Scanlon, national teacher, Kilmallock, County Limerick, shot dead in a house in which he had taken refuge after escaping from the police. He was manacled at the time.
- Nov. 1. Mrs. Ellen Quinn (aged 25), Gort, County Galway, a woman within two months of childbirth, was shot dead by police in a passing lorry while standing in front of her house, with a baby of nine months in her arms. There had been no attack on the police and no provocation whatever. There was no other person in the vicinity.
3. John Conroy, Rathconnor, County Roscommon, taken from his cottage in the early morning and shot dead by auxiliary police with blackened faces, who held up his wife and nephews with revolvers and threatened to shoot Mrs. Conroy if she approached her dying husband.
 5. Thomas O'Brien, Nenagh, County Tipperary, taken from a friend's house at midnight by auxiliary police and placed in a military motor lorry and murdered by the police.
 5. John O'Brien, Nenagh, County Tipperary, murdered by auxiliary police beside Thomas O'Brien in a military motor lorry.
 6. William Mulcahy, Cork city, shot dead on his way home about 10 o'clock at night by a military patrol who opened fire on him without challenge or warning.
 8. Miss O'Connell (aged 15), Ardfert, County Kerry, shot dead while standing at her own door by soldiers who opened indiscriminate fire in the streets.
 8. Michael McGuire, Ardfert, County Kerry, arrested in his own home by military, put into a motor lorry handcuffed, and shot dead outside the village.
 8. Michael Brosnan, Labourer, Ardfert, County Kerry, who threw down his tools and ran for cover on approach of military lorries, deliberately fired upon and shot dead.
 8. John Cantillon, Ardfert, County Kerry, shot dead without challenge or warning by soldiers traveling in a lorry, as he was returning from a doctor who had treated him for wounds received during indiscriminate firing by military in the village.
 10. Christopher Lucy, Cork city, traced to a house in Ballingearry, County Cork, by police who forced an entry and shot him dead.
 10. Frank Hoffman, a young Protestant farmer, Farmers Bridge, Tralee, County Kerry, placed against a fence and shot dead by police who suspected him of being an Irish volunteer officer.
 12. John Herlihy,¹ Ballymacelligot, County Kerry, assistant creamery manager.
 12. P. MacMahon,¹ Ballymacelligot, County Kerry.
 12. Thomas Walsh¹ (aged 18), Ballymacelligot, County Kerry.
 13. Annie O'Neill (aged 6), Charlemont Avenue, Dublin, shot dead in the street by military who opened fire promiscuously on some boys and young men who ran away in fear when the soldiers jumped from their lorries.
 14. Patrick Lynch, Golden, County Tipperary, shot dead by military without challenge or warning while walking along the road with his wife.
 17. Michael McMahon,² Scariff, County Clare.
 17. John Egan,² Scariff, County Clare.
 17. John Connolly,² Whitegate, County Clare.
 17. Michael Connolly,² Whitegate, County Clare.
 17. Patrick Hanley (aged 17), Broad Lane, Cork city, shot dead by a party of policemen who entered his house during the night.
 17. Eugene O'Connell, Broad Street, Cork city, dragged out of bed and shot dead in the presence of his wife by masked police who smashed their way into his house at midnight.
 18. James Coleman, North Mall, Cork city, called to his door in the early hours of the morning and shot dead in the presence of his wife by police who after their victim had fallen wounded fired more shots into him "to finish him."
 19. Thomas Clancy, Killusty, County Tipperary, deliberately shot by military who refused to allow his brother to go for a priest and threatened to murder him also.

¹ Killed by military who opened fire on a group of people, who ran in terror when the soldiers in military lorries dashed up to Ballymacelligot creamery where these people were doing business.

² Taken prisoner by police and butchered 10 hours later on the Bridge of Killaloe, County Clare.

1920.

- Nov. 20. Rev. Michael Griffin, B. A., Galway city, a Catholic priest called from his home on the 14th of November by disguised police who pretended his services were required for a dying man. His dead body was found buried in a bog at Cloughskella, near Galway, with a bullet wound in his head.
20. James O'Neill,³ Limerick city.
20. Michael Blake,³ Limerick city.
20. Austin Cowley, journalist (aged 63), Navan, County Meath, shot dead by a military sentry whose challenge he failed to hear.
21. Miss Jane Boyle,⁴ Lennox Street, Dublin.
21. Jeremiah O'Leary⁴ (aged 10), Blessington Street, Dublin.
21. William Robinson⁴ (aged 11), Parnell Street, Dublin.
21. J. Scott⁴ (aged 14), Fitzroy Avenue, Dublin.
21. — O'Dowd,⁴ Buckingham Street, Dublin.
21. James Burke,⁴ Dundrum, County Dublin.
21. Patrick Traynor,⁴ Clendalkin, County Dublin.
21. Thomas Ryan,⁴ Viking Street, Dublin.
21. James Teehan,⁴ Green Street, Dublin.
21. Michael Hogan,⁴ Grangemockler, County Tipperary.
21. James Matthews,⁴ Northcumberland Road, Dublin.
21. Michael Feeney,⁴ Gardiner's Place, Dublin.
21. Thomas Hogan,⁴ St. James's Terrace, Dublin.
21. Daniel Carroll,⁴ James't Street, Dublin.
21. William Cullinane,⁵ aged 20, divinity student, Claregalway, County Galway.
21. James Conlon,⁵ Dame Street, Dubiin.
21. H. West Barnett, North Circular Road, Dublin, deliberately shot dead at Mountjoy Square, Dublin, by police who were under the influence of drink, and who rifled the body.
21. Thomas Lyons, Cappagh, County Mayo, shot dead by soldiers in a passing lorry as he was going on a message for his father.
21. John McSwiggan, Magherafelt, County Derry, shot dead in the street by military before he had time to put up his hands in response to a challenge.
22. Richard McKee,⁶ Finglas, County Dublin.
22. Peter Clancy,⁶ Gloucester Street, Dublin.
22. T. Conor Clune,⁶ County Clare.
22. John McCann, Rush, County Dublin, brought from his house by police and riddled with bullets in a field 30 yards away.
22. Michael O'Reilly, aged 14, Capel Street, Dublin, shot dead by military who fired without warning on a group of children gathered round a lorry where soldiers were raiding houses.
23. Patrick O'Donoghue,⁷ Cork City.
23. Edward Meehigan,⁷ Cork City.
23. Patrick Trahey,⁷ Cork City.
23. Denis O'Connell, Kildorrery, County Cork, taken from his bed and in the presence of his family shot dead by police.
24. Michael Moran, Carromeen, County Galway, officer of the Irish Republican Army, shot dead near Earls Island Military Barracks, Galway, by an escort of police in whose hands he was an unarmed and helpless prisoner.
25. Thomas Doyle (aged 22), Dolphins Barn, Dublin, shot dead in his own yard by auxiliary police who raided his house and arrested his brother-in-law.
25. Denis Carey, Nenagh, County Tipperary, mortally wounded by masked police who took him from his home during the night.
26. Mortimer Duggan, national school teacher, Broadford, County Limerick, shot dead by police who rushed into a house where he was playing cards.

³ Returning from Dublin to Limerick after James O'Neill and Michael Blake's brother had been acquitted by a court-martial of the charge of murdering a policeman, were held up near Limerick Junction by disguised police and shot dead. Michael Blake (an ex-soldier) was murdered in mistake for his brother, Patrick, the acquitted man.

⁴ Shot dead when large forces of military opened deliberate and unprovoked fire, which was kept up for 10-minutes, on a crowd of several thousand spectators at a football match at Croke Park, Dublin. Michael Hogan, a member of the Tipperary team, was shot at the goal post.

⁵ Ordered to run by military after being "held up" and searched when leaving divine service in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Dublin; fired upon by the military and mortally wounded.

⁶ Shot and bayoneted to death while confined as prisoners in a guardroom in Dublin Castle; abrasions and wounds on bodies of McKee and Clancy showed they had been tortured before being killed.

⁷ Killed while standing on the street by a bomb thrown from a passing police lorry.

1920.

- Nov. 29. Martin Walsh (aged 62), an inmate of Clare Lunatic Asylum, not understanding a challenge to halt, was shot dead by a military raiding party.
30. Sean O'Carroll, Irish teacher, Ardee, County Louth, taken from his house and shot in the back by auxiliary police. He died in great agony two hours later.
30. Patrick Tierney, Ardee, County Louth, dragged from his home by auxiliary police who threw him on a rubbish heap and riddled his head with bullets.
- Dec. 1. Carl Johnson, Norwegian sailor, mortally wounded by auxiliary police who opened indiscriminate fire on the quays in Cork city.
1. Patrick Clancy, Newtowndrangan, County Tipperary, an officer of the Irish Republican Army, dragged from a friend's house and murdered on the roadway by a military party.
2. J. Begley,⁸ Bandon, County Cork.
2. James Donoghue,⁸ Bandon, County Cork.
2. James Galvin,⁸ Bandon, County Cork.
4. Joseph Howley, Oranmore, County Galway, member of the Irish republican army, shot dead by police who were lying in wait for him on arrival at Broadstone railway station, Dublin. When Howley was shot and bleeding to death the police by prearrangement signaled to a waiting motor car and drove straight to Dublin Castle.
5. Thomas Hand, Skerries, County Dublin, taken from his bed in the dead of night by auxiliary police and shot dead in the presence of his crippled brother and two sisters. Four shots were fired into his head and neck.
5. Thomas Rooney (ex-soldier), Ballyshannon, County Donegal, shot dead by police who opened fire without warning on a crowd of people in the public street.
5. Thomas Curtin, Kilrush, County Clare, shot dead by police and military who surrounded the house in which a republican court was sitting and opened fire on those who came from the courthouse on the arrival of the lorries.
6. Thomas Loughnane,⁹ Gort, County Galway.
6. Henry Loughnane,⁹ Gort, County Galway.
7. John Fleming, Cattle Market Avenue, Cork city, died in great agony as a result of wounds received when, with two brothers and a friend, fire was suddenly opened on them from a passing police lorry as they were walking along the street at 4.30 p. m.
7. Denis Regan, aged 21, Clashflack, County Cork, arrested by military at Bandon, County Cork, and taken under heavy escort in a military motor lorry in the direction of Clonakilty, County Cork. His dead body was found on the road later with a bullet wound in the back of the head.
8. Michael J. Murphy, Tower Street, Cork city, shot dead by auxiliary police, who opened fire on worshippers leaving SS. Peter and Paul's Church.
10. Wm. Owens, aged 24, Shankill, County Wicklow; military raided a club where Owens was playing cards. He, with a number of other young men, was standing with his hands up when he was shot through the brain.
11. Jeremiah Delaney, Dublin Hill, Cork city, aged 24, a member of the Irish Republican Army, shot through the heart in the presence of his family by auxiliary police who forcibly entered his house at 2.30 a. m.
11. James Lawlor, of Inchicore, County Dublin, an engine driver, while going to his work at Lismore, County Waterford, was shot dead without challenge or warning by a military sentry.
14. Thomas O'Loughlin, member of the Irish Republican Army, Mullaunbrack, County Tipperary, mortally wounded by auxiliary police as he escaped from a house into which the police had forced an entrance. One of them seized O'Loughlin with the words, "You are the man we want. Come outside."
15. Very Rev. Canon Magner (aged 73), parish priest of Dunmanway, County Cork, forced to his knees on the public road, questioned for a quarter of an hour, and then shot dead by an auxiliary police officer. Auxiliary police in two lorries were spectators of the murder but did not interfere. When Canon Magner was killed they threw his body over the bank of a field and drove away.

⁸ Shot dead by military patrol while walking along the road. Left all night on the road, found following morning by civilians.

⁹ Arrested Nov. 25 by military and police. Their mother informed some days afterwards that her sons were "safe in prison." On Dec. 6 the dead bodies were found in a pond at Gort, in a shocking state of mutilation, the flesh being loose and the skulls battered in. Before the bodies had been hidden in the pond an effort had been made to burn them.

1920.

- Dec. 15. Timothy Crowley, Dunmanway, County Cork, on the same occasion questioned on the public road for 10 minutes, beaten in the face with the butt end of revolver, and then shot dead by an auxiliary police officer. Other police who were witnesses of the murder did not interfere, but helped to throw the dead body over the bank of a field.
15. John McGowan, Frenchpark, County Roscommon, taken from his bed at night and shot dead by auxiliary police in the presence of his family.
17. Michael Edmunds, Tipperary Town, taken from his bed by auxiliary police, who forced their way into his house after midnight and shot him through the brain on the hills near by.
18. Cornelius Delaney, Dublin Hill, Cork City, aged 21, member of Irish Republican Army, mortally wounded by being shot in the stomach and shoulder by auxiliary police who forcibly entered his house at 2.30 a. m. on December 11.
18. James Looby,¹⁰ Dualla, County Tipperary.
18. Wm. Delaney,¹⁰ Rosegreen, County Tipperary.
19. James O'Connor, Killeentierna, Killarney, County Kerry, seized on the road and taken into a passing police lorry. After traveling some distance he was pitched out and shots fired into his body. Seriously wounded. he was removed to a neighboring farmer's house where later he was shot dead by the police.
19. Laurence Looby, aged 19, a brother of James Looby (see Dec. 18), taken from a friend's house, which was raided by police, and shot dead outside.
19. Michael Walton,¹¹ Clonhalty, County Tipperary.
19. Patrick Conners,¹¹ Clonhalty, County Tipperary.
19. Laurence McDonagh, Aran Islands, shot dead by a party of police who landed on the islands and fired indiscriminately on the islanders, killing two men and wounding many. There had been no crime or disorder of any kind on the Aran Islands within memory.
20. John Phelan, Ballyroan, County Queens, shot dead by auxiliary policemen after he had wounded and disarmed one of the party who entered his father-in-law's house at 4 a. m., and demanded money.
21. J. Hyman, Emly, County Limerick, arrested by police and shot dead a few hours afterwards while in custody.
22. Michael McNamara, Doonbeg, County Clare, shot dead at Kilrush, County Clare, while a prisoner in police custody.
22. W. J. Shanahan, West Clare, shot dead while a prisoner in Ennis Jail, County Clare.
23. Mrs. M. Ryan, Bridge Street, Callan, County Kilkenny, mortally wounded by being shot at by police. Residents of Callan were ordered by police to remain indoors and keep their houses closed while the funeral of a policeman (who was killed in mistake by an English patrol) was passing through the town. When the funeral had passed her door Mrs. Ryan opened it to let out a customer. She was fired on and mortally wounded. Mrs. Ryan was within two weeks of her confinement.
23. Andrew Moynihan, Rathmore, County Kerry, shot dead on the roadside by English forces without provocation or warning.
25. John Leen,¹² Ballymacelligot, County Kerry.
25. Maurice Reidy,¹² Ballymacelligot, County Kerry.
26. James Hickey, Knocknagoshel, County Kerry, assistant in a drapery establishment in Tipperary Town, shot dead while in custody in Tipperary military barracks.
26. Edward Moloney,¹³ Bruff, County Limerick.
26. Martin Conway,¹³ Bruff, County Limerick.

¹⁰ Arrested by military and after 4 days in custody taken as hostage with a motor patrol of military who were searching the countryside. After the return of the patrol Looby and Delaney were shot dead in the lorries.

¹¹ Shot dead by military and police who questioned them on the road.

¹² Shot dead in the house of Mrs. Byrne, Ballydwyer, County Kerry, by Auxiliary police who burst in the door and afterwards set the house on fire.

¹³ Moloney, Sheehan, Ward, and Quinlan shot dead by police who at midnight raided a dance at Caher-guillane House, Bruff, County Limerick. Conway was wounded but crawled four miles from the house and hid himself in a bog. The police, accompanied by a bloodhound, tracked him down. Conway shot the bloodhound and was then murdered by the police.

1920.

- Dec. 26. Daniel Sheehan,¹³ Bruff, County Limerick.
 26. Henry Ward,¹³ Bruff, County Limerick.
 26. John Quinlan,¹³ Bruff, County Limerick (American citizen).
 26. Patrick O'Brien, Aherlow, County Tipperary, shot dead by military on the roadside as he was assisting a friend named Denis O'Brien who had been fired on and wounded by a military sentry without challenge or warning.
 28. Michael Smith, Beleek, County Armagh, shot dead in his home by special constabulary who raided his house.
 28. Timothy B. Madigan, Shanagolden, County Limerick, a member of the Irish Republican Army, shot dead by a party of police who met him on the road.
 28. Joseph O'Doherty, aged 16, Garvagh, County Derry, shot dead by police who opened fire on a party of dancers in a school. In a subsequent search of the place, no arms, ammunition, or seditious literature were found. O'Doherty did not belong to any political organization and was not a member of the Irish Republican Army.
 29. William Slattery, Emly, County Limerick, shot dead at Rosborough, by a police guard who were conveying him handcuffed from his uncle's house at Emly, where he had been arrested, to Tipperary military barracks.
 29. Richard Leonard, Ballybrook, County Limerick, taken from his sister's house in the early morning and shot dead by police.

1921.

- Jan. 1. David Tobin,¹⁴ Ballingarry, County Limerick.
 1. Thomas Murphy,¹⁴ Ballingarry, County Limerick.
 1. John Lawler, clerical student, Listowel, County Kerry, beaten to death by police who without provocation set upon him in the street.
 1. Michael MacAuliffe, Dysart, Lixnaw, County Kerry, shot dead by police who opened fire without warning on a party of mourners at a funeral.
 3. Jehr. Casey, Derryfinane, County Cork, with some other boys who were on the road, ran on the approach of military lorries and was shot dead.
 3. P. Kennedy, Moneygall, King's County, fatally wounded by police, who opened fire on mourners at a funeral.
 5. Finbarr Darcy, Riverstown, County Cork, arrested by military in the Imperial Hotel, Cork, at 1 a. m., and afterwards shot dead while a prisoner in the hands of the military.
 5. John MacSwiney, aged 15, Allensbridge, County Cork, ran away on the approach of a military lorry who fired upon and mortally wounded him in the stomach.
 5. N. D. Prendergast, MacCurtain Street, Fermoy, County Cork, dead body found on Caryville Island, river Blackwater. Had not been seen alive since December 2, 1920, when arrested by auxiliary police in a house in Fermoy.
 6. Patrick Durr, Tubberkeigh, County Roscommon, taken from his home at midnight by auxiliary police and shot dead.
 9. Felix Mallin, aged 17, Ballinaliss, County Armagh, fired at without warning by police and mortally wounded.
 10. James Farrell, ex-soldier, of the English Army, Pender Street, Dublin, shot dead by auxiliary police, who fired indiscriminately in the streets.
 11. John Doran, Camlough, County Armagh, a prominent Sinn Féiner, taken from his home by auxiliary police and shot dead.
 13. Miss Martha Nowlan, Connaught Street, Dublin, shot dead by military, who opened fire without warning in Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
 15. Gerald Pring, Cork City, shot dead during indiscriminate firing by police in the streets.
 17. Patrick Sloane.¹⁵
 17. Joseph Tormey.¹⁵
 18. Thomas Collins, Kilkeel, County Galway, taken from his home at midnight and shot dead by auxiliary police.

¹³ Moloney, Sheehan, Ward, and Quinlan shot dead by police who at midnight raided a dance at Calherguillane House, Bruff, County Limerick. Conway was wounded but crawled four miles from the house and hid himself in a bog. The police, accompanied by a bloodhound, tracked him down. Conway shot the bloodhound and was then murdered by the police.

¹⁴ On running from a house in Ballylanders, County Limerick, on the approach of a military lorry, were fired upon, Murphy being shot dead and Tobin mortally wounded.

¹⁵ Two members of the Irish Republican Army, prisoners in Ballykinlar Camp. Shot dead by a sentry who fired at them as they were conversing with comrades in an adjoining portion of the camp as they had obtained permission to do.

1921.

- Jan. 19. Thomas Lawler, Lyster Lane, Maryborough, County Queens, shot dead in his own home in the presence of his family by a policeman.
22. Michael Hoade,¹⁶ Caherlistrane, County Galway.
22. James Kirwin,¹⁶ Ballinastack, County Galway.
22. William Walsh,¹⁶ Headford, County Galway.
23. Richard Foley, aged 15, Cork, shot dead by military while playing in the street with another boy of 15, who was also wounded. The troops opened fire without warning.
26. James Devaney, chemist, Kilruhane, County Tipperary, shot dead without warning by police as he was leaving a friend's house with two comrades.
27. Michael Garvey, Belfast, shot dead by police who entered his lodgings during the night.
27. Francis O'Meara, Laffanbridge, County Tipperary, shot while in the custody of police who had previously battered in his head with rifle butts.
28. William Egerton, Marmion, Lismore, County Waterford, shot dead while walking to his home by constabulary who opened fire on him without warning.
28. Thomas R. Blake, Limerick city, held up by English forces and shot out of hand.
31. Denis Bennett,¹⁷ aged 17, Mallow, railway man.
31. D. O'Mullane,¹⁷ Mallow, railway man.
31. Patrick Devitt,¹⁷ Mallow, railway man.
- Feb. 2. Robert Dixon, aged 56, Milltown, County Wicklow, an English justice of the peace, shot dead in his house by police who came to loot his house.
3. Michael Farelly, aged 70, Ballinalee, County Longford, shot dead in his home by auxiliary police. His home and farm produce were then burned to the ground.
4. Patrick Crowley, Kilbrittain, County Cork, shot dead by police for refusing to assist in the destruction of his father's shop.
4. John Galvin, hotel proprietor, Listowel, County Kerry, an elderly man, dropped dead after being compelled by police to repair roads.
5. Daniel Moloney, aged 65, Lislevane, County Cork, shot dead by English forces as he was passing through a district where raids and arrests were being carried out.
6. Patrick O'Sullivan, aged 17, Broad Lane, Cork, shot dead by police who opened fire on pedestrians in the streets.
7. Robert Browne, Ballymacelligot, County Kerry, shot dead when endeavoring to escape from English forces who had burned his house some time previous.
7. William Fitzgerald, aged 4, upper Liffey Street, Dublin, shot dead by military who fired indiscriminately in a Dublin street.
7. Michael J. Kelleher, aged 14, Knocknagree, County Cork, who while playing with other boys of his own age, ran away on the approach of military lorries and was shot dead. Two other boys, aged 8 and 11 years, were wounded.
9. Ald. Thomas Halpin,¹⁸ Drogheda, County Louth.
9. John Moran,¹⁸ Drogheda, County Louth.
9. Patrick Kennedy,¹⁹ aged 18, Corporation Buildings, Dublin.
9. James Murphy,¹⁹ Killarney Street, Dublin.
11. Daniel Mahony, aged 17, Clondrohid, County Cork, shot dead for failing to halt when called upon by police.
14. James Coffey,²⁰ aged 19, Bandon, County Cork.
14. Timothy Coffey,²⁰ aged 22, Bandon, County Cork.
15. Denis Quinlan, aged 50, Hollyford, County Tipperary, shot dead by police, who fired upon worshippers leaving a church.
20. John Geoghegan, Rural Councillor, Ogolte, Moycullen, County Galway, taken from his bed and shot dead by auxiliary police.
20. Cecil Donovan,²¹ aged 18, Blackwater, County Limerick.

¹⁶ Taken from their homes and shot dead by police.

¹⁷ Shot dead by English forces while engaged at their work at Mallow railway station.

¹⁸ Taken from their homes at midnight by auxiliary police and shot dead.

¹⁹ Arrested by English forces and brought to Dublin Castle, subsequently handed over to a police escort to be left at their homes. Instead of bringing them to their homes the escort brought them to an empty lot in Drumcondra and murdered them.

²⁰ Taken from their father's home at 2 a. m. and shot dead by police.

²¹ Failing to obey an order to halt by English forces were fired upon and shot dead.

1921.

- Feb. 20. Aidan Donovan,²¹ aged 14, Blackwater, County Limerick.
 20. Robert McElligott, Listowel, County Kerry, failed to respond to a call to halt and was shot dead by English forces near Tralee, County Kerry.
 22. Mary Harley, aged 26, Mountcharles, County Donegal, found shot dead in her uncle's yard after English forces had burned and wrecked many houses in the town.
 27. James Taylor, Glencor, Killorglin, County Kerry, shot dead by English forces on making a dash for liberty after being arrested.
 27. Joseph Stapleton, Borrisoleigh, County Tipperary, died from wounds received without provocation during a raid on his house by English forces.
 27. William Kelly, Kickham Street, Thurles, County Tipperary, with a number of other youths ran on the approach of English forces and was shot dead.
 27. John Conlon, Lissycasey, County Clare, shot dead by English forces as he was leaving church after mass.
 27. P. Cronin, aged 18, Dingle district, County Kerry, deliberately shot dead by military, who fired at him as he was assisting a friend to launch a boat.
 28. Michael Heeney, Malinbeg, Glen Columbille, County Donegal, shot dead near his own house by military, who came to raid his house.

OFFICIAL MILITARY MURDERS.

During this period also the British Government, whose authority has been repudiated by the people of Ireland, and which maintains its forces as an alien invading army on "active service" on Irish soil, condemned to death and executed, in defiance of the rules of civilized warfare, the following Irishmen for the "crime" of levying war against the British forces which seek to destroy the national independence of their country or for that of being in possession of firearms with which they might defend the right of their country to that national independence:

1920.

- Nov. 1. Kevin Barry, aged 18, medical student, Dublin. Hanged in Mountjoy jail. He was one of seven members of the Irish republican army armed with revolvers, who attacked eight English soldiers armed with rifles; one of these soldiers was killed in the encounter and Kevin Barry was hanged for "murder."

1921.

- Feb. 1. Cornelius Murphy, Rathmore, County Kerry, shot in Cork jail for being in possession of firearms.
 28. John Allen, Bank Place, Tipperary, shot in Cork jail for being in possession of firearms.
 28. Daniel O'Callaghan,²² Dripsey, County Cork.
 28. Thomas O'Brien,²² Dripsey, County Cork.
 28. John Lyons, Aghabullogue, County Cork.
 28. Timothy McCarthy,²² Fornaught, County Cork.
 28. Patrick O'Mahony,²² Berrings, County Cork.

APPENDIX E.

COPY OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT DE VALERA TO EACH MEMBER OF THE COALITION IN THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON FEBRUARY 12, 1921.

To _____, M. P.,
House of Commons, London:

Lest on a plea of ignorance you should disclaim responsibility for what is being done here in your name, speaking for the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, I now bring directly to your notice the following facts:

The troops in Ireland employed by your Government are not only waging an unjust war upon our people, but are carrying on that war in a manner contrary to all rules of civilized warfare. In defiance of these rules your forces are guilty of:

1. The torturing of prisoners.
2. The assassination of men and boys in their homes, on the streets, and in prison.

²¹ Failing to obey an order to halt by English forces were fired upon and shot dead.

²² Shot in Cork jail for levying war against the British forces.

3. The murdering of women, of children, and of clergymen.
4. The outraging of women and girls.
5. The flogging and maltreatment of groups of civilians taken in the villages and countrysides.
6. The issuing and enforcing of "crawling" and such like humiliating and degrading orders.
7. The taking of men from their work and forcing them to do military duty, or work at military labor as slave gangs.

8. The burning and looting of factories, creameries, shops, and dwelling houses, the destruction of farmsteads and farm produce, and the killing and maiming of live stock.

In order to help you realize the situation, it is necessary to restate this fact:

The Irish people are a free people. They acknowledge no right to dominion over them on the part of the British executive, the British legislature, or the British people. They are engaged in a lawful effort to defend a sacred right which you are invading. Abandoning justice and reason, the only ground on which it is possible for civilized peoples to come to an understanding, you are seeking to crush that lawful effort by a blind barbaric violence.

Although you have put your troops on "active service" in Ireland, although you have sought to justify many of the vile deeds committed as "acts of war," and although you are armed with the most deadly modern machinery of war and protected by every means known to technical skill, you now seek to purchase immunity from defensive action on our part by making the possession of firearms an offense for which Irishmen may, if arrested, be shot, and for which one has been shot;²³ and by carrying Irish citizens as "hostages" in your military expeditions against our people. The orders to your troops are to shoot these hostages should the unit with which they are traveling be attacked. Already, under the specious pretense that they were trying to escape, many Irish prisoners have been brutally murdered by your troops. Now, representative Irish citizens are to be murdered similarly on the ground, pretended or true, that the party with which they are moving is attacked.

These things are done because it is your will they should be done. If you willed otherwise, they would cease.

It is you and not your troops who are primarily responsible.

EAMON DE VALERA.

FEBRUARY 12, 1921.

²³ Several other Irishmen have been shot for the possession of firearms since this letter was written.



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