

owners, and results in widespread and acute suffering among women and children.

5. Acting under a series of proclamations issued by the competent military authorities of the Imperial British forces, hostages are carried by forces exposed to the fire of the Republican army; fines are levied upon towns and villages as punishment for alleged offences of individuals; private property is destroyed in reprisals for acts with which the owners have no connection; and the civilian population is subjected to an inquisition upon the theory that individuals are in possession of information valuable to the military forces of Great Britain. These acts of the Imperial British forces are contrary to the laws of peace or war among modern civilised nations.

6. This "terror" has failed to re-establish Imperial British civil government in Ireland. Throughout the greater part of Ireland British courts have ceased to function; local, county, and city governments refuse to recognise British authority; and British civil officials fulfil no function of service to the Irish people.

7. In spite of the British "terror" the majority of the Irish people having sanctioned by ballot the Irish Republic, give their allegiance to it; pay taxes to it; and respect the decisions of its courts and of its civil officials.

CHAPTER III.—IMPERIAL BRITISH FORCES IN IRELAND.

The testimony before the Commission shows the forces of the Imperial Government in Ireland to be divisible into three classes: (a) The Royal Irish Constabulary; (b) The Military; (c) The Auxiliaries.

The R.I.C.—The Royal Irish Constabulary seem to number between 9,000 and 10,000; and are commonly referred to as the R.I.C., or the "police." They appeared to be a body recruited in Ireland, given military training, taught to use revolvers, carbines, and bayonets, made expert in bomb throwing, organised as a military force, distributed at strategic points under the command of officers called inspectors, and responsible not to elected Irish authority but to Imperial British authority.

Military. In addition to these 10,000 "police" the Imperial British forces in Ireland contain regular regiments of the British army, such as the Essex, the Lancashire, the Hampshire, the Cameron Highlanders, and the Seventeenth Lancers—numbering, it is testified, anywhere from 60,000 to 200,000. These men wear trench helmets and are equipped with all the modern instruments of destruction.

Auxiliaries.—Besides these, there are seven thousand irregulars, wearing partly R.I.C. and partly military uniforms, who are distinguished by their origin, their high rate of pay, and their character, and who are known as "Black-and-Tans."

Cadets.—Lastly, we have testimony concerning a supplementary irregular force of higher rating than the "Black-and-Tans," comprising mainly ex-officers of the British army, called Cadets, and numbering more than 1000. Altogether, the Imperial British forces, in Ireland would at the lowest estimate seem to number 78,000, one to, approximately, every eight adult males in Ireland, exclusive of Ulster.

The splendid tradition of the Imperial British forces in the late war, as well as justice to the rank and file of these forces now engaged in Ireland, would seem to require that the consideration of the circumstances in which they find themselves should precede the consideration of their conduct in these circumstances.

Apprehension.—The skirmishes, ambushes, and other activities of the Irish Republican Army, together with the nature of the military duty in Ireland, would appear to give grounds for natural apprehension to the Imperial British forces. Miss Ellen C. Wilkinson read into the record a picture of the apprehension which lurked in the mind of a member of the Imperial army. "Only those who have experienced," this man writes, "the thrill of patrol work and raids in Ireland can realise the strain on the nerves. At any second we may meet an active antagonist. In Ireland the enemy is a shadow. A sinister death, rarely seen until it

is too late to advance or retreat, may lie just around the corner."

Two publications of the Imperial British Government were mentioned in the evidence; one, *The Hue and Cry*, and the other, *The Weekly Summary*. Miss Wilkinson testified: "There is a publication called *The Weekly Summary* given by the British Government to the "Black-and-Tans" in Ireland, and it purports to give a list of all the crimes of Sinn Feiners against the Government. It is, of course, a deliberate incitement to violence. Copies of this have been produced in the House of Commons, and the Government has been very severely criticised about it, but without much result."

It would appear that the natural fear of the Imperial British forces in Ireland is fostered by propaganda into terror, under the auspices of the Imperial British Government. The bearing of this natural and artificial apprehensiveness upon the prevalence of drunkenness among the troops may be surmised if not denied. And the temptation to quell fear in drink would appear to be officially placed before the British troops by the barrack canteens.

Drunkenness.—John Charles Clarke, an American, witnessed the shooting of a boy on the streets of Cork by two drunken "Black-and-Tans," who, scarcely able to walk, fired into a crowd, and were then led away by their fellows.

Mr. P. J. Guilfoil, testifying to a raid he witnessed on a saloon at Feakle, Co. Clare, said: "The military had taken possession. They were plainly partaking of the liquors in the place. I saw that as I passed by." And later: "It was getting dark. Dr. O'Halloran, the town physician, came down and I said: 'Where have you been?' and he said: 'Up to the barracks. They are all wild drunk.'"

John Tangney, a former member of the British forces, testified concerning a raid in which he participated on a village near Ballylorby:

"This County Inspector Lowndes had the orders, and he adjourned to an adjoining saloon and had a drink, and two young military officers, who were in charge of the military party, adjourned with him and got stupidly drunk. All three were drunk. There were some Irish terriers outside the saloon door, and the officers took these dogs and threw them at each other. Well, we went home and the military were firing all the way back. I myself had to come to a soldier who was stupidly drunk and take a revolver out of his hand."

John Joseph Caddan, a former member of the R.I.C., testified that about one year ago canteens were opened in the barracks, to serve liquor in unrestricted quantities to the men. The men drank before going out on service. "They were up there, some of them, most of the night drinking."

Frank Dempsey, chairman of the Urban Council of Mallow, testified that when that town was burned by British soldiers, September 27, 1920, most of the soldiers in the raid were drunk. "The first thing they did was to fire revolver shots and rifle shots about the town. Next they raided some of the public houses and looted them and got drunk." The witness states he complained to the officer, who replied that he had lost control over them: "Damn it, they are all drunk."

Youth of Imperial British Forces.—It would appear that the Imperial British troops engaged in Ireland were composed partly of war veterans but also in appreciable numbers of raw youths. Many of the witnesses emphasised the extreme youth of the British soldiers in Ireland. In Belfast Mrs. Annot Erskine Robinson and her companions saw large numbers of youths of seventeen or eighteen wearing the uniform: "None of them looked like men." Miss Wilkinson found the same condition in the South: "It is the boys who are being sent to Ireland now." Mrs. Robinson described these boy soldiers as "the most pitiable figures in Ireland to-day. They have been brought straight from home, and with no knowledge of life. They are under military discipline, and believe they are in the midst of a hostile population. Many of them are absolutely nervous and hysterical. The drinking habit has become common—there is nothing else for them to do." "When you get these boys together and talk to them and fill up their minds with the idea that every Irishman is a murderer," continued Miss Wilkinson, "you bring about war psychology,

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