ORIGINAL

ROINN COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 384

Witness

J.J. O'Kelly (Sceilg),
173 Botanic Road,
Glasnevin,
Dublin.

Identity

Deputy Chairman (Deputy Speaker) of Dail Eireann 1919.

Subject

(a) National activities 1913-1922;
(b) Dail Eireann;
(c) Peace Negotiations 1921.

Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness

Nil

File No. S.263

Form B.S.M. 2.

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Dear Miss Kissane,

I've looked through this matter, and signed it.

The last sentence of paragraph 2 (top of page 2) should have been inserted as second last sentence of paragraph 6, page 1. If you happen to have another typed copy, I'll feel grateful for it; if not, it doesn't matter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

P.S. I'm afraid it wasn't worth half the trouble you've had with it.

Venezelos, pitchforked into power. The ship that then bore King Constantine away—like the ships in the Shannon at the Black Famine—met one having Venezelos on board. "But the popular leader," as the British press then said, "does not propose to enter Athens for the present"—for he could not rely even on the Allies who were exploiting him: many in Greece wanted a Republic, it was admitted; but Westminster wanted a sympathetic monarchy there, as they now want a Bavarian prince on the German throne—the British royal family, meantime, having changed its Hanoverian name to Windsor. What self-respecting race, let me ask again, could remain associated with a people so selfish, so avaricious, so unscrupulous, so hypocritical, so unchristian, so callously brutal?

Let me submit, before concluding, that it is time for everyone who has reached the age of responsibility in Ireland to reflect that there has always been an abundance of red blood in this land to ensure that alien reformers can never substitute lasting despotism for the deathless spirit of pure patriotism by which the Almighty has sustained our Island of Saints and Scholars since time was young, while dowering her children with the perseverance to ensure that, as the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against Holy Church, the wiles even of wolves in sheeps' clothing shall never prevail against holy Ireland. And so, let me publicly protest against, first, the recent arbitrary arrest of Miss Mary McSwiney in Galway, next, against the suppression of all reference to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis held some weeks ago in Dublin. Those who ordered this suppression keep telling us hypocritically that all political organisations are free to seek the endorsement of their policy by the Irish people. Yet, not only is the organisation that was most instrumental in defeating conscription and establishing Dáil Éireann ostracised by the heavy arm of "the Law," under a vaunted Christian Constitution, but its funds, to a minimum of £16,000 are either drafted into Free State Loans or growing mouldy in the Chancery Court. Eighteen years ago, some £8,000 from the Sinn Féin Treasury was lodged in Chancery without authority. At 4 per cent., which represents the average dividend on such Loans, as any schoolboy here may calculate, that money would have more than renewed itself by now, and hence do I say the minimum amount so retained must be £16,000. I have just read, of course, that no less exalted an authority than the new Minister of Finance has stated that Fianna Fáil brought the entire Sinn Féin policy with it into Leinster House, and I wonder whether the next contention will not be that the assets go with the policy so claimed.

I need hardly add that it is anything but a pleasure to trace those stepping-stones as I have done—ascending until we were invited to look up, salute the flag of the Republic, and give allegiance to it; then descending—in the midst of peace—to the conception of Coercian schemes worthy of the Cecils. It is, I suppose, automatic that anybody disturbing the prospects of life-long luxury which the political parties have spread before themselves is guilty of sedition, as those rebels were guilty of felony in the past who challenged the despotism of the comfortable Conservatives planted in our midst to perpetuate England's imperial sway. The patriot Gael will survive them all.

I am glad that commemoration lectures like this are being made a feature of their activities by the young men who have to risk their lives in every serious struggle for our liberty, and whose right and duty it is to study the ambitions and the tendencies of would-be leaders, and so guard themselves against being exploited. I trust the young people who have paid me the compliment of coming to hear me will keep in close contact with the tried and loyal men who become the elders of the movement with the passing of the years, and seek in association with them to raise your cause to the high, unselfish, noble plane on which only men and women of true courage and steadfast character can live—to the plane, in a word, on which all that was sincere and truly patriotic in the Republican movement stood before the betrayal. Need I urge the Republican youth of Cork to remember the services and the sacrifices of the Four Martyrs we commemorate to-night; need I ask them to adhere loyally to the Principles of Freedom that animated their own Martyrs and all the Martyrs who have given their lives in the cause of Irish liberty, as precious lives will continue to be given until they have smashed the last link binding us to England. *Beannacht dilis De oraibh uile.*

3d.

STEPPING-STONES

"sceilg"

Published by

THE IRISH BOOK BUREAU

68 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin

fomenting discord all over Europe in her own interest for three centuries and more, as she has been doing in Ireland, for a like end, since her first coming.

If England is so concerned about a home for the Hebrews that she must turn the Holy Land into a shambles, through the conflicts she has fostered between planted Jews and native Arabs, why, one is tempted to ask, does she not arrange to settle the Jewish refugees of the whole world in Australia,—an almost virgin country of the extent and resources of the United States, with a population under seven millions as against 130 millions in the United States? They would have endless possibilities of sport in keeping eternally at bay the menacing Japanese, who were permitted to make themselves familiar with the whole coast lines of Australasia when transporting the Anzacs to the European shambles, as Japanese naval officers were permitted to "fight" in the British navy at the Battle of Jutland, and to study British methods otherwhere. It seems to me that England prefers to plant the Jews in Ireland, as she planted the Cromwellians, the Orangemen, the Palatines, the Huguenots and the rest; and, unless Rumour has grown entirely unreliable, she must be succeeding hugely.

Like Satan reproving sin, Neville Chamberlain had the brass some weeks ago to state as England's main *War* aim:

"The defeat of that aggressive bullying mentality which seeks continually to dominate other peoples by force, and finds a brutal satisfaction in the persecution and torture of inoffensive citizens and, in the name of the State, justifies the repudiation of its own pledged word whenever it finds it convenient."

As if the Treaty of Limerick had never been violated by England; as if Asquith and Lloyd George had not made conflicting promises to Redmond and Dillon on the one hand and to Carson and Craig on the other, as Arthur Balfour and Sir Stanley Maude made conflicting promises to Jews and Arabs; as if Stanley Baldwin had not declared later that England would denounce any Treaty that proved inconvenient to her; as if the whole story of British misrule in India and Egypt was not made up of bullying, persecution, confiscation, broken promises! England's *Peace* aim, Chamberlain added:

"is to establish a new Europe . . . . with a new spirit . . . . In such a Europe, each country would have the unfettered right to choose its own form of internal government, so long as that government did not pursue an external policy injurious to its neighbours. . . . In such a Europe . . . . such adjustment of boundaries as would be necessary would be thrashed out between neighbours on equal terms around a table, with the help of disinterested third parties if it were so desired." Finally "in such a Europe armaments would be gradually dropped as a useless expense except in so far as they were needed for the preservation of internal law and order."

The suggestion of disarmament comes nicely from the spokesmen of England that, at the League of Nations, if my memory serves me, defeated Russia's proposals that there should be no aerial bombing of open towns, on the plea that England wanted bombing planes for "police operations" abroad, and is, of course, so using them—with a vengeance. Equally beneath contempt is the Chamberlain clap-trap about the adjustment of boundaries being thrashed out between neighbours on equal terms around a table! when we recall the Boundary Commission of Three imposed by England on Ireland for Ireland's mutilation: one to be nominated by the Twenty-six Counties, one by the Six Counties, one by England "to hold the ring." When the subordinate Six Counties refused to nominate theirs, England illegally nominated a second; and when the Free State representative, Eoin MacNeill, resigned on seeing the designs of Britain's "democratic" nominees, England, in a spirit of true neighbourliness, forced the fantastic findings of her own two instruments on Ireland.

Now, mutilated Ireland suffers many of the privations usually associated with a major war, because Neville Chamberlain, at the behest of the Jews, who hold England in their pocket, has embarked on a new essay to crush Germany. In the World War, England's scribes referred to the Kaiser as a lunatic, and virtuous Britain forsooth would not negotiate with Germany until its people dispensed with him! Now they call the Fuehrer, who has taken the Kaiser's place, a madman, and again altruistic England will not negotiate with Germany until its misguided people get rid of the Adventurer! Meanwhile let us ask ourselves how have the Allied peoples treated the leaders who professed to speak for them at Versailles? Lloyd George made "Hang the Kaiser" an election slogan in England; to-day, Lloyd George is the most discredited man of his rank among his countrymen.

STEPPING STONES*

By SCEILG

I.—ON THE ASCENT TO THE REPUBLIC.

"In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right, and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign, Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare and of its exaltation among the nations.

* * * * *

"Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government hereby constituted will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

"We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity or rapine. In this supreme hour, the Irish nation must by its valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called."

So closes the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, Easter Week, 1916, inaugurating the struggle for national liberty, a later phase of which—culminating in the execution of the Four Martyrs of Mountjoy—we commemorate this evening. Temporary surrender came in Dublin that memorable Easter after a week's fighting which won the admiration of friend and foe and aroused anew the waning pride of our scattered race. The execution of the signatories followed, as of other leaders, young and old, and the death in action of some of the more valiant of their comrades: their names will remain forever on Ireland's martyr-roll. Despite his twenty-three wounds one of the Dublin officers survived. Yet, stricken though he was, to his initiative and his resolute will was it mainly due that the continuity of the fight was maintained; and, almost before the blood of the martyrs had grown cold, a conference was held in Banba Hall, Dublin, to consider ways and means for a new rally.

May 3rd furnished news from Cork of the heroic fight by the Kent brothers at Castlelyons, encouraged by their aged mother with a valour worthy of the mother of the Macchabees. From May 4th to May 12th the brutal executions ordered by Gen. Maxwell shocked the nation. For nine days Dublin had been without news, except that it saw hundreds of Republican prisoners deported daily to England's dungeons. When, at last, the newspapers, dated April 26th—May 5th, were published in one issue, they carried the announcement that

"the following communique was issued yesterday: Three signatories of the notice proclaiming the Irish Republic: P. H. Pearse, T. MacDonagh and T. J. Clarke, have been tried by Field General Court Martial and sentenced to death. The sentence having been duly confirmed, the three above-mentioned men were shot this morning."

The same day we read: "the following further results of the trial of Sinn Féin rebels were announced yesterday:

Convicted and sentenced to death: Joseph Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan and William Pearse. The above were shot this morning after confirmation of the sentences by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief.

And "the dead body of the O'Rahilly was found in Moore Lane." The following day came the intelligence: "The death sentence on John MacBride was carried out this morning."

On Tuesday, May 9th, came the further announcement:

"Sentenced to death, the sentences being carried out yesterday morning: Cornelius Colbert, Edmond Kent, Michael Mallin and J. J. Heuston."

Friday morning, May 12th, Premier Asquith arrived in Dublin and was taken straight to the Viceregal Lodge, where he conferred with Gen. Maxwell and other British instruments of despotism. That evening came the

*A Lecture delivered by J. J. O'Kelly in the City Hall, Cork, December 9th, 1939, in commemoration of the Four Martyrs of Mountjoy.

If he had been planning a National Policy since 1921, is it not strange that he did not say so, and indicate what it was, when the Rathmines' motion came before the Ard-Fheis in 1925. Why did he let a sub-committee of men, who certainly knew Ireland and her needs as well as he did, work for months on a National Policy, while he studiously ignored it—preferring to devote his time to interviewing influential members of the organisation individually in what came to be known as his "Confessional" at Republican headquarters, and there trying out his personal policy of entering Leinster House as a minority? And what have himself and his Ministry since done to co-ordinate water, rail and roadway services except to let them drift since the practical confiscation of the shareholders' property. What for re-afforestation, reclamation, drainage, or the distribution of neglected land into economic holdings? What for the fisheries—our "mine under water"—about which they know as much as a Dublin plumber would about a Desmond seine-boat; what actually for the real slum problem in Dublin? What has An Taoiseach done about the banks? What, may I ask further, has he done to redeem his promise to bring the people some relief from grinding taxation when he said in his address inaugurating Fianna Fáil:

"The people are at present groaning under taxation. The cost of the Free State Army is one of their burdens. For what purpose is that large army kept? Is it to defend the country against any outside power? You all know it is kept at its present strength to hold in subjection that section of the people who are determined that no foreign power shall rule them. Were it not that freedom is denied, would there be need of an Irish army to overawe any section? Could it not be replaced at once by a Volunteer force, which is really the only type of force that can hope to defend us against an outside power? Another of the people's burdens is the cost of an immense police force. Relatively, that force is almost as great as when the British were here—and the police were an armed Imperial guard. Do you think such a force would be necessary if we had again the popular feeling we had in 1919 when a right civic spirit provided all the protection that was necessary? Consider next the lavish administration and all those secretaries to secretaries to secretaries that we know of. What is all that over-burdening the country with officials due to? Were not many of the positions that were created the spoils given as bribes by those who had to secure support for their policy at any cost?"

The Fianna Fáil policy ever since—which is a blind adoption of the policy he thus condemned, where it is not an aggravation of it—is the all-sufficient answer to these petulant questions, which it has become all but treason for Republicans to repeat or for newspapers to report. Even at that risk let me ask finally what he has done to redeem the promise he made in regard to emigration—with the example before him that the Republican Government prohibited emigration in 1920?

"The best of our people—the young men of vigour and enterprise, the foundation on which the whole future should be built—are being taken from us daily. We are being bled by an emigration worse to-day than almost at any time since the great exodus that followed the Famine. That must be stopped."

Who, one may ask, has since done anything to stop emigration except the very body that prohibited it in 1920.

I must not detain you further with the rainbow-chasing used as the justification for the founding of Fianna Fáil, or the empty promises which have brought that Party to passing power and patronage, except to add that, again and again, its leader reveals in his tortuous way that so far as he was concerned, the prime object of the 1922 Pact, of the 1923 Cease Fire Order as of Fianna Fáil itself, was to enable him to lead his followers into the Free State Parliament as a minority and, when all seemed safe, get control of it.

At the lecture in the Gresham Hotel some time ago, to which reference has been made already, Mr. de Valera renewed his laudation of the "Republican" Constitution, made by the people themselves! descanted again on "External Association"; extolled the wisdom of entering in 1923 the League of Nations which has proved itself by universal admission the greatest farce of history; tried to justify his Party's giving up the name Poblacht na hÉireann while still exploiting the Republican flag. It is, one may presume, permissible to recall that, despite the most earnest and persistent appeals, only 38.6 per cent. of the voters of the Free State supported the Constitution. If it had not formed an element in the ballot paper at the General Election, how many people would have troubled to vote for it? Had its proud author gone manfully to the hustings with it and said frankly: "This is the Constitution"; then explained fully the pensions and sinecures it embodied: that it provided for a President whose duties would be to play golf, give an occasional tea, and cancel one periodically by way of variety;

slackers were whippet-racing in Ireland by this time; but public meetings and processions were prohibited here by Sir Bryan Mahon. Yet, Republican graves were decorated in Glasnevin, and the tricolour floated over the Dublin G.P.O. to celebrate the first anniversary of the Declaration of the Republic. In April, too, some 200 American Congressmen, including the speaker, cabled Lloyd George strongly urging "a settlement *now* of the Irish Question." Arthur Balfour visited America where, the following month, in addressing Congress, he professed a great friendship for Ireland. Bloody Balfour! About the same time, Canada declared the Irish Question must be settled.

At home, a protest against Partition was signed by 18 Catholic and 3 Protestant prelates, others adding their signatures later; and a letter by Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, denouncing Partition and expressing the fear that the country was already sold, contributed to win the Longford election for Sinn Féin, by a majority of 37. Lloyd George now proposed a scheme involving the exclusion of Six Ulster Counties for five years, and a Council of Ireland or, alternatively, an Irish Convention. Five days later he announced that the Convention would be summoned immediately. The Convention was rejected by Sinn Féin, an attitude in which they were soon joined by the Gaelic League; but the Catholic Hierarchy accepted the invitation to appoint delegates. We next find Lloyd George ostentatiously awaiting at Wootton Heath the echo of the explosion which was to signalise a new Allied offensive in Flanders. Major William Redmond, M.P., lost his life in that onset, leaving a Parliamentary vacancy in Clare, while Capt. James Craig and the loquacious bigots of "Ulster" remained comfortably at home.

On Sunday, June 10th, Inspector Mills met his death through a blow of a hurley at a Republican meeting in Beresford Place, Dublin, and Count Plunkett, Cathal Brugha and others were arrested. Arthur Balfour returned from the United States and was replaced there by Lord Northcliffe, who had made sympathetic references to Ireland—to get the ear of America. T. P. O'Connor and Richard Hazelton also crossed the Atlantic, incidentally to advocate the cause of the Allies. On June 18th, the Irish Republican prisoners arrived home from England, in response to persistent clamour for their release. Following a Sinn Féin demonstration in Cork towards the end of the month the military were called out. Already there was excitement over the Clare election, with Eamonn de Valera as the Republican candidate.

At Scariff on the 1st July, Mr. de Valera demanded "complete and absolute separation, a free and independent Irish Republic." Later, at a rally in Killaloe, the Republican candidate firmly repeated that

"the Sinn Féin claim was for complete independence and separation from England. It was supported by nine-tenths of the Irish people, and, if Unionists did not come in on their own side, they would have to go under."

The *Freeman's Journal* next complained of efforts to wreck the Irish Convention which, it admitted,

"Sinn Féin honestly declined to touch unless it was elected on manhood suffrage, was free to deal with the question of setting up an independent Republic totally separate from the British Empire, and was given a pledge by the British Government that the minority would be compelled, by force if necessary, to accept the decision of the majority of such a Convention."

In a few days the *Freeman* added, editorially: "East Clare has declared for revolution by an overwhelming majority—" of 2,795. The successful candidate on returning from his triumph in Clare said, in reply to Orangemen hypocritically calling for conscription—as they again pretended to do at the outbreak of the present war:

"We are not going to fight for the blood-stained Union Jack; we are not going to fight so that we might help England to crush other nations; we are not going to fight so that we might put England in a position to crush her trade rival, Germany. I do not believe in mincing matters, and would say further that, if Ulster stood in the way of our attaining Irish freedom, Ulster should be coerced. Why shouldn't it?"

The death of Pat O'Brien, M.P., at this juncture, created a Parliamentary vacancy in Kilkenny. Towards the end of the month, William T. Cosgrave was chosen as Republican candidate. In the course of the election campaign

III.—THE RETREAT FROM THE REPUBLIC.

It was not until June, 1925, that Mr. de Valera ventured to put tentatively before Dáil Éireann the policy he evidently had been developing and privately testing for a long time. At a meeting at that period, over which I presided, he hinted that it was in Leinster House Ireland's destiny would be worked out.

There is a situation, he said in substance. Many of you here must have heard me refer to team work, perhaps because when I played Rugby football I was often struck with the discipline it afforded. As far as I can estimate it, our position in the country is not without promise. If there were an Election to-morrow, I am satisfied we would get, if not a majority, a very substantial minority. Which of these should we aim at? Strange as it may seem to some of you, I think our aim should be the substantial minority. In that position we could press for reforms, for increased Old Age Pensions, better conditions for the farmers, for the workers, and other things that will occur to you all. In that way, we could earn the gratitude and the sympathy of the people. But, if we got a majority, I am afraid we might find ourselves up against serious difficulties, and have to take steps more drastic than my conscience would permit me to take: in other words, I would not be worth my place on the team. He added, as stated, that he thought the destiny of Ireland would be worked out in Leinster House.

Deputies protested, and I answered that I had become uneasy about the President's line of argument, but did not wish to interrupt him. Thenceforward, while I was in the chair, no one, I declared, would be permitted to indulge in argument derogatory to the status of the Republic. And, as the matter had taken that turn, I felt that all Deputies should have due notice. We adjourned accordingly, after some exchanges, but when we met again the President never mentioned his previous proposals. Unfortunately the minutes of that meeting never materialised, so far as I know. But the Deputies brought news of the unexpected change of front to all parts of the country, and so, among the motions for the forthcoming Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, held in the Rathmines Town Hall, November 17th, 18th, 19th, was this, from the Caberciveen Cumann:

Owing to insidious rumours that Republicans will enter the Free State Parliament if the Oath be removed, we call on Sinn Féin to get a definite statement from the Government that they will adhere to the policy of Cathal Brugha, Erskine Childers and their fellow-martyrs, and enter only an Irish Republican Parliament for all Ireland."

Mr. de Valera was visibly hostile. After a long debate and much quibbling, it was decided, through influence the source of which will be obvious:

That no change be made in the policy of the Sinn Féin organisation at this Ard-Fheis; but it is agreed that no subject is barred from the whole organisation or part of it with the exception of the acceptance of allegiance to a foreign King and the Partition of Ireland. And if at any time a change of policy is proposed, an Ard-Fheis must be summoned to deal with the proposal.

One could almost again hear the gods exclaim: "We must not stifle the royal hopes of the Man of Destiny!"

Another motion—from Stranorlar—called for the withdrawal of Document No. 2. The author of the Document opposed this also, and the motion was withdrawn. In accordance with a resolution from the Rathmines Cumann, calling on the Executive to formulate within three months a national, economic and cultural programme, the Standing Committee instantly selected a sub-committee, Fr. O'Flanagan being Chairman; I, Secretary, to draft a national programme. We worked at it assiduously, but Mr. de Valera never once showed the slightest interest in it. In the New Year, on the contrary, he took steps to have an Extraordinary Ard-Fheis—on the 10th March, 1926. For this he did not get the approval of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, of which he was President, and Fr. O'Flanagan had to circulate an amendment at the last moment without even seeing the text of the President's motion. At the last meeting of the Standing Committee immediately preceding the Extraordinary Ard-Fheis I intimated that the draft Programme was ready; and when the President disregarded the work on which we had been earnestly engaged for months, in compliance with an order by the organisation, I said I would bring it forward as an amendment. And so when I got up to second Fr. O'Flanagan's amendment at the Ard-Fheis the President arbitrarily ruled me out of order.

The Extraordinary Ard-Fheis, like the previous Ard-Fheis, having been in large part private, I am indebted for the terms of the motion to the official report in the *Independent*, which says:

"This suggested Constitution has been passed unanimously by the Provisional Committee of Sinn Féin. It took three nights to agree on it finally. There is no denying that in this Sinn Féin movement, as in similar movements in all countries, there are different shades of opinion. Notwithstanding that, we are united on this point—that we stand henceforward for an Irish Republic. And we believe that the Republic can be achieved by the weapon of the suggested Constitution."

Eamonn de Valera, in acknowledging his election as President of the organisation, said next day:

"The Constitution of the new movement which you have adopted says this organisation of Sinn Féin aims at securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. That is what I stand for. I said in East Clare that my election was a monument to the dead. I regard my unanimous election here as a monument to the heroic dead, and this is the *post factum* proof that they were right."

Speaking of the clauses of the proposed Constitution which reserved to the people the right—after the status of a Republic had been achieved—to choose their own form of government, Mr. de Valera said further:

"There is no contemplation in it of having a Monarchy, in which the Monarch would be of the House of Windsor,"—one almost already heard the gods exclaim: "We must not quench the royal hopes of the Man of Destiny!" He concluded in the strident tone of another and more ardent Tone: "We say it is necessary to be united under the flag under which we are going to fight for our freedom—the flag of the Irish Republic. We have nailed that flag to the mast; we shall never lower it. I ask you to salute that flag nailed to the mast, which we can never lower,—to salute the flag and, in Grattan's words, to say: *Esto perpetua*!"

Within a couple of days came further significant reference to an Irish Boundary Commission for the Redistribution of Parliamentary constituencies, while England took control of £22,000,000 of Irish money through a "Banking Invasion." Preaching in St. Francis Xavier's Church, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin, the last Sunday in October, Fr. Donovan, S.J., said that to make a revolution justifiable, the following conditions are necessary:

1. That the Government is so oppressive that men of conscience and level-headed men will not admit it as endurable.
2. That, before rising, you must see that the conditions under which you are suffering are worse than the evils that would arise from insurrection.
3. That there are no other means of redress except by force of arms; and
4. That there is a well-grounded hope of success.

The sermon clearly indicated the problem of the hour. The Redistribution Bill before the British Parliament continued to create unrest in Ireland as likely to be unfair to Ulster Nationalists, and to prejudice the findings of the Irish Convention, whose proceedings were still private. Speaking at the ensuing Manchester Martyrs' Commemoration in the Mansion House, Dublin, Eamonn de Valera, now recognised as leading spokesman of the Republic, asked:

"Were it not for England, would it be necessary to defend this country? England succeeded in getting a number of Irishmen to believe that they were fighting for the freedom of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. . . . . If this country is a military necessity to England, Germany can as well claim that Belgium is a military necessity to her. Aye . . . . and say the Vosges Mountains in Alsace-Lorraine are necessary to Germany. . . . We do not want to see Belgium enslaved; we want to see Belgium as free as we want Ireland to be."

Speaking at Dundalk, Sunday, December 2nd, 1917, he said further:

"I have here the first Constitution of the Irish Volunteers, adopted on the 25th October, 1914, at their first Convention; and one of the paragraphs of the Declaration of Policy says the object of the Volunteers is to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland. It is still to-day the policy of the Irish Volunteers, and it is because it is the policy of the Irish Volunteers that I say I would have no hesitation whatever in signing that document to-morrow."

In a long letter to the *Freeman's Journal* three days later, he referred to John Dillon's speeches as "tiresomely full of the divine right of parties and leaders;" and, speaking at Midleton, he said, as reported, December 18th: "The policy of Sinn Féin is to secure for Ireland international recognition as an Irish Republic—a nation as independent as France or Germany."

Early in 1918 the Pope noted President Wilson's plan for Open Diplomacy with special approval; the British Command was held at fault for Italy's failure; Russia was completely out of the war; Sinn Féin was taking steps to conserve Ireland's food supply; the Belfast ship-building yards were extended to cope with the war work arising out of the wholesale sinking of British shipping—even England took to the building of concrete ships in her dire need, and so Lloyd George told England's Trade Unionists

Count Plunkett excelled himself. He put our whole cause on an exalted plane, and handled the matter in a really statesmanlike way. It was edifying, almost thrilling.

"I have left you to the last, Cathal, because of the position you have taken at the table," the President then remarked.

"I haven't much to add," Cathal Brugha replied, "except to say how glad I am that it has been suggested that we circulate these documents and consider them fully before we meet again, if for no other reason than to give you and the great masters of English you keep at your elbow an opportunity of extricating us from the morass in which ye have landed us."

"We have done our best, half-sobbed the President, "and I have never undertaken to do more than my best."

"We have proclaimed a Republic in arms," Cathal returned; "it has been ratified by the votes of the people, and we have sworn to defend it with our lives."

"The oath never conveyed any more to me than to do my best in whatever circumstances might arise."

"You have accepted a position of authority and responsibility in the Government of the Republic," Cathal replied, striking the table, "and you will discharge the duties of that office as they have been defined. I do not want ever again to hear anything else from you."

"I think I can promise, Cathal, that you won't have to complain again."

The documents were circulated, and it was a much altered draft that emerged from the next meeting. Later drafts were discussed also, and forwarded only when they expressed the considered views of the whole Ministry. I had reason to be familiar with their terms, for I had to put practically the whole range of them into Irish under difficulties which I have no desire to detail now.

The Second Dáil met in public, August 16th, 1921, and it is significant that Miss Macardle quotes Mr. de Valera—evidently with his approval—as having said there of the mandate given by the elections of 1918:

"It was a mandate not so much for a form of government—they were not, he said, 'Republican doctrinaires'—but it was for Irish freedom and independence, and it was obvious to everyone who considered the question that Irish independence could not be realised at the present time in any other way so suitably as through a Republic."

I have no opportunity to check this statement at the moment, nor do I think it material except as showing the trend of the President's mind. Not so her paraphrase of a statement by Arthur Griffith on the same occasion:

"Arthur Griffith in his closing address said that every member's ambition was to work for the independence of his country, and no body of men had ever been brought together for the task, who had worked in such complete harmony. The Ministry was acting in a bond of brotherhood without the slightest friction or discord. They were all absolutely united in their efforts to secure a sovereign Republic. Ireland was ready, he said, to negotiate on the basis of these principles."

I cannot recollect that statement by Arthur Griffith. If made, it will be obvious from what I have already said—and from much that has been said by others—that it was not a faithful reflection of conditions in high places in the Republican movement. What is more pertinent to my theme is that when the Dáil met in public on the 26th August, Sean McKeon said:

"The honour has fallen on me to put before the Dáil the name of Eamonn de Valera as President of the Irish Republic." Richard Mulcahy, in seconding, asked the Dáil "to elect as President of the Republic a man who had done so much for the nation."

Acknowledging his election, the President said:

"I have been chosen to be a leader. . . . . There has been no necessity for leadership . . . . amongst us. We know our minds; we know we have a straight road to travel, with no bye-paths to lead us astray; and it is a very easy task to lead on a straight road."

"With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The enemy's "objects are to separate us from the French, take the Channel ports and destroy the British army." He might have added: "Every English ship afloat is under orders to stand ready, steam up, to bring our fleeing troops back from the ports of France."

April 1st, the application of conscription to Ireland was considered by the British Cabinet, and Lloyd George again appealed to the Dominions: anti-conscription riots in Quebec were Canada's answer. Next day Gen. Hubert Gough, noted in connection with the Curragh Revolt, was relieved of his command on the Western front in connection with the German break-through; but the British troops were said to have withstood the German battering-ram. Dublin and Waterford now led in the protest against compulsory military service, which, it was intimated, Lloyd George proposed to introduce without delay.

April 10th, the Catholic Hierarchy issued a protest against this threatened conscription. Two days later the text of the Bill showed that all males in England between 18 and 51 were liable to compulsory military service, and it passed the Commons next day. That day, too, the Report, rather the reports, of the Irish Convention saw the light. Northern delegates would let Southern Ireland have Home Rule on condition that there was "a clean cut" of Ulster! It was nothing less than a national humiliation that, at an estimated cost of £20,000, such a mockery as that Convention could have been staged for eleven months in Dublin, Cork and Belfast, with practically no report except bald announcements that the members had met, considered some matters, and adjourned,—leaving the Irish people entirely in the dark, whereas the Chairman paid frequent surreptitious visits to London to report to Lloyd George. The Secretary, in the grand manner of the British, was rewarded with a peerage.

April 15th, the Lord Mayor of Dublin summoned a Conference representing the different political parties; and delegates from Sinn Féin, Labour and the supporters of John Dillon and William O'Brien respectively, met three days later, in the Mansion House. It was unanimously decided to open a National Fund and submit Ireland's case to the nations. The following national pledge was taken at every church door in the land:

"Denying the right of the British Government to enforce Compulsory Service on this country, we solemnly pledge ourselves, one to another, to resist Conscription by the most effective means at our disposal."

Forthwith the country was united as never before to meet this menace; and the enemy was quite alive to the people's determination by the end of the month.

On May Day came the Chief Secretary's resignation. In a week the Viceroy, Lord Wimborne, was replaced by Lord French. Edward Shortt became Chief Secretary, but Walter Long, a bigoted ex-Chief Secretary, was to direct Irish policy. Almost immediately a proclamation was issued by Lord French on the plea that "certain subjects of His Majesty the King, domiciled in Ireland, have conspired to enter into, and have entered into, treasonable communications with the German enemy." Forthwith, a hundred leading Republicans were rounded up and deported to England. They included Count Plunkett, Eamonn de Valera, Joe MacGuinness and William Cosgrave—elected representatives of the people,—Arthur Griffith, just selected to contest a vacancy in Cavan, Mrs. Clarke, Madame Gonne MacBride and Countess Markievicz. A German air raid on England, causing 200 casualties in London alone, was Germany's prompt reply to the alleged "German Plot," of which Lloyd George in a lame explanation failed to give any evidence whatever. It is true that Joseph Dowling landed on the coast of Clare, was arrested, and taken to London; but he was never charged with complicity in a German plot. At this crisis, the whole people, particularly the plain people, stood up to Conscription, as the heroic men and women, now fighting in England have done again. To them is it due that the British people, the British Dominions and the whole world see clearly that there is still an Irish problem at the heart of the Empire, and hence do the Dominions repudiate British conscription.

of Terror was intensified until the world-wide horror it evoked brought sympathy and support for the Irish sufferers from all quarters, Pope Benedict XV, even, sending a very generous subscription. Ultimately it brought the blush of shame to callous England's cheeks, so that English prelates of all denominations, the press of all shades of opinion, professional and public men, politicians of all parties—even the brothers Cecil—denounced their Government's tyranny, and clamoured for order.

The Partition Act coming into operation early in May, elections were held in the North and South before the end of the month. The Southern Deputies were returned unopposed. King George coming to open the Northern Parliament, from which Republicans and Nationalists absented themselves, hastened back to England in the alarm aroused by the demonstration of armed force for his protection in Belfast. In Dublin the attempted opening proved abortive, and the Custom House—headquarters of the alien Local Government and Taxation departments,—was burned down forthwith. Released about this time I was astonished at the efforts made, mainly by clergymen, to get me into contact with Messrs. Cope, Smuts and other agents of England, and even more astounded to find a Conference with Unionists called for the 4th July in the Mansion House, with every indication that it would eventuate in a delegation to London. Miss MacArdle emphasises more, probably, than she realised in stating in "The Irish Republic" that, at that juncture

"The President made his headquarters at the Dublin Mansion House. There he was joined by Arthur Griffith, released from Mountjoy. Presently Robert Barton was released. . . . . Eoin MacNeill, Eamonn Duggan and Michael Staines were also released immediately, but 34 members of Dáil Éireann were prisoners still."

Gen. Smuts arrived from London on the morrow. His evasive movements on landing were worthy of his mission and its sponsors.

While the Mansion House Conference was in progress we were summoned to an afternoon meeting of the Ministry at the house of Madame O'Rahilly. After some time, the Secretary produced a note, a couple of lines of which were written in ink by the President, who regretted he could not leave the Conference, but Arthur Griffith would come in his stead! Arthur Griffith pencilled a few lines more to say they found he could not attend either. Asking for an explanation of the departure from the earlier unanimous decision not to attend a Conference in the enemy's house in London,—to which the Mansion House Conference seemed a preliminary—and getting no satisfactory answer, I, although expected automatically to preside, protested very emphatically and walked away from the meeting.

The delegation went to London, July 14th, a truce having been arranged in the meantime. Mr. de Valera repeatedly met Lloyd George *alone* in London, and the Premier's proposals proved so utterly unsatisfactory that the Conference all but broke down. On returning to Dublin President de Valera, addressing a multitude from the Mansion House said: "As the Lord Mayor has told you, this is not a time for talk. We have learned one lesson in Ireland for the last couple of years, and that is that it is by acts and not by talk a nation will achieve its freedom. I don't want, therefore, to set a bad example by starting speech-making. If we act in the future as we have acted for the last couple of years, we will never have to talk about freedom, for we will have it." Lloyd George's proposals were sent later to Dublin Castle, and thence to the Mansion House, where a full meeting of the Ministry was held the following Sunday afternoon. It was a meeting to be remembered. The President sat at the *head* of a long table looking out on Dawson Street, Cathal Brugha at its *foot*. On the President's left, at the head of the table, Arthur Griffith and Joe MacDonagh; along the side of the table, but sitting well back on a long lounge, Austin Stack, Robert Barton and Erskine Childers; at the end of that lounge, on a seat partly facing the President, John MacNeill, who was joined later by Richard Mulcahy—to sound the defeatist note in due time. Behind Cathal Brugha on another lounge, myself and Countess Markievicz directly facing the President; on the left of the Countess on another seat, partly facing the

it was decided to establish Arbitration Courts, a Consular Service, and a Commission of Inquiry into Ireland's industrial resources. Two days later three trustees were appointed for a Dáil Éireann National Loan, among them being the Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe. At the fifth session, opening August 19th, a scheme was submitted for a Land Bank, which was soon inaugurated. Next day, Cathal Brugha, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, brought forward a motion to the effect that every Deputy, every officer of the Dáil, and every member of the army must swear the following Oath of Allegiance:

I,..... do hereby swear (or affirm) that I do not and shall not yield a voluntary support to any pretended Government, authority or power within Ireland hostile and inimical thereto, and I do further swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me, God.

Terence MacSwiney seconded the motion; it was strongly supported by Arthur Griffith, and adopted. In due course, the Irish Volunteers became the Army of the Republic, and decided to take the Oath, though not without persistent opposition from certain sources.

Meanwhile Eamonn de Valera had inaugurated his campaign in the United States. "From to-day," he stated, June 23rd, "I am in America as the official head of the Republic established by the will of the Irish people in accordance with the principles of self-determination." Soon it was officially announced there that

"The Republic of Ireland has decided to raise a Loan of which the American quota is ten million dollars. . . . . President de Valera will issue in the name of Ireland an engraved signed bond-certificate. . . . . exchangeable for one Gold Coupon of the Republic of Ireland, upon the international recognition of the Republic."

Public boards in all parts of the country soon decided to give allegiance to Dáil Éireann, Government of the Republic. The following resolution, promptly passed by the Dublin Corporation, will serve as an illustration:

"That this Council of the elected representatives of the City of Dublin hereby acknowledges the authority of Dáil Éireann as the duly elected Government of the Irish people, and undertakes to give effect to all decrees duly promulgated by the said Dáil Éireann insofar as the same affects this Council. And that copies of the resolution be transmitted to the Governments of Europe and to the President and Chairman of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America."

It is hardly necessary to emphasise here that no one, friend or foe, entertained the slightest doubt at this stage that the Republic was not merely the ideal, but the recognised governmental system of the overwhelming majority of the people. So frequently had this been repeated without qualification by the authorised spokesmen of the national organisation that the exercise of the choice suggested by the Sinn Féin Constitution—of setting up some other form of government after the international recognition of the Irish Republic—seemed as remote as Tibb's Eve, and had practically passed out of the public memory. Then, suddenly, and without authority from the Government at home—entirely without their knowledge even—President de Valera, on the 20th February, 1920, gave an interview to the New York correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* in which he referred to what is known as the Platt Amendment—at whose instigation it would be very interesting to know:

"The United States by the Monroe Doctrine," he said, "made provision for its security without depriving the Latin Republics of the South of their independence and their life. The United States safeguarded itself from the possible use of the island of Cuba as a base for an attack by a foreign Power. . . . Why does not Britain make a stipulation like this to safeguard herself against foreign attack as the United States did with Cuba? Why doesn't Britain declare a Monroe Doctrine for the two neighbouring islands? The people of Ireland, so far from objecting, would co-operate with their whole soul."

This shows that the de Valera outlook had little in common with Irish tradition; for Ireland had a spiritual empire almost a thousand years before America was well discovered and when Cuba was little better than a remote sandbank. His interview escaped attention in Ireland owing to the disturbed state of the times—nor has his scheme ever been advocated since,—but the Dáil in a generous spirit of loyalty and comradeship upheld him as the mouthpiece of the Republic abroad, and so shielded him against his critics.

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President Wilson who made a slogan of "open covenants openly arrived at," but let England exploit his country in order to shackle Germany, was consigned with his League of Nations to the discard by the American people. The treatment of Clemenceau and Briand by the French people was hardly dissimilar. England entered the World War to destroy her commercial rival, Germany; insatiable England manipulated the present mock war in the hope of linking a number of nations against Germany so that John Bull single-handed would not have to fight "the Hun" for the German colonies which he wants permanently to retain with all his other ill-got possessions. And we are sent another Alfred Cope to keep Ireland in train.

How many people in this country get an opportunity to realise that under the Treaty of Versailles nine different areas were cut off from Germany's frontiers, apart from her colonies, aggregating a million and a quarter square miles. Of the severed frontiers, some had been won back without bloodshed when England's perfidy made a holocaust of Catholic Poland, which she now tries to exploit under a Semitic "Government" in Paris, as she callously exploited Belgium in the World War. How many people in Ireland reflect that the Treaty of Versailles placed Germany in worse than Babylonian bondage, stripping her bare, laying her famishing in the mire, disarmed, defenceless, manacled, with the heel of the Jew on her neck—while Jewish usury emaciated and the Jewish White Slave Traffic sought to corrupt the whole land—manacling her, moreover, behind closed doors in disregard of the Wilsonian promises of open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, restoration of occupied territories, and the other points which were to be the basis of peace. Germany was stripped of her shipping, her rolling-stock, live stock, milch cows—leaving her nursing motherhood absolutely without milk—of minerals, munitions, arms; practically forbidden to have army, navy or air force; left destitute, and then saddled with financial "reparations" which were an outrage on humanity. But her God-given spirit of patriotism inspired all her children, under a gifted leader whose phenomenal uplift of his trampled people has earned him their confidence to a degree, perhaps, unique; and so they need no conscription. And if Europe is sundered to-day, let us not forget that, while the Allied sharks at Versailles allocated whole regions to themselves in accordance with the notorious London Secret Treaties which sought to ostracise the Pope, they left the greater part of Europe in turmoil and, by their treacherous partisanship on every frontier from the White Sea to the Black, sowed the seeds of the present inevitable conflict.

England, before leading Poland into a suicidal war, as she now leads Finland, as she tried to lead Czecho-Slovakia, and essays to lead the Baltic States, the Balkans, the entire world for that matter, professed a desire that Poland should always have full access to the Baltic, the same England whose nightmare once was that Russia might get unfettered access to the Mediterranian,—get a lung there! as England's jingoes used to say then—England that was mainly responsible for dismembering Catholic Austria, cutting her off entirely from the sea, reducing her proud people to absolute destitution. Not content with cutting Austria off from Trieste, England refused, in 1931, to let her enter into a tariff union with Germany, for Austria's capital was then swarming with English auditors, financial ferrets and other agents seeking how they could rook, through Customs dues, the last coin from a famishing people. Prague similarly swarmed with English auditors and agents, intriguing with the Masonic ring, who got France to fortify Czecho-Slovakia as a possible Russian spear-head, a dagger aimed at the very heart of Germany—just as English naval officers after Versailles, when Lloyd George was puffed up with conceit, boasted that Ireland would be used as England's spear-head against the only trade rival then left, the United States that had just saved her from annihilation.

Not so long ago, England made no secret of her designs on Italy, which she now seeks to cajole. We all remember the Sanctions to which even the Free State was nominally committed. England shrieked again when Mussolini anticipated the Allies in setting up a new Gibraltar in Albania. How the Jew-inspired press of Britain then sympathised with the fleeing Albanian royal family and, of course, forgot the Allies' treatment of the royal family of Greece when, in June, 1917, King Constantine was forced to abdicate his throne, the royal family was expelled, and England's pawn,

announcement of the execution of James Connolly and Sean MacDermott as Asquith landed in the morning. On Saturday he went with Butcher Maxwell to Dublin Castle, inspected some "officers" in Trinity College, even visited Republican prisoners herded in Richmond Barracks. On Monday he appeared out of nowhere in Belfast, and had "a full and frank discussion of the situation with leading citizens." Tuesday he again spent in conference with Maxwell in Dublin, and next day he was sworn in a member of the Privy Council. On Thursday he mysteriously presented himself in Cork, interviewed the Mayor, the Assistant Bishop and others under an adequate guard, and proceeded thereafter by the Admiralty launch to Cobh, whence, that night, he went like a hero "by a sea route to Fishguard."

Back at Westminster, he unwittingly admitted the breakdown of alien government in Ireland. Thereupon Lloyd George was commissioned "to seek an agreement between the different Irish parties," and within three days had given Sir Edward Carson a secret letter urging "Ulster" not to merge in the rest of Ireland. On the strength of promises of another kind, made to John Redmond, a Nationalist Convention in Belfast agreed to temporary Partition and the suspension of the Home Rule Act then on the British Statute Book. Gradually the Welsh attorney declared openly for permanent Partition, ingeniously placing the responsibility on Premier Asquith, whom he soon ousted, and succeeded. John Redmond and John Dillon, though enraged by the betrayal, pledged their unwavering support to England during the War; and the new Premier, became the architect in turn, of an Irish Convention—to deceive the United States—of the Partition Act of 1920, the Black-and-Tan reign of terror, the Treaty so-called, and the Irish Boundary Commission.

Two organisations seeking aid for the dependents of those executed, killed, wounded, imprisoned, or deported for their part in the Easter Rising, having been amalgamated under the title of the Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund in the summer of 1916, the Irish race responded most generously to the Appeal issued by the new body. Meanwhile the Irish Nation League, organised in the North to resist Partition, afforded a very useful and propitious platform. Its objects included the release of all Republican prisoners, resistance to Conscription, the preservation of the national language, traditions and ideals. Its Constitution provided that no member of Parliament should be eligible for its Supreme Council or for a Divisional Council; and, if a member of the Supreme Council were elected to Parliament, he ceased to be a member of the Council. Further, every Member of Parliament was to place all payments received by him from the British Treasury in the hands of the Council, which would pay him back such sums as it might fix. Moreover, no Member of Council or of Parliament was to seek for himself or for others any position or favour from the British Government or from any of its representatives.

The bulk of the deportees in English gaols having been released by Christmas, 1916, the Irish Nation League and Sinn Féin were drawn more closely together. On my way home with Arthur Griffith from one of the preliminary meetings which eventuated in the Nation League becoming merged in Sinn Féin, I was arrested, in February, 1917, when prominent Republicans from all parts of Ireland—including the Mayors of Cork, later martyred—were rounded up and deported to various centres in England. Count Plunkett had just been selected to contest a Roscommon constituency, where he had a most striking victory. Forthwith he became the special target of the Parliamentary Party, and a National Conference which he organised met with the envenomed opposition of the Party machine.

In March, the Australian Senate, by 28 votes to 2, carried a motion demanding Home Rule for Ireland; later, an Australian Labour Conference repeated the demand. Pro-Irish feeling in the United States was also very pronounced, and citizens of the eminence of Cardinal Gibbons and Messrs. Roosevelt and Taft identified themselves with it. From most of the great cities of the world, indeed, lively expressions of sympathy with Irish liberty came on the occasion of the National Festival. Hosts of able-bodied English

present a Government cup to somebody once in a blue moon to afford an opportunity to pose before the camera—while nominally having other onerous duties to discharge, and actually enjoying an income of thousands—had he gone and explained all this, how would he and it have been received?

Had the author of the Constitution added that—when he was safely returned to power and had ensured an increase of 33⅓ per cent. in the salaries of docile Deputies, with something much handsomer for the Ministers, and fat pensions for the pawns—it was his intention that the Constitution should become the mother of twin babies, to be named Treason Bill and, let us say, Execution Bill, what would have been its fate, and his? For such constitutional methods it is difficult to find any more appropriate name than political sharp practice; and, only that I do not desire to detain you unduly, I could show that neither the Constitutions nor the Treason Bills sponsored by successive Free State Governments ever had, either within Leinster House or outside it, more than a modicum of the public approval that would warrant their enactment. Only 50 per cent. of the members of the Senate voted on the Death Penalty clause of the Offences Against the State Bill; of these, only 17 as against 13 voted in its favour and, of the 17, many voted, not according to their convictions or their judgment, but in favour of the Government. Manifestly, legislation so carried has neither public approval nor moral sanction, and every conscientious Christian will see something more than poetic justice in the recent ignominious breakdown of this instrument of tyranny masquerading under a Christian mantle. The repetition, these days, of England's old pretence that Irish juries cannot be trusted to give verdicts in accordance with the evidence—that is, of course, the verdicts desired by Tyranny—is beneath contempt.

This brings me to the reference to External Association. Regarding that, let me say at once that no member of Dáil Éireann, Government of the Republic of 1921, had ever heard of Document No. 2 or its External Association until the crisis in the debate at University Buildings, Dublin; and the idea would never have emanated from men like Cathal Brugha or be entertained by them, except in a desperate effort to get out of the morass in which successive visits to London had landed us. It had been stated previously from the same source that Cathal Brugha said there was nothing Republicans could do after the "Treaty," but work for the Irish language—Cathal Brugha who, at the debate on that instrument, challenged its advocates to accompany him to the North and there deal with Partition and the Pogrom; Cathal Brugha who,—in his deathless speech in opposition to the "Treaty" and to entering the Empire—gave this vivid forecast of the manner of his own heroic death:

"Here," he said,—"when we are in so strong a position and England so weak, and with so many enemies as she has, now more than ever,—here we are asked to do such a thing as this. Why, if instead of being so strong, our last cartridge had been fired, our last shilling spent, our last man lying on the ground, his enemies howling around him, and their bayonets ready to plunge into his body, that man should say, true to the traditions handed down to us,—if they should put it to him: 'Now, will you come into our Empire?' he should say, and he would say: 'No, I will not!' That is the spirit that has lasted all through the centuries, and you people in favour of 'the Treaty' know that the British Government and the British Empire will have gone down for ever before that spirit dies out in Ireland."

There, is a complete answer to the pretence repeated some time ago in the Gresham Hotel that "the Republican Government of 1921 decided, as one man, that a form of association such as we have at present would be tolerable"—in other words, that external association, or any other association, with the British Commonwealth of Nations was voluntarily accepted by Cathal Brugha, whose dominating thought was whether the English guns already trained on the Four Courts' garrison could be spiked or taken as he and I and Eamonn de Valera parted at Republican headquarters after midnight, June 28th, 1922.

How can any red-blooded Irishman harbour the idea of association with England which has its Black-and-Tans and its bombing planes in the Holy Land to convert it into a permanent stepping-stone to Iraq and Afghanistan, where her bombing planes are still more active, while she foments recurrent racial discords between Moslem and Hindu in India as a countermove to the universal demand for self-government there, as she has been

the annual Oireachtas of the Gaelic League, held this time in Waterford, afforded the opportunity for a joyous reunion of released prisoners and old comrades, who overflowed at its close into the election area:

"Kilkenny has followed Clare in repudiating the policy of a constitutional settlement of our secular quarrels with Great Britain and in declaring uncompromisingly for an Irish Republic," said the *Freeman's Journal* in despair, August 11th.

"We will fight against England until we have the same government as other free nations have," declared the successful candidate. "Holding up the Sinn Féin flag, Mr. de Valera called for 'three cheers for the Irish Republic,' and they were heartily given."

Eoin MacNeill, speaking in Derry in September, said Gen. Maxwell had visited him in Arbour Hill and asked him to make a statement, which he declined to do. Major Price then visited him, and said his life would be spared on condition that he made a statement implicating John Dillon and Joseph Devlin. The following Sunday at Omagh, Eamonn de Valera said:

"If Orangemen are Irishmen they will come into this movement; but, if they still continue to be the tools of England and the English garrison in Ireland, we must make up our minds to fight them. . . . But we say to them now: 'Come into our movement as your forefathers did in '98; be a part of the Irish nation; and, though you have been planted in the land inhabited by the ancient Irish people, we are ready to forget that and, if you are men, you won't ask us to forget any more."

Towards the end of September the 26th session of the Irish Convention was held in Cork, and Sir Horace Plunkett, excusing the secrecy of its whole proceedings, hypocritically said:

"I confess the Convention made me hope as I never hoped before that I should live to see that change of heart out of which alone a real new Ireland can be born. At the worst, we shall have gradually narrowed the differences which keep Irishmen apart. At the best, over the wide field of our labours, Irishmen of the North and of the South will continue to meet and, in the larger patriotism, say to one another: 'My country is thy country' and, in the larger charity: 'My God is thy God'!"

That morning, news of the tragic death of Thomas Ashe had shocked the nation. Next day the Irish Convention adjourned in Cork to have a luncheon at sea, with an American warship as escort, and there Plunkett renewed his nauseating platitudes. As the remains of Tom Ashe were being removed that night from the Mater Hospital to the pro-Cathedral, British military lorries burst into the vast cortege at Dorset Street, affording a pungent foretaste of subsequent Black-and-Tan methods. Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty sent a public protest against the killing of the young patriot and the slow doing to death of his comrades.

"But their deaths will sanctify them in the eyes of Ireland and surround their heartless torturers with inextinguishable hatred and ignominy." His Lordship added that "the system of treating Irish political prisoners was a disgrace to civilisation."

The Ashe funeral was as impressive as any of the historic funerals of Ireland's partiot dead. In a long and detailed letter, Dr. Sigerson threw the whole blame for the Mountjoy tragedy on the judges who sentenced the prisoners and on the jailors.

A proposed Redistribution of Seats Bill involving the manipulation of constituency boundaries was resented by the Irish Party about this time as a kind of anti-climax to the Irish Convention. Unceasing efforts were being made also to drive a wedge between the Gaelic League and the Republican movement. The Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis towards the end of October repudiated the right of England to rule or to exercise authority in Ireland, and declared its aim to be to secure the international recognition of Ireland as an Irish Republic. "Having secured that status, the Irish people might by referendum freely choose their own form of government,"—the tail being an ill-advised concession to the vacillation of Arthur Griffith and of others not then suspect. But Cathal Brugha in proposing a Constitution for the organisation firmly said:

"What we seek is the sovereign independence of Ireland. A challenge has been thrown out by Lloyd George, who is reported to have said that the sovereign independence of Ireland could not be tolerated. These are the people who, we are told, are out for the freedom of small nationalities. This is the gentleman who has proclaimed to the world that he has left it to the Irish people to devise a scheme for working out their own regeneration. And, though having made that statement, he now comes forward and says that the sovereign independence of Ireland cannot be tolerated. Are you going to allow a gentleman who has been referred to as a Welsh adventurer to suggest that we are to remain a slave nation for all time? I rather fancy not, or ye would not be here to-day.

Mr. de Valera's resolution states that once the Admission Oath of the Twenty-six County and the Six-County Assemblies is removed, it becomes a question not of principle, but of policy, whether or not Republican representatives should attend these Assemblies. Fr. O'Flanagan's amendment was as follows: It is incompatible with the fundamental principles of Sinn Féin, as it is injurious to the honour of Ireland, to send representatives into any usurping legislature set up by English law in Ireland.

The amendment was carried by 223 votes to 218, but—so averse were the delegates to a further split—it received but 177 votes as against 179 on being put as a substantive motion. The President resigned next day and, instead of abiding by majority rule, helped to establish Fianna Fáil. When the matter came up at Dáil Eireann subsequently he was put in a minority also. Refusing to accept the adverse vote as a vote of want of confidence, his deposition, as President of the Republic, was formally moved by Miss McSwiney with much reluctance, and carried.

Despite this disregard of majority rule, repeated again and again, Mr. de Valera said at the inaugural meeting of Fianna Fáil, May, 1926—in an address of which I have only recently read an "amplified" report:

"I am assuming that you know in substance the resolution which I brought forward at the recent Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. The central point was this—that we should invite the people to smash the oath and, when the oath was smashed, that Republican representatives should meet the other representatives of the people and deliberate with them in the national interest, accepting no other constitution than the natural right of the people to have the laws under which they live determined freely by their own elected representatives. I did not stipulate for a majority, he went on, in a strange eagerness to join the traitors who had immolated our martyrs. "Whether Republicans were a majority, or a minority, the proposal would stand. . . . . Republicans admit that majority rule is an inevitable rule of order—a rule that cannot be set aside in a democracy without the gravest consequences. But . . . . there are rights, even of an individual, not to speak of a large minority in a nation, which no majority is justified in destroying"—as there are to-day, although some in high places may forget the fact.

What Mr. de Valera did aim at actually, as has been shown, was to bring faithful Republicans in there as a minority; but he tried to veil it in a mist of words, and went on to say:

"Further delay on our part would be senseless. Some who oppose the policy I suggest say that it is being brought forward too soon, while others hold that it is being brought forward too late. . . . If, even now, when so many things have happened which should incline Republicans to go to the greatest lengths to rescue the nation from the position into which it has been brought, one-half the official body of Sinn Féin will not accept the policy even though there is no substitute Republican policy in the field to meet the conditions with which we have to deal, what is the ground for supposing that my proposals would have a more favourable reception at an earlier period? As for the view of those who think I should wait longer and set about converting the Sinn Féin organisation from within, I ask what hope of success is there in that direction, seeing that the objection that is being made by many to the proposals is that they are contrary to Republican principle." He added his familiar old simile about a man and his brother being deprived of a farm, the brother getting it back on conditions not honourable, and the right of the other to cultivate it still.

Of course there is no use in arguing with a person who professes to see a parallel between a man deprived of land he held jointly with an unprincipled brother and getting back to it somehow under the unprincipled brother's shield, and the Republicans who regard Leinster House as an edifice they never owned and are determined not to enter. To refer to any Deputy there as the representative of a sovereign people—as he boldly did—is like trifling with the public intelligence. I quote the passage at such length only to controvert the statement that Sinn Féin then had no substitute policy, a statement brazenly repeated for some reason on the eve of the recent projected visit to the United States. Not only had it a policy, as I have shown, but Mr. de Valera at that inaugural meeting of Fianna Fáil took and presented essential parts of the Sinn Féin policy as his own. For example, he said:

"In 1921 when the negotiations in London were going on, and I believed there might be a successful issue to these negotiations in a Treaty which we could accept, I set out, naturally, to plan for the future. The most urgent need obviously was to secure immediate employment for the large number of young men who had obeyed the call to remain in the country and had given of their best towards the winning of freedom. There was no lack of useful national work to be done. Organisation and capital were all that were required to set it going. The whole question of transport was awaiting to be tackled comprehensively, and water, rail and roadways co-ordinated and improved so as best to serve the needs of the community. The re-making of the roads alone would have given employment distributed throughout the country to large numbers. There was the vast work of re-afforestation. . . . . Then there was the national work of Reclamation and Drainage and the development of our water and fuel power. Again there were our Fisheries, which might be built up to be our second great industry—an industry entitled to our special care, as it is the natural staple industry of our Irish-speaking seaboard. The housing problem called for a great national scheme. . . . Then, too, there were the ranches to be dealt with. . . . The capital for all this, I had hoped, in the enthusiasm of newly-born freedom, to be able to secure largely at home as required. Vast deposits are being held in our banks, and these deposits are being used chiefly to build up foreign countries."

that the people must now go on or go under. Speaking in the Dublin Mansion House in support of the National Aid Fund on January 19th, 1918, Eamonn de Valera quoted John Redmond as having said in Chicago in 1886 :

"The principle embodied in the Irish movement is just the same principle which was the salt of every Irish movement for the last seven centuries, the principle of rebellion against the rule of strangers, the principle which Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill vindicated at Benburb, which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and for which Emmet sacrificed his life." Yes, Mr. de Valera commented : "Irishmen trusted John Redmond in the past because they believed he meant these things. He was not John Redmond of the hundred surrenders then. He was not John slithering on his knees backwards before Carson. . . . The people of Ireland who are at present standing by John Redmond did not want to be regarded as turncoats by deserting their leader. Let them remember they are not deserting their leader : their leader has deserted them." How the same cap fits successive leaders !

Three days later he wrote in a long public letter : "We have no enemy but England, and England will be our enemy until she renounces her usurpation." At this time Sir Edward Carson, manifestly in obedience to the Ulster Unionist Council, resigned his seat in the British Cabinet so that he could take an independent stand on the findings of the Irish Convention. Towards the end of the month Eamonn de Valera, speaking at Bessbrook in the course of the Armagh election, said :

"The Unionists of the North must make up their minds as to whether they will be the British garrison or be Irishmen. If they are content to be the British garrison, we have only one thing to do, and that is *not* to try and conciliate them. You have seen the effect of conciliation in 'Ulster's' attitude towards the Convention. . . . . The Unionists are a rock on the road. . . . . We must make up our minds not to be peddling with the rock. We must, if necessary, blast it out of our path."

The collapse of Russia enabled the Germans to transfer 75 new Divisions to the Western front at that juncture, and the Allies' great problem now was : "Where will the German blow fall ?" Devastating air raids fairly terrorised London. Lloyd George appealed to the Colonies for aid, but it was pointed out that Australia's casualties, for example, already numbered some 43,330 killed, and 116,150 wounded. The Redistribution of Seats' Bill passed the Lords early in February. Speaking at Letterkenny on the 9th of that month, Mr de Valera said :

"Ulster's case was the case of a robber coming into another man's house and taking a room in it as his own. . . . . John Redmond had become a Unionist of the Unionists, and the Ulster Orangemen were a hanged sight more Sinn Féiners than Mr. Redmond was."

Countless Allied ships were being sunk, and the aerial bombardment of London continued. Diarmuid Lynch commandeered a drove of fat pigs on their way to the North Wall for export on the 22nd ; and by the end of the month Germany attacked the whole Allied line, American and Portuguese troops suffering severely.

John Redmond was reported seriously ill, March 6th ; next day his death was announced ; within a week John Dillon was chosen to succeed him. Air raids on London towards the middle of the month were followed by similar attacks on Paris, which, by the 25th, was bombarded by the famous gun, Big Bertha, at a range of 72 miles. At this stage Germany, with half-a-million men on the British front, took 16,000 prisoners and 200 guns ; next drove the whole Allied line far back, the British now losing 45,000 prisoners, and *the Irish fighting rearguard actions to cover the British retreat.* On the 27th, British, French and Americans are reported fighting side by side, the first substantial evidence that the American troops, who were "at fighting point" in February, 1917, were co-operating in France, although war had been declared since the middle of the previous April—practically for twelve months. With the Germans only 11 miles from Amiens, Marshal Haig shrieked ; and Lloyd George squealed in a message to the United States towards the end of the month :

"French and British are buoyed up with the knowledge that the great Republic of the West will neglect no effort which can hasten its ships and troops to Europe," he cabled. "Attacked by an immense superiority of German troops, our army has been forced to retire."

Not long subsequently, some 20,000 British prisoners and 200 guns were taken by the Germans, apart from 50 British officers and 3,000 men who, like true Boys of the Bulldog Breed, laid down their arms, and so Haig reported :

Much that is misleading has been written about the nomination of delegates to London soon after. All I need say here on the subject is that Cathal Brugha stated very definitely that he would not go. Many of them knew, he added, that when he did go to London it was on an entirely different mission. There is no ground for pretending that any other delegate had any hesitation whatever about going. The "Treaty," unfortunately, soon came, and I do not intend to dwell on it here beyond saying that before Eamonn de Valera's resignation of the Presidency on the 6th January, 1922, he said in University Buildings, Dublin—with Cathal Brugha at his side :

"I stand definitely for the Irish Republic as it was established—as it was proclaimed in 1916—as it was constitutionally established by the Irish people in 1919 ; I stand for that definitely, and I will stand for no policy whatever that is not consistent with that."

I was abroad practically all through 1922, 1923 and 1924, and do not care to dwell on a period in which I had little participation here. But I do not hesitate to say that it was for the Republic and nothing but the Republic, Deputies like Cathal Brugha and Liam Mellowes, Joe MacDonagh and Erskine Childers, and soldiers like Charlie Daly, Rory O'Connor, Richard Barrett and Joe McKelvey as well as their noble comrades all gave their lives in 1922. On the death of Liam Lynch, April 12th, 1923, Eamonn de Valera addressing the "soldiers of the Republic, bulwark of our nation's honour and independence," said :

"Faced in arms by former comrades who have deserted from your side, your task is a hard one and a sad one. It is a task which only heroes would venture. You have to fling yourselves across the path of the stampede of a nation. But it is better to die nobly as your chief has died than live a slave. . . . When Emmet's epitaph can be written, coupled with his loved name will be the names of all who give their lives now that Ireland may not be false to herself."

Equally do I say that the subsequent suggestions about entering the Free State Parliament which we find interwoven in some of the so-called Republican documents of 1923 did not emanate either from the faithful soldiers of the Republic or from the plain people who remained and remain ever loyal to the Republic. Neither did they emanate from the Sinn Féin organisation, or from Dáil Eireann, Government of the Republic. But before I pass to the proofs which present themselves later, let me quote a most significant speech by Premier Ramsay MacDonald towards the end of 1924 which reveals the bare-faced duplicity by which the Boundary, the Free State Constitution and other English Acts, designed to shackle Ireland, were consummated. Moving the Second Reading of the Irish Boundary Bill, MacDoland said, as reported in the London *Times*, October 1st, 1924 :

"An adjustment of the boundary was a vital part of the Treaty. The drafting of it was faulty : the machinery for adjusting the Boundary cannot be set up and, in consequence, the whole Agreement is brought into jeopardy. . . . . At some inconvenience to himself, I understand, and to his Government, Mr. Bonar Law dissolved Parliament in 1922, and fixed the date of the General Election at the shortest possible notice, so as to enable legislation to be passed in time to establish the Free State by December 6th. Matters so fell out in October that there was scarcely an hour to spare, and you will observe that the Free State Constitution Act was only passed in time to receive the Royal assent on December 5, 1922. The Free State Government was only constituted a few hours before the Provisional Government would have lapsed.". And "the Free State Constitution Act, which embodies the Treaty once and for all in our Imperial Constitution, was passed through all its stages in both Houses without a single division.

"When application was made by the Free State that it be admitted to the League of Nations, and the application was strongly supported by the representatives of the British Government, the usual Questionnaire asked : 'Does the country possess a stable government and well-defined boundaries ?' The Sub-Committee replied in the affirmative . . . . but the matter is qualified as follows : 'The Sub-Committee has been informed that provision for the full delimitation of a part of the country had been made in the Treaty of December 6, 1921, and embodied in the fundamental law constituting the Irish Free State.'"

Loyal "Ulster" having ignored Ramsay MacDonald's appeal to nominate its member on the Boundary Commission, the Labour Government had to introduce legislation authorising England to nominate two of the three members—in open violation of the "Treaty." While this was being rushed through Parliament, the Labour Government was defeated ; the Bill was nominally passed and obtained the Royal Assent by Commission, and there was really no Parliament when England appointed the second of the three members constituting the Boundary Commission. Such is English legislation ! Appropriately at this juncture Lord Carson published Lloyd George's treacherous private letter of May, 29th, 1916, urging that "Ulster" refuse absolutely to be merged in the rest of Ireland.

Early in June, Sir James Campbell, later Lord Glenavy, became Lord Chancellor. The alien machine seemed again complete; but Lord French, faced by an unflinching people's will, forthwith issued such a relatively tame appeal for voluntary Irish recruits that even the *Freeman's Journal* declared conscription was already dead. Soon afterwards seven prominent Irish Republicans were arrested in Australia, because "they planned to send volunteers to fight for Irish liberty." Arthur Griffith, despite unworthy opposition on the part of the Dillonites, was elected for Cavan by a majority of 1,204. Dublin Castle continued to exercise its despotism against a people growing more resolute every day. But Germany, which at the time of the deportations showed every prospect of winning the war, now evinced growing signs of exhaustion as the United States sent division after division of its promised three million men to the rescue of the quaking Allies. And so, on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month came the Armistice, duly followed by a crushing peace for the Central Powers. The General Election here at the end of the year eliminated the Irish Parliamentary Party from the national life, and gave the Republicans a representation exceeding 70 per cent. of all Ireland's Deputies—a grateful country's appreciation of the resolute men who had defeated conscription.

II.—ON THE ROCK OF THE REPUBLIC.

The newly-elected representatives of the Irish people, as far as they were free, assembled in the Mansion House, Dublin, January 21st, 1919, at what was one of the most inspiring gatherings in Ireland's history. The Declaration of Independence, unanimously adopted by Dáil Éireann at that inaugural meeting, had these two clauses:

Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Sunday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people: Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish Nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic, and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command.

The document, having been approved, Cathal Brugha, who presided, and spoke entirely in Irish, said:

"You understand from what has been asserted in this Declaration that we are now done with England. Let the world know it, and let those who are concerned bear it seriously in mind."

In the beginning of February, Eamonn de Valera was rescued from Lincoln Gaol, and remained for some time out of reach of the sleuth-hounds in England. March 6th, Piaras MacCana, T.D., died a deportee in Gloucester Gaol. That night it was announced at Westminster that Irish deportees and Irish political prisoners in England would be released forthwith. It was decided then to give Eamonn de Valera a public welcome at the city gates in Dublin. But all meetings were instantly proclaimed, and armed forces were drafted into the city; so the public reception was cancelled at Mr. de Valera's request. He was present at the second session of Dáil Éireann, April 1st, and elected Priomh-Aire. A week later, at the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, the following pledge was unanimously adopted for local elections:

"I hereby pledge my allegiance to the Irish Republic and I promise to work for its universal recognition."

Early in May a special session of Dáil Éireann publicly welcomed three delegates from the United States who came to press on President Wilson in Paris Ireland's claim to representation at the Peace Conference. The Greater Ireland beyond the Seas was wide awake. On June 6th, the United States' Senate, with one dissentient, passed the following resolution:—

"The Senate of the United States earnestly requests the American Peace Commission at Versailles to endeavour to secure for Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith and George Noble Count Plunkett a hearing before the Peace Conference in order that they may present the case of Ireland. And further, the Senate of the United States expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of their own choice."

In the second week of June, 1919, President de Valera unexpectedly landed in the United States, having nominated Arthur Griffith as President-Substitute in his absence. At the ensuing session of the Dáil, June 17th,

President, Michael Collins, who came in a little late, and Kevin O'Higgins; next them, along the other side of the table but well back also, Ernest Blythe, whose figure alone has become somewhat obscure to my vision, William Cosgrave and Count Plunkett, between whom and the President sat the Secretary, Diarmuid O'Hegarty.

Great part of the President's opening discourse referred to my own attitude at Madame O'Rahilly's, which evidently had been fully reported to him. He then asked the Secretary to read the Lloyd George proposals and the draft reply. That done, he said he would ask everyone's opinion individually in the order in which they were seated, and so called upon Arthur Griffith—"though indeed," he added, "the draft is largely your own."

"It represents my views fully," Arthur returned.

Joseph MacDonagh "could not, of course, give a considered opinion"; but his criticism, as far as it went, was keen.

Austin Stack, evidently displeased that he had gone to London, said he was dissatisfied with the whole situation, and more than anxious that we could get back to the old position.

Robert Barton repeated objections he had expressed in London, where he had said the President could not be the bearer of such proposals to Ireland: his dissatisfaction was very manifest and his criticism searching.

Erskine Childers discussed the matter at considerable length in close detail, and was very hostile to the offer.

John MacNeill, on the other hand, welcomed it as a far better offer than he had ever hoped for: it would be short-sighted and unwise not to give it the most sympathetic consideration.

I, when my turn came, could not help feeling that the President's opening remarks referred in great part to myself. I objected, at Madame O'Rahilly's, I explained, to the departure from the decision unanimously taken before my arrest, and having strong convictions on the matter, I owed it to myself and to the cause to state them. Ireland had a traditional objection to entering the enemy's house: Malachy's entering the house of Brian Boru was one of many examples. We must be careful, above all, not to let the enemy divide us when elements of friction were already manifest. Even, elections have caused lasting ill-feeling in the past, and I had witnessed faction-fighting with sticks and other weapons recurring as a result of them. We were largely armed now, and a conflict would lead to bloodshed for which we would be loathed. Nor must we let England rush us at this stage. Our struggle had been going on for 750 years; and we must now give ourselves ample time to consider our position, however eager England may be for a reply. I therefore recommend that the documents be circulated and that we re-assemble when in a position to offer considered opinions on them.

The Countess on her way to the meeting had met the mother of one of the boys killed in the fight and, having had a long talk with her, she almost determined never again to be responsible for anything that would bring so much anguish on an Irish mother. "However, I have already changed my mind somewhat. What Sceilg has said may stand for me."

"You all know my opinion," was, in substance, about as much as Michael Collins said; and Kevin O'Higgins did not think it appropriate that he should speak when his chief, Mr. Cosgrave, was present. Of Ernest Blythe I do not feel I can justly say anything. Part of that side of the room was obscure, and so remains: what emerges is the clouded figure of Blythe signifying his acquiescence in the attitude of Griffith and MacNeill.

William Cosgrave jauntily endorsed the view of Prof. MacNeill: a better offer than some of us ever expected!

The machinery of the British Government was completely disorganised in Ireland by this time, and the Black-and-Tans and kindred murder gangs were the only instruments remaining to English tyranny. Tomás MacCurtain, Commandant of the Cork Brigade and Mayor of the City, was assassinated on the night of March 19th, 1920. A Cork jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Lloyd George, Lord French, Ian MacPherson and three Inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary for his assassination. His dual office was soon filled by Terence MacSwiney. In ten days the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, came up for Second Reading at Westminster, but no Irish representative identified himself with it. It is noteworthy, however, that on May 18th, Sir Edward Carson intimated that his Carrion Crows wanted to get six of the nine counties of Ulster because, as he clumsily said :

" If we were saddled with these other three counties, you would bring in from these three counties into the Northern Province an additional 200,000 Roman Catholics." Callously he went on : " the inclusion of the six counties only would bring under the jurisdiction of the North of Ireland Parliament 820,000 Protestants out of 890,000 in the whole Province. On the other hand, while you leave out 70,000 Protestants who are in these three counties, you would bring in from these three counties into the Northern Province an additional 260,000 Roman Catholics "—and they might swamp the Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people. So the Carrion Crows abandoned the 70,000 Loyalists to the tender mercies of Southern Ireland.

On July 17th, the Dáil Loan was closed in Ireland, having been over-subscribed by £40,000. At that session of the Dáil, it was decided to send a message to President de Valera, who had already got into serious friction in America, to the effect that

"Dáil Éireann . . . . expresses complete satisfaction with the work you have performed, and relies with confidence upon the great American nation to accord recognition to the Republic of Ireland, now in fact and in law established."

The message was signed by Arthur Griffith as Substitute-President and by myself as Chairman.

August 12th, 1920, Terence MacSwiney was arrested. His fast unto death in Brixton prison elevated the Irish cause in the eyes of the world to an eminence it can hardly ever hope to reach again. His dying request that he be buried in the uniform of a soldier of the Irish Republic has eternally transformed that garb into the habit of a martyr. When his remains were kidnapped from Euston and conveyed from Holyhead to Cork in a British warship, Ireland was indeed confronted with a reign of terror. What England's murder gang left undone here, her interlopers encompassed more effectively. Their shrewdest move perhaps, was, to seize a few gullible men, who had reached widely varying degrees of prominence in the Republican movement for one reason or another or no valid reason at all, and confine them in the infirmary of Mountjoy Gaol where, I was subsequently assured by reliable witnesses, they had access to each other late and early and visits from agents of the alien Government. In a volume entitled " The Irish Republic," and referred to, in a Preface by Mr. de Valera, as " a complete and authoritative record " of its history—although a whole lecture would be required to correct and clear up its inaccuracies and omissions—we find this statement in reference to the period in question, and it is typical of the whole work :

" Arthur Griffith, Acting President of the Republic, and Prof. Eoin MacNeill were arrested on November 26th. President de Valera was then at the climax of his labours in the United States. Michael Collins became Acting President. Arthur Griffith might have been expected to nominate, as his successor in office, Cathal Brugha, but Michael Collins was Head of the I.R.B. According to the Fenian tradition, the head of the Brotherhood was the real head of the whole movement and of the Revolutionary Government. Thus Collins was merely succeeding officially to the position which was already accorded him secretly by the I.R.B."

" This statement, except for the opening detail, is as far from the facts as any such statement could well be. On the arrest of Arthur Griffith, I, as Chairman of the Dáil, presided at more than one Cabinet meeting. I remember one afternoon—as inclement an evening as I can recall—as I wrapped myself in raincoat, cap and leggings to get from Glasnevin to a meeting of the Ministry in a private house in Drumcondra, a friend, who is now, I regret, a Free State Deputy, rushed in to tell me he had just been speaking to a lady who had visited Mountjoy that moment and assured him that authorised persons from Dublin Castle had been there to see certain

prisoners, and that peace was at hand. As I walked down Whitworth Road at the back of Mountjoy four Black-and-Tan lorries came sweeping up. Despite the weather the third stopped to scrutinise me, and the fourth ; but seeing, no doubt, that I was a harmless old man, they soon proceeded on their way.

I presided at the Cabinet meeting ; but, so little did we heed such rumours at the time that I didn't even mention what I had heard from Mountjoy. The Secretary produced a letter brought from the prison by Arthur Griffith's solicitor. In it the imprisoned Substitute-President nominated Cathal Brugha to fill his place ; in the event of Cathal being unable to act, he nominated Austin Stack ; and, should Austin Stack not consent, then Michael Collins. Cathal would not act : his army work engaged all his thoughts and all his energy ; and, as he pointed out, he had already been President. Austin could not act : he was pulling down the citadels of alien law ; setting up Republican Courts, and organising Republican police. " Come, Micheál," I said to the third nominee ; " sit into this chair, and we'll all do our best to help you." " As no one else will," he answered, " I suppose I must." We transacted our business and, as I helped Cathal into his heavy coat before he got on his bicycle to ride away, his gun dropped on the floor. " If you meet the Black-and-Tans ! " I suggested in Irish. " If I do not pass them on suffrance," he replied, in Irish, as usual, " I am always ready to fight my way through."

Miss Macardle in " The Irish Republic," says further on this matter :

" Dr. Clune visited Lloyd George in London on December 1st,"—five days after the arrest of Griffith, be it noted. " He found him willing to consider a truce, crossed to Ireland, and saw Arthur Griffith in Mountjoy Gaol, December 3rd. There, terms were drafted in consultation with other Republican prisoners and, at their suggestion, were shown by Dr. Clune to Michael Collins on the following day. Griffith and Collins were willing to advise the Dáil to agree to a truce on terms which would not involve a surrender of arms." Who asked Dr. Clune to visit Lloyd George ?

The " other Republican prisoners " referred to here as taken into consultation included the late Eamonn Duggan and Michael Staines, men of no acumen whatever in the domain of serious diplomacy. Even Griffith and MacNeill, though experienced and educated, utterly lacked the fibre to conduct international negotiations with firmness, and this development in the prison should never have been entertained or tolerated. A truce was aimed at in quarters least suspect, and intriguers tried to throw the blame for hitches that arose on Fr. Michael O'Flanagan. To Ireland's detriment, as I think, Cope of the Castle had already become too familiar with certain Republican Deputies, although there were others of them he could never reach. I do not care to dwell on the results. Before the younger people here to-night have reached my age they will have realised that nothing is more distasteful to a public man than adverse criticism of former comrades,—especially of comrades who have passed away.

Cork city was burned down by Black-and-Tans on the night of December 11th, and England, of course, tried to make its burning appear to be the work of Sinn Féiners, as she had sought to saddle Sinn Féiners with the assassination of Lord Mayor MacCurtain. Some days later, Canon Magner and Timothy Crowley were shot dead near Dunmanway by Auxiliaries from Macroom. President de Valera was back in Ireland Christmas Day.

Early in the New Year the Dáil was convened, but at the last moment the President was advised by Cabinet colleagues not to attend. As a matter of fact, we all narrowly escaped arrest. The Deputies, however, did not wish to disperse without hearing the returned President's report, so he attended a meeting later. Some time subsequently there was a very full meeting of the Ministry at the house of Mrs. Humphreys, Ballsbridge. Negotiations being already afoot, it was decided unanimously that there be no conference with Lloyd George except in a neutral country—and France was regarded as mutually acceptable. Everybody seemed hard as granite.

The night following the assassination of the Mayor, ex-Mayor and another citizen of Limerick, I was again arrested, and so was not able to attend the next meeting of the Dáil. Nor was Cathal Brugha. The Reign

ORIGINAL

STATEMENT OF MR. J.J. O'KELLY (SCEILG),

The 1898 Commemoration.

I was very much impressed by the 1898 celebration of the centenary in Dublin. I saw it pass down Middle Abbey-Street; where it formed up, I am not now quite sure. Near the head of it was John Dillon, the Irish Parliamentary Party having been pretty prominent in it. It was not a really imposing turnout, but it was very representative, as far as was then possible: the St. Patrick's Day processions we had later for the Gaelic League were far more striking. After that, Irish-Americans openly took an interest in the movement here.

The South African war broke out at that time, and John MacBride's name was soon on everybody's lips. He was a cousin of Fr. Peter Yorke of San Francisco, later, Dr. Yorke. This fearless churchman came to Ireland with Dr. Henebry, Professor of Irish in Washington, and Fr. Fielding, a prominent Kilkenny man, then active in Chicago. While in Dublin, Dr. Yorke gave us a lecture for the Gaelic League at the Ancient Concert Rooms, Brunswick-Street (now Pearse-Street). I remember Michael Davitt at the lecture. An animated newspaper controversy arose as a result of the meeting, at which Dr. Yorke had spoken strongly on the Irish language and on the duty of the press towards such an essential element of the national

life. The 1798 centenary procession finished up that evening in Stephen's Green, and they laid the foundation stone of the Wolfe Tone memorial.

I don't know whether it was that evening of the centenary Count Plunkett was relieved of his gold watch. There was a lot of talk in the newspapers about it. The Count was prominent at all such functions. The Parliamentary Party put him forward for some election contest about that time, but my recollection is that he was beaten. He was Curator of the National Museum, and that was not a very onerous post for a man of his attainments and industry. He had little to do there except what he might initiate himself. There soon was a two years' Exhibition in Cork, and the Prince of Wales visited it. Count Plunkett was appointed Secretary because of his familiarity with art and kindred subjects, with his extensive travels and experience. He then returned to his post in the National Museum. I became intimate with him because he was President of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, of which in time I became Honorary Secretary. We used to meet every week, and I went frequently to his home. The Society went on simultaneously with the Gaelic League. In fact, it has never faded out, and I remain its Honorary Secretary. Quite a number of scholarly men in different countries were members of its Council; but they dropped off, one by one, while I was abroad, among the latest of them being Fr. Dineen, Henry Dixon, Donall O'Connor, James Halligan, Matthew Fitzpatrick and the Count

himself.

Soon after the 1798 centenary - in 1899 or 1900 - the Wolfe Tone processions to Bodenstown were organised. The Americans - I suppose it was the I.R.B. - sent over speakers to Bodenstown for a number of years. I met and remember some of them: Matthew Cummins of Boston, John T. Keating and Major McCrystal among them, although it may have been to the O'Growney funeral McCrystal came, with Laurence Brannick of Los Angeles and others.

There was the usual excitement on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit early in the century. We all got a holiday, and went to the Phoenix Park for an airing, where there was a "review of the troops". The Duke of Cambridge, who was her nephew or some relative, was Commander-in-Chief at the time and in charge of the military review. He had a marvellous voice, and could be heard all over the Phoenix Park. As we passed along, there was not much of a crowd, and her carriage which we saw in the distance seemed entirely forlorn. As a spectacle, the whole thing seemed - even to me, fresh from Kerry - entirely negligible. I remember the more enjoyable picnic for the children who did not attend the Queen's party. It was arranged by Maud Gonne who was already working actively against recruiting.

The Celtic Literary Society.

I was a member of the Celtic Literary Society. Arriving in Dublin on a Monday, I went on the following

Thursday night to join it, and remained associated with it all the time. In those days, newspapers were quite different to what they are now. It was from the press reports I learned all about the Celtic Literary Society before I left Valentia. They generally sent a reporter to the weekly meetings, and anything he sent in about the Society was published. Tadhg Ó Donnchadha was there the first night I attended, and spoke to me in Irish. I replied in Irish, although I was not then very fluent. "You must come to the Gaelic League", he said.

Maud Gonne spoke a few times at the Celtic Literary Society. She was an attractive personality and spoke very gracefully. She did not say very much - just a few sentences about the interesting lecture she had listened to with such pleasure, and perhaps a pregnant reference to recruiting for the British army, or to something that might be done for the children. We were not accustomed to anything like it from others. A member of the Society, Mary Quinn, who afterwards married Dudley Digges, became much attached to her. I unexpectedly met Mary with her husband many years later, out in the Twin Cities, and found her as much interested in Ireland as ever.

Willie Rooney was the backbone of the Celtic Literary Society. He was employed in Wallis's, who were, I think, carriers for the Post Office. He had a wonderful aptitude for poetry and, in the matter of general

information, was a regular encyclopaedia. I often heard him say: "If anyone has any doubt about that, he will find it on page so-and-so of such-and-such a book". In his zeal for a thorough mastery of Ireland's history, he burned himself out: of that, there can be no doubt. There was hardly a weekly meeting of the Society at which he did not lecture brilliantly or speak at some length.

One autumn, Willie and I went up to Belfast for the inaugural meeting of the Gaelic League there. When we got to the Belfast station, Maud Gonne, Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston were there to meet us. In Valentia, we used get the Sean-Bhean Bhocht, the periodical edited by the two latter ladies. Francis J. Biggar was at the meeting in Belfast, Dr. St. John Boyd, Dr. Moore and many other prominent Gaelic Leaguers like Conan Maol, J.J. Doyle and others, from different parts of the country, as well as from the Athens of the North.

Besides Rooney, there were some really brilliant if retiring men in the Celtic Literary Society, including Joe Ryan who used to travel for a boot firm, two Frank Ryans, both journalists, James Golden, a Sligo man, well connected in the West, T.P. Fox, Pat Bradley, Peter White and Mick Quinn, brother of Mary Quinn. All used to write articles and sketches for the manuscript journal, the Seanachie, which was read periodically at the meetings. That might truly be regarded as the nucleus of the Sinn Féin journals that followed.

James Golden and Joe Ryan were the men mainly responsible for such knowledge of economics as Arthur

Griffith showed. Apart from casual reading, he got his knowledge from them mainly, while T.P. Fox contributed to some degree. James Golden was an auditor. Barney Halligan and himself were associated with the firm of Kean and Company.

Another outstanding member of the Society was Pat Nally, secretary to Sir Charles Cameron, the City Analyst. He used to conduct an Irish class there. When Nally was laid up, I took his class, from time to time. He was a pioneer of Dublin's first pipers' club, Eamonn Ceannt and others being closely associated with him. Peter Macken's sisters used to come to the Society also, and two Miss Finns in whose home R.J. O'Mulrenan stayed. Máire Ní Chillin, later Mrs. O'Brolchain, also came. I soon came to live a few doors from the Celtic Literary rooms, Lower Abbey-Street, and so found it convenient to attend.

Major MacBride was not in the Celtic Literary Society in my time. Afterwards, when we became close friends, he told me every detail of his whole life. When he got married, we presented him with a harp. James Casey, Secretary of the Oireachtas, Pat Lavelle, a Northern solicitor, and others went to Paris to make the presentation, and his brother, Joe MacBride was in Paris also. I do not think that Arthur Griffith was associated with that presentation. Griffith was back from Africa, but I am not aware that he was then regarded as a close friend of Major MacBride. But, James Casey was a very close friend of his. I know I was very enthusiastic about the presentation. If there was any inscription or card, I

feel sure it must have been in Irish, for truly Irish-Ireland was then finding its voice. My feeling now is that John was a young chemist, and that the reason he went to Africa was that he did not care about Dublin and thought he would like to go abroad. I feel sure he told me more than once, but it made no lodgment in my memory.

His friend, Victor Collins, was a powerfully made man, stood well over six feet, and was as hard as steel. He was an outstanding journalist, and Paris correspondent of a leading New York journal. He once got advance information about an event of the highest international significance. It was quite exclusive, and created a sensation in America, so that he often talked about the marvellous scoop he had made. He had a brother, Fr. Collins, who became a chaplain in the British army with the rank of colonel. It remains in my memory because my brother-in-law, Fr. Thade O'Sullivan, was offered a similar office, but declined it. In that way, the ex-chaplain came to have a very substantial pension. Victor himself was a most extravagant man. He had two daughters who were well known in Paris, very handsome and really striking figures. One of them developing lung trouble, they had to go to Switzerland, where the uncle proved exceedingly kind. Victor was a man of the highest character. In the end, he lost his appointment in Paris and came over to Ireland. He taught for a time in Mount St. Benedict, Gorey. I would regard it as absurd, outrageous, for anyone to suggest that Major MacBride was influenced for ill by Victor Collins or anybody else.

The Major was a most Christian type of man - not a teetotaller, but not far removed from that as long as I knew him. It is true that tippling habits were once alleged against him, but that was bitterly resented in Dublin, both by those who knew him before he went to South Africa and those who came to know him only after his return. I personally witnessed a striking public manifestation of that resentment in Dublin, but do not wish to record its details here. It was a manifestation of Major MacBride's popularity, which no one could misunderstand. Yes, MacBride stood very high in people's estimation here, as did his brother, Anthony, and Victor Collins. I met them hundreds of time, and knew them intimately. Whenever Anthony came up from Castlebar, he and Victor sought me out, and nothing was excluded from our conversation. If Victor were alive, he would answer such whispers. Nor would the Major himself have it said either that Victor Collins had an evil influence on anybody. He was a very dignified man of really spirited outlook.

I would not like to express any opinion on the merits of the Gonne-MacBride case, not because I have not always had a high appreciation of her work for Ireland. She was always a friend of mine, and I always appreciated her strivings for our political prisoners and our oppressed peasantry, her opposition to recruiting for the British army, her general hostility to England. When I was young, there is no doubt about it, the people in this country were

slaves. A farmer could not whitewash his house without having his rent raised. Maud Gonne identified herself with the people, and it is by her work for the people I prefer to judge her. I knew as much as most people about the other matter referred to; but I never felt called upon to sit in judgment on it, nor do I now.

There is one incident which will show you the respect in which we held Victor Collins in the firm with which I have been associated for half-a-century. Dom Gougaud, a French Benedictine, got out a book in French, dealing largely with Ireland's early evangelists. At that time I was myself preparing a book on Early Ireland, and I took a substantial extract from Dom Gougaud's work because of his great tribute to the early Irish. In time, we got Victor Collins, who was then in Mount St. Benedict, to translate that book, and published it. If the firm did not have the greatest respect for Victor, would they have asked him to translate such a book?

The Gaelic League.

When first I came to Dublin I worked at Browne and Nolan's; and, shortly after, at the request of Willie Nolan, I became secretary also to the Master-Printers' Association. I was induced to leave a promising appointment in Browne and Nolan's and enter the office of the Gaelic League, a step I later regretted; for all my instincts kept calling to me to make my work for Ireland and her language absolutely a labour of love. In Valentia,

before I came to Dublin, we were already interested in Irish. The Gaelic League propaganda had penetrated that far. At that time the island, in great part, was still Irish-speaking. My mother, who was not brought up on the island, knew no Irish when she married and came to live in Valentia. Her people understood Irish. Before she was ten years married, she could speak Irish as fluently as anybody else in the Irish-speaking part of the island, which was from the middle to the far end. The part around the harbour was largely English-speaking. We used to have a couple of maid-servants who spoke nothing but Irish. A change occurred in the island about 1882, when the British Government financed emigration schemes that swept the island free of its working population. For two years - 1882 and 1883, I think - there was free emigration to America, with the result that all those who spoke Irish habitually were cleared out. Therefore, as I grew up, I did not speak Irish, but my ear was thoroughly trained. A number of operators at the Cable Station were English, but the majority were Irish, and these thought it their duty to uphold the Irish language, even though they spoke it little.

So, on the Friday of the first week of my arrival in Dublin in 1897, I joined the Gaelic League at 24, Upper O'Connell-street, where they had rooms upstairs over James Mackey's, the seed merchants. The League moved around a bit in the beginning, but eventually got that place beside the Gresham hotel. There they had their public meetings

and built up the movement. Then, we went to 25, Parnell Square, North, and still later to the Ashe Memorial Hall. We had intended to complete a magnificent hall there, and got a very substantial response to our appeal for funds. Then came the Split, and the scheme was lost sight of.

The first night I went to the Gaelic League, they thought they had a catch. "There's a man straight up from the Gaeltacht", they said; "he must make a speech; he has it from the cradle". I made a speech! After a short time, they got after me to leave Browne and Nolan's and go to the Gaelic League. I went as paid secretary, when the salary was anything but tempting. Charlie MacNeill, John's brother, was honorary secretary for a time, but quite unable to overtake the work, which expanded from week to week.

While in the Gaelic League office, I began to think very seriously about the literary and other competitions organised by the Oireachtas and the Dublin Feis, and, within a few years, literally "swept all before me". I won the coveted prize for an essay on the Influence of the Irish on European Civilisation; one for a Social History of Ireland till the Flight of the Earls; William O'Brien's prize at the Munster Feis for an essay on Brotherhood among Irish Nationalists; the "Freeman's" ten-guinea gold medals two years in succession; gold medals for original poetry, and valuable prizes for pieces suitable for recitation, collections of folk-lore and what not! The result was that I was invited to become Irish editor of the Freeman, Irish editor of William

O'Brien's Free Press, Irish editor of the Irish Packet; and M.H. Gill & Sons asked me to edit an Irish Reciter for the firm. So I gladly resigned my position in the Gaelic League; and, while giving adequate attention to this new journalistic and other work, I was able to devote three hours a day for three years - strictly as a labour of love - to the compilation of the Dinneen Irish Dictionary in the libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy. Meanwhile, we established the Keating Branch which certainly brought a new soul into the Gaelic League; and not only was I able to conduct Irish classes there but, simultaneously, I had Irish classes in two leading Dublin convents and in a leading college outside the city. We also established Banba, an exclusively Irish magazine.

R.J. O'Mulrenan, my predecessor in the Freeman, was their agricultural expert also. He had been educated on the Continent, and he told me he spoke thirteen languages. He was a very refined man. I remember he had a Stradivarius violin, and don't know what became of it. He left his magnificent library to the Gaelic League; but the League did not appreciate it. The books were scattered, and the library broken up, so that I am afraid there is scarcely a trace of it now.

I severed my connection with the Freeman under circumstances which reflected little credit on persons in high places in the Gaelic League, just as I had left the Gaelic League under circumstances which were not to their credit either. Acht, fágaimis siúd mar atá sé. Fortunately, I had no sooner left the Freeman than the M.H. Gill firm invited me to become their travelling

representative all over "the three Kingdoms", a post I found most interesting, until recalled to edit the Catholic Bulletin, founded January, 1911. I was, however, glad to be back again to resume contact with the Gaelic atmosphere I cherished, and give more paternal attention to my children now beginning to look around them.

There is no doubt that the Rising could not have been brought off without the Gaelic League. John MacNeill would never have been chosen for the post he filled only for his association with the Gaelic League. The Keating Branch was the mainspring of the organisation, although the Central Branch was the first established. It was the Keating Branch that made the Nationalist movement a going concern in the full sense. The Branch had rooms near Findlater's church where the Christain Brother' Past Pupils Union now are. We used to have music and dancing after classes and on Sunday nights, and that brought growing crowds. A lot of the prominent people associated with the Rising were members there.

I was one of the founders of the Keating Branch, with Tadhg O'Donoghue, Richard Foley and Seán O'Keeffe. We had a big inaugural meeting in the Gresham Hotel and, after that, it went on by leaps and bounds. It is well that you should know the real atmosphere at the time. The Central Branch people were exceedingly Irish; they thought of nothing but Irish; never of dancing or anything like that, so that young people began to say the place was dull, like going to a wake. Personally, I have nothing

but praise for the consistent devotion of the Central Branch to the language.

It was after I left the Gaelic League office that the Keating Branch was established - not with any high hope that it would develop as it did. We got some excellent members from the very outset. Our first President was Tim Harrington, the Irish-speaking Lord Mayor. I was one of the four Vice-Presidents; two others were T.D. Sullivan, ex-Lord Mayor, and Dr. Denis Coffey. The latter, whom we all held in esteem, gave us some very nice lectures on architecture and kindred subjects. We had some other very fine lectures in the Branch too: Fr. Charlie Brennan, Fr. Pat McSweeney, editor of the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record", Fr. Dinneen, Fr. John O'Reilly and "Conall Cearnach" among the lecturers. Fr. John was a genuine Gael whose tongue and pen were equally keen. He could not tolerate anything he thought insincere, or had an ulterior motive. Other prominent members were T.D. Sullivan's daughters, Fanny, Josephine, and Alice who soon entered a convent. Margaret Sheehy and Olive Barry, two nieces of Lord Mayor McCoy, were on our Committee also. Miss Sheehy used to recite, Miss Barry to sing as well as recite, so they became great favourites at our entertainments. We had many other influential, self-respecting people, and they were all very courteous and sincere. I remember a fine lecture by Eibhlin Nicholls too. She was drowned soon afterwards at the Blaskets, and had a striking funeral. A few days later, her mother came to me with a copy of the

lecture, and I got Messrs. Gills to publish it. The subject was nationality in education. That is how we promoted the spirit of the Gaelic League, and that is how Cathal Brugha and men like him were attracted to it. P. H. Pearse was very prominent in the Central Branch, and never went outside it. As the Americans say, he was not a good mixer, and so the Central Branch atmosphere appealed to him.

I knew Douglas Hyde quite intimately. Apart from our close contacts in the Gaelic League, we were fellow-druids, and certainly no one relaxed more than An Craoibhin at the druids' social gatherings. In time, however, he showed a strong bias against my national outlook, and we clashed sharply, although he was at pains to write me very cordially from the United States when he was on tour there.

John MacNeill in his early student days must have worn himself out completely. He was a brilliant student through the Intermediate Course. The evidence he gave at the Inquiry into Irish Education bore the stamp of his scholarship. He got an appointment in the Four Courts by competitive examination; but he undertook too much outside his office work. Becoming deeply interested in Irish, he made a great study of it, and used to go to Aran on holidays to improve his blás. He became editor of the Gaelic Journal and of the Claideamh Soluis, Vice-President and President of the Gaelic League. While on the League's governing body, he often corrected proofs of those journals during the course of the executive meetings. I think he just spent himself with constant study and was not himself at all in those later years.

We felt that the O'Neills and O'Donnells of the North had the national spirit in their blood, and we felt confident that MacNeill would be firm in a national crisis, as he certainly was in the fight for Irish. Relatively, English and German were much favoured as against Irish in the Intermediate system and, with Dr. O'Hickey, MacNeill took up the fight to alter that, as did the whole nation. But his ultimate vacillation on the Boundary question, as on the whole Republican position, was very disappointing to some of us.

Pearse and Cathal Brugha rarely agreed. Pearse, who became editor of the Claidheamh Soluis in time, supported the Councils' Bill and wrote a strong article in favour of it. Cathal felt very sore, and took him severely to task for it. Pearse and MacNeill even went on a platform in O'Connell-street with John Redmond to advocate it. Pearse also took up a peculiar attitude in the official organ of the League towards compulsory Irish in the University, so much so that Cathal Brugha had a special Ard-Fhéis of the Gaelic League summoned to consider the matter. Stephen Gwynn came as the mouthpiece of the Irish Party and, as he was closely connected by family associations with Trinity College, the Irish Party took his view as to what could be done about Irish in the University, and about the University's general character. Gwynn, I should say, would have been an intermediary between the Irish Party and the British Government. He joined the Gaelic League, and even became a member of its

governing body. At that special Árd-Fhéis, he made as strong a case as he could on behalf of the Irish Party who did not want essential Irish at all. Brugha and Pearse openly differed on the question. At no time, indeed, did I know Cathal to be what one might call sympathetic towards Pearse.

Some of the Maynooth men were very active that time. Dr. O'Hickey succeeded Father O'Growney not merely in Maynooth, but in the language movement generally, and may be said to have led the educational campaign in the Gaelic League on behalf of compulsory Irish. He had been in Scotland on the mission and had all the resolute earnestness of the missionary. I remember he wrote to me when he was on holidays in Aran, to say that in future he was to be addressed as O'Hickey. Up to that, he was Dr. Hickey. I did not like his early attitude towards the Keating Branch, but that did not influence my appreciation of his general sincerity, or my regret that he had to pay so heavy a toll for his devotion to the national language.

Sinn Féin and friendship with Arthur Griffith.

I was in the Sinn Féin political movement from the beginning, that is, about 1905. I met Griffith the first night he turned up at the Celtic Literary Society after his return from South Africa. I suppose Willie Rooney brought him over to me. That was 1902, a short time before Willie's death. I generally attended "the short twelve" o'clock Mass at Marlborough-street church on

Sundays. Willie Rooney, Arthur Griffith, James Casey who was secretary to the Oireachtas for twenty years or more - all the time from the beginning down to his death - myself and others used to meet there after Mass. Griffith and I became such close friends that he often went out of his way to accompany me on my way home and discuss national affairs as his Sinn Féin ideas developed.

At that time when I travelled all round the country, there were not very many Sinn Féin enthusiasts: Liam de Róiste of Cork, Micheál Ó Ceallacháin of Limerick, Frank Dore of Westport, George Geraghty of Roscommon, Patrick O'Growney of Athboy, a brother of Fr. O'Growney. Generally, when travelling, I met these people. As a traveller, after the second visit to a place, one almost felt he was going home when re-visiting it. On the way from the station even, you always met friends, some through business, some for other reasons.

I made occasional but slight contributions to the Sinn Féin paper, for I was then too deeply interested in Irish, and there was very little Irish in it, the space being very limited. It was a whole-time job for Griffith, who had an editorial aptitude for linking up the shorter contributions, and making the page appear to be all the work of the same hand.

Of course, Griffith and Sinn Féin, though getting considerable publicity through the Sinn Féin weekly, had not established themselves as a national entity at all.

After some years, he got Edward Martin and John Sweetman to identify themselves with him, and he flirted for a while with William O'Brien, Sir Thomas Esmonde, even Willie Redmond, so there was little if any progress. If we except its 1917 Convention, the first time Sinn Féin sought to become a truly national organisation - an educative body to expound and advance the national position - was years after the Treaty split. When going over my papers last evening, I came across a pamphlet of about sixty-four pages, entitled The Robbery of Ireland and the Remedy. That was my first presidential address to Sinn Féin. I had been giving the matter much thought all my life, and talking on it all round the world for twenty years, so I felt it my duty now, as President of Sinn Féin, to set out the whole economic and financial position as far as time permitted. If you care to see that pamphlet, I can lend it to you, but only lend it, as it is long out of print. I don't know if it is of much interest now except to show that it was only then I woke up to the fact that Sinn Féin was only a paper organisation except when we used it for an election campaign. I did not become President of Sinn Féin until my return from America - 1926 or 1927, I think. Griffith's organisation had no real influence. People would not have rallied to it at all if Arthur Griffith had continued to rule it. He never wanted a Republic, he wanted a kingdom - wherever the king was to come from! William O'Brien, the Labour leader sensed that early. We were at some composite conference in Dublin, and Griffith found an early

opportunity to bring the Renunciation Act under discussion. As we left the meeting, William O'Brien said to me: "Here is Arthur again back to the King, Lords and Commons".

I think it was very easy for any man of substance to get Griffith's ear. By people of substance, I mean men like Martin Fitzgerald, the wine merchant. He was a great racing man, and he thought it an event of some importance to bring Arthur to meet the American, Boss Croker Cathal Brugha would have no use for such men, nor would I. At once, I would feel in some way culpable. They all had Griffith. I don't think I am doing him an injustice in saying that. But in 1917 the organisation was taken out of his hands. It was taken out of his hands, for good or ill, by a man who loathed limelight, and that was Cathal Brugha. It was unfortunate the Cathal was so retiring, except when there was fighting, whether the arms were the sword or the pen, the tongue or the will.

I had been in the Keating Branch for a number of years. Then while representing Gills', I had to move all over England, Scotland and Ireland for close on a decade as their business traveller. Sometimes, I would make four journeys a year. When I went to England I generally spent six weeks there. There was this advantage about the work: I became very familiar with all parts of Ireland and with great part of England and Scotland - especially with the Irish element in those latter countries. I would have samples of our publications and other goods, and would be looking for orders often at the repositories which were usually to be found beside the Catholic churches

in the slum areas of places like Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool. Sometimes I had to go to the houses of the Orders and to the convents. In Abercrombie-street, Glasgow, I used to meet Canon Fitzgerald who was a Cahirciveen man; in Springburn, Fr. John Lynch from the same place; at St. Andrew's Cathedral, Fr. David Barry; at Coatbridge, Fr. Christie Hillie. It was similar in Liverpool and other centres: Canon Lynch, Fr. Sheehan, Fr. Courtney - all Kerry, and all since called to their reward. I generally spent my week-ends in the libraries - from Edinburgh to Preston - for, by request of the promoters, I was still involved in Irish literary competitions, at home and abroad, from Kilkenny to Springfield, Mass., and thus were my lives of St. Brendan and Fr. Mathew written.

While travelling for Gills', I lost my intimate association with the Keating Branch, and ceased to be President. I resigned because I could not attend to it. You can understand its spirit when a man like Cathal Brugha became President of it soon after me, and remained so till the day of his death. Cathal, who was a traveller himself, used to cover Ireland only. I met him frequently in the course of my rounds, and we often had nights together when we had finished our day's work. We were always very close friends. He had a wonderful knowledge of Irish, and could at a moment's notice make a wonderful Irish speech. He put his national duty to speak Irish before every other responsibility. So he set his teeth, and mastered it thoroughly in a very short time.

Editorship of the Catholic Bulletin.

I left "the road" to start the Catholic Bulletin at the end of 1910. Michael Gill, who died soon afterwards, determined that I should edit a monthly magazine. It was entirely literary at first, dealing largely with Catholic publications; but people kept writing in to inquire: "Why don't you have an editorial with a punch in it?" These letters were submitted to me when I returned from holidays the second year. It was in October, 1912, I remember - the month of the Rosary. So I went out to Howth one Sunday evening and, on my return, sat down and wrote off an article as an editorial. It was found to have a wide appeal, and so marked the beginning of a new orientation for the magazine, then almost two years in existence. Michael Gill died in 1913. He had been in Chicago at the Exhibition, and was not getting better health. So he was ordered to the Continent. There he wrote a number of very interesting articles for the Bulletin and other Catholic journals, but passed away quite unexpectedly. He was not married, and his death was a national loss, for he was a patriot of splendid impulses.

For the purposes of the Bureau of Military History, there could be no more useful sources of information than the numbers of the Catholic Bulletin from the founding of the Irish Volunteers until the debate on the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty. As editor, I went to the greatest trouble to get details from persons who had themselves taken part in the Rising at the different posts in the city,

and I had them carefully checked to ensure that they were correct in every detail, so that the Castle authorities could not accuse us of exaggeration or misrepresentation. You should consult the bound volumes for articles by Fr. John Flanagan, who wrote anonymously, Elizabeth O'Farrell, Julia Grennan and others.

When I ceased travelling, I again became keenly interested in the Gaelic League. I attended the Ard-Fheis, the Keating Branch and the various functions; delivered lectures in Dublin, London, Manchester and other places, and took part in all the principal activities, as far as time permitted. Through the national crisis, 1916-1921, the direction of the League fell largely on me; for John MacNeill, though President for portion of that time, lived little in Dublin, and I was successively Vice-President and President, resident in Dublin.

The Volunteers.

I was not in Dublin the night the Volunteers were formed in the Rotunda Rink; I was in Kerry. On returning, I joined the new body, and, soon afterwards, was asked to deliver the oration on the ninth centenary of the Battle of Clontarf. Patrick Pearse, who had just returned from New York, seconded the vote of thanks, and that was the first time I saw the military side of his character. The spirit of the meeting was all that could be desired. Fr. Fullerton, speaking for the North, aroused the enthusiasm of the whole audience when he thanked God that he had lived to see such a demonstration in Dublin against the

ramshackle old British Empire.

I daresay it was Pearse proposed John MacNeill as visible head of the Volunteers. Denny McCullough, Dr. McCartan or Bulmer Hobson, in whom at that time there was confidence, might have suggested it, but I fancy Tom Clarke would have to O.K. the proposal. MacNeill was lecturer in Maynooth, and his uncle, Dr. MacAuley, was or had been President of the College; so it may have been felt that the appointment of MacNeill would help to shield the Volunteers, and draw the teeth, so to speak, of the ecclesiastical opposition which was feared.

Griffith and myself were in the same company of Volunteers,which drilled beside Richmond Road, Fairview. Kerrigan, an ex-army man, was our drill instructor. He was a brother of the Abbey actor, and I knew the family fairly well. I attended drill pretty regularly for a year and a half, as did Griffith.

I attended two Volunteer Conventions at the Abbey Theatre. At the first, I was a delegate for my native Iveragh, and I was delegate for "G" Company, 2nd Battalion, at the second Convention, which was held after the Volunteer split. Before the split, J.P. Gaynor - a Belfastman educated at St. Malachy's College with MacNeill, and editor of the Evening Telegraph for a time - presided at a meeting at Claude Road, Drumcondra, to form a new company of Volunteers, at which he and MacNeill were the principal speakers. Gaynor created a better impression

than MacNeill. Many residents of Glasnevin, like myself, joined the new company for convenience.

When the split came soon after, a majority of the new company followed Gaynor into the National Volunteers who continued to meet in Claude Road, while we of the Irish Volunteers met thereafter in Ryan's Hall, Glasnevin. To Ryan's Hall, Captain Monteith came, and lectured us in signalling. I attended half-a-dozen of his lectures, as did Paul Galligan and Paddy Walsh, so popular as a footballer in Cork and Dublin. Dick MacKee, a compositor at Gill's, also attended the signalling lectures. He started there as a despatch clerk, and his desk adjoined the printing department. Being a nice young fellow, we took a personal interest in him, and led him into the printing to become a compositor. I knew his uncle, the popular stationmaster at the Point, Valentia Harbour, and thus came to know the family pretty well. A few moments after the shooting of Sean Treacy in Talbot-street, Dick MacKee passed hurriedly through my office in Gills', without noticing or speaking to anybody, beyond a nod to myself. He was visibly upset, and little wonder, for it proved the writing on the wall for himself.

Casement.

Yes, I knew Casement. He used to come into Gills', was keenly interested in Irish, and anxious to get a command of it. He used to get a lad in Gills', named O'Flaherty, to take long walks with him for practice in conversation. Casement used to dine at Dr. Sigerson's on

Sunday night from time to time. Agnes O'Farrelly, Mary Hayden and others were often there. My brother-in-law, who was a very old friend of Dr. Sigerson, met Casement there several times. He told me Casement came one night, and brought one of Parnell's two daughters, thinking it would be particularly appropriate, as my brother-in-law happened to have been Chairman of the Parnell Committee in London and the only priest who attended Parnell's funeral. They were all anxious to be courteous to the daughter of the Chief, but the situation was manifestly awkward. Casement did not seem to know the full details of the Parnell affair, and thought he was doing a great thing in bringing along Parnell's daughter. I had no close personal contacts with him. When in America later, I became pretty intimate with Dr. Maloney who wrote the brilliant book about the forged Casement diaries. He was a well-known doctor in New York, and was attached to one of the hospitals patronised by the Carmelite Fathers.

I met a member of Casement's Irish Brigade who contributed a series of articles to the Catholic Bulletin. His position was not easy to understand. First, he was Micheál MacEochaidh, and his people belonged to Coolgreany, Wexford. Then it turned out his mother's name was Boyle, and there was a hint that she was a cousin of Boyle O'Reilly, so he soon became Micheál Boyle O'Reilly MacEochaidh. He had little education, but torrents of eloquence. His story of the Casement Brigade called for drastic overhauling. It is all in the Bulletin, and I may be able to lend it to you. He was in Dublin when the articles appeared; and had been in Germany till then.

He was married and had three children. On the first night, he turned up at a meeting of Sinn Féin, where I was giving a lecture. He was well-dressed; spoke, of course, and went on talking until, eventually, I had to go away. Like many another refugee, he had to finish up by disclosing the helpless position of himself and his care, and the audience responded as Irish audiences, I hope, always will. Soon he was fortunate enough to get into the Registry of Deeds, and he had a really good appointment there. But it could not hold the eloquent unit of the Wild Geese. One morning there was a knock at my door, and who should appear but my old friend Tadhg Murphy. "Have you any news of MacEochaidh?", he asked. "His wife has been around for the past few weeks, and there is no trace of him". We could do nothing but laugh, and laugh. I never heard what became of him afterwards.

Frau Grabisch came over from Germany about the same time. She was well known in Dublin. I heard a good deal of her, and came to like her less and less. She could not find in her vocabulary words denunciatory enough to describe the Irish Brigade - those who had any liberty in Berlin. She was always attacking them. Ultimately, I kept out of her way, because I did not see, even if what she said were true, why she should keep harping on it: in fact, she often seemed to have hardly any other subject of conversation.

Illness.

In October, 1915, I got typhoid fever, and was laid up for a long period, going for convalescence to Derrynane

where I had to spend the Christmas festival. So for almost nine months before the Rising, I had no drilling with the Volunteers. Despite warnings from the firm, I returned to work in February, 1916. The Gaelic League was very active running Irish plays, and the Keating Branch was staging one for some urgent national purpose; so I was pressed to take part in it, although nearing forty-five. Fionán Lynch, Gearoid O'Sullivan, Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Froinsias O'Sullivan, Kathleen Woulfe, Miss Dixon - now a Sacred Heart nun - and Miss O'Connell - now a nun also, in the Presentation Convent, Killarney - were ~~also~~ taking part in it, too. Miss O'Connell, I remember, spoke Irish beautifully.

Gills', as stated, had warned me not to report for work until I was fully recovered, but I could not keep away. I came back too soon, and carried on the rehearsals with the others. One day in the office, as I went downstairs to the machine-room, I got a dizziness, and fell down the iron-plated stairs, banging my head on the metal, step after step. I felt battered about the neck and ears, and very sore about the shoulders, but came to work the following day when I should have stayed in bed, and found, on going home the second evening, that I had developed shingles which incapacitated me for months and so kept me out of the Rising.

American money for the Volunteers.

On the day I fell down the stairs - I am inclined to think it was Tuesday or Wednesday of Holy Week - I had a visit in the office from John MacNeill. I was rather sick,

as will be understood, but did not want to let anybody see it. MacNeill came into my office, and told me confidentially that Archbishop O'Connell of Boston had sent a substantial sum of money to the Archbishop of Dublin for the Volunteer cause. Archbishop Walsh asked John MacNeill, who was a close personal friend of his, to call for it. MacNeill went quietly to Drumcondra, and got the money; but when he got back to the gate, he found detectives waiting for him. They probably were on the tram going to Drumcondra with him also, but he did not suspect them. He felt quite disturbed on calling to me. Having the money, he felt uneasy, and came in to me to see what he could do with it. "I would like to give you the custody of it", he said, "and Mrs. MacNeill will come round here tomorrow for it". I took the money from him, and arranged in his presence to have it placed in the safe. I said, "Now, if you want to avoid the detectives", you can go out by the back, and drop them entirely". So I showed him out that way. In due course, Mrs. MacNeill called with a friend and took the money away.

The remittance was for the Volunteers. Of course, they had become prominent by then. The Archbishop of Boston knew there was conflict between the respective followers of Redmond and MacNeill, and he probably said to himself: "The best thing I can do is to send the money to the Archbishop of Dublin". Something like that seemed to have happened. What it actually was is not material now. There had been a big Convention in Philadelphia, attended by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop O'Connell who identified

himself with Judge Cohalan. I used to get American papers containing speeches by important men all over the United States. A friend in the Post Office passed me in the Gaelic-American every week, and so passed me the issue describing this particular Irish Race Convention. So I transferred the whole report to the Catholic Bulletin for the May number; but, the Rising being followed by martial law, we had to abandon the publication of it.

Some time previous to this, I met Seán T. O'Kelly immediately on his return from New York, where he had been about funds for the organisation. He told me he had just been to a city bank, to which some thousands of pounds had been sent from America, and he desired to take the money to Tom Clarke - in gold. "I would like to take the money away", he said confidently to the bank manager. The manager laughed and asked, "How are you going to take it away?" "In this bag", said Seán T. The manager showed it would not be feasible, and laughed him out of countenance.

The Rising.

I did not know beforehand that there was going to be a Rising. Although it was probably on Spy Wednesday that I fell down the stairs in Gills', I came to work on Holy Thursday, and I came to the office on Good Friday too. The shop portion of Gills' was closed on Good Friday, but the printing department, where I wanted to see somebody, remained open. I met Fionán Lynch on the way. He seemed very much upset, but he did not say why. Though really ill, I had to go out on Saturday morning

too. Seán T. O'Kelly and myself visited Dr. Donnellan of the Richmond Asylum about a mental patient who was coming from Kerry. Seán said on our way back: "I wish it was midday Monday". As far as I recollect, it was Monday he said, not Sunday. I lay ill, Sunday and Monday, except while at Mass, and heard little. Of course, there was commotion and that sort of thing, a lot of people in and out. The Gaelic Athletic Convention was held in Dublin on Sunday, and I read in the paper about the countermanding order, but did not quite realise the motive. On Easter Monday, in the course of the day, many people passed out of town: few, of course, would venture in. At that time, as ever since, we lived in the Glasnevin area. We heard shooting, and many rumours, some of them a bit wild.

I don't think I got out of bed for ten days. I remember the first day I came into town, I had to go by a roundabout way, down Botanic Avenue in the Fairview direction, passing the bridge near Amiens-street, which was now occupied by military. The young English lieutenant, who was in charge of a numbe of recruits, gave me a pass, after he had asked for and written down very slowly my name and address. I don't think I was fit to do much work for a month or so. Lots of people came round to the house. I remember the O'Hanrahan girls called, among others.

National Aid and Volunteers' Dependants' Fund.

I was not long back at my office when John Archdeacon Murphy came from America. He busied himself

in getting a representative committee. There was a good deal of negotiation before they managed to exclude Lorcan Sherlock and other unpopular persons from the conference which soon followed. A number of the delegates represented the old National Aid and from them we chose only Dr. Matt Russell, Dr. Michael Davitt and Tom Cullen, as far as I can recall. P.T. Keohane and myself with Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Kent, Patrick Belton and other members of the Volunteer Dependents' Fund also attended the conference, which was held in the Gresham Hotel. Mr. Archdeacon Murphy, who was in the chair, proved himself a very competent man. At this meeting, a committee was appointed and a number of treasurers and secretaries chosen.

The general secretary was Fred Allan, who had been connected with the National Aid, I think. There were other secretaries, but Fred Allan was the real acting secretary at that time. A crowd of sympathisers waited in the Gresham until the meeting was over. I think it was everywhere felt that it was an unbecoming thing that the dependents of the people who had sacrificed their lives for their country should have to make a direct appeal for money, so that was the first thing righted. Dr. Sigerson, who was a member of the National Aid, drafted a dignified appeal. He would not lend himself to anything that would cast a reflection on the dependents; but we all felt that there were elements of friction in the situation, and this meeting was intended to put an end to it.

In this, Mr. Archdeacon Murphy succeeded. He had come over from America in a representative capacity.

With him was a man, named Gill, with a similar political outlook. Archdeacon Murphy was a capable chairman, and asserted himself as far as necessary. Sometimes he would get very firm. I remember Mrs. Gavan Duffy was in the crowd waiting for the result of the meeting as we came out. She came over to me. "Is it all right?", she asked anxiously. I said, "Yes", and briefly told her the results. I did not quite understand what the anxiety was about; but there was that feeling in the air. I was going away for a rest and change of air the following day.

Mrs. O'Doherty was on this Committee. She was a great worker, and her husband did a lot of work too. He went to America in 1919 and, after some time, sent for his family. They stayed in Philadelphia for a couple of years. Joe McGarrity, who was pretty well established there at the time, started a paper, The Irish Press; and Seamus O'Doherty represented him on it, and did his best in various ways for the paper. I knew Mrs. O'Doherty on our Committee, and can well remember how earnestly she had worked. She was also on various sub-committees. I had to work very hard myself on more than one committee also.

Early in 1917 Michael Collins became paid secretary. When it came to writing the Report at the close of the National Aid, I had to do it. The report was published in the Catholic Bulletin. I daresay the accounts and balance sheet appeared at the end of that Report.

The Committee then worked very, very smoothly. We co-opted some representatives of the Labour Party on the Committee - William O'Brien, Tom Farren, Tom McPartland and

John Lalor, whom I knew as a champion handball-player at one time and owner of a car at the Broadstone. On one occasion, a man named Vincent Poole seemed to think that the Citizen Army section of the dependents were not getting fair play, and he came into the committee room with a pistol in his hand. Michael Collins was secretary at the time. William O'Brien sprang to his feet and said boldly: "Poole, put that gun away. I know you and your methods well". That practically ended an episode which upset some of the members for the moment, and was the only unpleasant experience we had.

In the autumn of 1916 I went to London to speak at the inaugural meeting of the Gaelic League there. I took the opportunity of going down to Reading to visit some of the prisoners there; and Count Plunkett, then a deportee at Oxford, kindly came up to meet me. Henry Dixon was one of the prisoners I had arranged in advance to see there. But I was not allowed to see anyone. After being kept waiting for two hours, the door opened. I expected Henry Dixon to walk in; but it was the warder that came. "Get out as quickly as you can", he said, "unless you prefer to join your friends here". But,the Count and myself had a pleasant couple of hours together before my train left for London.

Deportation to England.

I did not attend any meetings of the National Aid from February until July or August, 1917, because I was deported to England on the plea of a German Plot. It was badly faked, but served for the time as the pretext for our

deportation. Tom MacCurtain, Terence McSwiney, Seán T. O'Kelly, Barney Mellowes, Dr. MacCartan, Darrell Figgis and a whole lot more were rounded up at that time. Some people said I was arrested because of some severe criticism in the Bulletin of John Dillon's speeches. But I don't think that had anything to do with it. We were in Oxford first. I arranged to read in the Library there, being sponsored by Professor Gilbert Murray. For some particular reason, I wanted to read the only copy in existence of the Annals of Inisfallen. I remember how they looked at me in surprise when I asked for it. We went to London for the big Gaelic League celebrations on St. Patrick's Day, and returned to Oxford on the following day. When we got back, armed police were there in formidable force, and rounded us all up. We were then taken to Fairford, nearly midway between Oxford and Gloucester. There we were not allowed to go more than three miles beyond the post office. Anyway, I was not able to walk much as I had a very sore heel. But I kept working away while there, writing for the Bulletin and attending to other matters.

Actually we were not quite a week in Oxford when they sent us to Fairford. They did not like to see me in the Bodleian Library at all, which was quite natural, of course. When first we went to Oxford, they had made no provision whatever for us. We stayed for about a week at a hostel where they used to keep sixty or more of the students. Count Plunkett, who had been deported to Oxford previously, and had rented a house there, gave us the house, having returned home for the Roscommon election. Some of our group stayed in that house until we went to London, which was the excuse they gave

for transferring us to Fairford, where we were held nearly four months. We were set free the day after the general release from Lewes. I think Seán T. O'Kelly, MacCartan and Padraig Ó Máille had escaped a few days previously. The release came in the month of June, I should say. One thing that helped that was the election of Joe McGuinness for Longford. Moreover, Eamonn de Valera was chosen as candidate for Clare, and his name publicly announced. They felt he would be elected, and they considered the best thing they could do would be to release the lot.

The Clare election was really in progress when the release was announced. Shortly after that, came the Kilkenny election, and W.T. Cosgrave was chosen as candidate. The English Government then felt the general trend that way, and they were having a difficult time with the American Government. They were trying to get the Americans to co-operate fully in the war, and there was a great fight being put up for the Irish prisoners in America. Balfour was out in America, and Lord Northcliffe was sent out also. Balfour and the Cecil brothers were the most efficient men the English had in connection with the Government; and the Cecils, I think, were largely responsible for the Truce - to save England's face. Balfour met with such a hostile reception in America that he came home determined that something would have to be done, and his Cecil relatives had exceptional influence in high places.

Return to Ireland.

After my release, I renewed my association with the

National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund, and ultimately, as already stated, it devolved on me to write the general Report which was accompanied by a financial statement, showing it to be the most economically organised and administered fund in our history. That was in 1918. Previous to the actual writing of the Report, I spent a long time on the preparation of it, working on sub-committees and reducing the wide range of details down to reasonable dimensions. It was evidently about September, 1917, that I began that work. I used not go back to my office at Gills' after lunch hour. Instead I went over to Donal O'Connor's office in Westmoreland-street. It was there I prepared that Report.

Three times a delegation came from Louth to ask me to contest the county in the 1918 Election. It was at Gills' they usually called, and I was not there on any of the three occasions. Eventually they found me at O'Connor's office. I told them definitely I could not go forward, as I had no leaning at all towards political life, and suggested Joe Dolan. Ultimately, they prevailed on me to go forward, and I always found them very kind. But, while a prisoner at Botany Bay, I was elbowed out of the seat to make room for de Valera's new nominee, Frank Aiken, when de Valera knew well I would not lend myself to his insidious climb-down from the Republic, declared and ratified. An adequate justification, you will admit, of my dislike from boyhood of sordid politics!

Some time in August, 1917, we had the Oireachtas in

Waterford, and were all there. MacNeill was President of the Gaelic League that year, having been elected immediately after his imprisonment. He presided at the Oireachtas. Tom Ashe was there; all the old Gaels, then free once more, and we had a wonderful time. After the Oireachtas, most of them went up to Kilkenny to support Cosgrave, and he won the election. I went on to Kerry from Waterford. Later, Cosgrave and myself were at a couple of Gaelic League meetings in Kilkenny. He was then a great student of Irish, and was very anxious to make up enough Irish to open his speeches in that language, for a beginning. He was really a serious student of Irish at that time.

Conscription.

In May, 1918, about a hundred prominent Sinn Féiners were arrested. A German Plot was the alleged reason for arresting us in 1917; and it was in connection with another bogus German Plot this fresh round-up took place. I escaped arrest. The Conscription fight was being taken up at the time; and the arrests, instead of being a hindrance, as designed, were a great help to the anti-conscription movement. Everyone resented the idea of Conscription. Sinn Féin were earnestly discussing methods of dealing with the menace. What I remember most vividly about that time was that there should be simultaneous meetings all over Ireland - in every parish - on the same Sunday. We had a meeting in Glasnevin, near the wooden church. We all spoke very firmly. It took me about an hour to get home after it. Everybody kept

telling me: "You said at last what should have been said all along". Jack Cotter spoke similarly at Iona Road. The language we used and the temper of the people were quite in line with Cathal Brugha's state of mind.

Cathal said he would go to London. His plan was discussed in the appropriate quarter. Sinn Féin would deal with the constitutional aspect of it, but there was naturally a group of people who were concerned about the military side of it - and Easter, 1916, had steeled the people in general for anything that might come. I published all this in my life of Cathal Brugha (in Irish). A number of men were asked, both in Ireland and England, to go to London; and some in Liverpool, Manchester and elsewhere agreed to be at Westminster to take part in the operations. With half-a-dozen bombs, Cathal Brugha was determined to wipe out the entire British Cabinet, if conscription were attempted here. If he could get its leading members around the table of the House of Commons, he meant to aim bombs at them from the gallery.

In the spirit of the time, he was quite determined to carry out that plan, and I think it quite possible he initiated it himself. I don't believe it was discussed at the Sinn Féin Executive; I was not on the Executive at the time. I was nominated for the Sinn Féin Executive in 1917; but I openly withdrew my name, because I had too many other responsibilities. In any case, my experience on the composite Executive in 1917 and earlier was such that I could easily find something more useful to do.

Cathal told me all about his plan. Of course, it

was a very delicate matter while he was alive. If it had been mentioned at any time before England gave up her misrule of Ireland, I suppose he would have been dealt with on the spot. My recollection of details is a bit hazy. I presume that, when conscription was threatened and it seemed imminent, there was a meeting of what was the equivalent of the Army Council - whatever body it was! I was not there.. Cathal called for volunteers to accompany him to London, and take the Tyrant by the throat at his headquarters before the press-gangs could reach Ireland.

Cathal called for such volunteers from men whose names were prominent. They were all present, but none of them undertook to accompany him, He got two men from Dublin to go as far as he wanted. Some went, as stated, from Manchester, Liverpool and London, and so he would not be short of an adequate escort. He went up day after day to the House of Commons and chose a place where he had good elbow-room. The police and everybody helped him as he entered and left. They seemed to think he was a wounded soldier back from Flanders, and he told me they did everything they could to facilitate him.

When Cathal submitted that proposal to a responsible committee, some of them would probably say it was madness. For his own sake, I would myself probably try to dissuade him, had I been there. But you must remember the feeling of the country at the time - after Maxwell's butcheries - and the determination of everybody to resist the enforcement of conscription. Father O'Flanagan and others were going around asking suggestions from people on how to resist it. He received all sorts of suggestions even from grandmothers,

including the use of a four-pronged fork or any other weapon they might find at hand. The situation looked serious; things indeed looked quite threatening. Cathal, no doubt thinking it would lead to bloodshed all over Ireland, convinced himself that there was only one way to settle it, and ~~that~~ this was his solution of the question - how to resist conscription. This was like the other challenge he issued later - after the Treaty - to go to Belfast and fight in defence of the Catholic population.

Cathal was quite exceptional, and I would not dream of looking down on the man who could not act up to his standards. For that matter, neither would he. At the same time, he felt he had national duties. When he was in the South Dublin Union, he did not calculate the danger. He took no account of death, although he was a most affectionate type of man and devoted to his wife and family. After his death, John MacNeill paid him a worthy tribute. No doubt, he could have got plenty of men here to go to London; but it was not a matter to be mentioned openly. Had it leaked out, the plan would be defeated for a certainty, with the loss of brave lives too. It would have been discussed among a small confidential section of the army that would be regarded as treating everything with the strictest confidence. It was not that he thought he would not get plenty of men - because he would; but he did not get them from among the leaders of the army. He told me that Michael Collins and Richard Mulcahy were among those to whom he addressed his appeal; and I got it from other sources too.

Cathal Brugha was, of course, a leader himself, and he did not think there would be very much time necessary in London - maybe a week or so - as this question of conscription in Ireland would have to come up promptly. As soon as it was determined to apply it to Ireland, that is roughly the time the plan was to be carried out. I could have that verified. At the moment, I would not like to trust my memory entirely. I can't remember now how the legislation progressed, but I think he was some months in London. He went over in May or June subsequent to the general round-up of the leaders on the pretext of a bogus German plot, and came back only in time to tour the Deise for the General Election. And Waterford elected and re-elected him - loved him.

During the conscription scare, Jack Rice, a Corkman who was for a time editor and art critic of the Independent and for a long time editor of the Sunday Independent, and myself went every night for a fortnight around every part of Glasnevin, taking down details of the state of every family, its resources, the condition it was in, until we had a complete record, as regards food and everything essential, of the whole area of Glasnevin; and the same thing was done everywhere else, in case anything should happen. It shows how different people would react to the matter when a man like Jack Rice, who was a pacifist, went into it heart and soul. There is no doubt but that the conscription menace linked up faith and fatherland in a way they had not been linked up since the Confederation of Kilkenny and the Cromwellian holocausts.

The reason for enforcing conscription was that, although America had promised to come into the war and were supposed to be in it, they had not sent over any men up to that time. They left England under the impression that they were coming in for a certainty; but then they were not ready, they had not the equipment, but were preparing hard! The British thought it would be easy to enforce conscription if the leaders were arrested; the excuse they gave was a German plot!

Yes, I met Dowling in New York. I have always taken it that he was sincere. It is very strange if they thought he was sent over here by Germany or with German sympathies to start a Rising. I have often wondered how the English let him off so lightly. He was taken prisoner in Galway, and brought to London. I suppose he was in Brixton - or wherever they put Casement and the others - for a time, but he did not get a severe sentence, as far as I can recall.

Dáil Éireann.

At the general election in December, 1918, I was elected for Louth. In 1919 we set up Dáil Éireann. I was kept pretty busy then. During all that time and, in fact, since long before the Rising, Gills' was a clearing house for everybody connected with the national movement. Less than half the members were present at the opening meeting in January, 1919. The otherswere in gaol. I am not quite sure when the release came. Pierce MacCann, who was in Gloucester gaol, died there. Dick Coleman also died. I was on the platform at an election meeting in

Dundalk when the news of Coleman's death came, and it probably contributed to our success. That was in December, 1918 - the night before the poll, and it created a feeling of horror.

Some of the released prisoners were travelling on the same boat that brought the remains of Pierce MacCann. De Valera had been rescued previously, but he did not come over until later. He was rescued from Lincoln about the time of the inauguration of the Dáil, which was in January. Michael Collins and Harry Boland were not at the inaugural meeting at all, because they were over in England in connection with the rescue of de Valera.

Cathal Brugha presided at the opening meeting of the Dáil, and he was appointed President. He was chosen by the members present, and remained in that position until de Valera came home. We set up a Government at the very outset, tentatively appointing only about four Ministers first. Cathal Brugha was President and Minister for Defence. I cannot remember the names of the others at the moment. I think Count Plunkett was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and John MacNeill Minister for Finance; owing to the entirely inadequate attendance of deputies, any appointments made were strictly <u>pro tem.</u>, little better than window-dressing. They wanted to nominate Count Plunkett as Chairman - a few of them would say Speaker, but the general title was Chairman. The Count would not take it, as he felt he was a bit too old and was getting rather deaf. Other names were suggested, among them, that of Seán T. O'Kelly. When Seán T. was

nominated, there was no opposition, and he became Speaker. Cathal Brugha remained President until de Valera's return in April, 1919, some time after his release from prison. Cathal went over to England to ensure his return to Ireland, as de Valera had conveyed his intention of going direct to America from England.

When President Wilson was on his way from America to Paris, he broke the journey in England. They decided in Dublin to present him with the freedom of the city of Dublin - to get his good-will at the Peace Conference. At the Roscommon election in 1917, Count Plunkett had been elected as the man for the Peace Conference, and since then he was definitely known as the man for the Peace Conference. Seán T. O'Kelly, who was a member of the Corporation, and Larry O'Neill, then Lord Mayor, went to London to invite Wilson to Dublin to have the freedom of the city conferred on him. This was never discussed in the Dáil; it was purely a Corporation matter. President Wilson would not meet them at all. Previously he had refused to meet Judge Cohalan in New York. In any case, the Freemasons looked after him.

When President Wilson left London, Seán T. took the notion that they should follow him to Paris. O'Neill did not share the notion, but Seán T. then went on his own initiative. After some weeks, it was decided, on the proposal of Alderman Kelly, that Seán T. should stay in Paris. I was convinced at the time, as were others, that Alderman Tom Kelly's resolution was not put forward on his own initiative, but was "inspired". Seán T. had already

intimated, at least it was conveyed, that he would be absent for some time. So it was decided to appoint a Chairman. I was in my office in Gills' when Gavan Duffy rang me up, and said: "Come over, Sceilg, you are wanted here". I did not then know that Seán T. was still in Paris. I knew he went there. I answered that I was very busy at the moment. Gavan Duffy replied: "Come over at once. You have been unanimously appointed Chairman of the Dáil". And I retorted: "Don't you know I have already declined that nomination absolutely?"

The inaugural meeting had appointed Cathal Brugha President, as he presided at that first meeting. It did not seem to occur to anybody to define the position more clearly: the Chairman meant the chairman of the assembly. I went over to the Dáil at Gaven Duffy's pressing request, thinking it would be only to relieve Seán T. for the moment. I had already declined to go forward, because I had too many things on hands. As things turned out, I stayed there for a couple of years, and presided at all the meetings of the Dáil except a couple at most. Seán T. O'Kelly stayed on in Paris, got sick, went to Rome and stayed in Rome. He never wrote home to resign. Incredible though it will seem, he never formally resigned the position of Chairman, although meanwhile filling two most important whole-time posts in Paris and Rome. So he never presided at the Dáil until the final meeting. Of course, we took it for granted that, being away, he was no longer chairman. In view of what Gavan Duffy had said to me: "Come over, you have been unanimously elected chairman here by the Dáil", I hardly ever gave it a thought

afterwards until, on coming to our last meeting of the First Dáil, I found Seán T. O'Kelly actually in the chair.

That was in the autumn of 1921 when we were going to hand over to the Second Dáil. It was a funny situation; but, in any case, it did not matter. My services were honorary. I never accepted any salary. There were salaries paid in the First Dáil. The Ministers got salaries, as many as accepted them - £500 a year, I think. I suppose I was offered it. I know it never entered my mind to accept it. Cathal Brugha and I had been working in the Gaelic League together for long years, and I knew well that he would not accept a salary either. He had his given to Richard Mulcahy who was his Chief of Staff; and mine, I think, was given to Frank Fahy whom I nominated to a post in my own ministry.

If the official report says, as you suggest, that I was appointed Deputy-Speaker, there was some kind of "tuaiplis" in the matter; and I was in America when these official reports were published by partisans who were never friendly to me. You will see that, on the very face of it, the thing would not stand investigation. I am quite clear about what happened. Very probably the reason why Gavan Duffy rang me up to say: "You have been appointed Chairman of the Dáil", was that he knew, first, that I would not take the permanent appointment - I had already refused to let my name go forward - and, second, that I would not go in as deputy to Seán T. O'Kelly - then, to my mind, just a boy in a hurry, - a boy on a man's errand. I would not lend myself at

all to that sort of thing. As to what some of those people say, groups of them had ulterior motives all the time. There were many who seemed single-minded, there were others who were not. Why they put a thing like that in the report, I don't know. Of course, it was very clear that I was not taking the post at all. I expected for a time that Seán T. would be home. If he was formally appointed in Paris, and later in Rome, surely we would bring the world's contempt on ourselves if we left our young Parliament without a resident head for two years and more. This is one of the disillusionments that sometimes shake my earlier ideals. I can't say who was responsible for those reports. Seán T. did not preside at any meetings. I think he went away before the 1st February. He was present at the opening of the Dáil; but I don't think he had any function at it, except formally to move the adoption of a statement after Cathal Brugha had read it from the chair. Seán T. could not then read an Irish statement intelligibly.

Important documents - three altogether - were prepared for the opening meeting. The Address to the Free Nations of the World was put into Irish and proposed to the Dáil by me. I remember that distinctly, because some years afterwards Willie Flynn, who became Managing Editor of the "Freeman", met me, put his hand in his pocket, and produced a manuscript. It was the Irish version of the Address to the Free Nations of the World in my handwriting, exactly as it had been published in the <u>Freeman</u>. As regards the Declaration of Independence, I am not now sure who did the Irish version of it. I don't think Beaslai presented any address to the Dáil; but, like Seán T., perhaps formally supported something read from the chair. One of the addresses was read by Eamonn Duggan, in English;

and we wondered how that happened. Count Plunkett and Gavan Duffy read two in French, and Gavan Duffy apologised for his French, which he need not have done. He seemed quite equal to the task anyway. I think the Count presented the Address to the Free Nations of the World in French.

There were adjournments from day to day after the opening of the Dáil. A few meetings were held in the period between the opening one in January and the session in April at which de Valera first appeared. We used to meet at John O'Mahoney's hotel (Fleming's) frequently; at Alderman Cole's home, Mountjoy Square, and similar places.

When de Valera came over from England, there was a general re-casting of the Ministries. As there were only a minority of the elected members at the opening meeting of the Dáil, we thought it would not be right to appoint permanent Ministers. If Mulcahy is mentioned in the official report as being one of these - Minister of Defence - it seems very odd. Unless Cathal Brugha was formally appointed or elected President of the Republic, I don't see how Mulcahy could have been fitted in there. As Chief of Staff, Mulcahy in time received a salary from the Dáil. That was really Cathal Brugha's own decision. He said: "I am not taking this", and decided he would get Mulcahy closely associated with him there. In the beginning, remember, Ministers' names - for the Ministers' protection - were not published; and early "records" - not published till <u>after</u> the Split - have to be taken with great reserve.

At the April session, Dáil Eireann appointed Count Plunkett, de Valera and Griffith as delegates to the Peace

Conference. As I have already said, the Roscommon election was fought on the basis that the Count was "the man for the Peace Conference", and it was on that issue he was elected. It was I wrote to ask him to become a candidate, because it was in my office he was chosen as candidate by Fr. Michael O'Flanagan and other representative men from the area. The public reception that was to be given to de Valera on his return was abandoned, as it was proclaimed by General Shaw.

Michael Collins became Minister of Finance in the de Valera ministry. I remember Frank P. Walsh paid a compliment to him for the report he wrote for the Dáil meeting in May at which the American delegates were present. Every minister had to submit a report. Cathal Brugha's report was generally verbal as, naturally, he would not think it wise to put in writing at that time of reckless enemy raids the operations carried out by the Army.

The I.R.B.

Collins, de Valera, Cathal Brugha and some of the others were members of the I.R.B. up to 1916. In Frongoch, Collins set up a new I.R.B. He and his adherents constituted the membership of it in Ireland. I believe de Valera and Brugha had severed their connection with the organisation sometime after the Rising. Collins - while he was Minister in the Dáil and had sworn allegiance to it - was in the closest contact and sympathy with the new I.R.B. In some places, through insidious whispering, people thought that the I.R.B. was a more authoritative body than the Dáil as far as the national struggle was concerned, and Collins came to be generally regarded as the head of the

organisation. In that capacity, he and some of his Frongoch associates made contact with as many of the leading men as they could reach as they came home from gaol. They got them into the I.R.B. in the belief that it was the original I.R.B., and that nothing had changed.

Thus, Collins had a secret organisation within the Army and even within the Dáil. The I.R.B. conditions, so far as I know, were very exacting, and no member could say anything about it. I was never a member of it, nor did anyone try to enlist me. Someone said to me once, referring to a close friend: "We were next-door neighbours; we were in the I.R.B. and neither of us knew the other was in it". I always felt it unfortunate that Collins or anybody else should have conflicting allegiances. His position in the I.R.B. gave him and his followers an undue influence because unknown and unsuspected. I don't think it had any effect on the Dáil until the "Treaty" debates came, but it had a great effect on elements in the Army. Without it, I don't think the Split would ever have reached the dimensions to which it grew. To my mind, its secret nature was its most sinister aspect.

The Dáil had control over the Army, and I felt that at any time the Army as a body would respond to orders from the Minister for Defence. I remember, when the first delegation came back from London, that Richard Mulcahy as Chief of Staff was sent for so that he might supplement any information which the Minister for Defence might think it necessary to submit. Any of the other military officers would have responded similarly. Still the secret organisation was operating behind the scenes, and the

effects and extent of this were subsequently seen only too vividly.

There was no general suspicion of this on the part of the Dáil. There are no words to describe the high plane on which I and others held the republican struggle of which we were among the custodians, and the idea of intrigue would not be entertained by any of our comrades. Cathal Brugha set out the whole matter in one of his speeches at the University debate on the Treaty. We had ascertained that the new I.R.B. had men at every railway station to meet the deputies who were coming up to the debate on the "Treaty", and take them to certain hotels for conferences. In that way they got a majority. I feel that there certainly would have been a majority for the Republic otherwise. I am, of course, discussing affairs relating to a secret society about which I don't know very much, and with regard to which I must rely on current information which was generally accepted as well-founded at the time.

I was present at a Dáil meeting after I came back from America the first time - June, 1922 - and it was a pretty stormy meeting. I remained in Dublin a couple of months before returning to America. There was friction which we all deplored; Cathal Brugha and de Valera on one side, and Griffith and Collins on the other. It was Cathal stripped the whole thing to the bone, and I never heard anyone referring to the I.R.B. in such scathing terms. Cathal challenged them to live up to their professions. "There is a crisis up in Belfast", he said. "The Catholic citizens are being shot down like flies. I am prepared to

risk my own life in their rescus. How many here are prepared to come with me?" No one agreed to go with him. It was a very animated scene.

I don't like to harp back now, and follow the intrigue that was carried on by the I.R.B. in the Dáil. It would waste time and energy. No doubt about it, there was intrigue. To show you the way it went on: I became Minister for the National Language, a post I had neither sought nor desired. There was an I.R.B. group who wanted to get the appointment for one of themselves by hook or crook. Gearoid O'Sullivan was particularly active in that matter. He was very sharp that way, and thought it a pity that anyone should have two or three appointments! The reference was to my appointment as Chairman of the Dáil, and Minister of the National Language. At last I said: "As a matter of fact, I am not. I am here only while the Speaker is away - and that at great inconvenience". Gearoid wanted to get the appointment for one of their ambitious group; but it did not come off, as the proposal had no backing. They had no support at that time. Later on, they did organise, and got some unripe fruit at the expense of the Republic.

Before the delegation went to London, we had a general election in 1921. I was appointed Minister for Education at that time; but the intriguers behind the scenes were building their own castles in the air. I proposed Eoin MacNeill for the Speakership, and Pádraig Ó Máille seconded. It was carried unanimously, and MacNeill agreed to accept. The intriguers then got after Mrs.

O'Callaghan of Limerick, who was efficient and had influence; and, without consulting me at all, they induced her to get up and propose Sceilg for the Deputy-Chairmanship. There was great respect of Mrs. O'Callaghan; so, she had no sooner proposed me than Gearoid O'Sullivan, who was anything but a true friend of mine, got up and seconded. What they wanted to do was to bottle me up in the Vice-Chair and leave the position of Minister for Education open for some of their own.

Immediately, de Valera saw what was happening, and he said to me: "That is entirely outside our scheme. We have arranged for Brian O'Higgins to have the Vice-Chair. So the very moment the opportunity arises, you get up and say you were not consulted". I did so, not desiring at all to be Vice-Chairman. De Valera and Cathal Brugha together had asked me two or three days in advance whether I would undertake the Ministry of Education, and I consented. In the meantime, the other people went on intriguing. I don't like to recall that now - it is so petty. I probably put it all into some pamphlet. I will look it up, and send it to you if available. Maybe it was in the Life of Cathal Brugha I called attention to that move mainly by a West-Cork group and a few others. Some kind of a post was made for Ginnell in the re-shuffling that took place in April, 1919.

If a Minister was arrested and imprisoned, somebody else was appointed to take his place. He was called substitute-Minister. This happened in the case of Countess Markievicz. Joe McGrath, I think, was put in her place.

That was another appointment about which much could be said; for at no time was Dublin second to Cork in the quest for office. The Countess had her office not far from Findlater's church, North Frederick Street, which became known as "the Dardanelles". Her staff used to bomb every military lorry that passed there. She was probably arrested early in her Ministry of Labour. If Joe McDonagh was Substitute-Minister of Labour, perhaps Joe McGrath was rounded up and sent to Ballykinlar: that could be checked by the records. Anyway, Joe McGrath was transferred from the Belfast Boycott to the Labour Ministry, as far as my memory serves me.

The Dáil, Sinn Féin and the Army.

The Sinn Féin organisation was always referred to as the constitutional arm of the Republic, and the I.R.A. as the military arm. They were both working under the Dáil. Sinn Féin would conduct elections and, as far as was necessary, be financed by the Dáil which would vote a grant - as it did in the case of the Pact Election, 1922. The Dáil inaugurated a loan both at home and in America to carry on the government. It financed the army accordingly. The response to the loan in America was so generous and unforeseen that I remember Austin Stack proposed that half-a-million dollars be set aside for the Army, so that the fighting men would have plenty of funds in the event of a crisis. That was done. They had not much money in the beginning, of course. It was largely a voluntary business, and the Dáil had no regular source of income; but they did gladly provide funds for the equipment of the Army. They kept them within limited proportions, however, as they did

not wish to undertake financial responsibilities which might prove beyond them. That is the reason why Cathal Brugha decided that Richard Mulcahy should get the salary that he was, himself, entitled to as Minister for Defence. Mulcahy had lost his appointment in the Post Office, and had got a very bad attack of rheumatism in the crisis.

It was very carefully done. Cathal said to himself: "This is an opportunity of putting something in the way of Mulcahy". So he got him a remunerated military appointment. But Cathal was still regarded as head of the Army, as he had been absolutely at the time of the general election in 1918: in all probability, he would not want to relax his grip on the Army in the circumstances of the time. In that position nobody could say no to him. Things like that, which were decided in relation to the Army, would never be questioned in the Dáil. At the same time, it was felt that he was the man for the other post - of President - after the general election in December. He came in, and presided as head of the Army, and was accepted as such everywhere until the Split, 1922.

Yes, Cathal would be well aware of everything that was being done by the Army. Some people say now that, when they came up from the country, Cathal was not to be found or, if found, not communicative. I know the responsibility Cathal had; no one knows it better. I don't think things like the shooting of Detectives Hoey and Smith would be initiated by him; but the evidence was so strongly brought before him that these were ruthless

enemies that he would have said: "Well, deal with them". I am sure Michael Collins was very energetic in organising such activities. I was not in a position to observe everything he did. But I think people like Beaslai exaggerated the extent of his activities generally.

It is not correct to say that Cathal Brugha was able to cycle into his work without fear of arrest by the Black-and-Tans during that period. He had to go into hiding - out in Sutton, where he took his family, and different other places. I forget what name he took, but I have recorded it somewhere. He used to dress sometimes as a parson; and once, in banter, told his wife, when looking for a house among strangers, that she might say she was a minister's wife - which she was.

The operations of the Army and the Intelligence Department, such as the events of Bloody Sunday morning, would not be dealt with in the Dáil, which would regard such things as departmental matters. Before the Dáil would meet, of course, public interest in serious happenings would have slackened off; and the deputies trusted the responsible Minister. Generally he would only report verbally, for a reason we can easily appreciate; but I may tell you, as one who presided at all these meetings, that there was no report so enthusiastically endorsed as Cathal Brugha's. We all had the feeling that he could not present written reports, and we left it at that. If Cathal has been criticised for his reports, it was because political feeling subsequently became very

biassed. I daresay I too suffered from the bias; but anything I have said since I came in here is absolutely and conscientiously the truth, without any wish to colour anything. Sweetman, or someone like that, would perhaps make a hostile comment on something done by the Army; but not much notice was taken of such criticism, as it was felt by the bulk of the deputies that such incidents, even if sometimes regrettable, were deemed necessary by the responsible heads of the Army.

When the ambush on a military train took place one evening at the Cross Guns, Glasnevin, I was on my way home, knowing nothing about it. Shots were fired, and there was instant commotion. Everybody ran, and the Black-and-Tans came along in a few minutes. Whom should I meet cycling towards the scene from Glasnevin but Cathal Brugha. "What is it all about?", he asked. "There are shots all around", I replied, "at the train and from it". He said he was going to meet Mrs. Brugha, with whom he had an appointment on the Whitworth Road. The ambush must have been suddenly decided upon, or he would not have come into that area. The Black-and-Tans were running all round the place - up the Canal bank, back, and in every direction. I walked around the road with him, to keep him company, until he said he would cycle home. I then went home - but a few hundred yards off - had my tea, and was going out to another meeting, when Cathal and his wife, both on bicycles, met me exactly at the scene of the ambush. We did not delay this time. He went in to his business, it is true, but not regularly while the crisis was on.

Each Minister was left very much to himself as to how he organised his department. There was not much

cohesion in the circumstances: how could there be? I could have done little only that I was appointed Minister for the National Language when the Gaelic League was in its very heyday, and closely connected with all the country seminaries and such institutions. Being President, I was able to convert the Gaelic League into a Ministry of Education without expense. Cosgrave got a considerable sum of money for the Department of Local Government. I forget how much, but it was a substantial sum. There was money for the Army, which the Dáil would not question. Cathal just mentioned the sum as the need arose, but would not put it in the documents for fear of a raid and that the enemy might thus get vital information.

On one occasion - I think it was at a Dáil meeting - Michael Collins said something unbecoming about Austin Stack's department, one of those statements he was quite capable of making after a late night. It was something in the nature of a reproach. He seemed to think Stack was a timid type of man that he could overawe. But Stack promptly put him in his place, and showed himself a man not to be trifled with. He had great courage, as was proved in his fight in the Belfast prison. Yet he was very gentle, as was Cathal Brugha.

The Dáil met pretty regularly, I should say, every three months, for three or four days at a time. It meant bringing people from the country. Some were prepared to come at their own expense, and many of them did. There was the question of finding expenses for others, and, as

there were many demands on the Dáil's resources, there would not be many meetings.

At the May, 1919, session in the Mansion House, the American delegates, Messrs. Walsh, Ryan and Dunne, attended a meeting, and addressed the Dáil. One day there was a raid. I think the detectives were looking for some people who got out at the back of the building. But it did not interfere with the meeting. I presided; but, having some family illness, went home immediately, without joining the deputies who went into the room where the big picture of the Dáil was taken. Anyway, I was never enamoured of the camera and could tell humorous stories of how I evaded it in Liverpool, St. Paul, Melbourne and other centres.

Harry Boland took Frank Walsh to Westport in a car. I met them at Trinity College gate, as they set out for Westport and Roscommon. Walsh's people belonged to Westport; so they pressed me to accompany them, but I declined. When they arrived there, they found the town surrounded by barbed wire, and had great difficulty in entering it. Harry went to America soon afterwards. I feel inclined to say he went to pave the way for de Valera, with whom he had been a good deal in touch. He had been over to release him from prison, and he and Michael Collins must have been told what de Valera had in his mind. Long afterwards, I laughed when I found that Harry, like Michael Collins, was in close touch with Cope. When I was going to America, Harry Boland came to me with a passport, saying: "I have been speaking to your friend Cope, and he said:

'This is for my friend, Sceilg'.". It was just after the Split; and I had never met the man; had, in fact, declined to meet him. Neither Harry Boland's going to America nor de Valera's was discussed in the Dáil: they had to go "by the underground route". De Valera, of course, informed the Cabinet before he went out, and they agreed. It was not about the Loan he went. The reason would have been best known to himself.

The American Situation.

McCartan and Boland might have been busy about the loan in time. Diarmuid Lynch, on returning to America, fell entirely into the hands of Cohalan - at least, resumed his old association with the Cohalan-Devoy group. Dr. MacCartan had been out previously, and was a close friend of Joe MacGarrity, Philadelphia. Between MacGarrity and Luke Dillon of Philadelphia on the one hand, and Judge Cohalan and John Devoy of New York on the other, serious friction had arisen before de Valera went out. It was not of de Valera's making. James O'Meara went out later about the Loan. He was a generous friend of the Sinn Féin movement and gave it big sums of money. When the question of excess profits arose, he came in with a subscription of £500, which seemed very big then. He was very single-minded and sincere, and had no axe to grind. In America, he conceived the most awful dislike of de Valera and had no words strong enough to denounce him. He met me in Stephen's Green one morning, when the meetings on the Treaty were in progress in University buildings, and walked

with me as far as the University gates. Evidently he felt confident he could get me to oppose de Valera, and so support the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty; but, though I declined, we remained good friends to the very end. I preferred him much to his brother, Stephen, who succeeded him as trustee.

While de Valera was in America, he sent reports of his progress to the Dáil, through Arthur Griffith who was Substitute President: that was the fixed official title. From the outset, de Valera kept closer to MacGarrity on account, I suppose, of Boland's and MacCartan's association with him. MacGarrity came over on a visit about the time of the Treaty debates. He turned up after a Party meeting at which I had just presided: that was the first time I had met him, and we never became cordial friends - because I would not be exploited. All the Envoys - MacCartan, Boland, de Valera - were a bit immature for the responsible roles they had to fill, and very easily exploited. Of course, it would be an insult to suggest it then; but they were so, in fact. Cohalan, on the contrary, was a truly able man, very competent and very well established. Devoy all but worshipped him; and their organisation extended all over the place. Judge Cohalan was a brother of Surrogate John P. Cohalan, and his wife was a Miss O'Leary. They had great influence in America.

Yes, it struck me as very singular that de Valera should declare for the Platt amendment - the Cuban plan: it struck us all as somewhat inexplicable. How that was

put into his ears, I don't know. Somebody must have got after him. I am afraid it came from the Cope side - from the British Minister in Washington perhaps. When the suggestion came to the Dáil, there was no disagreement, but certainly no ardour for it. No matter what de Valera did - in the circumstances of the time - we would uphold him. It was only on that basis the Platt amendment suggestion was not repudiated; but it was soon ignored anyway. While de Valera was in America, he and Collins came to be a good deal in touch with each other, though de Valera did not seem a man who would let anybody get very close to him before going out. For a time, Collins, indeed, seemed almost in charge of the correspondence, and some of us began to suspect that the Lloyd George machine was operating here. I am not likely ever to investigate the thing now.

The line to go on would be to try and trace Cope's first meeting with Collins, and follow it down. Cope was sent [redacted] here specially for that work. It was very freely said - and I believe it to be true - that Lloyd George was fully aware that de Valera was returning to Ireland at the Christmas of 1920, and that, of course, would have been arranged by Cope and Collins. The details would have been kept probably from Cathal Brugha's knowledge, because Cathal had not a fibre in his being for that sort of thing. He would have nothing to do with it. It would just drive him mad. The Collins group got terribly upset by the Resolution of the Galway County Council and Fr. O'Flanagan's telegram to Lloyd George. I never saw Collins more

annoyed, and some of his friends were seething. That is one of the things that come back to me. The reason was that it was breaking into his own negotiations with Lloyd George. You may take it that Collins was in close negotiation with Lloyd George, through Lloyd George's agents at that time.

Another thing that occurs to me is that Archbishop Clune did not come over until the day after Collins accepted the appointment as Substitute-President. When Griffith was arrested - this was well before de Valera came back - it devolved on me to preside at meetings of the Cabinet until a substitute was appointed. Griffith sent out a letter from Mountjoy by Noyk, the solicitor, suggesting Cathal Brugha as his substitute. If Brugha refused, Stack was to take it on; failing him, Michael Collins was to act. I was in the chair when the letter was read by Diramuid O'Hegarty. Brugha or Stack would not act, but Collins consented; and Dorothy McArdle has a most misleading account of it. He was hardly twenty-four hours in harness when the New York Gaelic-American had a full-page photograph of Ireland's new fighting chief. Had I time, I could easily trace all those developments. But then I have no heart for that kind of thing. I am quite sure you will look upon it as I do. If you investigated it, and found something unworthy of the period, you would rather not have found it.

The selection of Archbishop Clune and the sending of him here looked very fishy to me also. It was not accidental; it was being hatched for a good while. The

mere fact that they would send Dr. Clune to Mountjoy prison to see Griffith is suspicious. Cope had been visiting Griffith, and he would, no doubt, exonerate his employers and the Imperial Government by throwing all the blame on the Castle, and Griffith would get an opportunity of sending that information out to Collins, and to others, especially the gullible. The investigation of all that would be very sickening. I got plenty of revolting echoes of it even in Mountjoy.

Cope went to see Canon Dudley two or three times at his presbytery in Glasnevin. Next, a priest from Blackrock became involved in the thing - and Sir James O'Connor, and a whole lot more. Cope told Canon Dudley and the other priest that he wanted me to meet Smuts, Sir Henry Bellingham and others whose names I cannot recall. They hoped to get me into this business, use me for an instrument of negotiation, and create confusion. Then, of course, I would be attacked as Fr. O'Flanagan was. In fact, I was so attacked by the whispering gallery. Some time later, at least, another Australian prelate told me that, to his astonishment, Archbishop Clune had asked himself whether he knew me to be a practising Catholic.

It was Sir James O'Connor's sister, Mrs. Maud Walsh, who tried to betray Austin Stack. I think I put something about that into my pamphlet on Austin. He stated the details fully and publicly at a meeting of the Dáil, and he stated the case more fully to myself. I think a letter to the Castle was intercepted. I think also she introduced herself to him and got into conversation with him as he came

out of Marlborough-Street pro-cathedral. He did not know her. Then she wanted to meet him again at the Gresham Hotel - to contact Cope. In any case, he was not to be caught by chaff. It was about the same time Judge O'Connor got after Fr. O'Flanagan and put him in touch with Lloyd George. O'Connor was a sinister figure. He wrote a History of Ireland afterwards, which was just terrible. He was an unworthy type of intriguer, who went so far as to contact the bishop of Elphin in reference to Fr. O'Flanagan's case.

I knew all about Mrs. Llewelyn Davies from London friends. I would not at all agree that it was she who approached Austin Stack coming out of Marlborough-Street cathedral. It was Mrs. Maud Walsh. They were two different types of women. Earlier, Mrs. Davies lived in Donegal a good deal. We knew well she was very intimate with many people - among them, Michael Collins. I don't think I ever introduced her name into anything I wrote. We did not care about her. She was a daughter of James O'Connor, M.P., who was pretty well known to me, and they lived in Bray. One Sunday, they ate shellfish, and it poisoned the whole family except this girl, who happened to be away, so far as I can recollect. She went over to London, and became a clerk in Lloyd George's office. In time, she went up very much in his estimation. There was then a man to whom the Wizard felt very much indebted, Llewelyn Davies, who was a solicitor, and had been largely instrumental in getting Lloyd George into Parliament. In gratitude, let us presume, Lloyd George arranged that Davies marry Miss O'Connor. Some years after her marriage, she came over and, with two children I think, lived a good deal in Donegal. Her husband, who was solicitor to the

Post Office, I think, used to come over to see her in the beginning. In time, she had rooms in the Gresham. The whole story is something one would rather forget.

She had a house in Raheny too, and it was there that Muiris Ó Súileabháin, who wrote "Fiche Bliadhan ag Fás", stayed the first night he came to Dublin. Some English man, who was a professor in Galway and helped him to draft that book, knew Mrs. Davies. Muiris arrived by the morning train at four or five o'clock, and thought he was half-way to Jericho before he got out to Raheny. She never entered my mind as a result of my conversation with Austin, nor did I ever come in contact with her. Art O'Brien told me her whole story, and Art was a fine Christian type. Austin told me his own story and, if it heppened to be this woman that was concerned in it, I could not have forgotten it.

Some Dáil Personalities.

Looking back casually on the whole thing, I feel I would much rather forget it all. I was much surprised the other day at a statement by William Liam O'Briain O'Brien of Galway, who said he thought Arthur Griffith one of the greatest men our race produced. Griffith had some ability, and he had a mighty respect ~~of~~ for his own views; but, in all the time that he was in the Dáil and I presiding, I can't remember one suggestion from him that would be worth preserving. You know with what reluctance I say that. He did not distinguish himself in any way whatever, except by his opposition to the Republic to which he had sworn allegiance. He would make casual references to Davis and to Irish industry, and anybody who did not accept his view was

dense! He had become a very terse writer and would have been an excellent journalist, if he had the broad outlook of Rooney. To meet him at his fireside as I used to when he returned from South Africa was a pleasure not easily forgotten, and it is in that role I prefer to remember him.

I feel inclined to say that, after Count Plunkett, the man who seemed to have the widest grasp of Irish affairs in the Dáil that time was Joe MacDonagh. Of course, he was brought up in Cloughjordan, and maybe I would have sympathy with him because my mind was the rural mind too. In any economic or kindred matters which came up for discussion and which I, in my position as chairman, had to follow seriously, I have no hesitation in saying that Joe MacDonagh was the man who impressed me most. Both Collins and Griffith used seem vexed with him or envious of his facility in discussing a wide range of pretty vital subjects, but they were not on the same plane as he. I liked MacDonagh and thought him a nice, sincere character.

Barton I would place next to MacDonagh. He dealt with agriculture, was a practical farmer, more familiar with agricultural matters than anybody there, and always pretty impressive. From my upbringing I would appreciate it; and he did certainly impress us more than once with his familiarity with economics in general.

De Valera was not on the same plane as MacDonagh either. He was recognised as leader, because described as the only surviving Commandant after the Rising. Tom Ashe was a Commandant who survived too, but he was dead at this time. As far as my recollection goes, de Valera

never said anything of real moment. He was always well received, and would talk a great deal, but I don't know of any subject relating to any of the departments towards which he contributed a really helpful suggestion. I say that without prejudice. He once clashed with Count Plunkett, and appeared in a truly sorry light; and he certainly had lost the confidence of the majority of his Sinn Féin colleagues before the Sinn Féin Split came in 1926.

Austin Stack had a good knowledge of rural life and things in general, but he did not speak much. He did not like to hear his own voice. He was a man who would be influenced mainly by his own judgment on any question that might arise. Austin would conscientiously cast his vote, and I often felt that the side on which he cast his vote was the side on which I could cast mine too - with safety and propriety.

Childers was a pretty able deputy, and he certainly gave proof of his unselfish sincerity. I have recorded in one of my pamphlets my estimate of him and of his contribution to the debate after the first delegates returned from England. He had an outlook that was statesmanlike, well-informed and essentially patriotic; and he was exceedingly modest.

My memory at present is not as good as it was, especially as regards dates. Therefore, I suggest you read the pamphlets I wrote some time ago and of which I shall give you copies. They were lectures delivered on the occasion of certain commemorations, and written with a

great sense of responsibility. I went to much trouble to ensure that the information in them be strictly correct, as far as was possible. In one, entitled Stepping-Stones, I followed the evolution of de Valera's political theories as regards the Republic. The other two are entitled Partition and A Trinity Of Martyrs. The latter one gives a short account of the careers and characters of Terence MacSwiney, Austin Stack and Cathal Brugha. I had the use of Austin's Memoirs and Brugha's papers when I wrote that. Owing to the circumstances in which they were written, Austin is not reliable as regards dates in his Memoirs, but he is very sincere. In all, I have written probably a dozen of those pamphlets.

Diarmuid O'Hegarty was Secretary to the First Meeting of the Dáil, and then Secretary to the Cabinet. I feel that Diarmuid was one of the mysteries of our political life. I am saying nothing against his soldierly qualities or anything like that. He was arrested in 1916 and deported to England. I don't know whether he was sentenced. When the train got to Chester or some such station, a porter walking up and down shouted: "'Egarty, 'Egarty! Anybody by the name of 'Egarty?". Of course, he attracted the attention of everybody. At last, somebody said to Diarmuid: "I wonder would this be you?". Diarmuid got right back to Dublin on the plea that T.P. Gill could not get on without him. So we were told, and we accepted the statement at its face value. There was a wonderful feeling of trust then. Diarmuid got into touch with the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund, and moved about in

the old circles. When the amalgamation took place in August, 1916, O'Hegarty and Belton were put on the composite committee. O'Hegarty and Collins were very close friends. O'Hegarty and I were fairly intimate too, because we rehearsed plays together in the Keating Branch.

There was a vacant post in the National Aid Committee, and Joe MacGrath was put into it. MacGrath was afterwards taken to the Labour Department. When he left the National Aid Committee, Michael Collins was appointed, largely through O'Hegarty and Belton. Thus were links established with all the prisoners coming out of gaol. Diarmuid had no special qualifications or claims that I could see; yet he became Secretary to the first meeting of the Dáil, then Secretary to the Cabinet. Later, he abandoned the Republic, and became Secretary to the Cosgrave Government. In time, he was put into the Board of Works, and is now in charge of it. But what is he worth from the point of view of national service and national character, or national culture or the national language? He is alert where his own interest is concerned; and I hope he has some better traits than those I have discerned.

Peace Negotiations.

I have already said that I feel Michael Collins was in touch with Cope from the date of his arrival here, and I am convinced that de Valera came entirely under Collins's influence in this respect when he came back from America, if not earlier. Practically nobody but Collins knew he was coming back. I attended a couple of meetings of the

Ministry after he came home. I think it was at a meeting at Mrs. Humphreys that we definitely and unanimously decided that there would be no negotiations in England, that any negotiations that would take place should be here or in a neutral country. I remember Cosgrave came in to that meeting dressed as a priest and so, I think, did Joe MacDonagh. We were told that when de Valera met the man with the blue spectacles - Lord Derby - the latter, in suggesting negotiations, said: "Perhaps France would do as venue?". The answer was: "Yes, that would be all right". At that time, Lord Derby commented, the Premier and his staff were always to and fro on business with France. Hence, that negotiations were to be in Ireland or in a neutral country was very definitely understood. Of course, de Valera then came very much under the influence of Cope and Collins. I don't care to stress that matter very much now, because I could not depend on my memory for the precise dates; but, as to the general conviction, I have no doubt whatever.

Shortly after that, I was rounded up. Probably that was the time they wanted to get me also in touch with Cope, as they put MacNeill and the others into Mountjoy for a like purpose. That was about February. I was not sent to Mountjoy. I was first in the Teachers' Training College in Glasnevin; then in the North Dublin Union for weeks, and then taken to Arbour Hill - with tours as hostage when lorries were bombed. The day after my release, the Mansion House Conference was on, with whispers that a delegation to London would result. Cathal Brugha

was a man who would have no dealings with Cope, and Austin Stack would be almost as firm as Cathal Brugha. When the first delegation went to London, Austin, however, was a member. Soon, he bitterly regretted having gone. When speaking of it to me, he wept and said: "What happened me that I went so far?".

Soon after my release I was summoned out to Madam O'Rahilly's to preside at a meeting of the Ministry. Just before going into the chair, something arose: the meeting was not starting. Diarmuid O'Hegarty was there, and seemed anxiously awaiting something. When the meeting eventually started, I reminded them, as a preliminary, of our unanimous agreement that no negotiations would take place in the enemy's house. Seeing symptoms of evasion, I said I would never be a party to this move; so, I stamped the floor and walked out of Madam O'Rahilly's. I was the only person who took that stand. Cathal Brugha was not there. He was at the Mansion House Conference. A few Unionists - Hutchinson-Poe, Dockrell, a real West-Briton, Jameson, who long previously had made contact with Griffith, and Dr. Woods - were at it, but nobody from the North. Long before that, the Northern people and Lloyd George had an understanding.

The Conference was one of Lloyd George's moves. They put forward certain proposals, pretending that they were very eager for a settlement, and Cathal did not like to seem to stand in the way all the time. De Valera fell for it from the beginning. He was arrested after his return from America, and released almost immediately. You

say Dorothy McArdle's book puts the date of his arrest as the 22nd June. She wrote that book under de Valera's direction and tutelage, and, so far as I can recollect it - except in so far as it embodies official documents acceptable to de Valera - I do not hesitate to brand it as altogether the most misleading volume that has been written on the Republic. As a matter of fact, I don't think people knew definitely that de Valera was back until the news of his arrest was published. I remember I was on top of the tram coming from Glasnevin the morning de Valera was released after his arrest; and, to my utter astonishment, I saw him going along by Phibsboro on a bicycle. He had a jet black moustache.

I have little doubt that there was great influence brought to bear on him after he came over, and none whatever that he came over on invitation to continue the negotiations in which Michael Collins had long been engaged. Cope manifestly had laid the trap for Collins. I think that Devoy and Cohalan were of the same view as Collins and Griffith about the negotiations. At any rate, they backed Collins all the time, and Collins manifestly was a good deal inspired by them. His attitude was truly a tragedy, particularly as his activities were secret, and not suspected in the centre of authority which would have put an end to them.

As regards the military situation at the time, its alleged weaknesses must have been put forward as a reason for inaugurating negotiations. Yet I don't doubt that

Collins and his group had a supply of arms within their reach. They gave guns to West Cork, when they would give none to Kerry. My wife got a substantial sum of money from Denis Daly of Caherciveen to get guns, and Collins or his associates would not give them. Of course, that was one of the things that helped West-Cork to make the great fight they did make. They would have made the stand in Kerry and elsewhere that they made in West Cork if they had got the arms. When Collins and his "I.R.B." were able to lead Kerry to think that no arms were obtainable, they naturally were able to influence de Valera in the same direction. They wanted plums - even though unripe fruit - rather than maintain the struggle, and they got the plums for the moment.

The question of compromising did not enter Brugha's mind or Stack's. The last thing Cathal said to me at the Hammam hotel was: "We have 150,000 men again, and they are all fighting"; and I repeated that in America and Australia. He never mentioned that there were no arms. He left that matter to the people responsible. Again and again he had said: "We have our whole army-machine divided into sections with competent men at the head of each". Of course, later, he had reason to modify that opinion - because of defection and betrayal, the defection of men who had solemnly sworn allegiance to the Republic, declaring they would defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Griffith and MacNeill were released from Mountjoy and

Barton from some English prison on the eve, you might say, of the Mansion House Conference. Barton was only just back for the meeting that we were to attend in Madam O'Rahilly's; yet he knew it was to be held, and he attended, which shows that Collins was in touch with him. The Mansion House Conference and its composition was arranged mainly by Michael Collins. The whole thing was being arranged for months - even before Archbishop Clune came here. I did not know anything about it, nor did Cathal Brugha or Austin Stack realise it. Cathal had already turned down a proposal by Jameson, brought forward by Griffith; and, if he and Stack had suspected that Collins was seriously intriguing, Collins for a certainty would never have become substitute-President.

Collins was conducting all these things on behalf of the new I.R.B., and did not favour the oath of allegiance at all. He did not openly oppose it, but he did all he could to prevent it, and wished the Oath to be to the I.R.B. instead. He rarely spoke at meetings. At the most important meeting we had that time when the delegates first returned from London, he came in, went over, and sat in a corner - almost alone. When the time came to express his views, he merely said: "Ah! My views are well known to you all", and left it at that. It was not the attitude or statement of a candid man. If you were present and witnessed it, that is what you would think too. We condoned that on a certain basis: "He is tired",

we thought. I feel it is almost mean to say that now, because he is dead; but that is really how it appeared to me.

I read those articles Collins wrote in some leading English papers - a series of articles on economics and finance. Of course, they were not his articles at all. That, at least, is my conviction. Someone else wrote them, and he probably made some changes here and there, and let them appear over his name. He was not a man accustomed to writing articles. In the beginning, he did not express himself in speeches at all; but after a time he got into the habit of making sustained statements, and improved rapidly.

I have described in my pamphlet, Stepping-Stones, I think, the full meeting of the Ministry held after the first delegation came back from London. That was the delegation Austin Stack, de Valera, Griffith and others went on. It was probably at the end of July, as they did not stay over there very long. Eamonn de Valera repeatedly met Lloyd George alone in London, and the Premier's proposals proved so utterly unsatisfactory that the Conference all but broke down. Cosgrave and MacNeill were among the minority at the meeting of the Ministry that thought the British proposals were good. I think O'Higgins came into the meeting with Cosgrave, who previously had gone into hiding completely. Austin refused to go back any more. De Valera, on arrival from London, addressed a multitude from the Mansion House steps: "As

the Lord Mayor has told you, this is not a time for talk", he said. "We have learned one lesson in Ireland for the last couple of years, and that is that it is by acts and not by talk a nation will achieve its freedom. I don't want, therefore, to set a bad example by starting speech-making. If we act in the future as we have acted for the last couple of years, we will not have to talk about freedom, for we will have it".

Lloyd George's proposals, which de Valera forgot in Downing-Street, were sent later to Dublin Castle, and thence to the Mansion House where, as stated, a full meeting of the Ministry was held the following Sunday afternoon. There was a notice in the paper that morning to the effect that the meeting was to be held. It must have been inspired by Lloyd George's press agency, for it was hoped that the meeting would result in another delegation to London. And, it was a meeting to be remembered. Mulcahy was there, and made some statement that was not very inspiring; but Cathal finished it up appropriately. You will see that in my pamphlet, and you will see moreover that, despite a few evidences of vacillation, the spirit which found expression there was the spirit of "Fight; carry on the fight!".

I believe that, if properly handled from the higher places, Barton would have behaved all right. To me he seemed prepared to give close adhesion to the Republican programme. Childers also was hostile to the Lloyd George proposals, so much so that MacNeill was dumbfounded. Childers, of course, was very familiar with the English Parliament in all its moods. I think he was perfectly

sound; and went to the grave like that. He felt that his first allegiance was to Ireland; and in that spirit he made the supreme sacrifice.

The President's opening remarks at the meeting clearly referred to me: "I understand some of our members were very disappointed about our going to London at all", he said. He did not mention my name, but everybody knew to whom he referred. Nor did he attempt to justify the decision to go to London. In such matters, he is pretty adroit, and so evades questions that would need explanation and defence.

In due course, I made a speech in answer to de Valera's. I went in detail into the whole situation that would be created in the country, and the difference between the armed force we now had and the people who formerly used to come to the fairs at election times, armed with blackthorns. I had been in Killarney some time previously during an election campaign when John Murphy and Eugene O'Sullivan were rival candidates for the British Parliament. I was passing through, and had a couple of hours' delay before my train left. There was a fair on, and I thought I would go down and see Eugene. We walked around. There were half-a-dozen groups. As I passed, I heard: "Up, Murphy," from one group, and "Up, Sullivan", from another. It developed into a fight, and they had ructions. I did not want that sort of thing to happen now, when we had a Republican Government. Stepping-Stones sets out the arguments I put forward.

Collins hardly opened his eyes during the whole meeting. I would not like to recreate his attitude on that

occasion. We took it for granted that he had been out of bed till three or four in the morning. That was one of the most important meetings we had, and he practically did not open his lips. It was the same when they selected the delegates to go to London later. "Well, if others will not go, I suppose I must go" - when somebody suggested him as a delegate. Cathal Brugha and Stack had refused. I forget now whether anybody else was asked. MacNeill was in the chair, and de Valera proposed the delegation. We were in the position then that members of the Ministry could not oppose any proposal made by the President. That was a standing rule. I felt very strongly inclined to speak there, but I could not, without violating what had somehow become the practice. So, at the meeting of the Dáil when we selected the members of the delegation, I sat dumb. The people who were anxious to go manifestly had their men to recommend them. The thing that shocked me was when Eamonn Duggan was nominated. Someone said, to dispel the general surprise: "He has law". And someone retorted: "Gavan Duffy knows international law".

We did not know what was going on behind the scenes, nor indeed did we much care. In the first place, Collins became very intimate with Tim Healy. Fanny Sullivan told me afterwards that, one night out at Glenaulin, Tim Healy put £25 into Mick's pocket! - to meet the out-of-pocket expenses Mick must incur every day. And when Mick had left, Tim said: "Sure he is only an overgrown baby, a big baby". Collins and Tim Healy became intimate, Tim Healy and Gavan Duffy had family ties, and Mrs. Duffy began to refer, in Rome, to "her cousin, Michael Collins". Great

times! And the results became pretty obvious. When the discussion was on at University buildings, I sat facing Gavan Duffy. He got up to speak, and the speech was in favour of the Republican viewpoint; but, to my surprise, he voted the other way - on the plea that, as he had signed the Articles of Agreement in London, he felt it his duty to vote for them. I met him once since, walking along towards me at the Rotunda. He got quite unsettled when he saw me; and, as soon as he pulled himself together, shot scross to the other side of the street. Had he been guided by his conscience and a sense of principle, he would have looked me in the face.

It was a very difficult time, and there is no good in complaining now. I am sure lots of people at the University buildings were guided by their judgment and by the judgment of their immediate friends. If you were there, you would form your own view. If only we had taken the vote on the Treaty before Christmas! At the Christmas recess, ecclesiastical influence was used strongly against us, and people who certainly did go down the country inclined to oppose the Treaty were influenced in that way. After all, they had only a majority of seven and, if four of these had been got to vote the other way, the Treaty would have been rejected. Moreover, there should have been a rule from the outset that no previous decision of the Dáil could have been rescinded without, at least, a two-thirds majority. But 'tis easy to play the cards when they are on the table. It is perhaps worth recording here that, before the peace negotiations, Collins and Griffith

were anything but good friends: in the hour of mutual stress, they shied bouquets at each other.

The peace feelers started as soon as Cope came over, for intrigue and activities of the kind were not new to Cope. De Valera was in America before Cope became active here, if I have not been misinformed; and he was not long here when some people came to know what he proposed to do. It is just possible that, when we are all dead, some account of his activities will be traced. Singularly, while the American and British admirals were on a 'courtesy' visit to the Mayor of Boston in 1923, Cope broke in on them to see whether a public reception could be arranged there for Lloyd George some days later. "Arthur Balfour was a bigger man in American eyes than Lloyd George", the Mayor replied; "and Balfour had to skip like greased lightning through New York. If Lloyd George attempted to break his journey in Boston, I could not make myself responsible for the peace of the city". The Mayor told me the story that same evening.

The pamphlets to which I have referred you were written in a time of tense political stress which engendered more heat than is felt now. But this I do say: everything I put into them was actual fact. I would not attribute unworthy motives to my worst enemies; but you can't look on at the course of events without seeing how many people have followed the easy way. You don't, of course, want to stress that. I don't think that, at any time, I was inclined to attribute unworthy motives. That was not quite my way. I might discuss or comment very sharply on some things said or done in the course of the

Republican struggle, but without attributing motives, for the situation is there for all who wish to survey it.

Some pressmen of limited vocabulary have accused me of bitterness. I have no feeling that way at all. I delivered a commemoration lecture in Cork on the anniversary of Tomás MacCurtain's murder: it might have been the Tenth Anniversary. It turned out that, at the time, I was preparing an Introduction to a new edition of the Speeches From The Dock with a commentary on the speeches and the sentences. That was mainly what the commemoration address contained, and proved a convenience to me in a time of pressure. The book was sold out in no time, but has not been re-printed, owing to the publishing arrears caused by "the Emergency". It was sent out for review, and the Irish Press reviewed it in three or four sentences which might be summarised in "the bitterness of Sceilg". You can easily imagine the state of mind of one breathing for months the atmosphere of the Speeches From The Dock and the degree to which that atmosphere, rightly, will colour his work. In truth, "the bitterness of Sceilg" was not the matter in question, but the bitterness towards Sceilg of the hireling reviewer and the whole political machine of which he was but a cog.

Visit to America.

In 1922, I went to America with Austin Stack. I thought I owed it to de Valera not to go near Devoy because of the Split, although Devoy had mailed me two copies of his Gaelic-American every week since its first

issue. Devoy, in time, made very offensive and damaging references to de Valera, and was hostile to him because he had upset the Cohalan scheme of things. It was very unfortunate that the friction had arisen earlier between Philadelphia and New York, and that Dr. MacCartan had been involved in it. I was not a member of the I.R.B., but I was brought into the Clan in New York by John Mangan of Glin and Dr. Peter McGuinness, the Carmelite Father, who became General of the Order twice, and would have been a third time if he had lived, although he never wanted it. He was a great character, his sermons and speeches very convincing, with an extraordinary ring of sincerity about them. No man ever impressed me more. He stood very high in the estimation of our people over there. I have been led to introduce his name here in showing how I remained rigidly loyal to de Valera even though in doing so I antagonised men always friendly to me.

In New York I often met my kinsman, Michael O'Reilly, who belonged to Waterville and, after his day's work in the Western Union, used to go to help Devoy in his office every evening. Mrs. O'Reilly went to the first meeting that Austin and myself addressed, and she was terribly disappointed that I did not declare against de Valera. They were anti-Dev. and pro-Devoy. The Kerrymen's Society was the same, and no one would dare say a word against Devoy there. I met P.J. Tynan, and have had most touching letters from him, as well as a copy of one of his books: indeed, he often presided at my meetings. It was sad to see the vain longing he had to be buried in Ireland, especially as he had laid money

aside for it. In appearance, and manner, he was like a twin-brother of T.D. Sullivan. Some people say he was not No. 1 at all; but I feel convinced he was. Yes, I well remember the evidence Le Caron gave before the "Times" Commission.

When I was in America, I built up a great organisation there. If there is a fight going on here in Ireland, you will get Irish-America behind the fighting men. They see the reality of fighting, and don't trust politicians here or there, so that one has to talk blood and thunder to them all the time. I certainly went to great pains about building up our Republican organisation, and thought I had laid the foundations of something that would last while the Republic needed it. Seán T. O'Kelly went out and the organisation did not suit the purpose of his mission - to introduce de Valera's New Departure. It was I introduced him in New York. He just reached there for the Convention, but bided his time, ~~and~~ for, long before the debate in University buildings, de Valera had already made up his mind for a modification of our demand for a Republic, and Harry Boland had been sent to America on that same mission - to prepare the way for the climb-down. During my tour there, I was challenged again and again with reference to Harry Boland's later indecision. The Republic had been proclaimed from the General Post Office in 1916, and constitutionally ratified in 1919; and, no matter what deviations there might be elsewhere, I for one have always adhered and still adhere to that Republic to which practically all the elected deputies once solemnly swore

allegiance at my hands.

Countess Markievicz was the person who surprised me most when, at the Ard-Fheis of 1917, she supported the idea that, if people wanted to change the government from that of a Republic, it was their right to do so. The view we accepted that time was that it could do no harm to admit that, so that we would not seem to hurt Griffith's feelings. Later, we came to see only too clearly the folly of our gesture of comradeship.

As I may have already mentioned, I have been reading from boyhood the history of the French Revolution and of the French Republic. I loathed it, and that was the feeling in my home. That was the feeling my father and mother and relatives had about Robespierre and the anti-Christian, inhuman excesses of the Revolution. Fortunately, I formed a different opinion about the Republic of the United States that dethroned England, and in due course - influenced largely, I may admit, by Cathal Brugha - I had no difficulty in swearing allegiance to the Irish Republic.

The anti-conscription campaign converted many people to the idea of the Republic, although Redmond had got so many to join the British army. But those people did not count now in the struggle. I was a candidate at the 1918 election in Louth, and many farmers there, who were "Molly Maguires", belonged to the local A.O.H. At least two of them invited me to their homes, very substantial farmers with very comfortable houses. They offered me £100 each towards election expenses, "because ye are the men that

kept my sons home from Flanders". I was very agreeably surprised; but more surprised later when I lost my seat through Frank Aiken - with de Valera's connivance, if not at his instigation , while I was a prisoner at Botany Bay - being nominated in my stead, like the cuckoo laying its egg in another bird's nest. That act of treachery and ingratitude, without precedent in Election history, has determined my estimate of the sordid politician, whether he be professing Republican or Communist.

SIGNED: Seán Ua Ceallaigh. 1. Sceilg

DATE: Lá Bealtaine. 1. May Day 1950

WITNESS: S. Ó Cadhain