

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILÉ TA 1913-21

No. W.S. 355

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COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 355.....

Witness

Mrs. Kitty O'Doherty,
30 Claude Road,
Drumcondra, Dublin.

Identity

Quartermaster Cumann na mBan 1916;
Courier to Kilkenny Holy Thursday 1916.

Subject

- (a) National activities 1913-1922;
- (b) Storage of arms pre 1916;
- (c) Work of Cumann na mBan Dublin 1916;
- (d) National Aid and I.V. Dependents Fund;
- (e) Clan na Gael in America 1919.

Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness

Nil

File No. S. 255.....

Form B.S.M. 2.

ORIGINALSTATEMENT OF Mrs. K. O'DOHERTY,30, Claude Road, Drumcondra, Dublin.Cumann na mBan.

I joined Cumann na mBan about two months after its formation. My husband was a member of the I.R.B. from long before the Volunteers were formed. Later, he was in the Volunteers - G. Company of the 2nd Battalion.

I have brought with me a number of evening and daily papers of 1916, which I will hand in to the Bureau, if required. They are very interesting.

I was constantly in touch with Volunteer Headquarters. I was Q.M., in name, in Cumann na mBan. I used to sit at the top of the stairs, and mark everybody's cards by putting my initials, "K. O'D". on them. I succeeded somebody else who had been doing it before. We met at 25, Parnell Square. We were a Branch of Cumann na mBan. It was the Ard Craobh of Cumann na mBan, and it was the only Branch for a long time. Headquarters were in Dawson Street.

We had weekly meetings. We had a roll-call at each meeting. Miss MacMahon was Secretary of the Committee, and called the roll always. She is now Mrs. Rogers. Mimi Plunkett and I decided when Miss MacMahon married that some presentation should be made to her. They were not unanimous in the Branch. We decided to get an ink-stand made. It was made of silver and ebony. The design was a facsimile of the Cumann na mBan pin. Egan's in Cork

/carried

carried out our design. It was decided to present it to Mrs. Rogers in her new home in Kimmage. I took a girl, named Brigid Connolly, with me on an outside car to make the presentation to Mrs. Rogers. After her marriage she never came back to the Branch.

We did drilling - signal drilling. There were no arms whatever. I know of claims that were made afterwards; but I can only say what I know and can stand over; no arms were used. We were parading, doing signal drill and ordinary drill, and marching. We cut a very bad figure in the marching, and then Captain Seamus Kavanagh was drilling us in Cumann na mBan.

If you wish to get the books of the National Aid, I have the right, as one of the three trustees of the National Aid books. They were deposited in the National Library, with a statement, signed, that nobody was to have access to these papers up to fifty years from Easter Monday, 1916, without the express permission of one of the three members of the Committee. That is the position. I have actually a copy of the list of the books and papers. The minute book of the National Aid Association would be a very good guide for what you are trying to do. You would find it very interesting.

I knew that the Rising was planned. I knew that it was coming. It was always: "Good-bye, and here's to the day". I did not know what day was fixed. Tom MacDonagh was the first to give me a very good tip that, in three weeks' time, it would come off. He told me what he had been doing, that he had been scouting Dublin, and

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that he had all the maps of the neighbourhood, the hills and everything. We discussed some back lanes and short cuts and things; and he said: "Within three weeks, we will have a stir." That was exactly three weeks before the Rising. He did not name the places.

Tom MacDonagh used to come to my home. Dozens of people used come to the house. We never did any big entertaining, but they would be given whatever was going for tea. Seán MacDermott and Tom MacDonagh used to come often. Tom's connection was through Pearse. I was a friend of Pearse and I also knew Padraig Colum. I used to go boating with Pearse and I met the others at Gaelic League outings and aeridheachta. I was intimate with Pearse and interested in his experiment at Cullenswood and St. Enda's. He was a dreamer, but unfortunately never had the money to bring his dreams to fruition.

At the funeral of O'Donovan-Rossa, the members of Cumann na mBan wore uniforms. Some of them were badly made, as if they were cut out with a knife and fork. However, we were not a military-looking body. We were very dowdy.

Preparations for the Rising.

From January 1916 the men began to come from England and Scotland. There were two camps, to which these refugees from the other side came. One was at Larkhill, Kimmage; and the other was 28 or 29 North Frederick Street. Seán Noonan and Ernie Noonan, his brother, and Francis Kelly came. These three were in Mick Cremin's tent. He always lived in a tent, because

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he was an individualist and did not like to live in the city. He was always in very close contact with my family. These three men had to go out there to Mick in the hills. A contingent of men came from Glasgow, and a certain number from Liverpool. I had not much to do with the London crowd, but with these other boys who came over. They were working men. The Glasgow men used my house as their headquarters and when they were afterwards arrested two, at least, gave it as their address.

I have handed in two exhibits. I want you to test the truth about the hoisting of the flag. Walpole is the man who claims it; but my own firm belief is that Seán Hegarty was the man who hoisted the flag. Walpole does not give Hegarty the credit. It is my opinion that it was mainly Hegarty who did it. Seamus Robinson came over from Glasgow with Sean Hegarty and the others; and he was very closely associated with Sean Hegarty. I have no personal interest beyond the truth. When this man, Hegarty, was dying, he sent for me and my husband, and asked me to befriend Ellen, his sister. He was buried in the Republican Plot. You would like to see him getting credit and recognition.

I secured a flat in the top portion of a tenement house in North Frederick Street. The caretaker was Mrs. O'Toole, and her husband was an ex-British soldier. Downstairs, a big room, to the left-hand side, was the headquarters of the Hibernian Rifles. They took part in the Rising in 1916. I knew all of them, and the girls. Three girls got pensions - the two Healys of 188 Phibsboro' Road, and a girl named May Kavanagh. A brother of the Healy girls, Sean, who was in the Fianna, was killed at

/Doyle's

Doyle's Corner on the Tuesday of Easter Week. The Hibernian Rifles were not The Ancient Order of Hibernians but Board of Erin. They were associated with America. Consequently, when the pensions form was being drafted, the Hibernian Rifles were included as members of the Army; but all gradually merged into the I.R.A. I took this flat for these refugees in the same house as the Hibernian Rifles Headquarters. They were just living there.

Then I had to look for delph, teapots, knives and forks, etc., for the flat. I collected what was necessary. It was ordinary stuff. I got a lot of help from Mrs. Murphy and her sister, who lived opposite the Cattle Market. They gave me cups and saucers and things for these men. They should get mention, because I also got them to look after men on the run, including Mick Brennan and George Plunkett when they were all on the run. These two ladies lived together. One was a teacher. She was Miss McShane. Her sister, Mrs. Murphy, was school attendance officer. They were lovely people, but very charming. The name of their house was 'An Grianan'.

Instructions were given by Seán MacDermott to get groceries for these men in the flat, from Farrell's in Dorset Street. Farrell was a brother-in-law of Joe McGuinness. Bulmer Hobson came on Friday evenings to check the accounts. I met him there, and showed him the dockets for the different things I got. He paid the bills.

About this time, Tom MacDonagh came to me to ask me, for God's sake, to come over to Headquarters, that Nellie Gifford was setting them all mad. I don't know was it true.

true. She had started an employment bureau - of course, with the best intentions in the world - at 2, Dawson Street.

At these Headquarters, The O'Rahilly had a gun-room at the top, up the stairs. Michael O'Hanrahan was in charge. The O'Rahilly was an important man - buying arms and ammunition. I was actually there when a big cheque came in for arms. I understand it was the first cheque for arms, which came from Philadelphia. I got that information from the man who sent it, Joe McGarrity. I could not say for what amount it was. That occurred before St. Patrick's Day, 1916. On other occasions before and after, the Clan na Gael money had been sent in the form of gold sovereigns in small tin canisters. Clan na Gael men took jobs as sailors both above and below deck to bring messages and money. The messages were always in code.

Nellie Gifford had a big ledger book in this place. She was getting the names of all these men who had come over from England and Scotland and were looking for work. I don't think she realised that those men could not take work except with trusted employers where references would not be asked for. Michael Collins did not go into any camp. He was staying in Rathdown Road. Donal O'Connor, a chartered accountant in Westmoreland Street, allowed him to go into his office, so that he would have an objective. Collins went up and down to the office without being paid.

In order to help these men in the camps, Seán MacDermott gave me a long list - a foolscap sheet with
/names

names and addresses written on it - and a small receipt book, with each page stamped, and told me to go around and get subscriptions from these people. I had no trouble getting the money. They were sympathetic to the cause.

I did not interfere with Nellie Gifford at all. We were friends. I can say that her employment bureau did not achieve any tangible results.

A few weeks before the Rising, some time in March, I was coming with Seán MacDermott from a meeting of Cumann na mBan. We went in to see J.J. Walsh's shop in Blessington Street where Seán wanted to leave some dispatches. After a lot of talk, during which J.J. Walsh said it would be quite easy to land arms in small quantities in wooden boxes at small Ports along the coast, Seán and I came out. He said people like J.J. Walsh could ruin us with talk like that; he wished they would keep their mouths shut. He told me that Tom Clarke wanted to see me. When I went to him the next day Tom told me to hold myself in readiness to go to any port in Ireland at very short notice and that it was terribly important and that he would not send anybody else but me. Although he did not tell me what for, I was strongly of the opinion that it was in connection with the landing of arms. Spindler's book on page 244 shows that Casement had intended to land somewhere on the coast of Wicklow and I therefore conclude that this^{is}/where I was to be sent, as the times correspond fairly closely.

Saving the Guns.

We had a last Céilidhe coming off on the Saturday
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night before Palm Sunday in the Banba Hall, which belonged to the Grocers' Curates Association. It was the Cumann na mBan final Céilidhe. On the Wednesday or Thursday night before it, I and a number of members of Cumann na mBan were in the Library of 25, Parnell Square, holding a final meeting. A knock came to the door. I had my back to the door. Whoever answered the knock said: "Mrs. O'Doherty!" I went out. There were two men outside - Seamus O'Connor and Micheál O'Hanrahan. Seamus O'Connor is still alive. He is City Sheriff. He was on the Executive of the Volunteers. I knew he was a prominent member of the I.R.B. I knew him very well, over a long period. Micheál O'Hanrahan was a rather quiet retiring man. It was surprising that they should execute such a man because he did not seem to be prominent in anything that was going on. I said: "What is it?" Seamus O'Connor - he was timid too - said: "There is a job to be done". I was very used to hearing that. I said: "What is that?" He was very excited, and told me, hurriedly, about guns that were in O'Shea's in Arran Road, Drumcondra. He said: "You must get them. We want you to save them". I asked him: "How did you know I was here?" He said: "We were up at the house". Máire Ní Suibhalaigh and my sister-in-law, Rose O'Doherty, were in the house. They told Rose; but they came to 25, Parnell Square just the same, and asked me to save the guns. I turned round immediately, and went back into the room. I asked the girls to volunteer. I said: "I want volunteers. There is a job to be done". Nobody said a word. After a little while I looked round at them. I said to Brighid Foley: "Brighid Foley, do you refuse to come?" So

/Brighid

Brigid came, and Effie Taaffe too.

I would like to explain the position leading up to my being asked to save the guns. Information about everything practically used to come out from the Castle. We had our own men in there, who were helping the movement, as well as earning their own living, by working there. Any raids that were threatened, any bits of information from the country, or any telegrams - all these things were made known. They were brought to the Castle, and then our friends in the Castle passed them on to us, thus proving that this bit of information came out from there regarding Seán O'Shea and the arms.

Arms were being got into the country in any and every possible way. Seán O'Shea, who is still alive - secretary to the N.A.I.D.A. - lived that time in Arran Road, Drumcondra. He was connected with the Irish Cutlery Company on the Quays. I don't know whether he was actually a member of the Volunteers, or not. He was very sympathetic. He was getting in small arms, under cover of a War Permit, which he had for the purpose of getting in stuff for his firm. This day that these two men called for me, the boxes of stuff came in to the North Wall for Seán O'Shea, and, although they were marked, "War Permit", somebody opened them, and 'phoned to the Castle that Seán O'Shea's stuff contained small arms. Actually, the word, "bayonets", was used to me too, but I could not say, not having seen them. When our man in the Castle was told, he immediately sent out word to Seamus O'Connor's office. Seamus was a solicitor. Seamus O'Connor knew that O'Shea's house would be raided, and that the stuff from the previous day had gone on to the house.

I had myself a regular arsenal under the floor in my sitting-room. I can give you plenty of proof. It was my husband, of course, who really was responsible, but he was away travelling, and I was in charge. I had dozens of bandoliers. I know nothing about firearms. I never claim to do what I did not do. I had these bandoliers, with bullets stuck in them - .303. They were either bought from British soldiers, coming home while the war was on, or got by some other means. Then I had some of the Howth Rifles, which were not very good, as they were too heavy. Also, I had the matrix of the proclamation, which was printed by poor Dick McKee, aided by my husband. I had it stored away safely, with my husband's knowledge, and with the permission of Gill's. Dick McKee was working in Gill's. In order to get it printed, Dick McKee and Mr. Keohane connived with my husband to steal the keys of the printing press at Gill's. They went down there one night, stayed the night, and printed thousands of these notices, which were headed, "Your King and Country Needs You". The heading of the notices was similar to that on many notices issued by the British authorities, but in the body of the notices they had drawn up something ridiculing the British. I had the matrix of that, and I was raided, but it was not taken, because the raiders were misled by the heading.

When Brigid Foley, Effie Taaffe and I left Parnell Square and came across to Findlater's Church, on our way to O'Shea's house, - it was only a short distance - I told them what it was all about. Brigid Foley said she knew Mrs. O'Shea. We saw a horse and jaunting car there, and we hired it. Johnny Lalor was the name of the driver. I engaged him to drive the two American delegates

/afterwards.

afterwards. He lived in Fontenoy Street. We sat up on the side seats, and he was in the dickie. I said: "Stop at the foot of Arran Road. I don't want to make any noise. Someone is sick. There is a new baby there. It is just past St. Patrick's Training College". We arrived at our destination. I had half-a-crown in my pocket, which I gave to the driver. If he had asked for more, I would have had to get it from the others. It was only a short run away.

We proceeded to O'Shea's house, which was on the right-hand side of Arran Road. We had no conversation. My two companions were kind of glum, and I was not so full of courage myself. I knocked. Mrs. O'Shea answered the door. I said: "We have come for the guns". She was very agitated. I said: "Where are the guns?" She said that they were out in Fleming's van. Fleming's had a grocery and pub just at the Tolka Bridge. Dot and Kitty Fleming were in the Cumann na mBan, and their brothers, Eamon and Michael, were in the Volunteers. I asked Mrs. O'Shea: "Where is the Fleming's van?" She said: "Out the road". I said: "The Fleming's van could not be out now, because the shop would be closed". She did not ask us in, or anything. She was really windy.

We left Arran Road, and came out to the Drumcondra Road. The first two we met were Máire Ní Suibhalaigh and Rose O'Doherty, who is now Mrs. Pa Murray. They said they had come to help me. I said: "If we are all going to be walking around together, we will attract attention." They said: "There are others. There are men trying to help you". I said to Máire Ní Suibhalaigh - I knew her
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intimately; we were good friends - "Máire, you come with me". I left Brigid Foley, Effie Taaffe and Rose O'Doherty, and I took Máire with me.

Fleming's shop was second from the corner of Botanic Road. When we arrived there, the shop was closed. There was a big policeman standing outside. I knocked. Someone said: "Who is there?" I said: "A customer. I want a pound of tea". Michael Fleming opened the door. I said: "I came for the guns". He damned, and damned. He was not a bit nice at all. He called his brother, Eamon. He took Máire and myself out through the kitchen. We did not go out straight through the shop. We were brought across a cobblestone yard. It was a horse stable; there was a spring van there with two big parcels of guns. He opened a door on to Botanic Avenue. This was the only entrance for a car. It was not built up, as it is now. He shoved us out into the street. Máire said to me: "Glory be to God, Kitty, this will kill you".

When we came to Botanic Avenue - we had gone about two hundred yards only - three men stepped up behind us. They were Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Gearoid O'Sullivan and Fionán Lynch, and they were living, at that time, at 44, Mountjoy Street. I went there often. Gearoid O'Sullivan was a teacher in St. Peter's Schools. When the three stepped up, Diarmuid O'Hegarty, who always talked with a strong accent, gave me his gun, and said: "Walk in front. If anything happens, walk back to me". They carried our two parcels. I walked just a little bit ahead of them. We passed one policeman at Botanic Gates. We came into Botanic Road at a point, almost but

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not quite past Botanic Gates. This policeman was standing there, and never even looked at us. Maire was walking with one of the three men; the four of them were chatting away; and I was in front by myself. It was after ten o'clock when we got to Flemings, and there was no delay there. It was going on for eleven o'clock when we arrived at the Canal Bridge, where they halted, and coughed for me. They told me: "You go ahead, and open your back gate". I went on towards my home.

We lived at 32, Connaught Street. Actually, our home was always being watched, from the top and the bottom of the street. I went in. Effie Taaffe was there, with Rose. I said: "Turn out the lights in the front of the house". I went out to the back gate, and opened it. Maire and the three men had come up the back lane. There was an exit at the upper end. They came into the house, through the kitchen, up the stairs, and in to the drawingroom. We put on a light. I said to Rose: "We must get these men something to eat. They are going to stay, in case we were followed". There were 110 guns in the parcels. They were small arms. Seán MacDermott gave one of them to me, which I still have. It is a small revolver - all nickel. Rose said: "We had better give them a bottle of stout". She went downstairs. Then she called me, and said: "There are only two bottles of stout". There was a third from which the cork had previously popped off. On this occasion, there were only two fresh bottles of stout for three men, and there was some frightful sweetcake. I said to Rose: "I never could pull a cork". She said she would pull

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the corks. We gave Fionán Lynch a glass of stout, which had no top on it. We thought it might sicken him, but it didn't. These three men stayed for several hours. They counted the arms. There were 110. Then we put the arms into the "glory-hole" under the stairs, where the gas meter and shelves are. There were big round stones on the floor. I had to pull out the big stones, and they shoved in the stuff.

I got up a concert - a March concert. Bulmer Hobson was not at any of our concerts. All the concerts practically were given in 41, Parnell Square. I have a letter in connection with that concert I organised for G. Company. We used to do everything for the concerts. We knew all the artists. Sometimes people even tried to join the Volunteers after our concerts. At one of these, Tom MacDonagh made a very daring speech. It opened with the words: "I am only a common soldier". Pearse spoke at another concert. I had asked him to come. He made a wonderful speech. None of them was in the habit of making daring speeches, because we knew there were always detectives at these gatherings. Our chief concern was to raise funds. I attended practically all the functions at 41, Parnell Square. Every week there was a concert for one or other of the Companies. I cannot remember having had a concert on Palm Sunday. I did not hear of any concert on Palm Sunday. It would certainly give me a jolt to discover that Seán MacDermott and MacDonagh allowed Bulmer Hobson to make a speech at a concert on Palm Sunday. They would not have allowed him to go on, because they would not have wanted him to make a statement in public. I don't believe that story.

/Preparations -

Preparations for the Kerry Expedition.

On the Saturday night, we had a céilidhe. I was there - not dancing - in my Cumann na mBan uniform. I was not in the ceilidhe room. I was not interested in dancing. I was talking to Seán MacDermott. He always laughed a lot when he was excited. He always had a very insinuating smile. He was talking to me about things in general, and about the guns. He was paying me really great compliments, because the Emmet concert which I had organised was a great success. Diarmuid Lynch had got the advertisements for the programme. Then he said: "You go in there, and send out Fionán Lynch to me, from the Ceilidhe Hall. I want to discuss a little business with him. He is one of the men that I had intended to send to Tralee. Send him out to me. I am going to cancel that". I went in, and went up along to where Fionán was. I said Fionán was wanted outside. I did not come back; but I came out afterwards; and Seán said: "Get me Con Keating". Con Keating had bought two tickets from me. He had taken them, but had not paid for them. I went in, and got Con Keating. He was a fine type of man - a grand character. I said: "Seán wants you outside". Con Keating went out; and Seán MacDermott gave him his instructions about going to Kerry.

Con Keating came up to the house to pay me for the two tickets. I think it was Tuesday. It was in the day-time. There was a gun, which had to be shifted. Con Keating said he would shift it. He put this gun into the leg of his trousers. It looked just as if he had a stiff leg. He paid for his tickets, and walked off with the gun.

Purchase of Stores for the Rising.

I got a note from Seán MacDermott to go down to him on Tuesday. He said: "I want you to do something special". He had the ceillidhe money - Miss MacMahon had handed it over to him - and he gave me £100. He said: "I want you to go to the Junior Army and Navy Stores in D'Olier Street, and buy all the Army blankets you can - also, basins and soap". "If you are caught", he said, "you don't belong to me". He arranged to meet me in the hall of the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League. It was right beside "An Stad". I was to meet him there at eight o'clock on Wednesday night.

In the meantime, I went to buy the stuff. I brought Rose O'Doherty with me. She did not have anything to do with the buying, but she came with me. We went to the Army and Navy Stores, which was a big shop, with stairs going up, and a balcony. I walked up, looking around. I came to this counter and I said I was looking for Army blankets. They got the idea that I was some Britisher. I said I also wanted some soap and basins. After a while, I had the Manager. I had never seen Army blankets. He said: "What regiment are you catering for?" I said: "I am in the happy position of having friends in all the regiments". He said: "There is a new regiment after coming into Portobello Barracks". A new regiment had come. So I said I just wanted to see the stuff. He had somebody taking them out, and putting them down on the counter. He said: "These are better class. How many do you want?" I was thinking. He said: "If you take more, I will give you them at a flat rate." There were some dear, and some cheap. I could not tell you exactly

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how many I got, although I had the receipts. I had hundreds of things like that but you wouldn't have time to look after them all, although I did manage to salvage a good few things. I paid for all the stuff. He was waiting, very alert. "To what address?", he asked "Will we send them for you?" I said: "Care of Count Plunkett, Larkhill, Kimmage." He wrote down the address. Basins and everything were to be sent. They were delivered too.

I met Seán MacDermott on Wednesday, as arranged. I did not go to him directly. He was standing in the hall. I had the change and the receipts. I said: "These are the receipts. Will you take them?" He said: "Not at all, not at all. Did you ever meet this man?" I said: "No". Standing near was Mick Collins. That was the first time I saw Mick Collins. Seán had in his hand a little thing, which I thought was a meat mincer, or coffee strainer. He said: "Do you know what that is for? That is for making munitions". I gathered he said it was for making .22 ammunition. He would not count the money. He was kind of cranky. He handed the gadget and the balance of the money to Mick, and said: "You take that. These fellows, the blackguards - they are breaking all my implements. Look at that - so useful. You go ahead, and make these men work harder". He said a few things - that the men were slacking, but he gave Mick Collins the instructions to get them to work harder. I had not been home. Seán said to me: "There is an important message for you at home". I went home.

/Carrying

Carrying of Dispatch to Kilkenny.

There was a message for me when I arrived there. I was to go out immediately to Tom Clarke's house in Richmond Place at the end of Richmond Avenue. By this time, it must have been half past eight, or later. I used to live on the wind most of that time. I had a maid. Anyway, I went off, down Clonliffe Road and out to Tom Clarke's house. When I got there, Tom Clarke was sitting in an inner room, in off the drawingroom, through folding doors. I went in to Tom. I said: "Seán sent me". He said: "Yes. Will you go to Kilkenny in the morning?" I said: "Of course". Tom was very quiet, and very thoughtful. He said: "Wait a minute. I knew you would. You will have to get the 6.40 train in the morning. Can you make it?" I said: "Yes". He said: "Now, we will give you your train fare. If you get something, and if you have to take a motor car for the journey home, take it. But be back here by two o'clock". That was Holy Thursday morning. "Now, listen", he said, "don't say that either Seán or myself sent you. Say Pearse sent you". - he repeated it - "Don't say that either Seán or myself sent you. Say Pearse sent you". Then he gave me a blue envelope. This was a written message for De Loughrey. I did not see the message. Tom said: "Tell him that you are to bring the samples. Say you will take the samples". In the light of after events, I know I was supposed to get hand grenades; but I did not know then. That was my message - that I was to take the samples. Daly came up along Clonliffe Road with me - escorting me - when I left Tom Clarke's house on Wednesday night.

I got up very early on Holy Thursday morning. I had my message, and £3, which Tom Clarke had given me. In the morning, I started off to walk along the North Circular Road to get to Kingsbridge Station. There were no trams. It was a cattle market day. Just as I was at Phibsboro an old man got off a hackney car; and I hired the hackney, and drove to Kingsbridge. While I was in the station - there was quite a queue standing, waiting for tickets - the first I saw was Marie Perolz; and further up in the queue was Maeve Cavanagh. Marie Perolz went to Waterford. I think Maeve Cavanagh went to Limerick, or it might have been to Cork. She was there. I knew her. Miss Perolz and Maeve Cavanagh were there. When I got to the Station then, all the fuss was on. We just winked at each other. Then news came that there was a German submarine in the Bay, and that the mail boat was delayed. Consequently, our train was one hour late in leaving; and I did not see them again. They all got into the train. I did not have to change at all. I got out at Kilkenny. I am not very good at praying, but that morning I was praying that I might find the Iron Foundry, without having to ask for directions.

I walked from the Station, and, walking along, the first thing I saw was "Iron Foundry". It was a dingy-looking place. To whoever was behind the counter, I said: "I want to see Peter de Loughrey". He bowed, and I said: "I have just come off the train from Dublin, and I have a message for him". He was immediately antagonistic. He said: "Who sent you?" I said: "Padraig Pearse". He took the letter, which I handed to

/him,

him, and went to an inner room; and he was out again in a minute. No one asked me to sit down. He said: "Who sent you?" I said: "Padraig Pearse". He said: "It was not. It was Clarke and MacDermott. I have my instructions and I am going to act on them". I said: "I was told to take the samples". He said: "I have my instructions, and I am going to act on them". He was just as short as that.

I know that messages were sent out earlier - before Thursday. I think there were some sent to Kerry - not to fall into line with the Sunday's arrangements. Hobson was to blame for it. I can't prove that. (That is why I am so amazed when you said he made a speech at a concert on Palm Sunday). We were told that Hobson had sent out messages. "Countermanded" was the word - Hobson had countermanded. You know that every man was to be ready for Sunday, and you know the arrangement that was to be made for Kerry. I was working in the office in Dawson Street. I don't know, from my own experience there, that he sent out these messages. I did not see any messages. I will think it out. That, as I told you, was the impression that I had at the time. De Loughrey said: "I have got my instructions, and I am going to act on them". He would not give me anything. "It was not Pearse who sent you", he said, "it was Clarke and MacDermott sent you".

Then I went back to the Station, and got my train to Dublin. I bought a twopenny bar of chocolate. There was nothing else to do. When I arrived in Dublin, I went straight to Tom Clarke's shop. I gave him the
/change.

change. I told him what happened. Tom's eyes lit up. He said: "Just as I expected". He used to stare, and look right through you, with the most extraordinary eyes; you would know he was not thinking about you. He said: "Just as I expected". That was Holy Thursday.

It was Marie Perolz who talked about it afterwards to me. We talked so often that I am amazed she can't think of it.

I know Dan Carroll went to Kerry. He went on Good Friday. I can't tell you what message he carried, but he went to Kerry. He was one of the very best fellows. He was Intelligence Officer afterwards in Paddy Moran's^o Company. He died later, in Australia. The O'Rahilly came back from Kerry. I understood from Dan Carroll that he met The O'Rahilly in Kerry. Dan Carroll told me that. He was a professor, and was a native of Newtownsandee.

Good Friday Activities.

On Good Friday morning, at ten minutes to ten (I know that, as the Phibsboro Church bell rang) - I was going to have new curtains put up for Easter, particularly because my maid was going away on Saturday morning; she was doing odds and ends; I said to her: "It is nice and quiet; we will get them up". Michael O'Hanrahan called with a message. He lived higher upⁱⁿ the street than we. I knew him personally. He said: "You are wanted. Eóin MacNeill wants you immediately over at Headquarters, and you are to bring some trusty messengers". He saw the position I was in. I was there, and the curtains were down. I said: "Tell him I will be immediately over,

/after

you". So I went.

On my way down, I decided to call for Miss Perolz, having seen her the previous day. She was living in North Great George's St. I called in. She was down in her basement. She was very tired, but she was up. She said, yes, she would go - "bad luck to you, O'Doherty"! I went down George's St, down the hill and in to Tom Clarke's shop. Tom was standing there in the shop. There were no customers. He was looking into the future. He was not looking at you at all. I talked to him. He said "Go over to MacNeill. Don't bring any messengers but come back and tell me what is happening". So we just had a few words. I forget what it was about. It was not anything of any bearing on this at all. I went straight over to headquarters, No. 2 Dawson St.

There was confusion at headquarters. Barney Mellows was singing. The women of the Cumann na mBan were taking out the remainder of the stuff. They were in a room on the right-hand side of the front. Eoin MacNeill and Barney Mellows were in a room on the left-hand side of the first floor. I went straight to Eoin MacNeill. His face was a study to me. He was always very sallow. He now had two huge pink spots. He said to me: "I want you". He did not ask me about the messengers. He said: "Wait awhile. I want to give you all my private papers". I was standing there. They were tearing up things and pulling out everything. I stood my ground. I did not say anything at all to him, or anybody. There was real confusion, but it was not like a raid, because they were singing. MacNeill said to me: "Hobson is out joy-riding". This was Good Friday morning. I heard a whole lot. Anyhow, this was the statement - that Hobson was out joy-riding, and they were very much annoyed with him, on such a day and with so much at stake; and he was out joy-riding. Miss Perolz came up the stairs. MacNeill had this parcel - all papers - rolled. It was a very

big parcel. He made it himself. I saw him reading things, and tearing up some. These were his private papers. I can assure you I never looked at them once I gave my word. It was a parcel rolled in brown paper. Finally, he was finished. He said: "You keep those until they are called for; keep them yourself" - he emphasised "yourself" - until I send a special messenger to you. He said this girl, Ryan, would call for them. This girl, Maeve Ryan, was a blonde, with ringlets, and was dressed beautifully; she lived, as far as I know, on Clonliffe Road. MacNeill emphasised the fact that I was to keep them under my own control - "keep them yourself". The last sight I got of Barney Mellows was of him still singing in the room.

I walked down the stairs, chatting to MacNeill. When we came to the outer door, Miss Perolz was now standing outside the door. Hoey, the detective, who was always haunting us, was standing at the lamp-post. Eoin MacNeill's car was not directly outside No. 2; it was up a bit - about a hundred yards beyond it. I went up with him, carrying the parcel myself, and shook hands with him. I turned round and saw that John MacDonagh was joining Miss Perolz. He was not in No. 2 Dawson St. I did not see him there. He never struck me as serious. He said to me: "Allow me, Madame". I said: "No, no, I carry my own parcel". He said to me: "I don't walk with a lady with a parcel". I said: "Then you don't walk with me". We just walked along. He said he was going out to the Volunteers in Croydon Park, Fairview. I parted with him at College St. I did not want to be with anybody. I felt I had something valuable. I felt I owed that much to MacNeill. I took home his parcel.

On Good Friday afternoon I went down to Liberty Hall to see the Countess. I was very fond of her - and still am.

She did a lot for us, and no one realises more what she did for us. There are a few petty women who did not think much of her. I went into Liberty Hall to see her. I thought I was accustomed to her eccentricities. She said to me: "I want to show you something. I could not fight in skirts, though I am wearing one now." She had a short skirt of green material and she just undid one big hook. She stood up in Breeches and puttees. It was a shock that remained with me, when she undid the hook. She repeated: "I could not fight in skirts". She was very proud of herself. I don't think it was a cast-off uniform of Mallin's. This was perfect-fitting. She looked marvellous. She had a Sam Brown. She wanted to show it to me. You know how tall she was, and how skinny Mallin was. She really looked marvellous. She said: "Come in to Connolly". She brought me in to Connolly. He had a green coat on him and had it open at the neck. I thought he was only after waking up. He was dishevelled. They were printing the proclamation. I did not know Connolly very well. That was the last time I was in Liberty Hall. I had been so often in Liberty Hall when the Countess had her kitchen during the strike in 1913. That is how I was very familiar with her,

Holy Saturday.

On Holy Saturday, my maid went away for the day and never came back.

On Saturday, my husband arrived with a big case of guns from Derry. It was a huge case, like a cabin trunk. The train got in to Amiens St. Station around one o'clock. It was well known that the guns were coming. It was like bees around a jampot, because the crowd were around to get the revolvers. There were all kinds of revolvers and ammunition for them. There were no rifles. He brought them from Derry.

He came home on Holy Thursday night from his business travels and he went straight to Sean McDermott, who sent him to Derry on Good Friday. He used to bring home tins of gelignite. He had to go down to Sean McDermott with them. I can't tell you any other details. Joe O'Doherty was in Dublin. I left him in the house when I went away on Holy Thursday morning. I did not see him when I came back. My husband said to me that Sean McDermott ordered Joe back to Derry immediately; he was very annoyed with him. On Good Friday he had to go on the mail train to Derry. On Saturday these guns were being distributed. At the same time, I had to leave my children and go to Lawler's of Fownes St. to buy webbing and water bottles for people coming to the house for them. I made three journeys. I had to put on a different hat each time I went to the shop. I did a lot of shopping of that sort for them.

During the day various people came looking for arms, ammunition and equipment. Miss Perolz came looking for .303 for a friend of hers and I gave it to her. Another who came was Patrick Shortis who was unfortunately killed in the Rising.

Sean Hagarty was a man who gave great assistance doing all sorts of jobs. As I have already said, he, and not Walpole, hoisted the flag on the G.P.O. on Easter Monday. The Scottish contingent were coming and going all day - Eddie Carrigan, Paddy Morrin, Sandy Carmichael, Cormac Turner, two brothers called Rice. One of these brothers did not take part in the Rising because he got covered with a rash and had to go to hospital.

On Saturday night my husband was called on a very important message to Sean McDermott who asked him to collect Pearse from Sean T. O'Kelly's house, I think in Rutland Place. He, my husband, called at 28 North Frederick St.

and brought with him a fine fellow called Lieut. Craven, a Volunteer. I have his narrative about his part in the Rising and will give it to you. They brought Pearse to a meeting in Hardwicks St. This would be after midnight. My husband and Craven stood guard in a room in the house during the meeting which lasted a long time. Craven did some great work on the Easter Sunday, being sent to fetch some gelignite from a quarry in Co. Dublin.

Easter Sunday.

On Sunday nobody knew what was happening. People kept coming in and out and talking excitedly. Micheal O'Hanrahan came. Liam Archer, Diarmuid Hegarty, Fionan Lynch, Paddy Moran, Michael Staines and Gearoid O'Sullivan came in in the evening and I remember giving them all rashers and eggs. During Sunday, in spite of the countermanding order in the paper, I myself received a mobilisation order. This was contradicted later. The men were discussing the same thing. Their mobilisation orders were cancelled and they were to stand to.

The Rising.

On Monday morning the order to mobilise came to my husband direct from Sean McDermott and a similar one from G/Coy. 2nd Battalion, to which he belonged. Paddy Moran came in great excitement with a pair of lady's white gloves and his will. He had taken a girl to a dance on the Saturday night and her gloves remained in his pocket. He then told me that he was going to fight and asked me what foodstuffs he could bring round to me from Doyle's in Phibsboro' where he worked and where I used to buy my supplies. He brought me a basketful of tins of salmon, loaves of bread and jam. Immediately after that Frank Daly called. He asked what tools he could get to demolish a

bridge that had been assigned to him. It was a bridge on the country side of the Cabra Bridge. He took all the tools he could lay hands on. He saw my plight, alone with 3 small children. On Tuesday, the girl who was engaged to Bulmer Hobson called. She was weeping, and leaning on another girl who was with her. "Where is Bulmer?" she asked. She had been sent by MacNeill to fetch his papers which I handed over to her. At some hour that same morning Eily O'Hanrahan called to discuss things with me. She told me that she had been on a message to Enniscorthy and Wexford, that she had not delivered it but had eaten it. Mrs. Martin Conlon and two of the Foleys called and discussed the release of Hobson. Maire Ni Cairbre, later Mrs. English, came to ask if I had any more arms or ammunition in the house. She was so anxious to get them that I went to an old Parnellite, Mr. Goggins, who had often shown me guns and small arms which he had kept as souvenirs. He gave Maire Ni Cairbre all he had. The rest of the week was uneventful. My husband was away. People down the street were opening their doors and giving tea to the soldiers and there were all sorts of wild rumours scattered. On Thursday, Father Ned Flynn, the curate in Ratoath, who had attended the wounded after the battle of Ashbourne, made his way in to me on a bicycle. He gave an account of the battle. He communicated with my brother, Fr. Gibbons in Kinnegad and the latter came with a car on the Friday and took myself and the children with him to Kinnegad. I think I stayed there till about the 9th May.

I think it was on 3rd May, the day of Pearse's execution, that my sister, M. Columba of the Loreto Convent, Navan, wrote the poem "Who fears to speak of Easter Week". The two Pearses were very close friends of my brother. The song was being sung all over the place. I did not know at

the time that it was composed by my sister as it was signed merely "Colm". She was always very patriotic and got into difficulties in the convent over it. We used to send her the national papers through a travelling Irish teacher, Seamus Ó Murchadha. She wrote the song on the back of an envelope and gave it to him. He had it typed and disseminated. It caught on very rapidly.

Volunteers' Dependants' Fund and amalgamation
of the two bodies.

Almost immediately after the executions - my maid came back to me on the 12th May - a few of us met in an office in D'Olier St. It belonged to Sean (John R.) Reynolds. Miss McMahon and I had been in touch with him before the Rising. He had put us on the Wolfe Tone Committee which used to meet in 41 Parnell Square. Our purpose in meeting now was to collect the names of the men in gaol and to get in touch with their dependants. Miss McMahon told me that there was a quantity of gold coins - this was very hush-hush - supposed to be buried in Tom Clarke's garden at the top of Richmond Ave. This would, no doubt, have been sent by Clan na Gael. She suggested that it would be used for the relief of the Volunteers' dependants. That money never materialised, so we did not know where to turn to provide funds. The authorities banned all our efforts to collect money publicly, by flag days, etc. Private subscriptions were coming into our Organisation which was called the Volunteers' Dependants' Fund. Miss McMahon was the chief driving force of the organisation. She worked 18 hours a day. Eily O'Hanrahan was an early member. Molly Reynolds was a good worker too. Our chief difficulty was that some persons were getting money from a rival organisation called the National Aid Association. The prominent members of

this were Fred Allen (Sec.), Mrs. Wyse-Power, Louise Gavan-Duffy, Min Ryan, Alderman Corrigan, John Gore, Tom Cullen (the architect), J. McVeigh, John Dillon Nugent. There was no prohibition on their collecting money, perhaps because of their name. They had intended to work on a big scale and there was continued friction. We found that having got money from them, people also came to us and some even got money from the Prince of Wales Fund which was a fund raised for the relief of British War widows. The confusion only lasted at the outside six weeks. In mid-June John Archdeacon Murphy of Buffalo came over as a representative of Clan na Gael and John Gill of the Bronx, New York, as a representative of Labour.

It was about this time that I applied for and obtained a permit to visit Austin Stack in Kilmainham. I showed my permit to the sentry at the gate, gave him a half-crown and walked innocently across the yerd. Suddenly Austin Stack, Con Collins and Seamus Brennan - he had been arrested in connection with the trouble in Tullamore before the Rising - rushed towards me in great excitement. Austin said they had a chance to escape through a friendly warder if a car could be procured and brought to the prison gate at midnight the next evening. I did not know what to do. I went to Floss O'Doherty, a cousin of Fionan Lynch, who was a teacher in Queen St. Schools. After a lot of trouble he succeeded in getting a milk-cart which he arranged would turn up at the prison gate at the appointed hour the next evening.

I went home, and what was my amazement to see the door opened by Seamus Brennan. He informed me that, shortly after my visit to the prison, Austin Stack and Con Collins had been transferred to Mountjoy and he himself with some others had been set free after a drumhead courtmartial.

In the Spring of 1916 the Clan na Gael in America had called an Irish Race Convention in New York from which sprang a new open - not oath-bound - organisation, called The Friends of Irish Freedom. Its object was to crystallise the Irish American vote for the purpose of American politics. Judge Cohalan came to be head of it although Fr. P. McGuinness the Carmelite, was elected head, but, being shortly after elected Superior-General of his Order, he had to go to Rome, leaving Cohalan in sole command. Immediately on receiving the news of the executions the Irish blood was roused to indignation and the F.O.I.F. started a nation-wide collection by which the money poured in. The Clan na Gael (John Devoy) wanted to pick up the threads of the organisation here. No letters or papers went uncensored. Consequently, there were four delegates nominated by the F.O.I.F. which was honeycombed by Clan na Gael. These were sent to Ireland in the second week of June to collect first-hand information and to make arrangements for disbursing the considerable moneys of the Fund. The two mentioned came through. Murphy was a member of the Council of Clan na Gael. He was a lawyer Gill was a labour leader. Mr. Murphy told me he travelled with 13 suits. The other two - one of them was Thomas Hughes Kelly, - I cannot remember the name of the second - were turned back from Limerpool. The delegates stayed in the Gresham. On the day of their arrival they went over to Gill's to see my husband whose name was given them by John Devoy. I was sent for immediately as they wanted somebody who would show them round to the places they wanted to go and to the people they wanted to see. The detectives followed them from their arrival and questioned them in the Gresham. They were ordered to go to H.Q. at Parkgate to report the purpose of their visit which they explained was to provide relief. I came to the Gresham and after a short conversation in which I explained all I knew about the

victims of the Rising and the families of the executed and imprisoned volunteers. They insisted that I should accompany them in all their fact-finding visits. They even wanted to pay me. They hired a car - the same driver I had taken on the occasion of saving the guns. Everywhere we went we were followed by another jaunting car full of detectives. The Americans called ~~on~~^{them} the Christian Brothers.

Johnny Lawlor, our driver, did his best to lead them a dance by making all sorts of detours. I brought them first to the North King St. area to the houses where the tenants had been butchered by the British soldiers. We visited every house which, of course, took hours. They were terribly impressed. Then I took them to the houses of the executed leaders. We went first to St. Enda's where Mrs. Pearse showed the relics of her sons and the letter sent out to her by the prison governor telling her Padraig wanted to see her before his execution. For almost three weeks we continued these visits. In the meantime, Min Ryan came back from America where she had been sent by the Committee of the National Aid. She had only been away 6 weeks altogether, and said that there was no money to be got in America. I heard that she had asked Mrs. Clarke for an introduction to John Devoy but had not got it. Her mission was a failure as she evidently did not succeed in making any useful contacts.

I remember one funny incident in the course of our visits to the relatives of those who were executed or killed. The delegates wanted to see a real live Fenian. I brought them to Peadar Macken's father who lived in Nassau Lane. He was in bed as he had been when I visited him earlier. He did not say a word. I asked him to tell about his activities in '67 but he still remained silent, looking at his visitors. I filled his pipe for him and then he said "Do you know what th

girl said to the priest when he asked her an awkward question at confession: "Well, father" says she, "if it's your hearing day, it's not my telling day." The delegates were very much amused and when we left, asked me to repeat the story to them so that they could tell it again in America.

They then found that we had two funds and that there was overlapping. Therefore they decided that an amalgamation should be brought about. Mr. John Archdeacon Murphy approached both parties with this object in view. I should point out that the Irish Volunteers' Dependents' Fund dealt solely with the relatives and dependants of the executed and imprisoned Volunteers while the other worked on broader lines. Very strong objection was raised by members of the I.V.D. Fund to the presence on the committee of certain Irish Party representatives, mainly Hibernians, e.g., J. McVeigh and Nugent. The final decision was that there should be twelve members of each committee with 5 labour members (O'Brien, Farren, Foran and 2 others). Archbishop Walsh was invited to act as Chairman. He deputed the Administrator, Father Bowden of the pro-Cathedral, Marlboro St., to act in his place. When the committee was formed Mr. Keohane of Gill's was appointed deputy chairman.

The delegates had brought £5,000 with them as a token and gave a promise of endless contributions. Larkin from America sent a sum of money expressly to Fr. Magennis who was on holidays at the time at the Carmelite College, Terenure. I don't know what the money was for or how it was disposed of. Our Fund did not get it. The two delegates drove with me to deliver it to Fr. Magennis.

The name of the organisation was henceforth the National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund and we took quarters finally in Exchequer St.

It has been generally conceded that no fund has ever been so economically administered. As well as America which, of course, contributed the lion's share of our funds, Ireland's friends in England, Scotland, Africa, Canada and Australia sent generous contributions for our purposes. On the return of the convicted prisoners in June 1917, each of them received a lump sum - £40 for married men and £20 for single men on the day of their release, as well as £250 later for married men and £150 for single men, or the equivalent of a year's salary. Any further information required in regard to the disbursing of the moneys of the Fund and the operation generally of the Committee can be obtained from the minutes of the meetings which, as I have already stated, are deposited in the names of the three trustees: John Murphy (formerly of O'Loughlin, Murphy and Boland), who is still alive and who was a close friend of Parnell's and was very prominent in the '98 celebrations, William O'Brien and myself.

Mr. Gill returned to America some time before Mr. Archdeacon Murphy and there was a little comic episode associated with his departure.

He was very fond of birds and he told me he wished to bring back one or two from Ireland. I said I might be able to get him one. The caretaker of the house in North Frederick St. where the Hibernian Rifles and the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League were located was an ex-soldier called O'Toole. He had rescued a linnet in a cage from the Linenhall Barracks when they were burnt down and brought it to Nth. Frederick St. A member of the Hibernian Rifles, Christy Healy, and myself asked him to sell it to Mr. Gill. He refused, probably expecting an offer of a large sum to be paid for it. Healy told me he would undertake to get the linnet which sang beautifully. He arranged with a pal

of his to meet on Sunday morning at a certain place and to go to the Bird Market to buy a linnet. Healy turned up but although he waited a considerable time, his pal did not. He went alone to the Bird Market and bought a linnet in a small cage. When he informed me what he had done I went to the house in Frederick St. and, finding the caretaker's wife there, I sent her on some errand to get her out of the way. Healy substituted the linnet he had bought for the one in the cage which he took home with him to his house in Phibsboro Road and hung it in its cage on the wall. Healy's pal, who had made a mistake about the place of appointment, also turned up at the Bird Market and bought a linnet in a cage. He brought it to Frederick St. and exchanged it for what he thought was the wanted linnet which he took to Healy's house. Healy was not in, so he laid it on a table in the parlour. When the caretaker's wife came back her little son told her that Christy Healy had taken their linnet out of the cage and put in another. She rushed to Healy's house and, seeing the linnet in the cage on the table, she seized it saying: "My darling bird, you'll never see the shores of America". Mr. Gill was delighted with the bird when it was brought to him and he took it back with him to America.

Immediately after the Rising my husband had started organising the I.R.B. and he became the acting head of the Supreme Council of the Provisional Government of the Republic which met at our house. All communications from John Devoy came to him and that is why the American delegates contacted him in the first instance.

According as batches of prisoners were released from time to time from British camps and gaols a lot of unfair comment was reported from various places against the leaders of those Volunteer Brigades - such as Cork and Kerry - which

had taken no part in the Rising. My husband, as head of the Supreme Council, attended an inquiry into the matter which resulted in a complete exoneration of the leaders in question.

McCartan's Missions. Count Plunkett's Election.

Return of Prisoners.

Kevin O'Sheil & Andrew Malone came to our house with a view to sending somebody to America in order to have Ireland's case represented at the Peace Conference. Count Plunkett was the man chosen, ^{for the Peace Conference} he having been elected as member for Roscommon in the Republican interest. My husband and Fr. O'Flanagan wrote his election address for him in our house. There were no funds to fight an election. On hearing this from my husband, Fr. Flynn of Ratoath wired to me that they could count on him for £400. When Mr. Keohane of Gills was informed of this, he said they should not accept all that from him, that he himself would put up £200. This sum of £400 formed the basis of the election fund. Without the generosity of these two men the election could not have been fought. Of course, the money was eventually reimbursed from funds collected in the constituency.

Just before the election one day Mick Collins was in our house. He was very anxious to go down to help at the election but did not know how he could get there. As it happened, William O'Brien called, and when I found he was driving down to Roscommon, I asked him if he had room for a man. He said he had and Mick Collins got the seat. William has often said to me since that I had the responsibility of launching Mick Collins on his career.

At that time petrol, being strictly rationed, was very scarce. I want to pay a special tribute to the Liberty Hall men in this connection. At my request, William O'Brien and

Tom Farren, who had been accustomed to electioneering, collected a man called Sexton, Dan McCarthy and some others. All these said they would like to go down, but where were they to procure the petrol? My husband arranged with a man who had a cycle shop, Reynolds, in North King St., and one day a message came to me that the "stuff" was there and should be fetched immediately. My maid's mother, Mrs. Healy, who lived in 188 Phibsboro Road, had a small pony and trap which I borrowed and was obliged to yoke myself. I called at the cycle shop and Reynolds and another man loaded in a sack into the trap 9 tins of petrol. One of these leaked on the way and I deposited it in the hall of a tenement house. This petrol was used for the various cars that went from Dublin to the Roscommon election.

Michael Davitt was the first choice of the local committee in Roscommon and, when he declined in deference to his mother's wishes, Mrs Laurence Ginnell was sent to interview the Count in Oxford, who consented to stand. Ward's Hotel in Boyle was the headquarters for ^{the} republican side.

Before proposing the Count as candidate, my husband had got an assurance from him that he stood on the platform of the Proclamation of Easter Week.

My husband's activities in connection with the Roscommon election did not meet with the approval of his colleagues in the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. who did not seem to realise that the object for which that Body was founded and kept in existence up to the Rising had been realised and the Republic become a fait accompli by the Proclamation of Easter Week. Therefore, although they had ample funds in their treasury it was not made available for this "constitutional" purpose.

Between the Roscommon election and the Longford election

the Count was active in establishing Liberty Clubs as opposed to the Sinn Fein Clubs, as Arthur Griffith was still President of Sinn Fein.

The first Sinn Fein Club in the city that was started after the Rising was the O'Rahilly Club in North Frederick St. Sean T. O'Kelly asked could he join it and did. This Club became the nucleus of a Sinn Fein Election Committee for representation in public bodies.

The establishment of the Liberty Clubs contemporaneously with the existence of Sinn Fein resulted in confusing the public mind on the exact position and after de Valera was returned for Clare and really recognised as leader, the name of Liberty Club was abandoned and the term Sinn Fein was henceforth synonymous with Republican.

The next decision was that somebody should contact Russia. "Andrew Malone" knew a Russian doctor in London and suggested that contact should be made through him.

Pat McCartan, who was on the run for almost a year in Tyrone, had not been attending the meetings in our house, but there was a constant courier travelling - Josephine Owens of Beragh (she afterwards married Justice O'Hanrahan) - who took messages to him. The difficulty then arose of getting a passport for whoever should go as emissary to Russia. A forged passport for Italy was obtained for Dr. McCartan who volunteered to undertake the mission. Having gone to Liverpool, he found there was no prospect of getting away for weeks so he went to London where he interviewed the Gavan Duffys and met this Russian doctor at their home. His visit to London coincided with the publication of Wilson's famous 14 points as conditions of a ~~peace~~ treaty. On the evening of the release of the prisoners from Lewes

Gaol he tried to contact them at Euston. He found that they had been taken by a special train. He followed by the night mail and overtook them at Holyhead. He showed them the statement that he was bringing with him to the Russian government. The text of that is in his book.

In the meantime McCartan had got word from Dublin to go to America instead of to Russia. Actually on the way to Dublin Eoin MacNeill began to write a statement which was to be signed by the most prominent of the released men. The boat came into Dunlaoghaire and the ex-prisoners came to Westland Row and were taken to Fleming's Hotel in Gardiner's Place. McCartan (who was still on the run) travelled to town by tram. As an arrangement was made that all the released men would meet at the National Aid Offices in Exchequer St. to be photographed, it was decided that the statement should be completed and signed there by the representative men.

During the forenoon, I prepared a linen handkerchief, dipping it in cold starch and ironing it while wet so that it would be like parchment. The men then met, the statement was approved and signed. The full text of it also is in McCartan's book "With de Valera in America". My husband and Dr. McCartan brought the statement to our house and transcribed it in indelible ink on the handkerchief, transcribing also the names of the signatories. When it was dry I dipped it in cold water to remove the stiffening. I then took McCartan's waistcoat, ripped it at the top and bottom and inserted the statement between the two linings. I then sewed up the waistcoat again and he brought it in that way to America, wearing it under his sailor's gansey.

In 1918 I was on a panel of Sinn Fein candidates put forward for election to the Corporation. Mrs. Wyse-Power was

the other woman. Sean T. O'Kelly also was a candidate. I lost by four votes. Mrs. Wyse-Power and Sean T. were elected. Shortly afterwards on the same ticket I was elected Poor Law Guardian.

Death of Thomas Ashe.

When Thomas Ashe died on hunger strike in Mountjoy Aine O'Rahilly and myself were deputed by the National Aid Society to buy wreaths and hire cars for the relatives of Tom Ashe at his funeral.

Visits to America and Associations with
Clan na Gael.

I should mention, lest I forget it, that if you have not got a copy of the last part of Casement's diary dealing with the month of March just before he left Germany for Ireland, I might be able to procure it for you. When I was in America in 1932, Maloney was writing his book about the forged diaries and Joe McGarrity gave me the original of the diary to get photostatic copies made of it for the purpose of completing Maloney's book on the forged diaries. I got four copies made at the Chrysler Building in New York and Joe McGarrity gave me one copy for myself which I brought back to Ireland with me. Dr. Curry, who was a close friend of Casement during his last months in Germany, took charge of the diary for him - which was addressed to Joe McGarrity at the address in Philadelphia at which Casement had stayed with him - concealed it in a piece of lead piping buried in the ground, until he found an opportunity of bringing it to America and handing it over to McGarrity. I don't know at what date it was actually handed over to him, but it cannot have been long before my arrival in March 1932. I lent my copy to de Valera who, I presume, still has it. I shall ask him for it when I have an opportunity.

Maloney, who had the greater part of his book written, before I left, asked me to read it over to him. Joe McGarrity told me that McGocey, who left Germany for Ireland a short time before the Rising, never arrived there. He thought he was lost at sea. I understood from Joe that he was from Tyrone. Spindler says in an appendix to his book that he was one of the prisoners of the Irish Brigade at Zossen and that it was he and a Corporal O'Toole that were originally to come over with Casement.

My first visit to America was in 1920. I went out there because my husband had been sent there in 1919 by Keohane of Gill's on a business mission for that firm by which he was employed. He had been on hunger strike in Mountjoy for 19 days and was released under the Cat and Mouse Act. He went to America from Liverpool via Belfast as a stowaway. While there he devoted a lot of his time to propaganda for the Irish cause, working in conjunction with Clan na Gael and the F.O.I.F. He worked on Joe McGarrity's paper "The Irish Press" which was published in Philadelphia.

I met Harry Boland who was in America at that time having been sent over largely through the influence of Mick Collins who wanted to have a direct link with Clan na Gael. He joined forces with Liam Mellows, Pat McCartan and Liam Lynch. They had been instructed by the Dail to raise a loan of 1½ million dollars in the U.S. Harry was also to prepare the way for de Valera's visit. As he was on the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. he would have the entrée to the meetings of the councils of Clan na Gael and de Valera would not, because, after the Rising and when released from prison, he had refused - as did Cathal Brugha - to have anything more to do with the Brotherhood. They considered that it had no further reason for existence as the Republic to establish which the organisation was founded had been solemnly proclaimed in Easter Week when the I.R.A. had taken the field openly, not as an oathbound society, but as an army of Irish citizens of all classes. On the other hand, Mick Collins and Harry Boland

with some others worked hard both in detention and after their release to form a powerful instrument of the organisation and they eventually dominated it.

In February 1919, the third Irish Race Convention was held in Philadelphia with a view to getting all elements of the Irish-American population, especially their leaders, to sink their differences and co-operate wholeheartedly to maintain the status quo in Ireland where the Republic had been established de jure as well as de facto by the elections in December 1918, and to give her financial aid to carry on the struggle with England. Joe McGarrity was mainly instrumental in bringing about the Convention which was held in Philadelphia and was attended by all the prominent leaders of the clergy and laity who were interested in the welfare of Ireland. After protracted discussion it was agreed that the most practical method of helping Ireland was to bring pressure to bear on President Wilson to have the delegates chosen by the Dail, namely de Valera, Count Plunkett and Arthur Griffith, received by the Peace Conference with a view to obtaining world recognition of the Irish Republic. A resolution was also passed to give financial aid to the government of the Republic and a Victory Fund of one million dollars was inaugurated.

Three prominent American citizens, Frank P. Walsh, Governor Dunne and Michael J. Ryan, were chosen as delegates to the Convention to travel to Paris to interview President Wilson. Ryan was a Clan na Gael man, leader of the U.I.L. and represented the interests of Cohalan and Devoy. They failed to influence Wilson to get a hearing for the Dail representatives at the Peace Conference. Lloyd George was the chief obstacle. They then travelled to Ireland and toured the country to find out conditions for themselves. They wrote a damning report of the British administration in

Ireland. M.J. Ryan refused to sign it and shortly after returned to America. The delegates suggested that when de Valera went to America he should hold meetings in all parts of the States for the purpose of enlisting the sympathy of the Irish Americans and raising a loan - M.J. Ryan said he could foresee no difficulty in raising considerably more than the 1½ million dollars already sanctioned by the Dail. That would enable them to continue the struggle against Britain, as they could now expect nothing from the Peace Conference.

After his arrival in America in June 1919, de Valera stayed three weeks with Joe McGarrity in Philadelphia. He then took rooms in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York and at once was hailed enthusiastically as the President of the Irish Republic. He was interviewed by reporters from all the prominent papers. In reply to their questions he handed them for publication a statement of which I shall give you a copy (Appendix A.). There seemed to be complete unanimity of opinion among Clan na Gael and the F.O.I.F. in regard to helping him to carry out his mission.

In a short time, however, it became apparent that the co-operation of Cohalan, who was head of the F.O.I.F. and who had shown himself very obstructive at the Irish Race Convention in February, would not be forthcoming. He looked upon himself as the leader of 20 million Irish Americans - was, in fact, looked up to as such - and therefore a very important man in the political life of America. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court which was a high distinction for any Irishman - or even American - to attain. He had no intention of handing over the organisation which he controlled to a man who, he realised at once, might seriously undermine his authority with his followers.

At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the F.O.I.F. - Cohalan had nominated this Committee of 15 himself - held at Park Avenue Hotel and presided over by him, it was resolved to launch the Bond Drive. A certain amount of the Victory Fund - a couple of hundred thousand dollars was mentioned - would be given to de Valera for the purposes of the Dail, but only on condition that he would leave America at once and return to Ireland. Harry Boland, Pat McCartan, Liam Mellows and Joe McGarrity, who were present at the meeting, walked out of it as a mark of their disapproval of the resolution, although McCartan afterwards behaved very meanly towards de Valera. Diarmuid Lynch, himself a member of the Dail, who was paid secretary of the F.O.I.F. almost from his arrival in America, having been appointed at the Second Irish Race Convention held on the 17th and 18th May 1918, did not follow their example. Throughout the meeting he had shown the greatest hostility to de Valera and identified himself completely with the attitude of Cohalan and his supporters, which was, in fact, hostile and threatening.

In all this campaign for the recognition of the Irish Republic and the raising of funds to sustain it, Joe McGarrity played a very noble part. His efforts to bring about unity among the leaders and, for this purpose to conciliate Cohalan, were untiring and he did not break with him until there was no alternative left to him. Cohalan's eyes were fixed on the coming Presidential election in America and he intended to trade the Irish Vote in support of Johnson against Wilson with whom he had quarrelled in 1916. That was one reason why he did not intend to send any more than a fraction of the Victory Fund to Ireland.

McGarrity laboured hard for the success of the Loan. A friend of his once said to me "When the account of the Bond Drive comes to be written, the heroic work of Joe McGarrity

will be seen in its true perspective.

The selling of Bonds was illegal in America and though the Bond Drive was the name colloquially used, the use - officially - of the word certificate is important, as it was by this means that the Blue Laws were circumvented. This particular device, however, was not invented by the F.O.I.F. but by Joe McGarrity in consultation with de Valera, and it was they who consulted Martin Conboy and got his opinion as to its legality. A date in August 1919 was fixed for the winding-up of the Victory Fund and all the outstanding moneys were called in before the Bond Drive was launched. De Valera had in the meantime wired for Mr. James O'Mara. The latter, as Trustee of Dail funds, asked for a statement of account of the Victory Fund. This was refused by the Executive of the F.O.I.F. although Mr. O'Mara proved to them from the propaganda literature they had issued themselves that the money had been collected on the pretext that it was for Ireland. It had reached over a million dollars. 10,000 dollars had been sent to Ireland in reply to an urgent message from the Dail immediately after the Irish Race Convention and a sum of 26,000 dollars had been given to de Valera in America for the purpose of organising his mission.

On the 23rd August 1919, de Valera's headquarters were finally opened in the Stewart Building in New York. They called themselves the American Commission on Irish Independence. Frank P. Walsh was Chairman, and Harry Boland was Secretary. At this stage the F.O.I.F. gave 100,000 dollars by way of a loan from the Victory Fund to finance the Bond Drive.

The Bond Drive was a great success. De Valera's meetings throughout the States were attended by large and

enthusiastic crowds. Devoy, however, and his followers, especially Cohalan, did not relax their efforts, both by vilification in the Clan na Gael organ - The Gaelic American - and by underground intrigue, to discredit de Valera with the Irish-American population. This campaign of slander eventually threatened to become so destructive that Harry Boland, on the authorisation of the I.R.B. in Ireland, decided to cut off the Clan na Gael organisation as represented by Devoy and a few of the Executive from the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and to affiliate the remainder of the Executive and the rank and file of Clan na Gael who wished to co-operate with de Valera's mission and the objects of the Republican government at home with the Irish organisation. Luke Dillon was appointed Secretary of the new body. He played a most noble part and was faithful to his trust to the end. To substantiate my statement in this matter I am giving you copies of three publications in the Irish World (Appendices B. C. & D.) and of two letters from Michael Collins to the Gaelic American (Appendices E. & F.). These documents speak for themselves.

For the sake of historical accuracy and in order to grasp fully the position outlined in the following paragraphs, it must be remembered that Arthur Griffith was the last President of the Irish Republic. It is also necessary to bring my statement beyond the period you are dealing with, as I cannot leave any loose ends.

A sum amounting to 5,125,640 dollars was subscribed by 257,988 people; more than half of it was sent to the Minister for Finance of Dail Eireann, thereby leaving about 2½ million dollars in the New York banks. A second loan was launched just prior to the Treaty and a small amount only was subscribed to it.

In August 1922, Mr. Cosgrave sought an injunction from the Court to restrain the American Banks from paying the money to the two Trustees, Stephen O'Mara and Mr. de Valera. At this time James O'Mara had resigned. The third Trustee, Dr. Fogarty, had supported Mr. Cosgrave in his demand. Mr. Cosgrave's claim was contested by the Republican Party thro' de Valera. Judge Peters, in May 1927, having heard all the evidence, decided that the Irish Free State Government was not legitimately entitled to the money which was subscribed for the Irish Republic. The Judge directed that the money be returned to the subscribers pro rata. Consequently, the money in the banks was repaid to the subscribers at the rate of 58 cents for every dollar subscribed in May 1930. A very large number of the subscribers assigned their rights to this money to Mr. de Valera for the purpose of starting a newspaper. In 1933 de Valera redeemed the balance of the bonds, i.e., 42 cents of each dollar subscribed with interest. It is worth recording that while the distribution by Court decree of the unexpended balance was pending, Professor Smiddy, the Irish Free State Minister, in Washington, handed over un-issued bonds to the F.O.I.F. to the value of 100,000 dollars to enable them to recover the sum advanced from the Victory Fund to finance the Bond Drive. The net result therefore is that out of the Victory Fund which was estimated at over a million dollars - the exact sum was never disclosed - only 36,000 dollars was ever expended for the purposes of Dail Eireann, i.e., the 10,000 dollars sent direct to the Dail, and 26,000 dollars used to finance de Valera's tour in the U.S.

My familiarity with all these matters began in 1920 when, as already stated, I followed my husband to America where he had got employment on Joe McGarrity's paper "The Irish Press". A man called Sexton, an American, was appointed editor of that paper in succession to Dr. McCartan.

Associate Editor was Patrick Lagan, a self-educated Tyrone man of great ability who is still alive. Sexton contracted T.B. and my husband carried on in his place as editor, manager and general factotum. I helped him at this work in order to keep Sexton on the payroll. I used to read the proofs of the whole paper and contributed many of the articles. In this way I became steeped in the movement.

Immediately after my arrival I started an organisation called the Irish-American Relief, and we obtained large sums of money and shiploads of goods which were forwarded to Ireland through Mr. Fawsitt.

When the Countess Markievicz came to America in 1922, she asked me to organise Cumann na mBan. She was called back to Ireland and she sent me a written appointment, handed to me by Joe McGarrity: "I hereby appoint Mrs. Kitty O'Doherty to organise Cumann na mBan in America".

Signed: Constance Markievicz.

I had, on the advice of Joe McGarrity, to organise the women under the name of the Ladies Auxiliary of Clan na Gael owing to the fact that the New York Cumann na mBan had been incorporated under charter and would be entitled to any moneys we would collect if we called ourselves Cumann na mBan. On the advice of Harry Boland, who addressed us in the Irish American Club, we adopted the other name mentioned.

Luke Dillon, who was General Secretary to Clan na Gael, was also our Secretary, and the District Officer of Clan na Gael was our District Officer and attended our meetings.

Return to Ireland.

I came home in 1922 with a very large sum of money which was given to me by Luke Dillon. There was a meeting

of Clan na Gael held at Atlantic City one Sunday immediately after the attack on the Four Courts. Luke, McGarrity, Father Hanna of Butte and others of the party opposed to John Devoy were present. They came in a taxi that night to my house where I was entertaining a party of Irish-American ladies who had contributed sums of money to enable us to send home Capt. Jerry Kiely who was anxious to take part in the fight under Liam Lynch. He had been staying with us for six months recuperating from a nervous attack he got after the capture of Mallow Bks. When he read about the attack on the Four Courts he burst into tears, saying his place was at home fighting with his pals. My husband procured a parabellum revolver for him and sent him home. He lost his life afterwards protecting Dan Breen.

Instead, therefore, of bringing my visitors in from the taxi, I went and sat in it with them. Joe McGarrity said they wanted to know the truth about affairs in Ireland and asked would I be prepared to go there and bring home some money. I said "I would tomorrow". They said they would try to procure a false passport for me. I told them I would get a passport myself. I went to the Consul in Philadelphia. I had been doing some work for him and knew him well. He advised me not to travel in an American boat and got me a passport in my own name. He arranged my passage in an English boat and instructed the purser whom he knew, a man called O'Hagan from Newry, to take particular care of me. When I told McGarrity and the others that I was sailing on the following Thursday and that everything was fixed up, they were amazed and pleased. They gave me a linen bag with 60,000 dollars in gold sewn into it which I wore on me. It was held in place with straps across my shoulders. They told me to hand over the money to Harry Boland; if I could not

contact him I was to give it to Austin Stack; failing Austin I was to give it to Sean McSwiney. I then suggested that if he failed me, I would give it to Seamus Robinson and they agreed.

The Purser gave me a nice nook to myself on the boat on which, at Boston, I was joined by a Sister Josephine, who was coming to do a course of teaching in Liverpool. There also came on board a lady who greeted Sr. Josephine effusively. She was Miss Nora Dwyer, secretary to Professor Lowell, who was making a tour in Europe via Ireland at her employer's expense. Having found out that I was going to Ireland she attached herself to me. We were not long at sea when the purser brought me the Ocean News in which I saw that Harry Boland was killed. A day or two after, he brought me another copy of it which described a fight in the Dublin mountains in which Austin Stack was killed. Therefore, it was clear that I would have to hand over the money to Sean McSwiney. I had some difficulty in shaking off Miss Dwyer in Cork, so I took a car. I did not know where the McSwiney's lived, but I asked the jarvey to drive me to Terence McSwiney's grave and then I said I would like to see where he had lived. He showed me and I dismissed the car and walked to the house, Sean McSwiney was not in and Mary asked me to leave the message with her and she would give it to him. I refused and kept the money until I was able to hand it over to himself, and his O/C., Mick Leahy. ^{all} Then, as the trains were not running, I succeeded in getting back to Dublin by car/^{and train} with great difficulty and at considerable expense.

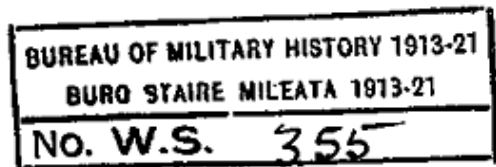
I have been for some time collaborating with Mr. de Valera in writing a book about the 18 months he spent in America and that has also helped to keep alive my memories of all that Joe McGarrity told me about the vicissitudes of

of the American movement in aid of Irish independence.

Signed: Kitty O'Doherty

Date: 17th Feb. 1950.

Witness: Suzéad ni Cúisín



APPENDIX "A".

FIRST STATEMENT HANDED TO PRESSMEN IN N.Y.C.

From today I am in America as the official head of the Republic established by the will of the Irish people, in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Last December Ireland, by more than three one majority of deputies - chosen by ballot on adult suffrage (the exact figure 79 to 26) demanded her rights under this principle.

The deputies chosen on the direct issue of the establishment of the Republic outnumber their opponents by more than two to one (the exact figure being 73 to 32) nor are those who consider the Republic undesirable as numerous even as the 32 would indicate.

IRISH UNANIMITY.

The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland on this issue is higher than that claimed by the American Colonies when they declared their independence and decided that they would no longer allow themselves to be exploited by England in the interest of Imperialism. You had your "Tories" and your "Loyalists" to whom Washington very properly sent the ultimatum that if they preferred the interest and protection of Britain to the freedom and happiness of their own country they might forthwith withdraw themselves and their families within the enemy line.

The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland is higher too than that by which your own glorious Union and Constitution were established. Had complete unanimity been insisted upon as a precedent to your independence, as some people pretend to believe it should be insisted upon in the recognition of ours - then you would not be today as you are - a United Nation - the greatest on earth, with a unified territory that is a continent - and a population and a

prosperity that is the envy of the rest of the world, but merely thirteen miserable disunited Colonies - with your people kept permanently divided by the intrigue of English statecraft into opposing and contending groups. It was the hope of re-establishing such a condition and not for any love for the Southerners that was the inspiring motive and object of England in aiding the South in your Civil War.

HOW AMERICA MIGHT HAVE FARED.

The factories which everywhere dot this land, the industries giving employment to your many millions of operatives and providing a profitable local market for the products of your soil, would not exist. The jealousy of English manufacturers and merchants would have moved English legislators and English diplomats to compass their destruction at the very moment they were conceived. They would have destroyed yours as they have destroyed ours, and as they will continue to destroy them if they can but retain their mastery over us.

Your Mercantile Marine which now carries the fruits of your industry to every land would also be non-existent. England would have seen to it that only in her ships would she allow you to trade.

The mistress of the seas does not nurture possible rivals and your harbours now busy with the ships and the commerce of all nations would be as idle and as undeveloped as ours.

DEPOPULATION.

Had the fathers of your country waited for this unattainable unanimity your population which, within living memory, has increased from about twenty millions to over

one hundred and five millions would instead have been reduced by one-half as ours has been - an example unique amongst civilised peoples free or unfree. Had Ireland been under Kaiser, Emperor or Czar its population would have been doubled or trebled as the population of the three divisions of Poland, of Bohemia, of Alsace-Lorraine have been. Our population should normally have increased from eight millions to sixteen - instead - our population, though we are the second most fecund race in the world, has decreased through English rule from eight million to four.

England would have contrived for you even in your abounding land, the artificial famines recurring in every decade which she has continued in ours - which has been no less favoured with natural gifts from the Almighty. Crushing your industries she would have forced the young, the enterprising, the bold, the very pick and flower of your manhood and your womanhood into the emigrant ship to build up the greatness of some new land where liberty to live and to develop was denied them.

PARELLEL BETWEEN AMERICAN AND IRISH REVOLUTION.

No! The leaders of the revolution that made you a nation, while admitting, as we do, that a minority has its rights, would not concede that its will should be allowed to prevail as a perpetual veto on the will of the majority. Rule of the people by the people would, by such a concession, be reduced to an absurdity. The very same catch-cries and the very same tools were used by the English Government against the leaders of the American Revolution as are being used today against us. But your leaders acted - and so have we acted. The majority behind them justified them. Our majority more than justified us. They proclaimed their independence and their Republic. We have proclaimed our

independence and our Republic. The justice of their cause even in the darkest moments was for them a hope - a surety even - that they would ultimately win if they but persevered. The justice of our cause is similarly our surety. They fought. We have fought and are still fighting. They were called traitors and murderers - so are we - though we were never England's Colony and never accepted England's rule.

SEEKING AMERICA'S AID.

The men who established your Republic sought the aid of France. We seek the aid of America. It is to seek that aid that I am here and I am confident that I shall not be disappointed. I come here entitled to speak for the Irish Nation with an authority democratically as sound and as well based as that with which President Wilson speaks for the United States, or Lloyd George for England, or Clemenceau for France. I come directly from the people of Ireland to the people of America convinced that the American people and, consequently, the American Government which, as a Government of the people, ought to reflect the people's will - will never consciously connive at, or allow itself to be made a party to the suppression of the natural God-given right of the Irish nation to its liberty. This great American nation nurtured in liberty has been liberty's most consistent champion. It has never been appealed to in vain. When other Chancellories and Cabinets callously closed their ears to the agonising cries of the people of Poland, Greece, Hungary and the Latin Races of this continent, timorous of offending the tyrants that held them writhing in their grasp - excusing themselves by the plea that they could not interfere in the affairs of other States, your Nation, conscious of its mission, listened to them and braved their oppressor's wrath in succouring them. It must surely be a

source of pride to you all as it is a source of hope to us to reflect that never have you undertaken a cause that you did not bring it to triumph. The Latin Nations as well as Poland, Hungary, Greece are now free States. Ireland, the one remaining white nation in the slavery of alien rule will similarly be free unless Americans make scraps of paper of their principles and prove false to the tradition their fathers have handed down to them.

APPENDIX "B".

EDITORIAL IN "THE IRISH WORLD" (page 4) -

SATURDAY, 11th DECEMBER, 1920.

Hoisted by his own Petard.

We learn on good authority that Mr. John Devoy, editor of the Gaelic American, has been hoisted by the petard he and other secret conspirators had presented for the purpose of ruining President de Valera's mission on this side of the Atlantic. On October 18th, 1920, the connection between the Clan na Gael and the I.R.B. in Ireland was severed in consequence of the policy adopted by these conspirators.

Last August John Devoy, who, at that time, was secretary of the executive of the Clan, was notified that he and those who were co-operating with him in the attempt to organise opposition to the official representative of the Irish Republic should cease that opposition. The conspirators apparently gave heed to this warning.

At a meeting of the executive of the Clan, held on 15th August, they entered into an agreement with the official representative of the I.R.B. by which they pledged themselves to desist from the reprehensible course which threatened a rupture between the Clan and the I.R.B. As a result of their not living up to that pledge the official representative of the I.R.B. was forced to proceed to the extreme measure of cutting off the Clan from the present organisation in Ireland.

The majority of the executive of the Clan na Gael who were true to the obligations entered into at the meeting of August 15th last, have now deprived John Devoy of the secretaryship of the executive and have expelled him and four of his fellow-conspirators from the Clan na Gael.

Mr. Luke Dillon, whose address is 5436 Catherine Street, Philadelphia, Pa., has been made temporary Sec. of the executive till the meeting of the next convention of the Order.

APPENDIX "E".

PRINTED IN "THE IRISH WORLD" - NOV. 27th, 1920.

To the Loyal Members of the Clan.

The following communication from Mr. Harry Boland will be read with intense interest - not only by those to whom it is addressed - but by all who are working in the Cause of Ireland.

411 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C.
Nov. 20th, 1920.

To the Officers and Members of the Clan na Gael -
A Chairde,

On Wednesday, November 17th, I received through the post an unsigned printed document, addressed to the Supreme Council I.R.B., presumably written and approved by five late members of the executive of Clan na Gael, and as I am also in receipt of a report signed by those members of the Clan na Gael Executive who have consistently upheld the Constitution of the Clan, and have loyally co-operated with and heartily supported the representatives of the Republic of Ireland in America, and as it is within my knowledge that the Chairman of the Executive, joined by two members of the Higher Council (which is a majority of the Higher Council) together with the Treasurer of the Organisation, are in thorough agreement with the home body, and that they protested vigorously against the deliberate breach of an agreement entered into between the home organisation and the Clan, and resented the dictatorial veto of Justice Cohanlan which was the cause of the breach, and as they have issued an appeal to the loyal members of the Clan throughout the country, giving them the true story of the violated agreement.

Now, therefore, in behalf of the Supreme Council and speaking in their name, I invite the Clan na Gael to support the Executive who are prepared to work for Ireland. The line is now clearly drawn. On the one side stands Ireland, speaking through her elected representatives seeking your aid for the

Republic. On the other stand five individuals who have prostituted the principles of the Clan, and betrayed the Trust reposed in them by the organisation, on the dictation of a man who is not a member of the Governing Body.

Rally round the members of your Executive who have been loyal to their pledges. The Supreme Council will have no communication with Mr. Devoy and his four colleagues, but are happy to reunite with the Clan, purged of the men who have consistently impeded the work of the Irish Mission almost from the moment of its arrival.

Dail Eireann is in full accord with the actions and policies of its representatives in America.

A copy of this report issued by the Executive is in the hands of each senior officer. The rank and file must hear this report in answer to the five individuals with whom the Irish organisation can have no dealings, and as Mr. Devoy refused me the names and addresses of the members, I am compelled to give this statement for publication.

(Signed) H. Boland.

APPENDIX D.

THE IRISH PRESS, PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 30th, 1920.

(Head-lines).

(Clan na Gael must rid its ranks of would-be bosses and men who have become rubber stamps. Harry Boland acts by order of I.R.B. of Ireland - severs connection with Home Organisation until American Body drives out bosses who impede the desire of the rank and file and the Club and other officers to do effective work for Ireland - Plans of Cohalan to control organisation and use it to control F.O.I.F. and hold money here intended for Ireland).

It will be a shock to many members of the Clan na Gael to learn that the I.R.B. of Ireland has given orders to its representative, Harry Boland, to cut off the American organisation because of the failure on the part of its executive to give that co-operation and support which its obligation demands. Mr. Boland has exhausted every effort to bring about a workable agreement with the governing body, and had reached an agreement with them on at least four occasions, only to find that Judge Cohalan later influenced the man who has control of the machinery of the organisation and successfully prevented the agreement from being carried out.

The organisation in and around New York has been kept in the dark; no one was asked to appear at their meetings who would give them the real facts. The organisation without the knowledge or consent of the rank and file was to be used to start the open fight on the President of the Irish Republic, to be followed up by action by the F.O.I.F. and representative men from various parts of the country.

The honour of Clan na Gael was saved by a few sincere men. Plans were cunningly made to ruin the Irish President

.....

The following statement was sent to this office by Mr. Harry Boland, as publication of the document was the only method at his disposal to inform the men of the Clan na Gael so that they may take action to right the organisation.

"We have tried in vain to secure the co-operation which we believe the rank and file of the Clan na Gael wishes to give us, and having found that the Clan executive itself is powerless against the veto of Justice Cohalan, we find it our duty to inform the body of the members of that fact and to tell them that we have been reluctantly compelled to sever our connections between the Clan na Gael and the parent body in Ireland, until such time as the will of the members of the executive becomes operative, and not the will of Justice Cohalan.

In taking this step, which we take only as a last resort, we are actuated solely by the desire to see given to Ireland that which was meant for Ireland - the influence and moral support of an organisation founded to assist the people of Ireland in their struggle to establish a Republic.

The Republic of Ireland - the dream of the last generations - has become a fact in this generation, through the sacrifices of our comrades at Easter 1916, and the deliberate vote of the Irish people. The Government of the Irish Republic, as chosen by the Irish Congress for Ireland, is a legitimate Government - and to it the members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood have pledged their allegiance and their lives.

In view of the parent organisation it is intolerable that the Gaelic American, well known here and in Ireland to be the organisation organ, should be using its circulation amongst the members to propagate

misrepresentation and falsehood, despite our remonstrance, unjustifiably sapping the strength and unity of the efforts to secure recognition for the Republic of Ireland. We are united in Ireland as one man, struggling our utmost against the efforts made by Great Britain to destroy and crush us and we want the support of every lover of Ireland in America. We know from past experience that the members of the Clan na Gael organisation do love Ireland and we are unwilling that the support they are ready to give should be shut off from us by the control of one individual.

Until it is clear therefore that the organisation is free to co-operate with us, speaking with full authority in the name of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, I hereby announce that the Clan na Gael Organisation is no longer affiliated with the Brotherhood.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. Boland."

APPENDIX "E".

New York. 3rd Nov. 1920.

The following letters have been addressed to the Editor of the "Gaelic American" by Michael Collins, T.D.

"Mansion House,
Dublin.

30th Sept. 1920.

To the Editor,
"Gaelic American".

A Chara,

My attention has been called to your issue of 11th instant, in which you reproduce an article from the Philadelphia "Public Ledger". Although your own comments on the ridiculous statements contained in same are quite fair, and although you say the article is given with reserve, yet it must be a matter of regret that it was re-published in the "Gaelic American" at all.

To show you what the position is, and how the statements are regarded here, the following has been given out for publication:-

The article in the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" is quite clearly the work of an active and ardent English propagandist, whose business it is to make a case for his patrons. The Dublin correspondent of the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" is well-known for his leanings in this regard. The statements are the statements of a man who sees things not as they are, but as he would like them to be. They are the continuation of a campaign which dates from the Sinn Fein success at the election of 1918. For months after that success the agents of English publicity wrote and re-wrote that Sinn Fein was losing its hold on the Irish people. When the local elections of this year gave them a rude shock they consoled themselves by saying 'Sinn Fein will rapidly decline now, when the people see that its representatives won't be able to work the local

administration. The propagandists were again promptly given the lie - and now they have fallen back on alleged differences between the leaders.

Everyone here at home knows well there is no difference, and knows equally well it is this fact that has been the great strength of our position. Anything which I said about "no negotiations" has been said more forcibly and much more ably by both President de Valera and the Acting President, Mr. Griffith. For instance, in regard to the present case, Mr. Griffith says "There is no word of truth in the story re-published from the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" by the "Gaelic American". It is obvious English propaganda. Every member of the Irish Cabinet is in full accord with President de Valera's policy. When he speaks to America, he speaks for all of us. In seeking explicit recognition for the Irish Republic, he is acting by and with the unanimous advice of his Cabinet, and if Americans of Irish blood and Americans with Irish sympathies loyally support our President, that recognition can undoubtedly be gained.

This talk of differences is an old policy with England. It is only to be expected at this time, when the situation becomes more and more difficult for her, shames her more and more before decent people, that she will leave nothing undone to break up the splendid solidarity of the Irish nation. Too often in the past has she deceived us in this fashion. Now she is desperate that she can no longer do it.

Frantic efforts are being made to show that certain individuals called moderates are making themselves distasteful to certain other individuals called extremists and that these extremists are in turn standing in the way of a settlement. English propaganda will get its countless scores of journalists to write this up in Ireland, in

Europe, in America, so that opinion may be prepared for the murder of Macready's "half a hundred". Whoever else is deceived, the Irish people and the supporters of the Irish Cause will not be deceived. There are no moderates and extremists, we all stand together on our common Election Manifesto of December 1918.

(Signed) Michael Collins.



APPENDIX "B"

2nd letter.

15th October 1920.

The Editor,
"Gaelic American".

A Chara,

Further to my letter written on 30th September last in reference to your publication in your issue of 11th September, of an article from the Philadelphia "Public Ledger", I would like to state at that time I did not fully realise the complete extent of the bad effects which the reproduction in your paper of that article by Mr. Bretherton may have among our own people.

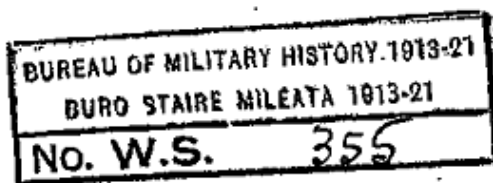
Let me state at once that it is no concern of mine what fantastic statements the "Public Ledger" wishes to publish from a correspondent in Ireland, who is a member of the staff of a Unionist journal here. The serious thing is the re-appearance of such statements in the "Gaelic American" with veiled approval. Let it be clearly understood, finally, that we all stand together, and that here at home every member of the Cabinet has been an ardent supporter of the President, against any and every group in America, who have either not given him the co-operation which they should, or have set themselves definitely to thwart his actions. There is no necessity to name anybody as supporting him more ardently than another. We have been all as one on the question.

I don't like writing to newspapers for many reasons, particularly because the Editor always has the last word. I do hope, however, that any remarks you may make will be by way of apology to the President for misrepresenting him,

and by way of apology to other men whose names
you have used against their wishes and their
inclinations, towards weakening the President's
position.

Mise, do chara,

(Signed) Michael Collins.



appendix # 8.
Editorial in The Irish World. (Page 4) Sat. 11th Dec. 1920.

Hoisted by his own Petard

We learn on good authority, that Mr. John Devoy, editor of the Gaelic American, has been hoisted by the petard he and other secret conspirators had presented for the purpose of ruining President de Valera's mission on this side of the Atlantic. On October 18th 1920 the connection between the blán na Gael and the I. R. B. in Ireland was severed in consequence of the policy adopted by these conspirators.

Last August John Devoy, who at that time was secretary of the executive of the blán, was notified that he and those who were co-operating with him in the attempt to organize opposition to the official representatives of the Irish Republic should cease that opposition. The conspirators apparently gave heed to this warning.

At a meeting of the executive of the blán, held on 15th Aug they entered into an agreement with the official representatives of the I. R. B. by which they pledged themselves to desist from the reprehensible course which threatened a rupture between the blán and the I. R. B.

As a result of their not living up to that pledge the official representatives of the I. R. B. was forced to proceed to the extreme measure of cutting off the blán from the parent organization in Ireland.

The majority of the executive of the blán na Gael, who were true to the obligations entered into at the meeting of August 15th last, have now deposed John Devoy of the secretaryship of the executive and have expelled him and four of his fellow-conspirators from the blán na Ga.

Mr. Luke Dillon whose address is 5436 Lathern St Philadelphia Pa. has been made temporary secretary of the executive till the meeting of the next convention of the Order.

To the Loyal Members of the blan

The following communication from Mr. Harry Boland will be read with intense interest - not only by those to whom it is addressed but by all who are working in the Cause of Ireland.

411 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C.

Nov. 20th 1920.

To the officers and members of the blan-na-Gael

a charde;

On Wednesday

Nov. 17th I received through the post an unsigned printed document, addressed to the Supreme Council, I.R.B., presumably written and approved by five late members of the Executive of the blan-na-Gael, and as I am also in receipt of a report signed by those members of the blan-na-Gael Executive, who have consistently upheld the Constitution of the blan, and have loyally cooperated with and heartily supported the representatives of the Republic of Ireland in America, and as it is within my knowledge that the Chairman of the Executive, joined by two members of the Higher Council (which is a majority of the Higher Council) together with the Treasurer of the Organisation - are in thorough agreement with the home body - and that they protested vigorously against the deliberate breach of an agreement entered into between the home organisation and the blan, and resented the dictatorial veto of Justice Bohalan which was the cause of the breach - and as they have issued an appeal to the loyal members of the blan throughout the country, giving them the true story of the violated agreement.

Now therefore - in behalf of the Supreme Council and speaking in their name - I invite the blan-na-Gael to support the Executive who are prepared to work for Ireland. The line is now clearly drawn. On the one side stands Deala, speaking through her elected representatives

seeking yours and for the Republic. On the other
stand just individuals who have prostituted the
principles of the bloc and betrayed the trust
reposed in them by the organization, or the
dilatation of a man who is not a member of the
Governing Body.

Rally around the members of your Executive
who have been loyal to their pledges. The Supreme
Council will have no communication with Mr
Devoy and his four colleagues, but are
happy to reunite with the bloc, purged of the
men who have consistently impeded the work
of the Irish Mission almost from the moment of
its arrival.

Dail Bureau is in full accord with the action
and policies of its representatives in America.

A copy of this report issued by the
Executive is in the hands of each senior officer.
The rank and file must hear this report
in answer to the just individuals with whom the
Irish Organization can have no dealings, and
as Mr. Devoy refused me the names and addresses
of the members I am compelled to give this
statement for publication.

(signed) H. Boland.

The Irish Press, Philadelphia, October 30th 1920

(Head-lines)

Blann na Gael must rid its ranks of world-be Bosses and men who have become Rubber stamps. Harry Boland acts by order of I.R.B. of Ireland. Severs connection with Home Organization until American Body drives out Bosses who impede the desire of the Rank and File and the Club and other officers to do effective work for Ireland. Plans of Cohalan to control organization and use it to control F.O.I.F. and hold money here intended for Ireland.]

It will be a shock to many members of the Blann na Gael to learn that the I.R.B. of Ireland has given orders to its representative Harry Boland, to cut off the American organization because of the failure on the part of its Executive to give that co-operation and support which its obligation demands. Mr. Boland has exhausted every effort to bring about a workable agreement with the governing body - and had reached an agreement with them on at least four occasions, only to find that Judge Cohalan later influenced the man who has control of the machinery of the organization and successfully ^{fully} prevented the agreement from being carried out.

The organization in and around New York has been kept in the dark, no one was asked to appear at their meetings who would give the the real facts. The organization without the knowledge or comment of the rank and file, was to be used to start the open fight on the President of the Irish Republic, to be followed up by action by the F.O.I.F. and representative men from various parts of the country.

The honor of (the) Blann na Gael was saved by a few sincere men. Plans were cunningly made to ruin the Irish President... etc.

The following statement was sent to this office by Mr. Harry Boland, on publication of the document was the only method at his disposal to inform the men of the Blann na Gael so that they may take action to right the organization.

We have tried in vain to secure the co-operation which we believe the rank and file of the Blann na Gael wishes to give us, and having found that the Blann executive itself is powerless against the veto of Justice Cohalan, we find it our duty to inform the body of the members of that fact.

and to tell the that we have been reluctantly compelled to sever our connections between the blan-na-Saol and the parent body in Ireland, until such time as the will of the members of the executive becomes operative, and not the will of Justice Cahalan.

In taking this step, which we take only as a last resort we are actuated solely by the desire to see given to Ireland that which was meant for Ireland - the influence and moral support of an organization founded to assist the people of Ireland in their struggle to establish a republic.

The Republic of Ireland - the dream of the last generations - has become a fact in this generation, through the sacrifices of our comrades at Easter 1916 and the deliberate vote of the Irish people. The Government of the Irish Republic, as chosen by the Irish Congress for Ireland, is a legitimate Government - and to it the members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood have pledged their allegiance and their lives.

In view of the parent organization it is intolerable that the Gaelic American, well known here and in Ireland to be the organization organ - should be using its circulation amongst the members to propagate misrepresentation and falsehood, despite our remonstrances, unjustifiably sapping the strength and unity of the efforts to secure recognition for the Republic of Ireland. We are united in Ireland as one man, struggling one without against the efforts made by Great Britain to destroy and crush us and we want the support of every lover of Ireland in America. We know from past experience that the members of the blan-na-Saol organization do love Ireland and we are unwilling that the support they are ready to give should be shut off from us by the control of one individual.

Until it is clear therefore that the organization is free to cooperate with us, speaking with full authority in the name of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, I hereby announce that the blan-na-Saol organization is no longer affiliated with the Brotherhood.

sincerely yours
H. Boland.

New York 3rd Nov. 1920

The following letters have been addressed to the Editor of the "Gaelic American" by Michael Collins T.D.

Masson House,
Dublin

To the Editor,
"Gaelic American"

30th Sept. 1920.

A chance, my attention has been called to your issue of 11th inst. in which you reproduce an article from the Philadelphia Public Ledger. Although your own comments on the ridiculous statements contained in same are quite fair - and although you say the article is given with reserves, yet it must be a matter of regret that it was re-published in the "Gaelic American" at all.

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This talk of differences is an old policy with England. It is only to be expected at this time, when the situation becomes more and more difficult for her, when she has more and more before decent people, that she will leave nothing undone to break up the splendid solidarity of the Irish Nation. Too often in the past has she deceived us in this fashion. Now she is desperate that she can no longer do it.

Frantic efforts are being made to show that certain individuals called moderates are making themselves distasteful to certain other individuals called extremists - and that these extremists are in turn standing in the way of a settlement. English propaganda will get its countless scores of journalists to write this up in Ireland, in England, in Europe, in America, so that opinion may be prepared for the murder of Macready's "half a hundred". Whoever else is deceived, the Irish people and the supporters of the Irish cause will not be deceived. There are no moderates and extremists, we

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of Dec. 1918.

Michael Collins

Appendix # F.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

NO. W.S. 355

2nd Letter

15th Oct. 1920

The Editor, "Gaeltic American"

A. Chara

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