

W.S. 722

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 722

ROINN  COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 722.....

**Witness**

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Clontarf,  
Dublin.

**Identity.**

Member of I.R.B. Dublin, 1902 - ;  
Member of 'D' Company 4th Battalion, Dublin  
Brigade Irish Volunteers, 1913 - .

**Subject.**

- (a) National affairs, 1902-1921;
- (b) Election organisation, 1917-1919;
- (c) Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations, 1921.

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Appendix "A": Copy of Article published in "The Irish Times" 11th October 1944 entitled "Was one of the Treaty Signatures pasted on".

Appendix "B": Copy of Article published in "The Irish Times" 1st November 1944 in reply to Article of October 11th.

# ORIGINAL

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No. W.S. 722

STATEMENT OF MR. DAN MacCARTHY,

1, Malahide Road, Clontarf, Dublin.

I.R.B.

I joined the I.R.B. when I was very young. I will be 72 next January. It would be about 50 years ago. I was asked the question would I join and I said: "I will join any movement for the freedom of Ireland, but not any assassination business". The question was put to me then: "But what about a traitor?" I said: "Yes, when a traitor is to be dealt with". Seamus Doyle asked me to join. I was very pleasantly surprised when I met certain people when I attended my first meeting. I met people there whom I did not suspect I would meet. I would like to say at once that that movement was not like what I called the old Fenian movement, which I am not running down. When they heard a fellow expressing good national views they swore him in, but with the I.R.B. movement, a man's name was proposed at one Circle meeting and his name was sent round to the other Circles. They were warned not to touch him until a report came back from the other Circles that he was all right. On the other hand, a report might come back "Drop him". "We have nothing against him but it is just as well not to give him membership". They were looking for the best fellows inside.

I joined the Gaels' '98 Club, which had their headquarters at 41 Parnell Square. I don't remember many names. Our President was P.J. Devlin, who wrote a lot in the "United Irishman" under the pen-name "Celt". In the same Circle was Johnnie Rooney, a brother of Willie Rooney, the poet.

As to business being discussed at Circle meetings, it was the most boring thing, just the roll-call, etc. There was no activity at that time, but still in the background the I.R.B. worked everything. The first meeting in the Rotunda to start the Volunteers was worked by the I.R.B. and I think there were

practically no I.R.B. men on the platform. We had men like Eoin MacNeill - good fellows and all that - but we were in the background. The main thing I want to get at is that the I.R.B. was not a big body at all, but in the background. There was an open movement - not I.R.B., but I.R.B. in the background - to start the Volunteers, which was a damn good thing from our point of view. In all the Circles, we were told: "Of course, you will join your local Volunteer battalions". The older men were excused, but most of the man had to join the battalions, and the same went for the country.

About the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., I did not attend any of its meetings. I think Sean McGarry could tell you more. I think I only attended two meetings of the local Circles. There were various Circles, such as, Gaels' '98 Club, Brothers Sheares Club. Monthly meetings were held, attended by one from each Circle and, probably, a Supreme Council man, but no one knew who was the Supreme Council man. Of course, if you used your brains and sense, you would guess. I can't remember anything outstanding from any of the meetings. Most of them were monotonous - the roll-call, routine business and adjourned for another month. It was boring in this way, especially when you were young. They would know, if you were wanted, that you were there. The Volunteers were going on, drilling and training.

The I.R.B. was very friendly to the other various national activities - the G.A.A. and Gaelic League. The G.A.A. was extensively used by the I.R.B. A man would be elected to represent, say, Wexford on the G.A.A. We worked in these counties to get an I.R.B. man elected as a G.A.A. delegate. I was on the first Leinster Council of the G.A.A. We used this organisation extensively for I.R.B. purposes. For instance, a meeting of the G.A.A. Council would be held after a match so that if any of the executive I.R.B. in Dublin wanted to get in touch with any Leinster executives, he had a very good opportunity.

The Volunteer Movement and the 1916 Rising:

A short time after the establishment of the Volunteers I joined "D" Company, 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade. Eamon Ceannt was at that time Battalion O/C. and my company commander was French Mullen. Coming on to the year 1916, nobody knew that a rising was to take place. If you had intelligence you would know something was going to happen. The 4th Battalion had a big gathering in the Pine Forest and Eamon Ceannt addressed us following military manoeuvres carried out there. This would be roughly a month before the Rising. Ceannt said: "If anything happens, tell your friends to get in flour, and if anybody is going to starve let it be the shoneens". The hints that were thrown out suggested to us that something of importance was about to take place. I am not saying that hint went home to everybody, but it did to me.

A few weeks before the Rising, Liam Mellowes travelled to Galway in a motor cycle combination driven by a Volunteer Egan, whose people had an antique shop in Ormond Quay. Ceannt told me about this, and asked me would I go down with him as escort or guard, saying that my brother, Tom, would find a Volunteer who would drive me in another combination. We were to proceed to the Ball Alley pub, Lucan, at a given time, and wait there until Mellowes would pass by. He would give three toots to the horn and by this signal I would know him, but, in any case, he would be dressed in clerical garb.

We started off some time during the day and when we got to Kilcock I lost sight of Mellowes who was in front. I urged my driver to go faster, but still we were not catching up on Mellowes. When we got some miles further on from Kilcock, we were going so fast that a bracket of the lamp got broken, and the driver said to me: "We will have to stop to fix this thing". No sooner had we pulled up than I heard the noise of a motor cycle in my rere. I thought it was a police patrol following us

but I was amazed to see that it was Mellowes. It so happened that when we got to Kilcock, there was a fork road there, one leading on straight and the other leading up to a very long cul-de-sac. Mellowes' cycle took the cul-de-sac. Having travelled quite a considerable distance, he saw where he was going to end up and he had to reverse and come back on the main road again. I was surprised at Mellowes making this mistake because he knew every inch of the country. I accompanied him some distance inside the Co. Galway border and then returned to Dublin. While I did not know definitely why Mellowes was travelling to Galway, I suspected that his mission was an important one and it transpired later that it was to take charge of arrangements in Galway.

On Easter Saturday night, there was great activity in Dolphin Barn area getting ready for the parade on Easter Sunday. Word came on that morning that the parade was off as a result of MacNeill's countermanding order. I went to Eamon Ceannt's house to get confirmation that we were not to parade. He told me: "Well, stand to". I think his words were: "Let none of the fellows go away more than a mile from their place, and if they have to go further, leave word where they can be found". That Sunday night, Phil Cosgrave and a number of the boys were down in my house when instructions came in for us to be ready for the following morning. With that, we left for a house nearby, McCabe's, where ammunition was stored, and got to work digging it up from where it was buried.

We paraded at Emerald Square on Easter Monday. Ceannt arrived with his staff - a couple of officers - on bicycles. During the time we were standing there a fellow - it might be Golbert - came along and picked out certain fellows from the party. I heard afterwards that these were for an attack on the Magazine Fort. We were not addressed by Ceannt. While a number of us felt that we were marching out that day to take part in a rising, I

believe that quite a number of Volunteers who paraded had no idea where they were going and what was to take place. I would say there were only a hundred men at Emerald Square.

Headed by Commandant Ceannt, the battalion moved down Cork St. and into Marrowbone Lane. There was a halt at the Distillery where a number of our party were told off to go in and occupy that building. The balance of the party moved on to the South Dublin Union.

When we entered the Union, Cathal Brugha came along and started to pick out a number of us. I was one of that number. Some of the names of those who were picked out were: Willie Corrigan, solicitor, a brother of the State Solicitor; Jim Kenny and Peadar Doyle. With that group there were some others. Brugha took us around the grounds of the South Dublin Union and he posted certain men at different posts. The last two posted were Jim Kenny, and myself in an empty ward of the chronic hospital. Our instructions at that time from Brugha were that troops from Richmond Barracks might come down James Street way and that we would have a good view from the windows of this ward and we would be able to fire on them. I might mention that, when posting, Corrigan was put in charge of the Rialto end. At the back of the hospital where we were, French Mullen was there with a handful of men.

One rather amusing incident I seem to recall. French Mullen, who was in charge of that group, said to his men: "Where are the trenching tools?" With that, one tool, a little shovel, was produced. When he saw that, he said: "It doesn't matter". He then said to his group: "Don't fire without my orders, you know!" With that, a British major, who was trying to get over the wall, showed himself at the top, and immediately the Volunteer group fired on him. He fell back over the wall. He was killed. Mullen then said: "Although I did not give the order to fire, it was damn good shooting!".

On looking back, I think better defence arrangements could have been made for the South Dublin Union. We simply barricaded ourselves in, with no patrols outside to keep the way open for a line of retreat, or to provide communication with other posts. When discussing the question of defence with Joe McGrath later, we felt it served us right, since we did not place ourselves in offices of responsibility. The front of the building that we occupied was defended by two Volunteers - Jim Kenny and myself - and the back, which faced the canal side, was not defended by any men from the South Dublin Union garrison as it was felt that the Marrowbone Lane garrison could cover that. To our surprise, a British military party appeared in the corridor and we opened fire on them. How they got there without being attacked from the Marrowbone Lane garrison, I can't say. There were only two of us there. We opened the door and fired. Since there were only the two of us in it, having fired on the military party, we decided to get out of the building. Kenny went one way - to the right - and I went to the left. Kenny was fortunate to reach the Nurses' Home where the defence was, but I was wounded. Evidently the British party were taken by surprise when we fired on them, and they seemed to have lost their heads momentarily because a nurse in full uniform opened the door and came down the stairs. They fired on her and killed her.

I was taken to a ward where chronic patients were accommodated and put to bed there. At this time I had discarded my rifle, but I had in my possession a new revolver. The military party came over to my bed and one of them threatened to do me in by showing me his bayonet. The officer intervened and said: "Stop that". With that, one of the chronic patients shouted: "He has just put his gun under his pillow". The officer then took charge of the gun. I was taken to another ward and kept there for some time, being well treated by the hospital staff and particularly by Nurse Stack. She did everything that was humanly possible for me



Towards the end of the week, the Union officials applied to the military for permission to have me taken to Merrion Square for X-ray, but the military immediately said, logically enough, "If he is fit to be removed to Merrion Square, he is fit to be removed to Dublin Castle Red Cross Hospital". I was taken by ambulance to Dublin Castle Red Cross Hospital and, to my surprise, another wounded Volunteer was in the ambulance also. I recognised him immediately as Cathal Brugha. He was put under Sir William Taylor and I was put under Surgeon Haughton.

Although I was very badly wounded, Surgeon Haughton, as a result of the X-ray, decided not to operate. "Let sleeping dogs lie" he said. Although he was a Unionist, I must say that he was most attentive to me. Even when the British military gave orders for my removal to Kilmainham, he protested. He told me that these people had ordered my removal and it was against his wishes, as I was not fit to be removed.

I was taken to Kilmainham and later removed to Knutsford Jail. Subsequently, I was transferred to Frongoch.

I appeared before the Sankey Commission. The Sankey Commission said: "You mobilised at such-and-such a place. You proceeded to such-and-such a place, and you were wounded. You are a member of the Dublin Corporation". I said: "I am not a member of the Dublin Corporation". There was a consultation. "Do you deny that you are a member of the Dublin Corporation?" I said: "Yes, I do". Another consultation. "Were you ever a member of the Dublin Corporation?" "Yes, I was". "Oh! You were a member then. Yes, yes!" And that was all. I merely mention this to show that they had full particulars regarding the Volunteers generally. I was released some time in August, 1916, with Mulcahy, Collins and several other good fellows, but the men that the British considered dangerous, such as, Arthur Griffith, Darrel Figgis and Bill O'Brien, the Labour man, were sent to Reading.

In my opinion, the 1916 rebellion was a blood sacrifice. The men who signed the Proclamation knew that they were finished. Nationality was at a low ebb at the time. The war was on, and Dublin citizens cheered the fellows going away at the North Wall. These men, I think, came to the conclusion that something must be done to save the soul of the nation. Of course, there were some of our lads who believed they were going to drive the British into the sea, but I don't think that was in the minds of the men who signed the Proclamation. It was not on my mind, I can assure you.

Fund to start Arthur Griffith's Paper.

When the prisoners were released in December 1916, James O'Meara of Keogh Donnelly's, Ltd., Dublin, approached me and asked me what was the position with regard to Arthur Griffith. We knew at the time that Arthur Griffith, like everybody else, was pretty low, financially. O'Meara said: "I don't know Griffith well enough personally to approach him, but I would like to do something to help him". I said: "What would you like done?" He said: "I would like to give him £200". He handed the money to me and I brought it down to Arthur Griffith at St. Lawrence Road, Clontarf. I told him exactly what O'Meara had said to me, and Griffith refused point-blank to accept it. This left me in rather an embarrassing position. "Well, Arthur", I said, "I can't go and hand this money back to him". He appreciated my point of view and he said: "Well, I'll tell you what you will do. Tell him that, if he is satisfied, I will ~~take~~ the money to restart my paper." I said: "That is very good. If I make an appointment with Mr. O'Meara, will you meet him?" This he agreed to do. The appointment was duly arranged, and I can't say what transpired afterwards. We had on occasions to appeal to our supporters for money to keep Griffith's paper going. The response was fairly generous from men like Edward Kells, Co. Meath, Martin and John Sweetman, especially the latter, who never refused.

### Leitrim Election.

One of the first elections contested by Sinn Féin was in North Leitrim, 22nd February 1908. It was as a result of C.J. Dolan, who was then M.P., resigning his seat, as he saw no future in the Irish Party continuing to serve in the British Parliament. Arthur Griffith did not want to contest that particular election at that time, but Dolan said we must fight it. It was regarded as a bad constituency from the national point of view. Eventually Arthur Griffith gave way and decided to go ahead with the contest there. The man in charge of the organisation for that election was Sean McDermott, a leitrim man. A number of us were sent there from Dublin to help McDermott in his organising work. We met with very stiff opposition there, as it was a Hibernian stronghold. We were blackguarded by the Irish Parliamentary Party. I think we were referred to as Castle hacks and Castle spies; and breaking up the Irish Party was our only policy. The outcome of the election was that the Irish Parliamentary Party man, Mr. Meehan, was elected by a substantial majority, but Arthur Griffith was quite satisfied with the number of votes we polled. We had, in fact, polled much more than we had expected. He thought it was a very good start.

### Roscommon Election.

A parliamentary vacancy was created in Roscommon. Father O'Flanagan and some local men of standing took it on themselves to put forward Count Plunkett to contest the seat. The two Labour men, Bill O'Brien and Tommy Farren, came to my house and asked me to go down to Roscommon to help in securing victory for Count Plunkett. I asked a straight question: "Is the Count, if elected, going to take his seat in the British Parliament, or is he not; because, if he is, I will have nothing to do with this election campaign?" They returned to my house a few nights later and guaranteed to me that he was not going to take his seat in the House of Commons. On that understanding, I went down to Roscommon, accompanied by Joe McGrath and Sean Duffy. Unlike

the Leitrim people, we found the Roscommon people quite friendly. Our job as organisers was to appoint sub-agents and personating agents. We discovered that several areas in the constituency had nobody appointed for this work. The election was held on the 5th February 1917, and the weather was very bad at the time. On account of the heavy fall of snow, it was known as the "white election". When visiting centres throughout the constituency we had to dig our way through in some places with shovels which we had in the car.

A point worth mentioning - King Harmon, who was at that time Returning Officer, behaved rather decently to us in delaying the time prescribed for lodging the names of the sub-agents and personating agents. Realising our difficulty, he said: "I will meet you as far as I possibly can".

The election went off quietly and Count Plunkett was elected. After the declaration of the poll, he declared: "I am elected by the Irish people to work for the Irish people in Ireland". That was his first open declaration of policy regarding his decision not to sit in the House of Commons.

#### Longford Election.

The Longford Election was held in April 1917. It was contested by Joe McGuinness on behalf of Sinn Féin and by Patrick McKenna on behalf of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The late Ned Fleming and myself were sent down to organise the constituency. We had no funds and we established ourselves in the Longford Arms Hotel. At the time Longford was very poorly organised from our point of view. As far as I can recollect, there was not even a branch of the Gaelic Athletic Association there, or a Gaelic League Branch.

We soon got a committee together with the assistance of Frank McGuinness, brother of the candidate, and Breid Lyons, a niece of the candidate - now Doctor Thornton; also a schoolteacher named Bannon, and a man by the name of Connolly. These, with a few

more, comprised the committee.

Returning from Ballymahon, where we had a big meeting, to Longford town, as we were leaving the cars to enter the committee rooms, we were attacked by a big crowd, mostly women, the separation allowance type. One of our supporters from Roscommon, George Geraghty, was struck on the head with a bottle. He was very badly injured, which necessitated his admission to hospital where stitches were applied.

As I have already said, we had no funds and no organisation, but we hired cars and got out through the constituency, forming little committees in the various villages and towns. Fortunately for us, a controversy arose within the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party as to who should be their candidate. Three or four names were mentioned and it was fairly late when the final man was selected. This was all to our advantage as it gave us time to organise and I think that this was responsible for our eventual success at the election.

Our candidate, McGuinness, was, of course, in Lewes Gaol at the time. When I was busily engaged in organising the constituency on his behalf, Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith arrived down to Longford one night and excitedly told me in confidence that a letter had come from Joe McGuinness in Lewes Gaol demanding the withdrawal of his name as a candidate for the election. Collins and Griffith added that they had not mentioned this to anybody in Dublin and that I was the first to know of it. I said: "What are you going to do?" and they said they were going on with it for the reason that a man in gaol could not know what the position was like outside. I asked the question: "Is there any chance that our opponents will get to know about this letter?" They said: "They might", and then put it up to me to know what I was going to do. We had no friendly printers in Longford, so I suggested that I would go to Boyle, Co. Roscommon, and interview Jasper Tully, who had a big printing establishment there. Tully was not Sinn Fein, but he

was very anti-Irish Party. The three of us then and there drew up a handbill explaining the position regarding McGuinness's letter so as to be ready to issue it if the opponents learned of McGuinness's intention to withdraw his name. I had 50,000 copies of this handbill printed in Jasper Tully's establishment. The secret of the handbill was well kept by Jasper Tully and his two printers. Although they worked all night on it and knew precisely what its contents were, they disclosed nothing.

I was told that when word reached Lewes Gaol that McGuinness was being put up as a candidate, the prisoners got together and discussed the matter. The majority felt that it was not right for an interned man to be put up for election. The minority, however, took a different view and said: "Trust the men outside; they know what they are doing. They have a better idea of the way things are going than we have". I think some of the men that comprised the minority were Piaras Beaslá and Seán McGarry.

To my mind, the success of that election was the beginning of the end of the Irish Parliamentary Party. They were taken completely by surprise and it proved to us what we could achieve on behalf of Sinn Féin throughout the country by good organisation.

On the eve of the poll, I received a telegram from Dublin informing me of a letter sent by Archbishop Walsh to the evening press, the gist of which was that the Parliamentary Party had once again sold Ireland by agreeing to partition. He condemned very strongly the action of the Party. While this would have been most advantageous to us had it happened a week before, I think it was of very little value coming so late, as I was only able to put it in the hands of the people on their way to the poll. Some people maintained that Dr. Walsh's letter won the election for us; but with this a number of us disagreed, because the time was too short and I think, once people had made up their minds to vote, nothing would change them at the last minute. As I

have already said, it would have been a decided advantage to us had this letter been published a week before that.

I reviewed for Griffith on the eve of the poll what the possible result of the election would be. Having checked reports, I forecast to him that we would win or lose by about twenty votes. Needless to say, when the election result was declared, there was tremendous rejoicing.

When the votes were being counted, the sheriff's man dealing with McKenna's votes piled them up in hundreds. The sheriff's man dealing with McGuinness's votes piled them up in fifties. During a short interval the man handling McKenna's votes asked the man handling McGuinness's votes: "How are you arranging them? Have you them in hundreds?" The other said "No, I have them in fifties". The first speaker said: "I have mine in hundreds - you had better do likewise". With that, the two of them worked on the one system, piling them up in hundreds. The bundles of hundreds in each stack were piled up criss-cross ways. This made it easy for the sheriff to carry out his count and, before he had time to declare the result, the chief organiser of the Irish Parliamentary Party present prematurely sized up the position and passed a slip of paper out through the windows to his supporters saying: "McKenna has won". One of my tallymen, Joe McGrath, immediately pointed out that that count did not tally with the total poll. I immediately demanded a recount. The mistake was then discovered that one of the bundles originally counting as 100 votes contained 150. Having discovered this, it tallied with the total poll, giving McGuinness a majority of 37.

#### Clare Election.

A parliamentary vacancy occurred in the Clare constituency during the year 1917. The Parliamentary Party named Patrick Lynch, K.C. as its representative. In keeping

with the policy of Sinn Fein to contest all by-elections, Sean Milroy and myself were sent down to Clare to organise that constituency. I found the people generally more sympathetic than in Longford and I felt that this was a good omen for our cause. The Brennans at the time were very active, militarily and politically.

The first meeting was held at a place called Berefield. Father Crowe, later Canon Crowe, spoke from the altar and told the congregation as follows: "I believe there are some men down from Dublin who are going to address the meeting after Mass. I don't know what it is all about, but it would be just as well to wait and hear what they say". We addressed the meeting and said that we were contesting the election on behalf of Sinn Féin. We got a very good response from the crowd. I cannot say now if we knew at that particular time who our candidate was to be. Various rumours went round as far as we were concerned. One time we heard it was Peadar Clancy, and the next, Eoin MacNeill, and finally it transpired to be de Valera. We had a lot of difficulty with the voting register. The war was on at the time and the register had not been revised for five or six years. A lot of men whose names appeared on it were dead, and their sons could not vote because their names were not on the register. When de Valera was finally selected as our candidate he made his first public appearance in Ennis and I organised a big demonstration for him.

He had never addressed public meetings before and, knowing that he would be what I might term the professor type used to lecturing classes indoors, I felt that he had not got the voice required for outdoor public speaking. This worried me very much because I felt that if de Valera was to get the crowd on his side he would have to introduce fiery speech and bring home his points in a loud voice. When I met him at Ennis before the meeting, I suggested this to him. He said: "I don't know how



I am going to get on; it is my first public meeting, but I will do my best for you". The meeting went off very well and de Valera spoke very well and carried the crowd with him. I then felt convinced that we were going to win and I told him so.

During the campaign a large number of workers came from Dublin and other parts of the country and gave their services voluntarily.

An interesting point about that election was the manner in which we were supplied with petrol. Due to the "U" Boat warfare, cargo ships of the allies were being constantly sunk and a number of large containers filled with petrol came in from the sea and were taken away by local farmers. The sinkings resulted in a general shortage of petrol but we were not short of it. The farmers, who had already secretly stored the washed up containers, liberally met our requirements.

During the election campaign, both in Clare and in Longford, we met with a lot of opposition from the wives of British servicemen who were drawing liberal money allowances on account of their husbands serving in the British forces. These women were commonly known as "Separation Allowance Women". They intercepted and heckled at all meetings. One of them, on the night that de Valera arrived, struck Father Willie Kennedy in the eye. An amusing story worth relating, which illustrates the type these women were, is: Two women met in a publichouse. Their husbands were at the war. "Mary", said one of them, "how much are you getting?" Said Mary: "I am getting £2.11.0., what are you getting?" "Oh, a shilling more than that", rejoined her companion. "My God", exclaimed Mary, "isn't it the grand money we are getting and the ould Pope looking for peace".

The election went off quietly and de Valera was elected by a substantial majority.

### Kilkenny and Waterford Elections

The Kilkenny and Waterford by-elections followed. Mr. Cosgrave had an easy victory in Kilkenny. Waterford did not go off so quietly; we lost this election. The Sinn Féin candidate, Dr. Vincent White, had a tough time on account of the Ballybricken pig-dealers who were staunch Redmondite supporters. During that campaign, while on our way from the committee rooms to the hotel, we were attacked by some of the Ballybricken crowd. I had a gun on me and when I saw that they were closing in on us with ashplants I fired a shot in the air. With that, I saw one of the crowd getting out in the middle of the street and putting his hand in his pocket. I thought that he was armed and I fired a shot low. I learned afterwards that he was hit in the knee. Later, the police surrounded our hotel and searched every room in it for the revolver, but they did not discover it. They took into custody, however, a local supporter of ours by the name of Owen Passau. He was subsequently tried. In the meantime, Sean Milroy, who was one of our party on that night, had been arrested and deported to England. When the trial came off he was brought back to give evidence as a witness for the defence.

On his arrival at Waterford Station accompanied by two English warders, there was a bit of a riot at the station. They had great difficulty in getting him to Ballybricken gaol. The case against Passau eventually came off and he was acquitted. I had arranged, however, that if he were convicted I would return to Waterford from Cavan, where I was then organising, and admit that it was I who fired the shot.

### Offaly Election.

Dr. McCartan was elected on behalf of Sinn Féin for a by-election at Offaly. This election took place during the conscription crisis. A number of us visited the constituency to work up enthusiasm and we made the question of conscription

one of the chief issues in our election speeches. We spoke rather strongly on the matter and advised the people at large that for every conscript that would be taken three policemen should be shot; that it was better to die at home than fight for a country that had kept us in subjection. In this way we worked up great enthusiasm. The people flocked to our side and the result was that our opponents failed to put up a candidate.

#### Election Organisation.

Immediately after the by-elections I was sent out to organise the whole country in preparation for a General Election. This election took place in 1918 and I was arrested the previous September. I was satisfied that when I was arrested I had left behind me a smoothly-working election machine. We had in Dublin a headquarters election committee. As I have already said, I was sent out through the country to organise committees in each constituency. Before going out I knew the men that I would get in touch with and appoint them directors. Once they were appointed it was up to them to visit their constituencies and form their own election staffs. As the General Election of 1918 proved, these staffs did very good work which resulted in the complete defeat of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

#### Durham Gaol.

When I was arrested in September 1918, I was deported and imprisoned in Durham Gaol. Some of the prisoners I met there were Darrel Figgis, later a T.D., An Seabhach, later a Senator, Art O'Connor, later a Judge, Seumas O'Neill, later a Superintendent of the Garda Siochana, Eamon Morkan, later a colonel in the army, Frank Bulfin, later a T.D., and Spillane of Killarney, who became Chairman of the Urban Council.

Having served a few months in Durham Gaol, I returned to Dublin for a short time on parole. When I returned to Durham I was told I was just in time to take part in a strike. I said:

"I was not present when you came to that decision". I asked An Seabhach, who was leader, to call a meeting. I then asked: "On what grounds are you going to strike?" The answer I got from two or three of them was "unconditional release". I said that the Republic was at war with England, that we were captured by the enemy and that the only rights we could put up were for prisoner-of-war treatment. I asked them: "Could you tell me any prisoner-of-war in any part of the world who is getting the treatment we are getting here? We have no ground, if you are going to go on strike, asking for unconditional release. You are admitting you are British subjects and you are being taken away without trial. I am dead against this strike, and I move that it should not take place". The voting was four for the strike and nine against. I was informed that before I spoke there was no protest from anyone and that the decision was unanimous, that is, in my absence. In fairness to the prison staff, I must say that they treated us very well. I was released about March 1919.

Sinn Féin Árd Fheis.

The Sinn Féin Árd Fheis was held on 25 October 1917, The purpose of the meeting was to elect officers and amongst the nominations for presidency were the outgoing President, Arthur Griffith, Eamon de Valera, Count Plunkett, Father O'Flanagan and some others. On the eve of the Árd Fheis I spoke to Arthur Griffith. I said to him: "It is a pity that there is going to be a contest for the chair, but if you want my opinion, you will win". He then informed me privately that he had seen de Valera and told him (de Valera) privately that on the next day he would withdraw his nomination in favour of him, but that this was not to be made known until the actual election took place. He added: "After all, de Valera is a younger man than I am. He is a young man. He is a soldier and, I think, a statesman".

At the meeting next day most of the candidates nominated for the presidency withdrew. The second last man to withdraw was Count Plunkett. He made a long speech and said he was withdrawing his candidature in favour of Eamon de Valera. There was silence for a moment or two, and then Mr. Griffith announced his withdrawal, so that de Valera was unanimously elected President.

#### Sinn Féin Funds.

To avoid suspicion on the part of British financial experts, the funds of Sinn Féin were, on Michael Collins's instructions, lodged to the credit of many friendly people. I was one of them. I was told, to my amazement, that at one date I had several thousand pounds to my credit.

Art Ó Briain, our representative in London, became very friendly with a man by the name of Henry Bradley, who was an official in the Office of Works, London. Ó Briain got to know that Bradley had a brother a bank manager in Barcelona and he broached the subject to him of having some of the Sinn Féin funds lodged in his brother's bank. Bradley agreed to get in touch with his brother, and the matter was accomplished. Arrangements were completed and the money was eventually lodged in a Barcelona bank. This had a sequel. Following the Treaty, our Government asked the British Government to round up a number of Irishmen in England who were supporting Anti-Treaty forces at home. They were confined to Mountjoy Jail. Art Ó Briain was one of them. In the course of the raid on his place by British police, they found Henry Bradley's name on some list. As a result, Bradley was given the option of resigning from his post and drawing his pension, but he refused and was dismissed. Later, he was employed by the Irish Government, first on compensation claims; later, in charge of the Patents Office and of Gaeltacht Industries.

Treaty Negotiations:

At the start of the Treaty negotiations, I received instructions one evening to proceed to London with Mr. Joseph McGrath to arrange in advance housing accommodation for the Irish delegation. We had letters of introduction from Mr. Arthur Griffith, External Affairs, Mr. Michael Collins, Finance, to our man in London, Mr. Art Ó Briain, asking for "full facilities to be given to McGrath and MacCarthy in their work in London". Arriving in London, we saw Mr. Art Ó Briain who received us very cordially, but we learned later that he wrote to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins saying there was no necessity for sending us over at all and that he was quite capable of doing our work there. Lord Granard and some other friends of Ireland had offered us accommodation but our Government would not accept that. We visited various estate agents and eventually succeeded in getting premises at 22 Hans Place and, I think, 15 Cadogan Gardens. These two premises were used by the delegation and its staffs all during the time they were in London.

Having secured the accommodation, the delegates and their staffs arrived. The peace negotiations then began. While they were in progress, Joe McGrath and myself were responsible for all arrangements, such as, providing transport, paying staffs, etc. We were not present, of course, at any of the meetings of the delegation.

One incident that readily comes to mind concerns the signing of the Treaty. On the night that the Treaty was actually signed, the Irish delegates held a meeting at Hans Place. While it was in progress, several 'phone calls were put through by Mr. Jones, Lloyd George's private secretary, and I answered the 'phone on each occasion.

He was very anxious to know if the delegates were yet ready. I tried to put him off as best I could. Eventually the 'phone calls became so persistent that I went up to the meeting and informed Mr. Griffith of Mr. Jones' inquiries. Mr. Griffith said, "Tell them we won't be long". There was another 'phone message from Mr. Jones, asking me to remind Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins of the arrangement for conveying the news to the Northern Ireland Government. I said I would do so. I went back into the room and gave Mr. Jones' message.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Griffith came down the stairs and said, "I am going to break. You had better get most of your staff away to-morrow". At that moment Michael Collins shouted from the top of the stairs to Griffith, "Come up! I want you". A short period after that, the two of them came down, entered the car and went to Downing Street.

They returned at about two o'clock in the morning. Dermot O'Hegarty and myself were waiting for them. After a while Collins handed me the Treaty copy. Then he took it back from me and said, "Will you read that oath and tell me would you accept it?" I said, "Certainly, I would. My allegiance is to the Irish Free State and there is no allegiance to King George".

Incidentally, I should mention that 22, Hans Place, where our Delegation was put up, was the property of a man by the name of Willis, who was responsible for the Daylight Saving Bill.

Amongst the many Officials who accompanied the Peace Delegation were the following: - Seán Milroy, George Murnahan on the Partition Question, Professor T.A. Smiddy, Smith Gordon, Secretary of the Land Bank. His function was in connection/ with

Economics. Also Professor O'Rahilly and Colonel Charles Russell, the latter's functions were in connection with Air. During the Treaty negotiations Colonel Russell was negotiating for the purchase of an aeroplane so as to bring the Delegates back quickly if the negotiations broke down. He succeeded in buying the plane which is, I think, called "The Big Fellow" and portion of which is still preserved at Baldonnel. James V. Nolan-Whelan and John O'Byrne (now Judge O'Byrne) were in the legal line. In the military line were Liam Tobin and Tom Barry.

Among the couriers were Seán MacBride, now T.D. (ex-Minister) and Joe Dolan. Eamon Broy was over as personal Secretary to Collins. Fionán Lynch and Erskine Childers were the two Secretaries to the Delegation. A Mr. Chartres made visits to Hans Place. I cannot say what his functions were but he was a well-known man at the time.

In an article published in the Irish Times in its issue of October 11th, 1944, under the caption "Was one of the Treaty Signatures pasted on?" the article suggests that the late Eamon Duggan did not, in fact, sign the Treaty, that his signature was taken from a menu card and pasted on.

The true facts of the matter are that immediately the Treaty was signed, Eamon Duggan and Desmond Fitzgerald left for Ireland by the morning Mail taking the copy of the Treaty with them. Later in the day Mr. Jones, Lloyd George's Private Secretary, called at Hans Place and asked for another signed copy of the Treaty. Whether that copy was to be used as the British Copy of the Treaty or as a second British Copy for the purposes of photographic record, I cannot say. Griffith was just going to sign the copy per



pro Duggan when I remembered that I had a copy of his signature in the house which was a copy of a Special Programme of Celebrations which were held in the Albert Hall. I mentioned this fact to Arthur Griffith and suggested to him the pasting of the signature on the copy and both he and Mr. Jones agreed. There was obviously no intention to deceive anybody. The fact that Mr. Duggan's signature was pasted down on a copy of the Treaty could not interfere with its validity. I cleared this matter up with the representative from the Irish Times. See Appendix "A" and "B".

A few days following the signing of the Treaty Collins, who had returned to Dublin, ordered us back to Dublin immediately. Joe McGrath and myself were, at the time, members of the Dáil and when we were in London we had no idea that objections would be taken against the signing of the Treaty at home. Treaty debates at University Buildings followed: Public Sessions were very often adjourned to give delegates a chance to discuss the Treaty amongst themselves to see if they could come to any agreement. A number of delegates on both sides tried hard to seek a compromise but Dev obviated any chance of a compromise when he declared always "The right hand will wither off my body before I will take that oath".

While Erskine Childers as Joint Secretary with Fionán Lynch to the Peace Delegation was sending the usual agreed report to Dev on progress daily, we believed that he was also sending a personal report.

Griffith, like Parnell, didn't want any Englishman associated with Irish political matters. Early in the Movement Erskine Childers approached Arthur Griffith and offered his services to him. Griffith tactfully put him off

saying that he would be more useful to the Irish Cause by keeping himself outside of it and keeping in touch with his own friends in England. When Griffith was appointed to lead the Irish Delegation he was not in favour of Childers as a Secretary but he had no option but to take him since Dev foisted him on him. As a matter of interest I should mention that when Childers was subsequently sentenced to death tremendous influence was brought to bear from England on Ministers of State to save his life.

There was great bitterness between Cathal Brugha and Michael Collins and I believe it all developed as a result of prominent I.R.A. Officers coming up from the country looking for Collins rather than Cathal Brugha who was Minister for Defence. Collins was always more popular with all these Officers. This was resented very much by Brugha.

During one of the private sessions of the debates on the Treaty Brugha, having in his mind the threat from England of an immediate and terrible war, openly said that he had a plan in mind to counter this. He said he would only want four or five men and that they would carry out their duty with him and would never come back. I didn't know what he meant by this at the time but learned afterwards that the idea was to go to London, get into the House of Commons and shoot Cabinet Ministers there.

While the Treaty negotiations were in progress guns and ammunition were taken from a Barracks in Windsor. When the Delegation arrived at Downing Street next morning the British Ministers said to them "This is a nice thing to have happened. We know you people are responsible for the guns and ammunition which were taken from the Barracks at

Windsor last night". The Delegation were amazed as they didn't know anything about the matter and assured the British Ministers of this. I don't know what transpired afterwards but the late General Michael Hogan who carried out the raid told me later that he had been ordered by Cathal Brugha to go to Windsor and get these guns. Michael duly carried out the Order very successfully as he was bound to do. To have a thing such as this occur while the Peace Negotiations were in progress was most embarrassing to the Peace Delegates, and it was very difficult to explain why it should have happened. Collins personally didn't blame Hogan; he knew he was simply acting under orders from the Minister for Defence.

*Dan MacCarthy*

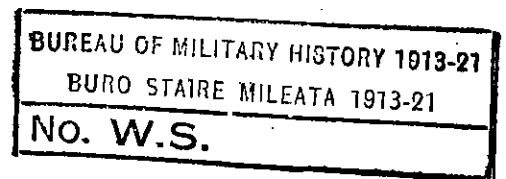
Signed:

(Daniel MacCarthy).

Date:

8<sup>th</sup> Sept 1952.

Witness: William Ivory Bondt.



APPENDIX "A".

Irish Times - October 11th, 1944.

WAS ONE OF THE TREATY SIGNATURES PASTED ON?

Of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

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On behalf of the Irish  
Delegation.

Art Ó Griobhtha (Arthur Griffith)  
Micheál Ó Coileáin  
Riobárd Bartún  
Eudhmonn S. Ó Dugáin  
Seorsa Cabháin Uí Dhubhthaigh.

On behalf of the British  
Delegation.

D. Lloyd George  
Austen Chamberlain  
Birkenhead  
Winston S. Churchill  
L. Worthington-Evans  
Hamar Greenwood  
Gordon Hewart

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It is generally accepted that five Irishmen - Griffith, Collins, Barton, Gavan Duffy and Duggan - signed the historic Anglo-Irish Treaty of December, 1921, which gave the Twenty-six Counties status as a Free State within, or associated with, the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Did all five actually sign the Treaty; or was the signature of one of them - the late Mr. E.J. Duggan - cut from a menu card and pasted to the document, because Mr. Duggan could not be found when the signing was being done?

The questions are posed because of a recent lecture

delivered by an Irish Jesuit priest, the Rev. William P. Hackett, on the subject of "Literary Forgeries and Hoaxes" at the Melbourne Public Library, of which he is a trustee.

Father Hackett, at the close of his lecture, said that Mr. Robert Barton - one of the last two surviving signatories of the Treaty - told him that at 2 a.m. on December 6th, 1921, when Lloyd George, Churchill, Birkenhead and the rest of the English "side", and Collins, Griffith, Gavan Duffy, and Barton had signed the Treaty, the last man, Duggan, could not be found. Someone, said Father Hackett, produced a programme of an Albert Hall concert which Duggan had autographed. This was cut out with a knife and stuck on the Treaty.

"You can prove the truth of this", said Father Hackett, "by looking at the facsimile in Piaras Beaslais's "Life of Collins"".

"Was it a valid signature?" asked the lecturer.

True Statement:

Asked by the 'Irish Times' to comment on this statement, Mr. Robert Barton (who, at the time of the Treaty, was Minister for Economic Affairs in the Irish Provisional Government) said yesterday: -

"The statement made in Australia by my friend, Father Hackett, is accurate. Mr. Duggan's signature was cut out of a menu card and pasted on to that copy of the Articles of Agreement, of which a photograph appeared in the daily papers".

"It is inaccurate to state that this was a Treaty. The document signed at 2 a.m. in No. 10 Downing Street, on the morning of December 6th, 1921, bore the caption: 'Articles of Agreement', nothing more. I am aware that

Mr. Duggan stated that he signed "the Treaty" in the seclusion of Hans Place.

"It is, therefore, clear that the document which Mr. Duggan signed was a different one to that on to which his signature was pasted. Perhaps the document which Mr. Duggan signed in Hans Place was the copy of the Articles of Agreement which he carried to Dublin by the Irish mail on the morning of December 6th, and perhaps the copy on which his signature was pasted was the British copy or a photostatic copy of the British copy. I do not know".

Mr. Justice Gavan Duffy, the other surviving signatory, said that he would prefer to make no comment. He had, he said, been out of politics for twenty years. He added that the Treaty could be seen at Government Buildings

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, who was a member of the Irish Plenipotentiary party, but not one of the signatories, when asked about the signing, said that he saw Duggan shortly before the Treaty was signed and shortly after the signing was done.

"I cannot say from memory", he said, "whether or not he signed it. I brought the Irish copy of the Treaty back to Dublin, and Duggan was with me, but I can't recall whether or not he made any mention of the pasting-on of his signature. It is quite possible that Duggan was not present to sign, for there was a lot of coming and going right up to the time when the documents were signed.

"Griffith at several stages wanted to sign, but certain other people refused, and I am sure that one or another of them left and returned at times when the arguments to convince those who hesitated to sign were being offered. Very possibly Duggan went out for a while, and it is possible that he was absent when the signatures were being put to both copies of the Treaty".

Not Invalid:

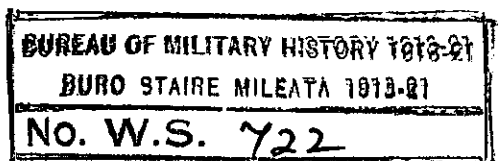
Mr. Fitzgerald went on to say that the two documents for signature were styled: "Articles of Agreement", and that, the moment they were signed, they constituted a Treaty. "The following day the word, 'Treaty', was added to the British copy", he said, "but by that time I was on the way to Dublin with the Irish copy, which, of course, could not have the word added. But it was, and is, definitely a Treaty. In my opinion the absence of Duggan's signature on one or both copies would not for one moment invalidate it.

"As to what Duggan did or did not sign in Hans Place (which was one of the two furnished houses the Irish delegation had rented for the occasion) I can say that, as far as I know, he did not sign the Irish copy of the Treaty in Hans Place. There again, he may have signed it, and not the British copy".

Mr. Fitzgerald said that the Treaty was not ready for signature until about twenty past one in the early hours of the morning. "It kept going backwards and forwards between the Conference Room and the office of the stenographers while 'this' was added or 'that' deleted. I am sure that with this and the continuous arguments that were going on, it was quite likely that a potential signatory would think it safe to be absent for a few minutes".

The British signatories of the Treaty were -

Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Sir Hamar Greenwood and Sir Gordon Hewart.



Appendix "B".

Irish Times - November 1st, 1911.

WHY TREATY SIGNATORY WAS ABSENT:

A Dublin man, at whose suggestion one of the signatures was pasted on a copy of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, yesterday described the incident to an "Irish Times" reporter. The signature pasted on was that of the late Mr. E.J. Duggan.

Mr. Dan MacCarthy, of Malahide Road, Dublin, said he went to London with Mr. Joseph McGrath a fortnight before the Irish delegation to arrange for premises. These were obtained in houses in Cadogan Gardens and Hans Place. The house in Hans Place at one time belonged to Mr. Willard, the man responsible for the daylight saving idea.

"The Treaty was signed at 2 a.m. on December 6th, 1921", Mr. MacCarthy said, "and immediately afterwards Eamonn Duggan and Desmond Fitzgerald left for Ireland by the morning mail, taking the copy of the Treaty with them. Later in the day Mr. Jones, Lloyd George's secretary, called at Hans Place and asked for another signed copy of the Treaty.

"Whether that copy was to be used as the British copy of the Treaty or as a second British copy for the purpose of photographic record I cannot say", said Mr. MacCarthy.

"Griffith was just going to sign the copy 'per pro Duggan', when I remembered that I had a copy of his signature in the house. I suggested pasting this signature on the copy, and



both Griffith and Jones agreed at once".

No Deception:

Mr. MacCarthy smiled. "Contrary to popular belief", he said, "the signature was taken from a programme for the Irish concert at the Albert Hall, not a dinner menu; and, the signature was got out with a pair of scissors, not with a knife".

Mr. MacCarthy said that there was obviously no intention to deceive anybody; the fact that Mr. Duggan's signature was pasted down on a copy of the Treaty could not affect its validity.

The photograph of the copy, which clearly shows that the Duggan signature was pasted down, also shows that the copy is different in another respect from that reproduced in the "Irish Times" on October 11th. The Irish signatures in this case are on the right instead of on the left side of the Treaty.

