

DUPLICATE

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

NO. W.S. 1698

ROINN



COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1698.

Witness

Liam de Róiste,

No. 2 Janemount,

Sunday's Well, Cork.

Identity.

Member, Coiste Gnotha, Gaelic League.

Member, Dáil Éireann, 1918-1923.

Subject.

National Activities, 1899 - 1918.

Irish Volunteers, Cork City, 1913-1918.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

File No S. 452.

Form B.S.M. 2

STATEMENT OF LIAM DE ROISTE.

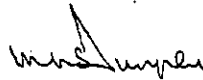
CERTIFICATE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU.

This statement by Liam de Roiste consists of 385 pages, signed on the last page by him.

Owing to its bulk it has not been possible for the Bureau, with the appliances at its disposal, to bind it in one piece, and it has, therefore, for convenience in stitching, been separated into two sections, the first, consisting of pages 1-199, and the other, of pages 200-385, inclusive. The separation into two sections has no other significance.

The break between the two sections occurs in the middle of a sentence, the last words in section I, on page 199, being "should be", and the first in section II, on page 200, being "be forced".

A certificate in these terms, signed by me as Director of the Bureau, is bound into each of the two parts.



DIRECTOR.

(M. McDunphy)

27th November, 1957.

DUPLICATE

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRS-ARLEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 1698

STATEMENT BY LIAM DE ROISTE

2. Janemount, Sunday's Well, Cork.

This statement was obtained from Mr. de Roiste, at the request of Lieut.-Col. T. Halpin, on behalf of the Bureau of Military History, 26 Westland Row, Dublin.

Mr. de Roiste was born in Fountainstown in the Parish of Tracton, Co. Cork, in June, 1882. His baptismal name was William Roche. His parents were National Teachers.

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His statement is recorded hereunder:-

"Before the end of the century I was residing in Cork City and from 1901 to 1910 was employed as a teacher in Skerry's College, Cork, and subsequently employed in a similar capacity under the Cork County Technical Instruction Committee up to 1920. My latter appointment necessitated travelling to and teaching in various towns in Co. Cork.

From my youth I have been actively connected with various Irish-Ireland, Literary and Industrial Organisations, in most of which I functioned as Honorary Secretary or other Executive appointment. During most of this time I made it a practice to keep a fairly comprehensive diary and other notes of the activities of the different organisations with which I was associated and which now enable me to refresh my memory on many incidents and events which otherwise would, perhaps, be forgotten.

In the pamphlet issued by the Bureau of Military History it states, inter alia, on page 2:

'The military history of 1913-21 cannot be properly understood and assessed without a knowledge of other events which had an intimate bearing on the national

resurgence of that period, and for that reason the Bureau is interested in every contributory fact or development reaching back in many cases to at least the beginning of the century'.

I thoroughly concur with this view and agree that the historian of the future, unless he has a complete grasp of the early developments, will not be in a position to portray the stirring period of our history from 1913 to 1921 in its proper perspective.

Keeping the above in mind, I, therefore, propose to embody in my statement incidents, events and developments from as far back as 1899, of which I am personally acquainted and which, I venture to submit, helped in no small way the great resurgence of the Nation in the later years.

I do not propose to deal in any detail with the promotion of the Irish language or the activities of the Gaelic League, for the reason that I consider there are sufficient records and material readily available to enable an assessment to be made in this connection in future years.

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1899. Cork Young Ireland Society founded.

Object: To aid in the attainment of the sovereign independence of Ireland, by propagating the principles of the "Young Irelanders" of 1848, fostering the language, music and national traditions; encouraging the study of Irish History; countering "West Britonism" in every form.

The chief mover in founding the Society was John M.O'Keefe (Shán Ó Cuiv) and among the early members were Batt. Kelleher, Robert Warren, Eugene Power, William O'Herlihy, Daniel Tierney, Terence MacSuiney, Fred Cronin, Robert Fitzgerald, Michael Radley, William Curtin, Maurice Conway, John O'Keefe, Patrick O'Sullivan, William O'Sullivan.

The Chairman was John Roynane; Treasurer, John Crowley; Secretary, Liam Roche.

1899. Sunday, November 12th: "Pro-Boer" meeting of very large numbers, organised by the Society, held in Cork Cornmarket, Anglesea Street.

A "Transvaal Committee" had been formed. Its members marched to the meeting behind a Boer flag in semi-military formation. Eugene Crean, at the time Mayor of Cork and Member of Parliament, presided over the meeting. The principal speakers were Miss Maud Gonne, John Daly, Mayor of Limerick, Charles Doran of Cove, Arthur Griffith, J.C. Flynn, M.P.

Letters, expressing sympathy with the object of the meeting, were received from Rev. Father Kavanagh, O.F.M., historian of "The Insurrection of 1798"; Maurice Healy, M.P., Captain Donnellan, M.P., Michael Davitt, J.F.X. O'Brien, M.P., James J. O'Kelly, M.P., and Jeremiah Howard, Chairman, Cork County Council.

1899. Members of the "Transvaal Committee", through an intermediary in Paris, offered themselves as volunteers to fight with the Boers. They received no reply to their communication.

Reporting the meeting, the "Cork Constitution", organ of the Unionists, vehemently denounced the proceedings. They were "silly", "hurtful", "inspired by hatred, unreasoning hatred of England". It adverted to the "inconsistency of the Parliamentarians", who, while wooing the sympathy of Englishmen to obtain "Home Rule", sided with England's enemies and associated with "extremist elements" in Ireland. The speeches that had been delivered were "treasonable".

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Some of the older members of the Young Ireland Society had been connected with the Irish Republican Brotherhood - the Fenian organisation.

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1900. Early in 1900, it was suggested the Society should undertake the erection of a National Monument in Cork, in honour of the men of 1798, 1848, 1867. The foundation stone had been laid in 1898. The project was taken up and house-to-house collections were made by members of the Society. The older men gradually made this a chief object of the Society and counselled "diplomacy" in setting forth the meaning of "Sovereign Independence". The younger men disagreed and, in December 1900, severed their connection with the Society.

In due course, the monument on the Grand Parade was erected. It was unveiled on St. Patrick's Day, 1906, by Rev. Father Kavanagh, then President of the Young Ireland Society. The oration was delivered by Rev. Father Thomas of the Capuchin Order, Holy Trinity, Cork.

1901. January 2nd. Seven of the young men who had been in the Young Ireland Society met to form a new society, as "a branch of the National Organisation, Cumann na nGaedheal".

It was decided to call the Society "The Cork Celtic Literary Society".

So that there would be no ambiguity regarding its aim, it put as its object: "TO STRIVE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN IRISH REPUBLIC".

Immediate means proposed were:-

"(1) A - Adopting and propagating the principles of the United Irishmen.

B. Working for the restoration of the national language."

"(2). The study and teaching of Irish History".

"In all other matters the Society adopts the objects of Cumann na nGaedheal".

The seven young men were: Terence MacSwiney, Dan Tierney, Batt Kelleher, Fred Cronin, Bob Fitzgerald, Michael Radley, Liam Roche.

1901. Kelleher was Chairman; Tierney, Treasurer; Roche, Secretary.

Our Chairman suggested the idea of a "Manuscript Journal", to which members would contribute articles, notes on current topics, stories, poems. It was called "Éire Óg"; read at monthly meetings of the Society, and was a feature of the Society's work for several years.

Arising out of an article that appeared in the first number, a discussion took place and a resolution was passed: "That we call on the members of the Cork Corporation to dispense with the usual vote of thanks to the outgoing Lord Mayor in consequence of his action in attending a reception given to the Queen of England in Dublin".

The Lord Mayor, the first who bore the title in Cork, was Sir Daniel Hegarty.

The Queen's visit to Dublin was publicised as "in grateful recognition" of the valour of the Irish soldiers in the British Army fighting against the Boers.

The Cork Corporation meeting for the election of a new Lord Mayor was held on Wednesday.

January 23rd, 1901. Queen Victoria had died the previous day. The customary vote of thanks was dispensed with, as we had suggested; but a resolution expressing regret at the death of the Queen, proposed by a Unionist member of the Council, was carried unanimously!

The new Lord Mayor was Alderman Edward Fitzgerald, afterwards Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Baronet.

At a later meeting, the Cork Corporation, on a suggestion conveyed to it by our Society, decided that "in all streets to be named, or re-named, in future, the names of such streets shall be in Irish as well as in English".

One Sunday in the summer of this year (1901), four or five of us were in the country - Fountainstown, my native place.

Someone suggested that we may be able to procure a shotgun. I said a friend of mine, "Miah" Aherne, had a few of them. We called to the house. Miah was absent, but one of his sisters gave me a gun and cartridges. It was a double-barreled breech-loader. None of us knew how to operate it! but, after a time we were able to use it; each of us fired a few shots, our target being a white paper on a clump of furze!

The underlying assumption was that we were "Soldiers of Ireland" preparing for "the Day".

Miah Aherne was a very well-known character in Co. Cork, a sturdy Nationalist. He became a member of Cork Co. Council and stood for election as a Member of Parliament on one occasion.

October 1901. Re-organising for the winter, the Society had secured a number of new members. It was arranged that an Irish language class, open to non-members, be organised. This class, subsequently, brought many others into the "Celtic", some of whom became its staunchest adherents.

1902. Early in the year 1902, the project of holding an International Exhibition in Cork was mooted and there were rumours that King Edward VII was to be invited to open the Exhibition. "Royal visits" to Ireland were unwelcome to Irish Nationalists in general; but Parliamentarian Nationalists were in a dubious position. They were afraid of showing perfervid loyalty to the King. But neither could they, on their declared demand for "Home Rule within the Empire", show antagonism. The majority of the people followed the political leaders of the day.

March, 1902. Miss Maud Gonne was elected President and Major John McBride, Vice-President of our Celtic Literary Society.

1902.

Arrangements for St. Patrick's Day demonstration in Cork were often a source of bickerings between organisations. On this occasion, as things turned out, the Young Ireland Society became the organising body. The "Celtic" joined with them. Miss Gonne was to be the principal speaker. The secretaries of Cumann na nGaedheal had written asking "the Celtic" to help in making the demonstration a success.

In addition to speaking at the St. Patrick's Day celebration, Miss Gonne lectured to a large audience in the Assembly Rooms, Cork, and on the following day proceeded to Skibbereen, where there was also a Young Ireland Society.

Returning from Skibbereen, she established in Cork a branch of "Inghinidhe na hÉireann", which had been originated in Dublin the previous year. The "Inghinidhe" in Cork occupied the same rooms as the Celtic Literary Society and were identical with it in aims and objects. An Irish language class was formed and one of those who helped it was an old '67 man, an Irish speaker, Charles O'Connell. Several of the young ladies who joined were daughters of men who had been connected with the Fenian organisation.

The second president of the "Inghinidhe" was Miss Margaret Goulding, later Mrs. Buckley, who figured prominently in the case which came before the High Courts in 1948, in connection with the disposal of the Sinn Fein funds.

Other members were Misses Annie and Susan Walsh, who, sisters-in-law of Tomas MacCurtain, travelled extensively in the United States, after his murder in 1920, to give the American people details of the Terrorist regime in Ireland.

An incident which created a big sensation at the time occurred on April 7th, 1902, in connection with a musical comedy called "The Dandy Fifth", performed in the Cork Opera House. Miss Gonne had told us it was "a recruiting stunt" with characters of the "stage Irishman" type appearing.

1902.

A dozen or so of the members of "the Celtic" went to the Opera House. There was also a group of students from the Queen's College. The performers were howled down. Songs, in Irish and English, were sung by the gallery audience. Hisses, groans, shouts, laughter, whistling continued without intermission. Cheers were given for an Irish Republic, for the Boers, for John MacBride and the "Irish Brigade". When the audience emerged from the Opera House, there was a police baton charge. Our chairman, Dan Tierney, hit on the head by a policeman's baton, was rather severely hurt.

The newspapers gave the affair wide publicity, under scare headings. The political aspect put "pep" into the story. It formed a subject for discussion at the Cork Corporation, one member referring sarcastically to "Chocolate Soldiers".

There was in Paris at this time a Comite Franco-Irlandais. Its secretary sent us a letter of congratulation on our action.

Some time subsequently, Diarmuid Lynch, on behalf of the Philo-Celtic Society, New York, sent a sheaf of cuttings from American newspapers. The Philo-Celtic had imitated our example and had cleared "stage Irishmen" off the boards of New York theatres, not without getting into trouble with the police.

In this month of April, 1902, the Dublin Castle Government proclaimed the United Irish League "dangerous organisations". "Coercion" was announced in large-type headings in the newspapers. A "Crimes Act" was to be put into force. The United Irish League, founded by William O'Brien a few years previously, was a "constitutional organisation". In Cork City at the time it was quite inactive.

As a mark of defiance of the proclamation, a United Irish League meeting was held in Cork Cornmarket on April 27th. William O'Brien spoke at it, challenging "the Castle" to do its worst. Next day, he visited the International Exhibition grounds and was received with all honour by Lord Mayor Fitzgerald.

1902.

On 1st May, the Exhibition was formally opened by the Earl of Bandon. The city was profusely decorated with flags and bunting. The Union Jack was conspicuous among the flags.

The week following, Prince Henry of Prussia and the Duke of Connaught visited the Exhibition. They were attended by a military escort. They drove in open carriages through the city. At the reception accorded them, the Lord Mayor expressed the hope that King Edward VII and the Emperor of Germany would visit the Exhibition. Augustine Roche was High Sheriff of the city at this time. He was a leading light in the proclaimed "dangerous organisation", the United Irish League. He, too, met and welcomed "their Royal Highnesses".

On May 20th, the old-time Cork ceremony of "throwing the dart" took place. At the attendant banquet, the toast of "The King" was proposed by the Lord Mayor. There was not a dissentient voice raised by any of our public men.

The Celtic Literary Society got printed, and sent to a number of prominent Nationalists, a leaflet expressing a protest against the action of the Lord Mayor. Among replies received was one from Eugene Crean, M.P., from the House of Commons, assuring us of his sympathy with our protest.

On May 29th, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Cadogan, visited the Exhibition. The "Examiner" reported he got "a cool but respectful reception"; the "Constitution" that he got "an enthusiastic reception". Certainly, crowds on the footpaths cheered him as he passed.

A little incident that occurred was not reported. At the rooms, 18, Great Georges Street, members of Inghinidhe na hÍreann had green flags bordered with black crepe hung out of the windows. The police, directed by Head Constable Corry, rushed the rooms and captured the flags. When they had departed, a blackboard was displayed, on which was written: "Slaves lie down and kiss your chains". The police came again, but the young

1902.

ladies had barricaded the door and the blackboard remained. Police watched the rooms during the day and detectives shadowed individual members of the Celtic Literary Society.

Early in July 1902, a Convention of the United Irish League was held in Limerick. William O'Brien and John Redmond spoke at it. Redmond said the right of the Irish people to rule their own land was worth fighting for on the field of battle, but, "of course", he added, "no one asked the Irish people to do that. At that time, or later, he laid down the dictum that "separation (of Ireland from Britain) was "impossible and undesirable". O'Brien declared he did not care who would save the country, or by what methods, as long as they were honourable methods and promised success. Later, at a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Dublin, he declared: "It was not now a question between English rule in Ireland and 'Home Rule', but between "Home Rule" and an "Irish Republic". His argument was that, if the British Government did not concede Home Rule, young Irishmen of the future would aim at the establishment of a Republic, even by force of arms. He reiterated this in Cork, November 1902.

In connection with the Exhibition, an International Boat Race was held. The German Emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, sent a trophy to be competed for, as a German crew was competing. There were many Germans in Cork for the event and a German band paraded through the streets.

Chief Justice O'Brien, known as "Pether the Packer", and Augustine Roche were together at the race. Next day, in the City Courthouse, "amidst tremendous applause", the Chief Justice read a telegram received from the Kaiser.

Japanese warships also visited Cork Harbour and many of their crews visited the city.

Other visitors to the city were George Wyndham, Chief Secretary of the "Dublin Castle Government" of the time, and, before the closing on October 31, Earl Dudley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1902.

In September, Michael Davitt spoke at a meeting of the United Irish League in Cork. Representatives of the Young Ireland Society and Cork Trades Council were present. A sequel was, that a special meeting of the Young Ireland Society was held, at which it was declared the Society did not endorse Parliamentarianism but approved of the action of the United Irish League in protesting against the reception given to Wyndham by the Lord Mayor. It was also stated Michael Davitt had promised to obtain support for the erection of the National Monument. (But, the Lord Mayor had also subscribed to the fund for the monument!)

The Secretary of the Young Ireland Society in Limerick, D.L. Meany, wrote to "the Celtic" urging that we should make some statement regarding the action of the Young Ireland Society. We were not unanimous, but a resolution was passed and a copy sent to Meany.

Visitors from Dublin during the year to "the Celtic" included Peter White, then manager of Griffith's "United Irishman", Denis Devereux, who, with Griffith, had launched the journal, Thomas Shine Cuffe, Henry Roche, secretary of Dublin "Celtic", and members of Cumann na nCaedheal in Tullamore. Diarmuid Lynch, home from New York, also called to see us. Another was a Captain O'Donnell, stated to have been secretary to General de Wet of Boer War fame.

In September 1902, our Celtic Literary Society received a notice that a Convention of Cumann na nGaedheal was to be held in Dublin on 26th October ensuing. On the proposal of Terence MacSwiney, it was decided to send Edward Sheehan, M.A., as delegate to the Convention. Subsequently, Liam de Roiste was appointed as a second delegate.

Early in October, it was announced in the press that a delegation from the Irish Parliamentary Party - Redmond, Dillon and Davitt - were proceeding to the United States to collect funds for the Party. Our President, Miss Gonne, desired that we should organise an anti-Parliamentarian demonstration in

1902.

in Cork on the eve of their departure. We considered we could not do this effectively. Instead, we formulated a resolution which was sent to the Executive of Cumann na nGaedhea to branches and clubs affiliated with it, and to the Irish-American press. It was in the following terms: "The time having arrived when the advocates of Parliamentarianism must give way to a more resolute policy than that of speech-making in the English Parliament, we call upon all true friends of Ireland in America to withdraw their support from the Irish Parliamentary Party, as its policy aims at making Ireland a loyal province of the British Empire - a result incompatible with the establishment of an Irish Republic".

The Executive placed this resolution on the Agenda of the Convention.

Our delegates were instructed to propose a change in the stated aim of the organisation: instead of the words: "To advance the cause of Ireland's National Independence", to substitute "To strive for the establishment of an Irish Republic

The Convention was held in the rooms of the Dublin Celtic Literary Society, 196 Great Brunswick St. Joseph Ryan, who was a contributor to the "United Irishman", presided. Delegates numbered about fifty, nearly all young men.

Our Cork resolutions were the principal matters before the Convention.

On the question of declared aim of Cumann na nGaedheal, it was stated that the President of the Organisation, John O'Leary, did not favour a change as "Sovereign Independence was a wider term and more democratic statement of purpose than Republic". The proposed change was not adopted.

On the resolution relating to the Parliamentary Party, Arthur Griffith made a most remarkable statement, outlining what came to be called, for a time, "The Hungarian Policy", and which subsequently developed into "The Sinn Fein Policy" and led to the founding of the Sinn Fein Organisation.

1902.

He proposed as an amendment to the Cork resolution:

"Whereas, Cumann na nGaedheal, while holding and teaching that the objective of all Irish national effort must be the restoration of Ireland to her ancient status as a Sovereign Independent State, denies the assertion of the Irish Party delegates in America that there is no practical temporary alternative to the policy they advocate.

"Whereas, the passage of the Act of Union over 100 years ago has been conclusively admitted to have been a 'nullity and a fraud'; whereas, since the operation of the Act of Union millions of the Irish people have perished of famine, or have been forced into exile; and, whereas, the attendance of an Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster has been a tacit acceptance of that 'nullity and fraud' in principle and has been unproductive of good and powerless to prevent the evils alluded to -

Be it resolved: That we call upon our countrymen abroad to withhold assistance from the upholders of a useless, degrading and demoralising policy until such time as members of the Irish Party substitute for it the policy of the Hungarian Deputies of 1861, and refuse to attend the British Parliament, or to recognise its right to legislate for Ireland, and remain at home to help in promoting Ireland's interests and to aid in guarding its national rights".

The Cork resolution was adopted, but the Convention was unanimous in urging Arthur Griffith to develop his proposal regarding "the Hungarian Policy" and explain it fully in the "United Irishman". (This he did in the first six months of 1904. The articles were then published as a brochure, with the title, "The Resurrection of Hungary". Within a few months twenty thousand copies of the booklet had been sold)

1902.

On the report of the proceedings at the Convention a long discussion took place in the Cork Celtic Literary Society. Ultimately, it was decided to urge the Executive of Cumann na nGaedheal to get into communication with the Irish Parliamentary Party with a view to getting that Party to adopt "the Hungarian Policy".

1903.

At a general meeting of "the Celtic", on the proposition of Edward Lorton, it was decided "to invite representatives of National and Labour organisations to a conference for the purpose of forming an Industrial Association".

Thus began the formation of the Cork Industrial Development Association, which continued in operation for nearly 40 years.

The Conference met in the rooms of the Celtic Literary Society on Sunday, February 8th, 1903. Those present were of very varied affiliations; many who, in political outlook and in public life, were often violently opposed.

Augustine Roche, High Sheriff, presided. He attended as representative of the South Parish branch of the Gaelic League; among others present were: George Crosbie, proprietor of the "Cork Examiner"; C.J. Dunne, Justice of the Peace, Leather Manufacturer; C.M. O'Connell, of O'Connell's Saw Mills; J. McFerran and James Curtin, of Cork Spinning and Weaving Coy.; O'Brien, Manager, Silverspring Starch Company; Alderman Jeremiah Kelleher and Councillor Patrick Lynch, Cork Trades Council; Michael Egan, Coachbuilders' Society; Charles McCarthy, Master Plumber; representatives of Gaelic League branches and some members of our own Society.

The Conference appointed an organising committee with George Crosbie as Chairman, Augustine Roche and Edward Lorton as Treasurers and Liam de Roiste as Honorary Secretary.

Some discussions took place at the organising committee

1903

as to whether Lord Mayor Fitzgerald should be asked to call a public meeting to launch the Industrial Association in a formal public way. The Lord Mayor, however, was otherwise engaged, in promoting the International Exhibition for the second year.

In April, what was described as a "great" Industrial Conference was held in Dublin. It received wide publicity. Lord Pirrie of Belfast presided. Many "noble lords" attended. The King had lent his patronage to it. Lord Mayor Fitzgerald was present.

The "Cork Constitution" hoped our Cork Association would not be antagonistic to the Dublin project, to which "His Gracious Majesty had extended his congratulations". Nothing came of the Dublin Conference.

January: At a meeting of "the Celtic", it was decided to organise a Hurling Club, to be called the "Éire Óg" Club, and to seek a affiliation with the Cork Co. Board of the Gaelic Athletic Association. The purpose behind this was to make an effort to "reform" the County Board. Ultimately, through the action of the "Éire Óg" Club, J.J. Walsh was elected chairman of the Co. Board.

March: At a Gaelic League meeting in Dublin, John Sweetman said: "we could not at present drive the English out of Ireland by force of arms", but "we hope to do so in the future".

Griffith, in the "United Irishman" endorses this view.

April: It is announced that the King and Queen of England are to visit Ireland.

Cork International Exhibition Committee, at a meeting on April 3rd, presided over by the Lord Mayor, expressed the hope that they will "grace Cork with their presence".

On the 7th, Queenstown Urban Council declared it would welcome the King and hopes he may come again soon "to open the House of Lords and Commons of Ireland in Dublin". ("The Old House in College Green").

1903.

May 19th. "Cork Constitution" placard heading: "Meeting in Dublin. Parliamentarians and Extremists". This was a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Harrington, was present. Mrs. MacBride, Maire Quinn, Edward Martyn, Seamus MacManus and others of Cumann na nGaedheal sympathies appeared at the meeting.

Mrs. MacBride ascended the platform and asked the Lord Mayor if he were going to protest against an address of loyalty to the King from Dublin Corporation. He refused to answer and there was some disturbance.

The "Constitution" refers to "the Irish Republican Brotherhood and - Sisterhood; the so-called "Daughters of Erin".

"Cork Examiner" - "Mrs. MacBride's party .... are swelled heads and literary revolutionists".

May 28th: The International Exhibition was opened by Earl Dudley. Declarations made that King Edward would be gladly received.

June: The Celtic Literary Society sent a circular letter to the press and to various public bodies regarding the King's visit. It was published in the "Cork Examiner". Cork Co. Council and Cork Board of Guardians marked it "read". It was generally treated with contempt, but Kilmallock Urban Council endorsed it.

William O'Brien's paper, "The Irish People", considered it "jejune - a thing of no importance".

But, on July 18th, O'Brien had a letter in the press, in which he says he has always been opposed to loyal addresses.

"The Leader" virulently attacks "the Tin Pikers".

June 23rd: At a public meeting, Lord Mayor Fitzgerald declares: "in the name of 80,000 citizens of Cork" he will welcome the King and Queen to the city. A committee to decorate the streets for their visit was formed.

1903.

June 27th: The United Irish League in Cork passed a mild resolution of protest against the action of the Lord Mayor.

June 28th: Wolfe Tone demonstration, under the auspices of the Young Ireland Society, was held in Great Georges St. C.J. Doran of Cove was to be the principal speaker. Members of the Celtic Literary Society approached him and suggested he should make some reference to the Lord Mayor's declaration. He advised that we ourselves address the meeting. On this, and with the consent of the Young Ireland Society promoters of the demonstration, Edward Lorton and Liam de Roiste spoke to a resolution of protest against the declaration of the Lord Mayor.

July 3rd: A motion to present a loyal address to the King was defeated at Dublin Corporation. The meeting broke up in disorder.

July 9th: Cork Co. Council decided not to present an address to the King. James O'Neill of Kinsale was one of the principal speakers against professions of loyalty.

July 24th: The King and Queen visited Maynooth College. According to press accounts, they were loyally received by the President, Dr. Mannix.

August 1st: The King and Queen in Cork; visited the Exhibition. The city was profusely decorated. There were large crowds on the streets and great enthusiasm was manifested. As a result of the visit, the Lord Mayor was created a baronet.

August 26th: A Gaelic League Conference was held in the Assembly Rooms, South Mall, today. At this Conference the idea was broached of founding an Irish Summer School, or Summer College of Irish, in Ballingearry, Co. Cork.

August 29th: Received a copy of O'Donovan's Rossa's "United Irishman", sent me from New York. It publishes the circular we had sent out from "the Celtic" in reference to the King's

1903:

visit. Also, the report of half-yearly general meeting of our Society and some letters which Fred Cronin had addressed to Rossa. It appears to have been Rossa himself who sent the "United Irishman" to me.

September 3rd: General meeting of Celtic Literary Society: C.G. Doran of Cove elected President; Major and Mrs. MacBride, Vice-Presidents; Brian Kelleher, Hon. Secretary.

A long discussion took place regarding a change in the stated object of the Society. The proposed change was: "To endeavour to restore Ireland to its rightful position of Sovereign Independence" instead of "To aid in the establishment of an Irish Republic".

At this meeting, the proposed change was accepted by a majority: at a subsequent meeting, the original statement of aim was restored.

September 16th: A procession, in commemoration of Robert Emmet, organised by the Young Ireland Society, was held. It was a large procession, but not orderly in formation. It is some answer to the protestations of loyalty to the King of England recently avowed in Cork.

An Emmet celebration was also held in Dublin, organised by Cumann na nGaedheal. The "Independent" reports that 80,000 men marched in perfect order and discipline. Thousands of athletes, carrying hurleys on their shoulders, in the manner of rifles, were in the procession. It was noted that no members of the Irish Parliamentary Party attended.

September 25th: In the course of a letter, written from Paris, lauding the Celtic Literary Society, Major John MacBride declares: "The future of Ireland will be decided inside the next twenty years. Prepare to play your part".

October 2nd: "The Celtic" was successful in getting the "United Irishman" taken into Cork Free Library.

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November 20th: In reply to an invitation sent him to attend a lecture on the Industrial Revival, by Liam de Roiste, in Cork Assembly Rooms, Rev. Father Thomas, O.S.F.C., writes: "Your interest in the revival of a thorough Irish spirit in our people and your efforts for the industrial regeneration of our country deserve whole-hearted support and is bound to redound to the credit of your admirable organisation - the Cork Celtic Literary Society. I pray God to bless your efforts and to forward your work - the noblest and the best to which true patriots can devote their energies and talents".

November 6th: A long letter in the press from Mr. William O'Brien, announcing his intention of resigning as Member of Parliament; of discontinuing publication of his weekly paper "The Irish People", and of his retirement from public life. His difference with the Irish Parliamentary Party has arisen over the Land Act: "the Wyndham Act", as it is called. William is enthusiastically in favour of the Act. Others, particularly John Dillon, are not so favourably disposed.

Since his announcement, there have been many meetings of O'Brien's supporters; votes of confidence in him passed; long orations of laudation; strong denunciations of the "Freeman's Journal". If one were to take it all seriously, a crisis of the first magnitude in Irish political history! But, William will probably reconsider his decision, in view of the demands of his loyal supporters.

(The break-away of O'Brien from the Irish Party and the United Irish League had effects in Cork city and county long after; even to the time of the formation of the Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, 1913, and in the general election of 1918).

December 4th: The lecture on the Industrial Revival is published in the "Cork Sun" as a leading article.

Diarmuid Lynch, from New York, writes to me, to say he has been elected President of the Gaelic League in that city.

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December 12th: John A. Milroy, Chairman of the Debating Guild, Cork Young Men's Society, lectures in "the Celtic" rooms on "1803 and 1903 in Ireland, a comparison", an excellent lecture.

December 29th: Controversy in the United Irish League in Cork regarding the calling of "a National Convention". O'Brien demands it; Redmond opposes it.

Men who are tired of those party political squabbles are being attracted to the Gaelic League and Cumann na nGaedheal. Parliamentarianism seems doomed. It has killed, or is killing itself. Good Irishmen have supported the policy. Nevertheless, it is demoralising to Irish nationality.

(In later years, William O'Brien himself published a booklet entitled "The Downfall of Parliamentarianism".

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January 1st: Father Augustine, O.S.F.C., asks me to call on him. He wants me to take up the secretaryship of the Munster Training College of Irish, which is to be established in Ballingeary. He is one of the members of the organising committee. (On his urging, I consented to this, and from 1904 to 1936 acted as Secretary of the College: Colaiste Muinteoireachta na Mumhan. Its progress is a story in itself!)

An article I sent to the "United Irishman" is published by Griffith as "Editorial Notes".

A murder (if it is murder) was committed in the city on the 28th ult. A man named John O'Keeffe was thrown into the River Lee. So it is reported. The "Examiner", today, publishes some clippings from English newspapers. In these it is stated that "a Secret Society" is at the bottom of the affair; that the murdered man was not regarded with favour by the Young Ireland Society; Some English newspapers will publish anything for a sensational effect and particularly anything that may discredit Irish Nationalists. Who concocted the story?

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n The grain of truth, known to very few, is that there were two men, bearing the name, John O'Keeffe, in the Young Ireland Society: Sean, now on the reporting staff of the "Freeman's Journal", and the other an engineer in the Cork Waterworks. The latter was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. He did have some difference with the Young Ireland Society and left it some time ago. He is not the murdered man, however. The story is a fabrication and a libel of the "Central News Agency".

January 3rd. "The Celtic", having been without a Chairman for some time, I was tonight elected Chairman, on proposition of Terence MacSwiney, with Edward Lorton as Vice-Chairman.

The Society is at its lowest ebb. The number of our members "to aid in the establishment of an Irish Republic" is 15! But we are in good spirits, a new year dawning!

The 15 were: Liam de Roiste, Edward Lorton, Terence MacSwiney, Fred Cronin, Denis O'Mahony, Daniel T. O'Sullivan, Brian Kelleher, Patrick Harris, Donal Cronin, Michael O'Neill, Robert (Bob) Fitzgerald, James Barrett, Daniel O'Mahony, Jeremiah O'Sullivan, William Henley).

January 7th. Cork County Council (which was the first Council in Ireland to hold competitive examinations for clerkships of the Council) has made Irish a compulsory subject for its examinations. This is a great advance in encouragement of the language.

A Public Libraries Act having been passed, from "the Celtic" we wrote to the Cork Rural District Council urging it to put the Act into operation in Cork Rural District.

January 10th. At a meeting of the Coisde Ceanntair of the Gaelic League, I was appointed "Press Secretary". (This led to my furnishing Gaelic League notes to the "Evening Echo" for a number of years. They also appeared, at times, in the daily and weekly "Examiner".)

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Debate at "the Celtic" on the question - "Does Independence constitute Nationality?" An interesting debate. The matter was fully thrashed out. (And on other occasions as well as on this one). All who were present agreed it does not.

January 18th. Arthur Griffith writes to me, asking if I would send some "notes" weekly for publication in the "United Irishman".

January 19th: Thomas O'Gorman, a prominent member of the Cork Catholic Young Men's Society, asks my help in starting in Cork a Dramatic Society on the lines of one that has been organised by Cumann na nGaedheal in Dublin. Christopher Rooney, Principal of Skerry's College, Cork, is also interested. He is secretary of the Young Men's Society. The founding of the Abbey Theatre had aroused interest in the production of Irish plays and we doubted not but that there was local talent capable of writing and producing plays of a similar type to those of the Abbey. (Our discussion was the germ of an idea which ultimately grew into the formation of a Cork Dramatic Society).

January 31st. Letter from P.S. O'Hegarty, London, and from Robert Emmet Branch, Cumann na nGaedheal, Drumcondra, suggesting exchange of MS. Journals.

February 6th. Sean Milroy and John O'Mahony of Dublin, and others, were enrolled members of the Celtic Literary Society

February 10th. Cork Dramatic Society was formally established at a meeting in the rooms of "the Celtic".

February 27th. J.L. Fawsitt, and others, enrolled as members. Jerome O'Leary, a subscriber to the Society, read a paper on "A forgotten Cork Poet" - Edward Walsh.

March 7th. Cork Trades Council are organising the St. Patrick's Day Demonstration this year. Delegates were sent from "the Celtic" to a meeting of the Organising Committee to propose that a request be made to have all licensed premises closed on the National Holiday. Their proposal was defeated by a majority.

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May 8th. A meeting was held in "the Celtic" rooms of "Cork City and County Reform Committee, G.A.A." This was on the initiative of our "Eire Og" Hurling Club. A number of representatives from various Clubs were present. The immediate purpose was to change the personnel of the Cork County Board; to have audited accounts presented to the Board, and to have discipline enforced at matches. Patrick Harris was secretary of our Club.

June 25th. Having written to Father Peter O'Leary, ("An t-Athair Peadar"), of Castlelyons, inviting him to speak at the opening of the Colaiste Mumhan, I got his reply today. He consents to speak and deliver the opening address.

(The College was opened on July 4th, 1904).

The Committee who had arranged for the opening of the College consisted of Rev. Patrick Hurley, P.P., Iveleary; Tadhg O Scanail, N.T., Rev. Fr. Augustine, O.S.F.C., Patrick O'Shea, N.T., Glengariff; Sean ' Caoimh (of the "Freeman's Journal"); Rev. John O'Connell, C.C., Coomhola; Michael Murphy, Solr., Cork.

Father Augustine had drawn up the curriculum for the courses. The Bishops of Munster had consented to become patrons and subscribed to the College funds.

The Headmaster for this opening session was Diarmuid Foley, known as "Feargus Finnbeil", a Customs official. Rev. Dr. O'Daly, born in Australia of Irish parentage, was Professor of Phonetics. He was acquainted with many languages, speaking several fluently. Mr. O'Scanail conducted a course in bilingual teaching for National Schools.

(Many of the students who attended the College in its early years became prominent in Irish life in later years).

July 30th. Revision of voters' lists is taking place. I took a dozen forms, with names and addresses in Irish, to the Town Clerk's office. The official in charge of the voters' list.

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became quite fussy. To have names in Irish on the lists seemed something revolutionary to him. No doubt it was the first time in the history of franchise forms in Cork that names appeared in Irish. Michael O'Neill, of the "Celtic", handed in other names. They duly appeared on the voters' list.

August 17th. Consequent on William O'Brien's resignation, the writ has been issued for the election of a parliamentary representative for Cork City. It occurred to me that this may be an opportunity for putting forward a candidate, on the "ticket" of the "Hungarian Policy"; pledged to abstention from the British Parliament. I conferred with some members of "the Celtic". They favoured the idea. Milroy obtained nomination forms. I called on John J. Horgan, Solicitor, and discussed the idea with him, but he seemed to be dumbfounded by it. At least, he had no ideas on the matter. Lack of money is our difficulty. I wrote to Arthur Griffith for advice. The men I had in mind as possible candidates are John Sweetman or Edward Martyn. There is no hint that the United Irish League intend to contest the election.

August 20th. Reply from Griffith. He says time is too short between nomination and election to explain the "Hungarian Policy" to the people. He, therefore, advises not to nominate a candidate for Cork.

O'Brien was nominated and returned unopposed. It is said he was not consulted and was nominated against his wishes.

August 23rd. Augustine Roche, as Lord Mayor of Cork, pays a "courtesy visit" to Lord Charles Beresford, in command of the Channel Squadron of the British Navy, now in Cork Harbour. Many nice things are said on both sides! Irish youths will be welcomed into the British Navy. Lord Charles was much interested in the reports of the Industrial Development Association.

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There must be some insincerity in this "courtesy". Can one honestly welcome here representatives of England's imperial power and, at the same time, truly desire Irish freedom from English rule? There is no doubt, however, but the great majority of Irishmen regard such actions as this of Lord Mayor Roche as "the right thing" to do. Such actions are "popular".

August 30th. Christy (Diarmuid) Lynch, home from New York on holiday, addressed members of "the Celtic" after our reading of Manuscript Journal, "Éire Óg". Had a walk with him afterwards. We discoursed many aspects of Irish affairs. He is quite interesting and seems very well informed on activities in the United States of Irish-American Societies. During our walk we met Edward Sheehan, M.A., and Dan Tierney.

October 2nd. Resolution sent from Celtic Literary Society to Cork Co. Council asking the Council to change the names of bridges, George IV and Wellington, to O'Neill-Crowley and Thomas Davis bridges. (Later, the suggestion was complied with by the Co. Council).

October 3rd. An Industrial Exhibition, organised by the Cork Association, was held in the Assembly Rooms. The opening ceremony was performed by Lady Fitzgerald-Arnott. Lord Mayor Augustine Roche presided. T.P. Gill, Secretary of the Department of Technical Education, was among the speakers. A handsome-looking man, with a long flowing beard!

The entertainments connected with the Exhibition were contributed to by members of "the Celtic", the Inghinidhe na hÉireann and the Gaelic League.

I had invited Griffith to come to the opening, but he wrote to say he was unable to do so and was asking Dan McCarthy to visit it.

Also wrote to him asking if he would induce Senor Bulfin, Editor of the "Southern Cross" of Buenos Aires, at present in Ireland, to come to Cork and lecture on Thomas Davis, as we have in mind a Davis Commemoration ceremony.

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October 13th.

Bulfin could not come to Cork.

An appreciative article on the Cork Industrial Exhibition appears in the Dublin "Leader". I surmise it was written by John J. Horgan, D.P. Moran, owner and editor of the "Leader", while supporting the language and industrial movements, has only abusive terms for a new political departure, which is really a part of the same national movement. The "United Irishman" is a beacon light, "guiding the forces onward". Griffith is an incisive writer.

October 21st.

William O'Brien addressed a large crowd in Cork Cornmarket on Sunday last, October 16th. The burden of his speech was "Conciliation": Conference with Lord Dunraven and the Irish Reform Association and then, "Home Rule by consent". "Three Cs." is his slogan: Conference, Conciliation, Consent.

Prominent in the news is the account of an eviction at Watergrasshill, Co. Cork. A family were to be evicted from their holding. There was resistance to the bailiffs. A large force of police was present. After a fight with "the peelers", acting on advice of Eugene Crean, M.P. and the local Curate, the people submitted.

The defenders of the house were charged at the Petty Sessions Court, Wednesday, 19th. On some provocation or other, real or fancied, the police baton charged the people outside the court. Several people were injured. There is a tremendous furore. The United Irish League are demanding a Government enquiry into the occurrence. There are threats of prosecuting the police!

The baton charge looks almost like Dublin Castle's reply to O'Brien's policy of conciliation!

In "Cork Weekly Examiner" there are some amusing pictures of the baton charge.

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Yesterday, 20th, there was a resolution regarding the National Board of Education before a meeting of Cork Board of Guardians. Alderman P.H. Meade proposed an alternative resolution - calling for the abolition of the National Board! Commendable, if drastic! The National Board of Education is one of the strongest anglicising forces in the country and, of course, is entirely undemocratic. "Paddy" Meade's remarks were excellent from a nationalist and democratic point of view.

The whole matter was adjourned for six months.

(Paddy Meade was prominent in public life in Cork for over a quarter of a century. He was Mayor in 1895, 1897, 1898. In his young days he was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood - so I heard. He was "a strong Parnellite").

October 23rd. Another debate at the Celtic Literary Society on the "Hungarian Policy". Two members of Cumann na nGaedheal branch in Limerick were present. Both spoke and spoke excellently.

October 24th. Special meeting of "Celtic" to discuss the matters on the Agenda of the Convention of Cumann na nGaedheal to be held in Dublin on the 30th.

Against my own desire, I was selected as representative of "the Celtic" to the Convention, on proposition of Terence MacSwiney.

October 29th. In Dublin: Went to Molesworth Hall to see the performance of two "Samhain" plays. Peter White and Michael J. Quinn were at the door.

The plays were "The Hard Hearted Man", by Seamus MacManus, and "An International Exhibition", by Joseph Ryan, the latter a skit upon those in Dublin who had proposed such a project. It was very enjoyable.

October 30th. Convention to Mansion House, Dawson Street. Donal O'Connor presided. A fair attendance of delegates; not an impressive number; nearly all young men; earnest, yet not

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too serious. Differences of opinion on various matters were expressed, but no difference on the main principle: that Ireland belongs to the Irish people and no foreign power should rule it.

There was a resolution on the Agenda to the effect that Cumann na nGaedheal should not assist or take part in any movement established or about to be established for the furtherance of "the Hungarian Policy" in Ireland. The resolution was not approved. No definite decision was arrived at. Griffith spoke finely in advocacy of such a policy; national self-reliance and repudiation of English rule. The general feeling was that the policy should be allowed to grow, as it were. It needs a gradual education of the people for its adoption. Without conviction, it cannot be operated.

During the Convention, I became acquainted with Bulmer Hobson, Denis McCullough, Brian O'Higgins, P.T. Daly, Mullin of Oliver Bond Club, and others.

Proposed by Mrs. MacBride for the Executive, I was elected on a vote.

O'Donovan Rossa is coming to Ireland during November. He is to unveil a National Monument in Skibbereen. In "the Celtic" we had discussed the matter of organising a public reception for him in Cork City. I had been directed to mention this at the Convention. I did so. To my surprise, a statement was made that Rossa was a member of a reception committee in New York to welcome John Redmond there. In consequence of this, the Convention took no action; and, as a branch of Cumann na nGaedheal, it looked as if the Cork Celtic Literary Society could take no action either, to arrange a reception for Rossa.

October 30th. Sunday night. Ceilidhe in Mansion House, organised by Inghinidhe na hEireann. During the ceilidhe, John O'Leary and Douglas Hyde came in and were awarded a great

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ovation. It seemed significant, a linking up, as it were, of the Gaelic League, represented by its President, with one of the outstanding figures of Fenianism, a veteran of '67.

I was introduced to O'Leary. Hearing I was from Cork, he desired me to convey his good wishes to "Charlie" Doran of Cove, who, I informed him, was President of our Celtic Literary Society. (Doran was an old "comrade-in-arms" of his in '67). O'Leary is tall; straight, as he must have been in youth; proud-looking; with a long, flowing beard, not fully grey; thin figure; bearing evidence of age, but with somewhat commanding aspect and eyes still bright and piercing.

Douglas Hyde is genial, effusive. His Irish is simple, easy; but not his Munster "blas". One easily feels at home with him, as he has no "airs".

The Lord Mayor of Dublin was also present.

October 31st. Spent a good part of the day with Griffith. He is usually a silent man: a good listener. In private conversation, however, not in general company, he expands. Usually serious also, one finds him in private with a good sense of humour. In our converse today, he tells me Tim Healy, M.P., is secretly favourable to the "Hungarian policy", as an alternative to the Parliamentary policy, as are some of the younger men among the supporters of the Parliamentary Party. Davitt is also favourable and Dillon not antagonistic. Lord Dunraven is simply using William O'Brien for his conciliation policy. Judging by letters received, the "United Irishman" and what it advocates is taking a strong hold on the minds of many of those who are considered "the thinking men" of the country. The movement based on the Hungarian example is a slow movement; the foundations have to be carefully laid. It is a matter of changing the national mental outlook; to induce self-reliance and get rid of the attitude of dependence upon England and the goodwill of the English Government.

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Called upon Alderman Walter Cole. He is a member of what is called the "National Reform and Temperance Party" in Dublin Corporation. An active, pleasant, genial man, of high intelligence, full of information.

Also met Peter White, Joseph Ryan, Michael Quinn, Brian O'Higgins and some others.

Then called to the Gaelic League headquarters, 24 Upper O'Connell St., and had a chat with Padraig Ó Dalaigh, Ard-Rúnaidhe.

I had also been introduced to a Gerald Ewing. He had made a protest against "stage-Irish shows" at St. Louis Exhibition. As a consequence, he got dismissed from his employment and is now in Ireland.

November 3rd. Discussion at "Celtic" regarding a public reception for O'Donovan Rossa. In view of what was said at the Convention, it appears that we cannot, as a Society, organise a reception. There are rumours around that Rossa has a British Government pension! This we believe entirely false and absurd. Then, it is urged by some that, if we do not act, a reception will be organised by pseudo-Nationalists. The members of "the Celtic" disagreed as to what should be done.

After our meeting, Fred Cronin and I went to the rooms of Barrack St. Band and had a talk with Richard Sisk, T.C., who is Chairman of the Band Committee. It was arranged that we call a meeting of representatives of various Societies in the Band Room and form a "Rossa Reception Committee".

It is difficult to believe what was said of Rossa at Cumann na nGaedheal Convention, but also difficult to doubt the word of those at the Convention.

Wrote to Griffith asking him for the source of the information about Rossa. Also wrote Ingoldsby, Secretary, Cumann na nGaedheal Executive.

November 6th. Reply from Griffith. He only repeats statements made at Convention. Gives no conclusive proof of charges against Rossa.

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November 7th. Today's newspapers report that Redmond and O'Brien patched up their differences yesterday, at Limerick. Both spoke "Conciliation". They say "the country" is now united. It could hardly be said to have been disunited because of their present differences. What really seems to be is that the country is apathetic. The call to it to wake up is from "Irish Ireland".

November 10th.

C.G. Doran attended a meeting at the Celtic Literary Society tonight. He is Rossa's "agent" and is chiefly responsible for arranging his tour for the old Fenian leader. He denied, absolutely and emphatically, that O'Donovan Rossa had changed his opinions. He had heard nothing of Rossa's attending a Redmondite meeting in New York, but, if he were present at it, it was in his capacity as a journalist. He stated that everything possible was being done by British agents to prevent Rossa getting a reception on his arrival in Ireland and that the rumours we had heard, in all probability, were originated by British agents!

We believed Doran. He, obviously, knew the facts. So, we unanimously decided to take part in forming a Rossa Reception Committee. We went to Barrack St. Band Room. Dick Sisk presided at the meeting there. Doran also came with us. Very reluctantly, because of my affiliation with Cumann na nGaedheal, I accepted the secretaryship of the committee, but insisted that Fred Cronin act with me.

November 14th. Meeting of Rossa Reception Committee in room of Barrack St. Band. C.G. Doran presided. There were between 70 and 80 present, representative of the Celtic Literary Society, Young Ireland Society, Munster Council of the Gaelic Athletic Association, Cork Co. Board, G.A.A., United Irish League, North West Ward, Pork Butchers' Society, Bricklayers and Masons, Painters' Society, Blackpool Gaelic

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League, Passage West Hurling Club, Eire Óg Hurling Club, Juvorna Football Club, G.P.O. Gaelic Football Club, Young Ireland Football Club, Juvorna Hurling Club, Dread Van Drivers' Association, Barrack St. Band, Butter Exchange Band, Fair Lane Band, Kerry Pike Band, Masons Society, Carpenters' Society, Boot and Shoe Operatives, St. Mary's Hurling Club.

November 15th. Reply from O'Brien, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Cumann na nGaedheal Executive in Dublin. The Executive wishes that no branches or members of the Organisation take part in giving Rossa a reception! This is a very mixed-up affair! Replied immediately, informing O'Brien as to what action "the Celtic" had taken and giving reasons. He stated he was sending an American paper in which Rossa's speeches at Redmond's meeting were reported. It did not come to hand.

November 17th. Another meeting of Rossa Reception Committee. Charles Doran, Richard Cronin, T.C., Richard Sisk, T.C., M.D. O'Brien, Michael J. O'Callaghan, Nicholas Kenneally, William Curtin, Matthew O'Riordan and Thomas Irwin, Fred Cronin and myself were appointed to meet Rossa on board the liner in Cork Harbour.

The marshalling of a procession in the city was left to twenty men of the Gaelic Athletic Association, to be selected by Cork County Board.

A Mr. C.P. O'Sullivan stated that "the Old Guard" would take part in the procession in full strength.

("The Old Guard" were the men of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Fenian Organisation, men who were connected with the Fenian Rising of 1867).

It was decided to present an illuminated address to Rossa, to be in the Irish language only.

Matthew O'Riordan, Chairman Cork Co. Board, G.A.A., announced that the Co. Board had called on all the Clubs in

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Cork city and county to take part in the demonstration to welcome Rossa to Cork.

November 18th. 11.15 p.m. to Cove. The Barrack St. Band accompanied the deputation appointed to meet Rossa.

November 19th. 2.30 a.m. We boarded the tender and steamed out Cork Harbour, the band playing! 4 a.m. The liner, "Etruria" sailed in and anchored off Roche's point. We went on board and Rossa was soon among the group, introductions being conducted by C.O. Doran. Many newspaper men were present; representatives of the Irish, English and American press.

We returned to Cork, and Rossa remained with Doran in Cove.

I had given the copy of address of welcome to Patrick Stanton, a profound scholar of Irish and illuminator of manuscripts, to be translated and inscribed on parchment. I called upon him. He had the address ready, beautifully engrossed, with intertwined "Celtic" bordering, and, so far as I can judge, translated into classical Irish. I noted he writes "Comhfhlaithias Éireannach" as the equivalent of "Irish Republic".

November 20th. Sunday. 3 p.m. Glanmire Railway Station to meet Rossa and Doran coming from Cove. A large, enthusiastic crowd were at the station. Several bands playing lively airs. Our visitors alighted from the train and were conveyed to an open carriage. In the carriage, with Rossa and Doran, were Dick Cronin, T.C., M.D. O'Brien, Geoffrey Wycherley, chairman, Skibbereen Young Ireland Society, and myself.

The horses were unyoked and men drew the carriage through the city; King St., Patrick St., Grand Parade, South Mall to the Municipal Buildings. I had never before seen such a multitude of people on the streets or such wild enthusiasm.

At the National Monument on the Grand Parade, there was a halt. The men drawing the carriage insisted on taking it around the monument, twice. Disaster! A wheel of the carriage

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broke. We had to alight and fight our way through the crowd. We succeeded in getting on a jarvey car. We reached the Municipal Buildings safely. A struggle to get through the throng to the platform. It required much exertion. Everyone, it seemed, wanted to shake hands with O'Donovan Rossa.

Rossa spoke, a bit ramblingly; not a set address. There was no parliamentarianism in what he said. It was the spirit of Irish Nationalism as we of Cumann na nGaedheal knew it. I had asked him to speak some words in Irish, knowing him to be a native Irish speaker. He complied by reciting some Irish verses he had himself composed years before. His Munster "blas" was untouched by residence in the United States.

After the meeting we again set off in the jarvey car, which conveyed us to M.D. O'Brien's house in Barrack Street. Here, beside the fire, I had an hour or so alone with Rossa. We chatted on various topics. He lives in the past, to a great extent; is a wonderful storyteller; a genuine old-time seanachaidhe.

At "the Celtic" our Manuscript Journal was being read. I arranged that Rossa attend and speak. He spoke a good deal in Irish and told many stories. He looked as if he would like to stay by the fire all night, telling us stories, but we had to let him visit the Young Ireland Society, across the street.

Without any questioning on our part, he has again and again said he has not changed his nationalist opinions. He may have been at Redmond's meeting, as was stated at Cumann na nGaedheal Convention, but I do not believe he spoke at it in favour of Parliamentarianism.

November 22nd. Received this morning a copy of "The Resurrection of Hungary" - Griffith's booklet, telling how the Hungarians won against Austria by a policy of "passive resistance". Entertainingly written, with the moral for Ireland driven home. Wrote to him, to compliment him. Also sent him

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Cork newspapers with the reports of Rossa's meetings. Sent these also to the Hon. Secretaries of Cumann na nGaedheal Executive.

November 23rd. A letter from Ingoldsby (one of the secretaries). He thinks I should get Rossa to make a public denial of having attended Redmond's meeting. I think this quite unnecessary now.

November 24th. "Echo" reports that Cork Corporation, at special meeting today, decided to confer the freedom of the city on Rossa.

November 28th. Press reports of meeting at Skibbereen yesterday, at unveiling of National Monument by Rossa, state it was of large proportions. A letter was read from Mrs. MacBride. She eulogises Rossa, and she was present at Cumann na nGaedheal Convention and heard what was said against him.

November 30th. At a meeting of Rossa Reception Committee, it was decided to have him lecture in Cork. We understand he has very little to subsist on; his only income being subscriptions to his paper, which cannot be very great.

December 2nd. Griffith, in the "United Irishman" makes reference to Rossa's homecoming. He has almost wholly accepted the views I expressed in letters I wrote him. This is satisfactory.

December 3rd. At a meeting of the Celtic Literary Society, on proposal of Terence MacSwiney, supported by Fred Cronin, it was agreed to order one thousand copies of "The Resurrection of Hungary" and to have them on sale at O'Donovan's Rossa's lecture.

The principal of Skerry's College, Christopher Rooney, B.A., a cultured man and, one-time, Hon. Secretary of the Cork Catholic Young Men's Society, is not favourable to the Irish language. He expresses very common arguments in opposition:

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"It is a useless, non-economic language to learn"; "Its use is the expression of mere sentiment"; "it is a language of boors and peasants". I have now a pragmatic answer for him! The secretaryship of Cork Co. Council is becoming vacant. David MacDonnell, LL.D., intends to be a candidate for the post. He assumes a knowledge of Irish will be required, according to the Council's decision to have Irish as a subject of examinations. He came to Skerry's College for a tutor, and Rooney, tolerant to other people's opinions, referred him to me. An LL.D. is not an ordinary pupil at the college. So, as I pointed out, Irish has become "economic"!

(David MacDonnell was married to a daughter of Denny Lane, Cork poet and Young Irelander of 1848. He died some years ago. Mrs. MacDonnell still lives at Sunday's Well, Cork, and was prominent in the Davis Centenary Celebrations, October, 1945.)

December 9th. A letter from Ingoldsby. He now suggests that Rossa be asked to publicly endorse the policy of Cumann na nGaedheal. This is a new turn of affairs. I am doubtful about it. Would it help in any way?

William O'Brien, M.P., and Lord Mayor Augustine Roche have subscribed to a "Rossa Testimonial" organised by Skibbereen Young Ireland Society.

William is to be at Macroom on Sunday next. What if he attend Rossa's lecture? What attitude shall we adopt? And what if the Lord Mayor attend? He would be entitled to preside at it.

December 10th: Last night attended performance of "The Last Irish King" and "A Pot of Broth", in the Imperial Hall. This is the first effort of our Cork National Theatre Society. Though no judge, acting seemed to be good. Tom O'Gorman was a striking "Art MacMorrough". A man named Archer was "Tyrell" and a Miss Barry "Eva". The play ("Last Irish King" is

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propagandist, but has drama in it. T. O'Neill-Russell, the author, was present and spoke. The audience was not large but was appreciative. J.L. Fawsitt of the "Celtic" is secretary of the Society. Christopher Rooney wrote a report for the press.

Calling to the "Cork Examiner" office to get a paragraph about Rossa's lecture inserted, I met George Crosbie, the proprietor. Unexpectedly, we got into an argument about Irish public affairs in general: the language movement and "Fenian" ideas in particular. He had never heard of the "Hungarian Policy" and had not seen Griffith's pamphlet. An individual named Coffey came on the scene. His arguments added fuel to the fire of our controversy. He is, he said, a business man, "a practical man", "hard-headed". He did not believe in any foolish sentiment about Ireland. All this talk about nationalism and patriotism is "codology".

"The Examiner" reports that Major John MacBride is in Westport and intends to stand for the British Parliament at next election. I doubt this,

Dick Sisk tells us Rossa's lecture is to be "boycotted", as we have not asked Lord Mayor Roche to preside at it, nor William O'Brien to speak!

December 11th. With Rossa and Sisk, had a drive around Blackrock. Afterwards, with Fred Cronin, had a quiet half-hour with Rossa in his room in the Victoria Hotel. We talked of the possibility of the Lord Mayor and William O'Brien attending his lecture. Rossa said the arrangements were entirely in our hands. He told us John Ronayne and other members of the Young Ireland Society had been with him last night. They also spoke about the Lord Mayor presiding at the lecture. They decided to travel to Cove and consult Doran. Seeing they have no responsibility in the matter, this seems curious.

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On this occasion, seated by the fire, Rossa seemed to brighten up. He cheerfully told us of many incidents connected with the Fenian organisation; laughing indeed at some of them, particularly at "the trial" of a certain informer.

After our chat, he went with Sisk to a hurling match at Turner's Cross.

December 12th. "Lecture" by Rossa in Assembly Rooms, South Mall. Doran presided. We invited no others on the platform, so that no jealousies would be aroused and no parliamentarians appear prominent. There was a good, but not overflow audience. Neither Lord Mayor Roche nor William O'Brier appeared. The threatened boycott of the lecture failed. Rossa spoke at very great length.

We had also arranged for a concert and musical selections by Barrack St. Band. The contributors to the concert were: Rita O'Donoghue, whose mother is a relation of Rossa's; Mollie Roche, Jerry Murphy, Robert O'Byrne, "Dan" the fiddler and some groups of dancers.

In the course of his talk, Rossa declared he stands, as always, for Ireland's sovereign independence; complete freedom from England.

December 13th: Sent Griffith report of Rossa's lecture and wrote him, giving some account of the circumstances relevant to organising it; the attitude of the Lord Mayor; of the United Irish League, and others.

December 16th: Final meeting of Rossa Reception Committee. A discussion arose regarding a proposal to organise a "Testimonial Fund" for Rossa and ask the Lord Mayor to call a public meeting for the purpose.

The Freedom of the City had been conferred on him today and he had signed his name on the Roll of Freemen.

Doran, who presided at our committee meeting, stated the Lord Mayor was agreeable to do anything the committee desired.

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Some then favoured asking him to convene a public meeting. I opposed and so did Fred Cronin. Doran also said the Lord Mayor informed him that he and William O'Brien would have attended the lecture had they been invited.

We have £30 from proceeds of lecture to give to Rossa. Not a great sum, but got without any appeal to gentlemen who, today, would associate with Rossa and tomorrow "how-tow" to Imperialists.

However, it was agreed that a deputation wait upon Cork Co. Council, with a view to securing a position for Rossa under that body.

After the meeting, some of went to the Victoria Hotel to present the money to Rossa. There were present: C.G.Doran, Edward Sheehan, M.A., M.D. O'Brien, Richard Sisk, T.C., Fred Cronin, Denis O'Mahony, Terence MacSwiney, Brian Kelleher, Donal A. O'Shea and myself.

December 17th. Called to see Rossa this afternoon. He leaves Ireland tomorrow. He was alone. I took advantage of the opportunity to ask him about his attendance at Redmond's meeting in New York. He was present, and he spoke at the meeting! He gave me this information in his usual chatty manner, as he was packing his trunks. It caused me no surprise, now. He knew Patrick O'Brien who was with Redmond on the American tour. O'Brien asked him to come to Redmond's meeting. So he went. He was recognised in the body of the hall and taken to the platform. He was asked to speak; did so; and said England would never give anything to Ireland except by force. That was not the Irish Parliamentary Party's policy, but there were men in New York who denounced him for attending Redmond's meeting. In particular, a section of the "Clan-na-Gael" with whom he had not been on good terms for a long while, in consequence of parliamentarians having presided at his meetings when he was previously in Ireland.

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He left Cove by evening train. Fred Cronin, Terence MacSwiney, Edward Sheehan, Dan Tierney and Wycherley of Skibbereen, accompanied him.

In the evening "Echo", an interview with John MacBride in Jury's Hotel, Dublin, is published. He endorses the "Hungarian Policy" of Griffith.

December 19th. A letter from Meaney, Young Ireland Society, Limerick. He says things are bright for Cumann na nGaedheal in that city. Their difficulties are somewhat similar to ours. But, he thinks, they have overcome all opposition. They are working energetically for the "Hungarian Policy".

December 30th. General Meeting of Celtic Literary Society. Denis O'Mahony was elected Vice-Chairman; Sean Milroy, Hon. Secretary; Brian Kelleher, Assistant Secretary; Daniel T. O'Sullivan, Treasurer; Members of Committee - Terence MacSwiney, Fred Cronin, Liam de Roiste, James Barrett, William Henley, Edward Lorton, Donal Cronin, J.F. O'Leary.

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January 15th. At a general meeting of representatives of Gaelic League Branches in Cork City I was elected chairman of the Coiste Ceanntair for the coming year. This came as a surprise to me. There had been some friction between the branches in the city and there were influential members of the League opposed to anyone identified with Cumann na nGaedheal holding a prominent position in the Gaelic League.

January 16th. Polling for Municipal elections taking place today. A few candidates are, unofficially, representative of the Celtic Literary Society. Because of objections by some members who do not wish the society to be mixed up with municipal affairs, the candidates were not put forward officially.

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It is an old-standing question with us: should we take part, as a body, in public affairs or should our activities be confined within our own Society? Are we to remain eclectic or should we get out into public life?

The argument for was that we could not propagate our ideas of nationalism unless we took part in public affairs. The argument against was that public life would "corrupt" us and we would be compelled to compromise on many things).

January 17th. Result of municipal election announced. Denis O'Neill, of D. & A. O'Neill, Painters and Decorators, a member of "the Celtic", heads the poll in North Centre Ward. Dick Cronin heads in the South Ward, with Dick Sisk second.

It seems there are eight, or ten "parties" or groups in the Corporation now.

January 19th. At a meeting of the General Council of County Councils, a week ago, very significant resolutions, endorsing the "Hungarian Policy", were agreed to. If actions follow, in the spirit of the resolutions, we may hope to see great changes of outlook in Irish public affairs.

Many "young men", supporters of Cumann na nGaedheal and the language movement, have been elected to Dublin Corporation and to other public boards throughout the country. (It was at this time, I think, Sean T. O'Kelly, W.T. Cosgrave, Walter Cole and others got elected to Dublin Corporation).

There is canvassing for the Mayoralty in Cork. Denis O'Neill expressed independent views. He says he speaks only as a nationalist. No one proclaiming "loyalty" to the King of England will get his support.

January 23rd. Joseph Barrett was elected Lord Mayor, getting 37 votes to 17 for Augustine Roche. He was the nominee of Dick Cronin and Dick Sisk and was supported by Denis O'Neill. He is a quiet, decent, inoffensive man, with no pronounced opinions.

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Sir John Scott, staunch Unionist, had some "hard knocks" at "Gussie" and "the Tuckey Street United Irish League" in their endeavours to be "extreme Nationalists" and "loyalists" at the same time.

(Tuckey St. was also the headquarters of the Orange and Freemason Lodges in Cork).

January 28th. William O'Brien, M.P., again threatens to resign from public life. Things are not going as he wishes in parliamentarian circles. The temperamental man! One feels a kind of sympathy for him.

Meeting of Gaelic League Coiste Ceanntair. Arrangements made for a lecture by Dr. Douglas Hyde, in the Assembly Rooms, Cork. The Lord Mayor to preside. Dr. Windle, President of the Queen's College, has agreed to attend and speak. This will be his first public address outside of the College since his appointment as President.

Denis O'Mahony, at present acting-Chairman of the Celtic Literary Society, thinks the Society has failed, working on its present lines, as a very select Society. Few are interested in maintaining it. He thinks "new blood" is needed - even if new members be not as rigidly republican as we claim to be.

(The Society was often on the point of dissolution, but continued for some years more. It had fitful bursts of activity).

February 11th. Met Douglas Hyde at Glanmire terminus. Introduced to him by Fionán MacColuim. He is to be the guest of Dr. Windle while in Cork. The latter was also at the railway station.

February 13th. Lecture by Dr. Hyde. It was a splendid success. For a Gaelic League function the numbers were large. An unusual feature was that the higher priced seats were all occupied. It was an educational treat and the audience

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representative of what may be termed the intelligence of the city. It had the effect of bringing all Gaedhilgoiri in Cork together and was a contrast to previous failures. It was also financially successful!

I was formally introduced to Dr. Windle by John J. Horgan.

February 22nd. E.J. Riordan, secretary, Industrial Association; Michael Egan, President, Cork Trades Council, and myself, as deputed by the Industrial Association, attended a general meeting of the Shop Assistants of the city to appeal to them to "push" Irish manufactured goods in the shops. We were very favourably received. Difficulties were referred to:- many people are prejudiced against Irish made goods; proprietors of business houses want to sell what is popular, or what is fashionable; Irish manufacturers do not advertise sufficiently, and so on. It is an old story!

February 23rd. Father Augustine is being sent by his superiors to Vienna, to conduct Lentendevotions at the Court of the Emperor of Austria. He will be absent for some months. His absence will be missed. He has been the life and soul of the Cork Branch of the Gaelic League since he was chosen as its President and was to have organised an Irish Concert for St. Patrick's night.

February 25th. Annual General Meeting of Cork Industrial Development Association. As requested by him, I read the Annual Report drawn up by E.J. Riordan. Among the speakers at the meeting were Dr. Windle and Rev. Father Dowling, of the Vincentians.

February 26th. Continuation of debate of Celtic Literary Society on the "Hungarian Policy". Many different opinions. Some think it is not for us to advocate it. It is not clear cut for an Irish Republic. Question of a Republic or a Kingdom. All agreed, we desire separation from England. My argument was, "the Hungarian Policy is an alternative to "physical

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force", at present impossible, and Parliamentarianism. It is a policy of passive resistance to English rule in Ireland.

March 6th. Cork National Theatre Society at Assembly Rooms. Plays: "The Last of the Desmonds", "Caitilin ni Hoolihan", and "Nation Builders", by John J. Horgan. It is Horgan's first attempt at play-writing. He had sent me the script beforehand. Milroy acted one of the chief characters in it. Margaret Goulding was "Caitilin" in Yeats' play, and some members of "the Celtic" also played parts; Michael O'Neill being one of them.

Some progress at least is being made in presenting Irish and national plays in Cork. A building-up, instead of a mere decrying of English performances.

March 7th. Miss Alice Milligan of Belfast, authoress, writer of plays and producer with "Eithne Carbery" of "Shan van Vocht", calls to "the Celtic". A quiet personality, rather reserved, but with much humour; a keen observer; seeming timid in our company. We had a "sgoruidheacht" in her honour.

March 1st. At a meeting of the Council of the Cork Industrial Development Association, George Crosbie was elected President and I was unanimously re-elected Hon. Secretary. In the Industrial Association, men of different political outlooks could work together amicably.

March 5th. Half-yearly meeting of Celtic Literary Society. (As recorded in Minute Book of the Society) - "Chairman, T.J. MacSwiney; Vice-Chairman, Denis O'Mahony; Hon. Sec. John Milroy; Assistant Hon. Sec. Brian Kelloher; Hon. Treasurer, Liam Roche; Committee:- Liam Honley, Donal O'Sullivan, C. O'Cronin, Donal Delanty, Donal Cronin". James Barrett was subsequently co-opted.

March 13th. A proposal made at "Celtic" by Liam Roche: "That, in order to educate the people to the ideal of sovereign independence and to prepare them for the adoption of the

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"Hungarian Policy", arrangements be made to hold public meetings under the auspices of our Society in the city and throughout the county".

Motion proposed by Terence MacSwiney, supported by J.L. Fawsitt: "That we call upon all members of the Cork Licensed Vintners' Association and general body of the publicans to close their premises on St. Patrick's Day and thus help to fittingly celebrate the National Festival".

April 2nd. Proposal of Liam de Roiste regarding the holding of public meetings was amended as to aim. The change made was: "To forward the policy of Cumann na nGaedheal".

At the same time it was decided to write to the "National Council", which had been set up in Dublin, asking for copy of its constitution and rules with a view to establish a branch in Cork. (As understood, this was the body, distinct from Cumann na nGaedheal, which was to propagate the "Hungarian Policy". It was about this time the name was changed to the "Sinn Fein Policy"

A protest was sent to the Cork County Committee of Agriculture against the employment of military bands at Cork Summer Show and it was urged that civilian bands be employed in future.

April 30th. A meeting of what was called the "National Press Committee" was held in the "Celtic" rooms. It was an attempt being made, after a great deal of scattered talking, to found a Nationalist Weekly journal in Cork. Edward Sheehan, M.A., is the chief mover in the present project.

A Gaelic League sgoruidheacht, under the auspices of the Coiste Ceanntair, was held in the Assembly Rooms. It is an attempt of mine to bring the members of the Gaelic League branches and other Gaedhilgoiri in the city, together periodically. Members have been deploring the want of a central

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hall in the city for "Irish-Ireland" rallies. As we are unable to secure such a hall at present, owing to lack of funds, I decided the next best thing was to have meetings in a hired hall. Tonight was a beginning and the affair was a great success. Members of "the Celtic" and Inghinidhe na hEiream were also present.

May 1st. At a meeting of committee of the Celtic Literary Society, on the proposal of Sean Milroy, it was agreed to take steps to form a branch of the National Council in Cork to forward the Sinn Fein policy.

May 14th. In Crosshaven, the British are building a new fort near Church Bay. On a stone is shown the height above sea-level. A T.P. Fox, who was here with me on Easter Sunday, asked me to note the number on the stone and let him have the particulars. He had already noted others in connection with the projected fort. What the purpose is, I know not. There is something underlying it, I suspect; of importance to some European power, I concluded, from a remark or two of his, and not France. I suspect also Fox is a member of the I.R.B. He knows I am not. I sent him the information he required.

May 16th. Pat Harris informs me there was a further meeting of the "National Press Committee"; not very encouraging. Terence MacSwiney and Fred Crowley refused to take any part in founding a nationalist weekly journal. Alice Milligan was also present at this meeting.

May 19th. Two young men: McDonagh and Shanahan, from St. Colman's College, Fermoy, called to me yesterday in reference to the Annual Feis to be held in Fermoy in June. I promised to give what help I could.

(McDonagh was Tomás McDonagh, executed in 1916.  
At that time at teacher in St. Colman's College).

May 20th. Busy with negotiations for purchase of a hall in Queen St. as headquarters for the Gaelic League in Cork.

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It has been used as a private school and seems very suitable for meetings, plays, dances, sgoruidheachta.

(It was subsequently named "Dun na nGaedheal", familiarly known as the "Dun". In 1913, the Fianna Eireann drilled in it and meetings of the Volunteers were held there).

The trustees for the hall were John J. Horgan, solicitor, Denis O'Neill, T.C. and Thomas O'Gorman.

May 31st - Wednesday. Father Augustine came home on Monday.

He called in to Skerry's College to see me. He was not impressed favourably by Vienna; nor has he a high opinion of the Catholicity of Austria. Nominal Catholics are numerous, practising Catholics a minority.

June 6th. Today, got a postcard from a John J. O'Leary of Millstreet. He is Hon. Secretary of the Gaelic League in New York and this is his first visit to Ireland. Also a letter from Christy (Diarmuid) Lynch, informing me of O'Leary's coming.

Tonight, at a meeting of Cork Branch of the Gaelic League, I read an address of welcome home to Father Augustine. The address had been rendered into Irish by Tadhg O'Murchadha ("Seandun") - a very critical and meticulous speaker and writer of the language. (He was the translator of "Robinson Crusoe" into Irish).

June 7th. Met John J. O'Leary, from whom I had had a postcard. We spent a few hours together. He is American born and his parents are also American born. He has no distinct American accent and speaks Irish. He is a member of "Clan-na-Gael", as well as being secretary of the Gaelic League. He gave me much information regarding Irish-American affairs; various activities, various societies and organisations and various important men and their different views regarding Ireland. He is here on "business" as well as pleasure, he says; the "business", as I understand him, being to get into communication with members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and also with Gaelic League headquarters. He wants to meet

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Dr. Douglas Hyde and get him to lecture in the United States. He says a lecturing tour of the "Craoibhinn" in America was sure to be a success.

A play in Irish, "Ar son baile agus Tíre", was being performed in the Assembly Rooms by Craobh na Laoi. I took O'Leary there. Afterwards, there was a sgoruidheacht and I introduced him to the audience in general, as secretary of New York Gaelic League. He delivered a short address.

I noted two detectives were present. Were they "spying" on O'Leary? Or were they acting under Chief Secretary Long's instructions to the police to find out if the Gaelic League is "a revolutionary body"?

June 9th. There is a parliamentary vacancy in Cork city, consequent on the death of J.F.X. O'Brien, one-time prominent Fenian. In connection with it, William O'Brien is coming to Cork tonight. It is expected Augustine Roche will be William's candidate. The United Irish League may run a man in opposition. The division between O'Brien and "the Party" grows wider, though there is still commotion over it at present.

At a meeting of the Trades Council, the President - Kiely - said the city has been disfranchised for the last thirty years and "the workers" now want a man who will speak for them.

Query: Have the "workers" suffered by the "disfranchisement" he refers to? (whatever it means). Would things have been worse if there had been no Cork representative in the British Parliament?

Some of the members of the "Celtic" are now talking of our putting forward a "Sinn Féin" candidate. In my view, it is inopportune. Unless I am mistaken, however, the Sinn Féin policy is gaining ground and, if its ideas are accepted, a time will come when "Members of Parliament" will refuse to attend the (for Ireland) unconstitutional Assembly at Westminster.

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June 14th. "Gussie" Roche was returned unopposed as Member of Parliament for Cork, today. His return is unlikely to have any effect on the course of events in Ireland. "Sinn Fein", Cumann na nGaedheal and the Gaelic League march on.

June 23rd. Milroy had a letter from Hallinan, Honorary Secretary of the "National Council" to the effect that John Sweetman, its chairman, and Alderman Walter Cole were willing to come to Cork and address a public meeting to launch the Sinn Fein policy here. This is published today in the "Freeman's Journal" in a report of a meeting of the National Council.

June 26th. The letter above-mentioned came before the Celtic Literary Society tonight. Milroy, as secretary, was directed to reply that we could not rely on any public men to speak at a meeting; only on our own members. Opinions divided as to the likelihood of establishing a branch of the "National Council" in Cork.

There seems to be a confusion between our various organisations.

August 13th. General meeting, Celtic Literary Society; eleven members present. Discussion as to changing the policy of the Society was continued from a previous meeting. Roughly, small as the numbers are, two groups seemed to have formed in the Society - those who abide by a Republic and "physical force" as the only means to achieve it, and those who advocate what is now known as the Sinn Fein policy. In fact, however, as I know them, there is no difference, fundamentally, between the members as to the aim and methods to be pursued. But, all the members seem discontented because of the inactivity of the Society for some time past.

August 16th. Letter and telegram from Henry Dixon, Secretary, Cumann na Leabharlann, Dublin, in consequence of which Edward Sheehan, M.A., David Fagan of Dublin and myself

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attended a meeting of the Poor Law Clerks' Association, being held in Cork, in reference to the establishment of Rural Libraries. We were well received and a resolution was unanimously adopted pledging support and aid for such libraries and calling upon all Poor Law Clerks throughout the country to forward the idea.

So far, so good! It is easy to resolve. Not so easy to perform!

August 23rd. Half-yearly meeting of the Celtic Literary Society. I had put down a motion to change some of the rules of the Society and outlining a plan of work. Some seemed to think my proposals were part of a plan to change the whole aim of the Society. As far as amendments to rules were concerned, my proposals were carried unanimously. But, on "plan of work" there was division. It was agreed to, however. And then, despite my protests, I was elected chairman, with Milroy as Hon. Secretary, Donal Cronin as Assistant, and Brian Kelleher as Hon. Treasurer.

August 26th. William O'Brien is re-starting his paper, "The Irish People". Is there any hope of getting a Weekly started in Cork to voice Cumann na nGaedheal ideas? P.S. O'Hegarty of London Cumann is in Cork at present. I am to have a chat with him regarding it.

September 9th. Cork Co. Council have appointed O'Donovan Rossa to a position under the Council; a clerical position; more or less a sinecure. He is expected back in Ireland shortly. The Young Ireland Society are publicising the fact and claiming credit for having secured the position for Rossa.

At the same time, some members of the Council are seeking to rescind the regulation making Irish compulsory for appointments under the Council.

Father Augustine considers very active steps should be taken to prevent the Council from revoking its previous decision.

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September 11th. At a meeting of the Celtic Literary Society, on proposal of Liam de Roiste, the following resolution was agreed to:- "That in view of the statement recently made by Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P., Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and endorsed by Mr. William O'Brien and several other Irish Members of Parliament, 'That for all practical purposes of legislation for this country, the English Parliament might as well not have sat during the last session', we think the time has arrived for the Irish people to seriously consider the advisability of completely withdrawing the Irish Parliamentary Party from the English House of Commons, seeing that their attendance there involves considerable expenditure to the nation, with, as it is admitted, no practical results. We are of opinion that, if the energies of the Party were devoted to the Industrial Movement and similar movements in Ireland, a great deal of good to our land and people could result".

The resolution was sent to the press and appeared in the "Freeman's Journal", the "Cork Constitution" and the "West Cork People".

The day the resolution appeared in the "Freeman" there was also a report of a "Monster demonstration" in Boston, addressed by William Redmond, M.P., where, it was stated, 30,000 people who were present, endorsed the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party; report of a meeting of the National Directory of the United Irish League, six or seven columns long; and a resolution of the Clerical Managers' Association, impressing on the Party the necessity of constant attendance at Westminster in connection with Catholic educational interests

Beside all these, the "Celtic" resolution looks insignificant and of no importance.

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October 2nd. Letter from Padraig Ó Dálaigh, Árd Runaidhe, of the Gaelic League, informing me that Dr. Douglas Hyde is going to the United States, on behalf of the League, and appealing to us in Cork to organise a "very special" demonstration for him as a "send off".

Cumann na nGaedheal Annual Convention is to be held on November 5th. Michael Quinn of Dublin and myself are appointed as delegates from the Celtic Literary Society. I have received a copy of the Agenda and list of nominations for the Executive. I find I have been nominated by five Dublin branches and a Belfast branch. This is a surprise to me.

There are some proposals on the Agenda which are likely to cause discussions somewhat similar to what we have had in the "Celtic". Evidently, there are branches in Dublin that also want to "broaden" Cumann na nGaedheal. Like our own Society, it does not seem to "get on" as it is at present. It does not appeal to the people in general.

October 25th. At Coiste Ceanntair of the Gaelic League a letter was read from the "Celtic", suggesting combined organisation of "Seachtmhain na gCrann" - "Arbour Week", for planting of trees. The suggestion of "Arbour Week" had been made by Griffith in "The United Irishman". One member of the Coiste was indignant at the letter. Why should the Celtic Literary Society dictate to the Coiste? Resolution proposed that the "Celtic" be told mind its own business! Carried by a majority.

To me, the matter was very funny, as it was I who suggested at the "Celtic" that the letter be sent. And here I was presiding at a meeting that considered it an insult! The merits of "Arbour Week" were not considered at all.

November 3rd. I have seen Eamon O'Neill of Kinsale to Cork County Gaol! His jailing has numerous elements; he

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was prosecuted for not taking out a licence for a dog. He had applied for the licence, but insisted on having his name and the "particulars" regarding the dog in Irish on the form; this would not be accepted by the Petty Sessions Clerk. Hence, the prosecution. He was "found guilty", given option of paying a fine or a week in jail. He refused to pay the fine; therefore, he was incarcerated.

The more amusing aspect is: I had got a licence in Cork for a dog, with name and particulars in Irish on the form; the Petty Sessions Clerk, being an acquaintance of mine, and having a sense of humour. So, English law varies from Cork to Kinsale!

November 4th. On the train to Dublin for Cumann na nGaedheal Convention. News in the "Cork Examiner" - Mr. John Redmond declares there is, there can be, there should be, no disunity between the followers of Mr. William O'Brien and the followers of the Irish Party. A Gaelic League Branch has been established in Limerick in consequence of British Government actions against the League and the language. Efforts are being made by the Senate of the "Royal University" to stamp out "disloyalty" among the students. Cork Trades Council has decided to take part in the demonstration for Dr. Douglas Hyde.

Foreign news: "March to freedom of the Russian people"; "Universal suffrage granted in the Austro-Hungarian Empire".

Reached Dublin about 12.30 p.m. Peter White met me at Kingsbridge. We walked around for awhile, visiting St. Patrick's Cathedral for historic interest; passing by the house where Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arrested and the Marshalsea, where Robert Emmet had his depot in 1803. Peter knows old Dublin well and seems to love it.

After leaving him, I called to the Gaelic League offices, 24 Upper O'Connell St. Met Douglas Hyde there and made arrangements with him for his arrival in Cork next Tuesday

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night. There had been a wonderful demonstration in Dublin in his honour.

Saturday night - Molesworth Hall for "Samhain" Festival plays. "The Tale of a Town" by Edward Martyn was being performed. Met a number of Cumann na nGaedheal acquaintances there.

November 5th. Sunday. Cumann na nGaedheal Convention 1 p.m. in Mansion House, Dawson St. Before it began, I was informed by Quinn "the Major" wanted to see me. He introduced me as "Roche from Cork" to Major John MacBride. P.T. Daly, T.C., presided over the Convention. Bulmer Hobson and myself were in agreement upon nearly every item on the Agenda: our views were similar, I found. And, as it happened, whatever we proposed was agreed to and carried. He introduced me to another Belfast man, Denis MacCullough - a fine character.

Several important resolutions were adopted which, if acted upon, are likely to have far-reaching effects upon the history of the country. But - resolving and acting are not the same thing. If Ireland could have been freed by resolutions, it would have been freed long since!

(The resolutions, in effect, were the adoption of the "Sinn Fein" policy:- repudiation of the right of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland; non-recognition of British Government in Ireland by a policy of "passive resistance" to it; the withdrawal of Irish representatives from the British Parliament; the setting up of a National Council, representative of public bodies and organisations, as a kind of provisional Irish Parliament and Government).

In informal and private discussions among delegates I found the arguments similar to those we had in our Celtic Literary Society in Cork, regarding final aim: Sovereign independence, and what it meant; a Republic, a monarchy;

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the "dual monarchy", which means recognising the King of England as King of Ireland also - the Austro-Hungarian parallel.

November 7th. Dr. Hyde arrived in Cork. Had an enthusiastic reception at the railway station. A large procession through the streets. In the first carriage were Lord Mayor Barrett, Dr. Hyde, Father Augustine and myself. A swarm of detectives, under Head-Constable Corry, was on the platform. The Gaelic League is "suspect" by Dublin Castle.

A big meeting at the municipal buildings. Eloquent addresses by Dr. Hyde and Fr. Augustine. The latter surpassed himself in eloquence; he had never yet spoken with such brilliancy. It was a remarkable sign of the spirit of the Gaelic League and the language movement to see the friar addressing the rector's son and bidding him "Go forth, a Chraobhin" to speak to the Gaedhil beyond the sea".

November 10th: Letter from P.S. O'Hegarty from London. He tells me a London-Irish group are acting on an idea suggested by Milroy and myself: the setting up of a "Press Agency" to send Irish news direct to American and continental papers. According to their arrangements, Griffith is to send notes from Dublin, Hobson from Belfast, and I am to act as Cork correspondent. (It was called the "Davis Press Agency").

November 19th: O'Donovan Rossa has returned to Ireland. Some members of the "Celtic" went to Cove this morning to meet him. It is "Manchester Martyrs' Day", so a reception awaited him in connection with the demonstration. C.G. Doran presided at the meeting and Alderman John Daly of Limerick delivered the Anniversary oration. I had been asked to speak, but confined myself to supporting a vote of thanks to Doran and Daly. I also got my old friend, Miah Aherne, of Fountainstown, to speak.

Rossa looks better than he did twelve months ago. His wife

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and two daughters have come with him. He is to take up the position provided for him under the Cork Co. Council. A house has also been provided for him in Blackrock.

November 21st. An Industrial Exhibition and Conference, under the auspices of the Cork Industrial Development Association, is being held in Cork these days.

A reception of delegates to the Conference was held in the Imperial Hotel tonight. An interesting an assembly. At the reception I became acquainted with the following:-

Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, wife of J.R. Green, English historian; a most interesting woman with whom I had a long conversation. She expressed deep interest in all aspects of the "Irish revival". She is, herself, a historian.

Lord Dunraven, gentlemanly, fair-spoken, not bigoted, I would say. Undoubtedly interested in the Irish Industrial Movement. I think he would like to be popular, so it is understandable, he is "all for conciliation".

Captain Shave-Taylor, a young man of quiet pleasant manners. If properly tutored, may come in on the side of Irish Nationalism.

Edward Martyn, genial, with a strong sense of humour. Does not strike one as being a statesman, or likely leader of a movement.

John Sweetman, a good honest man of sound commonsense; unafraid; but needs guidance in political affairs.

T.W. Russell, Head of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction; a North of Ireland man, of sound commonsense also; practical; clear-headed in the northern way; "a small farmer's man".

William Field, M.P., glib and rather pretentious. A monopolist in conversation.

Walter Cole, Alderman, Dublin Corporation, already known to me. Strongly "Sinn Fein". Pleasant, genial, humorous.

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Others I met, en passant: Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford; our own Corkman, William O'Brien; Gatty, an artist; Dr. Windle introduced me to "a namesake" from London. I do not know anything of him.

Another visitor to the Exhibition was Sloan, a liberal, or nationalist-minded, Protestant of the north of Ireland. It is said there is a group of young "Orangemen" who are inclined towards Irish nationalism. Is there any hope for such a development?

The entertainments at the Exhibition and at the Reception were genuinely Irish. Riordan, having left their organisation to me, I got members of the Gaelic League, the "Celtic", the Inghinidhe na hEireann, the Pipers' Club and others to contribute.

Along with the general news, I note - some men are being committed to gaol for having their names "in Irish" on carts, and others for seeking to get their names "in Irish" on dog-licences. All to the good!

According to reports, Dr. Hyde has got an enthusiastic reception in America. His will be the voice of the "New Ireland" there.

In England, a "British-made" League has been founded. It seems like an imitation of our Industrial Association.

In India, there is what is called a Swadeshi movement, which seems to be a parallel to our own Sinn Fein movement; nationalist, economic, and with a policy of passive resistance to British rule. (This was the movement that was led by Ghandi).

November 22th. Received an invitation to attend Convention of "An Comhairle Naisiunta - the National Council", being held tomorrow. As I cannot attend, I wrote to Arthur Griffith expressing my views. (The "National Council" was the body which formally launched the Sinn Fein movement).

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November 28th. William O'Brien, in "The Irish People" is making capital for himself out of the Industrial Association Conference; this was to be expected. He is now a preacher for "Conciliation" and all the elements for conciliation were at the Conference. Perhaps he is justified in drawing a moral from it.

"The Leader" is now claiming credit for inaugurating the Sinn Fein policy! This is delightful! Not long since, it poured scorn on the "Tinpikers" and the "Blue Hungarian Band". Still, it may help. People read "The Leader" who would not read "The United Irishman".

December 1st. There are "wigs on the green" at some of our local public boards over the coming Convention of the United Irish League and the League's attitude towards William O'Brien and his "Conciliation" policy. It is a squabble not on a principle of Irish Nationality, but as to whether O'Brien or Dillon is the better man. When will Irishmen learn that it is dangerous for the country merely to follow men? Principles remain. Men change their opinions. Power corrupts. Leaders of political parties tend to become autocratic. "Hero-worship" is dangerous; it may be disastrous.

Long and acrimonious discussion at Cork Corporation regarding the sending of delegates to the United Irish League. By one vote the Council decided to send delegates. Augustine Roche and the Cork Branch of the League are in a fury over it.

Denis O'Neill and Dick Sisk pointed out that there is now another policy before the country besides parliamentarianism - the Sinn Fein policy. Their words were unheeded.

The case of Eamon O'Neill was also discussed. Sir John Scott, Unionist, challenged Sir Edward Fitzgerald to take out a dog licence in Irish. Sir John has a piquant sense of humour. He plays on the weak spots of opponents.

December 5th. The Conservative Government in England has

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resigned. A Liberal Government is in course of formation. As far as promises go, things should be brighter for Ireland. At least, the Gaelic League may benefit by the change; for there should be a change in Dublin Castle also. But, it is not easy for us to trust English politicians' promises. However time will tell.

The other night, Edward Sheehan, M.A., read a paper at the Celtic Literary Society on the Sinn Fein Policy versus Parliamentarianism. He brought a number of Queen's College students with him. There was a fairly good debate on the paper; though Edward is flippant at times. The students, I fancy, got some "points" to think over, if they think! All agreed in denouncing Parliamentarianism, but it was evident some of the young men who spoke did not quite grasp the Sinn Fein idea.

Ideas of dissolving the "Celtic" are again afloat among the members. An idea of starting a "Sinn Fein Club" has occurred to me. I am not decided if this would be wise. The "Celtic" has a tradition behind it - a good tradition, publicly - but it has become hidebound. Senility seems to have set in. There is room for a society in Cork for all who believe that the salvation of our nation must be worked out in Ireland itself and not "on the floor" of the House in Westminster; whether they be strict and pledged Republicans or not. There are many who would not call themselves Republicans, but who are not Parliamentarians. In fact, I judge there are not a score of convinced Republicans in Cork. I am not even sure if all our "Celtic" members are convinced Republicans. Our aim, "A Republic" is accepted as the clearest manner of stating "complete separation from England". As a form of Government in a completely independent Ireland, we are not so very sure about it. But that is a matter for the future.

December 8th. This morning, Edward Sheehan called to me at Skerry's College in a state of excitement. He had heard in

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the "Examiner" office that there was to be a police raid on the "Celtic" room: presumed to be a search for "anti-recruiting literature". He had gone to the rooms in Great George's St. and brought to me minute books, roll of members, etc.

Edward is a simple soul, in some ways, and it may be someone in the "Examiner" office is "pulling his leg". Still, there could be something in it.

The Winter Assizes opened today and Diarmuid Ó Siothcháin of Cill-na-Martra is to be tried for distributing such "literature". In other places, where men were being arraigned for this "crime", the leaflets were distributed in and around the Courthouse itself. So, "the authorities" may have in mind to take precautions that this would not occur in Cork.

I do not think a "true bill" will be found against Diarmuid Ó Siothcháin. I see by the names of the Grand Jury that several <sup>are</sup> men/on it who may be regarded as "friends". They are unlikely to agree to have Diarmuid put forward for trial.

As regards "anti-recruiting Literature", we have distributed 5000 or 6000 cards and leaflets throughout Munster during the past two years. Whether owing to this or not I cannot say, but, according to the statistics, recruiting for the British army has fallen off in the province; to a greater extent than in any other part of Ireland. I am sending some of it to Séamus Breathnach of Kinsale, who may be depended upon to utilise it.

If there be a raid, it may give new life to the "Celtic".  
(No raid took place).

December 17th: Special general meeting of the "Celtic" to discuss a resolution of mine to disband the Society. I wanted to get the members to face up to the situation, financial and otherwise.

The meeting was hopeful from the start. There were 24 or 25 present, with apologies from three others. After an hour

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and a half of discussions and arguments it was decided to defer the matter for three months. There's life in the Society yet! After the meeting, I went with a group I had gathered together to Berrings, Inniscarra. The group were to take part in a concert in the National School there, organised by Rev. Father Sheahan who had called on me some days previously.

Father Sheahan was a man of much humour; abrupt in manner, with original ideas. He had been in America and had seen some of the less fortunate of Irish origin there. He considered entertainments should be organised for the rural population and that the priests should encourage them and be with the people at them. He had got some kind of a phonograph for this entertainment, not too good a one. One of our party was endeavouring to put it in order when it emitted a wailing squeak. "A dying gasp", said Father Sheahan, "will I give it the last rites?".

Among those present was Daniel Daly, Principal of the Berrings National School. (Later, he became Principal of St. Patrick's National Schools, Cork. Took out his degree of Master of Arts; did good work for the language; compiled a series of "Readers" for National Schools; was a member of the Academic Council of University College, Cork).

Another was Tim O'Sullivan, a prominent figure in the parish of Inniscarra; active in the Land League and in later political organisations. He spent some time in prison during the land agitation days. (He was one of the first in the parish of Inniscarra to help us in the Sinn Fein movement of the later years. A son of his, Denis, took part in the "Dripsey Ambush" in Black and Tan times; contracted a disease as a result of the hardships endured and died a young man, December 21st.

I note "The Gaelic American" of John Devoy is cultivating an "Entente cordiale" with Indian Nationalists. "Swadeshi" there; "Sinn Fein" here; The Empire is in danger!

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The Secretaries of the National Council of Sinn Fein inform me that I have been elected on the Executive of the Council.

Today's papers announce that there is to be a reconciliation between William O'Brien and "The Party". Whether the Parliamentarians unite or divide, our Sinn Fein policy must go on. Ireland must rely on herself along; on the Irish people's efforts at home; not on the "ins" or "outs" of English parties, on the play of English party politics - with its changes of "sympathy" to hatred, or hatred to "sympathy" for Ireland. Whether English parties be favourably disposed or antagonistic, the freedom of Ireland can be achieved only within Ireland itself.

December 27th. Performance of "The Hard-Hearted Man" and "Sold" by the Cork National Theatre Society in the Imperial Hotel. The audience was not large. How could it be? There was a Shakespeare play at the Opera House by a celebrated English Company. There was a British military band performance in the Assembly Rooms.

The National Theatre plays are "mere Irish" and the actors in them "merely amateur Cork people".

December 30th. Meeting of the "Celtic". P.S. O'Hegarty home from London, was present. He has a poor opinion of the Cumann na nGaedheal "crowd" in Dublin, and has not a high opinion of Major John MacBride. He is mostly inclined to be critical. Gave me name and address of the man to whom I am to send notes for the "Davis Press Agency" - Michael MacWhite, the name. (This was MacWhite who was Irish Government representative at the Vatican in later times). Hegarty says the "Agency" is getting on pretty well.

December 9th. Terence MacSwiney, Fred Cronin and myself visited O'Donovan Rossa and family in his home at Blackrock

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this evening. Our visit was one of courtesy, not for any particular purpose. He has a very intelligent wife and two sprightly daughters. Our conversation was general: of Ireland, of America, of people. Rossa, as usual, had many anecdotes to relate. The girls do not seem to be too satisfied at the prospect of remaining in Ireland.

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January 3rd. Meeting of the Celtic Literary Society.

Increased numbers in attendance. Plan of work and general policy I had drawn up adopted. It was decided to hold a public meeting at an early date, to put our objects and policy before the citizens in general. Terence MacSwiney dissenting. Also decided, if a suitable person can be got, to "run" a candidate for the Aldermanship of the Centre Ward, vacant at present. In the course of the discussion, members referred to most of our local public men as "riggers", "trimmers", "wire-pullers"!

There is a "Sinn Fein Party" in the Dublin Corporation. We ought to have one in Cork Corporation also. Two of our members are now in the Corporation - Denis O'Neill and Patrick Corcoran.

January 4th. A Mr. Denis O'Callaghan is a candidate for the Aldermanship of the Centre Ward, according to an "Evening Echo" report. He is Chairman of the West Ward Branch of the United Irish League, but from what I hear he is a good Nationalist and is an honest man.

January 6th. A sub-committee appointed discovered that no member or subscriber of ours would stand as candidate for Aldermanship.

At meeting of "Celtic" tonight, it was decided to interview Denis O'Callaghan. So, a few of us waited on him. He answered our questions, very quietly and politely. He was in the Fenian

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movement; he believes in the complete independence of Ireland; will be firmly opposed to addresses of welcome to English royalty, should any English royal figure come this way. If there was a genuine, honest, Nationalist Party in the Corporation, such as we were aiming at, he would join it.

Even Terence MacSwiney and Bob Fitzgeraid, who had been opposed to our taking any part in public affairs, were satisfied with O'Callaghan's reply.

Meeting of Coiste Ceanntair of the Gaelic League. I was unanimously re-elected chairman. I objected, giving as one of my reasons for not wishing to accept the chairmanship: I intended taking part in political work during the coming year and it may not be to the best interests of the Gaelic League in Cork to have the chairman of the Coiste Ceanntair identified with politics. My objections were overborne.

January 7th. Meeting of officers of the "Celtic" to make arrangements for our projected public meeting. I had drawn up resolutions to be put before the public meeting, as follows:

"Believing that the Irish people have a right to complete and absolute independence, we hereby resolve to aid the Cork Celtic Literary Society in its endeavours to help in the attainment of that independence, and we approve of its policy as hereby outlined:

1. Denial of the right of the British Imperial Parliament to make any laws morally or legally binding upon the people of Ireland.

2. The adoption of a policy of passive resistance to the existing Government of Ireland, which we regard as a usurpation.

3. The withdrawal of Irish representatives from the British Parliament, as their attendance in that Parliament and the necessity they are under of taking an oath of allegiance to the King of England is an acquiescence in England's right

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to govern Ireland.

4. The hearty support of the language, literary, industrial and temperance movements and every other movement originating within Ireland which tends to uplift the Irish people and is based on self-reliance.

5. The fostering of a genuine nationalist outlook on public boards".

January 8th. General meeting of the "Celtic". The resolutions I had drafted were approved, but some members still think the time premature for putting our ideas before the public by way of public meetings.

I do not suppose our public meeting will have much influence in Cork all at once. But, what is desirable, is to set people thinking of a new political policy for Ireland, as a practical alternative to Parliamentarianism.

A general election for the British Parliament is taking place. There is a spate of parliamentary oratory. It is said that Sloan, whom I met at the Industrial Conference last November, has recanted his pro-nationalist opinions and returned to rabid Unionism.

The bigoted Northern Orangemen are a difficult crowd to deal with. A mob that tears down a green flag, steepes it in paraffin, burns it; then hoists aloft the flag of England, the Union Jack, is not a group easy to convert to "Irish first" or to democratic ideals. Imperialism and "Ascendancy" are their ideals.

January 12th. There is high excitement in England over the General Election. There are scenes which, if they occurred in Ireland, in the most remote district, the English press would blazon forth as typical of the "Wild Irish", the "Unruly Irish", the "turbulent and murderous Irish". The "scenes" are occurring in, supposedly, civilised English cities.

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The "United Irishman" is hammering at Redmond and the Irish Party. The "Freeman" repeats that the issue of the election is Home Rule, and that "every vote given for Campbell-Bannerman is a vote for Home Rule", while Campbell-Bannerman himself and his followers proclaim that the issue is Free Trade or Protection for England and that a Home Rule Bill for Ireland cannot be brought in during the next session of the British Parliament. Thus, if the "Freeman" be right, and it pretends to know more than what appears on the surface, the British Liberals are deceiving their own voters. On the other hand, if the open and avowed and apparently sincere utterances of the Liberal leaders are in accord with fact, our Parliamentarians are bartering away Home Rule, giving the Liberals votes for no return and deceiving the Irish people who follow them.

The English Conservatives pretend to be afraid of Redmond and his Party. They are conjuring up some awesome fairy tales for their stupid constituents. Even if the Irish Parliamentary Party held "the balance of power" in the British Commons, they could not get a Home Rule Bill enacted. The veto of the English Lords is there. The English have no intention of granting Home Rule to Ireland. On a straight issue regarding it, the majority of the English Voters would vote for the party opposed to it.

But, however the game goes in English politics, we, of Sinn Fein, are bound to go forward. If Home Rule is not secured within a comparatively short period, we should have the majority of the Irish people with us, and, even if it be obtained, we can press on for greater freedom. The future is with the young men of Ireland.

January 17th. Reading of "Éire Óg" Manuscript Journal at the "Celtic". There were two Town Councillors present: Jerry Lane and Paddy Corcoran.

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I had an article in it, which "hit" at everybody, including myself! There must have been some good in it, for every man present took it to be personal to himself! It was really a general argument, intended to show the difficulties in the way of anyone who seeks to be consistent to principle and the absurdities of many who charge others with inconsistency and overlook their own deviations.

At a recent meeting, Fred Cronin, expressing Terence Mac Swiney's views, said he would rather see "three men of glorious principle" in the Society, even though inactive, than a score of men who did not appreciate principles. My argument was, more or less, a plea for the ordinary honest man, working honestly according to his lights for the good of the country.

Letter from MacWhite, Davis Press Agency, London, thanking me for notes sent. He would welcome more.

January 18th. Some members of the "Celtic" are still suspicious because of the projected public meeting. They think there is a conspiracy to change the object of the Society from "an Irish Republic" to "King, Lords and Commons"! They do not like Sinn Fein. They consider it the lowering of an ideal. Others want to know if it is the Society which is to promote the Sinn Fein movement in Cork. Some still think the time premature for our holding public meetings. And, most curiously, a few think Paddy Keade is scheming to capture our Society! There is a general feeling "something is going to happen", though nobody knows what. My assertions that the purpose of the meeting is to do something to propagate the ideals of the Society outside the four walls of a room are not accepted apparently. But, the various views have afforded me much amusement.

What none seem to consider is that advocacy of complete separation from England and passive resistance to English Government in Ireland may be considered "treason", "sedition"

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or "treason felony" even under the English Liberal Government and that, eventually, some may get landed in gaol.

The Liberals are "sweeping the polls" in England.

There was a United Irish League meeting in Killarney today to select a candidate as Member of Parliament for North Kerry. The "Echo" reports there was "a scene of bloodshed" as supporters of rival candidates came into collision.

Can Irish politics never be conducted by cool and calm appeal? Must brute force be resorted to because one man differs in political ideas from another? War is horrible, but open war, between armies, sometimes necessary, does not appear half so dreadful as those sickening petty feuds between fellow-countrymen, those fights of sticks and stones and then police batons.

And if we go on, shall we, too, have to face all the undesirable things that seem inseparable from Irish politics?

January 21st. The success of our public meeting today (held in Cork Municipal Buildings) was beyond all expectation. It has surprised everyone and astonished our members of the Celtic Literary Society. In the speakers we were able to put forward; in the clear, logical manner in which they expressed their ideas, in numbers, in enthusiasm, in the class of people who attended, in decorum, in the unanimous adoption of the resolutions submitted, it can be called a "magnificent success". It was not a "band and banners" meeting. Even those who disagree with us expressed praise for the tone and conduct of the meeting. Most of those present seemed to sense something significant in it. Prominent members of the United Irish League and many members of the Corporation were present. One public man went so far as to say that, at one bound, we have leaped into the foremost place as the national political Society of Cork.

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The Council Chamber was unable to accommodate all who attended: as many more were without the Chamber at an overflow meeting. The members of the "Celtic" should consider they have now "crossed the Rubicon" and must push on. And to think, a few weeks ago we were considering disbanding the Society and dismal forecasts of failure for this meeting were expressed again and again!

(Liam de Roiste presided at the meeting and the speakers were: Sean Milroy, J.L. Fawsitt, Edward Sheehan, M.A., David O'Connor, T.P. Smyth, Denis O'Neill, Town Councillor, and Patrick Corcoran, F.C.).

Sean Milroy surprised those who did not know him by his eloquent oration. He began by a declamation: "Away with this fool's game of parliamentarianism".

David O'Connor was a subscriber to the "Celtic", having been introduced by his brother, Fergus, also a subscriber. They hailed from Kinsale district. David, at this time, was on holiday from Germany. He was a journalist on the staff of a Trade Journal in Stuttgart; Fergus, later, resided in Dublin and took part in the Rising of 1916.

T.P. Smyth had been connected with Sinn Fein in Dublin and had lately come to reside in Cork. He became a member of the "Celtic".

January 23rd. Denis O'Callaghan was elected Alderman of the Corporation by the very narrow majority of five! He would not have been elected but for the help given him by members of our Society.

And Joseph Barrett was unanimously re-elected Lord Mayor of Cork today.

Our Society has now a great opportunity for forwarding the Sinn Fein National Movement, if the members desire. But some, I fear, do not wish to come out of the land of dreams!

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January 26th. At a meeting last night, some members of Cork Trades Council had abusive remarks to make respecting Denis O'Neill for some utterances of his at Sunday's meeting, in regard to their lack of nationalist principle. He was badly reported and, in fact, wanted to contradict the "Examiner" report immediately, but I advised him otherwise. The remarks at the Council seem to show that some of the Trades leaders are afraid of the "Celtic" and Sinn Fein movement. Other members - indeed, those who had been present on Sunday - spoke in our favour. We should thank the Council for the further publicity given.

January 31st. O'Neill has a letter in the "Examiner" in reply to the Trades Council criticism of him. I had feared we might become involved with the Trades body in an acrimonious controversy. But the letter is a good one; should be understandable by those for whom it is written; some telling points for "the workers" are in it.

February 1st. There is a bitter, scornful article in the "Leader" this week. It is entitled "The Hungarian Bugle in Cork". The writer signs himself "Finnbarr". It is written in a tone of superiority; a schoolmaster criticising the antics of schoolboys. I believe it to have been written by a certain prominent member of the Gaelic League in Cork, because of one or two points in it that were the subject of private conversation between him and me recently. He considers the leaders of the Sinn Fein movement uneducated and stupid, and he pours scorn on the movement.

Note from John J. Horgan asking me to call on him. I did. He told me Dr. Windle had been with him and wanted information as to "political work" being organised in Dun na nGaedheal. As President of the Queen's Colloge, Windle is, in a sense, in the service of the Government and cannot be connected with the Gaelic League if it be a political organisation. "And, of course", Horgan added, "as a Trustee, I have a right to know

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if any such political work is going on in the Dún". He considered it a piece of impertinence that a poster announcing our "Celtic" public meeting was displayed in the Dún.

I told him that while I am Chairman of Cork Coiste Ceanntair, the Coiste will not discuss or take part in political affairs, nor will the Dún be rented to any political body, as I believe it best to have the Gaelic League non-political, as it is, according to its constitution and rules. But members of the Gaelic League can have political opinions also and are at liberty to express them. Many members of the League are interested in the language only, or in the language movement. Other members have political affiliations and convictions as well. (This question of the "Gaelic League" and politics has been a matter of controversy for years. My discussion with John J. Horgan in 1906 illustrates one aspect of it).

February 5th. I had thought the controversy between Denis O'Neill and Cork Trades Council was finished. Not so, however. "P. Lynch, Ald. Kelleher & Co." (as they sign themselves) - officers of the Trades Council - have a letter in today's "Examiner", a reply to Denis O'Neill's letter. It is chiefly abusive, though in the course of it they say they admire the Sinn Féin policy when "preached by consistent Irishmen". They want to reduce the argument to a personal one with Denis. Denis's brother, Augustine, called to me regarding the letter, seeking advice as to a reply.

(Denis O'Neill was an honest, simple soul; sensitive, very much distressed by the criticisms at the Trades Council. Augustine knew the ways of men better and knew how to answer Paddy Lynch and Jerry Kelleher - both of whom, indeed, had nationalist ideas).

February 8th. Edward Sheahan read a paper at the Celtic Literary Society, entitled "Cork's Interests in the University Question". Some students of the Queen's College were present.

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February 9th. According to press reports, there was a "disgraceful row" at Cork Corporation meeting yesterday. The gallery was "packed" and our "City Fathers" fought each other. "Sinn Fein" was shouted by way of insult at Denis O'Neill, but, as affairs turned out, some will have to respect "Sinn Fein" in future.

Dick Cronin moved the adjournment of the Council. The Lord Mayor (Barrett) declaring his motion carried, left the chair. Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Augustine Roche, M.P., and the Labour members, who at present support Sir Edward, were the only Councillors left. They tried to carry on; the Law Agent declared it illegal, as the adjournment was carried by a majority.

Our public men must be brought to see that "Sinn Fein" has come to stay.

February 25th. Reports of our "Celtic" public meeting of January 21st were published in last week's "Gaelic American", to hand here yesterday. The report was supplied by the Davis Press Agency of London.

St. Patrick's Day. The National Monument on the Grand Parade was unveiled by Father Kavanagh, O.F.M. An oration was delivered by Rev. Father Thomas, O.S.F.C. - a very eloquent preacher. O'Donovan Rossa, Charles Doran and several others spoke. Memories of 1798, 1848, 1867 were recalled. There was a very large procession and demonstration; bands and banners; exceptional numbers of people on the street.

The Young Ireland Society were the organisers. The Celtic Literary Society was not invited to take part.

The usual Seachtmhain na Gaedhilge street collections for the Gaelic League were better than on any previous occasion and a Gaelic League concert held in the Assembly Rooms was also a very great success; this latter, notwithstanding many other attractions and a "boycott" against the use of the Assembly Rooms organised by David O'Connor, T.P.Smyth and J.L. Fawsitt, members of the "Celtic".

National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988

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**Form to be completed and inserted in the original record**

**in place of each part abstracted**

(i) Reference number of the separate cover under

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WS 1698 Westminster Lines de Roiste p 73  
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( These will be the reasons given on the certificate under Section 8(4).)

J. Moloney  
Name: (J. Moloney.)

Grade: Col.

Department/Office/Court:

Date: 7 March 2003.

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A "Rev. Mr." Connellan - - had "preached" in the Assembly Rooms early in February to a very noisy audience indeed, who resented the presence of the gentleman in Cork City. David O'Connor wrote and published a small pamphlet about him and urged a boycott of the Assembly Rooms for his having been permitted to speak there. The owner, or manager, of the Assembly Rooms is well known to be a Freemason.

I had booked the rooms for the Gaelic League concert in January and we could not well break our contract because of the "Rev. Mr." Connellan having also used the place.

March 20th. As reported in the "Gaelic American", the "Clan na Gael" openly declare that their object is the attainment of an Irish Republic and that armed power is the only means to attain it. But, not now. The "Clan" declares it futility and madness to appeal to arms, at present. This is a sane and commonsense view and displays an understanding of the mind of the nation at home, as we know it. The Irish people are not prepared to endorse a policy of force at this time.

The object: an Irish Republic: is clear and definite. That is the great advantage in stating it. Mists and vapours of thought hang around indefinite statements - indefinite to the majority of people who do not analyse statements - of "Ireland a Nation", liberty, independence, Home Rule. The issue is obscured and terms, such as "extreme nationalists", "physical force advocates", and the like, are also bandied about without understanding. But, an Irish Republic as an object is clear. It is understandable as a definite goal for Irish nationalist endeavour.

Personally, I am indifferent as to whether free Ireland be a Republic, a monarchy, a socialist state, or what not, as long as it is free from British rule. I think my leanings are towards what may be termed a christian democratic Republic. More important than the form of government, however, I would

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wish to see established an Irish State in which high educational capacity, intellectual attainments and the accepted Christian virtues of honesty, truth and integrity would be the best qualifications to success for the individual.

As to the means of obtaining this Republic: repugnant as physical violence is, armed conflict may be necessary, under certain conditions. In the struggle for the liberty of a nation or in the assertion of Right, physical strife: war: is sometimes necessary; an evil to be borne with. It should not be undertaken unnecessarily.

The "Clan" consider there may be a possibility of an appeal to arms in the future and urge the Irish people to strive to bring about a state of affairs when there would be every chance of success for an armed conflict to achieve independence. This is considering the matter also in a commonsense manner. Who can tell the future? It may be possible to bring about a state of affairs to compel England to accept the inevitable - acknowledge Ireland's complete independence - without resort to arms. (The "Sinn Fein" policy of passive resistance, perhaps) But, I meet some who, I verily believe, would not accept the complete independence of Ireland if it were to be attained by any other means than force of arms! In fact, I think they would oppose it. To them, "physical force" is a creed: an object in itself. They see "glory" in fighting, and an attraction in deeds of daring.

March 20th. Magistrates on the Bench and the editors of our local papers are expressing much satisfaction at the sobriety of the people in Cork on St. Patrick's Day. Dublin, it seems, was disgraceful. Considering the numbers in our city and the inevitable excitement of a demonstration, the observance of the day must have been exceptional. We had made an endeavour in the Celtic Literary Society, in conjunction with Total Abstinence and Temperance Societies, representatives of

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which we had called to a conference, to have licensed premises closed. A poster which I had drawn up was generally displayed and we had sent a special circular letter to the city priests. If our actions, in part, helped, it is well.

The "Celtic" is now discussing the idea of calling a further conference to form a Temperance Reform Association: a reform by force of public opinion, not by action in the British Parliament, to change licensing laws. This is "Sinn Fein" action.

March 28th. "Examiner" today carried a report that some members of the Young Ireland Society of Macroom have started a society in Carrigadrohid. They had previously organised one in Coachford.

Wrote to Domhnal Ó Murchadha, secretary of the Macroom Society, in reference to forming an Executive from the societies in Co. Cork that accept the Sinn Fein policy. Also wrote him regarding the starting of a weekly or monthly Sinn Fein journal.

Wrote Scamus Ereathnach, Kinsale, suggesting the formation of a Sinn Fein Club, or some such society, in that town. If we could get such clubs formed in all the larger towns in the country and have a strong central body, we might be able to do a great deal to forward the Sinn Fein Movement in Co. Cork.

Meeting of "Celtic". Arrangements made for Temperance Reform Conference. Resolutions drawn up. Father Mathew, O.S.F.C., Dr. Windle and Professor Stockloy of Queen's College have promised to attend.

After the meeting, eleven of us went on a bit of an "adventure". The eleven were: Milroy, O'Connor, Shaehan, M.A., Fred Cronin, Michael O'Neill, Denis O'Neill, T.C., Patrick Corcoran, T.C., Fawsitt, Dan T. O'Sullivan, Denis O'Mahony and myself.

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This is the story:

When Edward VII, King of England, came here for the International Exhibition, this city "Rebel Cork" was profusely decorated with flags and bunting in his honour. One Arthur Jackson, a Protestant, and member of the Young Men's Christian Association in Cork, having, it was said, some nationalist tendencies or leanings, tore down some of the decorations by way of protest against Edward's visit. As a result, he got a week or two in gaol.

Jackson has been in the "Celtic" room once or twice and I received some letters from him since our public meeting. Truth to tell, however, the man is a little "crazy", but no matter!

A few days ago, the Y.M.C.A. opened new premises they have recently erected on the South Mall. For the opening ceremony they had the place decorated with "Union Jacks" and similar "loyal" emblems. Jackson insisted on his right as a member to be present at the opening ceremony. (Though I understand he had been in reality, if not formally, expelled from the Association, on account of his action at the time of the King's visit). He was being put out of the new hall, I believe, when a policeman was called. He put his hand on the policeman's shoulder and, in consequence, was taken to the Bridewell. He was brought up before the magistrate on Tuesday and, through the efforts of Fred Cronin and Denis O'Mahony, who had seen the poor fellow's actions, remanded till yesterday. Brought up again today and got seven days' gaol for (technically) assaulting the policeman. He left the dock shouting "God save Ireland" and singing "Ireland, boys, hurrah"! A fine of ten shillings was the alternative to the week in gaol. He had not the wherewithal to pay. So, whatever spirit seized on us in the "Celtic" rooms - on Denis O'Mahony's suggestion - and he is impulsive - we marched up to the city gaol, paid eleven shillings

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- a shilling each - and got poor Jackson released at 24 minutes to 12 o'clock.

It was ludicrous, yet with a touch of dramatic humour, as we stood by the Corinthian portals of the prison, nearing the dead hour of night, with innumerable stars twinkling; staring at us as it were; and river, calm, unruffled, flowing past, reflecting the twinkling stars.

Twelve men, and one of them - was it only one of them? "crazy".

Though the temptation was strong, at that place, in that hour, we made no demonstration, but let the poor fellow go home quietly.

March 29th. Went today to take out a dog-licence. Refused a licence unless the name and particulars be "in English". I would not comply with this. I have last year's licence, with particulars in Irish. Will proceedings be taken for having an unlicensed dog? (In fact, nothing ensued, and I did not take out a licence).

March 30th. "The United Irishman" this week publishes the text of a telegram which, it says, the Lord Mayor of Cork received from someone in London, urging him to invite Lord Aberdeen to attend a Public Health Congress, which is shortly to be held in our city. We have heard nothing of it locally.

Edward Sheehan informed me that Long, late Chief Secretary of the British Government in Ireland, intended, around last Christmas, to have some prominent supporters of the Sinn Fein movement and some prominent members of the Gaelic League arrested and imprisoned; including some of our humble selves here in Cork, and to raise a cry at the general election in England of a great conspiracy in this country to overthrow British rule. Sheehan says J.C. Forde, Hon. Secretary of the United Irish League in Cork, told him, very definitely, that William O'Brien, M.P., was asked some questions about the matter by the new Chief Secretary, Bryce.

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There may be something to it or it may have been only a rumour. One does not know what English rulers in Ireland may do from time to time, Liberal or otherwise. English policy has always been varying; there has been no consistency in its actions.

April 1st.

According to a statement in the "United Irishman", the company running it is wound up. I presume, however, this does not mean the paper will be discontinued. Griffith will, presumably, publish it on his own accord. Some members of the "Celtic" think it was bound to come to this, as Griffith, they say, would take no suggestions for increasing the circulation. However, he ought to be the best judge in the matter. It would be a very, very great loss to our Sinn Fein cause if the "United Irishman" ceases publication. Not quite so grievous, perhaps, as it would have been three or four years ago; events having moved rapidly onwards in favour of Sinn Fein. The "United Irishman" has been literary, rather than propagandist. "The Nationalist" and other journals are also literary and a propagandist weekly is also needed.

Letter from Domhnal Ó Murchadha, Macroom, to say the Young Ireland Society of that town are staging a play in Coachford today and asking me to go there as the Committee members of the three societies (Macroom, Coachford, Clondrohid) would be present and we may discuss the formation of a central body, an Executive of Cumann na nGaedheal, or Sinn Fein.

I cannot attend, in consequence of the meeting of the Temperance Conference here in Cork.

This conference was held in the Celtic Literary Society rooms, and the "Cork Temperance and Social Reform Association" given a start. I had to preside and Milroy acted as secretary. Edward Sheehan proposed the resolutions I had drafted to get the Association formed. Attendance was good and representative

of various temperance bodies in Cork. The most prominent of those present were: Father Mathew, O.S.F.C., Dr. Windle, Professor Stockley, John J. Horgan, C.G. Doran.

George Crosbie had very high words of praise for the "Celtic" in this endeavour.

April 10. P.S. O'Hegarty, home from London, calls on me. He came via Dublin. Had a conversation there with Griffith. Griffith is very sanguine regarding the progress of the Sinn Fein policy. "The United Irishman" is being wound up. Griffith will probably start a paper of his own. He intends the new one to be less literary than the "United Irishman". Hegarty says the present circulation is around 7,000; it increased by a 1000 or so during the past twelve months.

April 11th. A letter in today's "Examiner" from David O'Connor, intimating that he has severed his connection with the Celtic Literary Society. This is unusual procedure for a member. (He felt he had been slighted in connection with the Temperance Reform Conference, the idea of which had been his).

An article of Milroy's, "Ireland at the Auction - Up-to-date", has been published in the "United Irishman". It was one he had contributed to our Manuscript Journal recently; a satire on the Irish Parliamentary Party's dealings with the British Liberals.

April 21st. Meeting of Committee of Management of Colaiste na Mumhan, Ballincary. A resolution passed calling for the restoration of fees for the teaching of Irish in National Schools. I am to forward the resolution to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Aberdeen; to Mr. Bryce, Chief Secretary; to John E. Redmond, M.P.; to all Members of Parliament in Munster; to the Cork Corporation, Co. Council and other public bodies.

April 27th: Formal acknowledgment of my letter from Lord Aberdeen's secretary. It is addressed to Liam de Roiste, Esq., Ránaire, Dun na nGoodheal, Cork". Now, if I am prosecuted over

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the dog licence what fun we can have over a name!

Cork National Theatre Society performance at Imperial Hotel, tonight. The plays were: "The Lad from Larymore" by Seamus MacManus, and "The Land" by Padraic Colum.

The "Business Manager" of the Society is J.L. Fawsitt. Performers from the "Celtic" - Milroy, T.P. Smith, Michael O'Neill, Fergus O'Connor, Patrick Harris and J. O'Sullivan, with Miss Margaret Goulding of Inghinidhe na hÉireann.

T.P. Smith wrote a Prologue to the plays in which the lines occur: "And this our plan, to build our nation, raise our ideals and our art upon the sure foundation of the people's heart: To God, to Nature, and to Ireland true ...."

The Cork School of Music Orchestra, under the conductorship of Mr. R.D. Howard, played musical selections during the intervals.

May 3rd. John Ronayne, Hon. Secretary, Cork Young Ireland Society, at a meeting in Charleville, stated that he intended organising "branches" of the Young Ireland Society in every town in the county and then calling a conference of representatives of the Societies to form an Executive of a County organisation.

The idea is similar to one we have been discussing in the Celtic Literary Society. In fact, before John Ronayne's announcement, we had made some arrangements for calling such a conference. We regard the advancement of the Sinn Fein policy as our particular concern. But, a question arises amongst us. Are we prepared to advance the Sinn Fein organisation as a political organisation to displace the United Irish League?

Terence MacSwiney, for instance, thinks we are not ready. He believes we need to educate and prepare ourselves if we are to be leaders of a national movement. He would not have our Society "come out" at present, and, as others have different views, he has practically severed his connection with the

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Society. I have the greatest respect for Terence. He is talented, honourable, high-minded and, I believe, will yet make a name for himself. But I disagree with his views. (He would have the Society to be a literary and debating society of select men, with the one object: "To aid in the establishment of an Irish Republic". I consider that the present purpose of the Society should be the furtherance of the Sinn Féin movement in all its aspects and the building up of a Sinn Féin organisation in Cork city and county).

Terence also at present is writing and studying. He considers many of our meetings "waste of time" which, no doubt, they are!

The first number of "Sinn Féin" - successor to the "United Irishman" - has come to hand today. In some ways it is better than the "U.I."; it is more general and national in appeal; less literary and select. But, it is unwieldy in form. I have sent copies of it to members of Cork Co. Council and intend continuing to do this, for the present, in order to bring the Sinn Féin policy to their notice.

P. Corcoran, T.C., printer, called to me and talked about the starting of a weekly journal in Cork. This is an old idea. We have talked about it in the "Celtic" and I have given it much thought. Corcoran says he would run it at his own risk, under his own control. He wanted advice as to the likelihood of getting literary matter. We came to no decision.

May 5th. I learn "Sinn Féin" newspaper is selling very well. It has already more than double the circulation of the "United Irishman" in the latter journal's best days. This is cheering news.

May 6th. In my absence, I found I had been elected President of the Temperance and Social Reform Association. This is a mistake on the part of the members. Firstly, I have not time to give to it. Secondly, a man of influence in the

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city should have been selected. Thirdly, as Smyth is treasurer and Milroy, secretary, my being President makes it appear, as some will probably say, "a political dodge of the Celtic Literary Society". Because of this, some who could help will not join it.

There are people in Cork who regard the members of "the Celtic" as dangerous non-"Fonians"; "extremists", "physical force advocates", even "dynamitards"; revolutionists of the most terrible character!

May 11th. I have been reading through John Mitchel's "United Irishman", "The Irish Colon" and the "Tribune". They were for sale at an auction. Eight or nine of us in the "Celtic" clubbed together and put up the money to purchase them. The reading has set me questioning. Is there any hope for revolution in Ireland now? any hope of achieving complete independence by any means? The attainment of independence is not a physical impossibility, I think, under certain circumstances, even with a much reduced population. It is the moral difficulty that is the greater; the getting of the Irish people, the whole Irish people, to desire the attainment of that independence. Only an insignificant number desire it now. The mass of the people do not seek for the sovereign independence of the country.

May 14th. A band promenade was held under the auspices of the Temperance Reform Association in the Cattle Market, off Blarney St., yesterday. According to press report, some 3,000 people were present. C.G. Doran acted as Chairman, and several priests spoke on temperance and social reform. (Other band promenades were also held).

May 18th. There was an exhibition of "Home Crafts" in the Assembly Rooms today. Lady Aberdeen was present and delivered an address. Numbers of school-children from convent schools

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and other schools in the city and county were taken to the exhibition.

No doubt, the Countess of Aberdeen is an amiable lady and may be sincere in her patronage of small Irish industries. But - British emblems fly at the entrance to the Assembly Rooms. The Union Jack is much in evidence. The lords and ladies who bustle around are good pro-British advocates. The little children are taught to look up to them for "light and leading" by such displays as this. What can they think but that to be "a happy English child" is the ideal for them. Nobility comes from England. Let us sing:

"We have lived together and died together  
As all the whole world knows;  
We have bled together and shed together  
The blood of our bitterest foes.  
And now, it puzzles me,  
Why we cannot happy be  
And live in peace and unity:  
Shamrock and Thistle and Rose".

Is it for this and the Irish people have been fighting and struggling for centuries? We shall see.

May 27th. There was to be a Sinn Féin Conference held in "Celtic" rooms today. T.P. Smyth was to have sent invitations to a number of men in Co. Cork who have publicly declared allegiance to Sinn Féin. Apparently he has not done so. There was no Conference. Smyth is a good fellow but somewhat erratic. And Hilroy is in Dublin.

Bulmer Hobson, of Belfast, intends publishing a journal to be called "The Republic", to openly preach separation of Ireland from England, by Sinn Féin means.

We note that the Swadeshi, passive resistance, movement is spreading in India. The movement is a parallel to our Sinn Féin one.

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A Captain MacClure was presented with an address by the Cork Young Ireland Society. He was connected with the Kilklooney Wood affair in '67, when Peter O'Neill Crowley was killed.

Week by week, in "The Irish People", Mr. William O'Brien hits at Mr. John Dillon. According to William, the United Irish League is fast falling to pieces. He spares Michael Davitt, who is grievously ill.

According to some reviewers, the English House of Commons these times is regarded as a sort of free and easy debating club, in which the remarks of Irish members draw forth considerable laughter.

June 20th. Dr. Douglas Hyde is returning from America next Saturday. As chairman of Cork Coiste Ceanntair of the Gaelic League, I have succeeded in moving Cork Corporation to have the "Freedom of the City" conferred on him. We are to have a demonstration in his honour. A small group of us are to meet him on board ship off the harbour. It recalls to me the reception for O'Donovan Rossa in 1904.

(The conferring of the Freedom of the City took place on June 22nd. Joseph Barrett was Lord Mayor at this time).

July 5th. Lord and Lady Aberdeen are in Cork. There was a procession through the city today. They have got what is termed "a wonderful reception". There is no doubt but "the people" welcomed them; "the people" honoured them. These representatives of English government in Ireland are belauded, by some indeed who are sincerely loyal to them but also by our public men, our representatives - yesterday "Nationalists"; today "Loyalists". The crowd, the populace, the children cheer.

August 1st. Today I have launched an eight-page journal named "The Shield". I intend to publish it monthly for as long a period as my limited financial resources will permit. It is published by the Shandon Printing Works. There had been many

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discussions at the Celtic Literary Society, from time to time, regarding the publication of such a journal in Cork, advocating the general Sinn Fein policy. Nothing came of them; so I have taken the responsibility myself. "Celtic" members have predicted failure and literary aid I expected has not been given. Some have been entirely opposed to my project.

It is published with the quotation:

"For the wrong that needs resistance,  
For the cause that lacks assistance,  
For the future, in the distance,  
And the good that we may do."

August 21st. About 1,000 copies of "The Shield" have been sold. It has been very favourably reviewed and commented on by the press generally. Griffith's "Sinn Féin" has taken no notice of it.

I find I have been elected a member of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League at the Árd-Fheis held in Dublin, getting 102 votes of the delegates present.

August 26th. Travelled to Youghal with Sean Milroy. Unveiling of a monument in the Park to the memory of Father Peter O'Neill and others who were executed in the town in 1798. The speakers at the ceremony were: An t-Athair Peadar Ó Laoghaire, Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde, M.P., and Captain Donelan, M.P.

We distributed a number of copies of "The Shield".

Among the students who attended the college in Ballingearry during July and August sessions this year were: Caitlin Sheehy, who became Mrs. Cruise O'Brien; Maire MacMahon, H.A., who was the first prioress of the Poor Clare's Convent, Cork; Thomas MacDonough of St. Colman's College, Fermoy, signatory to the Proclamation of 1916; Brian Ó h-Uigin, the wellknown writer of religious and nationalist verses and T.D. in First Dáil; Tomás MacCurtain, who became Lord Mayor of Cork, murdered 1920; Father Albert, O.S.F.C., at the time belonging to the Capuchin community in Kilkenny; Padraig Ua Seoichrudha, "An Scabbac".

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October 12th. A son of Maurice Healy, solicitor, nephew of Tim Healy, M.P., called to me with a short article on Irish music for insertion in next number of "The Shield". My impression of him is that he possesses the versatility and talking gift of his family.

There is to be a meeting of the Celtic Literary Society tonight to discuss a motion regarding the Sinn Féin policy. It now seems ridiculous after all our previous discussions, but this meeting may decide the future of the Society. It seems now to be suffering from senile decay!

Milroy, Brian Kelleher, Michael O'Neill and myself, half in jest, half in earnest, recently decided to form a new body, "A Sinn Féin Club". Something may come from our decision.

October 13th. In Dublin, for meeting of Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League. Met Tomás Ó Coinceannan and was introduced to him by Liam P. Ó Riain (W.P. Ryan), editor of the "Irish Peasant", who is also a member of the Coiste Gnotha. ("The Irish Peasant" was an interesting production, introducing a new style in Irish journalism, and an open forum for all sorts of ideas. For some time, at Ryan's request, I contributed to it: notes, letters, articles and some verses).

October 15th. Meeting at "Celtic". A small meeting. After discussion, it was finally agreed to have a branch of the National Council of Sinn Féin formed in Cork and, for this purpose, to hold a meeting in the Municipal Buildings, to which persons outside our Society would be invited.

This fits in with the idea of a Sinn Féin Club.

October 21st. Meeting to form "branch" of the National Council of Sinn Féin held in the Municipal Buildings Council Chamber. A provisional committee was appointed. Members of the Young Ireland Society, among others, were present. I have not very strong hopes for the success of this branch, but it may be able to do something to forward Sinn Féin ideas.

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There is talk in Dublin, in Belfast and in London of amalgamating the National Council, Cumann na nGaedheal, Dungannon Clubs, Young Ireland Societies and others that aim at sovereign independence and forming one strong organisation. Bulmer Hobson wrote to me, in confidence, about this. He urges me to attend the next meeting of the National Council Executive, when the matter will come up for discussion. I cannot attend, but will express my views in writing. Amalgamation is desirable. It will be possible, if the National Council declares clearly for complete independence (of Ireland from England), through the means of the Sinn Féin policy of self-reliance and passive resistance. Some Cumann na nGaedheal supporters dislike references to "Grattan's Parliament" and the "Constitution of 1782". They consider such references a "come down" from sovereign independence - the aim as proclaimed by Cumann na nGaedheal. I believe all those who are in the various organisations and societies desire the complete independence of Ireland; the ending of British rule in Ireland. Otherwise, they should be advocates of parliamentarianism and supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party. But, at present, it is not so much paper statements of aim and policy that matter, as action: work towards the ultimate goal.

October 28th. Meeting of Cork Branch, National Council of Sinn Féin. C.G. Doran being present, I proposed he be elected permanent chairman of the Council. John Crowley of the Young Ireland Society and myself were elected Vice-Chairmen; Philip Harrington, treasurer; Tadhg Barry and Pat Harris, Hon. Secs. Milroy and Sheehan are on a Press Committee, and other members of the "Celtic" are on other committees. As it is, the Council is composed of very contentious characters! Can it get along without "splits"? Yet, this fact of having men of varying ideas and of different temperaments may be the very thing that will help it on. At all events, it is started and may have an interesting career.

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November 20th. An incident occurred last Saturday (17th) in Cork City Hall, in connection with a meeting for the establishment of a Cork University, which brought Sinn Féin prominently into the news yesterday.

The meeting was presided over by Lord Mayor Barrett and one of the speakers was William O'Brien, M.P. It was, of course, a very respectable and representative gathering. The demand for a university in Cork was a very worthy object; but the demand meant an appeal to the King and the British Government. Some of us in the "Celtic" had discussed whether we should attend and protest against an appeal to the King. C.G. Doran, being consulted, advised us not to attend it. I did not like the idea; but, however, five or six of us went to the meeting. The appeal to the King was mentioned. We protested. William O'Brien, M.P., a little excited, appealed to "the young men" to let the older men do their work for Ireland in their own way, and he made some reference to an Irish Republic.

Lord Mayor Barrett, in his solemn manner, put a resolution from the chair and the six of us dissented from it. It struck me as laughable and, in some ways, foolish, as we favoured the establishment of a Cork University.

(Later, Tadhg Barry, who was present, wrote some rhymes about the incident, in which he referred to "six men standing up for Ireland").

December 3rd. Yesterday, in Cork City Hall, we had a public meeting, under the auspices of the National Council of Sinn Féin, at which Arthur Griffith was the principal speaker. Amongst those present was John Daly, ex-mayor of Limerick, a fine character and of fine appearance. As neither C.G. Doran nor John Crowley would preside, I had to. There was a very large attendance, now taken as a matter of course, as there are so many desirous of hearing what the Sinn Féin policy is.

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Another "matter of course" is that the "Cork Examiner" today - the nationalist organ - has no report of the meeting, while the Unionist "Constitution" has two columns.

Griffith spoke at length, explaining the aim and purpose of the Sinn Féin policy. He is sharp and incisive, clear in argument, with no oratorical gestures or appeal to emotions. His appeal is to reason and logic.

Before the meeting, we had gone for a drive around the city. He had been in Cork only once before, at the great pro-Boer meeting which was held in the Cornmarket late in 1899.

In the evening, there was a "dinner" in Leech's Hotel, Princes St.; not a sumptuous, but a pleasant function. Toasts were drunk and I got John Daly to respond to the toast of "Ireland a Nation", as I had got him to speak at the public meeting. Griffith also spoke.

Denis O'Mahony, prompted and supported by Edward Sheehan. M.A., proposed a toast to the "Editor of 'The Shield'". (I was not present at the time, having to fulfil another engagement).

Griffith and John Daly departed together by the night train.

December 4th. "Examiner" today gives a report of about three-quarters of a column to Sunday's meeting. Report says "there was a very large attendance". If the meeting had been a United Irish League one, the report would have spread over many columns. Sinn Féin does not commend itself to the "Cork Examiner".

December 11th. "The Editor of the Shield" now received "The Gaelic American" weekly. In the current number, an article, taken in toto from November issue of the "Shield" appears. Other matter, from October number, is also published.

I notice the "Southern Star" lifts matter from the "Shield" without acknowledgment, in some instances. I believe other

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papers have also published articles that appeared in it.

December 13th. Notwithstanding the success of our public meeting, I have not very great hopes for the progress of the National Council by Sinn Féin in Cork. It has splendid opportunities, but there is little new blood in it. It seems a replica of the Celtic Literary Society. Tadhg Barry, secretary, complains of non-attendance of members at meetings.

December 18th. Rumours reach me today through Milroy. T.P. Smyth says he has received a communication from the Manager of "The Irish Peasant" to the effect that the journal is to cease publication after next issue, owing to some influence being brought to bear upon the proprietor by "a certain high ecclesiastic"- presumed to be Cardinal Logue! What does it mean? Milroy thinks it is the first attack on Sinn Féin from influential quarters. A few weeks ago the "Sinn Féin" newspaper had some notes to the effect that British Government representatives were endeavouring to get the Vatican to use its influence with the Bishops of Ireland to act against, if not to condemn, the Gaelic League! Sinn Féin, I presume, is meant. "Vatican influence", according to the paper, would probably be in the nature of a private communication to the Bishops. Has this any connection with the affair of "The Irish Peasant"? Or, what is the portent?

December 20th. Having decided to call together some friends to discuss the possibility of publishing "The Shield" weekly, we met tonight. It seemed a hopeful meeting. I needed a minimum of £150 for a weekly publication. £40 was guaranteed by those present and arrangements were made to get the further sum required. (We did not succeed in getting the amount necessary and "The Shield" had to cease publication,

December 21th. Under this date, A. MacGiollaiosa and Peadar Ua Briain, secretaries of Cumann na nGaedheal Executive, Dublin, wrote to the Celtic Literary Society: "The Executive here are

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in very bad financial circumstances and unable to carry on the work as actively as they wish and would feel obliged if your branch could forward a subscription towards the funds of the organisation.

Negotiations are at present pending as to an amalgamation of the existing organisations having similar objects - Cumann na nGaedheal, the Dungannon Clubs and the National Council and we hope to bring it about immediately after the meeting of the National Executive of the National Council early in February, when, with a new organisation, we will be in a far better position than at present to push forward the Sinn Féin policy".

This was the first official intimation of what had been rumoured in October and about which Hobson wrote to me. As far as finances were concerned, the "Celtic" is in a worse position than the Executive! It cannot even pay the rent for the room it uses, which is now only kept as the office of the "Shield". Alas, poor Celtic!

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January 1st. The information about the "Irish Peasant" was accurate. It ceased publication. W.P. Ryan, its editor, brought out a sheet last Saturday (29th December) to explain. Pressure from Cardinal Logue on the proprietor, James McCann, was the cause. Ryan intends publishing the paper in Dublin, calling it "The Peasant". He would solve the problem of a Sinn Féin weekly if he came to Cork.

(It was not quite for its Sinn Féin political views that Cardinal Logue brought pressure on McCann to have the "Irish Peasant" discontinue publication. It was an "open forum" for the publication of all sorts of opinions. Views regarding the Church in Ireland and the duties of Bishops and priests were published in it which could not have commended themselves to the Cardinal. Some would say there was a tone of anti-clericalism" in them.

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Father Augustine once remarked to me that Liam P. O'Riain seemed to think he had a "mission" to reform the Church in Ireland! He published a book called "The Pope's Green Island". It was not one that could commend itself to loyal Irish Catholics).

There is persecution of the Church in France, the government of which seems to be directed by the Grand Orient Masonic Order. Cork Corporation passed a resolution in condemnation of its actions.

January 5th. Annual meeting of Gaelic League Coiste Ceanntair last night. I did not attend. Sent a letter in which I said I am aware many of those in the Gaelic League in Cork do not like my Sinn Féin political activities while I am chairman of the Coiste Ceanntair, as this seems to identify the Gaelic League with politics.

I have heard today my letter was entirely misunderstood. By some I was ranged with what they termed "the cranks and soreheads who have infested the Gaelic League" for some time.

January 8th. Another meeting in reference to the future of "The Shield". A small committee appointed: Tadhg Barry acting as secretary. Fred Cronin thinks it cowardice on my part in not referring to the suppression of "The Irish Peasant" by Cardinal Logue in January issue. Another, who says he expresses the opinions of many, considers the tone of the articles not bold enough; the policy should be one of attack on those opposed to Sinn Féin. I argued that reasoning with, not abusing or attacking, was the better way of convincing opponents. "The logic of a blow" is not the logic that convinces. It oftentimes produces lip-sympathy and hypocrisy, begot of fear.

Sinn Féin in Cork is not in a position to, nor should it, antagonise the priests. If they be antagonistic to it, they could kill it, or nullify its efforts. That the Bishops and

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priests of Ireland, in general, are supporters of parliamentarianism is a fact we have to face. In politics, they are what the majority of the people are. To antagonise them by sarcasm or general denunciation is unwise and might be fatal to the Sinn Féin movement. Undoubtedly, some unthinking supporters of Sinn Féin criticise and attack the attitude of the Bishops and priests. I believe the Hierarchy and the priests in general have divided opinions regarding this movement. Not all of them are supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

January 15th. Sean Milroy called in to me. He is leaving Cork, to establish a business in Dublin. He cannot make a living in Cork. (His business was that of sweet manufacturing) Bad news this! One of the most reliable workers for Sinn Féin in the city goes from us.

I had endeavoured to get capital for him to keep the business going, but failed. Money cannot be obtained for Irish industrial projects. Those who have it prefer to invest it in English and foreign securities.

January 18th. The "Freeman" today has a report of an address delivered by Stephen Gwynne, M.P., at a meeting of the one branch of the United Irish League in Dublin. He had a great deal to say of Sinn Féin. He argued well, from a parliamentarian point of view; though one could find flaws in the argument. The chief trend of his remarks was that "Sinn Féiners" and Parliamentarians ought to work hand-in-hand. This may be desirable for the country's sake, but it is difficult to see how they can work together, politically. Mr. Gwynne says the end of both is the same: the means differ. Not quite so. The aim of Sinn Féin is: Ireland outside the British Empire: Sovereign Independence: an Irish Republic. The aim of parliamentarianism is towards an Ireland within the Empire; an Irish province of the Empire.

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Gwynne is three-fourths an advocate of Sinn Fein, in the broader aspect; perhaps in all but in its political aspect, repudiation of the British Parliament.

"The Leader" notices "The Shield" this week, to criticise, of course. It picks out a small paragraph in reference to taxation figures; gives it prominence; holds it up to its readers to show its silliness, and ends its own paragraph thus: "There's economies for you".

January 24th. Yesterday, Councillor Richard Cronin was elected Lord Mayor of Cork, by 33 votes to 19. This is satisfactory from a Sinn Fein point of view. His traditions are nationalist. He was associated with the Fenian and Parnellite movements. His family are supporters of Sinn Féin, Fred in the Celtic Literary Society, and his daughters have been prominent in Inghinidhe na hÉireann. The election had amusing aspects, as most of such elections have.

January 25th. I see by the "Republic" that Bulmer Hobson is going to America "to start a Sinn Fein organisation there" and to lecture. Tadhg Barry suggests we give Hobson a "send-off" when he passes through Cork, on his way to Cove.

January 26th. There was a meeting held in the City Hall last night "to forward Feis na Mumhan 1907" - it is stated. Though a member of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League, the only one from Cork city, I got an invitation to the meeting. Augustine Roche, M.P., Dr. Windle, several aldermen of the Corporation were present. A number of names were proposed for a Feis committee. They include George Crosbie, Wm. B. Harrington and other estimable citizens, but not members of the Gaelic League.

Father Eamon Fitzgerald, of the North Parish Branch, acted as chairman, and Father O'Brien, C.C., Douglas, as Honorary Secretary. In the course of their remarks, they emphasised very strongly that the Gaelic League was not responsible for

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the views of "certain individuals" connected with it. Naturally, I take it, I am one of the "uncertain individuals" referred to, as chairman of the Coiste Coamntair for the past two years and chairman of the Feis committee last year.

I was aware already that my political activities were not favoured by certain supporters of the Gaelic League and I had heard that some persons were prevented from joining the League as they considered it was becoming political.

January 29th. Another journal, a monthly, has started in Dublin - "The Social Democrat". As the name indicates, it is as much concerned with democracy as with nationality. It uses republican arguments. It is somewhat more anti-clerical in tone than any of the "separatist" journals.

And, I hear, a weekly commercial paper is about being started in Cork. If it come, this may have some effect on the project for a weekly "Shield". (What eventuated was not a "commercial paper" but a publication for the working class run by the Cork Trades Council. The "Shield" and it had a few sallies at each other).

February 2nd. Bulmer Hobson is in Cork. There was a good muster of "Celtic" members to greet him at a function in Flanagan's Hotel (15 or 20 perhaps). I had to preside over the gathering. There were a few pretty speeches. Hobson is going to the States at the invitation of those connected with the "Gaelic American" who are also prominent figures in the Clan-na-Gael. We toasted "An Irish Republic". Torrence MacSwiney, who was present, though he had left the "Celtic" some time ago, spoke of "physical force" and the necessity for young Irishmen to drill and learn the use of arms.

February 3rd. "Sinn Féin" paper this week carried the information that the Executive of the National Council of Sinn Féin organisation, in a sense, repudiate Hobson. He is going to the States of his own accord, not as representing the

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the organisation, in response to invitations he received.

He has no formal sanction from the Executive.

February 8th. I have been re-appointed representative of the Cork Branch, Gaelic League, on the Coiste Ceanntair and can be chairman of the Coiste if I wish. Father Augustine is the active spirit behind this action of the Cork Branch. A position has arisen in which there may be a break-up of the Gaelic League in Cork, or a crushing out of some of the old staunch supporters of the League, on political grounds. The information conveyed to me is that there are "a number of priests who desire to crush Sinn Feiners out of the Gaelic League". Mr. Michael Murphy, solicitor, who is honorary secretary of the United Irish League and of Cork University Committee, and John J. Eorgan are also active in the affair. I am regarded by them as "undesirable" because of the incident at the meeting in connection with the establishment of a Cork University. Also, because of correspondence in regard to secret negotiations anent the same matter published in the "Shield".

Negotiations are in progress to prevent a "break-up" and Father Augustine considers I should have a say in such negotiations.

Two new "nominal" branches of the League have been affiliated directly with the Coiste Gnotha in Dublin. As a counterpoise, without any suggestion from me, the "old" members of the "Celtic" met tonight and also formed themselves into a branch of the Gaelic League - the O'Growney branch.

February 9th. In Dublin for meeting of the Coiste Gnotha. Spent a good part of the day with Milroy. Called to the office of "Sinn Féin" in Fownes St., but Griffith was not there. Had a conversation with T.P. Fox. Afterwards called on Mrs. Margaret Buckley (formerly Miss Goulding), President of Inghinidhe na hEireann in Cork).

7 p.m. Meeting of Coiste Gnotha. Fionan MacColuim is

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is acting-secretary. He had a letter from Michael Murphy, solicitor, Cork, as I knew beforehand. He did not read it at the meeting as, he said to me, "the Dublin people are continually charging that we do nothing in Munster but fight among ourselves".

Before and during the meeting I spoke to Liam P. O'Riain of the "Peasant", Walter Cole and P.J. Ingoldsby in reference to our Cork affairs. I discovered, also, that Miss M.E.L. Butler, the novelist, is in sympathy with Sinn Fein. Cork "affairs" were not discussed at the meeting.

Stephen Gwynne, M.P. for Galway, had a resolution re the university question and the Queen's College, Galway. He got beaten on it by 13 to 3. As he said, with some bitterness: it was a "party question" between Sinn Fein ideas and parliamentary ones and Sinn Fein had won by numbers.

February 12th. Report of Coiste Gnotha meeting in "Freeman" today. It is stated two branches of the Gaelic League in Cork were among those affiliated (the "nominal" branches I have referred to). This was not so. The matter of their affiliation did not come before the meeting and, according to procedure, could not have come. So, I wrote to Fionan MacColuim, to Stephen Barrett, treasurer, to Pearse, editor of "An Claidheamh Soluis", and to Ingoldsby.

Pat Harrington, National Teacher, secretary of South Parish Branch, informs me that Canon MacNamara had been approached in order to get the branch to withdraw its representatives from the Coiste Ceanntair. The Canon stated various accusations of "anti-clericalism" had been made against some members of the Coiste Ceanntair and that an endeavour was being made to save the Gaelic League in Cork from the "Sinn Feiners". Pádraig assured him there was no basis to the accusations and he accepted the assurance.

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February 13th. The English Parliament opened yesterday. There is a reference to what is called the "devolution dodge" in King Edward's "Speech from the Throne".

February 14th. Fionan MacColuim writes me to say the names of the two "nominal" branches of the Gaelic League in Cork, as affiliated, appeared "in error" in the "Freeman" report of the Coiste Gnotha meeting. They are not in the "Cliadheamh Soluis" report, which means that Padraig Pearse did as I asked.

March 4th. The "Gaelic American" reports the arrival of Bulmer Hobson in New York. He is doing well, addressing large assemblies and arousing much enthusiasm. I hope the reports are true. I am a cynic as regards newspaper reports!

March 17th. Having received an invitation from the Lord Mayor to speak, in Irish, to the toast of "Ireland a Nation" at the mayoral luncheon on St. Patrick's Day, I attended the function and complied with the request. Father Richard O'Sullivan, C.C., an eloquent speaker, and John J. Horgan, solicitor, spoke before me. There was a large assemblage - members of the Corporation and other public bodies and leading business men of the city. It was the first time, as far as I know, that an address in Irish was delivered at this mayoral function.

March 19th. John O'Leary, Fenian, is dead. His burial takes place today. Requiescat in pace.

In the "Freeman", account of his career, it is stated he, at some time, said he had no hope of success for the Fenian movement, but he took part in it because he believed it was the right thing to do. One feels sometimes like that about the Sinn Fein movement. The prospect of success does not seem bright. But the ideal aimed at is right. Hence, we have to keep on.

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The annual Seachtmhain na Gaedhilge collections on the streets for Gaelic League funds under Coiste Ceanntair auspices were very satisfactory. The public were in generous mood.

June 11th. Father Augustine and myself attended a meeting, in S.S. Peter and Paul's National Schools, of delegates from the Gaelic League branches in Cork who have refused to recognise the Coiste Ceanntair because of its supposed political Sinn Fein tinge. He discussed matters quietly with them. In arguments, Father Augustine scored on all points. The result was that they agreed to join in with the Coiste Ceanntair. (And affairs were ultimately settled).

(Around this time political affairs in Ireland took an interesting turn from a Sinn Fein point of view, but, for various reasons, I was unable to keep notes as frequently as formerly)

July 4th. The "Cork Examiner" today has a despicable leading article about Sinn Fein. The immediate cause is the resignation of Charles Dolan as Member of the British Parliament for North Leitrim and his declaration of adherence to the Sinn Fein movement. Mr. James O'Mara, M.P. for South Kilkenny, has also resigned, and Sir Thomas Esmonde seems inclined to join Sinn Fein. The parliamentary policy is being discredited; failing in getting anywhere near its own objective - "Home Rule".

July 18th. Sinn Fein has become a battle cry! It is news: important news: in the English papers. Much space is given to news and views on the movement. They refer to it as "the Sinn Fein". The Irish daily newspapers are now opening their eyes to see what is taking place. Withal, I am sceptical and do not believe the real purpose of the Sinn Fein movement has got a grip on, or is understood by, the people in general. The minds of the people are not sufficiently alert to grasp it.

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It is easy to cry "Up Sinn Fein" as an irritant to opponents. It is not so easy to act on Sinn Fein principles.

Yet, undoubtedly, Sinn Fein ideas have advanced far beyond the position of twelve months ago. They are attracting the attention of a larger number of people. In all probability North Leitrim election will become historic as a turning point in the political story of Sinn Fein. Dolan is standing as a candidate on Sinn Fein lines. I do not know what his chances of success are. But his action has "advertised" Sinn Fein, brought it under the notice of all the politicians, and given food for thought to all interested in Irish national and political matters. Now, they should all know there is an alternative to the futile parliamentary policy.

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January 2nd. Terence MacSwiney calls in to me to discuss matters pertaining to the "Risen Gaedheal Press". (He had got a book of poems printed, October 1907). It was entitled "The Music of Freedom". He used the pen-name "Cuirreadóir". He had found difficulty regarding a publisher, so he became his own publisher, as the "Risen Gaedheal Press". Our discourse was as to the possibility of making this a permanent publishing company. The project did not materialise.)

January 17th. At a meeting of Cork Branch of the National Council of Sinn Fein, I was appointed treasurer of a fund to aid Mrs. Kevin Isod O'Doherty ("Eva" of the "Nation"), who is in poor circumstances in Australia. She is a widow. The secretary of Inghinidhe na hEireann in Dublin wrote me about the matter and I brought it before the Council. Edward Sheehan and myself are to see Doran of Cove in connection with it. He would have known O'Doherty who, with "Eva", was in Ireland in 1886.

January 20th. Contemplating having a leaflet printed, enumerating shortly the aims and objects of the Sinn Fein

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movement. In Dublin, Sinn Fein seems becoming purely political, its wider objects being put very much in the background.

I do not like this. Sinn Fein means more than politics; the National Council should not be "just another political party". If it loses its national character, it is likely to split into sections.

O'Brien and Redmond have patched up their differences (for the time being). Tim Healy is being taken back into the Parliamentary Party by O'Brien (George Crosbie was active in bringing this about this reconciliation). What effect, if any, this reunion will have on Sinn Fein politics it is not easy to determine. It can have little on the movement, in its broader aspect.

January 23rd.

Election of Lord Mayor of Cork today. Thomas Donovan, an adherent of no party, was elected by 31 votes as against 13 for Dick Sisk, who was supported by the outgoing Lord Mayor, Dick Cronin. Sisk was supposed to be the "nationalist" candidate, but he has not been altogether consistent as such. He is rather tart in speech; Donovan is suave. Also, Donovan is a moneyed man. He secured "labour" support. The "hoary old sinner", the "Examiner", wailed this morning. It cried for the election of a "nationalist" Lord Mayor, that is, one who is a member of the United Irish League and a supporter of John Redmond and the "Irish Party". None other is a nationalist, in its view. It has now got what it and the "lip nationalists" deserved. "Bread and butter" is the cry of the labour men, "and damn nationality"

February 14th.

North Leitrim election takes place next week. C.J. Dolan is contesting it for Sinn Fein. The issue is clearly knit; the sinn Fein policy of abstention from the British Parliament and all it connotes versus parliamentarianism. I am of opinion now Dolan will be defeated. In the long run, that should not matter; only, if he wins, it will encourage a lot of half-hearted "Sinn Feiners".

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I distinguish between political Sinn Féin and Sinn Féin in its broader aspect. One is a narrow conception; the other embraces a wide philosophy of nationalism. Politics are only part of the national life. If the Irish people desire to advance themselves, to assert their nationhood, to achieve independence, they will have to accept Sinn Féin, in its broader aspect. If they wish to continue on the "road to ruin" they will continue to support parliamentarianism. It is a policy of national degradation and futility. Time will tell what is to be.

In some respects the situation is as it was around '48. There is no O'Connell, but the Irish Party may be regarded as "the old Ireland Party", while Sinn Féin can be looked upon as "the Young Ireland Party". The "Young Irelanders" brought a new conception of nationalism into being in Ireland. Their failure - if they could be said to have failed, for their ideas live - was due to poor organisation. Inevitable in the then circumstances, no doubt. There were poets and orators, writers, keen thinkers, political economists, statesmen connected with "Young Ireland". But, they did not have a close-knit organisation. This the "Fenians" had. "Young Ireland", in reality, was a wide public opinion. It had left its mark on our nation in the realm of ideas. But an organised force was lacking to meet and defeat the organisations that hold this land for England. Sinn Féin is somewhat in the same position. There is a Sinn Féin "public opinion" now; fairly strong, fairly assured, exercising itself in many directions, but there is no Sinn Féin organisation worth considering. There are loose units; societies here and there; no strong coherence between them. Perhaps a "master mind" is needed; and there seems to be no "master mind" among us.

February 28th. C.J. Dolan was defeated in the North Leitrim election last Friday (21st). He got 1100 odd votes to his opponent's 2000 odd. Sinn Féin, in politics, has much leeway to make up. Yet, perhaps, the result is a "straw in the wind".

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March 7th. The leaflets, "Twelve Points of Sinn Féin", which I have had printed, have been widely distributed. It seems they have aroused considerable interest, with many comments, and are bringing some recruits to the National Council here.

I have been asked to give some lectures on Economics to the members of the Council.

August Published a booklet, entitled "A Message to the Man", with sub-title: "A Voice of our Nation's Awakening". Shandon Printing Works are the printers, the proprietor of which, Edward Mooney, seems to have read a great deal of English Socialist literature.

To my main essay, I added a little thing I had written years ago for our Celtic Literary Society Manuscript Journal. ("The Message" was very favourably reviewed and some, unexpected encomiums passed on it).

A quotation from Arthur O'Shaughnessy, the poet, gives an idea of its underlying theme:

"We are afar with the dawning  
And the suns that are not yet high:  
Out of the infinite morning,  
Intrepid, you hear us cry:  
How, 'spite of your human scorning,  
Once more God's future draws nigh,  
And already goes forth the warning,  
That ye of the past must die".

"Old" Ireland was passing. "Young" Ireland was coming).

September 1st. A conference was held today in the City Hall to form a committee for the purpose of getting foreign manufacturers to set up factories here, if they can be induced to do so. Under a new Act of the British Parliament, foreign manufacturers will be compelled to establish factories within what is called "the United Kingdom", if they are to retain their trade. What led up to the conference was this: The matter of the passing of the Act was noted in "Sinn Féin" paper. Seeing no one was taking action in Cork, neither the

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National Council nor the Industrial Association, I wrote to the Cork Corporation calling the Council's attention to the opportunity for Cork. The Corporation decided to call this conference. Among others, T.W. Russell, head of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, has been invited to attend.

At a preliminary meeting, a fortnight ago, E.J. Riordan and myself were appointed honorary secretaries of the committee to arrange for the conference. So I drew up the resolutions to be submitted to today's meeting. I cannot attend it myself. It rather amused me to note that, at a meeting held last week, Augustine Roche presiding, it was decided that the Members of Parliament for Cork city and county be "ex-officio" members of any permanent committee that may be formed. What were they doing up to this? Why did they not take action? They wait for a Sinn Féin lead and now endeavour to hide the fact that the suggestion for action came from Sinn Féin.

The conference decided to send representatives to Germany and the United States.

September 3rd. The "Freeman's Journal" has a leading article today in reference to the conference. It lauds T.W. Russell in general and, in particular, for his idea: they say it was his alone: of sending representatives abroad to induce foreign manufacturers to set up factories in Ireland.

Last week, before Russell came to Cork, among the matters I had drawn up for consideration of the conference was this one of sending "a deputation" abroad. It was an obvious step to be taken. So, I have sent a letter to the "Freeman", "Independent" and "Sinn Féin" asserting that the whole credit for the idea of the conference and the suggestion of a deputation abroad should go to Sinn Féin; as an outcome of Sinn Féin policy to link Ireland with countries other than Great Britain in its industrial development.

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September 9th. Helena Molony, Hon. Secretary of Inghinidhe na hÉireann in Dublin, writes to say the Inghinidhe are starting an Irish nationalist woman's paper. She asks help in pushing it in Cork.

September 18th. Cork Branch, Gaelic League, at its annual meeting tonight, held in "Dun na nGaedheal", presented an address to its President, Father Augustine, whom I regard as one of my dearest friends. Sean O'Conaill made the presentation: no more earnest worker for the language than he.

October 7th. In Limerick, in reply to an invitation to "lecture" for the Sinn Féin branch there. The subject suggested to me was: "Our public men: what they do: what they might do". The talk was given in the Town Hall. There was a very fine audience; large in numbers and, so far as I could judge, mostly young men and women; eager and attentive.

John Daly, Fenian, ex-mayor of the city, was present and spoke. (My recollection is that on that occasion I also met George Clancy and Michael O'Callaghan and others of the Limerick-men who became prominent in later years. I had previously met George Clancy and his wife that was to be, Máire ní Chillín, in Ballingearry. Had also met Mrs. O'Callaghan previously. The secretary of the Limerick Sinn Féin branch was a very earnest young man, Meanoy. The gathering impressed me very much).

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June 15th. In March last I was elected chairman of the National Council of Sinn Féin in Cork.

But, since the Cork parliamentary election in April, I have been rather disgusted at political affairs. Things that have occurred since then have deepened my dislike for politics. Evidently, the mass of the people do not want

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Sinn Féin. They prefer the game of parliamentarianism. And some adherents of Sinn Féin are either untrue to their own professed principles or opinions, or do not understand them. Some members of the Sinn Féin Council here in Cork took part in the parliamentary election and recorded their votes, while the policy of Sinn Féin is that Ireland should send no representatives to the British Parliament. To us, it should not matter which candidate got elected in Cork. Neither is a supporter of Sinn Féin principles. Both are advocates of the parliamentary policy.

And, I note by today's papers, one of our members, a licensed vintner, went on a deputation to the Chancellor of the British Exchequer to appeal for a reduction in taxation on spirits.

The "benevolent" English Liberal Government is piling on about a million more in taxation on Ireland and, instead of doing the sensible thing - refusing to pay the taxes - Irishmen talk and talk about it and make a "grievance" of what the British Chancellor proposes, while the remedy is in their own hands; passive resistance, non-payment.

Or, alternatively, in the case of the spirit duties, temperance or total abstinence; moral stamina in resistance to English laws.

(The election in April 1909, was a by-election. It occurred owing to the sudden resignation of William O'Brien. The opposing candidates were Maurice Healy and George Crosbie of the "Cork Examiner". Crosbie was favoured by Redmond and the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Healy by the supporters of O'Brien. Augustine Roche had turned from O'Brien to his opponents. Maurice Healy was successful, Crosbie defeated. Some time afterwards I heard George Crosbie himself say it was the "Examiner" caused his defeat! Everyone who had a grouse against the paper was opposed to him. The result showed that the "Cork Examiner" did not voice the opinions of the majority of the people of Cork and that the better publicity does not always win an election.

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This by-election marked the beginning of another "split" in the Irish Parliamentary Party. Here in Cork it brought about two sections of parliamentarians - O'Brienites and Redmondites.

Earlier in the year (February) a convention of the United Irish League was held in Dublin. The O'Brienites named it "The Baton Convention". From the north of Ireland a large number of delegates, who were also members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, attended, "armed" with short batons. As O'Brien disagreed with Redmond and Dillon regarding a Land Purchase Bill that had been introduced into the British Parliament, there were recriminations at the convention and, according to the O'Brienite accounts, anyone with a Cork accent - that is, anyone supporting O'Brien - was set upon and batoned! O'Brien himself and Laurence Ginnell were refused a hearing.

Alderman Tom Kelly proposed a motion in the Dublin Corporation condemning the parliamentary policy and advocating Sinn Féin. It was defeated, though, generally, there was a good deal of criticism of the Irish Parliamentary Party's actions in connection with the Budget proposals of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George.

August 24th. The "Sinn Féin" paper was launched as a daily. In Cork, an endeavour was made to get persons sympathetic to Sinn Féin to invest money in it as shareholders. The response was not encouraging and it seemed doubtful from the beginning if the paper could continue as a daily. (It ceased publication in January 1910).

The majority of the people were concerned with the Budget effects on their livelihood, the farmers with the Land Purchase Bill; all the supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party with the promise of a Home Rule Bill being introduced "at no far distant date". Under such circumstances, the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament made little or no appeal.

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January. A general election was held, the House of Lords having rejected the finance proposals of the British Liberal Government.

William O'Brien came back for this election and the O'Brienites and Redmondites were at daggers-drawn. Sir Edward Fitzgerald entered the contest as an independent. Owing to his intervention, the result was that William alone won on his side and Augustine Roche on the Redmondite side.

For the election, O'Brien published a sheet called "The Cork Accent", recalling "the Bation Convention". It provided a good deal of amusement to the citizens. Anything and everything that could discredit the opposing section was printed in it.

The general result of the election was that the Irish Parliamentary Party held "the balance of power" in the British Parliament as between the Liberals and Unionists. Their number was 72; O'Brienites and other Home Rulers - 11; Irish Unionists numbered 20.

The National Council of Sinn Féin issued a statement on "the Budget" showing the effects of the proposed increases of taxation on Ireland. It had little effect on the general trend of affairs, the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians being well organised in support of the Redmondite party.

"Irish Freedom" conducted by Sean MacDiarmada, was launched, declaring openly for an Irish Republic, while in general supporting the Sinn Féin policy. "Sinn Féin" resumed as a weekly.

March. A new organisation was set on foot by O'Brien - the "All for Ireland League" - and a weekly paper, "The Cork Free Press", was launched.

Some time before the League was started, a small number of

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Sinn Féin supporters in Cork went to interview O'Brien. They met him in Turner's Hotel. Their purpose was to induce him to adopt the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament. As I heard the account, the interview had an amusing aspect. They were hardly permitted to say a word! William occupied the whole time. He spoke to them, not they to him. He told them he was founding this new League and also that he intended launching a weekly paper.

(The Redmondites were known in Cork as "The Hollies", William having dubbed the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians as "Kolly Maguires". His own supporters were "The All-fors". "Up the Hollies". "Up the All-fors" became political battle-cries in the city.

Some supporters of Sinn Féin were more favourable to the O'Brien-Healy section than to the Redmondite section. This may have been due to the fact that the "Hibernians" were very intolerant of any form of opposition to their political views; consequently could not brook Sinn Féin. The O'Brienites were not quite so narrow in their attitude).

(Those steeped in the Redmondite-Hibernian tradition seem never to have forgiven Sinn Féin for having beaten the Irish Parliamentary Party and the parliamentarians).

April. Notwithstanding the protests in Ireland against additional taxation, the Parliamentary Party led by Mr. Redmond voted for "the Budget", to keep the British Liberal Government in power. Their argument was that the Veto of the House of Lords would have to be abolished before the enactment of a Home Rule measure and the Liberal Government intended to abolish the Veto.

The O'Brienites voted against this "Budget".

May 6th. King Edward VII dies. A "truce" between the English Liberals and Conservatives followed.

June. During 1909 and 1910, the Gaelic League had to carry on a vigorous campaign regarding the position of Irish in the National University. Here in Cork much pressure had to be

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brought to bear on members of the County Council and Corporation to declare themselves in favour of "essential Irish". Finally, the Senate of the University, by a majority, decided that Irish was to be an essential subject for matriculation as from the year 1913.

September 29th. A well-attended public meeting in support of Sinn Féin was held in the Mansion House, Dublin.

(The failure of the "Sinn Féin" daily newspaper, however, had an adverse effect upon the movement, as showing that its supporters throughout the country could not maintain a daily paper).

November 13th. John Redmond returned from the United States, whither he had gone with Joseph Devlin and T.P.O'Connor to collect money for the Irish Parliamentary Party. It was said they returned with £20,000. He received a tremendous reception in Cork and in Dublin.

After this, the Unionists referred to him as "The Dollar Dictator".

December. Another general election; the "truce" between the Liberals and Conservatives in Britain having ended.

During the election campaign in England, Prime Minister Asquith said a Home Rule Bill would be introduced in the British Parliament.

The result of the election in Ireland was: Irish Parliamentary Party, led by Redmond, 72; O'Brienites (Cork City and County and West Mayo), 8; Independents (Home Rulers) 3; Liberal (T.W. Russell), 1; Unionists, 19.

In Britain, Liberals 272; Unionists, 271; Labour, 42.

The Irish Parliamentary Party again held "the balance of power" in the British House of Commons. No legislation could be passed without their votes. They chose to support the British Liberal Party. Asquith became Prime Minister; Lloyd George, Chancellor; Augustine Birrell was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Lord Aberdeen, Lord Lieutenant.

(From 1909 to 1914) I ceased to keep a diary. In the

1910

111.

Autumn of 1910, I was appointed Commercial Teacher under County Cork Technical Instruction Committee. My classes were in various towns in South Cork. Held at night-time, they necessitated absence from the city from Monday to Friday. During the day, however, I returned to the city to take the Commerce Course, then being organised, in University College, Cork. This was on the suggestion of Dr. Windle, who supported my appointment at the Technical Committee.

The professors under whom I studied at the university were: Merriman, history; Smiddy, economics; Stockley, English Literature; Tadhg O'Donachá, Irish; Mary Ryan, French; Isaac Swain, Geology; Hagenris, accountancy. Later, I attended a series of lectures on Old Irish given by Rev. Dr. Henebry.

There were only four of us taking the Commerce Course the first year I attended. One was John F. Burke, who afterwards secured a Doctorate and has been an inspector under the Department of Education for a number of years. Another was Con O'Leary, who became a journalist in England and has published some books dealing with Ireland.

1911.

During this year all political attention in Ireland was directed towards the proceedings in the British Parliament. The people were assured Home Rule was to be enacted at "no far distant date".

In February, Parliament re-opened. The King's "Speech from the Throne", outlining legislation, contained no reference to Home Rule. An English Member raised a question respecting it. Prime Minister Asquith, in reply, repeated a previous utterance of his; "wait and see" was the substance of it. The Irish Parliamentary Party did not criticise his attitude.

The principal measures under consideration were "the Parliament Bill" and the National Insurance Act. The former was a measure under which the veto of the House of Lords on legislation passed in the Commons was to be curbed. The Lords,

1911.

by a majority, ultimately yielded on a general principle of a minimising of their power, so the Bill was passed into an Act in August (1911). A Clause was agreed to by which they could delay Acts passed in the Commons for a period of two years

The abolition of the veto was regarded by the Irish Parliamentary Party as a great triumph. In their view, it removed a most formidable obstacle to the enactment of Home Rule. In the sequel, however, the two-year's suspensory clause proved as formidable an obstacle as the veto itself.

The provisions of the Insurance Act, copied in the main from Germany, were the unemployment benefits, sick benefits, endowments and old age pensions. Opinion in Ireland generally was strongly opposed to the application of the Act to this country because of the increased taxation resulting. The Irish Parliamentary Party supported it and it became an Act of Parliament. Under it, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, 100,000 strong, according to Joseph Devlin, benefited very considerably as a benevolent society. The O'Ericnites opposed its application to Ireland.

At the same time, the proposal to pay members of Parliament a salary of £400 a year was enacted. This made them independent of support from Party funds. Prior to this, the Members of the Irish Party had been paid from a National Fund, controlled by the leaders of the Party.

In July, the King, George V, and the Queen came to Dublin. There was the usual loyal display. There were loyal addresses presented from some Cork public bodies. There had been opposition, however, to the presentation of such addresses. In Dublin, the Corporation majority refused to present an address and there was a public demonstration of protest, organised by Sinn Féin supporters and Inghinidhe na hEireann. In Cork, an endeavour was made to drape the National Monument in black, but there was no organised body to make a public protest.

1911.

An argument was used at some of the public bodies that the King would be welcomed when he came to open an Irish Parliament.

Expectation of a Home Rule Bill being introduced became stronger as the year advanced. Amongst others who published some books to explain such a measure were Erskine Childers ("The Framework of Home Rule"), John J. Horgan of Cork, and Tom Kettle. Beyond the fact that it meant the setting up of an Irish Parliament, people in general did not understand what Home Rule connoted; what the powers of an Irish Parliament were to be and what its limitations.

It was assumed there were to be Lords and Commons, as in England, and that "the Old House in College Green" (the Bank of Ireland premises) was to be the house of the parliament.

The Unionists also expected that a Home Rule Bill would be introduced by the British Liberal Government and, with the Irish Parliamentary Party holding the effective majority, it would be passed in the House of Commons. They knew the House of Lords would not agree to it. To the Orange element of the north, that did not suffice. Led by Carson, the threat to resist an Irish Parliament by force, though treated by an Act of the British Parliament, was already heard. It was rumoured the Orange clubs were drilling.

arrangements were being made to set up a Provisional Government in Ulster, and Carson declared "the men of Ulster" would march from Belfast to Cork, if necessary, even if not one of them every returned.

1912.

In April 1912, the Home Rule Bill was introduced in the British Parliament by Prime Minister Asquith.

The parliament proposed for Ireland was to be subordinate to the British Parliament. Any matter affecting Ireland would

1912.

still be the subject of legislation in the British Parliament and the Irish Parliament would automatically have to accept such laws as were enacted. There were still to be Irish representatives at Westminster. The Lord Lieutenant was to be appointed by the King. Judges were to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and law appeals could still go before the British Privy Council.

The Irish Parliament and Government were to have no power over the following matters: The Crown, the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of his power as an Imperial Official, peace or war, or defence, treaties, titles, treason laws of any kind, aliens, coinage, legal tender, weights and measures, trade marks, patent rights, trade with any country outside Ireland, navigation, lighthouses, post office savings banks, trustee banks or saving societies, old age pensions, labour exchange, National Museum, stamp duties, customs and excise duties, nor the Royal Irish Constabulary for a period. It could not collect taxes; all taxes were to be collected by British officials and paid into the British Exchequer.

Its power was to have been exercised over the Education Boards, the Post Office (which was not paying its way), Land Courts and Local Government Departments.

The finance clauses were involved. Mr. T.M. Healy described them as "putrid"!

At a National Convention of the United Irish League, in Dublin, April 23<sup>rd</sup> (1912), Mr. Redmond declared the Home Rule Bill was entirely satisfactory. He proposed the following resolution, which was enthusiastically endorsed by the Convention:

"That we welcome the Government of Ireland Bill as an honest attempt to settle the long and disastrous quarrel between the British and Irish nations; and this National Convention of the Irish people decides to accept the Bill in the spirit in

1912

which it is offered and we hereby declare our solemn conviction that the passage of the Bill will bind the people of Ireland to the people of Great Britain by a union infinitely closer than that which now exists and by so doing add immeasurably to the strength of the Empire".

The whole Redmondite press, branches of the United Irish League and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, local councils throughout the country, supported the attitude of Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party and the decision of the Convention. They represented the views of the great majority of the people.

The O'Brienites accepted the principle of Home Rule, but had criticisms of this particular measure. In the British House of Commons they declared it was not and could not be a final settlement between Ireland and England.

Sir Edward Carson, as leader of all the Unionists of Ireland, but speaking particularly for the Orangemen of the north, poured scorn upon the measure and threatened active resistance; armed resistance; if it should be enforced. In this threat of physical force he was supported by the English Conservative Party, led by Bonar Law.

In September 1912, the Orange leaders entered into what they called a "Solemn League and Covenant" to resist any form of Home Rule. Carson's advice was "break every law"! It was said 250,000 men and women in Ulster signed the Covenant, pledging themselves not to submit to the authority of an Irish Parliament.

1913.

In January 1913, the Bill having passed through the House of Commons by majority vote was sent to the House of Lords. It was rejected by 326 votes to 69. Sir Edward Carson had proposed that the nine counties of Ulster be excluded from the Bill. His proposal was defeated. The Bill came back to the Commons; was again passed; again sent to the Lords; again rejected by them. It was then held up under the two years'

1913

suspensory clause of "the Veto Act" and could not come on again in the Commons till 1914.

In the meantime, in Belfast and the north, the Ulster Volunteers were being organised, under the command of General Richardson. In June, at the time the Home Rule Bill had been rejected a second time by the Lords and had come back to the Commons, it was stated the Volunteers were 100,000 strong. The northern threats of armed resistance and the organising of an armed force were endorsed and supported by the Conservative Party in Great Britain and high military officers declared they would give their services to the Ulster Volunteers.

Mr. Asquith's Government took no action either against those who threatened rebellion against an Act of the British Parliament, those who declared they would prefer to be ruled by the Emperor of Germany than King George, or those who were drilling and arming, illegally.

Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party affected to see in all the declarations and actions "a game of bluff".

Those who were not befogged by parliamentarianism considered that the Orangemen of the north and their Unionist leaders were indeed earnest, in so far as resistance to any Irish Government controlled by Catholics and Nationalists was concerned. In July (1913), Eoin MacNeill had an article in the Gaelic League weekly, "An Claidheamh Soluis", advocating the formation of a body of National Volunteers.

A small paragraph had appeared in the press to the effect that a Volunteer corps of over 1000 men were drilling in Athlone, as a counterblast to "Carson's Volunteers". There was no basis for this: it was merely a piece of journalistic imagination. But the idea that there was now an opportunity for nationalist Irishmen to organise an armed force - in effect, an Irish army - to attain the freedom of Ireland, was in many minds.

1913.

It was not, however, those who, in former years, had advocated "physical force" for the attainment of an Irish Republic, nor those who had been prominent in Sinn Féin who brought the matter to a head. It was a small number of men who, outside of any existing organisations, got together to discuss with Eoin MacNeill the formation of an Irish Volunteer army. They met in Wynn's Hotel, Dublin (October/November 1913). They agreed that the Volunteer movement should be broadly national, not confined to, nor controlled by, any party.

The original committee was enlarged by the co-option of others, more or less representative of various organisations. This committee decided to call a public meeting to launch the Volunteers.

On November 25th, the meeting was held in the Rotunda, attended by several thousands, and the Volunteers launched. A stirring manifesto was published, explaining the reasons for the formation of the Volunteers and appealing to the young men of Ireland to enrol themselves in this Irish army. Sean Milroy wrote me a glowing account of the meeting.

Already, on September 23rd, the Unionist Council in Ulster had decreed itself as the Central Authority (the Executive) of a Provisional Government for the north. Carson was its chairman. A Military Council was also set up to command the Ulster Volunteers. A Colonel Hickson, M.P., had declared he had bought rifles and ammunition for them.

During the year there was a long and bitter struggle between the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, led by James Larkin and James Connolly, and the Dublin Employers' organisation, led by William Martin Murphy, who controlled the "Irish Independent". There had been a number of police baton charges during the strikes. A Captain J.R. White, ex-British army officer, was active with the workers. He suggested they should be armed against the police. Connolly seized upon the idea and the Citizen Army was started. Liberty Hall was the headquarters.

1913.

Countess Markievicz, also active in the strike on the side of the Transport workers, had previously started the Fianna Éireann - National Boy Scouts - a group of which was in being in Cork, in 1913. Tomás MacCurtain and Seán O'Sullivan were their leaders.

FOUNDING OF CORK CORPS, IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

As soon as the idea of forming a body of Volunteers had been publicly expressed, a few of us in Cork began to discuss the possibility of organising a corps in the city. We awaited the development in Dublin. The success of the inaugural meeting there stimulated us. J.L. Fawsitt, now secretary of the Cork Industrial Development Association, and myself talked it over several times. I discussed the matter with some of those who had been in the Celtic Literary Society. To my surprise, they did not favour the idea. Their view was that it was a matter for Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party. I wrote to a prominent public man, an O'Bricnite supporter, whom I believed to be a good nationalist and an independent-minded man. His reply was a letter full of party bitterness and denunciation of the Redmondites.

Fawsitt got talking to J.J. Walsh, chairman, Cork County Board of the Gaelic Athletic Association. I had suggested that that Association was the most appropriate body to organise the Volunteers. It was a non-party association. It was founded as a sort of training ground for an Irish army. Its members were the athletes of the country.

The Cork County Board did not take up the matter. Walsh himself, an energetic man, did. He wrote to Eoin MacNeill. MacNeill replied, promising to come to Cork.

We got together a few of us to form a small organising committee. They were:- Maurice Conway, a supporter of William O'Brien, who had been connected with the Young Ireland Society

in its early days; Maurice O'Connor, a student at University College (later State Solicitor); Seán Jennings, a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Sean O'Cuill, a supporter of Sinn Féin (at the time a wholesale newsagent); Denis O'Mahony, former member of the Celtic Literary Society, but later a supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party; Diarmuid O'Donovan, a member of the Gaelic League.

We met in the rooms of the Cork Industrial Development Association and arranged for a public meeting to be held in Cork City Hall on Sunday night, 14th December.

We were convinced the Volunteers ought to be non-party. Walsh, Fawsitt and myself were not attached to any political party in Cork. Sinn Féin had ceased to exist. For the public meeting there were two choices open to us: Either to have a prominent man as speaker from each side - O'Brienite and Redmondite - or, to have no party speakers. Taking the first choice, it was agreed to ask Eamon O'Neill of Kinsale, as a prominent supporter of O'Brien, and John J. Horgan, solicitor, as representing the Redmondites, to speak. It was arranged that Walsh would preside; Fawsitt would read the Dublin Provisional Committee's Manifesto, and I should propose a vote of thanks to Eoin MacNeill.

A list was made out of names to be submitted to the public meeting, to form a Provisional Committee. In addition to those of our own, informal, organising body they were: Enright, a student of University College (later, a medical doctor); Sean O'Hegarty, Terence MacSwiney, William Owens of Youghal (also a university student), Tomás MacCurtain, Seán O'Sullivan and Patrick Corkery of the Fianna Éireann. We had also put on the list the names of several public men, supporters of Mr. Redmond. Two of them I asked at first consented, then withdrew their names.

We decided to call the meeting by ticket only. Bundles

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of tickets were sent to every G.A.A. club, every national, political or other society, and social clubs in Cork city and neighbourhood.

The invitation on the cards was as follows:

"Leanfám go díth do chláir sinnsir. Irish Volunteers.

Tickets of admission to Public Meeting to be held at 8.30 o'clock in the City Hall, Cork, on Sunday night next, 14th December, to form a Cork City Corps of the Irish Volunteers. Professor Eoin MacNeill, B.A., Dublin, and local speakers will address the meeting. Volunteers embrace men of all Creeds, Classes and Parties. Only citizens ready to join should attend, as capacity of the hall is limited to 1,500.

J.J. Walsh (G.A.A.); Liam de Roiste (Gaelic League); Diarmuid Fawsitt (I.D.A.); Maurice O'Connor (U.C.C.).

Míscaill do mhísneach a Bhanba".

On the side of the card was printed: "N.B. This Movement is strictly non-party".

On the Friday preceding the meeting we learned there was a likelihood of Sir Roger Casement being present at our meeting as he was coming to Cork in connection with an endeavour to get German-American liners to call to Cork Harbour; the Cunard Company having decided to cease calling. I had known of Casement since I had received from him many years previously a subscription for the Irish College in Ballingearry.

On Saturday night, I was told the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin) would have nothing to do with our meeting, in consequence, it was said, of a threepenny advertisement having appeared in the "Evening Echo" from the Hibernians of the American Alliance asking their members to attend.

Some letters also appeared in the "Echo" calling the attention of the police authorities to the meeting: possibly with a desire to have it suppressed.

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At meetings of our organizing group I had expressed the opinion that there may be disturbance at the meeting and we ought prepare for it. J.J. Walsh waived all such warnings aside.

Sunday morning, Maurice Conway and myself went to the railway station to meet Eoin MacNeill. We learned he had arrived earlier. We then proceeded to the Imperial Hotel, where we found him with Casement and John J. Horgan, solicitor.

Horgan expressed sympathy with the Volunteer movement. He was willing to speak from our platform, but as he was a member of the National Directory of the United Irish League and prominently identified with the Redmond Party in Cork, he thought he may in some way compromise that party should he come to our meeting. He agreed the Volunteers ought be an independent, non-party body. So, he did not come. We learned also that Eamon O'Neill would not appear.

At the appointed hour, we went on to the platform at the City Hall: MacNeill, Casement, J.J. Walsh, Fawsitt and myself. Sean O'Sullivan and a number of Fianna Boys were at the back of the stage. The meeting was a surprise in numbers. The hall was densely packed with men, every available space on floor and galleries being occupied and there seemed to be more without. We had not at all expected this response to our call. In the front, below the stage, were prominent members of the Board of Erin Hibernians, some of them public representatives.

Walsh, as chairman, spoke at some length. Then Fawsitt read the manifesto of the Dublin Provisional Committee. This was received with much enthusiasm. Next, Eoin MacNeill spoke; first, in Irish. Well received; then in English. There was one interrupter in the gallery who was quietened. Everything seemed to be going on splendidly, keen interest being displayed. MacNeill touched on the Ulster Volunteers. Dangerous ground

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for a Cork audience. He praised the Ulster Volunteers. This seemed like O'Brien's policy of "conciliation". He is making a big mistake, I thought. Then the climax came. He called for "cheers for Sir Edward Carson's Volunteers"!

A signal was given by certain leaders of the Board of Erin Hiberniana in the hall. They stood up. There was applause long and loud, on the one hand; hooting, hissing and shouting on the other. The order of the meeting hung in the balance for about five minutes, MacNeill standing at the platform, calm and cool. The whole audience arose. The chairman tried to appeal for order. A rush was made on the platform. A number of men, wild and angry, jumped up, waving sticks in the air. Some rushed at MacNeill, some at the chairman. One near me, raising his stick, shouted loudly: "Cheers for John Redmond". I tried to calm him. He only shouted the louder. Soon I saw J.J. Walsh was the main object for attack.

Then, someone turned off the lights in the hall. I went to one of the side doors of the stage and opened it for the Fianna boys to pass out. I descended to the dressing-room, got my hat and coat in the belief that the meeting was ended. I found a crowd in one of the passages around MacNeill and Casement. I was told Walsh was injured, struck on the head with a chair, and had been taken to the Infirmary. Someone told me there was still a large crowd in the hall; that the lights were on again, and he said if I got on to the platform I would be listened to. Then, I knew the meeting was not going to break up in disorder. I crossed to another side passage. Some men who were lurking there demanded money for drink. I recognised them as "hangers-on" of the Redmondites. I remounted the stage. As I did so, I saw Fawsitt mount a chair. He appealed for a hearing for Casement. "Here", said he, "is a man who would be welcomed gladly in an Chancellery in Europe. Will you deny him an audience in this our rebel city?" There was still a large gathering in the hall. He asked them to sit down, which they

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did. He spoke well and I felt he had saved the situation. On the platform were some of the attackers as well as the attacked. Papers of Sir Roger Casement were littering the stage. The pressmen were gone. Fawsitt was listened to quietly, and loudly applauded. Then Casement spoke; he caught the crowd. Tall, supple, commanding, he looked every inch a man. There was loud applause when he concluded. Then, Maurice Conroy urged me on, to thank Casement and make a general explanation of the Volunteer movement.

We had got a number of enrolment forms printed. These had been distributed at the meeting.

As I concluded with a quotation from a poem of Brian O'Higgins: "Awake! Arise! Be men today", amidst applause, an old Fenian whom I knew came up and handed me the enrolment form which he had filled. That was the opening for others. They came trooping up, in tens and twenties; single and in batches. Old men; boys in their teens; some hundreds. When I announced this, there was a thunder of applause. It was a thrilling occasion. Then the audience departed. A small number were on the stage. Phil O'Neill of Kinsale mounted a chair and sang a Volunteer song he had composed for the occasion. He was loudly cheered and then we left the City Hall.

Fawsitt had gone earlier to catch a train. A few of us, among them Tomás MacCurtain, walked to the Imperial Hotel, whither Casement and MacNeill had gone. On the way there, I asked Tomás if he would act as secretary of our Provisional Committee. He agreed. I had asked authority from the audience at the City Hall for the formation of this committee, which, naturally, in the circumstances, was given by acclamation.

Casement and MacNeill were jubilant when told of what had occurred at the end of the meeting and, when I showed them the hundreds of signed forms of enrolment. What threatened to be a rout had become a victory. The Cork Corps of the Irish Volunteers had been established.

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That first meeting was the beginning of a series of mistakes on the part of the Redmondites in Cork and the beginning of an uprising for whom who were called, indiscriminately, "Sinn Féiners".

The newspaper reports of the public meeting all ended at the breaking-up. The reporters had left. So, it appeared to the public that the meeting had ended in disorder. "Scenes of bloodshed at the City Hall" was the wild heading of the "Cork Constitution" placard.

I sent a short note to the press giving the facts of what occurred after the pressmen had left. It was inserted in all the papers. Eoin MacNeill also sent a letter to the press. With him, the affair led to a controversy and leading articles in the "Irish Times" and other papers. Mr. R. Hazleton, M.P., a representative of the Redmondite Party, wrote strongly against the Volunteers.

The Redmondite "Examiner", O'Brienite "Free Press" and Unionist "Constitution" were at one in denunciation of "the irresponsible man" who had called the meeting and in denunciation of the Irish Volunteers in general. We were "nobodies".

A week or so after the public meeting, invitations were sent to those who had signed enrolment forms to attend a meeting in Dún na nGaedheal, Queen St., the headquarters of the Gaelic League in Cork. There were about 150 present. Walsh, Fawsitt, Tomás MacCurtain, P.S. O'Hegarty and myself addressed the gathering. It was an enthusiastic meeting. The Provisional Committee which our organising group had named was confirmed in office. Seán Jennings and myself became treasurers. Subscriptions were handed in. Arrangements were made to have the Dún taken for drill on two or three nights a week.

Tomás MacCurtain secured the services of a man named

1913

Goodwin, an ex-artillery sergeant-major, as drill instructor. He gave his services gratis. He was, however, unable to attend regularly; so, later, we secured another man, ex-Sergeant Donovan of the Dublin Fusiliers. They were both excellent instructors. Squad and section drill were gone through regularly. The numbers taking part were small at first but increased gradually. The Dún was inconvenient for extended movements and too small for the numbers. By the end of the year arrangements were being made to provide another venue for drill.

Within a week of the formation of the Volunteers in Dublin, the British Government issued a Proclamation prohibiting the importation of arms into Ireland. They had let the Ulster Volunteers drill and arm for almost two years. Their action now was, naturally, regarded as a stroke at the Irish Volunteers. It increased the number of supporters and sympathisers of the latter.

December 31st. New Year's Eve. Demonstrations were staged by the Board of Erin Hibernians. Bands paraded the city. There were torchlight processions. It was proclaimed 1914 was to be "Home Rule Year";

1914.

The general political situation in Ireland at the beginning of 1914 was as follows:

The great majority of Irish Nationalists supported the Parliamentary Party led by Mr. John Redmond. The efficient organisations were the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin).

In Cork City and county, Mr. William O'Brien, with whom was associated Mr. T.M. Healy, commanded a majority, in opposition to the United Irish League and the Hibernians. His organisation was the All-for-Ireland League.

The Unionist organisations, because of their money power, were strong.

1914

In the north, the Unionist and Orange organisations were dominant, led by Sir Edward Carson and reinforced by the Ulster Volunteers. At the same time, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, led by Joseph Devlin, M.P., were well organised in Belfast and throughout the province.

The Irish Volunteers, though not a political party, and declaring themselves strictly non-party, were led, in the main, by men who had been active in, or who sympathised with the Sinn Féin movement. Recruits were flocking in and the Volunteers were becoming a force to be reckoned with. The Sinn Féin organisation itself was dormant.

The more active members of the Gaelic League were also men who were sympathetic to Sinn Féin ideas and to the Volunteers.

January: Dún na nGaedheal, having become too small and inconvenient for the effective drilling of our Cork Corps of Irish Volunteers, arrangements were made to secure a large store in Fisher St. (off Merchants' Quay). A half-year's rent, £20, had to be paid in advance. As a body, we had not the money. So, four of us, J.J. Walsh, J.L. Fawsitt, Seán Jennings and myself raised a loan at the Munster and Leinster Bank for £25, and "Fisher Street" became the headquarters of the Corps.

Municipal elections were held this month. "J.J." stood as an independent nationalist candidate and got elected as councillor in the Centre Ward. Denis O'Mahony, a member of our Provisional Committee, was also elected, as a United Irish League candidate.

The Volunteers, as a body, took no part.

The Redmondites secured a majority in the Cork Corporation as a result of this election, Thereupon, William O'Brien offered to resign from Parliament and challenged Augustine Roche to fight a parliamentary election.

1914

February-March: In the Fisher St. premises, our Volunteer Corps was divided into sections, each in charge of a section commander. Seán O'Sullivan, who, with Tomás MacCurtain, had been a leader of Fianna Éireann, was commandant; ex-Sergeant Donovan continuing as drill instructor. Squad and section drill exercises were gone through. There were also route marches. Bandoliers and other equipment were being provided. "Dummy rifles" were also obtained. These were derisively termed "wooden guns". Occasionally, lectures on Irish history were given and there were nights of songs and recitations, the whole company joining in marching-time choruses.

March. The usual demonstration took place in the city on St. Patrick's Day. The Volunteers marched in the procession. At the meeting held near the National Monument, Rev. Father Thomas, O.S.F. Capuchin, was the principal speaker. A resolution in support of the Irish language was proposed by P.S. O'Hegarty and supported by J.L. Fawsitt,

Among the speakers at the Lord Mayor's luncheon was Captain Talbot-Crosbie who, later, came into prominence in the Volunteers.

The Lord Mayor was Alderman Henry O'Shea - Redmondite.

March 20th. The "Curragh Mutiny" occurred, which created a tremendous sensation. One of its effects was to deepen the doubts in the minds of many supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party as to the intentions of the British Government to enforce Home Rule. Such doubts led to a great increase in the numbers joining the Volunteers and the number favouring them.

March 26th. At a meeting of the Tolls and Markets Committee of the Cork Corporation, J.J. Walsh presiding, on his request, it was agreed by a majority that the use of the Cornmarket in Angleson St. be given to the Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, as a parade ground.

1914

The proposer, Councillor R. Walsh, said he did not agree with the views of the Volunteers, but he considered they should not be hampered. Alderman Daniel Cronin (son of former Lord Mayor Richard Cronin) supported.

Councillor James Daly opposed and referred to the founding of the Volunteers in Cork, asserting they were opposed to John Redmond. The Chairman said the Volunteers were not a political body.

Next day, the "Cork Constitution" headed its report with a caption: "Rapid spread of the Movement".

April 2nd. It was reported in the press that "a Women's Auxiliary" to the Volunteers - Cumann na mBan - had been formed in Dublin.

April 5th - Sunday. There was a parade of the Volunteers in the Cornmarket. About 100 paraded. A route march to Blarney had been decided on. Photographs of the corps were taken. (Published in the "Cork Examiner" next day and subsequently on postcards. The picture of the Volunteers was the first mark of "Examiner" friendliness). The morning was exceptionally wet, yet a huge crowd awaited us in Anglesea St. As we swung out of the gates of the Market, cheers were raised. Our reception through the city was splendid; we were then the "men of the hour". The roads were sodden; the march was real hard work. The evening cleared. At Blarney, when we halted, a few of us (Thomas MacCurtain, P.S. O'Hegarty and myself) spoke off a table, and a Blarney Corps was started.

We returned to the city by "the rising of the moon", hugely pleased with ourselves, feeling we had justified our existence so far, despite all opposition.

Some Fianna boys also took part in this route march.

(At this time, Eoin MacNeill, Roger Casement and O'Rahilly were in London making arrangements for the purchase of rifles for the Volunteers. There they met Darrell Figgis and Erskine Childers. Consultations took place in the home of Mrs. Stopford-Green.

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MacNeill and Casement also had an interview with John Rodmond, who then suggested he should have the right to nominate representatives on the Dublin Provisional Committee.)

April 24th. "Larne gun-running". A large consignment of German Mauser rifles was brought into Larne for the use of the Ulster Volunteers. This was done in defiance of the British Government proclamation of December 1913, prohibiting the importation of arms into Ireland. No action was taken by the British navy, by coastguards or police to prevent the landing. Sir Edward Carson accepted full responsibility for what was done. The Government took no proceedings against him.

April 29th. A meeting, under the auspices of the National Council of Sinn Féin, was held in Dublin to protest against the exclusion of Ulster from the Home Rule measure. Alderman Tom Kelly presided. Arthur Griffith and W.T. Cosgrave were the principal speakers. Cork was represented by Tadhg Barry.

May 24th - Sunday: Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, paraded in the Cornmarket. On the invitation of J.L. Fawsitt, acting for the Executive Committee, Captain Talbot-Crosbie attended the parade and, informally, took command of the Corps.

May 22nd. Reported in the press that there had been a seizure of arms by the Customs Officers at North Wall, Dublin. The consignment was addressed to a Mr. Tallon.

May 25th. The Home Rule Bill passed Third Reading in the British House of Commons, with a clause suspending its operation until an Amending Bill, providing for the exclusion of Ulster, was introduced.

A Volunteer Corps was established in Bandon, consequent upon a public meeting addressed by J.J. Walsh and Peadar O'Bannracha, n.

A corps was also formed in Middleton about this time.

(Subsequently, corps were formed in Bantry, Skibbercen, Dunmanway, and other towns in Co. Cork, by J.J. Walsh and

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Captain Talbot-Crosbie. Difficulty was found in getting Redmondites and O'Brienites to combine in the Volunteers).

June. Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party and leading supporters of theirs became active in forming Volunteer Corps throughout the country. Mr. John Redmond had been in negotiation with Eoin MacNeill and Colonel Maurice Moore. demanding a controlling representation on the Dublin provisional Committee by the co-option of 25 men to be named by him, on the committee.

On June 9th, he made this demand publicly in a letter to the press.

The Provisional Committee was, at this time, arranging for a National Convention and some members of it, with the Committee's authority, were negotiating for the purchase of rifles.

A majority of the Provisional Committee decided to accede to Mr. Redmond's demands and co-opted the men named by him.

In Cork, a number of Redmondites were also co-opted on the local Provisional Committee, but did not form a majority. The position was different here from elsewhere, owing to the action of the Hibernians at the inaugural meeting and the existence of the O'Brienite Party, who were also represented on the Committee.

June 5th. Report in the press that British torpedo boats were around the coast of Kerry and had called into Fenit. The purpose was understood to be the prevention of landing of arms for the Irish Volunteers.

The effect of the endorsement of the Volunteer movement by Mr. Redmond and his supporters was that large numbers of men now joined in, in all parts of the country. The great majority of these were staunch supporters of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

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Colonel Maurice Moore became Inspector-General. Captain Talbot-Crosbie was "Chief Inspecting Officer" for Co. Cork. Large scale reviews were held. Public men who had been bitterly opposed to the Volunteers now professed sympathy.

To arm the Volunteers became a pressing question. The Ulster Volunteers had obtained further consignments of rifles.

It was understood by those in Cork who originally founded the Volunteers that arrangements were being made to procure arms, and a "rifle fund" was opened for which subscriptions were obtained and to which the rank and file contributed weekly sums. Collections were also taken at the church doors. This fund was officially announced from Dublin by the Provisional Committee on 24th June, to be opened on 12th July as the "Defence of Ireland Fund".

July. From Saturday, July 11th, to Saturday, August 1st, I was in London, attending a course of lectures at the London School of Economics. (One of the lecturers at this school was Mr. Clement Atlee).

John F. Burke, who had been a fellow-student of mine in University College, Cork, was also attending the London School at this time. Through him, I met several Corkmen in London. I got in touch with some members of the Gaelic League, the Irish Literary Society and the Four Provinces Club. I found that an Irish Volunteer Corps had been recently organised. On Saturday, July 18th, I was taken to see them drilling in the German Gymnasium, a large hall, not far from where I was staying in Desmond House, Great Ormond St. It seemed to me to be a well-drilled corps.

On Monday, July 20th, through Mr. John P. Boland, Member of Parliament for Kerry, whom I had met previously, I secured a ticket of admission to the House of Commons. There was to be a further debate this evening on the Home Rule Bill. It was, however, postponed. The announcement had been made that the

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King was calling a conference in an endeavour to have the Bill enacted by consent of all parties. (This was "The Buckingham Palace Conference"). It seemed like an acceptance of the policy advocated by Mr. William O'Brien; General rumour was that the King was acting on his own initiative a desired a settlement of the question. The Queen, it was said, was entirely on the side of the Carsonites.

The Home Rule Bill, not being before the House, the proceedings appeared very dull.

Thursday 23rd. Meeting Augustine Roche, Member for Cork City, I got from him another ticket of admission to the House of Commons. The debate on this occasion was also dull, except for some flashes of wit by Mr. Lloyd George.

During these days, everywhere one went among the London-Irish the talk was of the Irish Volunteers. A young Limerick girl whom I met told me she had taken over some rifles from London to Limerick.

Friday 24th. I received a letter from Sean O'Sullivan, Commandant, Cork Corps, asking me to procure a tent and some drill books for the Fianna. Also, if possible, any other equipment I could manage.

I had, in fact, decided for myself to secure a rifle. Before I left Cork I had suggested the possibility of securing rifles in London and had discussed ways and means of bringing them in. For one reason or another, the suggestion was not favourably received.

Sunday 26th. At midnight, as I was in my room preparing to retire, the lady of the house where I was staying, Mrs. Power, a Co. Limerick woman, excitedly rushed up the stairs and knocked at the door. When I opened it, she handed me the evening paper, saying to me: "There's terrible work in Dublin. They're killing and shooting all the people there: 'tis murder!"

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The headings in the paper were lurid indeed - "Liffey St. runs red in blood". It had only a short account of the gun-running at Howth and the subsequent shootings at Bachelor's Walk. It was difficult to know what had really taken place, or if the Volunteers were in action against the military. As given, it seemed ghastly.

Monday 27th. The general feeling of any Irish people I met was one of exultation at the coup of the Volunteers and the successful landing of the rifle consignment, with strong condemnation of the Asquith Government, the military and police in Dublin. This feeling was general also among the liberal-minded students at the School of Economics. Some, particularly those from Scotland, Wales and Lancashire, were loud in expressing their opinions and they offered those of us from Cork congratulations on the one hand and sympathy on the other.

The evening papers announced that the affray in Dublin was to be discussed in the House of Commons tonight. I had tried to get in early, but failed. I tried on a second occasion, but with no success. I accosted Maurice Healy, Member from Cork City. He told me every seat in the public galleries was occupied and was likely to remain so. There was exceptional excitement in and around "the House". Hundreds of people were desirous of getting in. John Redmond, T.M. Healy and other Irish members were coming out and re-entering. The war in Europe was coming into discussions, as well as the Dublin shootings and the Home Rule Bill.

Tuesday 28th. A colleague of mine from Cork at the School, who took little interest in politics, had succeeded in getting in for the debate in the House of Commons. He said it was painful for any Irish Nationalist listening to John Redmond speaking on the occasion. His attitude was tantamount to an apology for what had occurred and an excuse for the soldiers who had shot the people on Bachelor's Walk. The same view was expressed by others I met who had been listening to the debate.

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Thursday 30th. By this time it was known no agreement had been reached at the Buckingham Palace Conference; Carson not budging from the position he had taken up, though Redmond and Dillon were willing to have Ulster excluded from the Home Rule Bill for a period. It was said the international situation in Europe was assuming grave proportions and was affecting the position as regards Home Rule.

(The official announcement of the breakdown of the Conference was published on Saturday).

Friday 31st. In a general dealer's store in the East End of London (a Jewish concern, of course), I got the tent for our Cork Fianna boys and had it conveyed to Desmond House. Then, with one of my London-Irish friends, I went and purchased a rifle in a gunsmith's shop; a new German Mauser rifle. (I could have obtained half a dozen were I in a position to purchase them). I brought it to Desmond House, well wrapped up in paper. That night, in my bedroom, I tied the rifle securely to the pole of the tent, wrapped the canvas round the pole, also securing this with the rope of the tent, attached labels with name and address and brought "the parcel" down to the hall. Next day (August 1st), I had my parcel conveyed to Paddington Station, booked it as passengers' luggage to be conveyed to Cork via Fishguard-Rosslare, by which route I was travelling. That evening, I left London, reaching Rosslare next morning (Sunday, August 2nd). Casually watching, I saw that my "parcel" was duly taken into the luggage van. The train reached Cork after midday. I got my parcel into the parcels office. That evening, I called to the Volunteer headquarters, Fisher Street, gave the parcel office ticket receipt to Tadhg Barry. He and another went to the railway station and returned with the tent and the rifle.

During the last days in London, there was general talk everywhere, in shops, restaurants, on the streets, concerning

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the war in Europe; fears expressed that Britain may be involved; hopes that she may be able to keep out of it. During the week there were failures on the Stock Exchange. Then the Exchange closed. On Friday, the Bank of England stopped the issue of gold coins. This was regarded as the most serious indication of Britain entering the war. It affected everyone, as weekend payment of wages and salaries were being made and preparation advanced for August holidays. Excitement was very noticeable as the various editions of the newspapers appeared.

On July 10th, in the British Parliament, in reply to a question, Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated that police estimates of the number of Volunteers in Ireland were: 132,000 Irish Volunteers; 85,000 Ulster Volunteers

Monday, July 13th. Captain Talbot Crosbie had a letter in the Cork papers to say he had been authorised from headquarters in Dublin to organise Co. Cork Volunteers in brigades; East Cork, Mid Cork, West Cork, North Cork. He also stated a County Convention was to meet in Cork on August 16th to elect a Committee of Management of the Volunteer Corps of the county and city.

The "Cork Constitution" was endeavouring to incite a "split" in the Volunteers by quoting various speakers at Volunteer meetings. There was a basis for its propaganda. Colonel Maurice Moore had said: "the spirit of the Volunteers was the spirit of the Fenians". John Dillon had said the Volunteer movement was a spontaneous uprising in support of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Padraig Pearse had said that, but for the Gaelic League and its inspiration, the Volunteer movement could never have arisen. The "Constitution" quoted the "Gaelic American" of John Devoy as evidence that the Volunteers were inspired by the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

On Tuesday, July 28th, at a parade of the Cork Corps in the Cornmarket, addressed by Talbot Crosbie, J.J. Walsh and

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others, cheers were raised for the Dublin Volunteers on their success in the Howth gun-running.

July 31st. A public meeting, called by Lord Mayor Henry O'Shea, was held in the Council Chamber of the Cork Corporation to inaugurate a special fund for the equipment of the Volunteers. It was a varied meeting of representative city men - O'Brienite, Redmondite and Sinn Féin sympathisers being present.

Alderman James Sincor proposed the resolution inaugurating the fund, Coroner William Murphy supporting it. (The former was a supporter of O'Brien, the latter of Redmond).

Councillor Butterfield proposed the following as treasurers: Captain Talbot Crosbie, Michael J. Nagle, J.P., John J. Horgan, solicitor, Seán Jennings and Liam de Roiste.

My co-treasurer of the Corps, Sean Jennings, gave particulars of the amount collected for equipment ("The Rifle Fund") up to this date, showing a credit balance of £436.1.6.

Some others present at this meeting, not previously associated with the Volunteers were: George Crosbie (of the "Cork Examiner"), R.A. Atkins, William Kelleher, T.C., Jeremiah Lane, T.C., Frank J. Daly, Lennox Robinson, J.F. O'Riordan, Con Mallany, Con Buckley, T.A. Kinmouth, Barry M. Egan, T.P. Dowdall.

Some time during July, J.L. (Diarmuid) Fawsitt, acting chairman, Cork Provisional Committee, brought a small number of Lee Enfield rifles, with ammunition, to Cork from Dublin. He obtained them from The O'Rahilly. The rifles were stored in the cycle shop of D.T. O'Sullivan, Marlboro St.; the ammunition in Blackthorn House, Patrick St., the manager of which was M.A. Ryan. A fire took place in Blackthorn House. The Ryan family were not in residence there. Members of the Fire Brigade entered the shop and police watched the premises. Fawsitt came on the scene and insisted on entering. Fortunately the fire was not serious and did not penetrate to where the ammunition was stored.

1914August 3rd - Monday.

In the British House of Commons it was announced that Britain was entering the war in Europe, allied with France and Russia against the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany. One ostensible reason given was the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany.

Mr. John Redmond declared that Ireland would be wholeheartedly on the side of Britain in the war; that the British forces in Ireland could be withdrawn; that the Irish and Ulster Volunteers would defend Ireland against Germany. Thereupon, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, declared that Ireland was "the one bright spot".

August 3rd.

It had been announced that the Cork Volunteers were to travel to Skibbereen on this August Monday. Special trains had been engaged. At the last moment the project was abandoned.

It was understood that a consignment of rifles was being brought into Crockhaven; a consignment arranged for by supporters of Mr. Redmond at headquarters.

August 4th. War declared by Britain:

A parade of Cork Volunteers was held in the Cornmarket at night. About 500 were present. To the surprise of all, Captain Talbot Crosbie announced that he had sent a telegram to the British War Office offering the services of the Volunteers for the defence of Ireland. This announcement of his was considered by the committee of the Cork Corps and I wrote him asking on what authority he made the offer.

August 6th.

A letter from him appeared in the press. In it he put the question - "Are we prepared to stand by the British Empire or not?" He said he put the issue before the Volunteers in Cork on Monday morning (3rd) and they gave an answer in the affirmative. "I am now informed the Committee of the Cork City Corps desire to dissociate themselves from my action and I have been asked by Mr. L. de Roiste, Treasurer, to give this statement publicity".

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August 6th. Eoin MacNeill has a letter in the press to the effect that Volunteers should apply themselves solely to military training and should not discuss public questions.

August 8th. It is announced that Colonel Moore has appointed "Inspecting Officers" for the various Volunteer Corps throughout the country. Talbot-Crosbie has been appointed for Cork city and county.

August 15th. A Defence of the Realm Act (D.O.R.A.), having been passed by the British Government, it is announced there is to be a censorship of news.

From August 10th to 17th, I was in Dublin to attend lectures in connection with a Civic Exhibition being held. It was sponsored by Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Mr. Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary, had spoken at the opening ceremony. Mr. T.P. Gill, Secretary of the Department of Technical Education, was identified with it and had arranged for the teachers under his Department to attend.

Notwithstanding that war had broken out, the general atmosphere of the Exhibition was an expectation of Home Rule being enacted and put into operation. There were lectures on Civics and Regional Survey.

An American lady, a guest at the Viceregal Lodge, had written a song for the Irish Volunteers and at one of the gatherings, at which Lord and Lady Aberdeen were present, she sang it, to a stirring air with accompaniment. Afterwards, she gave me a copy of the song, written on Viceregal notepaper!

During the stay in Dublin, Sean Milroy and myself had several conversations and discussions regarding the political situation and the Volunteers. We concluded that, at some stage, the latter would be forced to take action. He promised to let me know from time to time the trend of affairs in Dublin, referring to the development as "Civics". He had been in the Howth gun-running and gave me a vivid account of it.

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August 19th. Dublin Provisional Committee of the Volunteers issue a statement to say that there has been no agreement with the British War Office and no offer made by them to the British Government on behalf of the Volunteers. They are prepared, however, to carry out Mr. Redmond's undertaking to join with the Ulster Volunteers for the defence of Ireland.

August 24th. Having invited Captain Talbot Crosbie to a meeting of the Finance Committee of our Cork Corps, I got a reply, in the course of which he wrote: "there are questions of absolutely vital importance which will have to be settled during the next few days". He had appealed for subscriptions for the Defence of Ireland Fund and he stated he was "most distinctly annoyed" at this.

(I knew of course that the "questions" to which he referred were whether the Volunteers were to be taken over as an army unit by the British War Office and were to be equipped by the British Government).

August 29th. A letter from Talbot Crosbie appeared in the press in the course of which he said the Cork City Corps of the Volunteers must make their decision "next Sunday" (30th). His letter was called forth by an article which appeared in the "Irish Volunteer", repudiating any offers of the Volunteers for service under the British War Office or assistance to the British in the war.

A telegram was sent to Eoin MacNeill and he replied to Tomás MacCurtain: "With reference to letter of Captain Crosbie in today's newspapers, questions regarding policy cannot be proposed by anybody to Volunteers on parade or answered by them".

A leaflet was hastily printed, headed "Volunteers, stand fast!" It put the issue as between the Dublin Provisional Committee and Captain Talbot Crosbie.

August 30th - Sunday: Parade of Cork Volunteers in the Cornmarket. None but members of the Corps were admitted.

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The leaflet referred to above was handed to each man as he entered. This was in reality a political meeting. It was addressed by Captain Talbot Crosbie, J.J. Walsh (acting as Chairman), Tomas MacCurtain, J.L. Fausitt, Sean C'Hearty and P. Ahern, Harry Donegan, solicitor, and Thomas Byrne. The latter two spoke from the Redmondite-Hibernian point of view. There was much excitement and at times it looked as if a dangerous situation would arise.

A question was put to Talbot Crosbie by Thomas Byrne - "Does Captain Crosbie want to commit the Cork City Corps to offer their services to fight in any part of the world that Great Britain wishes to send them to or does he stand by the offer made by Mr. Redmond that you are prepared to defend our shores against all comers?"

Crosbie replied that he would not do more than Mr. Redmond had done. This satisfied the Redmondite supporters in the Volunteers. He led them away and afterwards dismissed them. The number who remained loyal to our original Provisional Committee were a minority.

During the month of August over 100 rifles had been brought from Dublin: £600 having been sent to headquarters and £100 to Mr. John E. Redmond. They were chiefly the "Howth" rifles.

September 1st. John J. Horgan, solicitor, writes to Tomas MacCurtain, as Hon. Secretary, to say he had learned from Sean Jennings, Hon. Treasurer, that the terms of the resolution passed at the public meeting on July 31st, naming himself and others as treasurers of the Fund for the equipment of the Volunteers had not been carried out and wanting to know "where we stand"!

Having heard from Sean Jennings that Mr. Horgan had made the inquiry, I had called to the Munster and Leinster Bank and had confirmed that no moneys of the Cork Corps were to be paid

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out except on the authority of our Finance Committee and over the signatures already accepted at the bank: J.J. Walsh, Tomás MacCurtain, Seán Jennings and myself. (I considered a break was coming in the Volunteers and that the question of the moneys subscribed publicly for the Defence of Ireland Fund would become of importance).

September 2nd: Public meeting in Cork City Hall, called by William O'Brien and Maurice Healy, Parliamentary representatives for the city, to stimulate recruiting for the British army. Lord Bandon presided and the meeting was addressed by Lord Barrymore, Dr. Dowse, Protestant Bishop of Cork, as well as by O'Brien, Healy and some of their prominent supporters. The Redmondites boycotted it. (A great number of O'Brien's supporters ceased to follow him after this meeting. Most of these came into the Sinn Féin Movement).

All efforts were now being made to get men to join the British army. Reservists had been called up. In the north, it was stated on behalf of the Ulster Volunteers that they were ready to engage in the war. Notwithstanding his professions of loyalty, Mr. Redmond was being derided by the Unionists. They declared his supporters were not joining up in the numbers expected. Huge advertisements appeared calling on Irishmen to "fight for King and Country".

September 10th. I had invited Captain Crosbie and Mr. John J. Horgan to attend a meeting of our Finance Committee. Captain Crosbie replied to say he had many other matters to attend to. I then heard he had, in fact, resigned his command of the Cork Volunteers. In order to regularise Mr. Horgan's position, I handed a notice of motion to Tomás MacCurtain that Mr. Horgan and Mr. M.J. Magle be co-opted on the committee. Having notified Mr. Horgan of this, he sent me a note - "At present I could not see my way to act, so I will kindly ask you not to proceed with your notice of motion".

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(There ensued a long correspondence in the "Cork Examiner" between Mr. Horgan and myself regarding the money subscribed for "the Rifle Fund" as a result of the public meeting on July 31st. The legal position was, that all the moneys subscribed belonged to the Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, the body which existed before the Redmondite supporters joined it, and was under the control of a Finance Committee which the original Provisional Committee had appointed).

The Dublin Provisional Committee again issue a statement denying that any arrangements existed with the British War Office for utilising the Volunteers as part of the British armed forces September 15th.

The Home Rule Bill, with a clause suspending its operation for the period of the war, passes Third Reading in the House of Commons. It is "placed on the Statute Book". Carson calls it "treachery".

September 17th. Mr. Redmond terms the Home Rule Act "a great charter of freedom". He calls for the formation of an "Irish Brigade" to fight with the British forces against Germany.

September 18th. The King has signed the Act: "The Royal Assent". The Irish Parliamentary Party sing: "God save the King" in the House of Commons, and Mr. Redmond cried out "God save England".

Mr. William O'Brien refers to it as "so-called Home Rule" in a letter to the press.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, addressing a Volunteer meeting at Middleton, had said that nothing could ever displace the Act from the Statute Book. It was there for all time.

Terence MacSwiney issues a weekly journal, "Fianna Fail". He has asked me to contribute to it, so I gave him some articles. Edward Mooney, of Shandon Printing Works, refused to print it lest he should lose the patronage of his pro-British customers. The Eagle Printing Works printed the first issue, then refused

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to continue the printing; the same influence operating as in the case of Shandon Printing Works. Terence had to go to P. Mahon, Dublin, for the publication of further issues.

September 20th. Mr. John E. Redmond's speech at Wooden-bridge, calling on the Volunteers to fight the Germans "on the battlefields of Europe".

September 21th. The Dublin Provisional Committee repudiate Mr. Redmond and expel his nominees from the committee. They place guards at headquarters premises and issue a manifesto, re-affirming the original purpose of the Volunteers. Colonel Moore advises the Volunteers to follow Redmond.

September 21th. A meeting was held in the Grogg Hall, South Mall, Cork, under the auspices of the Protestant Young Men's Society, to form a "Cork Volunteer Officers' Training Corps".

September 25th. Recruiting meeting for the British army held in Mansion House, Dublin, addressed by Prime Minister Asquith, Chief Secretary Birrell, John E. Redmond, John Dillon, Joseph Devlin. "Old animosities between us are dead" said Mr. Asquith, at which statement there was "loud and prolonged cheering". At the conclusion, the whole audience sang: "God save the King" and "God save Ireland".

September 26th. Leading article in "Cork Constitution" notes the Volunteers "have arrived at the parting of the ways, as has been anticipated".

September 28th. Carson and Bonar Law addressed Ulster Volunteers in Belfast. Carson declared: "We have plenty of guns and we are going to keep them". He declared that when the war was over he would summon the "Ulster Provisional Government" and have the Home Rule Act repealed as far as Ulster was concerned".

Letter in "Cork Constitution" headed "Sinn Féin Volunteers"  
The suggestion is made that we are being supplied with "German

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money". (From this on, the term "Sinn Féin" was generally used for all who were not pro-British. "Pro-German" was also used and the charge of receiving "German gold" was made frequently, not alone by Unionists but by responsible members of the Irish Parliamentary Party and their followers).

The "Constitution" also carried a report of a parade of Cork Volunteer Officers' Training Corps to the Protestant Cathedral on the preceding day (Sunday).

On the 30th, this "Officers' Corps" marched to Blackrock and were there joined by a number of the Redmondite Volunteers.

Owing to the withdrawal of Mr. Redmond's supporters from our Cork Volunteer Corps, the number of members of the Corps was much reduced. About 180 paid a weekly subscription of sixpence. On the 12th and 26th September, I laid before the Executive (Provisional) Committee a detailed statement of account "in view of decrease of weekly income and increasing calls for expenses".. Prior to the City Hall meeting of July 31st a sum of £402 had been received for "the Rifle Fund", subsequently £371; a total of £773. The amount in the ordinary (running expenses) account of the Corps was £27, on 25th September. It was decided to have the accounts audited by a public accountant. (This was subsequently done by Messrs. Stapleton and Co., Incorporated Accountants, and their audited statement was issued on the 12th October).

A Branch of Cumann na mBan had been formed in the city. Miss Mary MacSwiney was President, Miss Eora O'Brien, Hon. Secretary. Among its members were Misses Susan and Annie Walsh, sisters-in-law of Tomás MacCurtain; Maria Murphy, Sile Fennell, Kadge O'Loary, "Peg" Duggan, Maire ni Chuill and my wife.

The branch organised a course in "First Aid" which was given in the "Grianin", Queen Street, and was conducted by Dr. Sexton and Dr. Murphy-O'Connor. It also organised a collection

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for the Defence of Ireland Fund and handed a sum of £30 to our Cork Corps of Volunteers.

October 1st. Some members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Redmondite), who had been in the Volunteers, raided the headquarters in Fisher Street and carried off a number of Howth rifles which had been stored there.

October 3rd. Patrick Corcoran, printer, issues a weekly journal "The Cork Celt". I contributed some articles. It was a mixed production, as far as literary material was concerned, but its tone was definitely anti-British.

October 4th. A Cork City "Regiment" of the Irish National Volunteers (Redmondite organisation) was formed. Some negotiations took place with the (Protestant) Officers' Training Corps, but the bodies did not amalgamate.

Harry Donegan, solicitor, became colonel of the "Regiment", John J. Horgan and Thomas Byrne, captains; Coroner William Murphy, President of the Cork County Volunteer Board, The "Cork Examiner" was, of course, entirely favourable to this organisation and gave no further publicity to our Corps.

October 15th. An offshoot of the "Freeman's Journal" entitled "The National Volunteer" was published in opposition to the "Irish Volunteer", edited by Larry de Lacy, which had been the organ of the whole Volunteer Movement.

October 25th. First Convention of the Volunteers was held in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, Eoin MacNeill presiding. Cork Corps was represented at this Convention by (I think) Seán O'Sullivan, Commandant of the Corps, and Tomás MacCurtain, Secretary of the Provisional Executive Committee.

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January 3rd. At present there seems a possibility, not very great, of the United States being involved in the war.

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It has addressed a Note to England protesting against the detaining and searching of American ships.

We are to have a new Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wimborne, who was a Tory. He comes to Ireland with the good wishes of the Liberals and of the "Daily Mail". Mr. William O'Brien says he is a friend of Joseph Devlin. So, William does not welcome him.

January 5th. A sensational bit of news in the papers! The "Evening Echo" states that the inhabitants of Crosshaven and district were disturbed on Sunday night (3rd) by practice firing of big guns from Fort Carlisle, at the entrance to the Harbour. Shells struck near the coastguard station at Crosshaven, near the convent, on the Myrtleville road, in Hoddersfield, in Fountainstown and near Coolmore. They did not explode; no damages done; yesterday morning, soldiers came, took them up and threw them into the sea! The "Constitution" notice board has it that the shells ricocheted from the water! The "Examiner" today, in large headings: "Harbour sensation. Suspected submarine. Forts in action. Shells in Crosshaven". In the news column beneath: "On Sunday night at the entrance of Cork Harbour, Forts Camden and Carlisle opened fire on a suspicious object in the water, believed to have been a German submarine ..... Nothing is known of the fate of the submarine".

January 9th. The English Lords devoted some time yesterday to a discussion on "sedition" in Ireland. They argue that we are not as "loyal" as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond say we are.

Yet, the Redmondite Volunteers are guarding the bridges in Cork (against German submarines?), providing 'copy' for O'Brien's newspaper, and some amusement for the citizens in general.

Kuno Mayer's name was struck off the "Roll of Freeman" of our city yesterday, on the motion of a Redmondite Councillor, supported by a Unionist. 24 for; 3 against. There are 56 members in the Corporation.

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January 14th. Our Cork Corps of Volunteers are taking new premises in Sheares St., larger and more suitable than the Foster St. stores, from a social point of view. Just at present to be a social club is as much as the Corps can be. But "a revival" is bound to take place, notwithstanding D.O.R.A. censorship, and threats of courtmartial and the whole pro-English propoganda. A rallying centre for nationalism in Cork is needed. The Volunteers can provide that. We cannot say we are truly a military force; properly organised, trained, armed. We have no trained military leaders. But some little work of a military, or semi-military, nature is being done. Sunday last there was a route-march to Blarney; where the Blarney and Courtbrack "boys" were assembled. The latter were described as "fine fellows", ready for any adventure.

Apart from our (provisional) Executive Committee, a "military council" has been formed, though the members of the Council are also members of the Executive.

To stimulate recruiting for the Corps, the Military Council has decided that we are to march, with rifles, next Sunday.

January 16th. The people on the whole south coast of Co. Cork are much perturbed. The police have intimated to them that, in the case of a German invasion, the military orders are, they must "at an hour's notice", move with all their portable possessions to Mallow and destroy what cannot be moved! The first intimation was given in Ballincollig. Then, it was posted up outside the "Cork Constitution" office on a War Notice Board. No doubt, the notice is only precautionary. But, the common instinct of the people, protestations of loyalty notwithstanding, is to distrust English military orders as having something politically sinister behind them.

January 17th - Sunday. Route march of our Cork Óglaigh (Volunteer Corps) to Bottle Hill (in the direction of Glenville). Rifles were carried. An improvised "ambulance" accompanied the Corps. It was a strenuous day.

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There are rumours of the possibility of the Volunteer rifles being seized by the police, or military, but no thought is given as to what attitude is to be adopted in such an event.

There was a parade of the Redmondite Volunteers in the city. They were addressed by Sir Harry Vane. He proclaims himself a nationalist. He would like Irishmen to join the British army, but would not have compulsion. His method of recruiting is one of argument, reason and persuasion: a subtle method, for the unthinking.

Mr. Joseph Devlin has been speaking also around Cork. In Fermoy, he addressed men of the Connaught Rangers and Munster Fusiliers (forming the so-called "Irish Brigade"). The burden of his address is the same as usual since the war began: we are "Irish and proud of it"; part of the British Empire; one of the family of nations that make up the Empire; the war in Europe is a just war (for "the Allies") against (German) barbarism, savagery and force; a fight for small nations; poor Belgium; little Belgium; distressed Belgium; Catholic Belgium. The fighting Irish race is winning laurels in the war and will win more. This is the "Curve" - T.P. O'Connor's word - Irish Nationality, as preached by the Irish Parliamentary Party, has taken these times.

January 20th. The "Cork Examiner" endeavours to reassure the people of the south that the recent notices to quit their homes in the event of a German invasion are only precautionary. It impresses on us that "the whole United Kingdom is at war". Then, it says there is not even "an infinitesimal chance" of a German invasion of Ireland.

But, there are scares and rumours around the coast towns. A German submarine was supposed to have been sighted off Kinsale Harbour this evening. Word reached the military and the garrison was alerted.

One result of the scares is likely to be a run on the banks and a hoarding of money.

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January 23rd. Tonight I was co-opted on the Ard-Choiste of the Gaelic League and appointed Hon. Secretary. This was on the urging of J.L. (Diarmuid) Fasait. The position now carries with it membership of the Cork City Technical Instruction Committee and Cork Free Library.

January 31st. Election of a new Executive of our Cork Corps of Volunteers (Óglaigh) took place today. I was detailed to count the votes. Our Provisional Committee now ceases. I did not allow my name to be put forward for the position of Hon. Treasurer.

Fasait is chairman of the new Executive. Terence MacSwiney vice-chairman; Sean Jennings, Hon. Treasurer; Liam Shorten, assistant Hon. Treasurer; Pat Ahern, Hon. Secretary; Sean Nolan, Assistant Hon. Secretary; with an "Equipment" Hon Treasurer and a committee of eight. The "Military Council" is a permanent institution, and Fasait tells me it considers itself the supreme body, in accordance with an organisation scheme issued by headquarters. It may be better thus, but it seems to me we are not quite clear as to whether we are a military or civil organisation. The problem will probably settle itself in time.

February 2nd. A young man from Bruree, Co. Limerick, by name Guiney, was sentenced to 112 days' imprisonment by court-martial at Cork Barracks yesterday for having "uttered words prejudicial to recruiting". He used some sarcastic remarks, it seems, about a "Captain" Larry Roche, a well-known athlete, who is now a recruiting agent.

The papers carry news that Irish prisoners of war are being well-treated in Germany. Also, that Sir Roger Casement is still in Berlin and has considerable influence with the German authorities. (Next day, it was stated Sir Roger is practically a prisoner in Berlin!)

The "National Volunteer", Redmondite organ, bitterly attacks the Gaelic League. This has a good effect in stimulating the interest of non-Redmondites in the language movement.

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"The Marquis and Marchioness of Aberdeen and Tara" arrived in Cork today and were presented with the "Freedom of the City" by the Corporation. Only a small section of the Redmondites and Redmondite Volunteers attended the function.

February 4th. Vessels trading between Ireland and England were prevented from sailing yesterday. The cause stated was, the activity of German submarine in the Irish Sea. A large number of ships is held up in English ports. It is not quite what Mr. Asquith wanted it to be: "Business as usual".

More courtmartial! Men from Millstreet and Bruree districts are being tried. "The One Bright Spot" is not quite as bright as Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Redmond thought. There are still Irishmen who do not believe England's war is Ireland's war.

There were some legal difficulties regarding the taking of Sheares St. premises for the Cork Óglaigh Corps and giving up possession of Fisher St. John J. Horgan was solicitor for the landlady of Sheares St. house and he was inserting some impossible clauses in the agreement. Fasait took "the high hand" and the solicitors on both sides capitulated. So, with Fasait, Jennings and Tomas MacCurtain, I signed the agreement today, as a Trustee for the Corps.

February 5th. Fred Cronin was co-opted on the Cork Board of Guardians yesterday by 25 votes to 5. The five were Hibernians, the same who were among the leaders who endeavoured to break up out City Hall meeting for the founding of the Volunteers. As Fred is known to be a staunch, uncompromising nationalist, his co-option is a sign that all our public men are not pro-British.

February 6th. Alderman Tom Kelly was a candidate for the Lord Mayoralty of Dublin yesterday. He was not elected.

February 8th. "The Bridge Guards", as William O'Brien calls them, have been relieved from the duty of guarding the

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bridges, by order of the Officer Commanding Cork Harbour, given to them through the County Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Correspondence is published in the "Examiner" giving particulars. The kernel is: "Civilians can no longer bear arms in Defence of the Realm". "Captain" Donegan, solicitor, on behalf of the Redmondite Volunteers, replies that they are prepared to obey any orders of the Officer Commanding, to perform any duties he assigns to them.

Does the order mean a general intention of disarming all the Volunteers?

Brigadier General Cecil Hill is the Garrison Commander who has issued the order for Cork.

February 15th. Monday: Saturday night our Cork Óglaigh held an all-night dance, in conjunction with Cumann na mBan. It was the first occasion on which some of us appeared in full Volunteer uniform.

Further news of Sir Roger Casement is in today's newspapers. An account is given of an attempt by the British Consul in Norway to have him assassinated! Perhaps all the details are not quite accurate, though they are very circumstantial, but that there is underlying truth in the story seems certain.

February 16th. Liam O'Buachalla, of Millstreet, was tried by courtmartial in Cork Barracks yesterday for, as alleged, "having obstructed a recruiting sergeant". The recruiting sergeant was instructor of the Redmondite Volunteers in Millstreet. Frank J. Healy, B.L., defended Liam, on instructions of Maurice O'Connor, solicitor, and charges that political bias was at the bottom of the case. He also challenged the jurisdiction of the Court, citing a recent debate in the English House of Lords regarding trials by courtmartial; maintaining that the Civil Courts still had power to try such cases, that is, charges against civilians. Liam was acquitted. The

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evidence was flimsy and contradictory. A Major Magan of Dublin was President of the Court and he appeared rather lenient towards Liam O'Buachalla.

Last Saturday, in the train from Bantry, were two men. One, an old man, 76 years of age, a respectable-looking farmer; intelligent, good-humoured, talkative. He was speaking to a young man, and I listened. The old man's memory stretched back to the famine days when people died of hunger by the roadside. Bands of men went out at night time to seek food for their families, "and who would blame them if they took it from those who had it and would not give to the poor". He had no doubt but the English Government was responsible for the Famine, though the blight on the potatoes was God's will. Then he talked of the days of the Land War. "The Irish landlords were the worst men that ever cursed a country". They deserved their fate to be wiped out. His own father complained to his landlord of the high rent he had to pay. "'Tis not high enough", so said the landlord, "if it were, you could not wear that coat you have". His father was wearing a decent coat at the time. Landlords thought Irish farmers should only wear rags. But, the landlords had English law, police and soldiers on their side. They are gone now, thank God. Well, the English deserve anything they get now. The wheels turn and God knows how to punish the proud. The Germans are a great people to fight the world.

The younger man agreed with all and remarked: "You can't believe a word in the papers. No doubt, the men who own them are bribed to publish the news that is published." And so on.

(Two "pro-Germans" apparently, but their remarks are typical of many I hear on my train journeys.)

February 20th. Rumours of German submarines being seen off the coast near Youghal. News of a race into Cork Harbour by the "Lismore" of the Cork Steam Packet Company. The Newry

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Steamship Co., it is stated, is to fly the Irish flag on its vessels. The purpose is to influence Irish-American opinion against Germany should the Germans fire on the Irish flag.

Some sailors were in my compartment in the train last evening. One said he was in a ship of the fleet off Lough Swilly when the "Audacious" was torpedoed. The ship he was on had a narrow escape; was saved by being "skewed around". They saw the German submarine and saw the "Audacious" sink. They were cautioned not to speak of it. The sinking of the "Audacious" has been "officially" denied.

As a stimulant to recruiting in Ireland, much prominence is given in the papers today to the exploits of an Inchigeela man, named Mike O'Leary, who was awarded the Victoria Cross. He belongs to the Irish Guards.

FEBRUARY 22nd. A strenuous day yesterday (Sunday) with our Cork Óglaigh, in Donoughmore direction, taking part in fairly large-scale manoeuvres. It was interesting and no mere amusement or child's play, on this occasion. Some one hundred of our Cork troops took part and twenty of a Courtbrack corps.

Tom Curtin is now commandant of the Cork Corps and we were divided into four companies, each under a captain.

Ernest Blythe, whom I know by his writings in "Irish Freedom" and "Sinn Fein", was with us. He is now an organiser of the Óglaigh. He thought our numbers small for Cork. I think them good, considering all the circumstances.

The "Independent" today carries news of James Larkin. He was ordered out of Ireland by the military authorities on twenty-four hours' notice. He is not to be allowed back. If he come back and is caught he is to be deported again. There is a rumour that he has returned from America, disguised. Search has been made for him, but so far he has not been found.

Owing to trouble caused by Redmondite Hibernian representatives on St. Patrick's Day Celebration Committee of last year,

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by the introduction of politics, the Árd-Choiste of the Gaelic League has decided to organise this year's celebration itself. It means additional work for me, as secretary of the Árd Choiste

February 24th. A big "review" of Redmondite Volunteers is to be held in Dublin on Easter Sunday. Judging by press reports, scores of companies are being "manufactured" throughout the country. Resolutions of confidence in Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party are being carried. Some of the resolutions at those Volunteer meetings make curious reading. In normal times, they would appear ordinary. In present circumstances they seem very muddled. Political affairs are somewhat asleep at present, but the Volunteer meetings give an opportunity to Members of Parliament to touch on politics. The anti-Carson racket still works a little. Open threats of fighting him are not wanting. But, what puzzles is how the Redmondite Volunteers will be able to fight Carson's army if they all go to "the Front", as, according to their Leaders, it is their duty to; and why, seeing "Home Rule is on the Statute Book", "the victory won", and so on, it should be necessary to talk of fighting? Anyway, why is so little reliance, after all the assurances, placed in the goodwill of the English Government? Have not the leaders said: "England will be grateful" and will enforce the Home Rule Act, despite Carson's threats? There are loud protestations of loyalty to England, yet mistrust of England is expressed. In fact, some Redmond supporters seem to be preaching the "wicked" Sinn Féin doctrine that Ireland's only hope is in her own strength.

February 25th. Calling at the City Hall this morning to see the City Engineer regarding the erection of street names in Irish, I was accosted by a Mrs. Ahern: "What are you going to do about Jack?" she asked. I was a bit taken aback. Then I discovered she is the mother of Seán and P.S. O'Hegarty. She told me there was news in the morning newspapers that Sean had

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been arrested in Enniscorthy and taken to Dublin for trial by courtmartial. She said she would see a solicitor and I promised to find out what Dublin headquarters intend doing.

The charge preferred against him is stated to be "distributing seditious literature". Other reports state rifles, ammunition, dynamite, explosives and fuses were found in the house. The general impression is that he will be severely dealt with; yet, there are others who consider him "a fool to get into trouble"! After so many other cases, the seditious literature charge does not appear a grave one. Judging by debates in the English Lords and Commons these days, trial by jury is to be re-established. Possibly, Soan can claim this right, if he choose. Under the hurriedly passed Defence of the Realm Act, the military authorities were all powerful, up to the present.

February 26th. Another arrest in Enniscorthy reported: James Bolger. He did not inform the authorities that rifles etc. were kept in the house where he lodged. That is, he is charged with "not being an informer"! The house is Larry de Lacy's, editor of "The Irish Volunteer" before Eoin MacNeill took it over.

February 28th. A Limerick man, a Poor Law Guardian, has been fined £10 - reduced to 10/- - by a bench of magistrates for carrying a revolver without a licence! That is another "crime" very common in Ireland at present and has been since the Carsonites led the way in the bearing of arms.

After meeting of Gaelic League Ard Choiste last night, I called to Óglaigh H.Q., Fisher St. A squad was there preparing to take the last of the rifles and other equipment to the new headquarters in Sheares St. We marched through the streets with the rifles on our shoulders.

At Sheares St. I was called into a meeting of the Executive Committee and informed I had been co-opted a member of it. There was a hot discussion over a letter which Fasait had received from a young man in London, a Cork medical

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student, and which he had sent on to Eoin MacNeill with an invitation to the latter to come to Cork on St. Patrick's Day to review the Óglaigh. I had seen this letter in Fasait's office, but did not pay much attention to it, as, from my knowledge of the young man who wrote it, I did not take him seriously. His letter was in Irish and what he said was that there were plenty of Italian guns in London which the Oglaiigh could obtain and there were "certain people" who would help to get them over. (Germans, it was understood). Eoin MacNeill, it seemed, thought the letter a very foolish one, or else that it was a "plot" and, resenting its being sent to him, had not replied to the invitation to come to Cork.

March 2nd. William O'Brien's "Free Press", editorially has been, and is, pro-British and intensely anti-German. But today, it contains some very stirring pieces of verse, such as Father Ryan's "Green Flag", which are not very "conciliatory" towards Old England! It is a halfpenny paper now, so should have a good circulation in country districts.

"We'll battle the Briton through danger and dread  
Till the thrust of our steel and the shock of our lead  
Will prove to the foe that we meant what we said,  
That we'll lift up the Green and we'll tear down the Red".

Not much of "Conference, Conciliation and Consent" in such lines as these, published in the "Free Press".

March 3rd. "Cork Examiner" reports that the offices of "Scissors and Paste", in Middle Abbey St. Dublin, and of Mahon, the printer, were raided by military and police yesterday. "Scissors and Paste" is prohibited publication.

Alderman Condon, M.P., at a meeting of Redmondite Volunteers in Tipperary, says he has arms and ammunition in his home which he will give them for the Easter Sunday review in Dublin. His place will not be raided by police and military, such as de Lacy's place was. Nor will there be any such raids in the north to discover the arms of Carson's Volunteers, to which Mr. "A. Newman" (Herbert Pim) of Belfast draws attention in a letter to the press. Yet, Brigadier-General

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Hill says: "civilians can no longer bear arms in defence of the realm".

March 4th. A Mr. Fallon of Dublin, probable parliamentary candidate for mid-Cork constituency, at a meeting of the United Irish League in Bandon, yesterday, stated "the Volunteers are for the defence of Ireland and Ireland alone". He was referring to the Redmondite Volunteers. Yet, most of the Redmondite leaders are boasting of the numbers of these Volunteers who have joined the British army and thus proved that "Ireland is loyal". Things seem a bit mixed among the parliamentarians!

March 5th. Two meetings were held in the city yesterday, under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor Henry O'Shea. One was "to honour Michael O'Leary, V.C.", the other to form a Recruiting Committee for Cork city and county, so as to stimulate recruiting for the British. The recruiting meeting was attended by leading city business men. A military captain was also present. The majority of the business men are professing nationalists. An intensified campaign of recruiting is projected.

March 7th. In Dublin yesterday, at a meeting of a committee of the Technical Teachers' Association of which I am chairman: by chance, I met in O'Connell St. Sean MacDiarmada, Arthur Griffith and others. General impression from our conversations - Dublin is not at all as "West British" as one would infer from the newspapers. The nationalist forces there are strong; the Oglagh sound, and other nationalist anti-British organisations healthy.

Sean MacDiarmada thinks "a big case" will be made of Sean O'Hegarty's capture. Mr. T.M. Healy, M.P., has been engaged for his defence.

An instructor has been sent from Dublin H.Q. to conduct a week's course of military training of our Cork Corps of the Oglagh. (This was Captain O'Connell).

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March 9th. "The London Times" of today declares quite emphatically that it is not for Belgium's sake, nor for the sake of any other nation, but for its own sake, England is in the war against Germany. The pro-British in Ireland must be shocked! They have assured us it was "to defend small nations" England went to war, and so, it was a just and righteous war.

March 11th. Last week, as Secretary of the Gaelic League & Árd Choiste, I had a note from the Hon. Secretary of the "Cork City Regiment, Irish National Volunteers: Headquarters, Cornmarket. (President, Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P.)", to say the "Regiment" would take part in the St. Patrick's Day Demonstration. Today, he writes saying he made a mistake, they will not take part. In report of Árd Choiste meeting I sent to the press, I included some remarks of our chairman, Seoirse MacNiocaill, M.A., praising both bodies of Volunteers in Cork for coming together on St. Patrick's Day, under Gaelic League auspices. The Secretary of the Redmondite Volunteers also says he is writing to the press explaining why the "Regiment" cannot take part.

(I find that from this on, I refer to our Volunteers as "Fianna Fáil" as well as "Óglaigh".)

March 12th. A poster that our Oglagh Corps has got posted up, calling on young Irishmen to join the Volunteers, has been torn down, in places, by the police. There was nothing that could be termed "seditious" printed on it, but we are seeing curious actions done by the "authorities" these times.

The newspapers report today that O'Hegarty and Bolger are to be tried by a civil court, not by courtmartial.

March 15th. Collections for the Irish language fund at church gates yesterday realised more than last year. This, too, is a sign of the times: a quickening of national spirit in protest against the rant of imperialism. The "Freeman's Journal", the "National Volunteer", other Redmondite organs

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and most of the big men of the Parliamentarians have been attacking the Gaelic League, openly or covertly, for some time past. The attacks have stimulated supporters of the language movement to greater efforts to help the Gaelic League.

Captain "Ginger" O'Connell gave our Cork Corps an excellent talk last night in Sheares St. Hall. It was a review of the military situation in Europe, as disclosed by published dispatches and maps. The men are loud in praise of his course of training during the past week.

Recruiting meetings for the British army were held in the city yesterday, addressed by local business men. I heard thirty men promised to join up, as a result, but I doubt it.

March 16th. Mr. John E. Redmond spoke in Manchester on Sunday; still appealing for recruits for the British army. His statements regarding Ireland's duty to the Empire are not in accord with statements of John Dillon in Belfast on Sunday week. He also gave figures of the number of Irish recruits. These are not the same as given by British Ministers in Parliament.

Kuno Mayer's name was taken off the "Roll of Freeman" by Dublin Corporation yesterday, by 30 votes to 22.

Last week's issue of "The Irish Volunteer" was printed in Belfast. This week's issue will not be forthcoming. A paragraph in the "Independent" informs us that the military authorities there have "warned" the printers.

March 19th. The St. Patrick's Day Demonstration, under the auspices of the Gaelic League Árd Choiste was a huge success. Some consider the procession was as large as any seen in years past. The day being fine, there were immense crowds on the streets.

Our Óglaigh made a fine display, marching in military formation, some in Volunteer uniform. The City Corps was augmented by contingents from Blarney and Courtbrack. There

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were over 300 marching. "Croppy pikes" were carried by twenty or thirty.

The Redmondite Volunteers were not in the procession, but I heard that about 60 of them accompanied the Municipal procession to the Cathedral from the City Hall.

Eoin MacNeill arrived in Cork, Tuesday night (16th). There was a good muster of the Óglaigh to meet him. A public meeting was held, following his address to the Volunteers. It had not been advertised, so was not largely attended. His speech is well reported in the "Cork Free Press".

On St. Patrick's night, we had a dinner with him in the Imperial Hotel; that is, the Executive Committee of our Corps. Most of us were in uniform on the occasion. A number of English military officers were also in the hotel.

Eoin MacNeill informed us that the Government is considering taking over the Ulster and (Redmondite) National Volunteers as a territorial force for home service; thus "legalising" them. Some reports in the "Free Press" convey the same information. According to Eoin, John Redmond, in his Manchester speech, made a new offer to the Government, which means, in effect, offering his Volunteers as territorials. It is fairly certain many of his own followers will be surprised at his offer and will not be too desirous of becoming "territorials".

Probably an effort will then be made to disarm and suppress our Óglaigh. That will mean a fight, for resist we must unless we are to swallow all our declarations.

March 22nd. O'Hegarty and Bolger are to be tried by judge and jury, in accordance with terms of amendment to the Defence of the Realm Act passed last week. Larry de Lacy's name is mentioned in the charges, which are published in full; but he has evidently escaped. Summarised, the charges are - posting up "seditious" literature - (to wit, advising people not to leave their homes should the Germans land in Ireland, as the

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Germans will come as friends); having "seditious literature" in the house (this consists of articles published in "Irish Freedom", written by Sir Roger Casement and now in the pamphlet form); having arms, ammunition and explosives in the house; and not informing the authorities they were there.

Now, the charge of having arms and ammunition could be brought against many thousands of men in Ireland - Ulster, National (Redmondite) and Óglaigh Volunteers. It could have been brought against myself on St. Patrick's Day - I had a rifle on my shoulder in the public street on that day. We know it is "illegal"; yet a policeman helped me to keep the procession in order on that day! Was he condoning an illegal act?

Further recruiting meetings for the British army were held in Cork yesterday (Sunday). Among other speakers was one of the three Hibernians on our Provisional Volunteer Committee who forced the "split" of the Volunteers in Cork. He is now a "lieutenant" in the Redmondite "regiment". A prominent O'Brienite also spoke. Like Carson, Redmond and O'Brien, they could not unite for Ireland, but can unite for England!

A brother of one of our Volunteers passed a Civil Service examination recently, with honours. He was refused an appointment. Commenting on the circumstances, the London Correspondent of the "Cork Examiner" says: "evidently no more Sinn Féiners are to be accepted in the Civil Service". And, at home, some employers are endeavouring to force their employees into the British army.

A Post Office clerk in Waterford was arrested on Saturday on a charge of tearing down recruiting posters. Seditious! March 23rd. More "sedition"! Two tough characters were going over St. Patrick's Bridge. One of them went up to a recruiting agent and was taken to a recruiting office. The other followed. Number one was tested for his sight, which was found to be bad. The two then began to abuse the British army and the recruiters; denounced the government for the

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paltry separation allowances given to the dependents of soldiers, and finally assaulted the recruiting agent and the clerk in the office. They were brought up at the Police Court yesterday. The District Inspector of Police wants to make a case of "sedition" out of it! According to the recruiting agent the "boycos" said: "Why should they fight for England; what did England ever give them?"

March 24th. Another "pro-German" case at the Police Court yesterday. A young man shouted "Up the Kaiser" as he was passing a policeman on the street. Resident Magistrate Starkie, at the Court, said he ought to go to the country he had admiration for. "I'd get justice there anyhow", says the boy. He was placed in the dock at once. Finally, however, he was "bound to the peace".

Somewhat similar cases are being tried in many other parts of the country. The least expression of opinion, even uttered jocosely, is likely to land a man in Court; that is, any man who can be easily struck at. General French can pay a tribute (as he has done) to German bravery and German patriotism, but "Paddy Murphy" date not. It is not pro-Germanism" the authorities fear, but the old Irish spirit of resistance to English rule.

March 27th. Thomas Walsh "stated to be a native of Enniscorthy", at Dundalk Petty Sessions, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, for the following expressions, to which he gave utterance: "Speak the Irish language; if you are buying a pair of old boots, let them be Irish. Be Irishmen and not English, and I will advise you all not to join the British army". To a Captain Bellingham he is reported to have said: "Don't join the British army. Fight for your own country. Fight for Ireland. The British soldiers are the worst in the world".

"Home Rule is on the Statute Book"; "Ireland is the one

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bright spot". The Irishmen who have joined the British army are "the free gift of a free people". So say our "nationalist" leaders.

"Adjutant" Daunt of the Cork City (Redmondite) National Volunteers has a list in today's papers of "Officers and men" of that body who have joined the British army or navy. The first name on the list is that of Captain Maurice Talbot Crosbie! The second is Captain Roberts of Passage. The names of sixty others follow.

Commenting on the number, the "Cork Constitution" is quite unkind. Sixty-four, in all, it says, out of a thousand! Six per cent. and the list does not show how many were reservists. It might have said 64 out of 3000 or 4000; for when the supporters of Mr. Redmond left the Cork Corps Irish Volunteers and organised their own, we were told 4000 had "signed on" - "an overwhelming majority" against us, it was claimed. Actually, about 500 was the limit of "active" Volunteers in Cork city at any time.

Our own Óglaigh Military Council and Executive Committee, at the moment, seem to be taking things easy. An instance - an organising committee was formed recently. It worked. Sixty four recruits were secured for the Corps. When the recruits came to the hall there was no one to drill them! March 28th. A cutting from the "New York American" of Sunday, March 14th, has come into my hands. It had a large heading - "German paper tells of British plot to kidnap Sir R. Casement. Surpassing Dime Novel Fiction. Valet asked to betray him, says letter. Remarkable document alleged to have been sent to Sir Edward Grey accusing Minister to Norway of trying to bribe servant".

The paper carried the full text of the letter of Roger Casement in reference to the plot to have him assassinated, while passing through Norway. The letter had also been published in the "Berliner Fageblatt".

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March 31st. A controversy as to the number of Redmondite Volunteers in Cork who have joined the British army is continuing in the "Cork Constitution". "Adjutant" Daunt said yesterday that the Redmondite Volunteers in Cork "never numbered more than 500, of whom only about 300 were effective". He gives their case away completely in saying this. Naturally, some "Constitution" correspondent takes it up and expresses astonishment that all the previous statements regarding thousands of Redmondite Volunteers in Cork were so incorrect. He insinuates that this admission of "Adjutant" Daunt gives the truth regarding the Redmondite Volunteers all over the country, that the numbers were wildly exaggerated for political purposes.

The Church of Ireland Young Men's Association, having also been challenged in the course of the controversy, they give a long list of their members who have joined the British army.

Rumour says there was a row in Kilkenny between the Óglaigh and the police. The latter were beaten and the military had to be called out. It is stated in the press that the Royal Irish Constabulary police are to call to people's houses to urge young men to enlist in the army.

April 1st. The news regarding police calling to people's houses is "explained away" today. They are to call, so it is stated, to tell soldiers' wives and dependents about increased "separation allowances" to be given them!

April 2nd. Cork Board of Guardians adjourned yesterday without transacting any business. A Mr. John Dorgan, in rather outspoken language, complained of the number of unmarried mothers in the Union Hospital. He said the city was never in such a state, morally, as at present, owing to the presence of British soldiers and "officers of Kitchener's army".

The chairman, Mr. Michael McCarthy, called Dorgan a "pro-German" for saying this! Discussion was closed.

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April 3rd. William O'Brien is perturbed over the Review of the (Redmondite) National Volunteers to be held in Dublin tomorrow (Easter Sunday). What is the purpose? The greater the numbers taking part, the clearer it will be shown how many of the Redmondite men have not joined the British army.

Is it a mere display of strength? Is it a threat to Carson and the British Government? Is it to be a demonstration of loyalty to England? It is said they will carry rifles. This is "illegal" of course, under the ordinary law and under the Defence of the Realm Act. O'Hegarty and Bolger are in prison for such an "offence". Things are a bit confused in Ireland those times. A Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book of England, with the King's signature to it. An Amending Bill, to split up Ireland, is there also. A Suspension Act is somewhere near them and is the one actually in force. William O'Brien wants a new Bill, to be carried by Conciliation and Consent and prevent the mutilation of Ireland. Some Redmondite supporters are also speaking against the Amending Bill and the splitting of the country. While the wild group, called "Sinn Féiners" or "pro-Germans", distrust all English Governments, their "Acts" and "Bills" and stand for the old tradition - "The Irish Nation supreme in Ireland".

The law regarding the bearing of arms is defied by the Old English Garrison, by the new English Garrison, and by nationalists of the unconquered tradition. How will it all end? Withal, we go about our ordinary avocations serenely.

April 7th. The (Redmondite) National Volunteers Review was held on Sunday last, in Dublin. It has, naturally, aroused much newspaper comment. The numbers taking part are variously estimated; Mr. Redmond's own estimate of 20,000 to 25,000 being accepted mostly by the Unionist and English papers, whose purpose was to magnify the number of "stay-at-home" National Volunteers. The "Cork Free Press" correspondent most positively

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asserts the exact number was 10,000. There were no speeches, but Mr. Redmond was interviewed afterwards. He said there were 50,000 Irish Volunteers in the British Army - 25,000 National Volunteers and 25,000 Ulster Volunteers. Counting reservists, regulars, who joined pre-war, Irishmen from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the ends of the earth, there are, he says, a quarter of a million Irishmen fighting for England. He takes credit to himself and to Ireland for the lot!

A Convention was held on Monday: the first, of the Redmondite Volunteers. Redmond and Dillon spoke. It is not quite apparent even yet what the purpose of the Review was. Dillon is opposed to "partition" and is for fighting "Ulster". Redmond is not very explicit on this. Dillon expects, when the war is over, a big increase of veteran soldiers in the National Volunteers. (Does he expect the British army authorities will allow the National Volunteers to fight the Ulster Volunteers?)

There was nothing said about "Sinn Féiners", or "pro-Germans at the Convention.

The new recruiting campaign for the British army is having some results apparently. More recruits are joining up.

April 8th. The "O'Hegarty and Bolger case" is reported in the papers this morning. At preliminary trial yesterday, a "True Bill" was found against them by the Grand Jury.

The scene is Green Street Courthouse, Dublin. Mr. Justice Kenny occupies the bench. He congratulates the Grand Jury on the state of the city of Dublin. Only five small cases are to come before them; five trivial cases of larceny - an unusual record. ("All the blackguards are gone to the Front") is what the people say!

April 8th. "But, there is one unusual case for you to decide, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, a case under the Defence

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of the Realm Act". His Lordship explains the legal aspect of the case. He has the reputation of being a fair Judge. O'Hegarty and Bolger were found in the house of "a man named de Lacy". They were found sleeping together in one bed. In that bedroom and in an adjoining room was found - dynamite, gelignite, gelatine, fuses, ammunition, seditious pamphlets, and - a German dictionary! Both accused are charged in connection with those terrible things. But, O'Hegarty is also charged that he did write certain notices which were posted up in the district, advising people that they need not be afraid of the Germans should they come to Ireland, and advising them not to be alarmed at the police notices to quit their homes and land.

April 10th. Sean Hegarty was found "not guilty" on the charge connected with the explosives. He is to be tried again on the charge of writing "certain notices". Bolger is to be tried separately. Larry de Lacy is made to figure big as "the culprit". The whole affair has now dwindled to small dimensions. "The Crown" was out to uncover a conspiracy. It found none. I hear the newspapers were asked not to make too much of the case. The Liberal Government does not want it to appear there is "trouble" in Ireland.

Mike O'Leary, V.C., is being worked for all he is worth in the recruiting campaign; and for more than his worth. He has almost become a mythical hero; greater than Fionn Mac Cumhaill! Many curious stories are going round regarding him.

There is no doubt but the recruiting campaign is now producing results; in Cork city at least. The fact we should face is that the pro-British of Ireland are numerically as strong as those who are anti-British; perhaps stronger. And they have wealth and power and efficient organisations; press, publicity and force. It would be surprising if they did not obtain recruits for the British army. The "New Garrison" and the "Old" are at one in the drive.

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The present policy of the Oglagh is to drill, arm, become efficient and await developments. But, what if the Government strike and disarm us? What will be the end of it all? Freedom or further submergence of the Irish Nation?

April 11th. "Brutality of Germans. How they treat their prisoners. Protest by Sir Edward Grey". Such are headings in the "Independent". The British Government has issued a White Paper dealing with the treatment of prisoners of war. It appears the French and Russian prisoners are well treated; the English are not. As for Irish war prisoners, here is the report: "Major Vandeleur quotes a number of officers for the statement that all the Irishmen at his Camp were collected together and harangued by the Commandant, who stated that the Emperor was aware of the town-trodden state of Ireland, and now wishes that the Irishmen should be placed in a separate camp, where they would be better fed and treated differently from the Englishmen". The report adds: "Subsequently they went in a body to the Commandant and said they did not wish to have any different treatment from their compatriots".

How much truth is in all this?

Meeting of Oglagh Executive Committee last night. Complaints that few now attend drill practices or appear on parades; subscriptions are decreasing; there is only £20 in the Defence of Ireland Fund and little likelihood of making a collection for the Fund this year. The Battalion Council assert the Executive is only existing on sufferance; it has no part in the scheme of organisation drawn up by headquarters. There seem to be causes for complaint in general: a slackness; indecision. A policy of passivity seems to be the order of the leaders of the Volunteers at present.

April 12th. Cork Harbour and Berehaven are closed, as ports, by order of the British Admiralty and all lights that may be seen from the sea are prohibited around the whole Irish coast.

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Here is how the Great War appears in our daily newspapers and to our nationalist (?) public speakers: Principal actors - England v Germany; secondary actors - France v Germany; minor actors - Russia v Austria and Germany.

England is fighting for - 1. Belgium ("Poor Belgium; distressed Belgium; little Belgium; harassed Belgium"); 2. Religion; 3. Civilisation; 4. Small nationalities; 5. The World's freedom; 6. The Irish Language (Mr. T.M.Kettle); 7. Irish freedom (Recruiting speakers in Cork); 8. Home Rule (Recruiting speakers in Cork); 9. "Right over Might"; 10. "Ireland's beautiful churches, its homes, its women, its children"; 11. Freedom from taxation on land of Ireland; 12. Defence of Irish priests and nuns; 13. Land purchase; 14. Labourers' cottages.

April 14th: O'Hogarty's case was tried on Monday (12th). The jury, as anticipated, disagreed. His case and Bolger's are put back till June. Application for bail is to come on again. The "Daily Mail" calls it a serious case. The "Independent" terms it an "Irish State Trial".

Further trials reported: one in Belfast of a man who asked some questions in the course of conversation with a few sailors in a publichouse; another, in Tipperary, a man tore down recruiting posters; a third, in Cork city, a boy who made some remarks to an old recruiting sergeant, who was at one time a drummer in the Volunteers. Deserters from the army are being brought almost every day before Cork Police Court and handed over to the military authorities.

April 16th. Recruits for the British army are, no doubt, being secured, but, in my travels through the country, I find "public opinion" considers the recruiting campaign is failing; also, that England is not as strong as it was supposed to be. English prestige is lessened considerably in Irish minds.

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No one, for instance, believes that England could have stood up alone to Germany. Standing alone, it would have been smashed. That is the common opinion; but not in the newspapers.

April 18th. The young man who made some remarks to the recruiting sergoant (ex-drummer in the Volunteers) was tried at Cork Police Court yesterday and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. In the course of the case, a good deal was said about "the Sinn Fein Volunteers", "the Split", etc. Two of the magistrates disagreed with the verdict; one, an O'Brienite, the other, a son of Sir Edward Fitzgerald. The O'Brienite magistrate made a speech at which "there was applause in Court, which was immediately suppressed". He expressed the opinion the case should never have been brought on; it was too trivial.

The Chairman of the Bench, Starkie, R.M., said we must not joke about the war or about recruiting: 'tis a serious offence. The old recruiting sergoant swore he never belonged to the "Sinn Fein Volunteers" and that at the time of the "Split" he did not side with them. It was a false oath. As a matter of fact, he saved the flag of our Volunteer Corps from the A.O.H. "raids" the night they came to Fisher Street and stole our guns and band instruments. The young man who was sentenced was never in the Volunteers, nor in Sinn Féin, so far as I know.

In Limerick, a young man was charged with tearing down a recruiting poster, on which was a picture of Mr. William Redmond, M.P. The case was scouted out of court; the Crown witnesses contradicting each other.

Up in the north of Ireland, an old man was heavily fined for endeavouring to rescue his son from a recruiting agent.

Yesterday, my wife was speaking to an old country woman. A son of hers joined the army in Canada and had come to England with a Canadian Volunteer Force. The old woman was bewailing the disgrace of having a son of hers join "the English army".

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The son had come home. She knew first he was coming. She dared not tell the father. But, when she actually saw the son, in khaki, coming towards the house, she told the old man.

"He fell back in a weakness" at the thought of a son of his so disgracing the family. Her first greeting to the son was: "Oh! indeed, is this how you have treated us and after all we did for you?" So, she told my wife, and then said: "Sure, I suppose we'll never see him again, Glory be to God; but he'd be no credit to us now at home".

Another country woman, though of the money-making type and perturbed as to what would happen her bank account if the Germans win, says of her husband, who is much older than she and a "hard man" - "Wisha! he do be telling us that the English are only getting now what they deserve. He do be tracing "genealogies" about what the English did long ago and says "the devil's cure to them now"! Yet, he has his farm purchased; is pretty well off and has money in the bank.

In the train the other day, a schoolgirl who speaks Irish to me, asked me abruptly: "Mr. Roche, do you like soldiers?" I gently hinted to the contrary, so she vehemently declared she hated them. While she was expressing her ideas, two country women came into the compartment. One of them lectured the girl - "What would we do only for the soldiers? The Germans would kill us only for them; 'twas the soldiers were saving us" and so on. The young girl blushed, but said nothing. I must have looked amused when the harangue was finished; changing her tone, the woman addressed me and said - "Wisha, Sir, sure that's what they're saying. We don't know are the Germans so bad as they say; we never reads the papers; but they do be telling us only for the sojers we'd be all killed". My schoolgirl shrewdly remarked to me in a low tone: "'Twasn't herself was speaking first, but the whiskey!" Her volte-face was certainly amusing.

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There used to be, till recently, an election chorus in Cork, as follows:

"Up the Hollies, hurray, hurray!  
Up the Hollies, hurray!  
O'Brion will be shot and Home Rule will be got  
Up the Hollies, hurray!

Walking down by Ballintemple last evening, wife and myself heard the familiar air of this chorus, but the words now were:

"Up the Germans, hurray, hurray!  
Up the Germans, hurray!  
John Bull is near done; he is now on the run,  
Up the Germans, hurray!

Were the boys chanting this one before Mr. Starkie, he would probably give them six months' imprisonment.

In my journeyings by train, I meet soldiers home on furlough. Their news of the war and their views on it are interesting. One I met today (April 19th) had been in the fighting line at Mons and La Bassée. He had been wounded. He showed me the wound, now healed to a scar. Will have to go back; does not like the idea at all. It was awful at Mons; fearful, dreadful; murder and slaughter. They buried some of their men by walking over the dead bodies. The papers are not giving any of the truth about the slaughter. If they did, recruits would not be got. Hard on a man like himself to have to go out again when so many fellows in the new army want to go to the Front. German prisoners say they know Germany is beaten, but they will "give hell to the English" before the war is finished. Ireland ought to be better treated when the war is over; the Irish soldiers have done their share, first in the charge and last in retreat. He belonged to the Connaught Rangers.

April 21st: Evidence is accumulating that the police are watching the movements of "Sinn Feiners" closely. For what particular purpose at present is not clear. In Dumanaway, I was informed that my own movements are being looked into: whom I meet and whom I associate with. It is an honour: undeserved in my case!

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April 23rd. Bail was refused O'Hegarty and Bolger.

"The Crown" is again taking a serious view of the case against them. Mr. Justice Kenny made the curious statement that it depends upon where a prisoner is tried as to whether he is found guilty or not. (A suggestion that if they were tried in Belfast they would be convicted). Judge Dodd calls Sean O'Hegarty a criminal - "the more probable criminal" - and this before conviction.

April 25th. The Great War has contributed a good deal to the fund of humour there is in life in Ireland. The recruiting campaign supplies many humorous stories. The "shadowing" of Gaelic Leaguers, Sinn Feiners and Irish Volunteers by the police provides others. The war itself, ghastly as it is in many aspects, and the tall yarns of improbable deeds contribute their share.

Mike O'Leary's father was prevailed upon to speak at a recruiting meeting in Macroom recently. The poor man, of course did not know quite what to say, so apparently he made some queer remarks and then began denouncing England and the English, when he was stopped! So, many good stories are going the rounds.

All is not serene with the British Government. It is evident there are serious differences in high places. Prime Minister Asquith, last week, stated "all was well" with regard to the supply of war munitions. Lord Kitchener and Lloyd George had stated there was a serious shortage and that it is caused by "strikes and drink". Lloyd George has changed his attitude. He does not now agree with Asquith. There is a furore in the English press. The "Daily Mail" publishes matter that would be "seditious" in Ireland.

April 26th. Last night, at the house of a friend, I met the Councillor who was the chief mover in having the name of Professor Kuno Mayer taken off the Roll of Freemen of Cork city.

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A genial humbug! During the course of conversation he gave expression to the following opinions: "He hoped England would get a good thrashing in the war. The Germans were a great people; a 100 years ahead of all others in education. He would not ask any Irishman to join the English army and would not go on a recruiting platform. Ninety-five per cent. of the public men of Ireland were of the same opinion on this matter. He had no respect for King George V."

In public, the Councillor poses as a man thoroughly loyal to the King and to English interests!

April 30th. Chancellor Lloyd George, in the English Commons last night, outlined drastic measures to deal with the drink problem in England. He also prepared heavy tax duties on spirits and beer. These will affect Irish breweries and distilleries adversely. The drink interests in Ireland were already "up in arms" against the proposed increases. John Redmond protested against Lloyd George's taxation and then withdrew. The O'Brianite group forced a division in the Commons, the first in the British Parliament since the war began. They were, of course, outvoted. In fact, they stood alone, the Conservatives supporting the Liberal Government in the matter.

In the course of the debate, Lloyd George asked why should Ireland get any separate treatment from the rest of "the United Kingdom" (seeing the Irish leaders have declared Ireland is one with England in the war).

May 1st. The question of the taxation on drink is looming large in Ireland. There is much shouting and writing about the "injustice". But where is the injustice if Ireland be really a part of the United Kingdom and the Empire, as our leaders have declared it is? Yet, it is those who have been proclaiming loyalty who are now shouting loudest.

More Defence of the Realm cases. One in Cappoquin dismissed. "A drunken rowdy", as the evidence showed him to be, lodged a charge against a cooper in town, because the latter, citing Irish history, spoke of what the English did in Ireland in the past. A police sergeant swore the cooper was not a Sinn Féiner. The "rowdy one" quoted extracts from speeches from Messrs. John E. Redmond and John Dillon to justify himself.

The number of real Sinn Fein adherents in Ireland is small, but, I am now convinced, the majority of the Irish people are not pro-English; notwithstanding all the declarations of loyalty by the political leaders and the press. Evidence accumulates of the watchfulness of the police over the Uglagh. There is no interference with our personal liberty, but we are "shadowed from afar".

May 3rd. Still they grow - Realm Act cases. A farmer in Schull arrested for tearing down recruiting posters. A farmer elsewhere convicted for "uttering words likely to prejudice recruiting". Nasty words indeed: "To hell with England!" Will the Mayor of Limerick be prosecuted for uttering words "prejudicial to recruiting"? He uttered them at a public meeting in Cork City Hall last Saturday, called to protest against Lloyd George's taxes on drink. Lord Bandon, His Majesty's County Lieutenant, presided at the meeting. "Had we Home Rule, this could not happen", says Mr. Augustine Roche, M.P. But, it has been proclaimed from the housetops by the Parliamentary Party that we have Home Rule (on the Statute Book) and because of that, we should shed our blood for England! What a muddle it is!

T.P. O'Connor, Joseph Devlin, the Lord Mayor of Dublin and others were in Paris recently to assure the French people Ireland was with them in the war. They banquetted with M. Viviani: he who declared he "had put out the lights of heaven" in the schools of France; a "big noise" in the Grand

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Orient Freemason Order and one of the most determined anti-Catholics in the French Ministry. The war has produced queer combinations, but the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Grand Orient hand in hand is one of the queerest.

"T.P." is an admirable stage-manager. Some American papers came my way today. In the "Montreal Star" is an account of an "interview" "T.P.", as a journalist, had with Joseph Devlin, as a Member of Parliament. In the course of the "interview", "T.P." makes "J.D." say, in a tired sort of way - "There are no Sinn Féiners outside of Dublin and even there they are a very minute faction; more Larkinite than Sinn Féin".

May 5th: Chancellor Lloyd George introduced his Budget in the British Parliament yesterday. Along with the leaders of the Tory Party, William O'Brien and T.M. Healy, Mr. Redmond was critical of some of his proposals. By the force of public opinion in Ireland regarding taxation, he has been made to line up with the opposition to the Liberal Government.

Part of the Chancellor's statement is very interesting. He said "the Allies" must determine what part England is to play in the war. There are three courses for her: 1. To supply munitions and keep the seas clear. 2. To finance the Allies. 3. To raise a huge army. If England takes the third course, she cannot act on the first and second. He broadly hints the first and second are the part England wants to play. He says while there is need for more men for the army, they are not going to hamper work, industrial or productive, for the sake of a huge army. (That is, let Russians and French, Belgians and Serbians fight and sacrifice their lives. "Business as usual" must be England's motto!)

There was a cutting in the "Cork Free Press" from a Liverpool paper to the effect that Sir Roger Casement was to be nominated as Member of Parliament for College Green division, at present vacant. This is denied today from Sinn Féin sources in Dublin.

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J.J. Walsh, who was transferred from Cork to Bradford recently, has been dismissed from the Post Office Service in consequence of a letter he wrote to the Cork Corporation, protesting against the Freedom of the City being conferred upon Lord Lieutenant Wimborne.

In a private letter to Pasait, he says he is coming back to Cork. I doubt if he will be allowed. If allowed, he will be a marked man. There was criticism of his action in accepting the transfer to Bradford and then asking the Cork Óglaigh to protest against his transfer.

May 6th. "Huns off the Cork Coast" is a heading in the "Examiner" this morning. A ship was sunk by a German submarine off the Old Head of Kinsale. It is not the first one. German submarines, in fact, have been very active around the south and west coasts of Ireland.

A lady in Dublin was prosecuted for tearing down a recruiting poster. "Her glove caught in it" was her "explanation"! Not convicted.

Police are calling to all houses distributing leaflets dealing with soldiers' "separation allowances". A constable, with a half-apologetic attitude, handed one to me. He seemed to be in a great hurry.

May 7th. As I had anticipated, J.J. Walsh was not allowed to come to Cork. "Examiner" reports he was met at Mallow last evening by a military commander, Captain Dickie, by police and detectives. He was handed a document under Defence of the Realm Act regulations, giving a list of places where he may not reside. Cork, apparently, was on the list. He was ordered back to Dublin by the next train, under threat of immediate arrest. The report states he accepted the alternative and returned to Dublin.

The Cork Corps of the Óglaigh had gone to the Glanmire Terminus to meet him. They heard from passengers on the

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train that he had been arrested in Mallow. They then returned to Sheares St. and a public meeting of protest was held; very largely attended. Fasait made a strong speech, denouncing "the authorities" for their action and condemning the whole British regime in Ireland. He expects arrest in consequence.

Walsh would probably have been allowed to come to Cork but for the Óglaigh preparations for his reception. Captain Dickie and a detective named Young motored from Cork late in the evening to meet the train at Mallow.

11 p.m. Drimoleague. Rumour, wild, vague, mysterious, has it here this evening that the liner "Lusitania" has been attacked by a German submarine off the south coast. First account - she was sunk in nine minutes; 300 passengers drowned. Later account - she is being towed into Kinsale, having struck a mine. That seems false; a vessel of her size could not get into Kinsale Harbour.

Warning was given in America last week that she would be attacked, as her cargo included munitions. Our sapient newspapers, on "inspiration", dismissed this warning as German braggadocio. Now, rumour has it, the German submarine which was waiting for the "Lusitania" on the Cork south coast was itself rammed or destroyed in some mysterious way. What the Germans said they would do they have done.

May 8th. For once, rumour minimised. The story of the "Lusitania" is bigger than rumour had it. She was hit by torpedoes from a submarine yesterday, about 2.30 p.m., some 10 miles S.S.W. from the Old Head of Kinsale, in broad daylight, in a calm sea, with a clear sky. Estimated loss of lives, 1200; 600 or 700 supposed to be saved by various craft; numbers admitted to be yet inexact.

The action has created a huge sensation. The English papers are violent and wild. "America must come in now. America must join the Allies in the war". That is the cry.

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There is an air of suppressed excitement in Cork. A general question arises - "What is the English Fleet doing? Where was it yesterday? Are the English being beaten off the seas? For days past we all knew German submarines were a round the Cork coast. They had to come to surface, here and there. A story was told that the crew of one had chatted with the crew of a Waterford fishing boat and bought fish from them! Did the British Admiralty deliberately let the "Lusitania" unguarded in order to force the United States into the war against Germany? One of the Vanderbilt family is supposed to have been lost. Stocks have fallen. There is consternation in London; joy in Berlin.

Our Óglaigh are to have a concert in Cork Opera House tomorrow (Sunday). Fasait heard today that police called to the Manager of the Opera House requesting him to cancel the hiring agreement. Though an Englishman and a Conservative, he refused. Then they informed him they will have a force outside the Opera House "in case there should be a disturbance". I can hardly credit all this. There is no likelihood whatever of "a disturbance" unless the police themselves have instructions to create one. We live in exciting times.

May 9th. The impression that Germany will win the Great War is strong at present; a fortnight ago the opposite was the case. Such is the variation of public opinion.

The official organ of the Vatican had made a strong appeal to the Italian Government to keep Italy neutral; to remain at peace and make terms with Austria. Some of our Catholic "leaders" in Ireland must not like that. They want Italy to join "the allies" to beat "the Huns".

The Óglaigh concert was a huge success. I under-estimated the strength of the sympathy which exists in Cork for our Volunteer Corps. It was a pleasant surprise to see such a large attendance as there was. There was no interference and no display of police. J.L.F. must be an alarmist!

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Was speaking to Mrs. Sean O'Hegarty. She has been in Dublin for some time since Sean's arrest. She counsels prudence for all of us, if we are to retain our liberty.

May 10th. From the "Evening Echo" - "P.A. Foreign Special, New York, May 9th ..... "The only elements of the population (in the United States) venturing a feeble apology for the German policy are recently-arrived Germans and a few Irishmen - whose sympathies hark back to the Fenian days". (This was apropos the sinking of the "Lusitania".

May 11th. Coroner John J. Horgan, solicitor, and a Kinsale jury yesterday found a verdict of wilful murder against the Kaiser, the German Government and the submarine officers, after an inquest on some of the drowned of the "Lusitania". The jury acted on the coroner's advice and no doubt the coroner acted on the advice of "the authorities".

Coming in the train this morning were seven or eight Kinsale women - "pro-Germans" apparently, from their conversation, as "pro-German" is understood in Ireland. They seemed to lay the blame for the "Lusitania" affair at the door of the British Admiralty. They expressed astonishment at the capability of the Germans. "The English were too sure of themselves" said one. Another: "Father - says 'a lot we'd care what the English would get in the war if the Irish were out of it'".

A third: "The English were very bad to Ireland in the past; they're getting their reward now". And much more in the same strain. Which shows that the coroner's verdict does not express the opinion of all the people, even of Kinsale.

Many stories are being told regarding the visits of German submarine crews to villages on the coast and their conversations with crews of fishing boats. Most of them have a touch of humour. Members of one submarine crew came to land the other day; entered a publichouse, treated everyone and then took with them a barrel of porter! A "Cork Examiner" correspondent

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in Skibberreen relates that a submarine came into Castlehaven and spoke to men on the pier, telling them "to inform Sir Edward Grey (British Foreign Affairs Minister) that they had some surprises in store for him". No Irish fishing trawlers have been interfered with by the Germans while they have sunk trawlers on the east coast of England. There are no English warships around our coast and the patrol boats are unable to cope with submarines.

The captain of the "Lusitania" was one of those who gave evidence at an enquiry that Cork Harbour was not large enough to accommodate the liners of the Cunard Company. The Cunard Company boycotted Cork Harbour, as a result of the enquiry. Then, they influenced the Government to prevent German liners calling to the harbour and thwarted Sir Roger Casement's efforts May 12th.

All the propaganda, following the destruction of the "Lusitania" has, so far, failed to bring the United States into the war against Germany. President Woodrow Wilson is reported to have said: "There is such a thing as being too proud to fight. One's cause may be so right that one may scorn to resist attacks upon it". A cynic may say he says this because America is unable to fight at present. And opinion seems very divided in the States - pro-British and pro-German.

Yesterday, Bulmer Hobson published some letters in the "Independent" which show that no Civil Servants can belong to the Óglaigh - "the Volunteers under Mr. MacNeill's Committee". They may join Carson's or Redmond's.

May 14th. Mr. Laurence Ginnell, M.P. asked a question in the British House of Commons and Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, replied, to say Civil Servants cannot be members of the Irish Volunteers, as "Mr. MacNeill's Committee" is against recruiting for the British army. He could give no specific instances and had no evidence to show that "Mr. MacNeill's Committee" had spoken or acted against recruiting.

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President Wilson's statement about being "too proud to fight" has, naturally, been much ridiculed in England. As much consolation as possible is being drawn from a protest he has sent to the German Government.

May 17th. Mr. William O'Brien had a public meeting on the Grand Parade yesterday (Sunday) to crow over the defeat of Lloyd George's taxation proposals on the liquor trade in Ireland. Walking around with my wife, we stopped for a short time at the meeting. Though William himself was speaking, the meeting was remarkably undemonstrative.

"The Free Press" reports it in superlative style today; the "Examiner" dismisses it with half a column on a back page. In the "Press", I see my name mentioned as one of the audience, along with many others, Gaelic Leaguers, Sinn Feiners and even Redmondites!

One item of William's speech, as reported, is striking to me. It is, that "the day of the old leaders" in Ireland is over; "the day of the plain people has come". "The people" have asserted their power in the defeat of the taxes proposed, where "the leaders" were failing.

O'Brien did not say it, but the fact is, since the Volunteers were founded, new ideas are abroad, new minds active. New leaders will arise. New policies will appear. The day of Sinn Féin may yet come.

May 18th. Sean MacDiarmada has been arrested, after delivering a speech in Tuam. So the "Examiner" reports. No charge is stated.

A young man in Dublin was given fourteen days imprisonment for writing the words "Remember '98" across a recruiting poster.

A persistent rumour has been going round for the past week that Eamon O'Neill of Kinsale, or some member of his family, has been arrested, courtmartialled, even shot! for supplying the Germans with petrol. The rumour has spread far and wide, but Kinsale people tell me there is not a word of truth in it.

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Rumour is busy these times. It is easy to get one going.

May 19th. There is a political crisis in England, at the centre of government. It appears to have developed suddenly, though there have been indications of tension for some time past. The culmination is apparently in differences between Mr. Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, and the First Sea Lord, Fisher. The war has been too big a problem for the Liberal Government. Indications go to show that the crisis will be got over by a re-arrangement of the Cabinet and the formation of a Coalition Government of Liberals, Tories and probably Labour representatives. Tory criticism of the Liberal administration will thus be stopped. Strikes, riots and the open discontent which have been common recently will be sternly dealt with, no doubt. Changes bound to follow a Coalition are indicated. One is conscription. There is every likelihood now of a conscription Act being passed. Lord Kitchener says he wants 300,000 more men. He is unlikely to get that number on a voluntary basis. The solution is - conscription. England's prestige is shaken. The war is not going according to plan. It is not at all certain "the Allies" can win.

What England does to safeguard itself is not of consequence to Irish Nationalists, except in so far as actions taken by the British Government affect Ireland. And the formation of a Coalition Government will affect Ireland. Names hinted at, as members of such a coalition, include Sir Edward Carson and Lord Lansdowne. John E. Redmond's name has also been mentioned, but it is said he has declined to join the Cabinet. We may expect "coercion" and rigid enforcement of the "Roalm Act" from a Coalition Government; probably a disarming of the Óglaigh and of the Redmondite Volunteers, unless they take an Oath of Allegiance. Then, we may have conscription enforced when we are disarmed.

And what of the Home Rule the Redmondites wish for?

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May 20th. The Coalition Government in England seems to be a fait accompli, and Carson is a member of it!

The "Cork Examiner" favours Redmond joining the Cabinet, but London correspondents of the Irish papers say many members of the Parliamentary Party are opposed to such an idea.

Notwithstanding all the protestations of "loyalty", mistrust of the English appears to be in their minds. Some of the English papers consider the Coalition as "the end of the Radical Government". It probably means that. A week ago, Asquith declared a coalition "impossible and undesirable". Yesterday, he recanted. The "Daily Mail" practically calls Lord Kitchener himself a liar: his statements regarding the war situation and supplies of munitions on Tuesday do not correspond with statements made by him a month ago. Did any Irish paper say what the "Daily Mail" has said, it would be promptly suppressed. Colonel Lynch, M.P. called attention to the different treatment accorded to Irish and English papers by a question in the House of Commons. "No answer was given".

May 21st. The London correspondent of the "Examiner" writes: "The new Cabinet will be a National Cabinet. For an Irish member to accept a seat in the Cabinet would be to assert the national identity of England and Ireland and, therefore, to deny the national differentiation of the islands. But the whole argument for Home Rule depends upon the statement of this national differentiation. In the deepest sense, therefore, the presence of an Irish member in the new Cabinet would be a denial of the principle of Home Rule".

There was a fair here (in Drimoleague) yesterday. Recruiting agents attended and got three or four recruits; not sober. So, the man of the house where I say, an ex-policeman, tells me. He is surprised they got any, for the people, he says, do not like England, though the "Lusitania" sinking has changed the opinion of some regarding Germany. Coming down the street

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tonight, I heard a man, not quite sober either, shout "Up the Germans", evidently to annoy the police on patrol. They did not interfere with him.

Yet, the penalty for this "crime" in a recent case was six months' imprisonment, with hard labour! And no penalty was inflicted on a man who, recklessly driving a motor car, killed a girl.

According to a recent return, there are 10,287 police in Ireland. There are probably over 100,000 soldiers. A goodly number to keep us quiet, should we become "nasty".

From an economic point of view, we are not badly off. Prices are rising indeed, but this is to the advantage of the farmers. Food is plentiful. There is little unemployment. Emigration has almost ceased. And, the country is peaceful, notwithstanding D.O.R.A. operations.

May 22nd. I could not get a copy of the "Daily Mail" in Cork today. It has made a frontal attack on Lord Kitchener. "He is a failure; inept; effete. He is criminally wrong and hopelessly blundering. He must go!" No Irish suppressed paper said half as much "to hamper recruiting and the success of the British army" as the "Daily Mail" and the "London Times" have said. Kitchener and French are at loggerheads. Churchill and Fisher are at loggerheads. There is muddling and confusion at the heart of the British Empire. "England is done" - so one hears on many lips. "Tá réim Sheain Bhuidhe caithte" is what an Irish speaker said to me.

But "Seán Buidhe's" regime in Ireland is not finished. Friend J.L. Fasaitt has got notice from the military commander (Hill) at Queenstown to quit Cork county by Wednesday next (26th). He got it late last night. Detective Sergeant Young appears to have been the prime mover. The "Cork Constitution" had it displayed on its War Notice Board. So far, the line of action I have advised him to take is to obey the order, because of his wife and family.

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May 25th. Events rush and run and gallop. I can note only a few.

Saturday night (22nd) there was a meeting of the Executive of the Cork Óglaigh. Discussion at much length on the notice to Fasait. Some were for his "making a stand", getting a trial, fighting it out with the military authorities. The majority were in favour of his obeying the order. No decision was come to, one way or the other. He was not present himself.

In the course of the discussion, I learned that the evening papers had news of the arrest of my friend, Sean Milroy. He was arrested on Friday night. I had not known of it and, on Saturday afternoon, had sent a short note to Sean telling him of Fasait's notice of banishment from Cork. Milroy was arrested and lodged in Mountjoy because of a speech he delivered on the previous Sunday.

Whit Sunday (23rd). Accompanied by my wife and some friends, I went with out Cork Óglaigh to Limerick to take part in a hosting of the Volunteers. There were corps from many centres. There was a march through the city. It was a thrilling sight. I reckoned the number taking part was about 2000. Heard there was some slight disturbance while the men were passing "Irishtown" quarter: the "separation allowance" women viewing them unfavourably. We thought nothing of it.

After dinner, wife and I and two friends had a drive to Castleconnell. Coming back, our jarvey told us of disturbances at the railway station. We reached the station before 7 o'clock. A large crowd was there; an unruly crowd of women. Police in helmets guarded the entrance to the station. The gates were closed. We drove up, got into the station, but were not permitted by railway officials to board the train which was just leaving. There were confused and conflicting accounts of "riots"; stone-throwing; bottle-flinging; scuffles with police; with infuriated women, the soldiers' "ladies" of Irishtown; of

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fights for flags; of country corps breaking discipline and charging the crowd; of confusion and wounds. "Were the Corkmen safe?" "Oh, yes, the Corkmen marched through the crowd like seasoned soldiers and had entrained".

The Dublin men trooped into the station. They seemed a trifle excited and some did not appear as disciplined as might have been expected. They departed by train. Our little group of friends came out to the front of the station platform. The crowd outside the gates were being appealed to by a priest and the Mayor of Limerick. Said a man to me: "He is the most influential priest in Limerick, Sir, but has the reputation of being a Sinn Féiner and so can hardly influence that crowd". But the people were now quiet.

Had a word with Bulmer Hobson and Liam Mellows, who were on the platform also. We were all then ordered outside the gates. Our Cork train was not to leave till 11 o'clock. We had a walk around the city. Everything was quiet, so far as we saw. Two or three other Cork people joined us. We got back for the late train, came home by way of Limerick Junction, arriving in Cork at 3 o'clock in the morning - a glorious summer morning.

May 25th. Later accounts from those who were in it show that the "row" in Limerick was serious enough at times, got over by good temper and discipline on the part of the Volunteers; an affair now to be laughed at. "Cork Examiner" report is excellent: the reporter informed me he had orders to report impartially.

A meeting of the Executive of the Industrial Development Association, of which Fasait is secretary, was held today. George Crosbie presided. He was quite sympathetic to Fasait (who had gone to Queenstown to see the military commander). I offered to do the secretarial work during Fasait's absence

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- long or short. (I have been Hon. Secretary since the Association was founded in 1903). This was accepted, but, as I also am "suspect", it was agreed to appoint M.A. Ryan, nominally in Pasait's place. He is not connected with any political party.

George Crosbie thinks I will probably get "notice to quit" shortly. Also, he thinks many, if not most, of the industrialists who support the Association would rather see it broken up than support it with a "Sinn Féiner" as secretary.

Pasait saw a Captain Dickie at Queenstown. No charge would be formulated against him. He was not to be tried. If he did not obey the order, he would be forcibly taken outside Co. Cork. If he came back, he would be "interned" in a detention camp.

(In Dunmanway). A bank accountant, who stays in the hotel where I also put up, informed me that last Wednesday night the Head Constable of police himself "shadowed" me from the Technical School to the hotel, there having been some little neglect of duty by the police previously regarding my movements.

All hotel-keepers have now to give information to the police regarding people staying in the hotel. I had to fill up a form. The police were waiting downstairs for it.

May 26th. The names of the members of the new English (Coalition) Government appear in the newspapers this morning. It is predominantly Tory; though Asquith is still Prime Minister. To Irishmen, the spiciest bit of news is the appointment of Sir Edward Carson as Attorney General! He who defied all English law for the past few years is now chief law officer!

Redmond was offered a post in the Cabinet. He refused it. "The Party" have backed him up in this. But how does Home Rule stand now? Evidently the Party see all is not well. And what is their advice at this critical juncture? They remind the Irish people that self-reliance has always been the motto!

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Oh, ho! That is Sinn Féin! They remind us that "the success" of the Party's efforts has been due to independent action in Parliament. The man who dared say that not so long ago was a "factionist". They resolve to reorganise the United Irish League. So, back again to that, though "Home Rule is on the Statute Book of England". And so this is the end of Irish Parliamentary agitation for Home Rule. The end.

Fooled, tricked, humbugged by the English Liberal Government checkmated by the Tories and Orangemen. It should be clear as day to them now. And what can Ireland do? In the light of today's news, how wrong Redmond's and the Party's actions have been in connection with the Volunteers and Sinn Féin.

But, there's no use bemoaning the past. The harm is done, it was regrettable for poor Ireland's sake. We can only build again. The struggle now will be hard, very hard. Our best hope for Irish freedom lies now in England's defeat in the Great War.

May 27th. Lieutenant D.D. Sheehan, O'Brienite Member of Parliament, had a recruiting meeting here (in Drimoleague) yesterday. He got no recruits. The farmers' sons are wary and my ex-policeman host says it is because they hate England.

Resolutions of confidence in Mr. Redmond are being passed by branches of the United Irish League. Had he joined the British Cabinet they would have passed the same resolutions.

F.E. Smith ("Galloper Smith" of the Orange Volunteers) is Solicitor General. The old pro-British papers (Unionist) are jubilant over the composition of the Government; the new pro-British (Parliamentarian Nationalist) are, to put it vulgarly, "scratching their heads". Some English papers are also puzzled, it would seem. "John Bull", edited by one Horatio Bottomly, hints broadly at scandals; scandals in war contracts, scandal regarding the "Lusitania" and the absence of a convoy, and other scandals in high places. Bottomly says an apology is due to America and it seems the United States

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Government is demanding an explanation from Sir Edward Grey.

May 30th. The non-Sinn Féin members of the Industrial Association are willing, even anxious, I think, to send Fasait to the United States, on condition that he speak there on behalf of Irish industries and refrain from politics. A fund has been organised for this purpose. M.A. Ryan has written to him, asking him to consent to this action.

May 31st. Fasait has consented to go to America. George Crosbie (who is President of the Association), in a letter, laid down a condition that he is not "to preach pro-German or Sinn Féin principles". I protested to Ryan about any specific mention of Sinn Féin. Not to speak on political matters should be enough; entirely in keeping with the work of a representative of the Industrial Association, which is non-political. (And yet, only for Sinn Féin there would have been no Industrial Development Association!)

Meeting of Executive of the Association tonight; unusually large attendance. I was told the Hon. Treasurer, W.B. Harrington, wanted the Association to disown Fasait. This was not listened to, and it was decided to send him to America as representing the Association. After the meeting George Crosbie told me "the authorities" would let Fasait go, on the conditions mentioned in his own letter; otherwise they would not let him go.

Announced today that Hilroy and Sean MacDiarmada are to be tried at once. O'Hegarty and Bolger trial is also coming on. Also, Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested on Saturday last (29th). So, it goes on!

June 1st. There was a day in English history which they call "the Glorious First of June". Well, on this First of June, 1915, the news comes of the long-threatened Zeppelin air-raid on London, in the early hours of this morning. A very guarded statement appears in the papers and they are warned by the

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Press Bureau against publishing more than is officially sanctioned. So, the question arises: "What is happening in London?" What is happening? Rumours fly in all directions, painting lurid pictures of fires and destruction, wild rumours on the wings of the wind. Events crowd upon each other.

The times are exciting.

Another bit of news; of vital interest to the Redmondites. Mr. J.H. Campbell, a bitter Orangeman, legal adviser to Carson's "Ulster Provisional Government", is to be appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Even the tamest of the parliamentarians seem to be kicking at this. Now they seem to be getting some realisation of the fact that the Liberal Government of England, nominally pledged to Home Rule, is ended, and that the Orangemen and anti-Irish bigots are high in power again. The plums of office are plucked from the Redmondites. What a reward for their "loyalty" and all their efforts to secure recruits for the British army! Poor, deluded Irishmen.

"Oh! never fear for Ireland, for she has brave hearts still".

Cases under the Defence of the Realm Act mount up day by day. Some are interesting, some amusing, a few ludicrous. Also, day by day, the list of deserters from the British army mounts.

The "London Times" itself has been prosecuted under D.O.R.A. It had an article by a retired militia major in which it was stated the last French reserves had been called up and there were thousands of able-bodied "shirkers" in England.

There was a ridiculous case at Douglas Petty Sessions Court yesterday. On Whit Monday, a man on a bicycle passed a police sergeant and a constable and "uttered words" which the sergeant swore were "Remember Fawsitt", but which the man himself said were: "You have lost it" - meaning catching men who were playing bowls on the public road. So, the sergeant

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had him up for being drunk and disorderly! Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Bart., was Chairman of the Bench. In his wellknown fatherly way, he advised the young man: "Go home, boy: go with the times and leave Fawsitt and his like alone!" The case was dismissed. Naturally.

June 2nd. Cork (Board of Erin) Hibernians have passed resolutions: 1. A vote of confidence in Mr. Redmond. 2. Viewing with indignation the appointment of Sir Edward Carson as Chief Law Officer in England and the proposed appointment of Mr. J.H. Campbell as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. 3. Expressing renewed faith in "parliamentary agitation".

Cork City "Regiment of the National Volunteers" utters a protest at the organisation of a new Volunteer Corps in Cork; one on the lines of volunteer corps in England which have been recognised by the War Office. The officers of the "Regiment" state they were willing to do anything Lord Kitchener required, so there should be no need for a new formation, they think. Yet, their own Lord Mayor O'Shea presided at the meeting to form the new corps; which is a "classy" one and is formed of men too old to enlist in the regular British army, but who want to show their ultra loyalty to England.

Mr. Tom O'Donnell, M.P., and a Mr. O'Connell and many others of the "New English Garrison" have been saying "nasty" things about Sinn Féiners; such as that they ought be shot or imprisoned!

"Sinn Féiners" seem now to have sprung up all over Ireland, if the "New Garrison" men are to be believed. Yet, not so long ago the same men loudly denied there were any Sinn Féiners, except "an insignificant few in Dublin".

Prior to the Great War, Sinn Féin meant the policy of national self-reliance and passive resistance to English rule in Ireland, formulated by Arthur Griffith. Now, the term "Sinn Féiner" - alternatively, "pro-German" - which they use as a term

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of opprobrium - is applied by the old Unionists and the new Unionists, the followers of Mr. Redmond, to all who are not pro-British, to men of varying opinions on many subjects, but who put Ireland's interests before England's, or before the interests of the British Empire. And, I would say these now constitute half the population of Ireland.

June 3rd. Said farewell to Diarmuid Fasait today. He starts for America, via Liverpool, tomorrow.

There is a definite change of opinion among supporters of Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party. Even hitherto very tame men seem to be plucking up courage to criticise the English Liberal Government, consequent upon Carson and Smith being in the Cabinet. Even Mr. John Dillon says Prime Minister Asquith has not shown any reason why the Coalition should have been formed. There is a hint of conscription, as recruits for the army are not being got in the numbers required. Opposition to the idea is strong; very strong in Ireland; advocated only by the "Old Garrison Party". Our parliamentarians are in a bewildered state of mind.

Sean Milroy and Sean MacDiarmuid were brought for trial before a magistrate in Dublin yesterday. T.M. Healy, K.C., engaged for the defence. He asked for an adjournment. The Crown Prosecutor opposed. But Mahony, R.M., granted "Tim's" request.

A man at a recruiting meeting in King's County asked: "What did the English do to Irish priests in '98?" "Sim Feinism"; pro-Germanism". A policeman took charge of him.

June 4th. Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, made an "eloquent" speech at Manchester yesterday. He foreshadows conscription - when the Government deems it advisable.

An interesting article appears in the "Examiner" today, copied from the "Irish News" Belfast. It has verbatim extracts of pro-German utterances of Carson and other Orangemen prior to

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the war. But now, they are the "governors of the Realm" and it is a "crime" for an Irish Nationalist to speak as they spoke.

June 5th. Though "Sinn Féin" and other papers have been suppressed, there is again no lack of patriotic literature. There are "Tracts for the Times" published by Óglaigh headquarters; "The Volunteer", run by Eoin MacNeill; "The Catholic Bulletin"; the halfpenny "Spark", openly seditious. "The Leader" while not Sinn Féin, is not pro-British. There is a little sheet called "Na bac leis". And, I learn today, that James Connolly has a new workers' paper going: "The Workers' Republic". And, a few of the bolder parliamentarians are publishing letters in the "Independent" strongly critical of the Coalition Government and commenting on the suicide of the Liberal Ministry.

A question is arising in some minds - Does the English Government wish to drive us (the Óglaigh) into insurrection? A partial and easily suppressed rising would give them an excuse for breaking all their promises regarding Home Rule and an excuse for martial law.

June 6th. At Executive meeting of Cork Óglaigh last night there was a long discussion anent Fiasait's departure for America. Some criticised him severely; others approved of his action. There is no general order or advice as to what should be done. If leading men are to be taken up, imprisoned or deported one by one, what is to be done? Resist or submit? No decision arrived at.

June 8th. Sean O'Hegarty is free. He was acquitted after trial before Mr. Justice Dodd and a jury in Dublin yesterday, Tim Eoaly, M.P. defending. The jury was not "packed".

The English Parliament met yesterday. John Dillon made what is termed "a militant speech" against the Government. He spoke of newspapers being suppressed in Ireland for publishing matter far less damaging to the war effort than that "The Times" and "The Daily Mail" have published.

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At the time of the suppression of "those miserable rags", as Redmond called them, John professed gladness. It is said the Cabinet is split over the Campbell job and that Wimborne is to go from the Lord Lieutenancy. Does the English Government mind what our parliamentarians say?

We must not joke about recruiting. It is a serious offence. The Resident Magistrate in Tralee gave a stern warning to this effect, in a case brought before him.

June 9th. The Irish Parliamentary Party say conscription will meet with their strenuous opposition. They think it unnecessary. They denounce those who are interfering with voluntary recruiting for the British army. This attitude towards conscription is, of course, due to the driving power of Irish public opinion and they must know conscription would be forcibly resisted while the Óglaigh remain.

June 10th. Trials of Milroy, MacDiarmada and Sheehy-Skeffington took place yesterday before Mahony, R.M. at Green St. Courthouse, Dublin. Milroy's case adjourned to ascertain what the practice is, in England, in some legal aspects of the case. T.H. Healy defended and referred to Carson, his illegal gun-running and the like. Poor Sean MacDiarmada got four months with hard labour. Hard on him, indeed, as he is not robust. His is a dauntless soul in a frail body. Skeffington got six months, hard. In the eyes of Mahony, he aggravated the matter by glorying in what he said, for which he is charged. He made an excellent statement before sentence. He announced he would go on "hunger-strike" on the lines of the suffragettes. There was "great applause" in Court at this announcement. There was "convulsion in Court" at Sean MacDiarmada's sentence.

Answering Laurence Ginnell, M.P., in the British Parliament on Tuesday, Chief Secretary Birrell stated that 50 men had been sentenced under D.O.E.A. in Ireland since the war began. There are others in custody unsentenced. Some very stinging

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questions are also being asked about the difference in practice in England as compared with Ireland; different treatment noted out to Irish and English papers; differences of treatment to Carsonites and to Irish Nationalists. All Ireland knows there is one law for the "mere Irish" and another for the pro-British in Ireland.

There is a very general feeling among sections of the parliamentarians that Ireland has been "sold" by Asquith and the late Liberal Government. "New Ireland", a Redmondite weekly, recently founded, this week puts it bluntly that "Home Rule is dead" and it advocates a re-uniting of the Volunteers. Its first number, a few weeks ago, had the benediction of John E. Redmond himself. Now, it is speaking as any "miserable pro-German rag" may speak. Truly, the parliamentarians are in a muddle.

William O'Brien wants "the people" to lead themselves. But William and his Lieutenant, D.D. Sheehan, M.P. have done their utmost to get as many of "the people" as possible to join the British Army. The pity of it all!

But the English Coalition Government seems to be in as big a muddle as our parliamentarians. Its members cannot agree among themselves even in the midst of a Great War.

June 11th. The "Campbell affair" is settled on the lines of a compromise. Campbell is given another post. An Orange-Unionist, Gordon, is made Attorney General for Ireland. Wimborne remains as Lord Lieutenant and Birrell as Chief Secretary.

The Irish Parliamentary Party congratulate themselves on knocking Campbell out of the Chancellorship; state that, in view of "the Act on the Statute Book" the principle of Coalition should not be extended to Ireland; "in view of the extraordinary dangers of the present crisis" they "abstain from taking any hostile action against the new Government" and declare all is

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well with the Home Rule Act. It will come "into operation on the conclusion of the war", "provided always that in the meantime the people perfect and keep intact the national organisation and preserve the essential unity of the country". That is their "assured conviction". They further declare: "In our opinion the only real enemies of Home Rule today are those professing nationalists who create feelings of panic and seem desirous in a moment of difficulty to weaken the hands of the national leaders and to discredit and injure the National Party and the national organisation".

So, this is the highest wisdom of the Irish Parliamentary Party. All is well.

Among others, the Limerick County Council must now be branded as "real enemies of Home Rule". At a meeting yesterday, a Councillor Barnett said: "recent history showed that they were too ready to respond to the demands of the English tax-gatherers by submitting to the increased taxation of this country in the hope that English promises - always broken - would be fulfilled. These promises were broken now ..... Public spirit was re-awakening and there were men in Ireland still prepared to do something for the sake of nationality". (At which there was applause).

The Chairman (Gubbins, J.P.) - "What the Irish people should have done at the outbreak of the war last August was to demand a substantial Home Rule Bill, without an Amending Bill, and on that condition promise the Government enough recruits. They should have gone further and stipulated that if a Home Rule Bill of that nature was not given they would call upon their representatives to withdraw from Parliament and promise no assistance in the way of recruiting.

Mr. O'Shughnessy: ..... "the Government might force them to resort to old times. There was a limit to human endurance". (Further applause).

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All of which reeks of "Sinn Feinism" and is a "crime" under the Defence of the Realm Act!

General Friend has prohibited the erection of a tablet at Bachelors Walk, Dublin, to commemorate the shooting of citizens by British soldiers there last July. It would "interfere with recruiting".

There is some suggestion, from some source, of reuniting the Óglaigh and the (Redmondite) National Volunteers. Desirable, if possible. But it cannot be unless the Redmondite Volunteers abandon their attitude of loyalty to England through thick and thin. Their President has pledged them to England and the Empire.

In Cork, the Óglaigh are not strong in numbers, but are stronger than the Redmondites. These have almost ceased to exist as a force. The Redmondite leaders counted on overwhelming our Volunteers, or smashing them. They did not succeed.

June 12th. Lt Sean O'Hegarty in Patrick St. today. Was at Sheares St. Hall last night and is going to Ballinacary tomorrow where, within a radius of ten miles, he is at liberty.

Mr. Lloyd George appears to be aiming at the Premiership in Britain. He is a pushing man and is likely to win, backed by the Tories. Asquith is likely to be "pushed". What will the Irish Parliamentary Party then have to say regarding Home Rule?

The United Irish League in Cork last night almost apologised (to the British Government) for the Party's attitude on conscription. It was stated by some of the principals that, if the Government considered it necessary for the safety of the Empire to enact conscription, they (the United Irish League of Cork) were sure the Irish people would gladly acquiesce!

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Colonel Maurice Moore "reviewed" the remnant of the Redmondite Volunteers in the Cornmarket last night. Captain John J. Horgan, solicitor, apologised for the small number. He explained it by saying that for every man there, there were two comrades "at the front". Fifty per cent. of those present were too old to enlist. "They will keep the organisation going till their comrades return from the war".

Alas for the return! It is reported that at the Dardanelles, as at Mons, Irish regiments - Dublin and Munster Fusiliers - were in the forefront and were decimated. The Ulster Division is still in Ulster.

June 14th. At meeting of Executive of the Óglaigh yesterday morning, Terence MacSwiney was elected chairman. There was another long discussion on binding the military and civil officers of the corps to remain in Ireland; or be guided by headquarters' decision on the matter. The question arose primarily over the going away of J.J. Walsh and Pasait. The officers were willing to be bound, so it was carried as a decision of our Executive.

After the meeting, we went on a route march, about 20 miles in Cloghroe direction. There were about 30 marching and 12 or 14 cyclists. It was a broiling day. Being acquainted with some people in the district, I had a chat with some young men about forming a Volunteer Corps. It is difficult to get country boys to take an initiative. I urged it would be for their own preservation, if conscription were to be applied to Ireland.

Lloyd George is certainly in favour of conscription. He will be Prime Minister shortly and head of a Coalition Party. Such a party will be under no obligation to make Home Rule operative. It may not repudiate it altogether, but will partition Ireland by the Amending Bill. And it may force a premature rebellion in Ireland, which could be made an excuse for dropping Home Rule and framing an argument that the Irish people themselves killed Home Rule. The rebellion, should it

STATEMENT OF LIAM DE ROISTE.

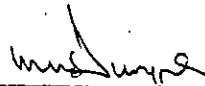
CERTIFICATE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU.

This statement by Liam de Roiste consists of 385 pages, signed on the last page by him.

Owing to its bulk it has not been possible for the Bureau, with the appliances at its disposal, to bind it in one piece, and it has, therefore, for convenience in stitching, been separated into two sections, the first, consisting of pages 1-199, and the other, of pages 200-385, inclusive. The separation into two sections has no other significance.

The break between the two sections occurs in the middle of a sentence, the last words in section I, on page 199, being "should be", and the first in section II, on page 200, being "be forced".

A certificate in these terms, signed by me as Director of the Bureau, is bound into each of the two parts.



DIRECTOR.

(H. McDunphy)

27th November, 1957.

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BUIO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 1698

ROINN



COSANTA.

Pt II

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1698.

**Witness**

Liam de Róiste,

No. 2 Janemount, Sunday's Well, Cork.

**Identity.**

Member, Coiste Gnotha, Gaelic League.

Member, Dáil Éireann, 1918-1923.

**Subject.**

National Activities, 1899-1918.

Irish Volunteers, Cork City, 1913-1918.

**Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.**

Nil

File No S. 452.

Form B.S.M. 2

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be forced, will be branded as a "Sinn Fein" "pro-German" one, financed by "German gold", so as to alienate Redmondite and O'Brienite sympathy and confuse the facts and issues in Ireland and abroad. I am not alone in my opinion, I find. Letters in the "Irish Independent" hint that there may be "another '98" in Ireland.

The real Sinn Féin policy of past years - national self-reliance - was the wise one to prepare for Ireland's freedom as against the futile policy of parliamentarianism. But, the majority of the Irish people followed the Parliamentary Party. The Sinn Féin attitude will be justified, but it may be too late.

June 16th. Sheehy-Skeffington has been released under the "Cat and Mouse" Act. He is reported as being very weak after hunger strike.

Sean MacDiarmuda is in hospital, it is stated. Sean Milroy is being tried today. I learn he is in good health and spirits. Prosecutions still continue - two in Belfast, two in Galway, one in Tralee reported today.

A Mr. Lundon, M.P., Co. Limerick, says the chief concern of English politicians is "jobs, jobs, jobs"!

June 17th. Sean Milroy got three months with hard labour. The Magistrate, Mahony, said: "Mr. Milroy was an intelligent and honourable man, but mistaken in his policy". (So. three months, hard). From "Independent" report: "Mr. Milroy, when sentenced, struck the rail of the dock with his hand and said to the magistrate: "You have power to send me to jail, but you have no power to make me a criminal". The remark elicited applause in Court "which was immediately silenced". (Cheer up, Seán! We shall yet win).

June 18th. At its meeting yesterday, the County Cork Technical Instruction Committee adopted a curious procedure, ostensibly to cut down expenditure. It decided to dismiss its four Commercial Teachers:- John Cummins, Terence MacSwiney,

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C.P. McCarthy and myself, and, later on, to reappoint three of the four. Who is to go? Cummins is six or seven years in the service of the Committee; I am four and a half; Terence about three, and McCarthy, nine months.

June 20th. "New Ireland" though supporting the Parliamentary Party, this week strongly emphasises the fact that the suspension of the Home Rule Act lasts only till September 17th next. If by that time the Great War has not ended, "His Majesty by Order in Council" must further postpone the operation of the Act. The paper urges that Ireland press for putting the Act into operation in September. A good idea, I think. But, it should be the Act for all Ireland. There should be no breaking up of Irish Territory. If the Coalition Government repudiates the obligation to put the Act into force, the Irish people in general should know where they stand. Carson and "Ulster" will yet be the cause of smashing the British Empire. They have done a great deal to arouse a nationalist spirit in Ireland. They will do more. If Eoin MacNeill should take up the idea of "New Ireland" he would make a great score, whichever way the result went.

"New Ireland" also states it is "credibly informed that within the last ten days between three and four hundred men have joined Mr. MacNeill's Volunteers in Dublin alone, and that the Irish Volunteers - far more than the National Volunteers - are recruiting faster than ever before".

There are obvious reasons for this and many evidences of it. The popularity of "seditious literature" is one sign. Anything savouring of "sedition" is eagerly sought after. And, notwithstanding the suppressions, many other "seditious" papers are being published. "Nationality", edited by Griffith, is out this week. The general tone is humorous and sarcastic; laughter at John Bull, sarcasm regarding his "good" intentions.

The "Cork Free Press" ceased publication as a daily

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yesterday. It went out with a sigh. The "old men" could do no more. The fate of Ireland is now in the hands of the young men. True for Mr. William O'Brien. And the young men are not doing badly for Ireland - going to jail, facing many threats, losing their positions, being shadowed by police, being denounced by the pro-British; also, thinking, writing, working, arming and drilling; even speaking publicly, though D.O.R.A. threatens them. Irish nationalism seemed to have been submerged last August. There is no fear of it now. It will survive and conquer.

June 23rd. Letters, showing the questionings in many minds regarding Home Rule, the intentions of the British Government in respect of Ireland, the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and so on, are appearing in the papers. One such from a Father Holland was in the "Examiner" yesterday. His conclusion was - armed Volunteers, whether Redmondite, O'Brienite or Sinn Séin, were Ireland's only safeguard now.

And what is now penetrating the minds of the "New Garrison" is that the recruits from the south, overwhelmingly Catholic, are being sent to the war fronts with celerity, while the Orange regiments of the north are being kept at home.

June 24th. A short article of mine, signed "Seanachán", which I sent to the Dublin "Leader", is published in that paper this week. It was inspired by the suggestion in "New Ireland" that a demand be made for having the Home Rule Act put into force in September. Not that I like the paltry thing, but to make the demand is a challenge to Redmond and his Party and to the British Government. Ireland has been told the war is being fought on the English-French side for "the rights of small nations". Last year, Mr. Redmond said: "It is a time to test men's souls". Well, here now is a test for Mr. Redmond and the British Government.

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June 28th. "Huns" off the Cork coast - south of Youghal - yesterday. Several ships torpedoed, it is said. The cross-channel steamer "Lismore" had a narrow escape. This seems to tally with the tale of a tramp in Castletownbere last week - he is now in Cork County Jail - who told a romantic story in a publichouse of how he was drinking with a German submarine crew in Waterville and was informed by them the Germans were to land a force in Youghal shortly!

A "National Register" Bill is being introduced in the British Commons. This is, of course, preliminary to some form of conscription. Will it apply to Ireland? All Ireland has practically sworn against conscription. Its enforcement here will mean a fight.

Had a note from my friend, Fasait, written on board the liner in New York Harbour, a fortnight ago.

June 30th. O'Donovan Rossa is dead. A brave old man. An indomitable spirit. Ten years ago he was here and I found him a likeable man; humorous, simple, with a fund of stories which he told in Irish or in simple country-idiom English. Beannacht Dé le n-a anam.

Three men in Belfast - one a solicitor - were sentenced, under D.O.R.A., one to six months, the other two to three months' imprisonment for toasting in a bar: "To hell with the British Empire and the English Crown".

The "Evening Echo" lifts from the "Daily Chronicle" portion of an article which appeared in some Berlin papers on the situation in Ireland. The article is highly coloured but, in substance, true. For instance, it is stated Ireland is under martial law. Technically incorrect, but actually, for large areas, under the Defence of the Realm Act, it may be termed martial law administration.

July 4th. Friday night (July 1st) our Cork Óglaigh carried out some military operations in Bishopstown district.

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Today they are gone to Blarney to meet Courtbrack and Blarney corps. though the latter corps, as such, has been "suppressed". News is now coming of the formation of other country corps. Ballinadee, near Bandon, has an excellent corps; Courtbrack is considered good, while Cloghroe and Kilmona are being formed. The general prospect for others is reported bright.

Judging by debates and questions in the English Parliament and articles in English papers and reviews, there is bungling and incompetency; there are violent disagreements in high places in England. Inefficiency is acknowledged and a shortage of munitions for the army. It is almost beyond credence to those who had implicit trust in England's invincibility and who were overawed by England's prestige.

"Ah! but", a friend of mine, an old man whose one great desire is to see England get a good hammering, says, "they have the devil's luck. They will win because they have the wealth".

In figures, England appears very wealthy. And we have been taught it is the wealthiest country in the world and that the resources of the Empire are stupendous. But, how much of the wealth is paper? Frantic appeals are being made to the people to economise, to save, to hoard. This shows how insecure the "paper wealth" is. Parsimony is being lauded as a virtue. Income is but a fraction of war expenditure. Foreign investments cannot be easily liquidated now. The new war loan will only mean changing one kind of paper for another. High interest is offered. Money capital will be withdrawn from productive industries and the product of war industries will be blown away unproductively. The war is destroying a large portion of England's real wealth: tangible things. The paper money must necessarily decrease in value; devaluation of the currency. For England, the outlook is anything but cheerful.

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A man named Downey of Tower, Blarney, has got two months in jail for talking too much in a railway carriage in which there was a policeman in plain clothes. He told a lady in a carriage not to believe all that was in the papers about Germany. He went further and said the English murdered priests, women and children in Ireland in times gone by. Rank "sedition" to recall history like that. So, O'Hara, R.M. sent Downey to jail for two months.

A man of Larkin's Citizen Army in Dublin was "up" for having a rifle and ammunition in his possession. His solicitor naturally pointed out that if the man were a "criminal" for that thousands of men in Ireland were "criminals" for a similar offence. He pointed out that thousands carried rifles, with ammunition presumably, at Redmond's review in Dublin, Easter Sunday. No action had been taken against them. The argument did not avail.

It is reported, apparently with truth, that the British Government have "borrowed" rifles from Carson's Volunteers: "illegal rifles". A Citizen Army man may go to jail; Carson is made a Cabinet Minister.

John E. Redmond is getting old and tired. So I conclude from some speeches he has been making at banquets in Dublin recently. He has taken to telling stories; one of them how he was offered the job of Cabinet Minister, the last stages of the offer being that an emissary from Dublin Castle hunted him through the country, came upon him at two o'clock in the morning, and how his cook, "poor old soul", slammed the door in the emissary's face, "thinking of old times".

There are many in Ireland "thinking of old times", but Mr. Redmond does not seem to know it. All he has to say of Ireland's position now is - Don't criticise, don't cavil, don't think; trust the Party; trust the Government; all goes well; Home Rule is certain at the end of the war. Simple, trustful John E. Redmond!

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He also says: "Up to June 16th, 120,741 from Ireland had gone to the army. Of these, 71,494 were Catholics and 49,247 Protestants. 24,871 were "Irish National Volunteers".

The Hamburg "Fremdenblatt" has a different view of Ireland to that of Mr. Redmond's. Here is an extract from an article in it, published in the "Irish Independent" yesterday, July 3rd. "Today, with faltering steps, Ireland is seeking her place among the first-born of Mother Earth. Those steps, so faltering at this moment, will before long be guided and supported by Germany, who has set herself the task of liberating this people from its enslavement .... do not fear, people of the green island, your deliverance is at hand. Germany is awake".

Portion of the "New York Times" of June 15th reached me today. It was sent by Fasait. The major portion is missing, purloined by the Censor, I suppose. There are, however, accounts of the sinking of British ships, including battleships, by German submarines. It says the English blockade of Germany is to be tightened. Presumably the German blockade of England will also be "tightened".

July 5th. The "Irish Volunteer" of Saturday reports a speech of Eoin MacNeill. He asserts he has details of a plot by the English Government to set the Orangemen of the north on the Catholics, so as to cover their perfidy in respect of Home Rule.

A copy of New York "Irish World" of June 19th came my way. Accounts of the prosecutions in Ireland under D.O.R.A. are given much prominence. The account of Fasait being ordered out of Cork is given. Judged by the "Irish World" the overwhelming majority of Irish-Americans are "pro-German", not in the Irish sense of the term, but absolutely in favour of a German victory in the war.

Yesterday, got a pencilled note from Seán Milroy, written

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in the Bridewell after his conviction. There was a delay in delivery. Advises me "to keep out of jail, if possible"! Yet, "to keep the flag flying". The Old Celtic Literary Society of Cork has much to answer for, he says. (Certes: it kept the old flag flying in unpromising times. The seed then sown is now growing goodly crops that are ripening in the fulness of time).

July 8th. The "Leader" this week has a note referring to my article in its issue of June 26th, stating: "We now learn that a member of the Dublin Corporation has taken up this matter and forty members have signed a requisition for a special meeting at which this resolution is to be proposed and discussed". My suggested resolution was: "We demand, as the right of the Irish Nation, that the Home Rule Act, agreed to and accepted by the English Government and signed by His Majesty, King George V, be put into operation for all Ireland on September 17th next". If the Dublin Corporation carry this resolution and send it to other bodies, there will be some vigorous thinking and vigorous talking. Home Rule is not my idea of Irish freedom, but the resolution may put some backbone into the parliamentarians.

"New Ireland" is still strong on the idea and the "Leader" has now made it its own.

July 9th: The Registration Bill has passed the English Commons. It is optional as regards Ireland. Chief Secretary Birrell said: "the Irish Government had already all the information necessary to fill up the Register, as it knew practically everything about the individual Irishman that is required". We know it well. The spy system is excellent, from the English Government's point of view. Carson said the Lord Lieutenant has power to apply the measure to Ireland, or any part of it, he desire. Consequently, Orange amendments were withdrawn. "Ulster" can come into accord with "the rest

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of the Kingdom". (That was not what the Orange members wanted, but the coercion of the rest of Ireland).

July 12th. In Ballingearry yesterday at a meeting of Colaisde na Mumhan Committee. Went by car from Macroom. Coming back, nearing Kilbarry, a man - ordinary small farmer type - was walking along the road: "Good evening, Con", said my jarvey. "Good evening, kindly", said Con. The jarvey to me: "That's Sergeant O'Leary's father, sir". "Oh, indeed", said I. "He's like the pictures of him I have seen in the papers. I suppose the Sergeant got a number of recruits here?" "No, indeed, sir. He nor his father wouldn't advise anyone here to join the English army. He's in the north and in England doing that. There's the spot he was born. There was a house there once. His father has three or four acres of land thereabouts".

Sounded rather interesting, as I had read, "Mike" himself was in Hyde Park, London, yesterday; Mr. T.P. O'Connor, M.P. doing the honours.

Got another few pages of the "New York World" from Fasait. Its correspondent in London states no foreign newspaper correspondents are allowed into Ireland. Those who came to Queenstown to report the sinking of the "Lusitania" were arrested. The same regulations as are in force in England in respect of munition areas apply to all Ireland.

The "Irish Volunteer", dated for next Saturday, is out today, fast on the heels of last week's issue. Sean O'Sullivan (Commandant of Cork Óglaigh) tells me this means that "Nationality", Griffith's paper, is about to be suppressed. "The Volunteer" seems to intimate there is to be a fight of some kind shortly. I judge this must be so. The English Government can hardly let us (of the Óglaigh) continue. We are gaining strength and power from day to day. In fact, it is extraordinary how the Volunteers are progressing throughout the country (in view of the opposition against them).

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"Independent" of yesterday has requisition signed by members of Dublin Corporation to the Lord Mayor to discuss the resolution embodied in my article in the "Leader". The resolution is also given. There are 39 names signed to the requisition.

July 13th. Prosecutions under D.O.R.A. still continue. Saturday: "Patrick Sheehan, Fenit, Co. Kerry, was arrested for spreading false news". Dreadful! If everyone who has spread or is spreading false news, newspaper men and all, were taken up, where would the jails be found to contain them all! If every liar were taken, who would be the guardians?

July 14th. "Evening Echo" report of Dublin Corporation meeting today. Press Association telegram: very short. The debate was proceeding when telegram was sent. Result given in "late news" column. An amendment to the resolution was carried by 30 votes to 22. Amendment in general terms to trust John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party as to when the Home Rule Act is to be put into operation. Speakers to the amendment said they accepted the Act only as an instalment of Irish freedom; but, also, if Ireland was to be kept "loyal", the Act must be put into force.

Heard from a printer in the "Examiner" office that P.T. Daly, in the course of the debate, said he stood, like his father and grandfather before him, for an Irish Republic.

Liam Mellows and Ernest Blythe have been ordered out of Ireland, not to return, by General Friend. They must clear out by Saturday next. Blythe has been in Tralee and Mellows in Athenry, organising the Volunteers.

July 15th. When amendment was carried at Dublin Corporation yesterday, there was a row. Some members got into hand-grips. It was a lively affair apparently. Several declared they had no confidence in Mr. Redmond. Some accused the mover of the amendment of trickery as, they said, he himself had

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drafted the resolution. The "Cork Examiner" has two notes about the matter. It is puzzled. It does not know whether resolution meant support for Mr. Redmond or not.

Herbert Pim ("A. Newman") has been ordered to clear out of Ireland. Others, names not given, ordered not to reside in certain areas within Ireland.

It is stated Mellows and Blythe will refuse to obey General Friend's order.

July 17th. Terence MacSwiney, Cummins and C.P. McCarthy were re-appointed Commercial Instructors by Co. Cork Technical Instruction Committee at its meeting on Thursday. I was not re-appointed. The statement was made that I had not got a "Diploma" from University College, Cork, which was a condition of my original appointment. The statement was absolutely incorrect, as, in fact, I have the University Certificate that was required and attended the University Commerce Courses for several sessions.

July 19th. Denis McCullough has also been ordered to leave Ireland. Herbert Pim has been arrested, consequent on a speech he delivered.

July 20th. Comments are appearing in the press on the differences between the enforcement of the Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland and in England. There is much comment in "parliamentary and other circles in London" concerning it. There are pro-Germans in England apparently, working an open propaganda; there are "Stop-the-war" Committees; there are conscientious objections and opponents to recruiting. But, there are no prosecutions, no orders of banishment, no limitations of residence. To those who think Ireland and England are one "United Kingdom" it must seem puzzling. Even the "Cork Examiner" thinks the Realm Act is being brought into disrepute owing to recent ridiculous cases. Such cases are recurring every day and afford no amusement.

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A farmer at a fair in Midleton said to two policemen who were officious: "Pity the Germans wouldn't catch ye". He was "had up". John and Julia Cole were being taken to Tralee Jail as vagrants. On the way they "uttered seditious language". That was worse than vagrancy, so they were tried under the Realm Act.

July 21st. John E. Redmond has a long letter in today's newspapers. It is a reply to the vote of confidence in him which the thirty members of Dublin Corporation passed the other day. General trend of the letter is - all's well, if Irishmen are loyal (to England), are good boys and don't talk or do anything but help "the Allies".

Notwithstanding which, discussion about Home Rule in September continues. Barrell Figgis has a letter about it in the "Independent".

It appears there is a general opinion in the United States that the war will end in a few months' time. No reason given except the vague term "economic pressure". The war is costing England over three millions a day. Asquith moved for more money in the Commons yesterday, bringing expenditure up to one thousand and twelve million pounds.

July 23rd. The Dublin Corporation resolution and the amendment to it have attracted much attention and Mr. Redmond's letter has helped to focus that attention. Certainly, there is a confusion among the Redmondites regarding the matter. Though Redmond has spoken, speeches and resolutions at public boards indicate that many have doubts about all being well with Home Rule.

Ginnell continues his questioning in the English Parliament concerning banishment orders and other matters. T.M. Healy took a hand in yesterday and suggested that men ordered out of Ireland would be far more dangerous (to the Realm) abroad than at home. Tennant, Under-Secretary for War,

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replied that the Defence of the Realm Act was being used with judicious care and careful discrimination!

July 24th.

MacCullough and Mellows have been arrested.

No news of Blythe. Mr. Birrell, our amusing Chief Secretary, in reply to Ginnell, says he doesn't care "two straws" what their political opinions are. Everything is in the hands of "the competent military authority". So, he washes his hands of it.

The Óglaigh Executive (Dublin Headquarters), on Saturday (17th), issued a statement dealing with the matter of the deportations. The purpose is to steady opinion and fix Birrell for responsibility as a political partisan; to show that the actions taken are political and not real Defence of the Realm actions. The authorities are not afraid of "the Realm" being overthrown. They are afraid of the spirit of Irish nationality. They know the Óglaigh cannot fight the English armed forces in Ireland with hope of success. But, they fear the strong spirit of Irish nationality aroused by the Óglaigh.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne has begun to apply the Registration Act in Derry, Antrim, Down and the city of Belfast. Only the other day the "Freeman's Journal" declared the Act was not to be applied in Ireland.

I have material of a pamphlet ready for publication. It is somewhat on the lines of "Tracts for the Times" which are being brought out in Dublin. I intend to call it "Voices of the Past", made up of quotations from Davis, Mitchel, Tone, Lalor, Emmet, Swift, Grattan and others; from Irish poets and English travellers in Ireland, over the centuries. It is highly "seditious".

July 26th.

Cork Óglaigh had an excursion over the South Coast railway line yesterday. Some went to Bantry and Glengarriff. The group that my wife and I went with journeyed to Lough Ine. We enjoyed ourselves immensely.

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Ernest Blythe was arrested on Saturday (24th) in a Parish Priest's house in Co. Monaghan. The four under orders of deportation are now in custody.

Today is the anniversary of the Howth gun-running and the shooting at Bachelors Walk by the Scottish Borderers. Our Cork Óglaigh intend to commemorate it by a route march, with rifles on their shoulders; asserting the right to bear arms in defence of Ireland without allegiance to any foreign King or Government.

There were great days last year: the tyranny called the Defence of the Realm Act is heavy on the land this year.

July 28th. The Corps made a good muster last night in a march through the streets, our pipers' band playing; our Green Flag; rifles gleaming in the soft moonlight. A crowd awaited us outside the Sheares St. Hall and accompanied us, swelling to large dimensions and returning with us. The attitude displayed was friendly.

At the Hall, Tomás MacCurtain spoke for a short while, saying we stood now as from the beginning for the defence of the rights and liberties of Ireland. He invited recruits to join. A number did so.

What struck me most was the large number who, despite cajolery, intimidation, threats, fear of imprisonment or banishment, or loss of employment, showed sympathy towards us.

And throughout the country, as we hear, corps of Volunteers are being reorganised under the Óglaigh banner.

The remains of O'Donovan Rossa have been brought to Dublin. Next Sunday, the funeral procession will take place.

July 29th. Requiem Mass was celebrated for him in the pro-Cathedral yesterday morning, Óglaigh forming a Guard of Honour. Later, the remains were removed to the City Hall and there lie in state. Father Michael O'Flanagan delivered an oration after the coffin lid had been opened by Mrs. O'Donovan: a strong, stirring oration, vigorous and virile.

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Mrs. O'Donovan had a letter in the press yesterday denying the charge that Rossa had in any way changed his nationalist principles or ideas or weakened in his hatred of English tyranny in Ireland. Some Redmondites are desirous of claiming Rossa as a parliamentarian in his later days. Why this? Except that they know Ireland still honours the Fenians - recent pronouncements notwithstanding.

Ginnell's questions in the English Commons are amusing and interesting; full of "point" from the Irish side. "Do the military authorities contemplate removing the Treaty Stone of Limerick under the Defence of the Realm Acts as likely to cause disaffection and prejudice recruiting for His Majesty's forces?" "Or, '98 monuments?" "Has Chief Secretary Birrell considered the advisability of hanging offenders under the Act?"

Mr. Pat O'Brien, M.P., said yesterday, the Irish Party would resist conscription to the bitter end. What will he do if the Coalition Government considers it necessary "for the safety of the Empire"? Or, if Mr. Redmond considers resistance "a false step".

The Oireachtas and Árd Fheis of the Gaelic League are being held in Dundalk this week. Eoin MacNeill has been elected President in place of Douglas Hyde.

July 31st. Herbert Pim, in Belfast, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and Denis McCullough to four months for disobeying the order of banishment from Ireland. The trial was a farce. Liam Mellows, in Dublin, got three months. The authorities would not reveal who moved in the matter of deportation: Dublin Castle or General Friend: but "Nationality" this week charges that it was Dublin Castle on the information of Joseph Devlin, M.P.

Mr. Muldoon, B.L., delivered a lecture at a United Irish League Branch in Dublin last night, on John Redmond, his Party and his critics. According to the reports given, he was

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"frequently interrupted by physical force advocates". Ex-Lord Mayor Sherlock, who presided, had also to interrupt him, as Muldoon had said it was young priests who were criticising Redmond and many of these were policemen's sons. Sherlock also pledged his reputation that Home Rule would soon be attained. There are various rumours that the British Government are in a fix over Ireland. The Rossa funeral must be a bit of a puzzle to it at this time. Perhaps they will be asking Eoin MacNeill next what he wants, in order to keep Ireland quiet! It must be known to them that Redmond and his Party do not now represent the mind of the country. And, the war is not going quite to their liking.

August 3rd (Tuesday). Saturday evening last, with my wife and some friends, travelled to Dublin for funeral of O'Donovan Rossa. Left Cork at 6 p.m. Reached Dublin about midnight. The train was crowded with holiday-makers. Night was one of torrential rain. Early morning hazy. Cleared about 10 a.m., then a gloriously hot summer's day with brilliant sunshine. Mass at Inchicore. Afterwards, to City Hall to view the remains of Diarmuid Ó Donabháin Rossa. The face was uncovered beneath a glass shade. Calm, peaceful face of the old man, not much changed since last I saw him alive in Cork in 1904-5. A natural thrill at the look on that face of the dead; sorrow for the dead, hope for the future, strengthening of faith in the principles of Irish nationality, resolve to work on for Irish freedom.

There was a constant stream of visitors. Arrangements were perfect, carried out by men who are pledged to the ideas of Fenianism.

Then I went to Kingsbridge Station to meet the Cork Corps of the Óglaigh. Crowded trains arriving - Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Cork. Limerick Óglaigh, a good contingent; Cork even better. Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) had brought my Mauser

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rifle. I took my place in the ranks. We marched to James's St. and stood in position there. A long wait, before the order to advance came. Bulmer Hobson, not in uniform, alone, passed by. Had a handshake with him and a greeting in Irish. Then the order to march, to the sound of muffled drums and the sad music of the Dead March, with slow steps and arms reversed. By York St., St. Stephen's Green, Dawson St., Nassau St., College Green, O'Connell St. to Glasnevin. Crowds, dense, immense, enormous, lined the streets. Quick march from College Green till nearing Glasnevin. We were not in a position to enter the cemetery; the contingents were too vast; so had to return by a circuitous route, a goodly array. The Cork boys made an excellent show down O'Connell St. We were dismissed, for a time, on the quays. As I was remaining in Dublin, I here fell out of the ranks. The Corps re-assembled and marched on to Kingsbridge. They left Dublin about 8.30 p.m. and arrived in Cork about 3 o'clock yesterday (Monday) morning.

The funeral demonstration was almost beyond description: it was stupendous, overwhelming; extraordinarily significant, considering the times we live in. "The Freeman's Journal" gave the best report in an endeavour to claim all the credit of it for the Redmondites! "The Irish Times" computed that 7,000 men, at least, "of military age" carried rifles in the procession. I suppose there were 10,000 or 12,000 Volunteers - Óglaigh, National (Redmondite) Volunteers and Citizen Army (Larkinite) men. There may have been 200,000 spectators. The Parliamentary Party leaders did not appear. The carriage of the Lord Mayor of Dublin was in the procession, but, I heard, he would not be allowed to appear himself. Lord Mayor O'Shea of Cork was present, but not "in state". (He is expecting a knighthood, as the Lord Lieutenant is coming to Cork next week.) The Dublin National Volunteers did not carry rifles. I heard there was some friction among them as to whether they would

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take part or not. They were all in uniform, however, and looked a fine body of men.

A good number of priests, mostly young priests, attended the funeral. Prayers were recited in Irish at the graveside and Padraig MacPiarais delivered an oration in Irish and English an excellent one, judging even by the meagre reports of it.

August 6th. (Notes translated from Irish) - In O Tuama's house, Tooreenduv, Ballingeary. Wife and self have come here for a short holiday. There were many priests and public men coming to Macroom in this train from Cork. Canon Murphy, Parish Priest of Macroom, was being interred.

Terence McSwiney is also in Ballingeary. We met him in the village and went with him to "the Lodge". Afterwards the three of us walked across the hills to the cottage where Sean O'Hegarty and his wife are staying, in Tooreenduv locality.

The Great War in Europe does not trouble anyone here. Even the happenings elsewhere in Ireland seem far off. It is quiet, peaceful and happy; and yet, there are activities also. Sean O'Hegarty is well watched by the police. Some of the people have been warned from associating with him. Across the hills a few days ago a youth of our Cork Óglaigh came to him with a rifle. There are memories of fighting in this district. Maire Bhuidhe has immortalised the "Battle of Ceim an Fhiaidh", an incident of the Tithe War, in her poem. There is no Volunteer Corps, however, in the parish or district.

August 8th. Joseph Devlin, M.P., had a letter in the "Freeman's Journal" last Sunday (August 1st), protesting that a "base insinuation" was made that he, or some members of the Irish Parliamentary Party were responsible for deportation orders; stating that the Party protested (privately) against prosecutions; asking for a new trial for McCullough and Pim, so that he might be afforded an opportunity of refuting the "vile insinuations" made. His letter is addressed to Birrell.

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But Birrell has denied responsibility, in Parliament, saying "the competent military authority" was responsible.

Everyone knows it is Dublin Castle at its old game against Irish Nationalists. Birrell is not believed. "The One Bright Spot" of August 1914, has become very clouded!

A few days ago, as a Gaelic League representative, I received an invitation from Lord Mayor O'Shea to a garden party he is having to greet Lord Lieutenant Wimborne, who is visiting Cork. This is amusing.

August 11th. A pleasant chat today with Father Matt Ryan of Dundrum, Tipperary. He is known as "The General" since Land League days. He was in prison. Though now over 70 years of age, he is attending the College here (in Ballingearry) as a student; his textbook in his hand like the youngest. He is a Vice-President of the Gaelic League. He has a keen sense of humour. He is out and out "pro-German" and has a fine hatred of England. He is a strong man and to meet him is a tonic. Yet he is simple and unaffected.

There are some fine characters here, either as students or as visitors. There are what John Redmond, or his press, would call "Cranks, Factionists and Soreheads". These stir the police to unusual activity. They probably have orders to watch every Sinn Feiner or Óglach who comes. Among these is Father Dominic of the Capuchins, one of our staunchest supporters.

August 17th. Returned home to Cork Sunday (15th). I have decided to enter business with Sean O'Cuill, on a partnership basis. We have been associated in the Gaelic League, in Colaiste na Mumhan and on the Executive of the Volunteers; also in some small publications.

August 20th. Events, in the war, crowd upon one another. Transatlantic liners are being torpedoed by German submarines, one off the Fastnet. What will America do? That's the

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question in England. Will it declare war on Germany? Judging from an American paper I got last week from Diarmuid Fasait, it will not. It was a New York "one-cent" evening paper. In glaring headings it reported how the United States Government had protested strongly to England against the holding up of American ships by British vessels since the beginning of the war.

At yesterday's meeting of the County Cork Technical Instruction Committee, the secretary acknowledged he had made an incorrect statement at the previous meeting, regarding my academic qualifications as a Commercial Teacher. I had a solicitor (Maurice O'Connor) at yesterday's meeting. On my instructions he stated I was not seeking re-appointment, only a vindication respecting qualifications.

Terence McSwiney had sent in his resignation. This was against the wishes I had expressed to him. His resignation was accepted and I was then re-appointed by the committee, on the proposal of Very Rev. Canon Thomas Barrett, supported by Very Rev. Canon Cohalan (brother of Bishop Cohalan).

Terence considered I had been unjustly treated, but I did not wish him to resign on that account. He has decided to become an organiser of the Volunteers.

Mr. Muldoon was right! Many young priests are on the side of Sinn Féin. I have met some recently who expressed strong nationalist opinions. Canon Cohalan, mentioned above, and not so young, is of a quiet nature, but from conversations with him I know he is not pro-British and not a supporter of the Parliamentary Party. He strongly favours the Gaelic League and the language movement and has been an earnest worker in the movement for years.

Chief Secretary Birrell has replied to Joseph Devlin regarding the imprisonment of Herbert Pim and others. His letter is obscure, but he does say the Irish Parliamentary Party

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had nothing to do with the prosecutions, orders of banishment and imprisonments. There will be no re-trial. Devlin has written further: if there is to be no re-trial, he demands the immediate release of the four prisoners - McCullough, Mellows, Pim, Blythe. What is happening behind the scenes?

There was a very interesting discussion on military tactics at Sheares St. Hall last night, arising from circumstances of manoeuvres last Sunday. Discussions such as this should be productive of good discipline.

General opinion among our Óglaigh is that the people are now veering strongly towards us. The "public mind" is not pro-British. Desertions from the British army are many and there is a widespread feeling that "Shán Buidhe" is in a bad way.

August 21st. Met Terence MacSwiney today. He urges me to accept appointment as Commercial Teacher under the County Technical Instruction Committee. His own resignation is final. Organising for the Volunteers is more congenial to him than teaching.

Last night, our Óglaigh had "night" operations" in Gurranebraher direction, on the hill ridge near the "Croppies' Grave". It was a glorious moonlight night. There were attacking and defending sections. I was with the latter. The actual spot to be "defended" was the "Croppies' Grave". We laid ourselves down on the sward there, no sentries, each man at an interval of some yards. There was complete silence. The attack never came off! There was misunderstanding as to the actual place, and the attacking force did not discover us before the time arranged for discontinuing operations. It was all very pleasant and good exercise. We marched back "at the double".

August 23rd. A glorious day yesterday (Sunday). Went with vice-Commandant Seán O'Sullivan, a pipers' band and some of

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our Óglaigh to a Feis at Millstreet, via Macroom, to accompany P.H. Pearse back to Cork. He is to speak at a public meeting from the Hall, Sheares St., tonight. He spoke at the Feis and spoke well. He was not expecting to speak at a public meeting in Cork, only to our Óglaigh. He has been warned to be very careful (as he is being closely shadowed by the police). This, I presume, is consequent upon his oration at Rossa's funeral. Some of us had a chat in Millstreet with a group there to urge them to form a Volunteer Corps. On return journey to Macroom with Pearse, we stopped at Carriganima and also had a talk with some young men of the locality.

(My conversation with Pearse was chiefly in Irish. I had met him previously at meetings of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League when he was editor of the "Claidheamh Soluis".)

August 25th. Pearse's oration on Monday night, though restrained, was good. The public meeting was a large one. The Volunteer turn-out, with full equipment, was excellent. Many recruits joined. After the meeting there was some disturbance caused by soldiers' dependants, who had received their separation allowances on Monday. Some vile language was used and questions asked, such as, "Why don't ye go and fight for England"? These were from some soldiers who appeared to have egged on the women, none too sober. The police left when the disturbance began. Our boys, as usual, took the affair good humouredly.

The police throughout the country have received instructions to compile a register of able-bodied men, but they are to do it secretly. Does this mean paving the way for conscription in Ireland?

August 30th. There is a rumour that the four Óglaigh organisers are to be liberated. A Limerick Corporation resolution, protesting against the deportation orders, is going the round of public boards and is being adopted generally.

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Even Cork Corporation last Friday accepted it. They had another epistle from J.J. Walsh in which he lashed them unmercifully (for their pro-British attitude). There was no comment on it, but Alderman J.C. Forde, a strong supporter of William O'Brien, rubbed it in that the deportations would never have taken place if the Corporation had protested against Walsh's removal at the beginning. In which there was some truth, I believe.

The adoption of those resolutions, the changed tone of the (Redmondite) "National Volunteer" and other signs seem to show that the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Hibernian leaders are mending their hand a little. They now realise, perhaps, how opinion is going in Ireland. Devlin is emphasising that the Party are only the servants of the people. He and others are devoting a great part of their addresses to the "cranks and factionists" and the "mosquito papers" published in Dublin. Which shows they are feeling the growing influence of the said "factionists" and the "mosquitoes". Indeed, the country is swarming with "cranks, factionists and soreheads", that is, people who are not pro-British.

Another remarkable sign of the times is the attitude of so many of the priests, particularly the young priests. Numbers of them are strongly "pro-German"; that is, they are expressing nationalist opinions, not pro-British ones. Older priests who supported the Irish Parliamentary Party have not taken "the Curve" of T.P. O'Connor's, identifying Ireland's interest with England's in the war.

September 1st. (In Bandon. On my rounds again, as Teacher under the Technical Instruction Committee).

In Cork today, a Post Office Clerk, a telegraphist, crossed the street to speak to me. "Were you in Macroom last Sunday"? he queried. "Yes", I replied, "in Ballingearry, in fact". "I suppose you know you are being shadowed by the police?"

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"Yes, I am aware of it". "That's all right then. You were shadowed on Sunday". I thanked him. As it happened, quite accidentally, I met Piaras Beasley on Sunday evening at Macroom railway station, and we came back to Cork together. Piaras is being watched much more carefully than I am. Our meeting may have appeared to the police a concerted plan for some purpose. Irish Nationalists are not trusted by "Dublin Castle".

September 2nd. Had a letter today from Sean Milroy to say he has left "Tir na nÓg" (Mountjoy Prison) and is in good spirits.

The man, Grimes, pleaded guilty at Cork Police Court today to distributing "seditious literature". His solicitor, MacCabe, made an apology for him. He was, however, sentenced to a month's imprisonment. One police constable swore he found one of the "leaflets", or documents, in Sheares St. "near the Irish Volunteers' Hall". Rumour has it "the authorities" are very perturbed over the existence of "Sheares St. Hall".

September 3rd. (In Drimoleague. Came here from Bantry this morning). At the railway station, as I was leaving Bantry, a policeman accosted me: "Where did you spend last night, Mr. Roche?" "At Boucher's", I told him. "Did you sign a registration form?" "No. I intended reminding them of it, but forgot. Dont be too hard on them!" "I told them about it a few days ago. 'Twill be all right, I suppose. Are you coming here again?" "Yes", I replied, "I'm coming here again and will be coming two nights a week during the winter. I'm now going to Drimoleague and will stay there tonight. Is that enough?" All said very politely and agreeably, as if we were old friends. Poor chap! I suppose he lost track of my movements last night.

William O'Brien, M.P., fears for "the constitutional movement" in Ireland. He fears the young men are tired of it and are looking more to Germany than to England for freedom.

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He appeals to them to pause and consider. Mr. O'Brien is mistaken. Nor on Germany, not on England do the young men of Ireland lean. The trust in the invincible spirit of Irish nationality - which Mr. O'Brien himself once had trust in - and in their own strength. They know, as he knows and has often declared, in the past, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity". He is hopelessly in error if he thinks it is a change of masters the young men of Ireland, to whom he appeals, look for. Mr. O'Brien should think again. The parliamentarians, himself included, have killed what they call "the constitutional movement" because they trusted England and did not rely on the will power of the Irish people and the self reliance policy of Sinn Féin. Mr. O'Brien's argument at the beginning of the war was "England will win and England will be grateful" (for Irish help). It is not at all certain these very days that England will win (the Russians are being smashed by the Germans). And, it is absolutely certain, whether she win or lose, England will not be grateful to Ireland. (He should pause and consider, "the leopard does not change its spots").

September 4th. Last night, our Óglaigh marched to Tranton and "bivouacked" there around camp fires. I was unable to go, but heard those who went were very pleased with themselves. This week's "Volunteer" has a good deal of space devoted to accounts of the activities of our Cork Corps. Terence Mac Swiney is fully engaged in organising the county. There is a strong corps in Ballinadee (near Bandon) and a promising one at Ballinamona (Mallow direction). It is now as easy to get Corps started as it was in the early days of the Volunteers, but it is not easy to keep them active. In some districts the police are busy in form of intimidation to keep young men from joining; in other places, priests are not sympathetic. The Redmondite Volunteers are defunct in nearly all districts

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in Co. Cork where they were in existence a year ago. In Cork city they still exist nominally.

Much space in the press these days is given to news and views on the possibility of peace. The news comes chiefly from America. The Pope has been endeavouring to make peace between the warring nations. It is stated he is in touch with the rulers of Austria and Germany for the opening of peace negotiations. He has asked Cardinal Gibbons to call on President Wilson.

The United States press is divided in sympathy as between "the Allies" and "the Central Powers". The "New York World" has some sarcastic remarks about the English. It says: "Whenever an Englishman's head is punched, the English press rises on its dignity and asks: 'What is America going to do about this atrocity?'"

September 8th. Lord Northcliffe, through the "Daily Mail" and the "London Times", has been vigorously urging the need for conscription. But, the English Trades Union Congress has declared strongly against it. It has also declared for (English) nationalism as opposed to internationalism (the Socialist creed).

September 10th. The "Cork Examiner" leading articles on many occasions clearly indicate what the "Sharp Curve" of the New English Garrison in Ireland leads to. There is frequent mention of Our Empire, our glorious military record, our fleet, our trade and commerce. It uses the terms Britain and British to include Ireland and Irish. Yet, it is muddled at times, for the force of a separate nationality breaks through in some of its comments on public affairs.

September 13th. Our Cork Óglaigh had a very successful recruiting tour yesterday in Donoughmore district. They were welcomed there with enthusiasm and two companies were formed. The tide is still rising steadily in our favour.

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A large meeting of protest against arrests and deportation orders was held in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, yesterday. Among other speakers was my friend Sean Milroy.

"German agents", it is said in the press, "are at work in the United States, getting up a fund to help in resisting conscription in Ireland." "German agents" also, so the papers tell us, "are tampering with Irish soldiers in the British army, trying to sow dissension among them."

September 14th. And now, "German agents, according to today's news, are endeavouring to organise strikes in America and most of the labour leaders there are Irishmen, we are told. They were helped by Mathew Cummins (of Bandon family), one-time President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the States, but were foiled by another Irishman, T.V. O'Connor.

September 16th. The English Parliament re-opened on Tuesday (14th). There was a short discussion on conscription. Mr. John Dillon spoke strongly against it; the English army Members of Parliament for. Old man Asquith deprecated any discussion.

Yesterday, John Dillon again asserted that men had been put in jail in Ireland and newspapers suppressed for saying far less than Northcliffe and the "Daily Mail" had said. Quite true, but what then? All Ireland knows of the differentiation made in the operation of the Realm Act here and in England. But, what of it? It only shows English rule in Ireland is what it ever was. The effect is all to the good in stirring up the spirit of Irish nationalism.

September 17th. The operation of the Home Rule Act has been postponed "to the end of the war" by Order in Council. That is probably the last of it. The Coalition Cabinet is not pledged to Home Rule and the Coalition will probably soon give place to another, in which the Tory and military elements will be predominant. And who can say when the war will end or how it will end?

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There was a Gaelic League meeting in the City Hall, Cork, last night. It was very successful and it is well reported. An t-Athair Peadar O Laoghaire was the principal speaker. Some propagandist "literature" which I had got printed for it was widely distributed.

"The "murder" is out in "Merrie England"! J.H. Thomas, M.P., has disclosed that Lloyd George is trying to oust Asquith and become Prime Minister himself. He is hand -in-hand with Northcliffe. George wants an immediate general election to test English opinion on conscription. Asquith wanted to cloak discussion on it. Thomas, railway workers' representative, declares that on the day conscription is passed, the railwaymen will strike. The "Daily Mail" is attacking Kitchener, Churchill, Asquith and other members of the Government and army chiefs. It does not believe Germany is in a poor strait. It says talk of "the Russian Steam Roller" is nonsense. It assumes the Russians are practically beaten. It laughs at Churchill's glib talk of "digging the rats (the German Fleet) out of their holes" and of "near victory" in the Dardanelles.

All of which is interesting to a "Sinn Féiner". England's prestige is being shattered.

A story has appeared in the press that, when Irish regiments took up positions in the front line trenches in France and Belgium, German musicians in "the enemy's trenches" played "The Wearing of the Green" and other Irish tunes.

September 18th. Today was the day appointed under the Home Rule Act "on the Statute Book" for the setting up of an Irish Parliament. We may regard that incident closed in Irish history. It was merely a "Scrap of Paper". It was a poor Act and a mean Act, but even on that the English Government did not keep its promise. The Irish people today seem quite indifferent to its fate. No one is willing to fight for such a mean thing. Yet, were Ireland ready to fight now, or in the

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near future, the falsity of the English Government in this matter would be sufficient cause and sufficient justification for fighting. Parliamentarianism has failed. Parliamentary "agitation" is dead.

The old, unconquerable spirit of Irish nationality is seeking freedom. The soul of the nation has been saved. But, what then? What is to be done? There are many strong souls in Ireland today willing to suffer martyrdom for the Old Land. But - the time should now be ripe for success as well as martyrdom: ripe for victory.

September 20th. Mahony, the Resident Magistrate, who sentenced Milroy and Sean MacDiarmuda, is dead. He died suddenly on Friday (17th).

Sean MacDiarmuda was released from prison on Saturday, having finished his term of imprisonment.

Heard from Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) today, in a casual way, that there is a likelihood of a raid by police on Sheares St. Hall for the capture of rifles. The information he got may be true, or may not. It all seems very casual. There is no plan as to what should be done in such an event. As things are, nothing could be done but let the police take the rifles. If the police call to the homes of Volunteers, it is a case of each individual acting as he sees fit, which could lead to tragic results in some instances, as some would defend themselves to the last. Our military leaders have given no instructions on the matter.

Casually also, from an outside source, my wife heard that some circulars were sent to prominent people all over Ireland on Wednesday last (15th). She was told all the details concerning them, how they were enclosed in (apparent) business envelopes of wellknown firms. White, Tompkins & Co. have an advertisement in today's "Independent" offering a reward of £100 for information leading to the conviction of anyone who sent out "seditious" literature in envelopes of theirs to people in Ulster.

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September 21st. Another advertisement, offering a reward, in the "Independent" today, from a Dundalk firm. A note also appears, in that paper and in the "Cork Examiner": complaints of a number of firms. They are mostly "loyalist" business firms. The envelopes were specially printed with the firms' names on them: Cork, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick firms.

The "Independent" says the pamphlet enclosed is - "Ireland, Germany and the Freedom of the Seas", which was printed in America in 1911. It is pretty well known this was written by Roger Casement.

I got a copy of the pamphlet from Fred Cronin. No author's name or printer's name is given. It has attracted some attention in the English press.

September 26th. My own pamphlet, "Voices of the Past", is now on sale. It is not a commercial proposition. It is propaganda. I received help in getting it out from Sean Jennings, Pat Ahern and others.

Had a chat with Terence MacSwiney yesterday. Things seem to be going well in the matter of organising Óglaigh corps. No doubt now of the nationalist soundness of the country. The police keep a close watch on all organisers' movements. The old wants are again appearing; want of funds and capable leaders.

I ask again, what is to be the outcome of all our military preparations? What are the plans for the future? No one can answer me.

September 28th. A heading in the "Evening Echo" - "American Consul-General accused of pro-Germanism". The name was St. John Gaffney. Interesting news. In some way, Daniel Spellissy, Treasurer of a Committee in the States formed to provide funds for the Volunteers, was discovered sending dispatches to St. John Gaffney at Munich, not through the regular diplomatic channels at Washington, but privately.

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What the purport of the dispatches was does not appear.

Gaffney is a Co. Limerick man; was a supporter of Parnell; is said to have helped every good Irish movement; is an author, a traveller and a learned man. A great deal more is said about him.

Further on is a paragraph, dated 15th instant, from New York, to the effect that collections are being made in America for the Defence of Ireland Fund. (Such collections were made openly in Ireland last year, Mr. John E. Redmond and the Party co-operating, or seeming to). Now, the English Press correspondent has discovered "the trail of the serpent". The collection cards for the Fund in America have been traced to a German source. The paragraph bears all the evidence of having been "cooked" before being released by the English Censor for publication in the Irish papers.

Collections are to start in Ireland for the Defence Fund next Sunday. Perhaps the paragraph is intended to raise more strongly the cry of "pro-Germanism" here, hoping it may hamper the collection.

September 29th. A letter in the "Examiner" today, signed "Nationalist, Limerick", to discredit the collection for the Volunteers- Defence of Ireland Fund. The writer says the Óglaigh are opposed to Redmond, hence are at one with Carson. Strange logic.

A small paragraph in the "Independent" states that St. John Gaffney, American Consul-General in Munich, recently gave a public dinner to Sir Roger Casement.

October 1st. Mr. John E. Redmond has had an interview with Lord Kitchener. There are to be sweeping changes in the recruiting system in Ireland very shortly.

This item of news is probably to be read with another: that Asquith and Kitchener attended a conference of Labour leaders the other day. The information given is, that the

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voluntary system of recruiting is getting its last chance; the Labour men are to engage in a "raging, tearing" campaign of recruiting for the army. If this fails to get the number of men required, then - conscription.

October 7th. Ernest Blythe is out of prison. But General Friend warns him if he "gives any cause for suspicion" in future, he will be dealt with summarily under the Defence of the Realm Acts.

No private individuals are to send Irish newspapers to neutral countries in future. The papers must be sent only from the newspaper offices. Private individuals' papers will be confiscated.

October 9th. I have not noted prosecutions under D.O.R.A. for some time. They have become commonplace. But now, a member of our Cork Volunteer Executive and of the Gaelic League Árd-Choiste, Sean Nolan, has been served with a summons this morning. He is to be tried in Macroom for a speech of his made some five or six weeks ago at Carriganima. He had been going out there each Sunday, drilling and organising.

October 11th. On Saturday (9th) I offered to go to Macroom to start a Volunteer Corps there. Sean (Nolan) did not think it necessary. He went himself and reports that in Macroom and Clondrohid corps had been started.

The Cork Óglaigh Executive is prepared to bear expenses for his trial. I wrote to Frank J. Healy, B.L., and he has replied to say he will take the case, if it is desired he should at a small fee. I saw Maurice O'Connor, solicitor, this morning in reference to arrangements for defence.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., is to deliver a lecture on Thomas Davis at the "All for Ireland" Club this week. I sent him a copy of my pamphlet "Voices of the Past", underscoring a quotation from Davis: "The office of supplying England with recruits - - shall not be our destiny".

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Collections outside church gates yesterday for the Óglaigh (Defence of Ireland Fund) totalled about £45, which is regarded as very satisfactory. It is not far short of last year's collection, when all was unity. We judge from it a majority of the people of Cork are with us.

A soldier, who is a prisoner in Germany, has been giving the "Freeman's Journal" some account of the efforts of Sir Roger Casement to form an Irish Brigade from prisoners captured by the Germans. His story is: only 40 or 50 from the camp where he was a prisoner joined the Brigade, and these as an alternative to starvation. Casement said to them they would join the Clann-Gael and come to free Ireland from English rule; but "they hissed and booed and cursed Casement". Such is the tale as published.

From the "Independent" - "The London 'Sunday Herald' says that since the war he visited Ireland to meet Sinn Feiners" ("He" is Mr. St. John Gaffney) he recalled United States Ambassador in Munich, who, it is said, intends opposing President Wilson in his campaign for re-election".

October 12th. "The Spark" points out this week that the meaning of the paragraphs in the "Freeman's Journal" about Consul-General Gaffney, Mathew Cummins, the Defence of Ireland Fund, and so on, is that the "Freeman" has got a tip from Dublin Castle to felon-set the Irish Volunteer leaders by trying to connect them with German propaganda.

The English authorities would like to get rid of the Óglaigh leaders. They think a safe way of doing this is to get the public to believe the Óglaigh are secretly in touch with the German Government. 'Tis an old game.

October 13th. Captain Roberts and a Captain O'Mahony have been interviewing Tomas MacCurtain. This is the second talk Roberts has had with him. Their object, I learn, was to "sound" him. What do the Volunteers want? What are their

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real aims and objects? What are their views on conscription? They, themselves, are against conscription, but their Colonel (named East) is in favour of it. I take it they are only "fishing".

Seán Nolan was acquitted. He was tried before a Bench of Magistrates at Macroom today. Five voted for acquittal and four were against. The chief police witness said he considered the "disloyal" part of Sean's remarks was when he said the Volunteers were pledged and armed against conscription. Frank Healy, for the defence, quoted from English publications and Carson's pre-war pronouncements.

While Carson's arguments as to the right of armed rebellion were being used in an Irish Petty Sessions Court there was high excitement in the English Commons regarding the same man. There had been an English Cabinet meeting. 'Twas known the question of conscription was being debated. Carson was not present at it. He was in the smoking-room of the Commons. He looked excited. The rumour rose and ran that he had resigned from the Cabinet over the conscription issue. He himself denied it. But, there was much speculation, it appears.

A colleague of mine under the Technical Committee, an art master, a Yorkshireman, tells me that from what he learns from his own people in Yorkshire, the workers in England are only awaiting the opportunity of conscription to declare for socialism. They believe the "upper classes" wish to force conscription in order to keep the workers in check, as some, like the Welsh miners, have been defying the Government.

October 14th. A new "mosquito" halfpenny paper was out yesterday, issued from the same office as "The Spark". We have now - weekly: "The Irish Volunteer", "Nationality", "Workers Republic", "Hibernian", "Spark", "Honesty", "Leader" - definitely anti-English - "An Claidheamh Soluis" and "New Ireland", as auxiliaries. Monthly - "Fianna", "Catholic Bulletin", "The Quiz", "Irish Fun".

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An interview with John Redmond has been published in the "New York World". It is evidently a counterblast to interviews with some Irish-Americans which appeared in the "World" recently.

"Ireland is in a state of profound peace", says Mr. Redmond. "No meetings are suppressed or have been suppressed". "Freedom of speech has not been interfered with". "Three or four men have been imprisoned for short terms for open pro-German declarations, for which in similar cases they would have been shot in Germany". "Every Corporation, County Council, District Council and every elected body of every kind has declared itself in sympathy with the Irish Party view of the war". "The position of Home Rule is absolutely secure. That Act will come into operation at the end of the war, if not before". "The total of Irish recruiting figures to August were: 130,264, and recruiting was still going on at the rate of from 4,000 to 5,000 a month". (The figures included Carson's followers). "And he added to this, 115,000 Irishmen in Great Britain and the Colonial Irishmen".

October 15th. Tomás MacCurtain gave an account of his talks with the military Captains (Roberts and O'Mahony) to the military Council and some members of the Óglaigh Executive last night. As I surmised, the Captains were only "fishing". He answered them plainly and directly as to the aims and objects of the Óglaigh. He is to report to Dublin Headquarters.

Sean O'Sullivan, now Commandant of the Cork Corps, had guards mounted at the Hall, Sheares St. last night.

October 19th. Herbert Pim was released from jail suddenly and secretly, over a week ago. The daily press was forbidden to publish notice of his release.

Monaghan, another Volunteer organiser, was arrested last Saturday (16th) in a village in Co. Cavan. The Óglaigh turned

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out with rifles. There was much excitement, but no conflict with the police; so the daily papers report.

Desmond Fitzgerald, who was forbidden to reside in the Dublin area, was arrested yesterday in Bray.

The new recruiting scheme for Ireland, which was adumbrated when Redmond visited Kitchener, was launched last Friday (15th) at a meeting in the Viceregal Lodge. A conference was held at which were present: Redmond, Lord Londonderry, Sir Nugent Everard, the Lord Mayors of Dublin, Cork and Belfast. According to English papers: "the proceedings were private". But a long report of them is given in the Irish papers. General Friend (our "friend" of the Deportation Orders) gave official statistics of recruiting in Ireland - the first published officially. 81,000 Irishman have joined the English army since the war started. Recruits are now wanted from Ireland at the rate of 1,100 a week. (And the "Daily Mail" says there are 700,000 men of military age in London who could be easily spared.)

Carson has resigned from the British Cabinet.

Redmond addressed a United Irish League "secret" convention in Dublin yesterday. He fears a general election. Home Rule is secure - but the League and the National Volunteers must be reorganised. Ireland had done magnificently by England in the war. It must do more. He deprecated allusions to "Carson's army", hoping they would fight shoulder to shoulder with his own men" to beat the Huns". He said nothing about taxation. That is rather a sore question to touch on.

("Cheers for Carson" - that caused John's supporters in Cork to howl down Eoin MacNeill at the inauguration of our Volunteers here. It is John's own cry now. How time brings changes!)

Second collection for the Óglaigh last Sunday (17th) realised about £30.

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Terence MacSwiney was with me on t rain to Bantry yesterday. We had a chat with some men there last night, with a view to reorganising the Volunteers in the town. The corps was broken up when Redmond got control of the Volunteers, as Bantry was a stronghold of O'Brien's. They may get going again. The conscription argument tells with many.

October 25th. Had a strenuous day yesterday with the Óglaigh at Bealnablah, near Crookstown. It was a fine, dry day with a bracing north-east wind. Part of the operations of the company to which I<sup>am</sup> attached was charging up a steep hill from the road through a furze brake, over rocky, rough, uneven ground. We were exposed to view from the top. If an "enemy" had been there, not one of us would have escaped! But all of us reached the top. It was fine exercise.

There were men from various corps around the district taking part and a new corps for Crookstown centre itself was formed - some 80 men being put through preliminary drill, after short addresses to them by Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney.

As is usual on such occasions, the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Empire by two policemen.

Paragraphs are appearing in the Irish press, as copied from some obscure American papers, to the effect that the leaders of the Óglaigh in Ireland are in the secret pay of the German Government and that Irish Nationalist (anti-British) propaganda is a secret German propoganda

Terence MacSwiney was here (in Bantry) with me again tonight to get the Óglaigh corps under way.

October 28th. Alf. Monaghan, Óglaigh organiser, has got three months' imprisonment for "endangering the Realm". The poor Realm!

November 1st - Monday. Returned from Dublin today after attendance at the Second Annual Convention of the Óglaigh.

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On Friday morning I got a card from Adjutant Daihi Barry to say I was requested to represent Mourneabbey Corps at the Convention. Travelled up on Saturday evening with fellow delegates.

Nearly all of us were in uniform. Four or five of us put up at Wynn's Hotel, Abbey St. Terry MacSwiney was there before us.

We arose early. Had Mass at the pro-Cathedral. Others of the Cork delegates came to Wynn's. Most of us went to visit J.J. Walsh in Blessington St.

Then to the Convention in the Abbey Theatre. Milroy came there to see me. A strict scrutiny of delegates' credentials. I estimated there were about 150 delegates present, representatives of "live" corps only, of some time standing.

Eoin MacNeill presided. Proceedings lasted from 11 a.m. to 7.p.m. A business-like gathering, so much so as to be almost dull at times. Most of the time was occupied in details of the activities of corps throughout the country. Tomas MacDonough was beside me. MacNeill read a well-reasoned statement, general in character. Aims and objects of the Óglagh were re-affirmed, along with a statement, previously published, expressing a strong attitude in regard to conscription. Cases of victimisation for adherence to the Volunteers, in various parts of the country, were mentioned. No definite line of action on that, or on any other matter, was proposed. The underlying spirit, showing strength and firmness, was, however, apparent now and again. (The limit of patience at persecution for the expression of Irish nationalist opinions may soon be reached).

O'Rahilly, Hon. Treasurer, submitted an audited financial report. He said there were some accounts which he considered it was not desirable to make public, even at the Convention, so he suggested that the Convention select three men to whom he would give the particulars. This was accepted and, on the

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proposition of Sean MacEoinin (Jennings), I was named one of the three. We retired to a room behind the stage. O'Rahilly gave us all the particulars of the Defence Fund, which showed large sums received for arms and ammunition; how they were dealt with and how disposed of. Some particulars were necessarily incomplete, but I had no doubt they were, in the main, correct. Up to a certain date, as he explained, they were absolutely so, but there has been "raids" on his sister's house, which showed, he said, "the authorities" were more anxious to get the account books at present than rifles. Neatly ruled statements were difficult to make out, under the circumstances. The accounts showed definitely and clearly the absolute falsehood of the "German gold" canard.

O'Rahilly gave us some interesting information regarding the number of the Óglaigh throughout the country who had got arms and ammunition through Dublin Headquarters. It was not startling, but, to me, it seemed satisfactory, considering the difficulties that had to be got over and the opposition.

On behalf of the three scrutineers, I made a short statement to the Convention on the lines that we were perfectly satisfied with the accounts the Hon. Treasurer had put before us.

Eoin MacNeill was re-elected President amid acclamation.

A motion by a delegate from Scotland - a typical "stick-at-it" type of North of Ireland man - to have Roger Casement elected Vice-President, was allowed slide, after the delegate had been spoken to by Seán MacDiarmuda.

The proceedings ended with the singing of national songs.

At night we had a ceillidhe in the Gaelic League Hall, Parnell Square, given by Cumann na mBan. Herbert Pim spoke of his prison experiences; a pleasant speaker, of striking appearance, rather like Parnell. I was introduced to him by Milroy. Blythe, Mellows and Sean MacDiarmuda were also at the ceillidhe.

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Desmond Fitzgerald, unpaid organiser of the Óglaigh, who was to have been at the Convention, was, at Bray on Saturday, sentenced to six months' imprisonment. There were six magistrates on the Bench at his trial, all, but one, military officers. The one civilian did not agree with the verdict. The portions of Fitzgerald's speech, for which he was being tried, read in Court, were cheered and applauded by those present. They were clear, definite expressions of Irish nationalist principles - the clearest so far for which anyone has been prosecuted under the Defence of the Realm Acts. Fitzgerald's portrait is in the papers today; it displays a literary or artistic face.

November 2nd. Saturday morning last, in common with many others, I received by post a printed circular, addressed "Mr. F. Roche", and signed Kitchener and Wimborne; also a form to fill up, to state if I am willing to enlist in the British army for the period of the war. A stamped envelope was enclosed for reply. This is part of the new recruiting scheme in Ireland, of which Lord Lieutenant Wimborne is Director. The circulars have been sent broadcast and have occasioned much discussion and not a little commotion in country districts. From what I hear, however, there has been much muddling. One woman got two circulars for two sons who were killed in the war. In another case, half a dozen were delivered where there are only two small boys. Others, unmarried men of military age, have got none. And so on. There is nothing to prevent a man filling up a form with another man's name and address on it and sending it to the central recruiting office. Wimborne wants 50,000 Irishmen to join before the end of November and 1,100 a week after.

Those circulars will give a great fillip to the Óglaigh. The scheme here and in England is called "Voluntary Compulsion".

Mr. John Dillon says there will be no conscription in

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Ireland - thanks to the Irish Party - and "the Irish Volunteers are only as fleas in Kitchener's eyes". But Mr. Lundun, M.P. says if conscription is passed the Irish Party will take to the hillsides and fight with hayforks! A priest, at a United Irish League meeting, at which Joe Devlin, M.P., was present and spoke, said he would not become a recruiting sergeant for England; while another priest, a Capuchin, in Cork, at a retreat for soldiers, stated he felt in the presence of a hero when in the presence of a man in khaki. A doctor in Macroom, at a recruiting meeting, deliberately charges the Volunteers - naming Sean Nolan especially - with receiving "German Gold" and being "Germany's Volunteers". Rather mixed views!

November 3rd. Prime Minister Asquith made a long statement in the English Commons last night on the war situation,

On Conscription: He has no objection in principle to conscription. If there is substantial unity on the question and if the present recruiting effort to the time limit of November 30th fail, he will accept conscription.

Carson followed Asquith and took up an opposition attitude of criticism. It looks as if he means to form an Opposition Party. That man will yet smash the British Empire.

Then Redmond spoke. He has strong complaints to make about the War Office not availing of the service of his Volunteers. He said there was "a small section" in Ireland opposed to recruiting. He put them on the same level as the small section, Socialists, Conscientious Objectors, etc., in England.

November 8th. Some English papers having had "scare headings" regarding emigration of young men from Ireland and some parts of England, for fear of conscription, Mr. John E. Redmond wrote to the papers, giving emigration statistics of last year and this year, in an endeavour to show the "scare" was based on falsehoods. He spoke for Great Britain as well, he said.

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Since his letter appeared, the "Irish Independent" has been proving by figures that Mr. Redmond's statistics are false. Its correspondents all over the country have been sending it particulars of numbers of young men leaving country districts to get to America. It quoted what some young men said: "We will join the Clan-na-Gael and fight for the Germans". The truth of the "Independent" news was forthcoming on Saturday (6th). Some 650 men, who had booked passages to the States, were to sail in a Cunard liner from Liverpool on that day. They were only part of a much larger number going by other liners. An English mob gathered around the men at Liverpool and hurled insults at them. The crew on board the ship threatened to strike if the Irishmen were allowed to sail. The Cunard Company Directors promptly cancelled the bookings. It is stated the passage money was returned to the men. They were harangued in Liverpool by recruiting agents, but, "the papers regretfully state", not one of the men would join the English army. The "Independent" more or less suggests to the Government to take steps to prevent Irishmen of military age leaving the country.

Yesterday I attended a meeting of the "Manchester Martyrs' Day" organising committee - a miscellaneous kind of gathering. Many of the usual "Old Guard" present. Representatives of the city bands also. It appears Captain Roberts has been going around to the bands to get them to assist the recruiting campaign. Their representatives at yesterday's meeting considered it a slur and a slander on them to have the rumour in the city that they would help recruiting. One of the representatives said the men of his band had declared they would burn their instruments rather than help "England's dirty work".

November 10th. Mr. Redmond says the emigration of young men from Ireland, for fear of conscription, is "a purely West

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of Ireland affair". Fifty or sixty men have gone from Bantry district. Bantry, I suppose, is in "the West of Ireland" to Mr. Redmond.

The Cunard and other steamship companies announce that they will refuse to book passages for young men of military age to America.

"Sinn Féiners Raid for Arms" - such is a heading in the "Independent" of Monday (8th) over a short paragraph. Some unknown men in a motor-car called to a house in Co. Dublin, where rifles belonging to the National (Redmondite) Volunteers were supposed to be stored. The rifles were not there and the men drove away. "The Cork Examiner" and "Constitution" have big headings over the same news. The men, however, are referred to as "criminals".

Over 100 recruits have joined our Cork Corps of the Óglaigh within the last few weeks. But, there are recruits joining the British army also. Some 60 of them paraded the streets of Cork yesterday.

There was a remarkable article recently in an English weekly, "Ideas", about Germany's intentions regarding Ireland. The writer declared that in the mind of the German Government the "Freedom of the Seas", for which they are fighting, is bound up with the freedom of Ireland. (Roger Casement's contention for years past). The Germans, so the writer stated, would wish to see a Republic set up in Ireland. There were intentions of aiding Irishmen to establish a Republic, but they have been given over for the present. "But", he says, "the Teuton" is not easily diverted from his purpose and there is need for England to be careful. The article is well-written and it seems to me to be written by a man who knows some of the facts.

November 11th. God bless Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick! A letter of his, in connection with the insults

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of the Liverpool mob towards the intending Irish emigrants is published in today's "Cork Examiner". It is the clearest and strongest statement of an Irish Nationalists's feelings yet published from the pen of any Irish ecclesiastic. He defends the poor, would-be emigrants. He slashed "the Party" because they joined the English mob in decrying the boys who wanted to emigrate, foolish though these may be. He says these emigrants, naturally, do not want to fight England's war. The present war is not Ireland's, but England's. And what has England done that Irishmen should fight for her? He refers to T.P. O'Connor's "New Brigade"; to English slackers; to "the simulacrum of Home Rule".

No Sinn Féin supporter could put the case better than the Bishop of Limerick has done.

After teaching my class here (in Bantry) I went to the Town Hall to a meeting of the reorganised Óglaigh Corps. The numbers were not large, but the men seemed earnest. Terence MacSwiney and Peadar O'Hannrachain were present and had addressed the meeting.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne's second appeal for recruits for the British army is now being sent out. The blind, the lame, the aged are getting them; young children are receiving envelopes addressed to themselves; priests, Christian Brothers; parents for sons dead in France; wives for husbands long since dead; mothers for sons long since left home. A man has a letter in the "Independent" to say his wife got two copies of the appeal asking her to enlist, the envelope having been addressed to Mr. Kathleen \_\_\_\_\_!

But, the opposition to recruiting seems growing stronger. There are accounts now of active opposition of crowds, here and there: in Carrickmacross the other night, and in Galway. Many priests, too, are now taking a stronger stand against recruiting

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November 17th. The present strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary is: 190 Inspectors, 9,865 Head Constables, sergeants and men. Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1,158. Total police, 11,213. 579 of all ranks have joined the army. "It is not desirable to reduce the forces as they are engaged in military work in Ireland".

(The above information was given in answer to queries in the British House of Commons).

November 18th. Father Power, of University College, Cork, lecturing at the Catholic Young Men's Society, on Irish ballads, speaking of Davis's "Fontenoy", pointed out that the choice offered to Sarsfield's men after Limerick was - enlistment in the English army or emigration. They chose emigration. He further pointed out that the Irish Brigade fought for France against England. His remarks were greeted with applause.

The application of the moral to conditions today was apparent.

November 22nd. Saturday (20th) was "Language Flag Day" in Cork. It exceeded all expectations. 10,000 of the little badges were sold. The money collected was about £55. There is an apparent revival of interest in the language movement.

The "Daily Sketch" calls Bishop O'Dwyer a liar and a traitor. An Irish Crown Solicitor follows suit. Limerick Corporation has condemned these attacks on the Bishop. The "Examiner" is now allowing a debate in its columns on recruiting and on the Bishop's letter, and some telling points, from a nationalist point of view, are being made.

John Dillon also, recently, after the Bishop's letter, plucked up a little courage to express some indignation at the treatment of the Irish boys in Liverpool. But, 'tis all the fault of the wicked "factionists"! If the advice of the "Irish Party" had been taken, there would have been no emigration rush. Dillon writes as if he, and not Redmond, were the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. There are rumours around that things are tending ~~the~~ that way.

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November 24th. Jeremiah O'Mahony, Member Cork Co. Council, one-time strong supporter of Redmond and "the Party", has a letter in the "Examiner" today severely criticising Devlin, Dillon, Redmond and the Party over recruiting and their attitude towards conscription. His letter is a sign of the times.

In the British Parliament, Alfred Byrne, recently elected a member for a Dublin Constituency, asked a question about conscription and "did the Prime Minister know that conscription would be resisted by armed and drilled forces in Ireland?" Asquith would not answer the first part of his question and "deprecatd the threat contained in the last part".

November 26th. A new order by General Friend, today, prohibits the importation into Ireland of all kinds of arms and ammunition, except by special permit.

November 29th. The Manchester Martyrs celebration was held in Cork yesterday (Sunday). It was an astounding display of nationalism, an overwhelming success. The present times are not ordinary; hence, the great significance of this demonstration. To be an Irish Nationalist of the old tradition is to be guilty of "an offence against the Realm". Tens of thousands in the streets of Cork yesterday openly declared themselves Irish Nationalists.

Cork Battalion of the Óglaigh paraded at 8.30 a.m., about 150 strong. To 9 o'clock Mass at the Cathedral. On parade again at 11 o'clock in Sheares St. Sections were coming and going, escorting country corps from the railway stations and other points. About 1.30 we got on the move. Estimates of numbers on the march vary from 1,200 to 2,000. The platform was near the National Monument. From the platform we could see an immense throng, closely packed, along the whole length of the Grand Parade and down the South Mall.

Sean MacDiarmuda was orator of the day. He was accompanied by Herbert Pim. Both had been at Sheares St. on Saturday night.

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Barrett, secretary of the Demonstration Committee, had asked me to draft the resolutions for the meeting. I drafted two: the principal one pledging the mass meeting to the principles of Fenianism; a second, endorsing the letter of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer. There were other resolutions commending the language and industrial movements.

Along with MacDiarmuda and Pim, Peadar O'Hannrachain spoke and, as requested, I spoke in a vote of thanks to the others. We returned to Sheares St., a guard of honour accompanying the speakers and a large number of young men, not Volunteers, following.

Cumann na mBan had organized a "Flag Day" for the Volunteer Funds. That, also, was an immense success - some £80 was realised. Those who had no badges were the exceptions in the vast throng. It was made quite plain what the money was for by "Lieut.-Col." Donegan of the Redmondite Volunteers, in a letter to the "Examiner" and "Echo". He "warned" the public the collection was not for Mr. Redmond and the National (Redmondite) Volunteers.

In the evening there was a concert in the City Hall. Standing room only, a large number unable to enter. Again, immense enthusiasm.

A Ceilidhe in the "Grianán" ended the day.

The reports in our city newspapers are quite amusing, particularly a speech of "Lieut.-Col." Donegan's to the National (Redmondite) Volunteers. Eighty of them had gone to 12 o'clock Mass to the Cathedral. They could not take part in the procession, he said, as they were not in charge of it. The veracious (?) "Constitution" says "the proceedings ended in pandemonium".

December 2nd. "Drastic regulations regarding emigration" announced. No one can leave Ireland from this on without a passport, and to get a passport, a reason that will satisfy

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"the authorities" must be given. In effect, it means no man of military age will be allowed to leave the country.

Among other "Realm" cases of recent occurrence, a man in Roscommon was, on Tuesday, sentenced to a month's imprisonment for having got a number of young men together to pledge themselves to resist conscription - if it be applied to Ireland.

December 6th. Lieutenant T.M. Kettle, M.P., Professor in the National University, spoke at a recruiting meeting in Cork yesterday. Judging by "Cork Constitution" report, his address consisted wholly of denunciations of "Sinn Féiners" and imaginary "pro-Germans". He adduced no arguments as to why Irishmen should join the British army. "The Germans", he declared, "who had no friends elsewhere, had some in Cork ..... When the 'Lusitania' was sunk, the 'pro-Gers' in Cork cheered for the Double Eagle". And so on, in a farrago of imagination. The purpose of the "Constitution" is to get the British Government to arrest and imprison the alleged pro-Germans, indicated by Kettle, under the Defence of the Realm Acts.

December 7th. Disturbances renewed last night at a recruiting meeting in Cork, Kettle being the object for hissing and hooting, when he launched out into a further tirade of abuse of Sinn Féiners. One young man, given an assurance that he would not be prosecuted, was permitted to speak from the recruiting platform (a wagonette). He was not a good speaker, I heard, but when he came down, the crowd cheered lustily, raised him on their shoulders and again marched to the National Monument. Here, a university student addressed them. The police did not interfere.

It is rumoured today that a military force will be present at future recruiting meetings. Lively times anticipated.

News is also leaking out of lively times in other parts of the country. Action has been taken against Volunteers in Ballaghaderreen because Lieutenant Mike O'Leary was hooted at

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a recruiting meeting there. Ginnell asked a question in Parliament about this, stating the Volunteers were not at the meeting, but were on a route march. The "Daily Mail" reports the question and Birrell's answer.

December 9th.

J.L. (Diarmuid) Fasait is back in Cork.

Met him yesterday in the Industrial Association offices. He was in very serious humour. I had disagreed with his leaving Cork; but he now told me he was informed "Volunteer headquarters" had advised he was to obey the military order to him to leave the city. When the offer was made to him to go to America he accepted it. When he got there, he found that Clan-na-Gael leaders had been informed it was not with any authority from "headquarters" in Dublin he had gone.

The Irish in America are as divided in opinion over the war as we are at home: pro-German and pro-British. The Germans in the States are not a strong political force, nor united. Certain Irish organisations are energetic on the German side. Larkin is active in the States. The Germans will not help Ireland very materially, nor will the pro-German Irish in America; unless the Irish people declare themselves openly on the German side in the war. They know this may mean bloodshed in Ireland. The amount of money got for the Volunteers was not very large. Casement's endeavour to form an Irish Brigade from prisoners of war in Germany was a fiasco; it was known to be such in America. He is an accredited representative in Berlin of the Clan-na-Gael. Fasait considered Americans in general were on the German side, owing to English interference with American ships and consequent hindrance to commerce.

He brought back some money for the Óglaigh Headquarters in Dublin, but he finds himself coldly treated by Óglaigh leaders in Cork.

T.M. Kettle, on Monday night, denounced the Bishop of Limerick along with "Sinn Féiners". Voices in the crowd

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shouted they were not "pro-Germans" but were "anti-English". He then said he was the same till the war broke out.

Lieutenant Maurice Healy, "young Maurice", is also on the recruiting stunt. So, our warring political partisans unite for England's sake!

December 10th. From the "Irish Independent": "The Chief Secretary told Mr. Ginnell in Parliament yesterday that the evidence that the Irish Volunteers have endeavoured to foment disloyalty in Ireland was voluminous. 'Much of it', he added, 'must be known by the hon. member from the utterances of the leaders of the organisation, from the articles and letters in its official organ, and from the reports of the proceedings against its officers and organisers, to which the hon. member has himself at various times made reference'."

For twelve months or so, it suited the Government's policy to pretend all Ireland was loyal to England. Now, they can no longer hide the fact that there are what they term "disloyal" elements in Ireland. In other words, Irish Nationalism is not yet suppressed.

December 11th. "He hoped there were no Sinn Féiners there that night - (cheers) - because they were a d\_\_\_\_\_ side (!) worse than the Germans - it was all underhand work with them. The Germans were not traitors, they were fighting for their country, but these d\_\_\_\_\_ Sinn Féiners - well, bad luck to them. He was sorry to use such strong language in the presence of ladies, but he could not say less. They were traitors to their country, and traitors were always the cause of Ireland's misfortune". Lieutenant Mike O'Leary, V.C., at a recruiting meeting in Cork last night, as reported in the "Cork Constitution".

The Bill to "recognise Volunteers organisations, introduced in the British Parliament, is not now likely to apply to Ireland. Carson opposes it as it would 'recognise'

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the "Nationalist Volunteers - Redmond's 'section', and the Sinn Fein 'section'". The "Cork Constitution" is perturbed over "the Sinn Féin Volunteers". It would like the British Government to take action against "that body".

December 13th. It seems to me "the authorities" and the Óglaigh are coming near a clash. How near it is not easy to determine, but signs of it are not wanting. "The gravity of the situation in Ireland", with "sedition" and "disloyalty" is being written up in the English press. "The London Times" had a two-column long article last week, from its Dublin correspondent. He sums up the situation very fully and clearly as between the different bodies of Volunteers. He mentions the other bodies that are not pro-English - Sinn Féin, Fianna Boy Scouts, Gaelic League, Cumann na mBan, Citizen Army, and so on.

The "situation" seems also to be attracting attention in other countries. From Rome, per English press agency, comes an account of an interview with Cardinal Bourne, in which he speaks of Home Rule being an accomplished fact and of England and Ireland being like two sisters who had a quarrel but are now united against an outsider.

Further evidence of "the gravity of the situation" :-  
An order of Major-General Friend, C.B., Commander of the English forces in Ireland, prohibits the manufacture, sale, transfer or disposal of all kinds whatsoever of arms, ammunition and weapons - shotguns included - except by special permit from Dublin Castle or through a District Inspector of Police. The "Independent" has a note from the "London Times" to say this order is meant for "the Sinn Féiners and Irish Volunteers" "It is understood", writes the "Independent", "that the authorities have information of serious things going on behind the scenes".

It seems to me General Friend's order is an indication

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that the Government intends to disarm the Volunteers; and, so far as I know, there are no definite plans for coping with such an eventuality.

December 14th. "It is not in the public interest to disclose the steps being taken to counteract the efforts of the Irish Volunteers to promote 'disloyalty' and interfere with recruiting in Ireland". That is the substance of a reply of Birrell's to Ginnell in the English Parliament, as reported in today's press. We all know the public "steps". What are the ones "behind the scenes"?

December 18th. Nearing Christmas, things seem so normal, I wonder if I am judging things aright in thinking that we are approaching a crisis in Irish history. People are going about their business in an ordinary manner. Food is plentiful enough; prices are high, but money is abundant. There does not appear to be more than the usual winter stress for the poor. The war news is at present dull and war seems far away. The call for recruits for the British army goes on, with some results.

On the other hand, it is clear the Government desires to strike at the Volunteers, to disarm them; to arrest and imprison the leaders. What prevents it? Policy, or fear of the result? Eoin MacNeill, in the "Volunteer" continues writing in his usual calm strain, exposing Birrell's plots and his endeavours to make a case for the suppression of the Volunteers. But, what if the Government strikes? There do not appear to be any plans on the Volunteer side to meet that situation.

All letters going through the Post Office are now liable to be opened, This is being done by a military staff. A slip "Opened by Censor" is pasted across the letters that are opened. A note appeared in the newspapers to the effect that there may be a delay in delivery of letters.

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December 20th. Do I really think there is a serious probability of an armed rising in Ireland? I do. But, it seems to me to depend more on the action of the British Government than on any deliberate intention of the leaders of the Volunteers. These will apparently wait till the Government strikes.

It has been hinted now and again by the English and pro-English press that "the Sinn Feiners" expect a German force to land in Ireland. This, I would say, is untrue. It is unlikely that any responsible men in the Óglaigh expect a German armed force to invade Ireland. A rising in Ireland may have some effects on the course of the Great War. Germany, no doubt, would make the most of it in her own interests. But, I do not think a German army is likely to land in Ireland.

Do I really think there is a chance of "a rising" being successful? Having analysed, to my own satisfaction, the forces for and against, I do.

By 10 votes to 9, Kilkenny County Council refused to appoint a recruiting committee. Hard words were spoken of John E. Redmond. Said the Chairman: "Instead of voting for recruiting, they should endorse the Bishop of Limerick's letter" The Council's decision is typical of the present situation. The voting is typical of the opinion of the whole country: 10 of every 19 persons being now, as far as possible, openly anti-English. The Bishop's letter has unloosed the tongues of our public men. To endorse his remarks is not yet regarded as "sedition".

I have got some letters "Opened by Censor". Ordinary correspondence. But, a friend of mine, yesterday morning, received a recent copy of the "Gaelic American" in an unopened letter.

December 22nd. The Irish Parliamentary Party have reiterated a resolution of theirs against conscription.

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But, in the English Parliament, yesterday, Mr. Redmond spoke with two voices. He was utterly against conscription, not on principle, however, but as a matter of expediency. If a clear case was made out for it, as far as he was concerned, that settled the matter - he would accept it. You can take his speech either way and the newspapers do take it either way. John Dillon was firm against.

December 29th. The principle of conscription for single men was accepted by the English Cabinet at a meeting yesterday. There will be some resignations of Ministers, it is said. The "Daily Mail" is jubilant at the result of its seven months' campaign for conscription.

Will it apply to Ireland is being asked on all sides?

A writer in yesterday's "Mail" argues thus: If Ireland is as enthusiastic about the war as Mr. Redmond says it is; if it wishes "the Allies" to win; if it is now one with England (and the writer believes it is, as Mr. Redmond has said so), then, of course, it will welcome conscription, if the Government decide that this is necessary to win the war. If Ireland resist conscription, Home Rule will be damaged. All this is quite logical, if Mr. Redmond and his Party have been truly representing Ireland. If we are as loyal to England as they have proclaimed, then we should accept conscription. If we do not accept it, then we are not "loyal". That is the logic of the position.

December 30th. "The Cork Weekly Free Press" wakes up a little. Mr. William O'Brien writes an attack on Redmond and Dillon.

"Ireland stands to win nothing out of this war except crushing taxation and crippled markets". To England, victory "will mean vast additional territories and new markets of immense worth". Yet, Mr. O'Brien was one of the first "Irish Nationalist" Members of Parliament to advise Irishmen to join hands with England in the war.

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"He (Mr. Redmond) ties the all too few young men of this country on to the coat-tails of the swarming unmarried men in England who have refused to fight for a victory which to them, at all events, will mean vast prosperity?" Much more in this strain appears. But, everyone knows Mr. O'Brien also wanted to tie all Ireland to the "coat tails" of England. He has learned a lesson.

December 31st.

Eoin MacNeill still counsels patience. Connolly, in the "Workers' Republic", reprints Fintan Lalor's article in the "Felon" (1848), scorning those who would forever postpone the day of "striking the blow". Patience may be best. It looks like wisdom, but, if there is no serious intention of making a bid for Irish independence, while England is at war, we are wasting our time in the Irish Volunteers.

The pro-English papers in Ireland have awakened to the fact that the English Cabinet has decided on conscription. They have no views on the matter. "All is safe in the hands of the Irish Party".

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Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Old Garrison and the New to identify Ireland's interests with England's, even English newspapers recognise a national distinctiveness between the two countries. The matter of conscription emphasises the distinction.

The "Daily Chronicle" says of the compulsory proposal that its consequences for national unity depend very much upon how questions like that of Ireland are handled". "The natural thing, it says, is to leave Ireland out as she did not come under the Derby scheme and throughout her recruiting arrangements the fact has had to be recognised that her economic, as well as her political conditions are quite special. He will be a very bad patriot who, for the sake of bad blood or

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political capital tries to make Ireland a subject of controversy". (Quotation from the "Independent").

In the "Daily Chronicle" eyes, the Unionists of Ireland must be bad (English) patriots! Irish newspapers report:

"The following resolution has been adopted by the Executive Committee of the Irish Unionist Alliance - 'That this Committee, representing the Unionist opinion of the three southern provinces desires to place on record its opinion that in the event of a scheme of national service being introduced by the Government, it would be a national disgrace if Ireland were excluded, or any differentiation were made in regard to this country". So, they are more English than the English. Why did they even say "this country"? Logically, they should have said: "this part of the United Kingdom", or "this part of Great Britain".

Another quotation: "The 'Nation' says: "It (i.e., the political crisis) has been precipitated and led up to with much art. It seems to be little short of a betrayal of Home Rule to force Mr. Redmond to insist on the inclusion of Ireland from conscription under penalty of exposing him to the retort that in doing so he reveals her essential disunity from the Empire". This is where the Redmondites have landed themselves in their over-fervid declarations of loyalty to England.

"The Dublin correspondent of the 'London Times' says that 'the majority of Irish nationalists are anxious to win the war, but all their plans and opinions are coloured by the prepossession of Home Rule ..... If Ireland is excluded from compulsion and the rest of the Kingdom accepts it, the enemies of Home Rule will be furnished with a powerful argument against that policy".

Quite so. But, Mr. Redmond has said: Home Rule is safe: 'tis on the Statute Book of England.

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The New Year "Honours List" is published today. General Friend is made a member of the Irish Privy Council. This seems a linking up of the military and civil administration of Ireland. The Lord Mayor of Cork has got a knighthood, along with others who have been active in recruiting.

January 3rd. The British Lion is howling over the loss of the P. & O. liner "Persia". It was torpedoed by a German submarine in the Mediterranean. An American Consul was on board the ship and was drowned. The Lion is screaming to the American Eagle to come to his aid.

German submarines are again busy off our south coast and in the Irish Sea. Cross-channel steamers are said to be in danger.

"Extraordinary Censorship. Convents and Bishops suspect". Thus a heading in today's "Independent". Bishop Mangan, speaking at Mass in Killarney Cathedral, stated his own letters and letters addressed to nuns in the convent had been "opened by censor". "While safe conduct was offered for their letters to Rome, their letters in Ireland were ruthlessly opened by irresponsible officials. They never heard that the Germans opened the letters of German Catholic Bishops. Were the British War Office officials to add another to their many grave blunders?" The "Examiner" has more fully reported the Bishop's protest. "Hitherto, according to the measure of my lights, the present government had my sympathy and support in this dreadful war. Is this the return they give to me and my Catholic people?" His Lordship refers to "our brave soldiers, the Munsters" and asks again is the return to be insults from the British Government. His remarks are nearly "pro-Germanism". Their effect must be to discourage recruiting and cause "disaffection".

Mr. John Dillon, denouncing "factionism", says "the danger of conscription being applied to Ireland is now past, owing to

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the stand made by the Irish Party". But, the English Press Association says the Conscription Bill to be introduced into the House of Commons on Wednesday will apply to the United Kingdom generally and there will be no exception in the case of Ireland".

January 5th. The Press Association recants. It states definitely this morning that conscription will not apply to Ireland. Ireland was included in the draft of the Bill, originally, but was subsequently struck out. Why, one may ask? The Volunteers armed and the national sentiment of the Irish people is the answer. One English paper has stated it would never do to have bloodshed in Ireland at present. A recognition of the fact that there are men in Ireland who would resist in arms.

The Orange group of Members of the British Parliament have passed a resolution of protest against Ireland's "proposed exclusion". They profess to regard it as a disgrace that conscription is not to be enforced here. The Protestant Bishop of Armagh is of the same mind. He expresses his views in a long letter to the press. These people should know the enforcement of conscription would lead to bloodshed. Do they wish it so? Or, are they only playing a political game?

January 6th. Ireland is out of it! There were cries of "why" in the House of Commons when Asquith said the Bill would apply only to Britain. "Because the Derby scheme did not apply to Ireland". In substance, that was his argument. It is not an answer. The "Derby scheme" was not applied here because the Government knew that, too, would be resisted.

A German paper, "Lokal Anzeiger", is reported as saying "Prime Minister Asquith dare not enforce conscription in Ireland".

To provoke a rising in Ireland would not suit English policy at the moment, evidently; though there are many high in authority who would favour the provocation.

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Redmond and Dillon took different lines in the debate on the Bill, though both sought to prove Ireland's loyalty to England.

Herbert Pim, at a recent meeting in Mullingar, suggested that an Irish Provisional Government be set up. This idea has been in other minds as well. It is doubtful wisdom, however, to mention the matter publicly at the present time.

An obscure paragraph in the papers gives "Irish pre-war and post-war tax", a reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Ginnell:

"1913-14, aggregate total, £9,627,000.

"1914-15, aggregate total, £17,457,000".

The whole basis of Home Rule finance; the whole Unionist argument against Home Rule; the whole Parliamentary Party argument for Home Rule, in money matters, was that Ireland could not support itself and that the very utmost limit of taxation had been reached in 1913-14! And Mr. John Dillon says "The Irish Party" have saved Ireland from crushing taxation.

To prove how loyal we are to England and show what help we are giving her in the war, Mr. Dillon, in the English Parliament yesterday, gave figures of the number of Irishmen in the British army:

In the regular army before war broke out: Catholics, 14,000; Protestants, 6,000. Special reservists, Catholics, 6,000; Protestants, 3,000. Up to December 15th last, 91,555 recruits "have joined Kitchener's army" - 50,196 "Roman Catholics" and 41,353 Protestants. "The number of reservists who joined the colours in Ireland was 12,000 Catholics against 5,500 Protestants" ... "The total number going from Ireland and serving in the army at the present moment, without allowing for casualties, was 142,000". (The figures as given are somewhat discrepant).

January 8th.

A special (English) Trades Union Congress

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met on Thursday last (6th). Nearly two million votes were recorded as against conscription; 783,000 in favour of it. The "Red Flag" was sung instead of the National Anthem. The "Daily Mail" reports: "The words England or Britain were never once uttered during the long day's talk". But, will the democrats of England stick to their avowed principles?

All this unrest in England and confusion at the centre of power should be Ireland's opportunity of striking for independence. Week by week, the "Workers' Republic" is emphasising that the chances of Irish freedom are greater today than at any period of Irish history. It is so outspoken this very week that the surprise is that it is not suppressed. Either the Government does not think it politic to suppress it, or is not ready to take drastic action. But also, so far as I know, there are no plans at Volunteer Headquarters to take action such as Connolly urges. Will '48 and '67 be repeated?

January 10th. Rumours again that Mr. John E. Redmond may shortly resign chairmanship of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Mr. John Dillon take his place. Dillon is keeping closer to the facts of the present situation in Ireland.

A typical instance of how recruiting meetings are faring at present is shown by occurrences at one in Cork yesterday. The meeting was a large one. A local large employer of labour was speaking. He was enlarging on what "the Huns" would do if they came to Ireland. "They could not treat us worse than you treated your workmen a few years ago", shouted a voice in the crowd. That finished the speaker. A National Teacher, who is also a Justice of the Peace, spoke. He was heckled and howled down. A professor of University College tried to speak. He uttered the word "Remember" and paused. "Remember '98", someone called loudly. Then the crowd began singing: "Who fears to speak of '98". They continued singing other national songs. The speakers were silenced. When they sung "God Save Ireland" the military band came out and played the air! But the crowd

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marched away, still singing; came to the National Monument and then dispersed.

Some English papers are getting "nasty" regarding Ireland and the actions of the Irish Parliamentary Party in voting against conscription. The Party's protestations of loyalty to England are treated with scorn. The papers know, of course, what is happening in Ireland, but do not find it diplomatic to speak too plainly at present.

Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party are being thanked by their supporters for saving Ireland from conscription. This was inevitable.

January 12th. The English Tory papers were correct in forecasting that the Irish Party would not continue its opposition to the Conscription Bill. Their threats must have had effect. Mr. Redmond has discovered that it is "a purely British Bill". He hopes it will pass quickly. William O'Brien took up that attitude at the first reading and was denounced for doing so. The breach between Redmond and Dillon grows wider. It is definitely stated Redmond is about to resign and retire from parliament. Mr. Dillon "wanted to force him into an attitude inconsistent with his declaration at the outbreak of the war". And the "Sinn Feiners" are going strong! His followers must pass new votes of confidence in him. Last week's ones are out of date.

More figures. Mr. Birrell, in the House of Commons, yesterday:

"Number of men between 19 and 41 in each of the provinces of Ireland on August 15th last, approximately: Leinster, 174,597; Ulster, 169,489; Munster, 136,637; Connaught, 81,392. (Total: 562,115)". "Up to December 15th, there had enlisted in the army and navy .... approximately: Leinster, 34,458; Ulster, 49,760; Munster, 14,190; Connaught, 3,589." (Total - 104,997)

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"There are now 400,000 unattested single men of military age in Ireland; 250,000 are engaged in agriculture and are not to be spared; 25,000 in munition works and shipyards, and 10,000 on railways and in seafaring work. Taking away the unfit, estimated for England at 40 per cent., the final reservoir of Irish recruits is about 80,000 men".

Lord Newton gave other figures in the House of Lords, though "it was against the public interests to give the figures for Great Britain".

Ireland is looming large in discussions in the English Parliament Houses and in the press. The real spirit of Ireland, the real facts of the situation, are barely touched on; are, in fact, avoided as much as possible.

Carson appeals to Redmond to come "the one step further" to accept conscription for Ireland. The Irish Unionist group are to press amendments to the Bill in Committee to have Ireland included.

Birrell has let the Irish Party down! He stated (what was already in the press) Ireland was included in the original draft of the Bill. The Cabinet discussed the draft. "There was no communication with any Nationalist Member during the progress of those Cabinet discussions". There was no pressure on the Cabinet to leave Ireland out and no bargaining. (So, no thanks from their supporters are due to the Irish Party) Then he gave a nice little lecture: "Patriotism in Ireland was much too local an affair, and the wisest course for statesmen was to extend that local patriotism, to introduce into it a real Empire patriotism. They had to consider in a country like Ireland how they could help, and not hinder, the slow, but gradual, progression that was noticeable there, whereby its somewhat narrow patriotism was gradually extending. It was the most potent mixture the world had ever seen, but it was a mixture! It was the oddest compound! It was made up of

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prejudice, of passions, of memories, of little scraps of history imperfectly taught for the most part, and partly remembered and frequently completely misunderstood (loud laughter)" ..... Patriotism "widened and widened" beginning at home, until it contained within its glorious ambit far distant lands and populations long since emigrated from their own shores but still retaining much of the old feeling". (What a lovely lecture! It could equally apply to "little Englanders" And what of the Belgians? If there is a Birrell in Germany he could say: "Patriotism in Belgium is much too local an affair; the wisest course is to extend it to a real (German) Imperial patriotism".

Then he spoke of "sympathetic treatment" - (General Friend's treatment, is what we know of). "They had had difficulties in the way of recruiting in Ireland; obstacles there were; jarring notes had undoubtedly been struck; but who, remembering Irish history, but must rejoice at the success they had obtained? (cheers). They were not face to face with failure in Ireland. They were still getting 1,000 recruits a week. The flow stopped for a time, but it had now recommenced and was going on - he would not say extraordinarily well - but most encouragingly well".

Clever Mr. Birrell. Fine talk. We have heard something like this lecturing before. One can judge he does not want bloodshed in Ireland. His policy is that of the spider with the fly. But, what of D.O.R.A. and the military authorities?

Answering Ginnell, Mr. Birrell stated Kenny's advertising agency had got £10,000 for advertising the recruiting campaign in the Irish newspapers. It was not a bribe. No.

January 13th. There was a public meeting in Cork City Hall last night, under the auspices of the Óglaigh. It was a meeting of protest against "economic conscription"; that is, victimisation in employment, over-taxation, and the reduction

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of the educational grants. Father Michael O'Flanagan was the principal speaker. Father Pius, O.S.F.C., also spoke. Father Seamus Ó Floinn sent a letter of apology. I also sent a letter, as I could not be present. The point of it was that while the English Government rules in Ireland we will have "grievances"; therefore, to get rid of the grievances, the only way was to end English rule in Ireland.

The meeting was a tremendous success, I heard. The City Hall was packed; the vestibule was also crowded; there was an overflow meeting on the quay outside the Hall. Enthusiasm ran high. Father O'Flanagan, having spoken inside the Hall, had to address the meeting outside also. The "Constitution" gives him much space; more than the "Examiner" or any of the Dublin papers give him; its purpose is to twist his remarks as "pro-German". Father Pius is a quiet-spoken man, but it seems he was roused to enthusiasm also and hit hard at those who seemed honoured at receiving knighthoods and English titles for their recruiting activities.

Alderman Jeremiah Kelleher, a labour leader, whom I met, and who is not, most emphatically, a supporter of Sinn Féin, told me he had never seen a meeting so large, in and around the City Hall, or one so enthusiastic and unanimous. He had been present as an onlooker.

Is Ireland a nation, or a country, distinct from England? Our parliamentarians are not quite clear on the matter, apparently. Mr. Dillon in the British Parliament, for instance: "The Prime Minister had declared that each soldier cost the country £300 a year. If one and a half million of men were added to our army that would mean the expenditure of £450,000,000 a year ..... Hewas sorry to see the distinction which had been made between Ireland and the other countries of the United Kingdom". Then he spoke of the danger of plunging "the country" into an election, in the face of the enemy. The Conscription

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Bill "for the first time introduced - he would not say an element of discord, but of apparent disunion, between the two countries".

It seems rather mixed. The "New Garrison" are muddled, beyond doubt.

January 14th. Morning newspapers reports that friend Terence MacSwiney was arrested yesterday and is in Cork Gaol. No charge stated. I was speaking to him on Wednesday evening (12th) on my way to railway station. He had no idea then that he was to be arrested.

Thomas Kent, of Castlelyons, Fermoy, has also been taken up. His arrest, it is stated, has caused much surprise. I remember him as being present at the Óglaigh Convention in Dublin; a straight, strong countryman, who was outspoken.

Mr. Birrell is "nourishing the tender plant" (of loyalty to England) in fine fashion.

Terence was arrested yesterday morning, early. He had learned the previous night it was to take place. In consultation with others, he decided not to evade it, or resist. I imagine his own inclination would have been otherwise. Good reasons for non-resistance must have been advanced. Six or seven police and detectives came to the house. They searched it, but not exhaustively. My wife went to see his sisters last night. There were rumours this morning that he had been removed from Cork. I called to Jeremiah Lane, J.P., to get a permit to visit the prison. He referred me to Alderman Kelleher who is a Visiting Justice. Kelleher gave me a note to O'Connor, the Governor of the gaol. On the way, I met Tadhg Barry, who told me Terence would see no one. Still, I went to the prison. Very politely received by the Governor, who asked me if I were a Visiting Justice myself! He put himself out of the way to oblige, but Terence would not see me. The Governor said his refusal was to meet people in the ordinary room in which untried

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prisoners can see friends; that is, through a grating. Governor O'Connor knows nothing of the charge against Terence. He awaits instructions from the military authorities.

Another man was waiting in the outer hall of the prison. I saw a resemblance to Kent; so spoke to him and learned he was his brother (David). Having thanked the Governor, I left. He seemed puzzled over MacSwiney's attitude. David Kent remained to see his brother. I met him in the city later. He says Tom is going on hunger strike till a charge is made against him. He was in prison before, in Land League days, some twenty-five years ago. He says the probable charge against Terence and his brother is for speeches delivered near Castlelyons a few weeks ago.

The temper of even the pro-British is rising against the Government's withdrawal of education grants. They are illogical, of course, but learning "loyalty" does not pay. Educational grants in England have been increased. So, they are forced to regard Ireland and England as separate entities, while still proclaiming "we are all one", and speak and write of "Our Army, Our Navy, Our Empire".

January 16th. Rumours of further likely arrests were prevalent yesterday. They became a joke by the evening.

Commandant Sean O'Sullivan went to Dublin to learn the mind of Óglaigh Headquarters regarding arrests. I sent a letter by him to Sean Milroy, expressing the opinion that some plan of action ought be decided on in Dublin. He should be in touch with responsible leaders.

Wednesday night's great meeting is still a subject of conversation. It has apparently put beyond all doubt the strength of Irish Nationalist opinion in Cork. But I believe the whole country at present is strong in its nationalist faith.

A Co. Kerry Member of Parliament asked a question in the English Commons the other day about the censorship of Bishop

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Mangan's letters. The chief point of the reply was that censorship is necessary to prevent "information reaching the enemy".

In the course of the reply it was stated: "Cork has not been exceptionally treated in the matter of censored letters". Why Cork was thus mentioned is not clear, but we know here the censorship in Cork has been exceptional, in that, at times, all letters have been "opened by Censor". We have not heard of this happening elsewhere.

At annual meeting of the Gaelic League tonight, Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) informed me that he had heard my name was on a list before "the authorities" at Queenstown, probably, he said, with an intention to order me out of Cork, or out of Ireland. He heard this incidentally, but regards it as reliable. Such an order is an honour!

January 19th. The Orange Members' amendment to the Conscription Bill in the English Commons, to have Ireland included, was not accepted by the Government spokesman, Bonar Law, and was consequently not pressed. Mr. Law explained clearly why Ireland was not included, too clearly perhaps for the comfort of the "New Garrison" (Irish Parliamentary Party).

"On a question of principle it was impossible to justify the exclusion .... If there were a permanent system of national defence, Ireland could not be excluded..... The question resolved itself into one of what they should gain and lose by attempting to force the Bill upon Ireland. It has been said there was no real opposition to the Bill in Ireland. He was unable to agree. Looking at Ireland as it was, he strongly believed that it would not be possible to put that Bill into effect in Ireland without the exercise of a considerable amount of force. It was no pleasure to him to emphasise the fact that Ireland was different from England,

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but it was, and he believed that even from a material point of view the Government would lose more than they would gain by trying to force the Bill on Ireland".

That is a tribute to the strength of the Óglaigh and of the nationalist spirit in Ireland. But, Mr. John E. Redmond had something to say: "To put the Bill in operation in Ireland would most undoubtedly paralyse the efforts of himself and others who had worked unsparingly, and not altogether unsuccessfully, since the commencement of the war, and it would play right into the hands of the contemptible minority amongst the nationalists of Ireland who had tried, and tried successfully(?) to prevent recruiting, and to undermine the position and power of the leaders of the Irish Party because of the action they had taken". ("Tried successfully" is in the "Independent" report. The "Daily Mail" has "tried unsuccessfully", which is no doubt correct, in the context).

Mr. Redmond, as usual, is illogical. If the majority of the Irish people are with him, "the contemptible minority" could not prevail. If the enactment of conscription would "play right into the hands of what he terms "the contemptible minority" it is because the great majority of Irish nationalists are not as loyal to England as he said they were. Even the expressions of opinion regarding the cutting off of education grants are not couched in terms of loyalty to England, nor do they show any regard for England's troubles. Bishops and priests have been using "strong" language about the English Government. Rev. Professor Corcoran, of the National University spoke at a meeting in Dublin on Monday night, called by the Gaelic League, Eoin MacNeill presiding. "Sneak thieves" was his term for the English Treasury and Dublin Castle officials. "Loud and prolonged hisses" were indulged in when Mr. Redmond's name was mentioned; "jeers and derisive laughter" at the mention of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

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The "London Times" is convinced that "money from the enemy" - German gold - is responsible for the flood of papers, pamphlets, leaflets, periodicals, flowing over Ireland: that are not pro-British.

The list is now a fairly long one, weekly, monthly, serious, comic - "Nationality", "Irish Volunteer", "Workers' Republic", "Leader", "New Ireland", "Claidheamh Soluis", "The Spark", "Honesty", "The Hibernian", "Fianna", "Irish Fun", "Catholic Bulletin", "Goblin", "The Irishman" - varying in their outlook, catering for different tastes, but at all events all for Ireland as a nation.

January 20th. Must the "Cork Examiner" be classed among the comics? It writes: "Since the war commenced Ireland's taxation has increased by eight millions sterling a year. That enormous sum has been cheerfully paid".

January 21st. Again the "Workers' Republic" writes strongly and outspokenly: The opportunity for making a bid for Irish freedom is now. It points a moral from the fatal delays in '98, '48, '67. It lays blame for present delay in taking action on some of the leaders of the Volunteers. The publicity seems to be unwise; it seems like "warning the enemy"; unless action is intended immediately. Yet, perhaps, it is inevitable. It would not be well if Connolly forced action, which was not backed by the general body of Volunteers. My opinion, indeed, is the same as that in the "Workers' Republic", the present is the opportune time to make a bid, in arms, for complete Irish independence. But I know of no preparations towards that end on the part of the Óglaigh.

January 23rd. There is a special Óglaigh muster today; field operations under the command of Captain ("Ginger") O'Connell of Headquarters. He is to conduct a course of training here for the next few weeks. Is this routine, or are we preparing for action?

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January 24th. While at breakfast at home this morning there was a knock at the door. My wife opened it and ushered in a young man. She thought he might be an emissary from "the competent military authority". He was not unlike a detective. However, he said to me he represented an American paper and wished for views on Irish affairs. He gave me his card: "Mr. Henry West Suydam, The Brooklin Daily Eagle". He had obtained views of the Unionist side; he wanted Sinn Féin views. He was quite impartial, so he said. Wished to report what he heard or saw and let his readers take it or leave it. "But", said I, "how did you get here? You know no American correspondents are allowed into Ireland. "Yes, but I am here under the protection of the British Foreign Office". "Everything you write will be censored?". "Oh, yes, it will be censored in England". "You know one cannot speak openly. That may mean banishment or gaol. What exactly do you want?" "Well, say, conscription. Would that really be resisted? I heard in Dublin it would, but I hardly believed it". (He smiled at this). "Yes, absolutely so. It would be resisted That's public property, not just a personal opinion". "But how?". "Well, some young men would leave their homes; others, who have firearms, would undoubtedly shoot. It would take 200,000 English soldiers to enforce conscription in Ireland". "Yes, what I want is to get the views of the intellectuals as to Ireland and the war. The Sinn Féin movement was originally what you call an intellectual movement?" "Yes". "What exactly was it?" "A national self-reliance movement. It was attacked chiefly on its demand for withdrawal of Irish Members from the English Parliament: a logical demand. It is by virtue of the Act of Union of 1801 the Irish representatives are in Parliament Their presence there is an acknowledgment of the Act of Union, which has always been declared to be unconstitutional". "I see", and he smiled. "But", I said, "people, I suppose,

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do not act logically". "How is it, as I hear, Sinn Féin has increased its membership so much lately?" "Oh, every Irish Nationalist now who is anti-English is called a Sinn Féiner. Sinn Féin has not now the same connotation it originally had. It was a policy between the Parliamentary one and physical force - a policy of passive resistance to English rule in Ireland". "Has Mr. Redmond acted in a statesmanlike way during the war?" "No. What some of his own followers seem to blame him most for is that at the outbreak of the war, when he made his famous speech, he did not insist upon Home Rule being put in to operation. He could have done so". "But was a time of war the proper time for that?" "Well, would it not have been worth while for the English Government to have redeemed its promise, if it wanted Irish help in the war?" "Will Mr. Redmond have the same influence in Ireland after the war?" "No; certainly not. Even many of his own followers no longer trust him". "Why was Terence MacSwiney arrested?" "Ah! how should I know. There is no charge against him". "Is not that queer, to arrest a man without a charge?" "Well, that's the way of British government in Ireland. Outsiders do not understand those things, I suppose. Every Irish nationalist understands. MacSwiney is arrested because he is an Irish nationalist. But that will not be the charge against him. Outsiders reading reports of such a trial do not suspect that the British Government in Ireland stoops to such mean tactics as putting up a false charge". "But, why is Father O'Flanagan not arrested?" "He's a priest, and if he were arrested, 'twould have an influence contrary to what the English authorities would like and they know this". "Did a layman say what Father O'Flanagan has said, he would be taken up?" "I think so". "What do you think of Sir Edward Carson?" "A strong man, but, of course, his point of view and an Irish Nationalists's point of view are utterly at variance".

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Mr. West Suydam took no notes. He wrote down nothing. He stated he would mention no names. He asked if he could see anyone else. After some hesitation, I gave him the name of Tomás MacCurtain.

On the train to Bantry I met an acquaintance, an Excise Officer, a Protestant, a Unionist, I suspect an Orangeman. I heard he had enlisted in the army. He had not. "All bluff for Parliament", he said, "about Civil Service men volunteering". A question is put as to why the Government expect employers to force men to enlist while its own servants are not forced. Reply is, such a number have offered their services and have been accepted. Nothing is said about the fact that such offers are conditional. I thought my acquaintance would be a Jingo. He was not. He expressed the opinion that the Germans would not be beaten; also, that what is in the papers about the war is "all lies". He surprised me.

I got into another compartment at Drimoleague Junction. A soldier was in it. Three other men came in. "Hallo, Jur, back from the front?" said one. "Yes", Jur replied. "Is that the mud of France on your boots?" "Yes". (His boots were muddy and his puttees dilapidated). "Are you wounded?" "No. Home for a week. Left Armentieres district last Friday. Must be back next Sunday. If I could get out of it, I'd never go back. I wouldn't mind joining some other crowd now. Ye read in the papers, I suppose, about a great advance. Umph! It might be a mile. We're in the same place since last October"

And so on, in quite an aggrieved tone of voice.

A pamphlet is being circulated in America, stated to have been written by the German Count Reventlow. The substance matter of the pamphlet is said to be that the freedom of the seas depends upon the freedom of Ireland. England's command of the seas depends upon her holding Ireland. Were Ireland free it would mean freedom for Europe and America from English

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naval tyranny. It is remarkable to have all this admitted and emphasised in America.

More important news, however: A raid was made late on Saturday night (22nd) by a force of police and detectives, 40 in number, it is said, on the house of Countess Markievicz and on other houses. The search is for "arms, ammunition or other military or treasonable equipment". (What is "treasonable equipment?") Seven guns and a small printing press stated to have been seized; the guns in a house in Great Brunswick St., the printing press in the Countess's house. "Enquiries go to show that the raid was not directed against the Irish Volunteers". "It is believed that the houses visited were under suspicion for some time, and that the police and military authorities were in possession of reliable information of grave developments in connection with a certain extreme section of Nationalists in the city. The movements of all such persons are being carefully watched and their letters opened. Anything of a sedition character is carefully noted and sent to the Intelligence Department of the military headquarters for future reference". The extracts are from today's "Independent".

Apparently it is the Citizen Army is being struck at. Will the "Republic" be suppressed? No arrests were made, it seems, and no resistance was offered to the police. I suppose the Volunteers will take no action. The fundamental declaration of the Volunteers is "to guard the rights and liberties common to the whole people of Ireland". Inevitable, perhaps, that declarations cannot be adhered to in practice, by force of circumstances. But, events are moving to the point where some action must be taken.

January 27th. Ginnell put a question regarding MacSwiney and Kent, in the English House of Commons on Tuesday (25th) Mr. Gordon replied: "Messrs. T. MacSwiney and T. Kent were arrested by order of the competent military authority for

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breaches of Regulation 27 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations in respect of speeches made by them at a meeting at Ballynoe, Cork, on the 2nd instant. Since their arrest other matters connected with these men have come to the knowledge of the competent military authority and have had to be considered by him in respect of other charges. The C.M.A. has decided that Kent shall be tried by a court of summary jurisdiction, but has not yet determined how MacSwiney shall be dealt with. The matter is one entirely for the C.M.A."

"Mr. Ginnell: For what cause were they arrested?"

"Mr. Gordon: They know perfectly well the charge on which they were arrested".

On Sunday last Miss Mary MacSwiney told me she had written to the competent military authority about Terence. He had replied to her to say he was awaiting instructions from Dublin Castle. This does not quite tally with Gordon's replies to Ginnell. (Dublin Castle is the civil authority, so it would seem the matter is not one entirely for the military authorities).

January 29th. (Saturday).

In the English House of Commons on Thursday: "Major Newman asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he could give any details as to the present numbers of the various bodies of Volunteers in the three southern provinces of Ireland; do these bodies possess any rifles or ammunition; have any of them taken an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, and for what purpose have they been called into existence?"

Mr. Rea replied: "The National Volunteers were established under the direction of the Irish Parliamentary leaders in the early part of 1914, in circumstances which it seems scarcely necessary to recall to the memory of the House. The section which seceded from them, and which have, under the guidance of their Committee, endeavoured to obstruct

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recruiting and foment disloyalty in Ireland have called themselves Irish Volunteers. It does not appear to be in the public interest to furnish the details asked for by the honourable member. As my right honourable friend is aware, none of the Volunteers in Ireland has taken an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign.

A question was also put, in reference to the recent Óglaigh meeting in Cork. Reply: "The incident appears to have been greatly resented by the loyal people of Cork, but it has not been thought desirable to take any action against the speakers, who were only seeking notoriety by their speeches on this occasion". A reply to provoke our laughter.

Cúis gáire chughainn!

Another paper, "The Gael" has appeared, printed in Dublin, edited from Tipperary.

February 1st. Official report of Lord Lieutenant Wimborne on recruiting in Ireland. On 1st August 1914, there were 20,780 Irishmen in the English army; and 30,266 reservists. Total number of enlistments, 2nd August 1914, to 8th January 1916 - 86,277. In Cork area, the enlistments were 6,519, a surprisingly small number considering the efforts made to enlist men, and enlistments do not mean effectives. Many have been rejected and many have deserted. Ulster is credited with a larger number of recruits than the other provinces combined, so Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party might as well not have taken the "Sharp Curve" to prove their loyalty to England. Though, indeed, Carson's 100,000 Volunteers have shrunk very considerably also, when it comes to enlistment in the English army. Belfast area is credited with 26,883 recruits between 2nd August 1914, and 8th January 1916. In a competition of proving loyalty to England and the Empire, the Old Garrison will still beat the New, in England's view.

February 3rd. Diarmuid O'Connor, solicitor, Dublin, was

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in Cork yesterday to see Terence MacSwiney in connection with his case. Presumably he was sent down by Óglaigh Headquarters. So far, Terence refused to have anything to do with legal defence. That is quite in keeping with his ideas. Many think it is a mistake. He agreed, however, that a public agitation may be got up, for his immediate trial. Trial or release ought to be demanded. O'Connor said he saw the report of the speech delivered at Ballynoe, and, as things are now in Ireland, it is undoubtedly actionable. A trial may scotch the rumours regarding communications with Germany and the receipt of "German gold".

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne, Chief Secretary Birrell and Mr. John E. Redmond were together on a recruiting tour in Galway yesterday. Redmond's son, also a Member of Parliament, has been promoted from Lieutenant to Captain.

February 7th. Friday last (4th), the "Cork Constitution" had a concocted story, nearly a column long, designed to call the attention of "the authorities" to the Cork Óglaigh. The story was written around some insignificant incidents in connection with a military funeral given to a boy of the Fianna the previous Sunday. On a par with it, is the report of the "discovery" of bombs at Leixlip, Co. Dublin. The "Con." attempt is what used to be termed "felon-setting". Eoin MacNeill, in the "Volunteer" is steadily warning the Volunteers against "plots" calculated to get Irish public opinion against them.

February 9th. The "Constitution" has a sub-leader today calling on the Government to take action against the Óglaigh. It refers to some military manoeuvres carried out by the Dublin Volunteers. Terms it uses are: "Sinn Féin antics", "disciples of Sir Roger Casement"; "pro-Germans".

Then it has a news paragraph headed "Sedition in Co. Galway". From the account, the "sedition" consisted of some masked men

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taking horses from under the vans of a mineral water manufacturer, who is a recruiting agent in the district.

In Sligo, there is more "sedition" - some young men are drilling in a country district. In Killarney, while a recruiting meeting was in progress last Sunday, some football teams and their supporters, headed by a pipers' band, marched past the meeting. This called forth an outburst from Mr. Tom O'Donnell, M.P., one of the recruiting orators. Judge Drumgoole also spoke. Then, the same judge went to Tralee and tried a case against a young man for the supposed crime of uttering "Damn the King". The young man had been tried before, sentenced to three months' imprisonment; case was appealed; the case before Drumgoole was the appeal. As might have been expected, the recruiting judge confirmed the sentence. He did more: made a speech from the bench; thought the government entirely too lenient to "this sort of thing". For the young man's defence, a sergeant in the British army, home from Flanders, swore that the young man was in his company and never uttered the words attributed to him by the police. It did not avail.

It is apparent that certain elements high in authority, or influential, want the Government to suppress and disarm the Volunteers. In the south, the "Cork Constitution" expresses their mind. On the other hand, Birrell and his friends want to minimise the strength of anti-English feeling in Ireland, and pretend to the world that Ireland is "loyal". Mr. Redmond, of course, says it is only a "miserable minority" are not with England. So we see the two policies in operation: coercion and diplomacy. Óglaigh headquarters may have plans we know not of to strike for independence, before suppression and disarmament come. No one here seems to know anything of such plans.

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February 10th. Claude Chevasse of Oxford University, at Macroom Petty Sessions, yesterday, was fined £5, with the alternative of a month's imprisonment, for speaking in Irish in Ballingearry. That's splendid! Sergeant Appleby asked Chevasse some questions. Chevasse replied in Irish, so the sergeant arrested him. District Inspector Egan, in the Court, said Chevasse was an Englishman and it was his fellow-countrymen made the laws and regulations. The case was brought under D.O.R.A. (The Justices of the Peace in Macroom have no sense of humour).

February 15th - Tuesday. Terence MacSwiney and Tom Kent are released on bail till next Monday. They were before the Cork Police Court magistrates today. The "trial" was a farce. The whole proceedings leading up to it were a farce.

Last week, Terence's sister Mary had a communication from General Friend to say the trial would take place at an early date. But, no notice of the time was given; hence, it seemed, no chance of a legal defence. Yesterday, Miss MacSwiney called on Wynne, solicitor and Crown Prosecutor. He said that perhaps only an hour's notice may be given of the trial. Some idea arose that the trial may take place today. So, arrangements were made to have Frank Healy, B.L., of Cove, for the defence and some representations were made, it seems, to "popular" Justices of the Peace.

Having heard from Diarmuid O'Donovan, one of our Óglaigh, in Sean Jennings' business place, that Terence was being tried, I hurried to the Police Court. On the bench were Jerry Lane, T.C., Alderman Jeremiah Kelleher, the redoubtable baronet, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, O'Brien, J.P., Lord Mayor Butterfield and Starkie, Resident Magistrate, presiding. At 11.45 "Terence J. MacSwiney" was called. He came to the dock, with Kent.

Wynne opened proceedings. Four or five counts against

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MacSwiney. Two were - words in a speech delivered at Ballynoe, Conna, and the possession of certain papers (a code, as it appeared later). Against Kent - saying at the same meeting, "Better die in Ireland and be buried here than be thrown into a hole in Flanders", and for having a revolver, with ammunition, in his possession. Wynne suggested the case should be one for summary jurisdiction by a Resident Magistrate and applied for an adjournment of the case. Frank Healy sprang up to say he appeared for the prisoners. He spoke splendidly. Ridiculed the whole proceedings; but, he was quite prepared to go on there and then. Sir Edward and Jerry Kelleher queried: "Did Mr. Wynne mean to say they had no rights there as magistrate? Was the Lord Mayor of Cork not a fit person to adjudicate on that bench in that case? There was then some palaver. Healy insisted on the case going on. Evidence of arrest and finding of documents and the revolver was given by the police. Healy: "Are not these gentlemen as much entitled to arms and ammunition as the other Volunteers in Ireland? Let Mr. Birrell and Attorney General Gordon come out straight in the matter. We know what you (Wynne) would do if you had the power. Trample the people of Ireland. Is '98 to be gone over again? ..... Are we back to the days of Louis XIV of France and lettres de cachet?" and so on, in general argument against the whole Dublin Castle administration.

The sergeant gave evidence of finding a secret code.

Wynne: "This code may be used for giving information about His Majesty's naval and military forces?"

Healy: "An utterly unfair question. That's the kind of humbug we have to meet. Was it the police code, sergeant? Do you bet? There's a betting code, I believe. I suppose the City of Cork Volunteers have a code too". (This was the Protestant Corps and most of the leaders, and Wynne himself, were probably Freemasons or members of the Orange Order: hence the sting in Healy's remark).

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Their worships consulted. Then Starkie said: "I will allow bail". Case to be tried Monday next. So the farcical trial ended. Terence and Kent were freed. They looked pleased. Kent was smiling. Outside, he remarked: "Yerra, I was in before. What do I care about them? Their day is done". Up to the time of the trial, I was under the impression Terence was to make his own defence. He would have made it too serious, whereas Healy poured ridicule on the whole proceedings. Tomas MacCurtain and Fred Cronin went bail "for the prisoners". Alderman Paddy Meade was in Court. I heard it was he who influenced the Lord Mayor to attend.

Saturday last, I heard Claude Chevasse was in Cork and at the Presentation Brothers' College. I went along the street towards the College. On my way I saw him - easily recognisable, as he is tall and wears kilts. I introduced myself. Asked him to come to a meeting of the Ard Choiste of the Gaelic League that night. He came, and it was decided to hold a public meeting of protest against his arrest. The meeting was suggested to me by Adjutant Sean Murphy of the Óglaigh. Among others, I have invited Eoin MacNeill to the meeting, though he is hardly likely to come. I have no doubt about the success of the meeting. The times are stirring and exciting.

February 21st - Monday. As anticipated, the meeting in Cork City Hall last night was a huge one. The Ard Choiste considered it desirable to have a priest to preside. So I called on Father Dominic, O.S.F.C. He told me all the Capuchins have been warned not to attend public meetings at present. It seems secular priests have also been advised to the same effect. I had, therefore, to preside at the meeting. On Saturday, Piaras Beaslai came from Dublin to speak as representative of the Cóisde Gnótha of the Gaelic League. Yesterday, he, Chevasse and Peadar Ó Hanracháin went to Ballingeary and addressed a meeting there, the Parish Priest,

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Father O'Leary, presiding. They were late in returning and only arrived as our Cork meeting had begun. Half an hour before that, the City Hall was filled. Edward Sheehan, M.A., on his own account, proposed a resolution to demand that the Cork Corporation confer "the freedom of the city" on Chevasse. If they did not, Edward said they should be "swept away" by an Irish-Ireland party. The "sweeping away" was received with applause, but friend Tadhg Barry, white with excitement, stood up to propose an amendment to the portion referring to the "freedom of the city". I knew what was in his mind - the "freedom" was no honour since the Corporation had expunged the name of Kuno Mayer from the Roll. So, as Chairman, I changed Sheehan's resolution to read that we, as citizens of Cork, then and there conferred the "freedom of the city" on Chevasse, This, of course, was received tumultuously, and satisfied both Tadhg and Edward.

After the meeting, led by the Volunteer Pipers' Band, a section of the crowd went to the hotel where Chevasse was staying and were again addressed by him and by Peadar Ó Hannrachain.

Terence MacSwiney and Tomas MacCurtain went to Dublin on Saturday. Terence and Kent are being tried today, but I had to come on here to Bantry on my work. I asked Diarmuid O'Donovan to send me a telegram as to result of the trial. It reached me about 8 p.m. "Terry fined shilling, costless". This seemed a more ridiculous ending than could be imagined; making the case still more farcical.

February 22nd. The report of the trial yesterday occupies a large space of both the "Constitution" and "Examiner" today, and yet, I believe, is not complete. The trial lasted from noon to 7 p.m., with adjournments for lunch and some private consultations of the magistrates. The Court was crowded and there was much enthusiasm; pointed passages being cheered or

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laughed at as appropriate. The "Constitution" is very vindictive over the verdict. The magistrates refused to state a case for appeal and the reason for the shilling fine was to prevent possibility of an appeal. Starkie, R.M., of course, dissented from the finding of the other magistrates. Wynne made the case purely political, with the usual assertions of pro-Germanism. Terence was charged for statements made in his speech and for being in possession of a code and Wynne put in as evidence against him, letters and articles received by him while he was running his weekly "Fianna Fáil"; matters unconnected with this particular case and hence illegal as evidence. Amongst others, I was told, an article of mine

in "Fianna Fáil" was read. My name was to it. Wynne made some attempt at pronouncing it. Frank Healy sarcastically complimented him. The opening of Terence's speech at Ballynoe was in Irish. Wynne admitted he did not know what it was. Laughter in Court at this. He made much of alleged statements that Redmond ought to be shot, or O'Brien ought to be shot!

Chevasse came into the Court during the trial. He was greeted with applause. The "scenes" were "scandalous" - so thought Wynne and Starkie: not, indeed, said the latter, because of the contempt shown for the Court, but because of the sentiments (in the indictment) that were applauded - "We are ready to fight England". At the conclusion of the trial "the boys" sang "God Save Ireland" and other patriotic songs till the magistrates left the bench. Then they sang in the street. Later, they marched through the city.

Kent's case is adjourned till Monday next. The verdict in Terence's case is a reflex of public opinion. The "popular" magistrates knew they dare not convict, if they would retain popularity.

February 25th.

Cork Board of Guardians yesterday unanimously passed a resolution condemning the arrest and

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imprisonment of men without a charge or trial; also, the Macroom magistrates for convicting Chevasse. (A song was made, later, about "The J.P.s. of Macroom". Tadhg Barry, I think, was the author).

The "Cork Constitution" asks its readers to send copies of that paper, containing reports of "Realm Act cases" to "influential people" in England: in order, of course, to show the said people what a turbulent and "disloyal" lot the Irish are. The old, old game of the Garrison.

February 28th - Monday: Saturday night the second annual ball of the Cork Corps of the Óglaigh was held. Like all functions the Óglaigh undertake, it was a great success.

March 6th. All shipping between Ireland and England is stopped. Cattle dealers and other exporters have got notice to this effect. A liner was sunk off Brow Head yesterday. German submarine war is in full swing and these are some of its results.

The Lenten Pastorals of the Bishops are published today. An outstanding one is that of Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick. He deplores the horrors of war but does not accept the common political cant that one side is fighting for religion and civilisation and the other side are "Huns". He groups, London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg together as centres which, in the days before the war, were devoted to the worship of materialism. He refers to the efforts of the Pope for peace and how the suggestions for peace have been treated by English statesmen. He quotes words which are probably John Redmond's.

March 8th. Leaving Cork this evening, Sean Ó Cuill met me and handed me a letter. It is from Walter Cole, Dublin, in reference to organising a protest meeting against the huge increase in taxation. There was one in Dublin last week. It was a great success, Cole says, though reports in the daily

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papers were poor. I judge the originators in Dublin want the meeting to be an "all-party" one; not specifically Sinn Féin.

March 10th.

The matter of organising the St. Patrick's Day demonstration is usually interesting. This year it promises to be more than usually so. Soon after his election in January, Lord Mayor Butterfield had a letter in the press announcing his intention of taking charge of this year's demonstration. The Gaelic League has been organising it for several years; including last year. The Lord Mayor did not communicate with the *Árd-Choiste* and refused to see a deputation from that body. He has called a meeting and, notwithstanding his action, the *Árd-Chóiste* sent delegates to the meeting. The Organising Committee that was formed was of a very composite character - "all sorts". As a compromise regarding speakers, it was agreed that the Lord Mayor only would speak on St. Patrick's Day. Our *Árd-Chóiste* delegates proposed that, at least, a vote of thanks should be spoken to \_\_\_\_\_, in Irish. Denis O'Mahony, T.C., - a member of the Celtic Literary Society in years past - was one of the *Árd-Chóiste* delegates. He is, however, unable to speak Irish. So, some "joker" - I heard it was John J. Horgan, solicitor - proposed that, as the Gaelic League wanted a speech in Irish, Mr O'Mahony himself do what was required! All seemed well and good, though there were some doubts as to whether the Protestant Young Men's Society, their Boys' Brigade, or the "Old Fogies" Training Corps may not bring Union Jacks or other emblems of the Empire in the demonstration.

What I, more or less, expected has happened. As I was leaving the city on Tuesday evening (7th) a Volunteer on a bicycle met me, to secure that as many delegates as possible from the Gaelic League attend the Organising Committee on Wednesday night, as it was rumoured that English regiments from Victoria Barracks were to take part in the demonstration.

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Wednesday evening I met Peadar Ó Hannrachain and asked him to get to work on the matter. I heard no more, not being in the city yesterday; but as I was leaving Bantry this morning, read a report of Wednesday night's meeting in the "Constitution" - a kind of report, rather.. The "Con" also had a leading article - "Sinn Féin again". The proposal to have the soldiers - 6,000 of them, it says - in the procession was defeated. It further says, there are to be 2,000 "Sinn Féin Volunteers" and some 1,500 "National Volunteers", "which is very creditable seeing that nearly 300 of these have joined the army". (This is sarcasm). It again trots out a story about a machine gun. The leading article ends in a threat; that of a separate demonstration. In the report, it is stated followers of Mr. Redmond and Mr. O'Brien were in favour of having the soldiers in the procession.

In town, I learned more about the meeting. George Crosbie of the "Examiner" proposed that the garrison be invited. He was supported by John J. Horgan, solicitor. Seeing the feeling of the meeting was strongly opposed, Crosbie withdrew the resolution. But, it was understood, I am told, there would be no opposition to soldiers, as individuals, in the procession. It was left to the Lord Mayor to make the "individual welcome" known to the military. The "Irish Times" has a similar report to the "Con".

March 11th. More news in reference to St. Patrick's Day demonstration appears in the "Constitution" - report of a sub-committee. At Wednesday night's meeting, the following supported the resolution to invite the military :- George Crosbie (representing the Industrial Development Association), John J. Horgan (National Volunteers), William Kelleher (All-for-Ireland League), Harry Donegan (National Volunteers). Those who opposed were:- Thomas Lyons (Grocers' Assistants Association), Thomas Dooley (Co. Board G.A.A.), John O'Callaghan

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(All for Ireland League), John Good (Cork Trades Council), Tomas MacCurtain (Óglaigh), Tadhg Barry (Industrial Development Association), Domhnal Óg Ó Callaghan (American Alliance A.O.H.), Richard Barrett (Young Ireland Society), Rev. Brother Rahilly, Alderman J.C. Forde, Patrick Bradley. (No Gaelic League representative appears).

Delegates from the Church of Ireland Young Men's Association and the Young Men's Christian Association were present at last night's (sub-committee) meeting. They stated the report of the previous meeting in the "Constitution" was incorrect.

The Lord Mayor has gone to London to interview Lloyd George about munition work for Cork. A letter from him appears in the press in which he says soldiers and sailors will be welcomed in the demonstration by the committee in charge of it. This was agreed to, I am told. Terence MacSwiney argued yesterday that we ought to encourage nationalist ideas in the rank and file of the Irish soldiers in the British army. They may be useful later.

March 14th. Edward Sheehan and his "Consumers' League" are taking up the matter of organising a public protest against taxation. Walter Cole wrote to Fasait also and the latter spoke to Sheehan. I showed Cole's letter to Terence MacSwiney and some others of the Óglaigh. Terence said in effect "Let somebody else act on it; we have too much to do."

It is somewhat strange to record now (considering all the signs I see) that there is apparently no intention of a fight for freedom on the part of the Óglaigh. The whole attitude seems to be: "if the Government does nothing, we'll do nothing". Of course, if the Government strike, the armed men of Ireland, in absolute self-defence, must act, as the manhood of Ireland have always resisted coercion, armed or unarmed. The feeling that there will be no fight is general at present: unless the Government force the issue.

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March 15th.            Developments?    A five line paragraph in the "Examiner" this morning informs me that there were police raids yesterday morning in Cork on some of the Irish Volunteers. Full, and more than necessary, information was in the "Constitution". It had half-a-column of a villainous article. The whole purpose of the "news" it gives is to provoke a conflict between the Redmondite Volunteers and the Óglaigh. It states the Redmondites "set the police in motion against the Sinn Féin Volunteers". It says people are disappointed because the Redmondite Volunteer leaders and their President do not speak out more strongly against the "sedition" of the Óglaigh. It says feeling is running high between the two bodies of Volunteers and people are afraid of what will happen if they come together, armed, on St. Patrick's Day. (These are palpable lies). The "Con." is at this game of "felon-setting" for some time and matter has been lifted from it into the "Irish Times", Dublin "Daily Express", London "Globe" and other London papers.

But, to what actually happened. The police raided Tomás MacCurtain's home, Sean Jennings' residence and shop, Liam Shorten's house. They got documents at Tomás's place, not of particular importance; a revolver and some ammunition at Jennings', nothing at Shorten's. In the "Independent" report "several stands of arms and many rounds of ammunition" were stated to have been captured. The farther from the centre the larger the story grows.

I called to Jennings' business place about noon. Tomás MacCurtain was there. "Should we take action about the "Con" article?" he asked. I thought not, but that the Redmondites ought, as the charge was against them. I suggested he might see some of their leading men and urge them to act. Liam Shorten came. Then Terence MacSwiney. He called Tomás and both of them departed.

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March 16th. Letters in the "Examiner" this morning from "Lieutenant-Colonel" Donegan of the National Volunteers, repudiating the "Constitution" insinuations, and from Tomás MacCurtain, expressing kindly feelings of the Óglaigh towards the Redmondite Volunteers.

Report of St. Patrick's Day Demonstration Committee meeting also published. At it, Tomás expressed the same feelings as in his letter.

The "Church of Ireland" Young Men's Association and the Y.M.C.A. wrote to say they will not take part in the demonstration.

The police authorities also, in the "Con." itself, repel its suggestion that it was the Redmondite Volunteers gave information about the Óglaigh men. This disclaimer is in an obscure corner.

It is also in the news that a raid was made on Dáhi Barry's home in Glanworth. Dáhi had been Adjutant of the Cork Óglaigh Battalion. He is now organising in the county.

The "Cork Free Press" comments on the absence of news of the Irish Convention in America, held recently, and reads into this absence of news what I have read also, that the Convention must have been a success. It quotes from the "Irish World" matter dealing with the objects of the Convention. The objects appear to have been very clear, namely, to consider how an Irish Republic may be established. The "Press" pooh-poohs this idea; not on grounds of principle, but of expediency. "England is not yet defeated; it has suffered least of all the combatants in the great war; it has an invincible navy and four millions of an army"; therefore "our few thousand obsolete rifles" have no chance of winning a way to Irish freedom. That is a fair basis of argument, but it is an argument against the facts of history and is the coward's argument. It condemns every Irish armed movement as a foolish enterprise. There are

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many things to be considered besides the number and quality of the rifles on either side, when considering a country's freedom. The "Free Press" has forgotten the lessons of the Boer War.

Is not the mention of an Irish Republic, at the present time, alone a proof that all the talk of a New Era, One Bright Spot, Ireland one with England, and so on, is humbug?

March 21st. So all the commotion about St. Patrick's Day demonstration in Cork in 1916 has died down! The day passed without incident. There was the usual procession, larger in numbers and in representation than on many former occasions. There was less "oratory". Also, less signs of drunkenness than on many other days.

The Óglaigh numbered something over a thousand; the Redmondite Volunteers, 135 all told, with ropes held along their lines, marking vacant spaces, supposed to be for those of them at the war fronts! Alas! poor ghosts!

The "Constitution" on the morning of St. Patrick's Day, after its villainous felon-setting, assured its readers that there was no fear of a fight; and on Saturday (18th) it gave a glowing account of the order, decorum, sobriety of the crowd and of those in the procession and exaggerated the numbers of both Volunteer bodies.

The Lord Mayor was the only speaker; a non-committal speech. Seoirse MacNiocaill, of the Gaelic League Ard-Chóiste, speaking in Irish only, proposed a vote of thanks, and Diarmuid Fasait seconded.

The Gaelic League Flag Day collections realised more than ever before: double that of last year. In fact, this year's amount was the greatest ever, in Cork, for the language fund. The Concert in the City Hall, also, was well attended, though the performance was not a very attractive one.

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Mr. Hughes, Premier of Australia, is at present in England. He is saying things that cannot be too pleasant to English rulers. He foreshadows a scheme of "Imperial Federation, to be put into operation when the war is over".

What is of interest is, a plain declaration of his that England is not the Empire; even Great Britain is not the Empire; the colonies - Canada, Australia, South Africa - are practically independent states that can leave the Empire, if they choose, or demand a share in the control of the Empire. That is very significant at the present time. Can it be that the people of Canada and Australia feel they have been drawn into the war by England without their consent? It looks as if they are not going to let England "boss" them in the future.

No explanation of the object of the raids last week on MacCurtain's, Jennings' and Shorten's appears. Nothing has transpired as a result of the raids.

Another letter from Walter Cole regarding the agitation against taxation. The Cork Consumers' League is dealing with this in Cork. Had a conversation with Edward Sheehan, who is chief leader of the League. He intended inviting Members of Parliament of the city to a protest meeting to be held. I pointed out to him that probably they would want to send a deputation to the English Chancellor of the Exchequer and this would not be in accordance with the ideas of the promoters of the protest in Dublin, who are supporters of Sinn Féin. They stand on the principle that the English Parliament has no right whatever in Ireland, for taxation or any other purposes. Some public boards are passing resolutions of protest, but not on principle.

Jerry Lane, T.C., has been deprived of his position as Justice of the Peace; his "J.P.-ship": by the Lord Lieutenant. The reason given - his having said at a meeting of the Cork Corporation that "as long as Ireland was bound to the accursed

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Empire we would be on the verge of starvation". Lane was one of the Justices on the bench in the MacSwiney and Kent cases. Little actions like this of Wimborne's are a help in strengthening Irish Nationalist opinion.

March 22nd.

Tullamore looms large in the news today. So large, that it has crushed out war news headings on the placards. The cause - a fight between the Volunteers and the police in that town. Of the police, a County Inspector, District Inspector, Head Constable and sergeant were wounded, the latter seriously; so it is stated. From the reports the following appears: a crowd gathered in the street outside the Volunteer and Cumann na mBan rooms; a hostile crowd, waving Union Jacks and shouting: "Down with the Sinn Féiners". Stones were thrown at the windows. Some members of Cumann na mBan were assaulted. Volunteers from inside fired revolver shots. The police burst in, demanded names, were ordered to seize the revolvers and search the place for arms. The Volunteers resisted; some shots were fired at the police; others of the men inside used any weapon at hand; hurleys are mentioned. The police arrested four men, charging them with wilfully and feloniously attempting to shoot. Thus the general fact, as reported.

An interview with Bulmer Hobson is published. Report of the Volunteer officers in Tullamore states that the police made no effort to disperse the crowd. Volunteers protected Cumann na mBan girls proceeding home. Some of the Volunteers were injured. There is to be a Flag Day for the Volunteers in Tullamore on Sunday.

Who gathered the crowd? Was it the police urged them on?

The "Constitution" has a leading article on the affair. It exonerates the "Sinn Féiners" by acknowledging they were not the attacking party, but it wants to know what the Government

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is going to do. If the Government does nothing, "loyal citizens" must take matters into their own hands and this will lead to "civil war". The "loyal citizens" for whom the "Con" speaks hate Irish Nationalists far more than they do the Germans. They would have Dublin Castle disarm the Óglaigh at once. The "Constitution" thinks the Tullamore affair will be magnified in Germany to the extent of showing that Ireland is in rebellion.

Will there be any result in Ireland? What is Headquarters view? Is there to be a repetition of such affairs all over the country, but no decisive plan of action?

What of Dublin Castle? The effect may be an attempt at disarming the Volunteers.

An impression was being created in Cork that Lord Mayor Butterfield was opposed to recruiting for the British army, but he presided and spoke at a recruiting meeting yesterday. He has been trying to please all sections; an impossible position, and particularly so in Ireland at the present time.

March 24th. Nine more young men have been arrested at Tullamore and the police are searching for arms there. Other boys are "wanted" by them. Police orders have been issued that no motor cars are to be hired out or loaned to "Sinn Feiners". The papers state there is much excitement in the town. It seems to me the whole affair was organised by the police officers, which would explain why a County Inspector, District Inspector and Head Constable were all in it at the same time. It may be a forerunner of like raids elsewhere. Do the Dublin Castle authorities consider the time has now come for them to take general action against the Óglaigh, as our "Cork Constitution" has urged.

Questions by Ginnell in the English House of Commons yesterday about the police raids in Cork and the removal of

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Jeremiah Lane from the magistracy. A short debate on D.O.R.A. cases in Ireland. All came to nothing, of course, beyond giving publicity to those matters. Birrell's attitude still is that things are not serious in Ireland.

Protests against increased taxation are growing strong. The Irish Parliamentary Party have not yet moved. There is some talk of Members' salaries being cut. If that be proposed it will make them vocal.

It is rumoured that since Father Pius spoke at the meeting here on January 13th, the Capuchins have been "muzzled" from Rome. They certainly, as we know, have been advised, or ordered, not to speak at public meetings of a political nature. But, from Rome? That seems doubtful. It does not seem true that all secular priests have also been cautioned. Some of them are speaking out bravely on the side of Irish Nationalism.

March 27th - Monday.

On Friday last, police and military removed the printing plant of the Gaelic Press, Dublin, printers of "The Spark", "Honesty", "The Gael", "Gaelic Athlete". Reason given - a revolutionary article appearing in "The Gael". Newsagents' shops in Dublin were raided and copies of the paper taken. At the Co-operative Stores attached to Liberty Hall a revolver was presented at a policeman and he was told clear out. He came later with a number of other policemen and a search warrant. He was then allowed to search the premises, but found nothing of importance. It appears the police also attempted to enter Liberty Hall - Headquarters of James Larkin's Transport Workers' Union and of the Citizen Army - but the Citizen Army were mobilised quickly and fifty armed men barred the way. So, no raid was attempted there. It appears also, armed guards are placed in defence of the Hall since.

They, at least, are meeting the police attacks in the only way now left to preserve liberty.

Ernest Blythe and Liam Mellows have been again arrested;

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Blythe at Athea, Co. Limerick; Mellows in Athenry. Charges against them not stated.

A man in Limerick has been taken for "uttering seditious statements". He tried "to seduce a soldier from his allegiance to the King".

Things are stirring. It looks as if the Castle authorities are about to act decisively. The Óglaigh still wait on. However, Commandant Sean O'Sullivan, last night, expressed to me the opinion that he expected "serious trouble" to take place in three or four weeks, at the outside. He must have some grounds for this opinion. I think we are keyed up for it now. But, are there preparations for a successful outrising? It seems to me there are only preparations for defence.

March 20th. (On the train from Drimoleague) - The struggle between the British Government and the Óglaigh is coming nearer. It may be only days ahead; at most, it looks as if it can be only weeks, as Sean O'Sullivan said.

A Manifesto from the Óglaigh Council Headquarters, issued yesterday, published in the morning papers, makes the issue clear enough. It contains a challenge.

(In the city): I have tried seven shops for a city edition of the "Cork Constitution" but failed to get one. Its poster has: "The Sinn Féiners: Astounding Reports". The news in the country edition consists of: 1. The Manifesto. 2. Orders of deportation on Blythe and Mellows, who are in prison, and on Alf. Monaghan, who is not yet in prison apparently. They are to be forcibly deported. 3. Arrest in Tipperary of a District Councillor for "uttering seditious statements". 4. Account of Volunteer manoeuvres in Clonakilty district last Sunday. A recruiting meeting was held in Ballinadee and the Óglaigh from there marched into Clonakilty. 5. A strong, insulting, impudent letter from John E. Redmond, condemning in violent terms the agitation against over-taxation; denouncing as pro-

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Germans those who are organising that agitation and asserting Ireland is willing to bear any taxation for the war. 6. An account of the preliminary trial of the Tullamore boys.

The challenge in the Manifesto is contained in the statement that we deny the right of the Government to disarm us and that if disarmament is attempted, it can only lead to bloodshed. That is clear. If the Government takes up the challenge, the struggle must be near.

The "Freeman's Journal" and "Irish Independent" have no notice of the Volunteer statement. They have small notices of the deportations. The "Freeman" has Redmond's letter and one from John Dillon, and a long leading article denouncing all and sundry who dare to say Ireland is over-taxed by the British Government. They are "pro-Germans", "Sinn Féiners", "Crank", "Nobodies", "enemies of the Irish Party", "anti-recruiters". We had thought some of these terms had been killed by ridicule, but it seems this is not so in the "Freeman" office.

Had a chat with some of our Óglaigh leaders in Cork. Terence MacSwiney was in Dublin on Sunday last. From the conversation, I gather there is no intention (at headquarters) of an organised fight. Things are to be allowed take their course as they will. Every man to do the best for himself; avoid arrest, if possible; fight, if he has opportunity and inclination. What I heard is, in a way, almost a denial of the Manifesto. Heading it, one would think great deeds are in contemplation. Such I learn is not the case. Whether the deportations will be allowed proceed without protest, or not, no one knows. It seems they will, and then a political "grievance" made of them.

But, things were nearly coming to an armed conflict in Dublin last Friday night. When the police were refused entrance to Liberty Hall, the military got orders from General Friend to be ready. They would have acted, so runs the story, but

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Chief Secretary Birrell countermanded the order. Major Price, who is usually in command in Dublin, and is credited with being "liberal-minded", was away and General Friend is not "liberal-minded".

The prospect for any successful action by the Óglaigh seems dark. One of the men I was talking to expressed very depressing sentiments. He is depressed at the apathy of the people in general. I did not agree there. Nationalist sentiment is strong. If there be a failure now, it will be due to the leaders of the "physical force" movement not acting quickly enough, as has occurred in the past. If the Government be allowed choose its own time and way to disarm the Óglaigh, there is little hope of a successful struggle on our side.

March 29th. Further arrests and trials under D.O.R.A. for "wooing soldiers from their allegiance". Pádraig Ó Conaire arrested in Donegal at the house of Mrs. Gavan Duffy for speaking Irish to a policeman.

A short paragraph in the "Independent" today about the cancelling of the order to the military in Dublin, on Friday, bears out what I heard yesterday.

A ship was torpedoed off Baltimore by a German submarine and there are rumours of three or four sunk off Cork Harbour.

April 1st. - Saturday. Events crowd thick and fast. I can only record a few.

There was a meeting, or series of meetings, of protest against deportations in and around Dublin Mansion House on Thursday night. The Lord Mayor's locum tenens presided. Strong speeches were delivered by Eoin MacNeill, Alderman Tom Kelly and others. Two priests spoke at the meeting. Many other priests sent letters or telegrams. Afterwards, a crowd paraded the streets, and it is reported revolver shots were fired. Very few Volunteers, as such, were on the streets apparently. Most of the papers yesterday wrote up the

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"scenes of disorder" on the streets rather than the meetings; the "Cork Constitution" excelling them all in lurid descriptions thereby increasing its circulation enormously.

Birrell, as shown by replies to Ginnell in Parliament, re the breaking up of the type of the Gaelic Press, is getting "nasty" - more and more cynical.

A prohibition against sending revolvers by post has been published; an indication that this must have been taking place.

Mr. Asquith has gone to Rome and it is reported he is to have an audience with the Pope.

The submarine war continues. The ship sunk off Baltimore the other day was Russian. Her crew were taken on board the submarine. Later, the latter hailed a Baltimore fishing smack and transferred the crew to it. They were brought into Skibbereen and photographed.

April 2nd. Our Cork Óglaigh are under orders to be ready and "stand to arms" for thirty-six hours. Naturally, no explanation is given. My own opinion is that it is only a trial "mobilisation".

April 3rd. The orders to stand to arms are off. No developments ensued.

There was another, open-air, meeting in Dublin on Saturday (1st) to protest against the deportations. The speakers, Alderman Tom Kelly, Tomás MacDonagh and others, deprecated the use of revolvers on the streets, among an undisciplined crowd.

There is also a big strike of workmen in Dublin.

By chance, I have been able to get a copy of the "Irish World", New York, of early February, and of the "Catholic Sun" of March 10th. Seeing how strict the censorship is, it is surprising to find how well-informed of the situation in Ireland the "Irish World" is. It has minute particulars of the arrest of Terence MacSwiney. It has a good cartoon depicting

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John Redmond and William O'Brien as recruiting agents grovelling before John Bull, offering Irishmen as recruits, while "Bull" holds out his hands and says: "Bless you, my children".

The "Catholic Sun" has a pretty full report of the great Convention of Irish-Americans of March 4th and 5th. An organisation, called "The Friends of Irish Freedom" was established, and a long, temperately-worded statement was issued from the Convention. The Irish Parliamentary Party is repudiated; its attitude in regard to England and the British Empire condemned.

It is stated there are 2,000 delegates present and it is interesting to note some of the names. Of course, John Devoy was there, but there were also men like Humphrey O'Sullivan, a successful manufacturer, who, the last time he was in Cork, gave £100 to George Crosbie of the "Cork Examiner" for the Volunteers.

The Convention declared strongly that Ireland's claim to independence must be considered when terms of peace are being laid down at the end of the war. It was also strong in a declaration for American neutrality.

The news of the gathering is heartening at the present time.

Mr. Asquith visited the Pope. His Holiness is endeavouring to make peace. One suspects Ireland will also be discussed by Asquith.

April 4th. Reports appear in the press today of another meeting in Dublin, held last night in connection with the deportations. Also of a Volunteer recruiting rally, at which The O'Rahilly stated that, despite proclamations and all the Government actions, rifles were being brought in: apparently, large number of recruits are joining the Óglaigh in Dublin. There appear to be lively times in the city and there are many

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rumours here in Cork of activities there, not reported in the newspapers, such as shooting at policemen and the throwing of soldiers into the Liffey. Most of the rumours are probably false ones. What they show, however, is a spirit of unrest and expectation of things likely to occur. Anything may occur, suddenly and dramatically.

One rumour that is likely correct is, that the military authorities want to move against the Volunteers, but that the civil authorities deem it inadvisable at present to move on a large scale. The Government does not mind defiant words.

"The Party" political machinery has been got to work with regard to the Taxation agitation. The majority on the public Boards will have nothing to do with an agitation organised by "Sinn Féiners" and "pro-Germans". Everything is safe in the hands of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party. That's the cry.

But those "representative men" do not now represent the nationalist spirit of the mass of the people.

April 5th. The "Independent" has a small paragraph today, headed: "What does it mean?" The paragraph is to the effect that two military majors have been appointed magistrates for Dublin city and county. Majors Sirr and Swan of '98 reincarnated?

Volunteer Captain Brennan, at Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment, with hard labour, by the Resident Magistrate, for saying to the Volunteers, on St. Patrick's Day, that they should guard their weapons with their lives, that to shoot, when an attempt is made to disarm them, is not murder, but self-defence; that conscription would never be enforced in Ireland while they had weapons. This was "Disaffection to His Majesty the King". The "judicial" remark from the bench was: "These fellows ought to be soldiers and not tin-pot warriors".

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The sentence against Claude Chevasse was confirmed at the Quarter Sessions in Macroom last week. There was a tie between the magistrates - four for conviction, four against. County Court Judge Haynes said he took that as affirming the conviction. He stated, in the course of the case, that he would convict any witness who gave evidence in Irish.

Yet, Padraic Ó Conaire was acquitted, though charged with the same "offence".

The English Chancellor of the Exchequer, McKenna, introduced his "budget" in the British Parliament yesterday. Figures were colossal; hundreds and thousands of millions.

William O'Brien, T.M. Healy and Larry Ginnell made a case for special treatment for Ireland. The "watchdogs" of the Irish Parliamentary Party were silent. Arguments in Parliament will not avail a jot. O'Brien and Healy may argue, as they did, that Ireland is willing to do what it can to win the war (for England) but is unable to bear the financial burden. The British Treasury must get money, little or much.

April 7th. Major Newman, in the British Parliament, is to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland "whether, with regard to the recent seizure of arms and arrest of leaders of the Irish Volunteers, he has evidence to show that, before receiving arms, members of the force are compelled to sign a sworn declaration not to surrender their arms to any authority in Ireland; and whether the Irish Government intends to proceed with the disarmament of the force?"

Also, "whether he is aware that, of a consignment of ammunition recently sent to the military at Haulbowline, Co. Cork, 1,500 rounds were missing when the consignment arrived at Queenstown; and whether this ammunition has since been recovered?"

Birrell's answer was what might have been expected. It is inadvisable in the public interest to say what steps are being

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taken against the Irish Volunteers, but that body is getting close attention.

The further report of Brennan's trial is more interesting than the short summary of it, already noted. His sentence was three months, not two.

Moran, solicitor for Brennan, "submitted the prosecution was grossly unfair and unjust, as similar language had been used in the north of Ireland by "Galloper" Smith and Sir Edward Carson and the Government has made no attempt to prosecute. Sir Edward even threatened the Government that he would bring the Kaiser over".

"Chairman (McElroy, R.M.) - If you bring Sir Edward Carson before me and prove your case, I'll be delighted to convict him and so would the other magistrates".

"Mr. Studdert - He would get 'socks' (laughter)".

"Mr. Moran said his client only gave right and legal advice to the people, to keep their guns, to retain their own property".

"In the course of a lengthy judgment, the Chairman quoted the stirring words of the great Prelate, the Archbishop of Tuam, a great Irishman, against whom even Mr. Brennan would not be so presumptuous as to put his opinion, in the appeal in his pastoral to rally to the flag of the country in the great crisis. He also quoted a speech of Mr. John Redmond, the Leader of the Irish people and a great statesman".

"Here the defendant laughed".

"The Chairman said he noticed that Mr. Brennan laughed at the mention of Mr. Redmond's name. That was an outrageous thing for any Irishman to do in any assemblage of decent Irishmen ....."

"Brennan said he obeyed Headquarters and would obey Headquarters. He did not retract one word of what he had said".

The Chairman said "that the Headquarters that gave such

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advice to young boys should be prosecuted".

(So, three months, hard, in Limerick Gaol).

From this case, which is a clear issue, it emerges:

1. To advise Volunteers to stick to their guns is a "crime".
2. To obey the Headquarters of the Óglaigh in giving that advice, or acting on it, is a "crime".
3. Irish Volunteers have not the same right as Sir Edward Carson had (a) to preach resistance to the Government; (b) to arm and train men; (c) to express opinions on political affairs.
4. It is outrageous to laugh at Mr. Redmond's name.
5. An Irish Volunteer has no right to his opinion regarding the war and no right to his property, if it is a gun.

The issue could not be clearer. It may be said things have been laid down by a Petty Sessions Bench of Irish Magistrates; but "the Crown" ordered the prosecution and all Ireland knows "the Crown" would back up the Magistrates verdict.

April 11th. From yesterday's newspapers: Mellows and Blythe have been deported to England. The Volunteers in Dublin, 1,300 strong, including 500 recruits, assembled in Parnell Square, on Sunday (9th) and marched through the city, carrying a banner, indicating that the parade was "Dublin's reply to the Banishment Order".

Speaking at a concert, Eoin MacNeill "referred to the deportation of certain Volunteer organisers, as, for the present, casualties".

"Sinn Féin". More defiance. Motor car seized. Rifles in parcels, seized by Police". Headings in yesterday's "Cork Constitution" over the account of "an incident" which occurred in Dublin on Sunday. A motor car was held up in College Green by the police. There were two men in the car -

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Joseph Doyle and Patrick Kenny of Ferns, Co. Wexford. The car was searched and, as it appears in this morning's papers, "eight new U.S.A. shotguns, 110 rounds of ammunition, 50 rounds of revolver ammunition, 10 home-forged bayonets, some revolvers and other ammunition and papers, including a copy of the "Irish Volunteer" were discovered".

Police Court proceedings yesterday. The car is owned by a Father Murphy, C.C., Wexford, but "he did not know the purpose for which it was being used". The young men were taking the guns, etc. from Dublin to Wexford. From statements made in Court, they seem to be very simple-minded young men, though one of them had three revolvers on his person, two loaded. (The simplicity may be assumed).

Who gave the police information? There appears to be efforts to induce them to give more information.

A great protest meeting against taxation was also held in the Phoenix Park on Sunday, Walter Cole presiding.

The Right Honourable James Campbell, K.C., K.P., of the "Orange Brigade" has been appointed His Majesty's Attorney-General for Ireland. Mr. John Gordon of the same Brigade has been made a Judge.

Campbell is the gentleman who was so obnoxious to the legal hangers-on of the Irish Parliamentary Party when it was proposed some time ago that he be appointed Lord Chancellor. What have they to say now to their friends Asquith, Birrell, Wimborne? Nothing, apparently.

April 12th. Belfast "Northern Whig" reports that 500 unfinished bayonets, consigned from a Sheffield firm, per a Belfast firm, to a cutlery house in Dublin, were seized by the police,

Police have visited newsagents' shops in Cork and Dublin and read sections of the Defence of the Realm Act warning them that if they sell "seditious papers" they are liable to be prosecuted and the papers confiscated.

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Mr. Justice Kenny is perturbed over "the spirit abroad" in Dublin. Opening the Assizes there, he has practically no criminal cases before him, but he delivered a lecture on "the spirit abroad": a spirit of sedition, anarchy and what not. The failure of recruiting for the English army perturbs him. The posters of the Irish Ireland papers perturb him. "Every decent citizen" would welcome drastic action.

The "Daily Mail" quotes his remarks pretty fully.

Mr. Prime Minister Asquith, replying to a speech of the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, makes statements that sound like humbug and cynical hypocrisy to an Irishman, or afford us amusement.

Specimens: "As the result of the war we intend to establish the principle that international problems must be handled by free negotiation on equal terms between free peoples and that this settlement shall no longer be hampered by the overmastering dictation of a Government controlled by a military caste".

A fine principle. What are Asquith's bona fides to speak thus? He has said the Irish people are a free people. He said that in Dublin. He, or some members of his former Liberal Government, acknowledged in Westminster that the Irish people are a nation. Will he then favour the admission of representatives of this "free people", this nation, to the peace conference? We know he will not. We know what his Government would say and so; if they can prevent representatives from Ireland appearing, they will.

And regarding dictation by a military caste: two years ago (it seems like an age long gone) - there was the affair known as "the Curragh mutiny". That was not German militarism.

"There is another aspect of the war to which we have from

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the beginning attached capital importance. We are, in this struggle, the champions, not only by treaty rights, but of the independent status and free development of the weaker countries".

"In those circumstances, cynicism could hardly go further than in the Chancellor's claim that it is for Germany, of all Powers, to insist, when peace comes, upon 'giving the various races the chance of free evolution along the lines of their mother tongue and of national individuality'". (Which is the cynic - Bethmann-Hollweg or Herbert Henry Asquith?)

Mr. Asquith is horrified at the attempt to "Germanise Prussian Poland" and to plant "German speaking farmers" in Posen.

Another German iniquity in his eyes: "The use of the Polish language in the schools was restricted until it was only allowed for religious instruction, and, finally, even this concession was withdrawn, and the little Polish children had to learn to say their prayers in German". (Horrible and awful! fearful and frightful! Such things could never happen under the English Government - in "Poland").

Asquith's speech indicates terms of peace. There are many activities, many discussions, conferences; resolutions, articles in various papers and journals in England, which seem to point to expectation of an early peace. There is opposition to certain taxes. Such opposition, in Ireland, is "pro-Germanism" and might "pamper Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party".

Bishop O'Connell of Raphoe, however, a supporter of "the Party", counsels less consumption of taxed commodities. That is rank Sinn Féinism. It was one of the planks of Sinn Féin and was laughed at by all good Parliamentarians.

April 13th. As we suspected about Asquith's visit to the Pope: From "La Croix" (Paris) - "Rome, 3rd April. According to information from a most reliable source, in the audience

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which the Pope accorded to Mr. Asquith, the English Prime Minister drew the Pope's attention to the role which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland could fulfil in an opportune manner, by intervening with the people to bring about a union, so desirable at present, with the other parts of the British Empire. Mr. Asquith assured the Pope, among other things that, after the war, the Home Rule question would be settled in an equitable manner".

The "Freeman's Journal" is perturbed over the Campbell appointment. It anticipates "coercion" as a result. As if there were no coercion up to this. And the "Freeman" has favoured coercion against "Sinn Féiners" and pro-Germans". What it fears is the spirit of Irish nationality, no longer supporting parliamentarianism "Coercion" arouses that spirit.

April 14th. The Wexford men arrested in the motor car in Dublin last Sunday got three months' imprisonment; a light sentence. The police sergeant, to their solicitor, said he knew of nothing against them. Then, to prosecuting Counsel, on a hint, apparently, from the magistrate, he said they were "utterly disloyal". They were so, because they were Irish Volunteers.

April 17th. It is reported in the press, per a Stockholm paper, that Roger Casement has been arrested in Germany. No reason given. Some time since, it seems to have been reported that he was taking steps to become a German subject, on the fanciful supposition that when the Allies got to Berlin (!) he could plead German citizenship as a refuge from being hanged as a traitor by the English! These are fanciful stories, I suspect.

An incident of, perhaps, some significance took place in Dublin yesterday. The Citizen Army, in a solemn manner, raised a Green Flag over their headquarters at Liberty Hall. I take this to mean that they wish to show all and sundry there is one body in Ireland, however small, who stand for a free Irish Republic.

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Since Larkin went to America, James Connolly is in command of the Citizen Army and the Transport Workers' Union. Connolly, I believe to be a sincere Socialist Republican and a determined man. The men he leads are also, beyond doubt, a determined body of men; dock labourers and other workers called "unskilled". The work of Larkin, Connolly and others at Liberty Hall has aroused their intelligence and done much to educate them. What I, personally, dislike about Socialist education is that it has a strong strain of contempt for religion.

There is another "crisis" in English State affairs. Conscription is again the crux. "Lord Derby's scheme" and partial conscription have been a muddle and a failure, it is said. Sir Edward Carson is leading for universal conscription. The group for whom the "Times", "Daily Mail" and "Morning Post" speak support him.

The Munitions Act is being invoked against workmen on strike by Dublin building employers. This is part of the Defence of the Realm regulations to prevent men striking.

There is a fine statement of Cardinal Mercier, replying to General Von Bissing, German Governor in Belgium, published. The French, English and pro-English in Ireland use it, of course as an anti-German argument. "Scathing rebuke for Von Bissing" is the Cork "Echo" heading. They do not realise that statements like the following may be "dangerous" in Ireland; "seditious" for an Irishman to apply them to English rule here:-

"Even though we may be smitten with admiration at the panoply of war surrounding you, and at the brilliant staff that, like King Saul, you have attached to your person, we should preserve entire freedom of judgment. In the troublous times through which our country is passing, we cannot, and will not, alienate this liberty". His Holiness, Leo XIII, "has freed us from obeying the civil powers as soon as they give orders contrary to the law of God and man". "As soon as a Prince ceases to be just, we owe him neither obedience, respect nor devotion". "We can give you the silent homage due to force,

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but we preserve, closed against your attempts, the sacred domain of our conscience, the last refuge of oppressed right".

Those are brave and splendid words, applicable not alone to Belgium, but to all oppressed countries, not least to Ireland. Every effort is being made in Ireland at present to stifle expression of free opinion, not alone by the British Government, but by those of our own people who support that government.

April 19th. From the "Irish Independent" of yesterday: "Drastic Action". Sinn Féin Movement. In the event of Sir Edward Carson pressing his motion to a division (in the British House of Commons) it is doubtful (says the Parliamentary Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph") if the Irish Nationalists will be able to support the Government in full strength. Mr. Redmond and the leading members of the Party have been regular in attendance at the House of Commons, but a great many of the rank and file are absent, not having been specially summoned for the occasion. Unfortunately, a very unsatisfactory state of affairs prevails in Ireland. The Sinn Féin movement is growing to such an alarming extent that the Government may find it necessary to take drastic action at once".

Something of the same import as the latter portion of this news paragraph appears in the "Cork Examiner" today, quoting the Belfast Northern Whig".

April 20th. Holy Thursday. Sensation at the heart of the British Empire! Prime Minister Asquith informs the House of Commons that the Cabinet was hopelessly split up. Unless a compromise be arrived at, the Government must break. The question is, universal conscription or not. There are possibilities of a general election. The Tory, military caste want conscription, strong measures, iron rule, coercion. They want to push out Asquith and his Liberal friends. If they win, it is likely to be serious for Ireland. The "drastic action", already adumbrated, is likely to be taken and without much delay.

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The "Daily Mail" says the Conscriptionists in the Cabinet have practically won and the only question is whether conscription is to be enforced at once or in a few months time.

Evening news: "Political situation. Crisis ended. Proposals to be submitted to a secret session of the House of Commons on Tuesday next".

I have noted English Government affairs, but affairs in Ireland are looking serious also (perhaps?) and are likely to be serious at once, if the military crowd win in England. We will be faced, beyond all doubt, with an attempt at disarmament of the Volunteers and the enforcement of conscription.

Yesterday, a document of a grave character was in the hands of some of our Volunteers in Cork. As a consequence, the Easter manoeuvres, which are announced publicly, tend to become serious. The document is published in the press today. I learn it is regarded seriously. I am in some doubt about it. It is not quite like a Dublin Castle document. It will, anyhow, probably become historic. It was read by Alderman Tom Kelly, at a special meeting of Dublin Corporation called to pass the Poor Rate, which included the police tax and which, as a protest against Judge Kenny's remarks, the Corporation refused to levy last week. Alderman Kelly read a letter from Mr. P.J. Little, editor of "New Ireland" which, the Alderman explained, truly, is not a Sinn Féin organ. Little stated that the document he enclosed was portion of one of the files in Dublin Castle.

It gives "precautionary measures" which, it says, "have been sanctioned by the Irish Office, on the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland". All preparations to be made to put the measures into force immediately on receipt of an Order issued from the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, and signed by the Under

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Secretary and the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland. Then follows a list of persons to be placed under arrest - not by names but associations; houses and offices to be taken possession of, premises to be isolated and the city to be placed under martial law.

It appears that the military authorities were shown the document and they declare it to be "utterly bogus and without foundation from the first line to the last". Certainly, some of the things in it would seem to indicate that it is bogus, but from what I heard today it seems the chief Óglaigh men in Dublin and here in Cork yesterday believed it to be trustworthy and seriously meant.

Whether bogus or not, the effect of the publication of this document may have good results on the public mind in the strengthening of public opinion in favour of the Volunteers. Dublin Castle, however, is unlikely to move drastically until affairs are settled at the heart of the Empire. It would not suit the politicians, even though desired by the Tory military caste. There is a long letter in the "Constitution" urging the Castle authorities to take "drastic action". It expresses the Tory-military mind.

My belief is: no rising, insurrection or "trouble" will take place unless the Castle authorities force the issue; as the attitude of most of those at headquarters of the Volunteers seems definitely to be to wait till attacked.

April 21st. Good Friday.      Feeling somewhat disgruntled today. I am under orders to go out with my Volunteer Company on Sunday. I am told we may not come back to the city; at least, not till Easter Monday night. We are to be fully equipped. Now, there is to be a meeting of Coláiste na Mumhan Committee on Monday at which, as secretary, I should be present. If serious action is intended by our Volunteers, that meeting does not matter. But, no one can tell me what is intended.

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We all feel there is something more to happen than Easter "manoeuvres". But, our leaders do not say we are to undertake some serious work. They only say that, perhaps, "the enemy" will do something. It is all very vague. And, as I judge affairs generally, for myself, I do not think anything will occur on Sunday or Monday, unless the Óglaigh themselves act. The Government is unlikely to strike within the next two or three days.

I was in Sheares St. Hall a little while ago. Terence MacSwiney and Sean Ó Sullivan were there. They now remain in the Hall day and night. Terence was in a very serious mood. He was disinclined to talk. Other officers came in, including the captain of my own company. I mentioned to him about Coláiste na Mumhan meeting, to ascertain if we were really taking action and not returning on Monday. His reply was: "Oh! I suppose you are one of those who will not be there when "the day" comes! The remark cut me to the quick. I call to mind Wolfe Tone's motto, "'Tis but in vain for soldiers to complain".

Some of the day's news: "There is reason to believe that the settlement arrived at by the British Cabinet means that Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson and Lord Northcliffe have won, and general compulsion will follow, though not immediately! General conscription, no doubt, will include Ireland and Redmond may accept it.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne intends going to Belfast "to discuss questions with business men there concerning trade after the war". But, the business men have met and have told Wimborne they cannot discuss "trade after the war" unless they are assured as to the position of Home Rule. They will not have Home Rule. The South Antrim Constitutional Association declare they are "just as determined as ever, (to resist Home Rule), if not more so; to resist it to the utmost. So far

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as their Association is concerned, there is not the slightest change of feeling on the part of any of its members. Our Covenant still holds good".

And such are the men who, supporting England, are supposed to be fighting for the rights and liberties of small nations!

A new clause of the Defence of the Realm Acts makes provision for prohibiting police meetings. The power for carrying out the arrangements in Ireland is in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant.

Athy Urban Council has protested strongly against the increase of taxation and denounced Mr. Redmond for calling those who protest "pro-Germans".

There is a need of more priests among the Irish soldiers fighting in France and Belgium. A Capuchin in Cork, who is a convinced Sinn Féin supporter, has volunteered as chaplain, This is true Christian heroism.

April 22nd. Holy Saturday. From whatever cause arising, there is a feeling that we are near stirring events in Ireland. Looking back, it seems to me that, since Christmas, it was touch and go as to whether Dublin Castle or our Óglaigh were to begin armed action. There seemed indeed to be no great inclination on the part of our leaders to take the initiative; the attitude has been one of waiting. It is still the attitude, but we really seem now to be near to action, on one side or the other; how near, and in what manner it will come, we cannot say.

Here's news that may precipitate it - news that seems highly coloured, but appears to have a substratum of truth. Off the coast of Kerry, near Tralee, the Ardfert police have arrested a man; a stranger to the district, name not given, who was in charge of a collapsible boat containing arms and ammunition. He was arrested on the strand at 4 o'clock yesterday morning. Nationality unknown; ownership of the arms

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and ammunition unknown. Such the morning "mystery". "Irish Independent": late news: three Dublin men have been arrested in connection with the affair. Later: placard outside "Cork Constitution" Office - "great excitement in Tralee. The military, naval and police forces are co-operating".

I consider the story really means something very important. If the news of the collapsible boat is correct, it means some kind of a ship, large or small, off the Kerry coast, and perhaps a submarine or several of them. Hence the "naval forces". My guess would be, that the affair means Irish-American aid for the Óglaigh. The government authorities may pretend it is a German landing. I do not think there is a present likelihood of that. The whole thing may be a small affair, just an ordinary endeavour of the Óglaigh to obtain arms. Dublin Castle may wish to make it big, to justify action against the Volunteers. The air is just a little charged with excitement. We must await developments.

Evening. Sensational occurrences drawing near according to all signs and information received. The papers have been forbidden to make any reference to, or publish, any news of Kerry affair. Significant. But there is news of "three gentlemen" in a motor car going out of Killorglin about 10 o'clock on Thursday night having been drowned. The driver got safe. It appears the car went over the bank into the river. Tralee correspondent of the "Evening Echo" says this tragedy is believed to be connected with the "sensational affair in this country". Names of the men unknown. It is a said affair; very sad if connected with the Óglaigh activities.

Latest rumour: a general attempt is to be made, probably tonight, to disarm and arrest all Volunteers! As things are, it could be true, though contrary to all procedure, even by the Dublin Castle Government. There is yet supposed to be some constitutional procedure about notification.

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Anyhow, there is a fine spirit here among the men and boys of the Volunteers.

April 23rd. Easter Sunday: After Mass, our Cork Corps of the Volunteers paraded outside the Hall in Sheares Street. The corps was divided into companies, a captain in charge of each company. From Cove, East Cork and Ballinadee came other companies. (Ballinadee under charge of Sean Hales). The number of men parading was about 200. We were told we were to proceed to Macroom. The main body was to travel by train to Crookstown; the cycle corps to proceed on bicycles. Having a bicycle, I asked permission of my company captain to start before the others. This was given. William Phillips, an oldish man, said he would accompany me. The two of us set off before the main body moved, rifles strapped to our bicycles and otherwise equipped. Phillips had also a large military revolver. He was not in uniform, but had a bandolier across his shoulder. I was in full uniform. We also had "rations".

We went by the northern road: Inniscarra, Dripsey, Coachford. Somewhere near Leemount, Tomas MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney passed us in a motor car.

As we went along, seeing no others of our corps behind us (they had gone the Crookstown road), I remarked to my companion that we seemed to be "casualties". "'Tis all right", said he, "we'll meet them in Macroom". "I wonder are we coming back" said I. "We are", said he, "didn't you hear it announced before we left? We're coming back tonight". I had not heard the announcement and I still wondered, as I felt certain important events were about to occur and that we would be precipitated into them.

As we neared Macroom, rain began to fall, lightly at first. We entered a restaurant to have a meal. We were not long there when others of our Corkmen arrived. The rain had come down

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heavily and some of them were drenched. Many were discontented, dissatisfied, loud-complaining; a few angry and loudly critical. These felt they had been fooled, in some way or other; they had expected a different ending to the Easter "manoeuvres". I rather sympathised with them.

What had happened? The main body had come by train from Cork to Crookstown, as arranged. Near Lissarda they were joined by other Volunteer companies. They had marched from Crookstown to Macroom in heavy rain. The cycle corps had proceeded on bicycles. Commandant Sean O'Sullivan was in charge of the whole body. In the square at Macroom, before he gave the order to dismiss, the men were addressed by one of the company captains, a member of the Military Council, and told they were to return to the city by the next train from Macroom.

After tea, we all got to the railway station and entrained. Many still expressed discontent and dissatisfaction; others were silent. Few, I think, really expected to return to the city that night - notwithstanding the announcement of the morning - if only in view of the fact that next day (Easter Monday) was a holiday.

When I got home, my wife informed me that she had known we were returning that night, as she, with other members of Cumann na mBan, had been in Sheares St. in the morning and had heard the announcement that "manoeuvres" were off. They had also information regarding "messengers" from Dublin, who had notified the Cork leaders of Eoin MacNeill's order.

April 24th - Easter Monday:      Where shall I begin? Shall I record the latest rumour, or certainty, or shall I record further the experiences of yesterday? Serious, in regard to the rumours; ludicrous, for the experiences. I know not, at the moment, if arrest by the police awaits me, as every other Irish Volunteer in Cork, if I go to our headquarters in Sheares St. (Two police, on bicycles, followed the men on march to

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Macroon yesterday). One rumour, hot on the heels of another, is more amazing than the other. Last night, even early this morning, I could laugh at our adventures of yesterday. Now, it is hard to say whether one had better laugh or take the news seriously. There has been something like blundering, or confusion, in Cork Óglaigh affairs. It has now come to the situation of every man acting on his own judgment.

Well, to the latest. Rumour of fact? "Larkin's Citizen army are "out" in Dublin. Padraig MacPiarais has assumed chief command. Bulmer Hobson has been arrested by the Citizen Army. No news of Sean MacDiarmada. Eoin MacNeill has "ratted". That's how I heard it. I am certain, however, the idea conveyed about Eoin MacNeill is not correct. I feel sure his attitude, rightly or wrongly, is that the Citizen Army outrising is premature. A small paragraph in today's "Independent" seems to give colour to the rumour regarding him. It states Eoin issued an order on Saturday that there were to be no parades, or "turn-out" of any kind, by the Volunteers. (Some time ago, Sean Milroy, in a letter, intimated to me there was likely to be an outrising. But, I understood in some manner, Eoin MacNeill was not likely to be the leader of it).

So far Dublin.

What has happened, or is happening, in Tralee? Rumours; counter rumours. Reports of arrests; then of police scattered and beaten. Munster Fusiliers ordered out; refused to obey orders; fights between the soldiers themselves. Rifles that were landed last Friday secured by the Volunteers, Yes? No?

Thus we are this morning. What does it all mean? One is inclined not to believe anything one hears.

(Later). In the city, the most persistent of the rumours is that the Citizen Army has risen in insurrection in Dublin. They have possession of the General Post Office; possibly of the Bank of Ireland, and are attacking Dublin Castle. Trains

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from Dublin to Cork are stopped and communications cut.

A "neutral" informed me an accident has occurred and that this is the cause of the stoppage.

April 25th. Tuesday - Morning. Are we fooling ourselves?

Are we being fooled, or are some serious things happening?

The opening sentence of the leading article of the "Daily Mail" yesterday, referring to the secret session of the English Parliament, being held today, is the most apt to describe affairs here: "Today begins a week of mystery and consequently a week of rumours." So many, so strong, so persistent the rumours and so deep the mystery here, since Friday last, I do not know if I, as many others, am to go on with my ordinary avocation today or not. I do not know whether, at any moment, I am to receive "a call to arms" from the Volunteers, or "a call to prison" from the police!

Happy the man of no imagination!

No Dublin papers have arrived in the city this morning. This, at least, confirms the information that trains are not running and more than an "accident" has occurred.

(Later) - As I went down the street, about midday, I met Fred Cronin. He is the nearest friend and confidant of Terence MacSwiney. He said: "Connolly has forced the pace. The 'better men' were against a rising. Pearse and others have gone over to the 'Connolly crowd'. The men here had decided to obey Eoin MacNeill". (Terence MacSwiney and Tomas MacCurtain were understood as "the men here". Their decision explained the cancellation of our "manoeuvres" on Sunday.

(Information given me by Michael O'Neill) - Adjutant Sean Murphy was in charge of the Volunteer Hall on Easter Monday. About 1.30 p.m. he informed Michael O'Neill and Donncha MacNeilus that "they were 'out' in Dublin". He appointed O'Neill and a man named O'Connell, from Cove, to take up positions at the opposite side of Sheares St., from the Hall; an attack by the

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British military from Cork Barracks being considered a possibility. The two were armed with short Winchester rifles. They remained thus on guard till evening, when they got the order to dismiss. They had nothing to eat or drink since morning.

Late that evening, going home, O'Neill noticed a military sergeant accosting all soldiers he met on the streets. After a time, he heard what the sergeant was conveying to them: "Go back to barracks and stand to arms". From this he inferred the British garrison in Cork had had no information of occurrences in Dublin until that late hour).

(One of our Cork Volunteers, Michael Ó Cuill, disappointed and dissatisfied at what had happened in Cork, boarded a milk train (early Tuesday morning) bound for Dublin. The train got as far as Sallins. From there, he walked to Inchicore and was promptly arrested by the British military. He was armed with a revolver. He was thrown into a cell in Richmond Barracks and told he was to be shot in the morning! He was subsequently deported, with the general body of prisoners, to Frongoch.)

Tuesday - Evening. As I had to leave the city, in the ordinary course of my rounds of teaching at various centres, I called to Volunteer headquarters, Sheares St. to ascertain whether I was needed in the city, or, going to the country, if I could be of any assistance in conveying messages or information. (I thought we may yet have to take action). Terence MacSwiney was there; very serious, very perturbed and strained-looking. I proffered my services. My destination that night being Innishannon, he asked me to go to Hales, Ballinadee, to tell them take no action; if possible, to get also to Tadhg O'Shea, Dunmanway, and deliver the same message.

Went to Innshannon on my bicycle, taught my class for an hour or so, then set out for Ballinadee. I did not know the way and had to make inquiries, which led to subsequent

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developments in my regard. It was a wet, dark evening. Parts of the road were shaded by trees, dripping wet. In places, the road was rough and hilly, and I was compelled to walk. Met one or two people. At a crossroads I had again to make inquiries as to the way, from a man who was passing. I was directed on a road, or boreen, impossible for cycling. High hedges of furze on both sides. It seemed, in the darkness, to be a wild uninhabited district.

At last, I arrived at an avenue leading to a farmhouse of good appearance; knocked at the door. It was not opened, but someone spoke from a window above me. Yes, it was Hales. After a few questions, I discovered it was not the Hales I wanted. The man of the house came down and came with me to his namesake's place. They were not relations. It was some time after 10 o'clock. I had not known the Hales previously. There were two or three young men there. Mrs. Hales was busy around the house. They took my coming as a matter of course, showing no surprise. I believe it was Tom Hales to whom I spoke. Delivered my message, saying, I, personally, did not agree with a policy of inaction, but was obeying orders. They told me they had sent someone to the city that afternoon to learn what the situation was, but he had not yet returned. I think it was Sean Hales who had gone. While I was there, he came in and had the same message as I have given them. He remarked:

"It will be as in '98 when Wexford fought and got no help".

"The weather is always against ye", remarked Mrs. Hales.

I asked to be lodged for the night. Though nearing midnight, some of the young men began manufacturing "bombs" in the kitchen, breaking an iron pot into pieces. I went to bed and slept.

April 26th. Wednesday.

The morning was wet and drizzly.

Intended getting an early train from Bandon, going on to Bantry. I was told Bandon was only half an hour's cycle ride from Ballinadee. There was some delay. When I reached Bandon, I was late for the first train.

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The news in the Cork morning papers regarding events in Dublin was meagre.

As I walked the platform, waiting for the second train, a policeman came up to me, the usual railway station policeman. He asked my name; more particularly asked where I had stayed the previous night. (Someone of whom I had inquired the way to Hales had given information, was my thought): I was a little flurried, not knowing what this questioning portended. So, I told a plain lie, that I had stayed in the hotel at Innishannon (of which I didn't even know the name).

Got into the train, taking a bicycle ticket for Bantry. For myself, I had a season ticket over the line.

While in the train, I reasoned thus: the police from Innishannon must have telephoned to Bandon to have me questioned. They must have learned I was inquiring the way to Hales. Hales to them are "bad boys"; what communication had I for them? My questioner at Bandon station will report when he returns to his barrack; a telephone call will be made to Innishannon; the police there will find out I did not stay at the hotel; this will make my movements look more suspicious; a message will be sent on to the next police station on the line to have me questioned further, perhaps apprehended. Ballineen was the next station where there is usually a police patrolman. But, there are two little stations intervening at which there are not patrols.

So, I got out at the little station of Desert, bringing my bicycle with me. The railway guard was surprised, but I made some excuse. I crossed to the north, having in my mind to get to Ballingeary, by some route. I had a revolver in my possession, of no utility, as I had no ammunition.

A man breaking stones on the road, of whom I asked the way, gave me directions how to avoid the police barracks. He seemed to suspect I required such information. He also advised

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me to be careful whom I talked to, as I was in "a Protestant district". He wished me safety.

Notwithstanding the good advice, which I should have heeded more, in a house where I had something to eat I got talking to a farm labourer. I must have said something about the Volunteers and the Dublin rising. "Ye are well paid for this" he said.

Farther on, I met a policeman, cycling, coming towards me. I went up to him as asked the way to Crookstown. He gave me various directions, so I then knew the roads better. He was guarding an "evicted farm".

As Ballingearry was some considerable distance to reach that night, I bethought myself of old friends of mine near Lissarda - Murphy's, Crossmahon House. So there I went.

One of the men in the house, Jack, at one time a medical student in Cork University, had been with the Lissarda Company on Easter Sunday morning and had marched to Macroom.

Nearby, lived another Murphy family, one of the girls of which is married to Michael O'Callaghan of Limerick. Two younger girls are university students and travel to Cork each day. They brought news from the city and what could be learned there of Dublin affairs. Their young brother was also a Volunteer.

I still thought the Cork Óglaigh would be forced by circumstances to come out from the city and that they would probably come in Macroom direction. The alternative to leaving the city was plain: general disarmament by the police and military, arrest and imprisonment of all known and suspected Volunteers. So, we waited and waited, though all reports were that the city was quiet and normal. There were some rumours of activities in other districts, not in Co. Cork.

April 30th. Sunday. My wife came out to Crossmahon and I returned home with her. "It was all over", she said. She was one of the officers of Cumann na mBan. Their President

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had told them "Casement was a traitor" and "It was only the scum of Dublin - Larkin's crowd"- who were fighting.

She and others deeply resented those remarks, but the majority were influenced by them.

(So far as we were concerned, Easter Week, 1916, was ended - with heart-burnings, disappointments and some bitter feelings. The hour had come and we, in Cork, had done nothing. Many were ready, strung up to the point of making a supreme sacrifice and, as we saw the situation at the time, the leaders of the Volunteers had failed).

May 4th - Thursday. It is almost impossible to set out the happenings of the past ten or eleven days in any order, or to record the numerous details narrated. There have been many rumours, some true, some false. Most newspaper accounts grotesque; some containing the substance of truth but dressed up so as to give a false picture of events.

P.H. Pearse, Thomas Clarke and Thomas McDonagh were executed yesterday. The body of O'Rahilly was found near the burnt-out General Post Office.

Police and military are now "rounding up" all "Sinn Féiners" and Volunteers. It is officially reported from London that Cork County and City and quiet. True, there is no fight here, as in other districts, but it is hardly peace.

An agreement come to in Cork City on Monday night has been broken. The outside report of it is thus: Through the intermediary of Most Rev. Dr. Cohalan, Auxiliary Bishop, and Lord Mayor Butterfield, acting with Captain Dickie on behalf of the military authorities (Queenstown Headquarters) and Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney, on behalf of the Irish Volunteers, a meeting of some of the Cork City Corps of the Volunteers was held on Monday night (May 1st). A majority decided to give up their arms and ammunition. The common information is, they were to be given up to the Bishop, who was

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to hold them for the present. Negotiations were going on last week-end. MacCurtain and MacSwiney were given a military permit to go around to country corps to see what those bodies of Volunteers would do. According to the reports, there were threats that, if the city Volunteers did not give up their arms quietly, the city would be shelled. It is stated the military have taken possession of the Hall in Sheares Street and machine guns placed in positions overlooking it. Effective resistance was, apparently, out of question. The alternative to a useless struggle was the surrender of arms. It is also stated that, if the Volunteers gave up their arms quietly, no further action would be taken against them. This is what the Bishop was authorised to say on behalf of the military authorities.

Most of the rifles were taken to Cork City Hall to be in the Lord Mayor's custody. From here, the military took them. Others were stored in a store in Hanover St. A man named Herlihy came with a horse and cart and conveyed them to Berrings.

Then, on Tuesday, starting about 11 a.m., armed batches of police went around and arrested numbers of Volunteers and the President and Secretary of Cumann na mBan. As the story goes, this was done by the police on their own authority and about 1.30 p.m. it was countermanded by the military authorities. The police batches, however, it is said, not having heard of the counter-order, continued arrests till well into the evening. Then, about 8 p.m. almost all who had been arrested were set free. It seems a muddled business, as between police and military.

Tuesday night and all yesterday, arrests were being made all over the county; probably all over the country. There is no hint of this in the newspapers I have seen.

I hear the city was disturbed last night by crowds of

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women and boys jeering and booing at police and soldiers. Cheers were given for Dublin and "the rebels". The recruiting office was smashed and stoned. So was the "Cork Constitution" office. The police were also stoned.

Among others arrested in the county was Terence MacSwiney.

Tom Kent, his brother, David, and other members of the family have been taken. Kents resisted when police came to their house, near Castlelyons. A District Inspector of police was shot. The military from Fermoy had to be called. It is stated the two brothers were wounded.

There is a rumour that some of the boys in Ballingearry district have "taken to the hills" to escape arrest.

In other parts of the country Volunteers have been in conflict with police and military; a successful one for the Volunteers, it is said, at Ashbourne, Co. Meath. The Republic was proclaimed and a force of police - 50, it is stated - were either killed or captured.

(From the "DAILY SKETCH" London) - "Three other leaders were sentenced to three years' penal servitude". Who are these? Chief Secretary Birrell has resigned. There is to be an inquiry "at an early date" into his administration in Ireland. "He admitted, in Parliament, he made an untrue estimate of the Sinn Féin Movement".

Rumours in Cork last night. All Sinn Féin adherents and Volunteers throughout Ireland to be arrested immediately; a number of German transports on the way to Ireland; portion of an English battle fleet destroyed. Verdun taken by the Germans.

(From the daily press) - Two million pounds worth of damage done in Dublin during the fighting. Some women and children were killed. Questions are being asked in English papers: "Why did the Irish rebellion occur?" (The answer is as old as the days of Henry VIII. One of his officials in

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Ireland wrote: "Liberty is the only thing the "Wilde Irishe" continually seek after.") Some Irish papers and public men are denouncing Sir Edward Carson as the cause of an armed rising. Only partly true. He and his Ulster Volunteers gave the opportunity to Irish Nationalists to arm.

5 p.m. Just heard that the two brothers Kent were shot this morning in Cork Military Prison. 10 p.m. That news is contradicted. It is not true.

May 5th: Friday: 12.30 p.m. "The names of the men sentenced to three years are McDermott, Ceannt and Plunkett". Thus Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on Wednesday, as reported.

"The following report from Viscount French, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces, was issued: 'Dublin, Wednesday, 7.20 p.m. The situation in Ireland is reported as quiet. The collection of arms and the arrests of fugitive rebels progress satisfactorily. A strict cordon is still maintained. Galway: The police barracks at Oranmore ..... was attacked by parties of rebels, but held out until relieved. In the West Riding of Galway the police report that the situation is well in hand and that the rebels have been dispersed. The south of Ireland is quiet. The situation in Ulster is normal".

4.25 p.m. A good fight was made in Enniscorthy, apparently. The Volunteers there proclaimed the Republic and raised the tricolour flag - green, white and orange. They took possession of the town, Thursday, April 27th, and did not surrender till allowed to go to Dublin and learned of the Dublin surrender. ("Daily Sketch" account).

The accounts of trials and convictions and executions are conflicting. Asquith, in Parliament, stated Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh had been shot and three others sentenced to three years' penal servitude. "Cork Examiner" states the "three others" were Ceannt, MacDiarmuda, Plunkett. "Cork Constitution" says the following were shot on Thursday morning: Joseph

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Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan, William Pearse. In a list of 15 sentenced to death, commuted to ten years penal servitude, is the name of our friend, J.J. Walsh.

Further trials are proceeding.

"Daily Sketch" of today reports of the following:  
 James Connolly, now officially reported to be <sup>a</sup>wounded prisoner; "to be accounted for - Edmund Kent (who called himself Eamon Ceannt), John McDermott (or Sean MacDearmada), and Joseph Plunkett, all signatories of the Republican Proclamation, who have yet to be heard of; and The O'Rahilly (a leader who did not sign the Proclamation). His body has been found in Moore Lane, near the General Post Office. Search is being made for three missing leaders". All this is a bit confusing. "It is officially denied that rebels have been shot after surrender without trial".

All is quiet in Cork City.

All arms and ammunition in possession of members of the Irish Volunteers, Sinn Féin organisation and of the "Citizen Army" must be handed into the nearest military or police barrack by tomorrow (May 6th). Order of Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Ireland.

It is stated, on the authority of Bishop Cohalan, and through other sources, that Cork City prisoners of Tuesday last were only out of prison about an hour when a further order came - from Maxwell - that they were to be retained.

May 6th. Saturday. Rounding up of Volunteers throughout the country continues; in most instances, now, it is stated, without "incidents". There are many thrilling and pathetic stories of the Rising. One of these is the marriage of Grace Gifford to Joseph Plunkett.

Rumours again about the Kents of Castlelyons not accurate. Cork City Volunteers' rifles given into the custody of Lord Mayor Butterfield have been taken from him by the military.

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He protested that the agreement come to was that he was to retain them until all was quiet. He was peremptorily told that if he did not hand them over, he would be placed under arrest. So he gave them up, some 95 of them, I heard.

According to a statement by Asquith, my friend Piaras Beaslai, along with others, has been sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

Sir Mathew Nathan, Under Secretary to Dublin Castle, has resigned.

Carson has offered the services of his Ulster Volunteer "Army" to the Government and, it is stated, they have been accepted.

What Birrell stated in Parliament was: he knew of Sinn Féin activities very well, but never expected a Rising. Mr. John E. Redmond took responsibility for this. He had advised Birrell on those matters. Carson said no true Irishman would wish for vengeance "on the mass of the insurgents".

But, the ghastly procession goes on - executions, deportations, imprisonments, martial law.

There is no news, so far, of Eoin MacNeill. It is reported that James Connolly and Countess Markievicz are in prison. Roger Casement is in the Tower of London and to be tried for high treason.

While "the authorities", between Dublin Castle, the military and the Government in London seem to be unsettled in policy, I heard there is a sort of stupor among the Volunteers. This is not to be wondered at. Now, perhaps, it is dimly seen what might have been done throughout the country. But, Dublin was left fight practically alone. Cork failed. Over which many heartburnings.

The "Irish Independent" of Thursday is to hand today. It is very bitter in its leading article, but contains one of the best and most exhaustive accounts I have seen of the events in Dublin.

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It states Tom Clarke was declared President of the Republic, Pearse being Commander-in-Chief of the army. In all other papers, it appeared as if Pearse were the President.

Among the names of the executed men, published today, is that of Major John McBride. I met him years ago at a Cumann na nGaedheal Convention.

Thousands of troops passed through Cork City today - horse, foot and artillery. Object: terrorism probably. Destination: not known to my informant.

Successors to Birrell and Nathan have already been appointed.

Reported by Maxwell, Commander of the British Forces, that the handing in of arms of the Volunteers is proceeding satisfactorily.

May 9th. - Tuesday. Still the orgy of blood continues. Still, the "rounding up" of "Sinn Féiners", Volunteers and sympathisers.

Eoin MacNeill is in prison; Arthur Griffith in prison; Alderman Tom Kelly in prison; Henry Dixon in prison; John Sweetman in prison - men I have known and often associated with. James Connolly, wounded, in hospital, under custody.

Countess Markievicz, sentenced to death, commuted to penal servitude for life. F. Sheehy Skeffington, with two others, taken prisoners, shot in cold blood - on which "an investigation is to be held". (Captain Bowen-Colthurst, who shot them, is from near Carrigadrohid).

Eamon Ceannt, signatory to the Republican declaration, shot yesterday with three others (Con Colbert, Michael Mallin, Sean Heuston). Eamon Ceannt's name was confused with that of Kents of Castlelyons. Tom Kent was executed this morning in Cork Military Barracks.

Executions to date - 12. Penal servitude and imprisonments - 67. No exact numbers of deportations, of those await-

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ing trial, or of the dead in the fighting. Must number four or five thousand.

The business men of Dublin are concerned about their destroyed property. They want Government compensation. "No one has come forward to give us any consolation" - William Martin Murphy. ("Oh! my ducats!")

Mr. John E. Redmond, following the lead of some English papers, is afraid that further executions will cause the whole Irish people to sympathise with "the Sinn Féiners". But Mr. Asquith, in Parliament, says Sir John Maxwell has full power. "What to do with the rank and file of the rebels is causing the Cabinet much anxiety". Indeed! If rumour speaks true there are weightier things than crushing Ireland causing it anxiety. Last Friday's "Daily Mail" was suppressed because, it is said, it gave information of a naval battle in which the English were defeated. Any connection with Irish affairs? An American liner reported sinking off the Fastnet. German submarine action? Rumours fairly persistent, yet no doubt false, of German troops landing in the west of Ireland.

Search parties of police and military visited houses in Cork city yesterday and today. Some arms and ammunition found and arrests made. The net is catching all kinds: men, women, children. Father O'Flanagan, now of Ringsend, has been arrested. Frank Healy, B.L., Queenstown, deported. According to press report, men in Co. Galway, as in other places, have "taken to the hills".

"Peace and quietness reign under the firm rule of Sir John Maxwell". Very much to be queried. The end is not yet. In Wexford, pikes that had been used, or were supposed to be used, in 1798, were captured.

Exciting times: confused times: conflicting ideas. Bishop Kelly of Ross considers "the rebels" murderers:

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those who kill in unjust warfare are guilty of murder. Priests in Dublin and Cork offer Masses for the repose of their souls and pray for them, even mentioning the "murderers" by name and calling them heroes.

Appeals to Asquith - Deal leniently with the rank and file; not for the sake of mercy, but as a matter of policy. Other appeals: crush them; stamp them out; dismiss any of them left in the country from employment; take action against their sympathisers.

Mr. Asquith says: "All will come within the scope of the inquiry to be held".

(Personal: In the city I stayed some nights in the houses of friends, not likely to be under suspicion. One day, during the days of searchings, my wife and I were returning to our home. When near it, a tram conductor who lived nearby came across the street to us. He informed us there was a military party outside our door and an officer had been knocking. We, thereupon, retraced our steps and, informing my wife's relations, went for a long walk into the country. When we returned in the evening there was no sign of military or police and they did not return. I retained my rifle. After a fortnight or so, I resumed my teaching rounds in the county under the Technical Instruction Committee. I learned from the guard on the train that, on the Wednesday of Easter Week, the police at Ballineen railway station had been making inquiries regarding me. When I got to Bantry, on my usual round, the people of the house where I stayed told me the police of that town had been making inquiries. They replied that they were not expecting me in Bantry during that week, being holiday time).

May: (A few comments and notes on the Rising, from a survey of the events written at this time). Things are seemingly returning to normal. Seemingly only; for we know not what

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forces have been unloosed. We are too near the event to judge in proper perspective ..... This much we can judge: never again can we get back to the conditions that existed before the storm burst; its effects will remain, either in the shaping of facts or the stimulation of inspirations. Ireland can not be the same.

There is much discussion as to the cause of the Rising. As usual, in the discussion of such events, all the subsidiary and minor causes are given much attention. The cause that goes to the heart of the matter is almost ignored. However, a writer in the London "Daily Mail" of Monday, May 15th, in the course of an article, has got near the heart of the thing in these words:

"Calmly reviewed, what were the causes of the rebellion?

Quite frankly; the leaders sought separation from

England and the creation of an independent Ireland".

It is argued by many that there was no justification for this armed rising. The Irish Parliamentary Party issued a statement last week. It recounts all the great improvements that have taken place in Ireland during the past thirty years. The Party claims credit to itself for having effected all those improvements. Then, why the rising? The Party do not seem to see there is something deeper, stronger, more earnest and intense in Irish Nationality than the desire for "improvements"

Some of Mr. Birrell's statements to the Commission of Enquiry into the causes of the rising ought enlighten them and all others. Here are his words as reported in the "Irish Times" of Saturday, May 20th: "The spirit of what today is called Sinn Féinism is mainly composed of the old hatred and distrust of the British connection, always noticeable in all classes and in all places, varying in degree, and finding different ways of expression, but always there, as the background of Irish politics and character ..... This dislike,

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hatred, disloyalty (so unintelligible to many Englishmen) is hard to define, but easy to discern, though incapable of exact measurement from year to year. You may assume it is always there and always dangerous".

Disregarding his terms, Birrell has got to the core of the matter. The spirit - Irish Nationalists call it nationality, patriotism, desire of liberty; Irish Unionists, hatred, disloyalty - is always there; always awaiting the opportunity of England's difficulty to strike for Ireland's independence.

And nothing can satisfy the desire for independence, except independence itself.

June 8th. - Thursday. The Irish Republic has been. Crushed in blood and fire and murder. The Prime Minister of England comes on the scene. Talk now of "a settlement of the Home Rule question", on the lines of a partition of Ireland. A new "Pale" to be set up; this time around Belfast. The Commission of Enquiry into the Rising has brought to light remarkable evidence. Trial of Sir Roger Casement: highly dramatic evidence. Trial of Captain Bowen-Colthurst for murder.

Friday last, June 2nd, late in the evening, as a thunder-clap, news of a great naval battle in the North Sea; news of a great English fleet having been defeated. "Explanations" since: but, that was the first news, from English sources themselves.

Then, on Tuesday evening last: Kitchener and his staff drowned! Exciting news. Stirring times.

June 10th. Saturday: Controversy over "Home Rule settlement" and partition of Ireland growing more and more acute. The Irish Parliamentary Party have accepted partition, but, at present, they are mute. Carson, too, has accepted it, but is putting things off. Voices in Ireland loud against partition.

Martial Law continues. And courtmartial.

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Wild rumours go around: Maxwell shot: Redmond shot: Carson shot. And from London: Lloyd George shot in Ireland! Authorities, it is stated, taking precautions against another rising; or against a German landing. Persistent rumours of Orange attacks in Belfast.

June 11th. Whit Sunday: Captain Bowen-Colthurst found guilty of the murder of Sheehy Skeffington, but insane. Volunteers who took action during Easter Week, near Dundalk, being tried for murder of a policeman. The widow of Head Constable Rowe, killed in the attack on Kent's house, Castlelyons, made application for compensation the other day before the Recorder of Cork. Result - no compensation, as Recorder, while complimenting police, held there was no personal malice proved.

The Irish Parliamentary Party held a secret meeting in Dublin Mansion House, yesterday. "Independent" says most of the spectators witnessing the arrival of the members were detectives and plain-clothes policemen. Feeling is running very high against the Party; particularly against Redmond. This, notwithstanding votes of confidence of Hibernians and some public bodies.

Martial Law prevents free expression of public opinion, but it is easy to feel the undercurrents. The sacrifice of the heroic dead has stirred the heart of the nation.

A National Aid Association has been formed. In its appeal it states: "Three hundred slain during the insurrection; fifteen executed by courtmartial; 134 condemned to penal servitude; 2,650 deported without trial, and about 400 awaiting sentence by courtmartial. In all, there have been, to this date, 3,200 cases of imprisonment, now diminished by 200 cases of released captives adjudged innocent....."

In addition, there are those who are "on the run".

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June 23rd. Mr. Augustine Birrell went to Spain recently. It is said he did not get there and has returned to England. One rumour has it that Spain recognised the proclamation of the Irish Republic and that this was the cause of his going. Doubtful. The Kaiser had sent a present to the King of Spain: forestalling Birrell.

June 25th. Friday last (23rd) a meeting of Redmondites of "Ulster", from the counties proposed to be excluded from the Home Rule Act, was held in St. Mary's Hall, Belfast. By 465 votes to 265 they agreed to Lloyd George's scheme for the Partition of Ireland - Redmond, Dillon and Devlin strongly recommending acceptance.

Under the scheme, a Dublin Parliament (so-called) will deal with some of the affairs pertaining to 26 counties of Ireland. Six counties will remain outside the jurisdiction. This, legally, means that Ireland is no longer one nation. The Redmondites say the arrangement is only temporary and that they would not accept it if it were to be permanent. The Carsonites say it is permanent, No one in Ireland professes to love the idea. The argument is used that it is the only alternative to martial law. That is not true. If it go through, it just relieves the English Government of a present difficulty.

William O'Brien and Maurice Healy, Members of Parliament, called a meeting in Cork City Hall on Friday night to protest against partition. Sinn Féin supporters took possession of the meeting almost from the beginning. William was hardly listened to and Healy was not heard at all. Songs were sung and there were cheers for the Irish Republic. The Republican flag was prominent. Crowds paraded the streets afterwards in the same mood.

O'Brien and Healy were heckled because of their recruiting activities and advocacy. Redmond and Party were also denounced.

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O'Brien seems to think the end of the "constitutional movement" has come. So it has. And the ending, as might have been expected, is very miserable.

June 29th - Thursday. Roger Casement found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. May God strengthen him. He nailed the "German Gold" lie. But, lies die hard.

July 1st. Here is the picture, as seen from newspaper accounts: Witnesses in Casement's trial:- John McCarthy praying at a holy well at 3 o'clock on Good Friday morning; Mary O'Gorman, "the Irish colleen"; men of the Royal Irish Constabulary; a "smart boy" who picks up a code; soldiers of the English army; a diver, and others. Judges, jurymen, men of the law; much legal palaver. And, Daniel Julian Bailey is set free.

Treason? Roger Casement is to be hanged because he would set Ireland free.

John Daly of Limerick is dead - aged 71. God rest his soul.

July 5th. The National Directory of Redmond's United Irish League, with two dissentients, accept the partition of Ireland "as a means to an end" - "as a means to continue the fight for self-government and a united Ireland". But, we had all been assured "the fight" for Home Rule was over two years ago when the Act was placed upon the Statute Book of England.

The general proposals are, a Home Rule Parliament of some kind for twenty-six counties; six counties of Ulster - Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry to remain under direct rule of the London Parliament. This arrangement to continue till one year "after the war". The whole question to come up again at an Imperial Conference to be held "after the war".

Carson, selling some of his own people, accepts the arrangement.

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Reasons advanced for forcing the matter now: 1. "The Rebellion" convinced Prime Minister Asquith some "settlement", giving certain sections of Irishmen responsibility for government, was necessary. 2. Strong feeling in America and other neutral countries against England. 3. Only alternative to some such arrangement is Martial Law.

Reasons one sees, that are not mentioned here, are:- To prevent the claims of Ireland being brought forward at the Peace Conference that must take place when the war ends. To counter the action of Irish societies in America to have the Irish Republic recognised at that Peace Conference.

Bishop O'Dwyer has spoken out bravely again. He refers to Sir John Maxwell as "that brute Maxwell".

A branch of the Irish National Aid Association was formed in Cork last Thursday (June 29th). I was elected one of three Hon. Secretaries, the others being Sean O'Sullivan and Donal O'Callaghan (of the Óglaigh). All political parties in Cork are represented on the committee.

(The Hon. Presidents were: Most Rev. Dr. Daniel Cohalan, Bishop of Cork; T.C. Butterfield, T.C., Lord Mayor; M.K. Barry, Chairman Cork Co. Council; William O'Brien, M.P.; Maurice Healy, M.P.; Treasurers:- Very Rev. Martin Canon Murphy, Adm. Cathedral; Alderman J.C. Forde; Edward Sheehan, M.A.; Seán Jennings. Committee: Rev. D.M. O'Flynn, C.C., Alderman P.H. Meade; Coroner William Murphy, solicitor; Jeremiah Lane, T.C.; T.J. Murphy, J.P., M.C.; P. Lynch, President, Cork Trades Council; John Good, Secretary, Cork United Trades and Labour Council; F.J. Cronin, P.L.G.; D.T. O'Sullivan, P.L.G.; Patrick Crowley, Maurice Conway, John A. O'Connell, Seán Ó Tuama, J.F. Fawsitt).

There is some little confusion as between the National Aid Association and the Volunteer Dependents' Fund. The latter was formed by widows and relatives of men executed to aid prisoners' dependents.

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July 19th. (In Ballingeary). Among students of Coláiste na Mumhan here at present are: Maighr ad de Br n, sister to Rev. Dr. P draig Browne of Maynooth, who was with Sean MacDiarmuda the night before his execution. Both of them were here previously. Maighread is studying for Master of Arts degree, writing a treatise on Irish saints. Se n Synge, Trinity College student, nephew of Synge, the dramatist. Sean Beaumont, also a Trinity student. He tells me he was ready to take part in the Rising, but some circumstances prevented him. He was well acquainted with The O'Rahilly and some of the other leaders. Here is a poet from Limerick, who has a good poem on the men who died for Ireland, in the "Catholic Bulletin". Also Father Burbage of Carlow; Father O'Regan, Vincentian, from Cork; Michael Moore of Limerick; Sean O'Connor from Co. Clare, and others, who would be regarded as "disaffected" under D.O.R.A.

Another, not in the College, is Michael Cremin, whom I have known for many years, a Cork city man. He was working in the Post Office in Dublin before Easter Week, and joined in, in the Rising, having been in the Volunteers. He was under P draig Pearse. He gives me a vivid description of the fighting, in his own casual way, and of how the men fared till the building went on fire and they evacuated it. He escaped capture. On Saturday night last (15th) he and I sought out Se n Hegarty in a hiding place in the hills near Tuirindubh, being led thereto by one of the   Tuama family. To Se n, as to myself, Michael Cremin's story of the Rising was the matter of greatest interest; dramatic, told on a hillside at the fall of night.

Politically, everything in Ireland at present is in a state of flux. The Lloyd George proposed "Settlement" has unsettled most things in Irish politics. George himself has gone to the War Office.

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July 24th. The opposition to partition has grown strong. Extremes have met regarding it: official "Nationalists" and Die-Hard Unionists opposing it now, from different angles; the latter wanting to keep Ireland one under British rule. The Bishops of "Ulster" are very active; big meetings are being held; strong words are being uttered against Redmond and his Party; their resignations are being called for. A new organisation, an anti-partition League, is being formed. As many of his followers in the north are repudiating Redmond, so, some of his own crowd are repudiating Carson. Redmond and the "New Garrison" Party leaders are apparently preparing a way out for themselves. The duplicity of the English Cabinet may have deceived them - (or were they willing tools?) - but the Irish people, in general, have not been deceived. Asquith, the other day, had the impudence to talk of the rights of small nations, Belgium in particular, but such talk of the English Premier "cuts no ice" in Ireland now, even with the New Garrison Irishmen.

Meanwhile, we have martial law, a Coercion Act, trial by removable magistrates, the jury system abrogated, Defence of the Realm Acts, no right to hold demonstrations to honour "rebels". The report of Generals Friend and Maxwell on the military operations in Dublin tends to blacken the character of the men who fought and the Óglaigh.

July 29th. The "Partition Settlement" is knocked on the head! The Irish Party is in opposition to the Government since last Monday (24th)! Public opinion has forced them. Redmond seized on comparatively small points to reject the Government proposals; pretending to see something new in the reduction of Irish members at Westminster. Archbishop Walsh of Dublin has written strongly against the Party, following the lead of Dr. O'Dwyer.

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John Dillon, now in "opposition", is to ask a question in Westminster, Monday next, as to what the English Government's plans are for the future government of Ireland. It seems ludicrous now. We are living, practically, under military dictatorship. To shout "Up the rebels" is a crime, rendering one liable to six months' imprisonment or £100 fine. To welcome returning "rebels" in public meeting is forbidden. There is confusion, however, as to what future developments may be. The Gaelic League, Gaelic Athletic Association, National Aid and Dependents' Fund Association, the Industrial Associations are working on, in their various spheres. The United Irish League and Ancient Order of Hibernians are in a muddled frame of mind. The anti-Partition Association in the north has pledged itself to "passive resistance" should partition be enforced. M.J. Judge and others have a little paper "The Irish Nation" which advocates "Repeal of the Union". "New Ireland" takes the line that "Home Rule is on the Statute Book" and must be brought into operation as it stands. An Irishwomen's Council has written to President Wilson to say that Ireland ought be represented at the Peace Conference as a separate nation. Certainly. But, how can that be brought about? Will the Irish-Americans see to it? They may, but an effort must be made in Ireland itself to have some body speak on behalf of the Nation. The original Sinn Féin idea, if acted on, can achieve the desired result, of an organisation and a policy.

Roger Casement is to be hanged on August 3rd. There are appeals for clemency. No motives of justice, clemency or mercy will stir the British Government. International political considerations alone may influence them.

But English propagandists are at an old game. They are besmirching the character of Casement. He is now discovered by them to have been guilty of unnameable crimes. The police

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have "discovered" a diary of his in which he is supposed to have admitted himself guilty of these crimes. They are not satisfied with hanging him; they must blacken his character.

And, Maxwell takes the same line regarding the men who fought for freedom in Dublin. His report on the fighting there was published on Saturday last; not a military dispatch, but a political diatribe. General impression sought to be conveyed - his soldiers were saints; the "rebels" were devils. All Dublin knows it to be a lying document.

August 1st. Sir Francis Vane testifies to the clean fighting of the Volunteers in Dublin and controverts Maxwell's report. Dr. C.M. O'Brien endorses what he says in a letter in the "Independent".

Irish prisoners in Reading Jail number 34, including Griffith, Blythe, Terence MacSwiney, Denis McCullough, P.T. Daly, Seán T. O'Kelly, Walter Cole, Pim and Seam Milroy.

"Following an unfavourable report by the Foreign Relations Committee on a resolution requesting clemency for Casement, the United States Senate, on Saturday, by 46 votes to 19, asked President Wilson to transmit to Great Britain an expression of hope that clemency would be exercised in the treatment of Irish political prisoners". (Reuter).

Debate in the English Parliament last evening on Mr. Dillon's motion. Dr. Duke, a Unionist, has been appointed new Chief Secretary; Sir Robert Chalmers, Unionist, Under Secretary. "Dublin Castle rule" again. Asquith lauds Maxwell. Mr. Dillon still loyal to England, Mr. Redmond more so. Mr. Devlin foreshadows his own resignation.

Asquith says, in reference to Irish prisoners: "Out of 1,841 cases dealt with, 1,272 persons have been released and 569 have been interned".

"The state of Ireland at this moment, taking the country at large, is, from one point of view, very disquieting.

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It is satisfactory, in this sense, that there is general prosperity, both agricultural and industrial. Further, I am glad to say there is a remarkable absence - I am not sure it is not an unprecedented absence - both of ordinary and agrarian crime .... There has been undoubtedly - and there is at this moment - in many parts of the country a considerable recrudescence of the Sinn Féin movement in its most aggressive form. There have been in some places deplorable manifestation of sympathy with Germany and the enemies of the country. There is no fear of anything in the nature of open rebellion. The force of police and soldiers now in Ireland is quite sufficient to prevent the possibility of anything of the kind - anything more than mere sporadic or isolated outbreaks".

Bonar Law: "In my view, sentiment rules the world more than any other quality. (hear, hear)". (That was a remarkable remark of Bonar Law).

Two Irish-Americans named Kelly, coming to superintend the distribution of National Aid Funds, contributed to by Irish Americans, have not been permitted to land in Ireland "because the Government had information that they were engaged in business hostile to England".

August 2nd. Meeting of National Aid Committee, Cork, last night. There are numbers of men "on the run". Application for assistance was made on behalf of some of them in Co. Cork and granted.

I have been talking to some friends regarding the possibility of resuscitating the original Sinn Féin policy of national self-reliance and passive resistance. Got no encouragement. Not "advanced" enough for some. Informed that Cork is now headquarters for the Óglaigh of Ireland. Organising and drilling are to be continued.

August 3rd. "Casement was executed in London this morning" - Press Association news in "Cork Evening Echo".

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He had become a Catholic. Rev. James McCarroll, of Eden Grove, told a Press Association representative that Casement went to his death strong and erect, like the man he was.

The priest said a prayer and Casement replied: "Into Thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" A noble and edifying death.

August 14th. Monday. (In Dublin from Saturday, 5th August, to Saturday, 12th). On Sunday, 6th, hearing there was to be a "demonstration" at O'Donovan Rossa's grave in Glasnevin, my wife and I and some Cork friends went there. On the way we passed some 25 or 30 "Clan na Gael" Girl Guides, neatly attired in green uniforms. Some men and women walking on the footpath went with them. They placed wreaths on graves in Glasnevin. That was all the demonstration.

We went to the grave of O'Rahilly. In the red earth around with, as yet, no distinguishing marks, we were told were buried 17 or 18 of the men who fell in Easter Week.

"Most of the revolutionaries, Fenians and others, are buried in this section" we were told by an old man who had probably been a Fenian himself. We viewed the graves of Rossa, O'Leary, Stephens and others.

In the afternoon, Michael Cremin, with a companion, called on me. We went with them to the Dublin mountains where Micheal resides in a tent. The companion's name was O Cleary (or Clarke). His face was marked and he was slightly lame. He was with Cremin in the G.P.O. and was wounded from the explosion of a shell. He told us a story of our friend, J.J. Walsh. "You know", said he, "'twas hard to prevent J.J. from making speeches. When the Post Office was blazing, with flames rising up behind him, just before we left the place, J.J. jumped up on a sorting table and made a speech to cheer us up. 'Twas a great sight and we cheered".

Michael Cremin had been wounded also and was taken to hospital. The military came to arrest him, but he escaped through a window at night time and so avoided prison.

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Monday, 7th August. Gaelic League Árd-Fheis at 25 Parnell Square. Father Cathaoir Ó Braonáin, now of Beara, presided. Over 200 delegates were present.

Monday night, ceilidhe in the Mansion House. Father Tomas Wall of Drumcollogher - one of those whom General Maxwell wanted Bishop O'Dwyer to remove from that parish - acted as chairman. Father McGrath, S.J., delivered the customary oration. Father Lynch, uncle to Fionan Lynch (now in prison) recited. Amongst others on the platform was Larry Ginnell, M.P.

Tuesday 8th. Gaelic League Árd-Fheis continued, Father Ó Braonain presiding. The Presidency of the League was the most important matter before the meeting. We all know Dr. Douglas Hyde was unwilling to continue as President. It was decided to have open voting. An t-Athair Peadar Ó Laoghaire was proposed by Pádraig MacSuibhne of Fermoy. Risteard Ó Foghludha proposed Father Wall. (Risteard is Acting Hon. Secretary for Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, who is in Reading Gaol.) Father Wall refused to go forward. The Chairman proposed Eoin MacNeill (now in Dartmoor). Father Wall seconded. Some delegate said Mrs. MacNeill did not wish Eoin to be put forward. (My wife later informed me the reason for this was that Mrs. MacNeill knew there is a strong feeling against Eoin MacNeill amongst some of the relatives of men executed in Easter Week). Father Ó Braonain spoke strongly in favour of Eoin MacNeill, so he was elected unanimously and with much applause. The Vice-Presidents elected were - Father Matt Ryan, Father Wall, T.P. MacGinley and Seán Ó Ceallaigh ("Sceilg").

Thursday 10th. Around the streets where marks of the fighting of Easter Week are to be seen.

Liberty Hall bears evidence of bombardment, but stands out prominently, notwithstanding. Learned it was evacuated by the Citizen Army on Easter Monday and was untenanted during the week. Newspapers gave a different impression. There is havoc at eastern side of Lower O'Connell St., but no marked traces of fire and, at present, does not look desolate, as we were

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told the place looked after Easter Week. The walls of the G.P.O. stand and appear remarkably solid. The rubbish from within is being removed. Of Clery's big warehouse, marble pillars, backed by iron, stand. Behind the Post Office, portion of Henry St. is in ruins. Many houses have been completely destroyed, only debris remaining. The bombardment was from the river near the Custom House. All the buildings in the line of fire from there to the Post Office were hit and most of them demolished. A whole big block between Abbey Street and Eden Quay is gone. The Four Courts dome has been pitted by bullets or shrapnel. Whelan's, Newsagent, Ormond Quay, has evidence of fierce fire. North King St. to Church St. has the marks of fiercest rifle firing: every house front for some hundreds of yards having bullet marks on walls and windows. Linenhall barracks was burned out, having been set on fire, I was told, by the Volunteers before they left it.

Common report in Dublin puts English casualties as, at least, 2,000. Opinion puts actual number of Volunteer and Citizen Army killed at about 50; but a few hundred civilians, whether with arms or not, were wounded. We were told by men who were fighting in the Post Office that only one man was killed there. Opinion also puts number of Volunteers fighting in Dublin at about 1,500.

Friday, 11th August. Spent about four hours with Father Augustine, O.S.F.C., in the Priory, Church St. Father Augustine was in the thick of the fight during Easter Week, with others of the Capuchin Order - Fathers Albert, Aloysius, Jarlath. Heard from other sources Father Augustine was the man of men among them all in attending to his priestly duties, while men were dying or in danger of death. From my long acquaintance with him as friend and comrade, this is what I would expect. I cannot record all he told my wife and myself. To him the week was thrilling, heroic, inspiring, a manifestation of the divine in human souls. He told of men who had

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been careless in religious practices converted in the face of death; of one non-Catholic who desired to be baptised and became a Catholic.

There were people in Dublin during that week who would have "torn" 'our boys' asunder" - so Father Augustine put it. Feeling was strong against them. It was not till the executions that that attitude changed.

It was Father Augustine who took word to Tomás McDonagh that Pearse had been compelled to surrender. McDonagh was surprised. Then, Father Augustine arranged a meeting between General Lowe and McDonagh. Lowe was a perfect gentleman. Not so Maxwell and others. McDonagh asked if there were any terms. "I am afraid there is nothing for it but unconditional surrender" was Lowe's reply.

Lowe (or some other General) put a question to Father Augustine. He was told he need not answer if he wished not to do so. The question was: "What do you think will be the effect if the leaders are executed?" He replied: "You know, General, what Carlyle said: 'The world is not governed by logic but by sentiment'. If those men are executed all Ireland will be with them". He expressed the same opinion to Maxwell, whom he described as an ordinary, matter-of-fact soldier, who would sign an order for the execution of any number of men, while smoking a cigar.

Father Augustine told us he saw Eoin MacNeill in his cell after his trial. The position of MacNeill, in connection with the Rising was thus - He was President of the Volunteers, but was not in the secrets of Pádraig Pearse and the others. Things affecting the Volunteers were being done without his knowledge. On Spy Wednesday he was told a Rising was about to take place and was ultimately made to believe success was certain. He was very much opposed to action, at first; then was partly brought to consent, apparently, however, against

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his judgment. Subsequently he reverted to his original opinion; hence his order cancelling all mobilisation of Volunteers on Easter Sunday. (Though Father Augustine did not state it definitely, I judged Eoin must, in the meantime, have heard of the events in connection with Casement's landing and considered the whole plan that made for success had miscarried. I heard from another source, not from Father Augustine, that on Wednesday of Easter Week, Arthur Griffith went to MacNeill to urge him to cancel his order of Easter Sunday, but MacNeill refused).

There are many curious stories about Bulmer Hobson which are a surprise to me. He was regarded as garrulous, hence not to be trusted with secrets. Before the Rising, on Easter Monday, he was arrested and kept in custody by the Volunteers. He was released some time during the week. His description is in the "Hue and Cry", but he was not arrested, though the military authorities knew where he was; so Father Augustine told me.

Father Augustine saw Austin Stack in Richmond Prison. Stack told him Casement came to stop the insurrection at Easter. Monteith brought that information. Stack would not act on it without learning it from Casement himself. When they went to meet Casement, he had been arrested.

In Casement's trial, the journeys of Stack, Monteith and Bailey are mentioned.

Where we stayed in Dublin we met a man named McInerney from Limerick. He told me it was his brother who had driven the car that went into the river near Killorglin on Holy Thursday night. It was a pure accident. His brother was interned, but had been released recently.

On Friday evening, after leaving Father Augustine, I called on Dr. Michael Davitt at his residence, in connection with some cases for National Aid assistance. He said he would

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wish to have a long talk with me, but was engaged with Madame O'Rahilly and others in reference to amalgamation of National Aid Association and Volunteer Dependents' Fund. The amalgamation had taken place that day. (This I knew, as I had heard an Irish-American named Murphy had come to Ireland with a considerable sum of money and would not give it to either Association, but insisted on amalgamation). On my informing Dr. Davitt that I had to return to Cork next morning, he took me into his office and we settled our affairs easily.

August 13th. Sunday evening. Micheál Ó Cuill, who left Cork on Tuesday of Easter Week to take part in the Rising in Dublin, called to our home and told the story of his experiences. Micheál is a wonderful story-teller and his account was of deep interest.

The glamour of romance is already being thrown over some of the tales of Easter Week.

Dublin Castle rule is re-established. Wimborne has been appointed Lord Lieutenant. A man named Duke is Chief Secretary. The rigours of martial law, however, are being relaxed. The English Government is again trying to win Irish goodwill; but in the press and in certain quarters in England, hate is being displayed.

Efforts are being made to keep the Volunteers together as an organisation; not an easy task in Cork, in consequence of the debacle of Easter Week.

August 21st. Additional Defence of the Realm regulations have been published. One of them practically prevents anyone from coming into Ireland.

August 22nd. Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., has a letter in the press protesting against "the campaign of hate" which is being conducted in England against Irishmen. "The great deeds of Irish soldiers" in the war seem to have no effect on English opinion, Sir Thomas says. Did he think they would?

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There was a "scene" in Westminster Parliament yesterday. Mr. Landon, M.P., made some remarks about Sir John Maxwell. "He was understood to say Maxwell was a bigger murderer than the rebels". He was "called to order".

September 3rd. The Skeffington inquiry ended on Thursday (August 31st). The plea of the Attorney-General (Campbell, M.P.) for the Government was - "Sorry for what occurred, but in times of excitement and stamping out rebellions 'mistakes' will occur. Blame no one but the madman, Colthurst".

I noted the other day that, so far as I know, there were no such 'mistakes' on the Volunteers' side. Captain Stephen Gwynne, M.P., member of the "Irish Party", grandson of William Smith O'Brien, as he boasts, is of a different opinion. He charges the Volunteers with wholesale murder; every man in khaki on the streets of Dublin, he says, was fired at, whether the man was armed or not. Even wounded soldiers "home from the front" were fired at. The "Independent" comments: "He praised his 'grandfather's' insurrection, but condemned that of 1916". Another charge of murder made is that of the shooting of the policeman guarding Dublin Castle gate.

Have seen some American papers of August 10th and 11th. Comments on Casement's hanging are very scathing against England. The general tenor of about a dozen extracts from various papers is that Casement's execution was a crime against humanity. All British excuses for it are blown to atoms. No one in Ireland has dared to use the language that is in the American papers.

James Connolly's daughter has gone to America. An interview with her is published. (His wife will not be allowed to go).

The treatment accorded to the delegates from the National Aid Committee of the United States coming to Dublin for relief

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of distress is detailed at length. They came from Liverpool in a liner, were not allowed to land and had to go back to the States on the same ship.

Reports from the Argentine are also published. They show a strong spirit among the Irish there.

Considering the strict censorship, the amount of news getting abroad is very surprising.

The papers I saw are more pro-ally than pro-German, but their attitude towards the war situation is entirely different to that of the pro-British in Ireland.

September 24th. Many events have had to go unrecorded by me. At present, I find most people are somewhat bewildered as to the course of events in Ireland. No one can say what is likely to happen. Conscription, however, is the matter most discussed. The English "die-hards" are again endeavouring to have it applied to Ireland.

The language movement seems progressing. There is talk of the Peace Conference which, it is assumed, will meet after the war is ended; and the view is growing that the freedom of Ireland should be made a matter for discussion at that Conference. But who can speak for Ireland now? The Irish Parliamentary Party does not favour an appeal to the Peace Conference and the Volunteers are broken, as an organisation. According to reports, the "Irish Nation League" is gaining strength in the North, but it seems only a replica of the United Irish League. M.J. Judge has a weekly paper and a "Repeal League", but it looks as if he were alone in the League! The Orangemen are quiet at present, as they well <sup>may</sup> be, having things their own way. The Coalition Government rules in England and the war continues as fierce as ever.

October 13th. Sensation at the beginning of this week - German submarines off the North American Coast. A number of

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English ships torpedoed. According to the "Daily Mail" of Tuesday last, October 10th, (in a note taken from "New York World") "U 53 carried away from Newport, U.S.A., the flag of the Irish Republic, presented to the U-boat commander by sympathisers. Lieutenant Wacker received the flag and, as the boat cleared, shouted: "When we sink a British ship, we will hoist this in honour of Ireland".

Conscription for Ireland is again being hotly discussed. John E. Redmond spoke in Waterford last Friday. Admission to his meeting was by ticket. He was guarded by police and there was close police surveillance. Notwithstanding, there were "rows" in the hall where he spoke. "Sinn Féiners" were mauled, assaulted, thrown out. So the news reports say. Girls who wore republican flags got rough treatment. So bad was the scene that a priest spoke from the pulpit on Sunday regarding it.

According to Mr. Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party are in opposition to the Government "on all questions but the war". They are opposed to conscription - "it would be fought out in every village in Ireland". It is difficult to understand Redmond's attitude and the attitude of the Party. They assert Ireland is one with England in the war. Logically then, they ought to accept conscription.

The Party is trying to make all the political capital it can out of the Rising. The policy now is: the Rising was a disaster - but the men who fought were brave men; the men in prison ought get good treatment; martial law ought be withdrawn. The latest tale is that Mr. Redmond, per Mr. Dillon, per Mr. Devlin, saved "49 rebels" from being shot!

November 18th. Maxwell is gone, but martial law is still in force, nominally. He received honours from King George V for his "excellent work" in Ireland - his regime of death and terror. He is succeeded by General Sir Bryan Mahon. There is

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still talk of some humbug of Home Rule. One thing stands out strikingly since Easter Week: Ireland is a nation governed against its will by overwhelming military force. As the "Morning Post" puts it, "England cannot afford to let Ireland go".

There are some curious anomalies. Men are prosecuted for singing "Felons of Our Land"; for shouting "Up Dublin". The "Southern Star" is suppressed for something or other, quite insignificant; yet, other papers and other songs of a much more "seditious" nature are not noticed by the authorities.

According to what I hear, the military people fear, or pretend to fear, another rising. I have heard young officers talking, as if in deadly fear, of the danger of walking the streets of Dublin. A nice young fellow, the other night, remarked: "One never knows what may happen there". It has an amusing aspect. There was a courtmartial on an officer in Cork military barracks last week, reported in the Cork papers of Saturday, 11th. He was charged with being drunk on the night of October 5th. In the course of the case, it was stated the military in Ballincollig had received information from the police there was to be a rising in Cork that night! There is again a suggestion of pressing the police into the army.

It is quite apparent they do not want to leave Ireland. They may be deliberately creating scares; "pulling the leg" of the military authorities to save themselves from joining the army.

December 3rd. Sunday. There was to be a meeting of "An Fáinne" today. It was not held. After it, a meeting of the Cork District Coiste of the Gaelic League. Only four or five attended. We remained talking till half-past two.

Last night, I heard from Sean O'Sullivan and from Domhnall O'Callaghan that there was also to be a meeting to establish a branch of Sinn Féin in Cork, at 2 p.m. today. I was undecided as to whether I would attend this meeting or not,

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chiefly on account of the débacle of Easter Week in Cork. As I was passing the door of the room in which this meeting was being held, in company with Michael Ó Cuill, Denis O'Neill, T.C., accosted us. "Come to the meeting", he said, "you need not remain long". I went with him. The meeting had not commenced. There were fifteen or sixteen present. I was proposed as Chairman! I refused to act. Domhnall Ó Ceallacháin was then proposed. He also refused. I was appealed to a second time and, after hesitation, consented. After some discussion, a working executive was appointed. Sean Nolan, Chairman; Liam de Roiste, Hon. Treasurer; Sean Conlon, M.A., and Patrick Barrett, secretaries; Domhnall O'Callaghan, Seán Good (Secretary, Cork Trades Council), Seán Jennings, Maurice Conway, Liam Murphy, Denis O'Neill, members of the executive. Seán O'Sullivan refused, as he said it was better that officers of the Volunteers should not be on the Sinn Féin Council. Sean Ó Tuama also refused. It appeared to me that, while it was desired to establish the branch, few were prepared to work for it. Thus, was Sinn Féin re-established in Cork, and I would say it was not too promising a beginning.

December 5th. The war is going heavily against England and its allies. There is almost a state of panic. A real crisis has arisen in the British Government. All the Ministers have resigned. "Reconstruction" is taking place. There is dissension and disunion in high places. Ginnell, recently out of prison, put a question to Asquith yesterday: would he not consider the advisability of applying to Great Britain the principle the Government was applying to Ireland - no government till the people agree! Food is becoming scarce and food prices are soaring. Ruling authorities in Russia are said to be pro-German and deserting their Allies.

Martial Law is now a dead letter in Ireland. It exists,

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but is not being enforced. On Sunday week last, the Manchester Martyrs' Demonstration was held, as in former years, and without interference by the police. The British Government is probably too preoccupied to take note of affairs in Ireland. Anyhow, there is liberty of speech.

December 16th. Asquith has been thrown out; Earl Grey also; and their supporters. Lloyd George is Prime Minister; Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Balfour and Cecil, though fiercely attacked in the Northcliffe press, are in the new Government.

December 20th. Some progress is being made in the establishment of the Sinn Féin organisation in Cork. New men have joined it. Some of them were active in an election in West Cork propagating Sinn Féin ideas. The present plan accepted for the city is quiet organising and recruitment of new members. A summary of aims and objects which I drafted has been printed as a leaflet and widely distributed. A number of things has recently been said and done in the name of Sinn Féin with which I do not agree. They are not in line with our original Sinn Féin policy.

The "Cork Free Press" has ceased to exist. O'Brien himself ordered the close-down. After Easter Week, when the "Press", guardedly, lauded the men who fought in Dublin, the circulation increased by leaps and bounds. During the West Cork election, William rounded on the Sinn Féin men who interfered with him. Since then, the circulation of his paper has declined. The All-for-Ireland League is defunct. There is really no place now for O'Brien. His "conference, conciliation and consent" ideas are not wanted. He is probably disgusted and may again retire from public life.

Tadhg Barry was arrested on Sunday morning (17th) and is at present in the military detention barracks. The arrest is probably due to statements made by him at the City Hall

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meeting on Manchester Martyrs' Day. He said that what Sinn Feiners really stood for was an Irish Republic. He was taken after coming from 7 o'clock Mass and was not permitted to have breakfast. Tadhg was attached to the "Cork Free Press", but was dismissed a fortnight ago on account of his criticisms of O'Brien during the West Cork election.

Another man, a van driver, O'Keefe by name, was arrested on Monday. Charge is believed to be: endeavouring to purchase military equipment. Apparently a trap was laid for him. From what I hear, a good deal of such equipment has been purchased by the Óglaigh in Cork recently. The military authorities are on the track of the equipment and of those who purchased it.

Prime Minister Lloyd George made some vague references to Ireland in a war speech in the House of Commons yesterday. The English Government regard "some kind of settlement of the Irish question" as of paramount importance in the present war situation and its international complications. Redmond made some of his usual remarks. The Irish Party will do nothing to hinder His Majesty's Government in the successful prosecution of the war.

December 24th. Sunday. Prisoners in Frongoch have been set free and have been coming home in batches since Friday last. Chief Secretary Duke stated in the English Commons on Thursday that the Government had considered "the advantages and disadvantages" of setting the prisoners free, and came to the conclusion that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. No question of justice or magnanimity in the action. He paid tribute to the Irish Parliamentary Party for keeping Ireland "quiet" during the past few months. And now, the Party and their supporters are making capital for themselves (as they think) from the liberation of the prisoners.

President Woodrow Wilson has sent a "Peace Note" to the

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warring powers. It is almost a direct invitation to "small nations and weak states" to lay their case before the United States Government.

Thinking over it, Saturday night last, as to how it may be used to Ireland's advantage, I decided to begin by getting a resolution passed at Cork Sinn Féin Executive Committee. I looked up points in Lloyd George's speech of Tuesday and speeches of the French, Russian and Italian Ministers on Germany's peace offers. The idea of Ireland being represented at the Peace Conference has been in the air since Easter Week. Wilson's "Note" brings the matter to earth and gives an opportunity for action.

So, on Saturday night, I drafted a resolution:

"Whereas, Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy have declared they entered the present European War to defend the rights of small nations; and Whereas, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain recently stated the war 'is a struggle for international right, international honour, international good faith ..... for the protection of the weak against the strong', and Baron Sonnino, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, has stated: 'they all desired a lasting peace, but it must depend on a just equilibrium between States and respect for the principle of nationality' and

Whereas, President Wilson has stated that 'the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world'

"Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial, in the future, as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war", and "the interest of the United States in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence

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is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government", and that the people of the United States "stand ready and even eager to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command",

Now, this Executive of the Sinn Féin organisation in Cork is of opinion that the Irish people, as one of the "weak peoples and small states" which needs "security against aggression" and guarantees against "denial of its rights and privileges", ought be represented at the Congress of Nations and have its claim to national liberty considered.

We respectfully ask Irish public bodies to endorse this opinion and to appeal to His Holiness the Pope and to President Wilson to ensure that Ireland's voice be heard at the Peace Conference and its claims considered thereat".

The resolution was adopted at the meeting of the Executive; a small meeting. Donal Óg Ó Ceallacháin was Chairman, and others present were: Seán Conlon, M.A., Maurice Conway, Pat Barrett and myself.

I sent the resolution to Herbert Pim for insertion in his paper, the "Irishman", and an article on the matter of it to Shan Ó Cuiv for "Irish Opinion". Councillor Jerry Lane handed in a motion at Cork Corporation on somewhat similar lines to my resolution. I spoke to Alderman Sean Cronin of this and he said, as a member of Redmondite Party, he would have a better chance than Lane of getting the resolution carried by the Corporation. So, I gave him my resolution. I am sending it also to various public and representative people throughout the country and to Wesley Frost, American Consul at Cove.

Major General Doran, C.B., Commanding the Southern District, has prohibited the holding of a concert by the South Parish Branch, Gaelic League, on St. Stephen's night. He

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fears it may lead to "grave disorder".

Christmas Day - 7 p.m. Have just heard that Terence MacSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain arrived home about 4 p.m. today.

They were imprisoned in Reading, so I suppose their release means that Griffith, Milroy, Peadar O'Hourihane and all others who were in Reading are freed as well.

December 29th. All the prisoners who were not tried by courtmartial have been released. They were officially designated as "Irish Prisoners of War". Those sentenced by courtmartial have not been so designated. His Majesty's Government seems to be muddled as to their status.

Wednesday evening (27th) my wife and I visited the MacSwineys to greet Terence. He looks well. He has nothing particular to say as to his adventures. Our conversation was on ordinary topics. A brother of his, Peter, is home from America. I gathered from him that the Irish-Americans in the States are divided, as at home, but that the Redmondite United Irish League is dead there. The "Tammany Hall Irish", according to him, care little about Ireland; they merely use the cry of "Ireland" to get votes. Opinions among Irish-Americans were divided over the Presidential election, many doubting Woodrow Wilson's sincerity. Most of the Irish are not pro-German. The pro-English papers condemned the "Rebellion"; the Hearst group of papers gave good reports of it. All the papers, including the pro-English, condemned the executions. The Clann-na-Gael will probably endeavour to have Ireland's case brought up at the Peace Conference, but a very general opinion is that this will be difficult, owing to the fact that the Rising was not general, being practically confined to Dublin.

Miss Louise Gavan Duffy was present at our conversations. She is staying with the MacSwineys at present.

1917.      January 3rd:      I have sent Sinn Féin Executive resolution re Peace Congress to Cardinal Logue , in the hope that he may transmit it to the Vatican; to Jeremiah O'Mahony, Member Cork County Council, asking him to bring it before the Council; to P. W. Kenny, Waterford. The latter has a letter in the "Independent" today to say the matter is to come before the "Supreme Council" of the "Irish Nation League". Many public bodies are now beginning to express their opinions on somewhat similar lines to what is conveyed in our resolution.

Patrick Corcoran, printer, was arrested on Monday morning (January 1st). Two employees of his came to me and said his arrest is due to the printing by him of a circular setting out the aims and objects of Sinn Féin. His name was appended to it and also a statement that it was issued by authority of the Sinn Féin Executive in Cork. The men who called advised me to "plank" any copies I had. By a clever ruse on the printer's part, the MS. of the circular was burned while the police were searching Corcoran's premises.

General opinion is that he was arrested for printing a booklet of songs - "Songs of the Rebels", though it was not generally known he was the printer of this. I have heard the compiler is An t-Athair Tomás de Róiste.

January 9th:      The resolution re Ireland's representation at the Peace Conference was carried unanimously at a meeting of Cork County Council, last Thursday (January 4th), on the proposition of Jeremiah O'Mahony. There was a full meeting of the Council. It was ordered to be sent to the Bishops of County Cork dioceses, for transmission to the Pope and also to the American Ambassador in London.

I received a very courteous letter from Wesley Frost, American Consul at Queenstown. He says he has sent our resolution direct to the Secretary of State at Washington and a copy to the American Ambassador in London.

Relations between the Cork Volunteer Battalion Council and the Sinn Féin Executive are a source of some annoyance at present.

The meeting held on 3rd December last to establish a branch of Sinn Fein was called together by prominent 1917 leaders of the Volunteers. It was their initiative. Commandant Seán O'Sullivan explained, however, that it was inadvisable that those in responsible positions in the Óglaigh should be members of the Sinn Fein Executive. At the end of last week I heard that this view had been endorsed by the Battalion Council, which had made a definite order on it. A result was that Seán Nolan, who had been Chairman of the Executive, resigned. A serious view was taken of this. It seemed the throwing over of Sinn Fein by members of the Volunteers. Desirous to know the root cause of the attitude of the Battalion Council, a Deputation from the Executive was appointed to wait on them.

On Thursday night last, (4th), there was a general meeting of the Volunteers. There were about 200 present. Terence MacSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain spoke. The attitude towards Sinn Fein was entirely friendly. Later, Battalion Council meeting was held. It was explained that those in responsible positions in the Óglaigh have enough to do to carry out their duties efficiently and so are unable to devote time to the Sinn Fein organisation.

It seems to me, however, that "military work", in the minds of some, is regarded as much more important than political work and that this is the real cause of partial withdrawal from Sinn Fein.

January 10th: Report of part of courtmartial trial of Tadhg Barry is in today's papers. As reported, the proceedings are almost farcical. The charge against him is for statements in his speech at the Manchester Martyrs' meeting. But, documents found in his house were put in as evidence against him. The principal one is our circular, "Aims and Objects of Sinn Fein". Another, a ballad sheet, "Easter Week". John Good, Secretary Cork Trades Council, who presided at the meeting, was a witness for the defence. From

statements of his, it would hardly be surprising if he himself were now brought up for "trial". Other cases are pending.

1917: January 20th:

I have had to put my notebooks away, for safe keeping. The following are translated from Irish:

Cork Corporation (12th instant), on the proposition of Councillor Jeremiah Lane, adopted the resolution urging representation for Ireland at the Peace Conference. It was adopted unanimously. Alderman, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, presided. Some of the Redmondite Party wished to amend the resolution, but Sir Edward would not permit them.

Another resolution was adopted protesting against the military order prohibiting a Gaelic League concert on St. Stephen's night. Two members of the South Parish Branch and myself attended the Corporation meeting and explained the circumstances. Alderman John Hogan (Redmondite) contended that the Gaelic League is a political organisation.

Saturday night last (13th), Cumann na mBan had an entertainment, particularly for the men from County Cork who had been in gaol and had been released recently. A great number were present, from all parts of the county. During the night, those of them who were Volunteers, held a meeting, chiefly, as I heard, to discuss the happenings in Cork during Easter Week. There were many complaints, criticisms, and disappointments expressed. At one period it looked as if recriminations would become too heated. My friend, John Murphy of Lissarda, (who told me what happened at the meeting) proposed that another meeting be held a fortnight hence, when matters could be discussed more calmly. His proposition was accepted, so good feeling was restored.

Later, I was speaking to Séamus Hannigan, of Mitchelstown Óglaigh. He, too, felt strongly because Cork had failed to act in Easter Week. He asked me if it were true that Tralee Volunteers had refused to rescue Casement because one of their leaders had said an attempt at rescue would be a declaration of war on the British Government. I had heard this, but did not know if it were true or not. That Casement came to stop the Rising is now well known. It was said in Cork, by responsible people in the Volunteers, that Casement was a traitor!

December, 1916.

# SINN FEIN:

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ITS

Objects & Means

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WATCHWORD:

**NATIONAL SELF-RELIANCE.**

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Published for the Cork Executive of Sinn Fein, by  
Patrick Corcoran, 21, Sullivan's Quay, Cork.

# sinn féin.

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**OBJECT.**—The object of the Sinn Féin movement is the re-establishment of Ireland's sovereign independence.

As Thomas Davis put it: "The Irish Nation must be **SUPREME** on this island . . . . A mockery of Irish independence is not what we want. The bauble of a powerless Parliament does not lure us. . . . The office of supplying England with recruits, artizans, and corn shall not be our destiny."

**MEANS.**—To achieve our country's independence Sinn Féin proposes, among other things, as the nation's work—

1. The unity of Irishmen on the broad national principle that Ireland is a distinct nation with a nation's right to freedom; not a province begging for concessions.

Repudiation of the right of the English Parliament to make laws for this nation. The right of the Irish Nation to be bound only by its own laws was acknowledged by the English Parliament in 1783. "The Act of Union is a nullity which no man in Ireland is bound to obey," said Lord Chancellor Plunket.

3. Passive resistance to English law in Ireland. As the Act of Union is "a nullity," and was carried by "treachery and fraud," every English law in Ireland is immoral, unconstitutional and illegal. It is thus not only a right, but a duty, on Irishmen to resist English law in Ireland.

4. The withdrawal of Irish representatives from the English Parliament as the definite means of repudiating the right of that Parliament to make laws for Ireland, and as the complete repudiation of the Act of Union.

5. The establishment of a National Council to direct the affairs of the nation.

6. The building up of Ireland industrially by consistent support of Irish products, goods, manufactures, industries, and the development of Irish resources.

7. Support of the Irish language movement, and reform of Irish education so as to make it thoroughly national and suitable to Irish needs.

Encouragement of Irish games, amusements, pastimes, and characteristics. Discouragement of all things tending to anglicise Irishmen.

8. Resistance, as far as practicable, to taxation imposed by the English Parliament, and non-consumption, as far as practicable, of articles paying duty to the British Exchequer.

9. National self-development through the recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship on the part of the individual, and by the aid and support of ALL movements originating from within Ireland, instinct with national tradition, and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims.

10. An Irish social policy which would ensure good conditions for the working classes, for the aged and infirm, and would tend to the prosperity of the country.

11. The maintenance of the Irish Volunteers.

12. Sinn Féin will endeavour to have Ireland's right to freedom considered at the International Conference to be held at the close of the present European war.

The watchword of Sinn Féin is National **Self-Reliance**. Sinn Féin repudiates the begging attitude of Parliamentarianism as un-Irish, unmanly, and disastrous to our country.

If you wish to join the Sinn Féin organisation, get in touch with the Hon. Sec., Cork Branch, at 13, Great George's Street:

ÉIRE NEAMHSPLEADÁC ÉIRE SAOR !

1917:

January: Prohibitions of the military authorities of Gaelic League entertainments and criticisms of the league by public men, in which accusations were made of its being a "Sinn Féin" political organisation, led to greater activity in the league itself and to greater support from sympathisers of the language movement.

Count Plunkett now came into prominence in politics. On January 20th he was expelled from the Royal Dublin Society. He was nominated as a candidate for a parliamentary vacancy in North Roscommon and was elected, February 5th.

He did not get in touch directly with any of the leaders of Sinn Féin or the Volunteers in Cork, but with Jerry Lane, Town Councillor, whom he had known when Secretary of the Cork International Exhibition of 1902. It was not known if he would adopt the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament, but, as the father of Joseph Plunkett, he was regarded as representing the general views of those who took part in the Rising and as anti-British. So it was arranged in Cork that Jerry Lane and Alderman P.H. Meade be sent to Roscommon to help in the election campaign.

After election he was given the "Freedom of Sligo" and there intimated he intended calling a convention of representatives of public bodies and national organisations in Dublin. This appears as "a new movement".

March 17th: Plunkett's circular letter to public bodies with invitation to attend the convention appears. He has adopted the idea of an appeal to the Peace Conference and uses excellent arguments. The Redmondite supporters in general on the public bodies are in opposition to the ideas of Count Plunkett and personal abuse of him is indulged in.

April 6th: The United States declare war on Germany.

April 19th: "Plunkett Convention" in Mansion House, Dublin. There was a very large attendance. I attended as delegate from Cork Sinn Féin Executive. It was apparent there were many cross-currents of opinion among those present as to the line of action to be taken and to the personnel of an Executive that may be formed. There was a clash between Count Plunkett and Griffith. It was apparent, however, that there was no general support for the Count as leader of "a new movement". Griffith advocated the old Sinn Féin policy of "passive resistance", but this did not commend itself to certain militant sections whose only idea was that of "physical force" through the Volunteers. Also, Griffith was said to have been opposed to the Rising. There was unanimity regarding the presentation of Ireland's case at the Peace Conference.

April: Election in Longford. Sinn Féin organisation had decided to contest parliamentary elections. The old policy of non-recognition of the English Parliament and non-attendance there had been accepted.

Joe McGuinness, imprisoned for his part in the Rising, was put forward as a candidate. Seán Milroy was Director of Elections. He drew a picture of a man in prison which was widely displayed. Printed beneath it was the catchy slogan "Put him in to take him out". He sent me a postcard picture of this drawing of his.

May 9th: Polling in Longford. After recount of votes, McGuinness was declared elected by 37 votes of a majority; a close victory, but regarded as very satisfactory. After election strong protests were made against Partition of the country.

June: Prime Minister Lloyd George has called a Convention to, once more, "settle the Irish Question". It is to be representative of all parties in Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett is appointed Chairman. Sinn Féin, naturally, refused to send representatives to this Convention. The international purpose is, chiefly, to placate some Irish-Americans.

June 17th: All Irish prisoners in English jails are released. Again English policy towards Ireland wavers. There is an air of freedom now that there has not been since 1914. Some say it will not last, but at all events, it gives us an opportunity for present work to strengthen the Sinn Féin organisation and some liberty to express our ideas.

July 10th: It is the day of the polling in Clare election. De Valera is the Sinn Féin candidate, one

of the leaders in Dublin in Easter Week, sentenced to death, commuted to imprisonment and recently released. The opposing candidate is Patrick Lynch, King's Counsellor, "Crown Prosecutor". He is backed by the "Irish Party" and by all the pro-English forces.

For the past week, some of us in Cork have been as busy regarding the election as if we were in the thick of the campaign. Thursday last (5th) I journeyed to Limerick to meet Seán Milroy, who is Director of Elections; to arrange regarding motor cars from Cork. Saturday I got a wire from him to "come early" to Ennis. I went there on Saturday night.

Among others whom I renewed acquaintance with, or met for the first time were: Countess Markievicz, Joe McGuinness, Larry Ginnell, Count Plunkett, Darrell Figgis, de Valera, Alice Milligan, Walter Cole, T.P. Smyth, Dr. MacNabb, Fr. Gleeson. Some I met were old friends of the days when Sinn Féin was in its infancy; others have sprung into prominence recently. At the meeting I attended on Sunday at Ruan, there was a police cordon between the opposing crowds to keep them from fighting. The Parish Priest was on the Sinn Féin side. I got talking to an old man who recalled for me the days of the Land League, when landlords were shot and police stoned. Returning to Ennis that evening on outside cars, stones were thrown at us. At night a rowdy crowd tried to break into the hotel. They failed, but broke a number of windows. Notwithstanding such demonstrations of Lynch supporters, it was pretty certain in my mind that de Valera would be elected.

Yesterday morning coming home I happened to meet Arthur Griffith in Limerick. Two priests were with him. They were proceeding to Ennis. Griffith was unable to come earlier, as he had to have "Nationality" published during the week end. In the course of conversation, from some question I put, he intimated to me that de Valera was to be the future leader of the Sinn Féin organisation. I expressed the opinion that from my observations and conversations in Co. Clare, de Valera was practically sure of election there.

July 11th: 6 p.m. Result of Clare election: -  
de Valera, 5,010; Lynch, 2,035, majority, 2975.

The most sanguine estimate of majority before the count was 1,500.

The Lloyd George Convention continued its sittings. One was held in University College, Cork. It got a good deal of publicity, but it was evident the members of it were out of touch with present public opinion in Ireland. No result was expected from it.

August: Sinn Féin contested an election in Kilkenny. Cosgrave won by 722 votes to 392 for the "Irish Party" candidate.

Larry Ginnell withdrew from the English Parliament and joined Sinn Féin. He had spoken for Sinn Féin in the Clare Election. There were now five parliamentary representatives who had adopted the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament and appeal to the Peace Conference.

August: Notwithstanding the English Government's desire to create a "peace atmosphere" for the Convention, arrests of Sinn Féin supporters were taking place and proclamations against the holding of public meetings. Among others arrested were Thomas Ashe, Fionán Lynch and Austin Stack. They were brought before a military court and refused to recognise its right to try them. They were imprisoned in Mountjoy. Along with other prisoners there they went on "hunger strike" (September 20th). An attempt was made to "forcibly feed" them. On September 25th Tom Ashe was removed to the Mater Hospital and died there. His death created a tremendous sensation.

Max Green, son-in-law of John Redmond, was Chairman of the Prisons Board at the time.

October 25th: Sinn Féin Convention in the Mansion House, Dublin. A large attendance of delegates from cumainn all over the country, something over 1,200. De Valera, Griffith and Count Plunkett had been nominated for the Presidency of the organisation. There had been canvassing in Cork, as elsewhere, to have de Valera elected as President. From what he had told me in Limerick in July, I was aware that Griffith did not intend to oppose de Valera. So at the Convention he withdrew his own name and proposed de Valera. Count Plunkett then also withdrew. Griffith was elected Vice President almost unanimously, getting 1,197 votes. Fr. O'Flanagan got 780 votes, defeating Count Plunkett.

The Secretaries appointed were Darrell Figgis and Austin Stack, and Cosgrave and Ginnell were elected Treasurers.

For the Executive Council, the larger number of votes were cast for the older members of the Sinn Féin organisation (pre 1916).

It was decided to contest all parliamentary seats at the next general election and then set up a National Council or assembly.

The decision to appeal to the Peace Conference was confirmed.

The organising of Sinn Féin cumainn was continued intensively throughout the rest of the year 1917 and spring of 1918. There were public meetings and gatherings at which the Sinn Féin policy was explained. It was becoming apparent that general public opinion was on the side of Sinn Féin and that the policy of parliamentarianism was being discredited.

1918:

Yet, in February 1918, Dr. McCartan as Sinn Féin candidate, was defeated in a parliamentary election in South Armagh; in March Captain Redmond beat Dr. Vincent White, and in April Seán Milroy was beaten by a man named Harbison. The register was an old one and the franchise of the time was limited.

April: The announcement by Prime Minister Lloyd George that conscription was to be enforced in Ireland changed the situation to the great advantage of Sinn Féin.

On April 16th the Conscription Act passed the British House of Commons. The Irish Parliamentary Party withdrew from the House in protest and it seemed for a time as if they would adopt the Sinn Féin policy of abstention.

1918. April 9th:

The menace of Conscription is overshadowing all other affairs in Ireland. This evening Prime Minister Lloyd George is to introduce a new "Man Power Bill", one clause of which is to have compulsory military service applied to Ireland.

The report of the Home Rule Convention, which has been sitting for the past eight months, is to be presented to Parliament.

Yesterday, Dublin Corporation, passed a resolution condemning Conscription for Ireland. It asked the Lord-Mayor to invite De Valera, Griffith, Dillon, Devlin and Trade Union leaders, to a meeting to consider steps to be taken to meet the situation. The attitude of the Redmondite Home Rulers is illogical, but they know the majority of the people are strongly opposed to Conscription.

It is stated the Convention made no recommendations. It is left to Lloyd George and his Government to act, or not to act, on the report. Lloyd George wrote to the Convention outlining what he proposed. It is much as the Home Rule Act of 1914. Arthur Griffith gave me a copy of this letter when I was in Dublin, last month. The London "Times" says Conscription must be enforced, whether a Home Rule Act come into operation or not.

April 19th: Things move quickly and change suddenly these times. Lloyd George and his Cabinet have achieved a miracle in Ireland! They have united the country in a way it was never united before. Even the arguments of the Orange Party show that Ireland is not a province, or part, of Great Britain.

Yesterday, Thursday 18th., the leaders of Sinn Féin, of the Irish Parliamentary Party, of the O'Brienite Party, and of Irish Labour

organisations, met in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor O'Neill, to consider means of opposing Conscription. At the same time the Hierarchy were meeting at Maynooth. The civil leaders sent a deputation to Maynooth to confer with the ecclesiastical authorities. Both bodies have issued statements: excellent declarations, condemning Conscription.

May 17th: A proclamation of the British to the Arabs affords us much amusement. They refer <sup>to</sup> "ye people of Bagdad", to foreign tyrants, of twenty-six generations, setting house against house, hurrying young men away to wars not of Arab making. "These things are abhorrent to Great Britain and its Allies"!!! So the proclamation. Fine - for the Arabs: perhaps.

May 18th: Quick strokes of the Government last night and early this morning. The action was not unexpected. There were rumours during the week of likely wholesale arrests and deportations. De Valera, Griffith, Cosgrave, Milroy, Figgis, Madame Markievicz and many others have been arrested. Also, arrests through the country. Peadar O'Hannrachain is one who has been taken. So far, in Cork city, only Tadhg Barry has been caught. Others were looked for, but were not found.

A ridiculous proclamation is issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary. Even a fool should see through it. It is to the effect that "a German Plot" has been discovered! A few, very few Irishmen are in it. "The Plot is an insult to Ireland and its military glory and its good name; therefore, the Government has decided to try voluntary recruiting before resorting to compulsion, and expects all loyal subjects of His Majesty to help it in crushing this German Plot by getting Irishmen to join the Army". Seems a bit mixed, but there it is! Do the British Government, or its advisers, really think they are clever?

In an interview, Chief Secretary Shortt refers to the "very few" in the "Plot"; but the wholesale arrests are due to the fact that others "might, unknowingly, become corrupted" !

Is it intended to make the Volunteers take the field in precipitate action, so that the military could crush them? As a political measure, it is excellent - for Sinn Fein: a fool's act for the British Government; as everyone knows it is based on a lie.

May 19th: The full list of those arrested has not been published. The Sinn Fein and National Aid Offices in Dublin were raided. The chief men working for Griffith in Cavan election have been taken. He is opposed by a supporter of the "Irish Party". A late announcement is that no meetings are to be held in Cavan today even by the "Party" supporters. Will they go on with the contest?

1918: The Act is unanimously accepted as a declaration of war on the Irish Nation. The only question is what is the most effective means of defeating the enemy. "Any means consonant with the law of God", declare the Bishops. "Any means that will be effective", is the general opinion. The issue is clear. English military power versus the unanimous will of the Irish Nation. But, there are international and diplomatic considerations also to be reckoned with by English statesmen; chiefly because of their war declarations. Griffith was right when he said, "The day England entered the war declaring it was fighting for the liberty of small nations that day the Lord delivered her into Ireland's hands". And the war situation is not going in England's favour.

April 20th: Last week there seemed to be a strain among people in general because of the Conscription threat. This week there seems to be a calmness and almost an exultation in some minds. The Mansion House Conference has decided to send Lord Mayor O'Neill to Washington to put Ireland's case against Conscription before President Wilson. Dr. MacCartan is in Washington as Ireland's Ambassador and he has been returned unopposed as Member of Parliament for Offaly, which is considered as a form of endorsement of his position in the United States.

Another decision of the Conference was the organising of a National Defence Fund: Archbishop Walsh and Lord Mayor O'Neill to be Trustees. The priests, with local Committees, are to take charge of the funds throughout the country. Tomorrow, all over Ireland, Masses of intercession are to be celebrated, after which priests are to ask the people to sign an anti-conscription pledge at the church doors. This pledge denies the right of the English Government to enforce compulsory service in Ireland and pledges each person to the other by <sup>to defeat it</sup> the most effective means.

May 17th: The London correspondent of the "Irish Independent", usually well-informed, states that the Government have decided to make another big attempt at voluntary recruiting in Ireland! If true, this means postponing Conscription.

But, Dr. Arthur Lynch had a talk with <sup>George</sup> Lloyd/and "got the impression that the Government means to go on with its "Irish policy".

1918: May 19th: Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in the "Sunday Independent", suggests that Griffith ought not be opposed. He is expressing a general opinion. But, he has no influence with Dillon's party. No one believes there was, or is, "a German Plot".

Carson, the week before last, stated the Government had evidence that Sinn Fein was connected with German intrigues! This was a suggestion for action to be taken. Then, some time since there was a story of a man in a collapsible boat landing "on the west coast". His name was given as O'Brien and it was stated he was from Clonakilty. Little attention was paid to the tale and no one in Cork knew anything of such a man. Again, there was a story of "two men in a boat" taken in Dunleary Harbour. They were tried in London yesterday and the evidence showed they were 'two' out on a pleasure trip in the harbour.

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A Mr. Malcolm Lyon has drawn up a document to which he has got signatures of prominent people, such as Mrs. Green, <sup>and</sup> Dr. Douglas Hyde. It has also been endorsed by George Crosbie, of the "Cork Examiner", and Coroner John J. Horgan, Solicitor. One form of it is an appeal to the Mansion House Conference to accept the idea of having Ireland's case submitted to an international tribunal of representatives of the United States, and neutral countries of Europe. Mr. Lyon says Japan endorses it! Well, at least, it is a recognition that "the Irish Question" is a matter of international concern: not an English "domestic one". As Sinn Féin has been pressing the claim of Ireland to be presented before the Peace Conference, perhaps one of the objects of the Government in arresting our leaders is to prevent that claim being made. I judge peace is not far off. It may come this year - within a few months. With Sinn Féin crippled, the English War Cabinet may consider it can bargain with the other political parties in Ireland and thus prevent an appeal to the Peace Conference.

There are English men and English papers that do not believe the story of the "German Plot". They are criticising the Government's action.

General Smuts, a member of the English War Cabinet now, has also been talking about Ireland. He spoke at Glasgow. He asks Ireland not to appeal to the Peace Conference, but to appeal to what he calls "the highest court of appeal" - the Imperial Conference: whatever that be: there seems little reality about it at present.

May 20th: "The Daily Mail" not only accepts "the German Plot" as proved, but adds to the story. To impress on its readers what type of Irishmen are pro-German, it has a picture of a murderous, villainous, cut-throat face and labels it - De Valera!

1918.

Ireland's demand for freedom is due to "German intrigue", at a time when there is to be a new great offensive on the French battle front.

The "Mail's estimate of the number arrested and taken to England is one hundred.

Forestalling arrests, the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin had arranged for a "first line" of substitutes of officers. They are Father O'Flanagan, Vice-President, Mrs. Wyse Power and George Nesbitt, Hon. Treasurers; Alderman Tom Kelly and P. Sheehan, Hon. Secretaries. Eoin MacNeill and Tom Kelly have been appointed delegates to the Mansion House Conference.

There are also substitutes for all officials of executives and cumainn throughout the country.

In Co. Cavan yesterday there were no Party meetings, but Sinn Féin held a meeting at Cootehill: Father O'Flanagan and Rev. Dr. Patrick Browne speaking there. This is the first public appearance of Pádraig Browne on a Sinn Féin platform. I knew him in Ballingeary as a student some years ago - a fine character.

Count Plunkett was arrested on Saturday evening and Madame Conne-MacBride yesterday. So far, Tadhg Barry is the only one taken in Cork city.

The English press seems to be confused as to whether the Government intends to enforce Conscription or not. Lord French has appealed for voluntary recruiting. It is now accepted this will fail; particularly because of the arrests. They are also confused in other matters. One journalist says Sinn Féin has been dealt a mortal blow, as Eamon De Valera did not fight his captors! On the one hand, the military and

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Civil Governors of Ireland seem desirous of provoking an armed struggle: on the other hand, it seems the English Government does not want this.

The original Sinn Fein policy should be the one for Ireland: passive resistance. The time is opportune for it. But, it is a very hard policy, requiring moral courage of a high order. And, the blood of young men is hot: Irish people are always roused by a physical struggle.

"Passive resistance" does not appeal to them.

May 21st: Last night a friend called in to me to say he had heard I was to be arrested. Today, from another source, I heard the same. It may be true; but so far, the police have not called to my house. I sleep elsewhere at nights when in the city.

News of today is that the men deported have been taken to Frongoch. There are calls for a trial and production of evidence of "the German Plot": now, however, termed "the Sinn Féin Plot", by the "Daily Mail". I surmise there will be no trials, but the Government will publish a little story of its own, as "portion of the evidence", but "without giving information to the enemy".

The "Belfast Newsletter", an Orange organ, challenges the Government to face the straight issue:- the Sinn Féin demand for Sovereign Independence and repudiation of the English Parliaments right to make laws for Ireland. The Government will not do so. It must needs go off with the German plot fable. It may proclaim the Sinn Féin organisation illegal. It seems afraid to come to close quarters with the Volunteers.

There are strong rumours of further arrests. Some of the police are getting restless, it seems. In Bandon, two constables refused to act for the arrest of Seán Hales: who escaped. They have been dismissed from the force.

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May 25th: Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in Edinburgh yesterday and spoke of "the sad, very sad" story of "the German Plot" in Ireland. And, today is published the Government "evidence" of the "Plot", but wild horses wont draw the "full evidence" from the Government fiction, story! The "Daily Mail" has a leading article, headed: "The Sinn Féin Plot. Danger to American Transports". The latter is a new bit of adornment to the fiction story. On another page it has "Sinn Féin Plot with Germany. The Proofs. Money, arms and U-Boat Bases. Another Rising just averted". Wonderful! The Government story is, in reality, portion of the record of events before Easter 1916. There are some tales of activities in 1917: very meagre and meaning little. Then, the assertion that there was to be another rising in 1917! "For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to the German-Sinn Féin plans, but about April, 1918, it was definitely ascertained that the plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution and that the Germans only awaited definite information as to the time, place, and date. The British authorities were able to warn the Irish Command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12 and was arrested . . . ". So! there is "the Plot". We know it to be a concoction. Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., puts it on a par with Titus Oates' "Popish Plot" and the forgeries of "Parnellism and Crime".

Last year, Mr. Lloyd George invited the leaders of Sinn Féin to the Plunkett Convention. This year, he puts them into prison. Why the change of policy? Primarily, I think, because of national unity on the Conscription issue. And, peace may be near. By splitting Ireland, there could be no effective appeal to the Peace Conference.

May 28th: Wednesday last (22nd ), I had a three hours' conversation with Mr. Hathaway, American Consul at Cove. I met him at his own request. He has, apparently, been instructed by his Government

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to get the views of different people in Ireland regarding the present situation here. With reference to "the Plot", he said the ordinary American, like the ordinary English, view would be that the Government must have good evidence and good reason for taking the action it did. He could not conceive, however, that the men charged would not be brought to trial. He considered they would get a fair hearing before English judges in England. I discounted the whole story vigorously.

"But, how are you going to get your view accepted?" he asked. "That indeed is most difficult", I replied. "Would you not act thus?" said he. "Declare that if any man is found guilty of plotting with Germany, you will ~~disown~~ him. Then the Government will be anxious to bring the men to trial". (Very clever, thought I). Aloud, I said: "That would not do. We know there is no 'Plot' To declare as you suggest would mean telling the English Government to find the prisoners guilty: which they are capable of doing on perjured evidence and concocted stories". "I see", said he, "but, even so, would not the truth out in a short time?". "Yes", said I, "but it would be too late to save men executed in the meantime, for, in the English view, those men should be executed if found guilty, according to their case, of treason".

He doubted me when I expressed the opinion there would be no trials, in fact, but that the men would be kept in prison or internment; that the Government would simply issue a statement and Mr. Lloyd George make a speech, as in "the Maurice affair".

He must be wiser now as this is what has actually happened, so far.

We talked of many other matters, including the American Revolution. He agreed Washington and those with him would have been hanged had they been caught by the British.

Saturday night (25th) Cork City Comhairle Gearntair appointed Pat Brady, Seán Jennings and myself to draw up a declaration of Sinn Féin

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views on present affairs relating to the "Plot" and to interview Mr. George Crosbie, of the "Examiner", with a view to its publication.

We met Mr. Crosbie yesterday. This interview was also interesting, in its way. Mr. Crosbie has always been a strong supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He had trusted England, he told us. He believed English politicians really meant to do justice to Ireland by granting Home Rule. He really believed England was in the war for liberty, democracy, the rights of small nations, against German militarism and the rule of force. He felt he and those who thought like him had been horribly deceived. The Conscription Act had done it. Germany could hardly do worse. Carson did not plan the game fair. He said men like himself had far more reason to be bitter against "the bloody British Government" than the supporters of Sinn Féin, who had never trusted the Government. As regards our declaration, he agreed with most of it; but he should submit it to the Censor. Until recently, he was not himself sure that there were not "pro-Germans" in Ireland. Now, he was satisfied that men he thought "pro-German" were not so. He thought the English would welcome a declaration that Sinn Féin was not pro-German. We did not agree with him in this, as we said it was the present policy of the Government to label no "pro-German", in order to confuse the issues.

George is, to a great extent, a pacifist and hates all war and armed strife, in Ireland and elsewhere.

May 31st: Yesterday I heard a curious theory of "the German Plot" put forward. It was that there may have been a real German "plant", with propaganda from the German Government as to a landing in Ireland, in order to force the British to keep a large number of troops here! Not altogether far fetched, perhaps.

1918:

The "London Times" is urging the Irish Parliamentary Party to break away from the Mansion House Conference, "to break from Sinn Féin" and return to Parliament.

The Prince of Wales has been visiting the Pope. The "Times" will probably be soon urging the Bishops of Ireland "to break away from Sinn Féin".

June 1st: "C.O.S." (? Cahal O'Shannon) suggested to some of us here that we approach William O'Brien, M.P., to get him to move for the writ for East Cavan. He said this suggestion was on instructions from Dublin Standing Committee of Sinn Féin. We had an unofficial meeting to discuss it: Pat Brady, Seán Jennings, Con Collins, T. O'Tuama, and myself. We agreed unanimously such an action would be inadvisable. We, in Cork, do not wish Sinn Féin to be identified with O'Brien and his supporters, in politics, for any purpose. So we intimated to Cahal.

Sunday last (May 26th), there was an Aerideacht at Cullen, near Millstreet. I was to have been there, but was unable to attend. Two members of our Cork Executive of Sinn Féin were there and addressed the meeting. Professor Stockley, of University College was also present. While the meeting was in progress, seven English military aeroplanes flew over the place of meeting and dropped a kind of small "bombs". Two or three of the 'planes came down to within some yards of the platform; so low that an officer leaned over from one machine and shook his fist at the crowd. A thatched house was set on fire, but the fire was quickly put out. One of our speakers made a joke of the performance of the military and this had the effect of raising a general laugh. The action is part of the new "terrorist" campaign of the British forces in Ireland.

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Shaw, Commander of the forces, has issued a proclamation applying to Limerick and part of Tipperary. It is to the effect that if drilling (of the Volunteers) will not cease in those districts, he will proclaim martial law in the area.

An article, in the form of a letter, signed "Sinn Féineach", which I sent to the English "Labour Leader", is published in this week's issue. It is a comment on an article from Dr. Arthur Lynch, M.P., which appeared previously, under the heading, "The Ferment in Ireland". It was in sarcastic strains on Lynch's article. Then, I put the Sinn Féin view of affairs.

June 17th: A new proclamation to encourage voluntary recruiting for the British Army has been issued by Lord French. He wants 50,000 men between this and 1st October and two or three thousand a month after that date. He offers the men land when they return from the war! The proclamation is not worded in official manner. The real significance is that it means the postponement of enforcing Conscription: at least until October 1st and much may happen in the war situation before that.

At the same time, we are under a militarist-coercion régime. There has been a subtle change in policy since French came to rule. Previously, there was a tendency to court the goodwill of "Centre Parties" in Ireland. Now the old "Ascendancy" element are in power.

Anyone charged under the Realm Acts, if suspected of Sinn Féin tendencies, is sentenced to a long term imprisonment. Anyone accused of "drilling" is harshly treated. Possession of firearms is considered a most serious "crime". Yet, even under this régime there is a fair amount of personal and public liberty. The fact is, of course, a whole nation cannot be indicted, or imprisoned. And the Government are up against a nation's resistance to Conscription.

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Up to yesterday, it was not certain where the deported men were. A telegram from De Valera to 6, Harcourt Street, is published in today's papers, giving the whereabouts of some. My old friend, Milroy, is in Lincoln prison, with De Valera himself.

A letter of mine re Cavan election, was published in the "Independent" yesterday. It was intended to show that the deportation of Griffith introduced a new issue into the election. The Government would take the defeat of Griffith as an endorsement of their policy and acceptance by a section of the people of the truth of the "German Plot". But, apparently, Dillon and Devlin will persist in opposing. And I hear the issue is doubtful.

June 9th: A meeting of the Árd-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin was held on Tuesday last (4th). I was unable to be present. Seán Jennings attended in my stead. He tells me the principal subject of discussion was the question of substitutes on the Standing Committee in place of the deportees. These had nominated their own substitutes. This was considered an irregular procedure. So the Árdchomhairle itself elected substitutes at the meeting. Judging from Seán's account, there is some tendency to a change of policy from that of De Valera and Griffith and their friends.

Seán submitted his report of the Árd Chomhairle meeting to our Cork Comhairle Cathrach last night. Another matter discussed by the Árd Chomhairle was the relation of the Sinn Féin organisation to the Mansion House Conference. It appears the Standing Committee (in Dublin) were not unanimous in approval of De Valera and Griffith entering the Conference. Their position, therefore, was not exactly official. As now appears, however, none of the men in the Conference is the official representative

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of an organisation, which leads to some anomalies. There are Parish Defence Committees and a Defence Fund, to resist Conscription. No organisation has any definite right to insist upon what form the Committees are to take; nor any definite right as to how the Defence Fund is to be disposed of.

The Árd-Chomhairle also discussed the attitude to be adopted towards the "German Plot" story. There were divided opinions.

After much discussion, our Comhairle Cathrach decided to hold a protest meeting - against the deportations - in Cork on next Friday night. It was against my advice, as I think the meeting will be proclaimed.

June 11th: According to a statement in the English Parliament yesterday, "The Man in the Tower" is "No. 8043, Lance-Corporal J. Dowling, Connaught Rangers". He is to be tried by courtmartial for offences under the Army Act. He cannot "properly be called a deserter from the British Army. He was a prisoner of war".

"Mr. King: will the courtmartial be public, or will the proceedings be reported fairly fully?"

"Mr. MacPherson: I can quite imagine a good deal of the proceedings will not be public." (Publicity might show up the falsity of the "German Plot"!).

June 14th: (Friday): Yesterday evening I discussed with Patrick Brady what should be done in case the public meeting projected for tonight should be proclaimed by the military authorities. He is to be the chairman at the meeting. When I reached home Seán Ó Tuama was before me with the news that he had it, "on good authority", the police

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chiefs in Cork had orders from the military to have the meeting proclaimed. I then expected a call from the police (as Chairman of the Comhairle Cathrach) with a notice prohibiting the meeting. They did not appear, so I travelled (to Bantry) on my usual round of teaching.

It was stated in yesterday's papers that Dowling, "The man in the Tower", was from Bantry district. I heard something about him this evening from nuns in the Convent of Mercy. He is from Kealkil. He was in the police force and joined the British Army. Whether he was a prisoner of war in Germany, or not, no one in the district knows. One thing is known, he never had any connection with Sinn Féin.

I have received a notice to attend a meeting of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, to be held in Dublin. I was elected a member at last meeting of the Árd Chomhairle. To my regret, I cannot attend meetings of the Standing Committee.

Seán Ó Tuama told me last night that some of the Óglaigh, particularly the younger men are impatient regarding Conscription. They hope it will be enforced! They desire fight! Several are convinced it will be put into operation: others are of a contrary opinion. Passive resistance and a waiting policy do not commend themselves to men eager for an armed struggle. Some of the Dublin Castle crowd and of the military authorities have the same desire, no doubt.

June 18th: Tuesday: The meeting on Friday last was proclaimed. Some time in the afternoon notices were posted that it would not be allowed. Notices were served on the Chairman and Secretaries of the South Ward Cumann. Why on these is hard to say. The meeting was not held and everything passed off quietly.

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A Gaelic League Aerideacht was held in Kinsale on Sunday. There was quite a good number present. "The authorities" did not interfere.

Yesterday, William Kent, one of the Kent family of Castlelyons, was elected chairman of Cork County Council, by 26 votes to 21 for a Parliamentary Party supporter. This may be regarded as a Sinn Féin victory.

Jeremiah O'Mahony, an independent-minded man, was elected Vice-chairman. In appointment of Committees the supporters of Sinn Féin were in a majority in all cases.

Sinn Fein's troubles will begin when it becomes popular!

Arrests, trials, Courtsmartial, continue, day by day, and what the English call "unrest". Two policemen were shot at in Tralee, in open day. A raid has been made on a police hut in Co. Kerry. The two policemen referred to shot two of the raiders. The shooting in Tralee looks like a family retaliation.

Nearly all the southern counties have been "proclaimed", "disturbed areas", under the Crimes Act of 1887: all Connaught, portion of Leinster, and Tyrone, in Ulster. There have been some deportations of men recently released from prison.

Notwithstanding the "unrest" the overwhelming majority of the people are living their lives in peace: attending to their work in the ordinary way; and there is very little crime.

Report of a big meeting in New York of the "Friends of Irish Freedom", appears in the "Independent". It states 1,500 were present,

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among them John Devoy, Judge Cohalan, Matthew Cummins, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Liam Mellows, Diarmuid Lynch, James Larkin. There was some tussle over the chairmanship of the meeting: Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington and Larkin not favouring a priest, who was supported by the majority. The "Independent" states Larkin said the priests in Ireland are against the people! Eventually, John Devoy swayed the meeting. It declared itself as loyal to America in the war and denounced the "German Plot" as an English attempt to counter Ireland's claim to independence and appeal to the Peace Conference. It was decided to send a delegation to President Wilson and the United States Congress. Dr. MacCartan was also present.

Since that news was published, it is announced that Larkin has been arrested, with a Cornelius Lehane. The news runs that Larkin describes himself as "First President of the new Irish Republic", and Lehane as his "Ambassador"! I presume Cornelius Lehane, is the Con Lehane we knew in Cork fifteen or sixteen years ago: a confirmed Socialist: a native of Coachford. Last week we were assured by English Press correspondents from New York that "the Friends" were in league with Germany and that Jeremiah O'Leary (who is also reported arrested) was its moving spirit. He is charged with treason to America, it is stated. How is it the Censor here has allowed the correct news to appear now?

June 21st: (In Bantry): As I went to teach a class in the Convent here, I heard rumours of Griffith having been elected in Cavan. 721 of a majority was mentioned. Post Office clerks told me this was mentioned but there was no official news.

I wired to Cork and while taking tea in the Convent got the reply. Griffith majority, 1,214: official figures, Griffith. 3,795, O'Hanlon, 2,581. Better than expected: a triumph for Sinn Féin: an answer to Lloyd George, with his bogus "Plot": and a blow to "the Party".

Signed: Liam de Róiste  
Date: 7th September, 1957.

Witness: [Signature]

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1013-21  
BURO STAIRE MILITARA 1013-21  
NO. W.S. 1,698

